The Author's Two Bodies
Paratext in Early Chinese Textual Culture

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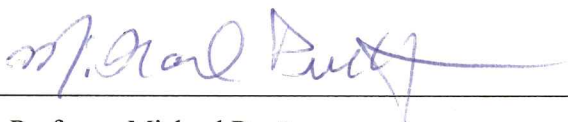Cambridge, Massachusetts

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Abstract

This dissertation addresses the contentious issue of early authorship by proposing a new set of methodologies developed from close examination of both unearthed and transmitted sources. To tackle the questions of what constitutes a text and what constitutes an author in pre-imperial China (before 211 BCE), I expanded the concept of "paratext" so that it can serve as an analytical tool. According to Gérard Genette's formulation, paratext refers to the materials enveloping the main text such as titles, book covers, author names, and prefaces. This dissertation not only demonstrates the role of paratext in demarcating textual boundaries, but also develops a system of criteria for identifying hitherto unrecognized forms of paratexts in early sources, such as the reiterations of *zi yue* (the Master said), branching catalogues, and author anecdotes. Reading these features as paratextual language helps uncover new evidence concerning how early textual producers sought to circumscribe words as textual units. While many scholars dismiss early author attributions as apocryphal, I argue that the representations of author figures, real or putative, perform an instrumental role in defining and delimiting both a text and a corpus. The body chapters of this dissertation closely examine case studies straddling the transition into the imperial period, from aphorism and anecdotes preserved in bamboo manuscripts (c. 300 BCE) to excavated and received compilations such as the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa, Zhuangzi, Hanfeizi*, and the *Chuci zhangju*. Its final chapter, in summing up the interactive dynamics between text-making and author-making, retraces an intriguing motif revolving around a zero-sum game between the author's physical body and literary corpus.

To my parents

Acknowledgement

Having written a dissertation that historicizes individual authorship, I would like to see this document as a testament to the mentorships and friendships that are inseparably entwined with its germination and maturation. I would like to first extend my deepest thanks to the members of my dissertation committee: Michael Puett, Wai-yee Li, Ann Blair, and Matthias Richter. It is due to their insight and expertise in the fields of intellectual history, literary studies, book history, and manuscript studies that writing this dissertation has been an exhilarating journey of intellectual growth. Without Professor Puett's encouragement and unfailing support, especially his gentle urging to think more broadly and tackle questions at their foundation, this dissertation would have been a very different project. Its conclusions are deeply indebted to his critique of many of my unexamined assumptions. Professor Li has not only introduced me to the study of early Chinese narratives and historiography, but also taught me the important skill of observing and grappling with complexities and contradictions. She asked the toughest and most provocative questions that always led to new insight and made my arguments stronger. I am likewise grateful to Professor Blair for initiating me into the discipline of book history, now my second intellectual home. In addition to the invaluable theoretical rigor and comparative perspective, her awe-inspiring intellectual curiosity has been a great source of motivation. The central questions propelling this dissertation emerged from Professor Richter's seminars as well as his supervision of my MA thesis. The tremendous influence of his work and his guidance is evident throughout, and I can never fully express my gratitude for both his mentorship and his friendship.

In addition to my committee members, I owe my training in Chinese literature, philology, and manuscript studies to coursework with Xiaofei Tian, Stephen Owen, Wilt Idema, Paul Kroll, Antje Richter, Reinhard Emmerich, Enno Giele, Yu Hong, Charles Sanft, and Ding Xiang Warner. Much of my discussion of textual fluidity and authorship is deeply indebted to Professor Tian's seminars and general examination supervision, as well as Professor Owen's seminars and feedback on my dissertation proposal. I must also thank Sarah Queen and Paul van Els for their many rounds of revisions of my first article draft, as well as Edward Shaughnessy's detailed corrections of an article translation. Both revision processes have taught me important lessons on academic writing. Michael Nylan and Imre Galambos have both carefully read my M.A. thesis and given me considerable feedback, part of which has been revised and incorporated into this dissertation. Revision suggestions from anonymous reviewers for a forthcoming *JAOS* article have significantly improved the core section of Chapter II. Some of the insightful comments by Yiqun Zhou from the Stanford-Berkeley Premodern Chinese Humanities Graduate Student Conference remain to be incorporated, and I look forward to revisiting her notes in the

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If the shapes of all things are in flux,
How do they reach completion?
If the flowing shapes mature into bodies,
How do they avoid extinction?

凡物流形,
奚得而成?
流形成體,
奚得而不死?

– Anonymous, *Fanwu liuxing* 凡物流形

Introduction: the *Limen* between Open and Closed Texts

> Every once in a while
> We need a
> backward miracle
> that will strip language,
> make it *hold* for
> a minute: just the
> vessel with the
> wine in it —
> a sacramental
> refusal to multiply,
> reclaiming the single loaf
> and the single
> fish thereby.
>
> — Kay Ryan

This dissertation is a study of a transformation, the transformation of early Chinese texts from open texts to closed texts, from mutating, ongoing, and four-dimensional processes to solidified, finalized, and seemingly three-dimensional objects. Paratexts,[1] the focal point of this study, occupy the cusp — or the *limen* — of this phase change. They are a rather fallible set of magic spells, the speech acts that try to summon into existence immutable and perpetuated verbal arrangements, binding changing shapes into *Endgestalten*. They are the hidden traces of the early thinkers, writers, compilers, and scribes who molded these texts like artisans and artists, whose names, with a few exceptions, history will never know.

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1. This project has been a wonderful excuse to closely engage with Gérard Genette's works. His insight and sense of humor never ceased to amaze and entertain. He passed away on May 11, 2018, just as this dissertation is about to be submitted.

Through a series of case studies, I argue for the distinction between open and closed texts as a methodological necessity in addressing the contentious issues of authorship and textual identity in Early China. This distinction might also elucidate other textual situations where the norms of closed texts no longer apply. In existing academic discourse, the transition from open and fluid textual materials to closed and stabilized texts is usually explained through technological transitions, where textual fluidity is interpreted as traces of orality or features of manuscript culture, while the adaptation of writing or printing are in turn accredited with the creation of stable texts. The textual features I term "paratext" reflect the wishes and efforts of the human agents involved the textual productions in any medium. They are often devices employed to identify, circumscribe, and stabilize a textual unit *against* the backdrop of everpresent tendencies toward variation. Whether in oral, manuscript, print, or digital environments, the successful creation of closed text can be seen as the fulfillment of the desires and endeavors embodied by paratextual devices. I believe that once we look beyond the texts already delimited as "books" (or other well-defined material or genre forms, such as the sonnet), the identification of other forms of paratextual devices that are less familiar becomes a useful exercise. The identification of such paratextual devices would also lead to a more descriptive approach to authorship in Early China. While recent scholarship tends to argue for the absence of genuine authors in pre-imperial China (before 221 BCE), I advocate for a more generalizable definition of the "author" — briefly stated, as a creation of paratexts — that not only existed in pre-imperial China, but played an instrumental role in the creation of closed texts, generally speaking.

1. The Worm and the Butterfly

Like many classical traditions, the corpus of writings transmitted from China's pre-imperial period (before 221) have served as the foundational texts in subsequent political, intellectual, cultural, and religious histories. For the past two millennia, scholars across East Asia have devoted themselves to the study of these texts.[2] Today, our understanding of the formation history of early Chinese writings is undergoing a paradigm shift. Scholarship from the past several decades proposes alternative and often contradictory answers to basic questions such as "who were the authors of these texts?" "how and why were they written?" "in what form were they circulated and transmitted?" and "what can be read as one text?". Different answers to these fundamental questions can lead to divergent interpretations. The conceptualization of textual history therefore affects all fields invested in exegesis, whether it is the study of literature, intellectual history, or philosophy.

To a twenty-first century audience, China's world of writings became increasingly comprehensible and relatable over the course of the early imperial period, which encompasses the Qin (221-206 BCE), Western Han (202 BCE-9 CE), and Eastern Han (25-220 CE) dynasties. As the author of *Shiji* 史記 (The Records of the Grand Historian), the first universal history written in the Chinese language, Sima Qian 司馬遷 (?145-?86 BCE) not only resembled a modern author,[3]

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2. As an example, for the formation history of the "Confucian" classics and their reception in East Asia, see Michael Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

3. For analyses of Sima Qian's complex identity as an author and his relationship with authorship discourse, see Wai-yee Li, "The Idea of Authority in the *Shih chi* (Records of the Historian)," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54 (1994); Michael Nylan, "Sima Qian: A True Historian?," *Early China* 23/24 (1998); Michael J. Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation: Debates Concerning Innovation and Artifice in Early China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 177-212; Stephen Durrant, Wai-yee Li, Michael Nylan and Hans van Ess, *The Letter to Ren An and Sima Qian's Legacy* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016); Wai-yee Li, "The Letter to Ren An and Authorship in the Chinese Tradition," in *The Letter to Ren An and Sima Qian's Legacy*, ed. Stephen Durrant, Wai-yee Li, Michael Nylan and Hans van Ess (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).

he portrayed his predecessors as figures similar to how we would conceive of authors today.[4] According to Michael Nylan, it is during the court of Emperor Cheng of Han (r. 33-7 BCE), half a century after Sima Qian's death, that high literary culture flourished, where authorship in the modern sense can be unambiguously identified.[5]

But when it comes to the centuries leading up to the time of Emperor Cheng, especially during the Warring States period (5th century-221 BCE), existing sources conjure up what can be broadly characterized as two concurrent and seemingly antithetical visions. The first of the two, as suggested by unearthed and excavated manuscripts from circa 300 BCE onward,[6] is of a primordial soup[7] teeming with independently circulating textual units, whose size ranges from short aphorisms to chapter-length compositions (*pian* 篇).[8] The second of the two, based on the transmitted bibliography of the Han imperial library, is more comfortingly familiar. This bibliography, compiled by librarians Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8 BCE) and Liu Xin 劉歆 (d. 23 CE), is partially preserved in the "Yiwenzhi" 藝文志 (Treatise on Arts and Letters) chapter of *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han), a dynastic history completed during the first century CE with Ban Gu 班固

4. Griet Vankeerberghen, "Texts and Authors in the *Shiji*," in *China's Early Empires: A Re-Appraisal*, ed. Michael Nylan and Michael Loewe (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Martin Kern, "The "Masters" in the *Shiji*," *T'oung Pao* 101 (2015).
5. Michael Nylan, "Manuscript Culture in Late Western Han, and the Implications for Authors and Authority," *Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture* 1 (2014), 163-65.
6. For an overview of manuscript finds, see Pian Yuqian 駢宇騫 and Duan Shu'an 段書安, *Ershi shiji chutu jianbo zongshu* 二十世紀出土簡帛綜述 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006). For overview and methodological discussions concerning early Chinese unearthed sources, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1997); Enno Giele, "Using Early Chinese Manuscripts as Historical Source Materials," *Monumenta Serica* 51 (2003).
7. This term is employed in a similar fashion by David Lebovitz, see David Lebovitz, "Paratext, Form, and Structure in Verse-texts Attributed to Rui Liangfu 芮良夫" (paper presented at Warp, Woof, *Wen* / Phoneme, Pattern, Pun: Structural Approach to Early Chinese Texts, Zurich, April 12-14, 2018).
8. William G. Boltz, "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts," in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, ed. Martin Kern (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005). Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 (1883-1955) has deduced the independence of the chapter as a unit based on transmitted sources, see Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 (1883-1955), *Gushu tongli* 古書通例 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 93-98.

(32-92) as its chief author.[9] What this document outlines is an archive of texts, books, and diagrams not that dissimilar to a modern library. While it lists some of its texts as anonymous "classics" redacted by named commentators, such as the *Shijing* 詩經 (henceforth *Book of Odes*) and the *Shanghu* 尚書 (henceforth *Book of Documents*), many others are presented as authored works, attributed to individuals from the "beginning of time" to the present day, from the mythical Yellow Emperor, the sage Confucius (trad. 551-479 BCE), to more recent figures such as Han Fei 韓非 (d. 233 BCE), Sima Qian, or even Liu Xiang himself.

If the primordial soup and the library are two ways of imagining the early textual world, throughout this dissertation, I will characterize the former as a world of "open texts," and the latter that of "closed text." I have borrowed and modified these terminologies from Gerald Bruns, to be further explain below.[10] The Han imperial bibliography has had a determinative effect on how early texts were transmitted, classified, and taught, in addition to influencing all subsequent bibliographical projects.[11] Consequently, the closed texts of "Yiwenzhi," centered around texts, authors, and schools of authors, is how Early China existed in its reception history of the past two millennia. The primordial soup of open texts, in contrast, became an important alternative imagination only after the publication of newly unearthed manuscript materials starting from the 1990s. The manuscripts excavated from the Guodian tomb were the earliest to resurface among the manuscripts that contain extensive discursive writings from the pre-imperial period. They include texts that are related to parts of the received *Laozi* 老子 (The Old Mas-

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9. *Hanshu* 漢書, compiled by Ban Gu 班固 (32-92) et al., commentary by Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962).

10. Gerald L. Bruns, "The Originality of Texts in a Manuscript Culture," *Comparative Literature* 32 (1980).

11. Michael Loewe, "The Relilgious and Intellectual Background," in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 1: The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 BC-AD 220*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 651.

ter) and sections of *Liji* 禮記 (Notes on Ritual), but only in complex and unexpected ways. Not only are there no traces of the received paratexts, such as titles and author names — which is in itself not surprising in view of other manuscript cultures — there are rather dramatic variations beyond what one would expect of stabilized textual transmissions. The partial parallels to the received texts seem to be further broken down into textual units in paragraph-length, which circulated independently, and can be recombined freely without regard to the received sequencing.[12] This destabilizing feature prevails the subsequently unearthed pre-imperial manuscripts as well.

While there have always been debates surrounding the authenticity and author attributions of many of the early texts, it is only in the early twentieth century that the traditional narratives of Early China faced widely-discussed and systematic challenges.[13] The "Doubting Antiquity" (*yigu* 疑古) movement, led by Hu Shih 胡適 (1891-1962) and Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980), suggested ways ancient writers — be they Han librarians or Warring States thinkers — actively constructed and reconstructed earlier histories and texts, as opposed to merely passively transmitting existing records. Participants in this movement questioned the traditional dating and adjudicated some of the canonical texts to be later fabrications.[14] Unlike the emergence of biblical criticism, the "Doubting Antiquity" movement did not fundamentally

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12. Jingmen shi bowuguan 荊門市博物館, *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹简 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2002).

13. For a comprehensive survey of a history of Chinese scholarship dealing with the mismatch between the author-text system and the textual materials, see Paul Fischer, "Authentication Studies (辨偽學) Methodology and the Polymorphous Text Paradigm," *Early China* 32 (2008). Many challenge the notion of early texts as single-authored texts. For the relationship between Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980) and earlier scholarship, see Huang Hailie 黃海烈, "Cong bianwei dao yigu: Gu Jiegang de xinshixue zhi lu" 從辨偽到疑古: 顧頡剛的新史學之路, *Gudai wenming* (2010).

14. See the seven-volume publications by the group, Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980) ed., *Gushi bian* 古史辨 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982).

transform the conception of early Chinese texts within China.[15] But even as a fleeting movement that did not survive beyond World War II, it nevertheless has seeped into scholarly consciousness, so that it still often explicitly or implicitly serves as the conversation partner of publications today.[16]

The recently unearthed pre-imperial manuscripts sparked the latest and ongoing debate concerning the nature of textuality and authorship in Early China. To some scholars, the partial parallels of the transmitted corpus bear witness to the antiquity of these transmitted texts. They support the traditional views epitomized by the "Yiwenzhi," nailing the coffin of the "Doubting Antiquity" movement once for all.[17] To others, these new sources draw attention to the free flow of textual units beneath what once appeared to be a solidified library of books. As Sarah Allan summarizes, this observation casts doubt on the prevalence of not only what she terms "multi-chapter texts" in the pre-imperial period, but also their authors.[18] William Boltz, for instance, proposes in his seminal article that what was once perceived as a single text by a single author — such as the *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語) of Confucius or the *Xunzi* 荀子 (Master Xun) by Xun Qing 荀卿 (3rd century BCE) — ought to be seen as a composite of roughly paragraph-length

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15. There are in fact links between development in biblical criticism and the "Doubting Antiquity" movement, as Rudolf Wagner reconstructs in Rudolf G. Wagner, "Doubts about the Chinese Current of 'Doubting Antiquity' and its Critics" (paper presented at Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Cambridge, MA, March 7, 2017).

16. For a recent historiography of this movement, see Chen Zhiming 陳志明, *Gu Jiegang de yigu shixue* 顧頡剛的疑古史學 (Taipei: Shangding wenhua chubanshe, 1993).

17. Li Xueqin 李學勤, "Zouchu yigu shidai" 走出疑古時代, *Zhongguo wenhua* (1992.7).

18. What exemplifies this debate is the contention surrounding the excavated parallels of the received *Laozi* corpus. See the different positions represented in Sarah Allan and Williams, Crispin eds., *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998* (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 2000). For a recent summary of existing scholarship on this question, see Sarah Allan, *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-Slip Manuscripts* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015), 25-37.

pre-existing textual units that circulated freely, independently, and anonymously. This is to say, they ought to be seen as the products of the primordial soup of open texts.[19]

This new vision, inspired by the newly unearthed materials, in fact captures important aspects of the transmitted corpus that have always been in the plain sight, namely the heterogeneity within all early Chinese texts as well as the prevalence of textual reuse — the unattributed recycling of textual units small and large.[20] The evident heterogeneity within nearly every early compilation has given rise to longstanding and irresolvable authenticity debates (sometimes referred to as "authentication studies," or *bianwei xue* 辨偽學, in Chinese scholarship), some of which will be delineated in this dissertation.[21] The persistence of such debates, as Paul Fischer points out, already suggests the fundamental mismatch between the reality of early Chinese texts and the conventional author-book model.[22] The independence and anonymity of the textual units within a compilation was described by Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 (1884-1955) long before the emergence of unearthed discursive texts.[23] Recent studies of textual reuse and citation patterns by scholars such as Michael Hunter and Esther Klein also show that the received pre-imperial texts do not behave like the products of a textual culture dominated by revered authors and books.[24] Finally, critical reexamination of transmitted early sources further reveal that not unlike

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19. Boltz, "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts," 57.
20. For a study of textual reuse in the early Chinese corpus utilizing manuscript evidence, see Liu Jiao 劉嬌, "Yangong yu chaoshuo" 言公與剿說: 從出土簡帛古籍看西漢以前古籍中相同或類似內容重複出現現象 (PhD diss., Fudan University, 2012). For a visualization of such textual reuse identified digitally, see Donald Sturgeon, "Unsupervised Identification of Text Reuse in Early Chinese Literature," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* (2017), 10.
21. This is even more evident among the earliest compilations, the complex histories and the millennia of debates surrounding them are delineated in Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics*.
22. Fischer, "Authentication Studies Methodology," 2.
23. Yu Jiaxi, *Gushu tongli*, 1-49, 93-109.
24. Esther Klein, "Were There 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States? A New Examination of Evidence About the *Zhuangzi*," *T'oung Pao* 96 (2010); Michael Hunter, *Confucius Beyond the* Analects (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

the library of Alexandria, the Han imperial court is not only the filter that mediates our access to

China's antiquity, it has in many ways recreated the pre-imperial period in its own image.[25]

The monograph by the eminent paleographer and intellectual historian Li Ling 李零 on

the history of early texts, written in the wake of the publications of unearthed manuscripts,

most vividly captures the new vision of open textual production and circulation in Early China:

> Ancient texts were mostly constructed from "fragments," which is to say, dis-
> jointed passages and sayings. They entered into circulation as soon as they were
> composed for an occasion, and thus often lacked a unified structure. For this rea-
> son, there was a great chance that they would be rearranged and recombined, or
> further embellished with additions and interpolations. There was no stability in
> how these textual units were merged or taken apart, and their survival depended
> on chance. The authors had great liberty, and so did the readers. This renders
> their dating and formation process very complex. In my impression, the ancient
> writings of the Warring States, Qin, and Han periods were like gas, where their
> grouping and structuring of chapters and divisions varied greatly from the trans-
> mitted versions; the texts of Sui (581-618) and Tang (618-907) were like liquid, for
> even though they were still not entirely stabilized, their grouping and structure
> were gradually unified; the texts from the Song dynasties (960-1279) onward[26]
> were more like solids, where everything was stabilized, and the variations con-
> sisted mostly of mistakes that occurred during copying or reprinting.[27]

In short, early Chinese texts, which have been seen as books in the solid state for the past two

25. Martin Kern, "Early Chinese Literature, Beginning through Western Han," in *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature: Volume 1, To 1375*, ed. Kang-i Sun Chang and Stephen Owen (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 57. For more detail see, as examples, Nylan, "Manuscript Culture in Late Western Han, and the Implications for Authors and Authority"; Martin Kern, "Kongzi as Author in the Han," in *Confucius and the Analects Revisited: New Perspectives on Dating, Composition, and Authorship*, ed. Michael Hunter and Martin Kern (Leiden: Brill, 2018). The series of articles that analyzes the notion of "schools" as a Han construct underscores the importance of this approach: Jens Østergård Petersen, "Which Books Did the First Emperor of Ch'in Burn? On the Meaning of Pai Chia in Early Chinese Sources," *Monumenta serica* (1995); Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan, "Constructing Lineages and Inventing Traditions through Exemplary Figures in Early China," *T'oung Pao* 89.1 (2003); Kidder Smith, "Sima Tan and the Invention of Daoism, "Legalism," "et cetera"," *Journal of Asian Studies* 62 (2003); Paul Goldin, "Persistent Misconceptions About Chinese 'Legalism'," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 38.1 (2011).

26. I.e., after printing became widespread.

27. Li Ling 李零, *Jianbo gushu yu xueshu yuanliu* 簡帛古書與學術源流 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2008), 214. This passage is partially cited and translated in Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 27.

millennia, are re-dissolving into gas or air.

How do we define and articulate what a text is, once these writings are untethered from the canonical, author-book system that had given them their solidified form and structure? Harold Roth, in working with the Guodian *Laozi* parallels, raises the question of "precisely what constitutes a text."[28] Matthias Richter's recent monograph also underscores the need for methodological discussions concerning the establishment of "textual identity" in the study of early Chinese texts.[29]

Open Text : Closed Text :: Pre-ception : Reception

This dissertation argues that these fundamental questions can benefit from a clearer and more systematic description of the characteristics and behaviors of open and closed texts, as well as the relationships between them, for both of them were part of textual production of Early China. By "text," I refer to a specific selection and arrangement of words. What I call open and closed texts often involve two different philological approaches developed in the western academic tradition, which I will refer to as versioning (open texts) and the eclectic method (closed texts), to be further explained below. My articulation of their relationships and differences are built on Thomas Tanselle[30] as well as Harold Roth's adaptation of Tanselle's work to the study of

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28. Harold D. Roth, "Some Methodological Issues in the Study of the Guodian *Laozi* Parallels," ed. Sarah Allan and Crispin Williams (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 2000), 77; Christopher Nugent also raises this question in the recent handbook on the study of classical Chinese literature, in addressing the apparent textual fluidity in early manuscript witnesses of the *Book of Odes*; see Christopher M. B. Nugent, "Manuscript Cultures," in *The Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature*, ed. Wiebke Denecke, Wai-Yee Li and Xiaofei Tian (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

29. Matthias L. Richter, *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

30. Thomas Tanselle, "Classical, Biblical, and Medieval Criticism and Modern Editing," in *Textual Criticism and Scholarly Editing*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1990).

early Chinese texts.[31]

Stated in the most succinct terms, a text is open when the majority of its users are *not* preoccupied with its faithful reproduction. They were instead primarily interested in making use of this pre-existing text to fulfill different needs in their own contexts, often changing and adapting the text as a result. Open texts are thus attested as parallel versions with complex variations that cannot be resolved through what is known as the eclectic method. A closed text, in contrast, is the product of a more specialized production condition, where the majority of textual producers *are* concerned with its accurate replication. The users of closed texts are invested in preserving the text itself, often associating it with an earlier production context (real or imagined), rather than adapting the text to their own contexts. Closed texts are still changing, but they are changing *in spite of* rather than *because of* their users' intentions. The users' investment in the preservation of the text itself influences fundamentally the nature of textual variation. Consequently, the variations among closed texts are qualitatively different from those of open texts, so that versions of closed texts can be represented through the eclectic method.

As the phrases such as "the majority of producers" already suggest, a text's "openness" or "closedness" is not determinable by examining a single witness. It describes how writers and users interact with a text in a given social context, rather than an intrinsic quality within a text. We can only talk about whether a text is open or closed with respect to a specific historical setting,.e.g. whether the *Analects* was closed in second century BCE or first century BCE. The statement that "the *Analects* is a closed text" is really a short-hand for "the *Analects* has been closed for the past two millennia and that is still the case today." This is to say that the possibility of re-

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31. Harold D Roth, "Text and Edition in Early Chinese Philosophical Literature," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1993).

opening the *Analects* is always there. In fact, after the recent paradigm shift, represented by Hunter's *Confucius Beyond the Analects*, the integrity of the *Analects* as "one text" faces challenge and it is already in some ways reopened.

This also means that the openness or closed-ness of a text is a description of the relation-ships among a group of texts, rather than an intrinsic quality of the text itself. In addition to how similar or dissimilar versions of "a text" are to each other, there are also fundamental differ-ences in how open texts and closed texts are handled by their surrounding textual culture, so fundamental that the successful transformation of a text from an open state into a closed state is almost like a phase change. Open texts tend to be associated the allowance — or often even the encouragement — of unaccredited repetitions, which is sometimes described as formulaic com-position.[32] The closure of texts, in contrast, often correlates with the *prohibition* of unaccredited repetition, which now becomes "plagiarism." The interrelations among closed text are what have already been described as "intertextuality" or "reception." In comparison, the interrelations among open texts are a more recent subject of study,[33] which I will refer to by using the term Joshua Katz coined to describe the prehistory of ancient Greek epics, namely "pre-ception" (here after "preception").[34] The nature of textual overlaps between texts, whether they are engaging in the dynamics of preception or reception, is one way to gauge how open or closed a text is in a given context.

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32. The recognition of the formulaic nature of Homeric epics might be among the earliest studies of such dynamics in the west. For a recent discussion, see Bryan Hainsworth, *The Iliad: A Commentary (Volume 3, Books 9-12)* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 16-19.

33. Owen, for instance, has already noted the difficulty in applying the vocabularies and assumptions of the mainstay of literary studies to the examination of early medieval Chinese poetry; see Stephen Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 15-16.

34. Joshua T. Katz, "Etymological 'Alterity': Depths and Heights," in *Deep Classics: Rethinking Classical Reception*, ed. Shane Butler (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 112.

There are, at the same time, two types of information we can infer by examining a text by itself. A text's paratextual features (more detailed discussion see next section) can often reveal to us how its producers at a given time conceived of it, whether they wanted this text to be received as a closed text. Since their wishes for their text are not necessarily honored by its subsequent users, a text can remain open even if its producers have expressed the wish to close it. Hence by looking at a single witness of a text by itself, we can guess — with various degrees of certainty — whether someone thought it *should* be closed, but we still cannot know whether it *was* or *has been* closed. Secondly, we can similarly make an educated guess concerning whether a text was a product of a textual environment dominated by the dynamics of preception or reception, which could in turn indicate whether a text was once an open text. In other words, while a text by itself cannot tell us how it is being treated *at any given moment*, it can inform of its own formation history *in the past*. To give a concrete example, the prevalence of formulaic repetitions within the transmitted Homeric epics suggest that they were likely once versions of open texts. At the same time, we can only make an educated guess of whether the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* were closed in a given historical period by studying how stable they are in as many witnesses as possible, as well as their citation patterns and textual relationships with other texts. To put this in another way, the exercise of trying to look into the past of a closed text that was once open is akin to looking at more than one text. Both of these two types of information are related to whether a text is open or closed. If the producers of a text present it as a closed text, it becomes a little more likely to be treated as a closed text; a text produced as an open text is more likely to remain as an open text.

In Table 0.1 below, I summarize the intratextual and intertextual features of open texts and closed texts based on existing descriptions of each. In addition to Boltz's description of ear-

ly texts as "composite" compositions and Fischer's formulation of a "polymorphous" text,[35] this table is also informed by Stephen Owen's monograph on the evolution of classical poetry in the early medieval period,[36] Martin Kern's methodological discussions based on his study of textual variations in the early Chinese corpus[37] and his conception of textual repertoire,[38] as well as Xiaofei Tian's and Christopher Nugent's characterizations of manuscript production in early medieval and medieval China.[39] It furthermore draws from existing studies of texts I would term open, such as Owen's and Kern's ongoing studies of the core chapters of *Chuci* 楚辭 (Verses of Chu),[40] Richter's retracing of early texts on character evaluation,[41] Carine Defoort and Nicolas Standaert's edited volume on *Mozi* as an evolving text,[42] and Ding Xiang Warner's monograph on *Zhongshuo* 中說.*[43]*

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35. Fischer, "Authentication Studies Methodology."
36. Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry*.
37. Martin Kern, "Methodological Reflections on the Analysis of Textual Variants and the Modes of Manuscript Production in Early China," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4 (2002).
38. See, for instances, Martin Kern, *Die Hymnen der Chinesischen Staatsopfer: Literatur und Ritual in der politischen Repräsentation von der Han-Zeit bis zu den Sechs Dynastien* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997); Martin Kern, "The *Odes* in Excavated Manuscripts," in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, ed. Martin Kern (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005)..
39. Xiaofei Tian, *Tao Yuanming and Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005); Christopher M. B. Nugent, *Manifest in Words, Written on Paper: Producing and Circulating Poetry in Tang Dynasty China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010).
40. Stephen Owen, "Reading the Li sao," unpublished manuscript; Stephen Owen, "Too Many Commentaries: Reading the 'Nine Songs'" (paper presented at First Friday Lunch Talk Series, Harvard University, November 3, 2017); Martin Kern, "Is the 'Lisao' Actually One Poem? Observations on Structure and Intertext" (paper presented at Philology and the Study of Classical Chinese Literature: An International Symposium on the Future of Sinology in the 21st Century in Honor of Paul W. Kroll, Boulder, April 20, 2018); Stephen Owen, "The Xiang Goddesses Revisited" (paper presented at Philology and the Study of Classical Chinese Literature: An International Symposium on the Future of Sinology in the 21st Century in Honor of Paul W. Kroll, Boulder, April 20, 2018).
41. Matthias L. Richter, *Guan ren: Texte der altchinesischen Literatur zur Charakterkunde und Beamtenrekrutierung* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005).
42. Carine Defoort and Standaert, Nicolas eds., *The Mozi as an Evolving Text: Different Voices in Early Chinese Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
43. Ding Xiang Warner, *Transmitting Authority: Wang Tong (ca. 584–617) and the* Zhongshuo *in Medieval China's Manuscript Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

In a comparative context, Paul Zumthor's theoretical articulation of textual fluidity exhibited by European medieval poetry, famously known as *mouvance*, describes texts that were not three-dimensional objects already set in stone, but were four-dimensional procedures still evolving in time, as "complex but easily recognizable entit[ies]" that passed through different states and were fundamentally mobile.[44] Jerome McGann similarly contemplates modern editors' dilemma in choosing between versions and dealing with "textual instability" when the supposed originals are always changing shape.[45] Instead of attempting to reconstruct the original text, or the *Urtext,* as a text's ideal and true form, these scholars treat textual variants as different yet equally legitimate states, each reflecting the functioning of a text in a specific social setting.[46] The textual editing method known as "versioning," proposed by revisionist textual theorists,[47] is based on this perspective.

The "closed" ancient texts on our bookshelves, in contrast, are often derived from what is known as the "eclectic method," the dominant approach to textual criticism in study of Greco-Roman classical texts. Unlike the "versioning" approach, where every physical witness is seen as a valid state of a text, eclecticism constructs an idealized text by drawing from physical manuscripts in an attempt to intimate the *Urtext* of the author. The resulting text is not identical to

44. Paul Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics,* trans. Philip Bennett (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 45-49.
45. Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 92.
46. Ibid.
47. For the term "revisionist textual theorists," see Marcy North, *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 21, who references Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Bernard Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

any of the physical witnesses.[48] For the purpose of deducing earlier textual states, classical textual scholars developed a system of stemmatic analysis that reconstructs the genealogy of extant manuscript witnesses, a practice that was already well-articulated as early as the fifteenth century, but is most strongly associated with Karl Lachmann (1789-1851).[49] In the Chinese context, the Han librarians Liu Xiang and Liu Xin were engaged in the production of finalized versions of texts through collation, a practice that was carried on by later scholars. The *kaozheng* 考證 (evidential learning) scholars of the Qing (1644-1912) proposed elaborate systems for characterizing scribal errors, which, according to Susan Cherniack, reveals a keen interest in the restoration of a text's original state.[50]

Existing discussion of these two divergent approaches to textual criticism, versioning and eclectic method, tend to take on a polemical tone. The eclectic model and its assumptions regarding authorship and textual production often faces criticism from proponents of the newer models,[51] even though for classical textual scholars, as Richard Tarrant explains, eclecticism and stemmatics continue to serve as important approaches.[52] By proposing a systematic description of open and closed texts, I build on Tanselle's position that eclecticism and versioning are not substitutive alternatives of each other, and the choice between them is not (always) an ideologi-

48. Richard J. Tarrant, *Texts, Editors, and Readers: Methods and Problems in Latin Textual Criticism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 11-13.

49. L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

50. Susan Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54 (1994), 11. See also Chen Yuan 陈垣, *Jiaokan xue shili* 校勘学释例 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004); Wang Shumin 王叔岷, *Jiaochou xue* 斠讎學 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007). For additional comparison of textual critical practices in China and Europe, see William G. Boltz, "Textual Criticism *More Sinico*," *Early China* 20 (1995); Nugent, *Manifest in Words, Written on Paper*, 4-18

51. See, for instance, Nugent's criticism of the recensionist approach, Nugent, *Manifest in Words, Written on Paper*, 5-7.

52. Tarrant, *Texts, Editors, and Readers: Methods and Problems in Latin Textual Criticism*.

cal choice (though it sometimes is). There is in fact a fundamental difference in the types of texts the proponents of each textual models are dealing with. The eclectic model can serve utilitarian purposes that facilitate the study of editions of a closed text, while the new models can be seen as experimentations aiming to understand and document open texts.

My description of closed texts owe much inspiration to Alexander Beecroft's and Rens Krijgsman's respective descriptions of the processes they refer to as textualization.[53] Michel Foucault's discussion of the "author function"[54] and Roland Barthes' account of narratology as way to close down a text[55] are also extremely relevant here, through in practice, their focuses are on the interpretation of the text, rather than textual identity itself.[56]

Table 0.1 Open Text versus Closed Text

	A very open text (e.g. an anonymous folk song[57])	**An very closed text (e.g. a scientific paper published in *Nature*)**

53. Alexander Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Rens Krijgsman, "The Rise of a Manuscript Culture and the Textualization of Discourse in Early China" (PhD diss., Oxford University, 2016).
54. Michel Foucault, "What is an Author," in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (New York: Routledge, 2008).
55. As well as his conception of "readerly" and "writerly" texts; see Roland Barthes, *S/Z: An Essay,* trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975).
56. Especially clear in Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (New York: Routledge, 2008).
57. Even as I put the early medieval poems Owen examines and folksongs in the same category of "open text," I by no mean suggest that the received early medieval Chinese poems are folk compositions, despite the claims of some of their own paratextual materials. Cf. Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry*, 12-13.

1. Identity	<u>Cannot easily construct an ideal text through eclecticism[58]; Lack universally-disambiguated and unique name[59], label, or specific date</u> that distinguish a particular set of words from other sets of words. They are evolving and are difficult to date. Folk songs, for instance, have "generic" names that often indicate the genre or the tunes they are associated with, such as "Londonderry Air" or "Xin tian you" 信天游. Such names cannot distinguish one specific setting or version of the song from another.	<u>Can reasonably construct an ideal text[60]; Have universally-disambiguated unique name or label</u> such as the combination of a title and author name (see below) that is unique to this text, that in turn marks this set of words as a unique entity.[61] Closed texts are dated by when they are finalized and closed, such as the publication date, submission to imperial court, and date of the canonization process.
2. Interpretation and use	<u>Centered on the user's context</u>: Its adaptation, purpose, and interpretation is determined by the users and their contexts. The deictic pronouns in the text, such as "I" or "this," refers to its present user, speaker, or performer.[62]	<u>Centered on the author figure's context</u>, who can be evoked to unidirectionally delimit the text[63] as well as its interpretation and purpose. The deictic pronouns refer to its author figure and the context of the author figure,[64] who is a representation of the elevated status of production (further discussion see below).[65] Beecroft refers to this shift as indexicalization.[66]

58. The difficulty of applying stemmatics to medieval literature has led Joseph Bedier to advocate for the "best text" approach, see Joseph Bedier, "Le tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l'Ombre*: réflexions sur l'art d'etier les anciens textes," *Romania* 54 (1933), 161. See also Kern, "Methodological Reflections on the Analysis of Textual Variants," 149-50.

59. See Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry*, 216 for instability of titles and the likely lack of titles.

60. Tarrant, *Texts, Editors, and Readers: Methods and Problems in Latin Textual Criticism*.

61. See Foucault, "What is an Author," 284 on the function of the author name in classifying, defining, differentiating texts.

62. Ibid., 287. Concrete example see use of *Book of Odes* materials in *Zuo zhuan* or even in the *Analects*, see Steven van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China* Stanford University Press, 1991). This relationship between text and its readers or users is also what Barthes prescriptively calls for in Barthes, "The Death of the Author." See also Christoph Harbsmeier, "Authorial Presence in Some Pre-Buddhist Chinese Texts," in *De l'un au multiple*: *Traduction du chinois vers les langues européennes*, ed. Viviane Alleton and Michael Lackner (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2013), 232.

63. Tarrant, *Texts, Editors, and Readers: Methods and Problems in Latin Textual Criticism*, 11-13.

64. In complex ritual and poetic compositions and performance contexts, the pronouns can refer to both the performance context and an earlier context of the speaking persona within the text, a phenomenon Lars Lönnroth refers to as "double scene." See, for example, Caley C. Smith, "Look at Me! The Mimetic Impersonation of Indra" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2017).

65. Foucault, "What is an Author," 278, 290.

66. Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China*, 173.

3. Relation-ship be-tween production and reception	<u>"Pre-ception,"</u> i.e. no distinction between production and reception: No producer is marked as "original" producer (i.e. no "author," anonymous), and all users can become producers and change the text.[67] Its repetitions are not quotations — parts or all of it can be repeated without attri-bution and with impunity.[68] Its relation-ship with texts similar to it is not hierar-chical.[69] They will appear to be part of the same living and evolving repertoire.[70]	<u>"Reception,"</u> which conforms to rules of intertextuality: It has hierarchical relationship to all texts that cites, imi-tates, parodies, and translates it, which regard it as the "original" and the source text.[71] Words such as "au-thenticity"[72] or "plagarism"[73] are only meaningful with regard to closed texts.
4. Boundary	<u>Lack clear demarcation</u> of where the text begins or end. Text can grow or shrink in its various instantiations.[74] Sometimes it is literally not yet finished.[75]	<u>Clear demarcation</u> of where the text begins and ends.[76]

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67. E.g. Porous relationship between author and scribe in medieval context, as described by Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics*. This is also what Li Ling describes as "the authors had great liberty, and so did the readers;" see page 9. See also Xiaofei Tian's discussion of readers' participation in the creation of a "protean" text, Tian, *Tao Yuanming and Manuscript Culture*, 8-9.

68. For argument against seeing unattributed repetitions as "implicit quotations," see Richard L. Schultz, *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 215-24.

69. Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry*, 222 on difficulty to determine which version is "original," as well as which author attribution is more valid.

70. Ibid., 15.

71. See Bruns, "The Originality of Texts in a Manuscript Culture," 114 for how these terms seem to mean something different in manuscript context.

72. As Wai-yee Li points out, the dating of a text's closure seems to determine the line between "collective authorship" and "forgery," see Wai-yee Li, "Concepts of Authorship," in *Manuscript Cultures*, ed. Wiebke Denecke, Wai-yee Li and Xiaofei Tian (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 363.

73. The contrast between open and closed texts in this respect is aptly captured by the title of Liu Jiao's dissertation devoted to the phenomenon of textual repetition in Early Chinese texts: "Yangong yu chaoshuo" 言公與勦說 ("Creative Commons and Plagiarism"). Open texts, in a sense, are a shared verbal repertoire that can be freely utilized and transformed. But the unattributed repetition of closed texts are considered *chaoshuo* 勦說, or plagiarism.

74. Or in Li Ling's words, "there was a great chance that they would be rearranged and recombined, or further embellished with additions and interpolations. There was no stability in how these textual units were merged or separated;" see page 9.

75. Bruns, "The Originality of Texts in a Manuscript Culture."

76. Richter's research shows that where a text begins or end is otherwise not at all a simple question, when it comes to texts that are not fully closed; see Matthias L. Richter, "Punctuation in Early Chinese Manuscripts as an Indication of Extension and Structure of Texts" (paper presented at The Rise of Writing in Early China, The University of Chicago, 15–16 October, 2011).

As Barthes points out, the extreme end of open text is language itself.[77] Participating in open textual practices are not unlike learning a more specialized language, involving acquiring what Owen refers to as "shared competence, or compositional techniques."[78] Open texts are often created for the purpose of repetition, such as boilerplate texts or rhetorical exercises. Whether to read a text as a *suasoria* (student or model compositions repeating the tropes and techniques to be learned) or as an actual speech anchored to a specific historical situation exemplifies the difference in interpreting a text as an open versus a closed text.[79] Moving away from the extreme end of this spectrum, we begin to encounter texts likely intended by their producers to be treated as closed texts, but such an intention was not yet fulfilled. They begin to take on the characteristics of closed texts, with clearly demarcated beginning and end within a given witness for instance, but they are still open once they are seen among related versions. At this stage, we will often encounter accredited yet mismatching repetitions of a text. As I will further explain, many texts dealt within this dissertation fall under this category. Wikipedia exemplifies a different type of open text. While each of its entries has clear identity and structure, it is by definition an unfinished text, and its users can always become its producers.

As we move toward the the other end of the spectrum, a phase shift occurs once a text is truly closed. At this point, a text's textual identity is nearly universally recognized, it is also uni-

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77. Barthes, *S/Z*.
78. Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry*, 14.
79. As illustrated by a series of presentations touching upon rhetorical education, Thomas Crone, "The Master Elaborates: The *Liji* 禮記 Chapters 'Ziyi' 緇衣, 'Biaoji' 表記, and 'Fangji' 坊記 Read from the Perspective of Greco-Roman Progymnasmata" (paper presented at Warp, Woof, Wen / Phoneme, Pattern, Pun: Structural Approach to Early Chinese Texts, Zurich, April 12-14, 2018); David Schaberg, "Parallelism as a Tool of Argumentation in Early China" (paper presented at Warp, Woof, Wen / Phoneme, Pattern, Pun: Structural Approach to Early Chinese Texts, Zurich, April 12-14, 2018); Adam D. Smith, "'What Difficulty Would There Be?' Textual Transmission by Oral Performance Cues: Examples from the Guodian 'Qiong da yi shi' 窮達以時" (paper presented at Warp, Woof, Wen / Phoneme, Pattern, Pun: Structural Approach to Early Chinese Texts, Zurich, April 12-14, 2018).

versally perceived as a finished text that should no longer be changed. The most fundamental change at this juncture is the emergence of a distinction between textual production and reception, which commences a new set of ways this text is transmitted, circulated, and utilized. In this phase, a text is much more likely to be accurately memorized, copied, or printed, to the best ability of a performer, a scribe, or a printer. While open texts can simply be reused by subsequent *producers*, closed texts need to be cited by its subsequent *recipients*. This is to say that a closed text is likely to be acknowledged as a pre-existing source. Open texts can be repeated and adapted, while closed texts are imitated, parodied, translated.

In contrast to open texts, where the text is serving a purpose in the realm outside of the text, the transmission of closed texts is about the preservation of the text itself, the maintenance of a unique selection and arrangement of words. Interaction with closed texts therefore often prohibits their unattributed repetition, which would undermine their existence as unique and universally disambiguated objects. It is not a surprise then that closed texts are intimately connected with what I term "genius author" (see subsequent section), an authorship discourse founded upon notions of originality and uniqueness. However, once a closed text becomes universally recognized as fundamental text, such the bible in early modern Europe or the *Analects* in late-imperial China, they can be cited implicitly and appear to be repeated without accreditation. But those cultural contexts, their repetitions are in fact by default always acknowledged as a citation of a closed text, i.e. as implicit quotations.

Since many Greco-Roman classical texts underwent this phase change as early as the Hellenistic period,[80] eclecticism, stemmatics, and the traditional critical apparatus can serve as

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80. Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968).

useful tools for representing the closed texts that scribes have attempted to preserve throughout their manuscript transmission process. As Tanselle points out, due to the antiquity of these texts, there is often no evidence of earlier textual versions before their closure.[81] If one finds this model's striving after the author's *Urtext* naive, one can reinterpret the product of this approach as a reconstruction of the earliest closed text (*Endgestalt* in biblical criticism's term), or even a living process of constructing a closed text (i.e. creating a communally accepted standard or authoritative edition).

The broad contour of biblical criticism, or the *historical-critical method (Historisch-Kritische Methode)* first fully articulated by the philosopher Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677),[82] offers the closest parallel to the schema proposed above. Biblical criticism divides the history of the bible into two phases, of open texts followed by a closed text. The phase of open texts is referred to as the formation history of the bible (*Entstehungsgeschichte*), which involves orally transmitted texts as well as early writings ([*Erst*]*Verschriftung*).[83] Texts in this period are fluid, open to the influence of historical situations and the shifting intentions of compilers, as well as existing forms and literary conventions. In place of stemmatics and the eclectic method, the reconstruction and interpretation of biblical texts in this period rely on the Swiss-army knife of historical-critical

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81. Tanselle, "Classical, Biblical, and Medieval Criticism and Modern Editing."
82. Baruch Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus,* trans. Samuel Shirley (Leiden: Brill, 1989).
83. William M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

methods evolved over centuries,[84] such as form criticism[85] and redaction criticism.[86] The closure

of the bible, the stabilization of its "finalized form" (*Endgestalt*), is the result of its canonization

process. It is only during the phase of the bible as a closed text, referred to as textual history

(*Textgeschichte*), that "textual criticism," i.e. eclecticism and stemmatics, becomes relevant.[87]

Looking for Butterfly among Worms

The current debate over textuality in Early China centers around the interpretation of the

partial parallels of a received text, whether attested on manuscript finds or in the transmitted

corpus. I suspect that part of the problem is that since closed texts and their reception have been

so fundamental to philological and literary studies, existing scholarship is often influenced by

how closed texts are expected to behave, even though texts in the pre-imperial period were

largely open. For instance, for scholars to argue that the partial parallels of the *Laozi* in the Guo-

dian manuscripts attest to the existence of the *Laozi* in its received form in 300 BCE, they have to

assume that early Chinese texts circulated like a modern book, as closed texts whose contents

were already packaged together and stabilized as an integral whole, so that the presence of a

part attests to the whole.[88]

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84. Edgar Krentz, *The Historical-Critical Method* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2002); Siegfried Kreuzer and Dieter Vieweger, *Proseminar I Altes Testament* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005); John Barton, *The Nature of Biblical Criticism* (Richmond: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007). For reflections on biblical criticism in the postmodern context, see John J. Collins, *The Bible after Babel: Historical Criticism in a Postmodern Age* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).
85. Edgar McKnight, *What is Form Criticism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969).
86. John van Seters, *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the "Editor" in Biblical Criticism* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006).
87. Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Assen: Uitgeverij van Gorcum, 2001).
88. As examples, see Wang Bo 王博, *Jianbo sixiang wenxian lunji* 簡帛思想文獻論集 (Taipei: Taiwan guji chubanshe, 2001), 231-45 or Liu Xiaogan's argument for the dating of *Zhuangzi* based on textual parallels in other early texts in Xiaogan Liu, "Textual Issues in the Zhuangzi," in *Dao Companion to Daoist Philosophy*, ed. Xiaogan Liu (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015). The case of *Zhuangzi* will be further addressed in Chapter IV.

Conversely, the conclusion that certain texts did *not* exist because of the *absence* of citations is similarly based on the behaviors of closed texts, influenced by the expectations of modern textual culture. The model of open texts versus closed texts postulated here, for example, is deeply indebted to Michael Hunter's exhaustive study of textual repetitions in relation to the *Analects* from the pre-imperial period to the Eastern Han.[89] But by identifying the shift from textual reuse to unidirectional citations as evidence for the composition date of the *Analects*, Hunter reintroduces modern assumptions regarding textual origination and circulation that he himself has sought to deconstruct. My dissertation entertains the possibility that works such as Hunter's study suggest a general shift in textual practice between the pre-imperial period and Eastern Han, rather than the composition dates of specific texts. This is because the absence of citation during the pre-imperial period is not restricted to one or two texts; rather, the pre-imperial corpus is characterized by the prevalence of unaccredited textual reuse (i.e. unaccredited repetitions) accompanied by the relative paucity of accredited and matching citations, with the exception of the very few texts that were already canonical (i.e. texts that have already begun to close), such as the *Book of Odes*.[90] Since citation practice, as indicated in Table 0.1, is predominately associated with closed texts, the conclusion one can draw from citation evidence, more accurately stated, is the potential dating of a *closed and widely circulated* version of such a text.

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89. Hunter, *Confucius Beyond the Analects*.

90. Even the citations of early canonical texts such as *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書) often reveal that these texts were far from closed; see, for instance, Ruyue He and Michael Nylan, "On a Han-era Postface (Xu 序) to the *Documents*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 75 (2016), 395-96. While Masters texts contain some discussions of other pre-imperial Masters figures, they tend to involve general characterization of ideas and concepts rather than quotations. Existing scholarship have pointed out the mismatch and imprecision of such characterizations, see for instance Ting-mien Lee's survey of the representations of the "Confucians and Mohists" in Ting-mien Lee, "The Blurry Boundary between Ethical Theorists and Political Strategists: The Meaning of "Ru-Mo" in Early Chinese Texts" (PhD diss., University of Leuven, 2015).

Indeed, rather than asking about the existence or absence of a given text, we might need to entertain the likely possibility that the majority of the texts circulated in Early China were open texts. In addition to manuscript and citation evidence, scholars and librarians from the early imperial period often describe the textual tradition they inherited as scattered and chaotic, in need of the superimposition of order, of being tethered down and boxed in.[91] While there is certainly an ideological and rhetorical dimension to this discourse (see Chapter V), the sum total of these articulations does suggest a process through which the erstwhile open texts were being refashioned into closed texts. To truly avoid applying the logic of closed texts onto a largely open textual culture, we need to question the applicability of phenomena associated with the circulation of closed texts, such as unique naming, dating, accurate textual transmission, and citation.

To use a crude and imperfect metaphor, I will label open texts worms, and closed texts butterflies. If the authored books recorded in the "Yiwenzhi" are butterflies, *some* of the open texts from the pre-imperial period have transmitted parallels, and are thus related to the butterflies — we could even think of them as caterpillars — but with obvious differences at the same time. Accustomed to butterflies, many recent publications use the features of butterfies to try to understand the world of worms, sometimes resulting in debates doomed to be forever inconclusive, such as the question of whether caterpillars were butterflies (since caterpillars both are and aren't butterflies). Making a distinction between open and closed texts allow us to not only study worms and butterflies as two distinct types of creatures, it also allows us to articulate the relationship between the two, in the cases of caterpillars, where such relationships did exist.

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91. For instance, *Shiji* 史記, compiled by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 146 – c. 8 BC), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 130.3319 and *Hanshu*, 30.1701.

Recognizing the relationship — albeit a complex one — between the potential caterpillars and the butterflies allows us to conceptualize the history of early Chinese texts as a diachronic process.

The focus of this dissertation, as I will explain in detail in the next section, is the transformation between the worm and the butterfly. But perhaps a more felicitous metaphor for this process is a less delectable creature: the death-watch beetle. Slowly, the nymphs of death-watch beetles eat and grow for over a decade, so that as beetles, they live only for a few weeks, at which point they stop feeding, and devote themselves entirely to finding a mate.[92] An adult death-watch beetle has reached its *Endgestalt*, after which it no longer changes, except for a slow and gradual depletion that is the entropy of time itself, not unlike the gradual accumulation of scribal errors in the manuscript transmission of a closed text. But in exchange for this moribund state, the death-watch beetle has bargained for an immortality that exists in replication, that transcends a specific beetle body.[93] This dialectic of life and death, as we will continue to discuss throughout this dissertation, seems to lie at the heart of the making of a closed text.

2. Paratext: The Cocoon and the Exoskeleton

Imagined in two dimensions, paratext is akin to the hems that circumscribe and affix a text as a woven artifact (*textus*).[94] In four dimensions, with the time dimension included, we can

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92. Dave Goulson, *A Buzz in the Meadow: The Natural History of a French Farm* (London: Picador, 2016), 109-10.

93. Cf. the two types of deaths discussed in Robert F. Campany, *Making Transcendents: Ascetics and Social Memory In Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaʻi Press, 2009), xiv.

94. Cf. Tobias Zürn's study on weaving metaphor and textual composition in the *Huainanzi,* Tobias Zürn, "Writing as Weaving: Intertextuality and the *Huainanzi*'s Self-Fashioning as an Embodiment of the Way" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2016)..

continue with my imperfect metaphor, and think of paratext as a cocoon in an insect's lifespan, or, perhaps even more appropriately, as an insect's exoskeleton.[95]

But let us first begin with Gérard Genette's conceptualization of the term he has coined. In the first paragraph of *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (hereafter referred to by its original French title *Seuils* for the purpose of disambiguation), Genette lists a number of textual elements—such as the author's name, the title, and the preface—that surround the text, "precisely in order to present it…to ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption in the form (nowadays, at least) of a book." The term *paratext* refers to these elements collectively. Spatially, paratext is located in a zone "between text and off-text," at the edge or the periphery of a text. Functionally, paratext "controls one's whole reading of the text," as Genette articulates through citing Philippe Lejeune. To illustrate paratext's sway over interpretation, Genette adduces the case of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, asking how we would have read this text if it had not been so titled.[96] The key insight emerged from Genette's book is his remarkable observation that paratexts are not necessarily descriptions of reality, but often are more akin to speech acts.[97] They articulate how the textual producers would like the readers to interpret a text, where the readers can always choose to discard such prescriptions. Paratext is moreover an articulation of the position of textual *producers* (often collectively represented by the author figure, see next section) rather than that of the recipients (such as commentators and critics).[98] Since

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95. While this dissertation focuses on paratext's delimiting effect, this is not necessarily always the case. Conrad Gessner's paratexts, for instance, invite readers' revision suggestions as well as contributions of materials to future publications, see Ann Blair, "The 2016 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture: Humanism and Printing in the Work of Conrad Gessner," *Renaissance Quarterly* 70 (2017), 29-33.

96. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation,* trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-2. Originally published in French as *Seuils* in 1987.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid., 2.

paratext offers a window into the interaction between the text and the world "off-text," the study of paratextual elements is an important methodological approach in book history.[99]

While *Seuils* is preoccupied with paratext's function in prescribing and delimiting desired interpretations, the focus of this dissertation is paratext's functions in the making of texts as well as the making of authors. Genette has already pointed out such generative powers of paratext from time to time. For instance, he points to paratext as what enables the "materialization" of the text in the first place, "what enables a text to become a book."[100] He also suggests it inversely, stating that "a text without paratext does not exist and never has existed."[101] If this statement is true, then the logical consequence would be that paratext is a *sine qua non* in the making of a text. At the same time, the specifics and the implications of paratext's active participation in text-making are yet to be explored. What is notable is the fact that Genette's gesturing toward paratext as a generative device often takes place in his discussion of antiquity and medieval texts, thus further suggesting the utility of exploring the concept of paratext in pre-print contexts.[102]

To utilize Genette's terms, early Chinese writings in many scholars' eyes are unmoored from the paratextual prescriptions that once defined them, namely the system of philosophers, authors, and schools that still very much lives on the book covers of their modern editions. By transforming the concept of paratext into an analytical tool for the study of pre-print contexts,

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99. For a few recent examples, see Suyoung Son, "Writing for Print: Zhang Chao and Literati-Publishing in Seventeenth-Century China" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2010); Shlomo L Berger, *Producing Redemption in Amsterdam: Early Modern Yiddish Books in Paratextual Perspective* (Brill: Leiden, 2013); Ann M. Blair, "Conrad Gessner's Paratexts," *Gesnerus* 73 (2016); Blair, "Humanism and Printing in the Work of Conrad Gessner."
100. Genette, *Seuils*, 1.
101. Ibid., 3.
102. For example, see Ibid.

this dissertation seeks to kill two birds with one stone. I argue that paratext, once its power to demarcate textual boundaries is fully recognized, offers another ground-up method for reconstructing what was read as a text in the complex manuscript contexts of Early China, complementing the interpretations of manuscript formatting and punctuation studied extensively by Richter and other scholars.[103] Early China's complex manuscript environ, in turn, supplies a fruitful testing ground for further expounding the relationships between text and paratext, for such an early context highlights features and dynamics that are not as evident in the Republic of Letters at the heart of *Seuils*.[104] This dissertation therefore builds on the existing effort to expand the concept of paratext to manuscript[105] as well as film and digital media.[106] It owes inspiration in particular to Laura Jansen's edited volume, *Roman Paratexts*, and its meditation on what qualifies as the paratextual in antiquity.[107]

In Table 0.2 below, I summarize a set of identifying criteria – a set of features and their correlated functions – based both on Genette's descriptions of modern paratexts and my own analyses of early Chinese texts. These criteria strive to be universal, so that they are not limited to describing the features and functions of contemporary paratexts, and can be employed to identify less familiar forms of paratext in early texts. The organization of these features and

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103. For example, Richter, *The Embodied Text*.
104. Genette, *Seuils*, 14.
105. As recent examples, see Matti Peikola, "Manuscript Paratexts in the Making: British Library MS Harley 6333 as a Liturgical Compilation," in *Discovering the Riches of the Word: Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sabrina Hoogvliet Corbellini, Margriet Ramakers, Bart (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Giovanni Ciotti and Lin, Hang eds., *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space Through Paratexts: Perspectives from Paratexts* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).
106. As examples, see Nadine Desrochers and Apollon, Daniel eds., *Examining Paratextual Theory and its Applications in Digital Culture* (Hershey: IGI Global, 2014); Raúl Rodríguez-Ferrándiz, "Paratextual Activity: Updating the Genettian Approach within the Transmedia Turn," *Communication and Society* 30 (2017); Jan Švelch, "Paratexts to Non-Linear Media Texts: Paratextuality in Video Games Culture" Univerzita Karlova, Fakulta sociálních věd, 2017).
107. Laura Jansen ed., *The Roman Paratext: Frame, Texts, Readers* Cambridge University Press, 2014).

functions correspond to what I have utilized to characterize the difference between open and closed texts. In other words, the successful performance of these functions will transform an open text into a closed text. The underlined terms are the aspects that do not appear or are not yet fully explored in *Seuils*.

Table 0.2: *Paratext's Identification Criteria*

	Features:	Functions:	Metaphors:
1. Identity	Meta-discursive	Self-Identifying	Label; Tag
2. Interpretation + Use	Liminal	Mediating	Threshold; Vestibule; Airlock;
3. Relationship between production and reception	Privileged	Hierarchizing	Airlock; Dam
4. Boundary	Peripheral (temporally and spatially liminal) + Conventionalized / Formulaic	Packaging	Seal; Exoskeleton

To explain these terms in greater detail, paratext is, first of all, meta-discursive: it is a text created primarily to service another text. The title of a book, for instance, exists as a label referencing deictically the main text of the book. A preface is a text written to discuss another text, namely the "main text." Paratext's meta-discursivity is often utilized not only to prescribe the desired interpretation, as Genette extensively delineates, but also to create a unique textual identification, which is to say, to mark something as a temporally and spatially unique entity that is disambiguated from other similar things. One could say, as semiologists have pointed out, that this is the function of "names" in general, and "names" in general are the paratexts to

the entities named.[108] In my personal experience, while all squirrels in the world are for the most part just "squirrels," there was one unfortunate squirrel who was given to me as a pet. By acquiring a name, it was suddenly no longer identical and replaceable by all other squirrels that have existed around the world and throughout history. If squirrels were texts, the naming of this squirrel is akin to how a version of an open text can be transformed into a closed text. The combination of title and author name can be seen similarly as a way to individuate a textual or cultural artifact. Having the concept of "the *Iliad* by Homer," for instance, marks this particular rendition of the Trojan war saga as a unique and distinguishable entity from the myriad other renditions that must have existed in the Greek cultural consciousness centuries before sixth century BCE.[109]

Paratext's "self-identifying" function begins to explain the prevalence of alternative titling in early texts. Before the strict separation of production and reception (further discussed below), every user is also a producer of a text, who can create and modify a text's paratext according to his or her own need. A title, as a tag, was likely created to disambiguate a textual object from other textual objects in a given user's possession. It is only in "universal" libraries such as the Han imperial library or the library of Alexandria that a universally disambiguated combination of author plus title is needed.

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108. On proper names as speech acts, see John R. Searle, *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 171-74; see also Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. Roy Harris (Chicago: Open Court, 1998).

109. Richard Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Diction* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 231 dates Homeric epics to eighth century BCE. For seventh century dating, see Walter Burkert, "Das hunderttorige Theben und die Datierung der Ilias," *Wiener Studien* 89 (1976); Martin West, "The Date of the *Iliad*," *Museum Helveticum* 52 (1995). Scholars have suggested that the epics were written down in Athens in sixth century BCE, see for instance Minna Skafte Jensen, *The Homeric Question and the Oral-Formulaic Theory* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1980).

Paratext is, secondly, liminal: it is a space of mediation between the producers and the users of a text, conveying the positions and wishes of the producers, and guiding the users into the text. In the preface, for instance, the textual producers would sometimes explicitly address the users. Paratext's liminality is also a manifestation of its nature as a speech act, as an interaction between an addresser (producer) and an addressee (user).[110] Since paratext's liminality is the focus of Genette's study, he provides a wealth of metaphors to illustrate it, such as that of "threshold" (i.e., *Seuils*, the original title in French) and "airlock," to be discussed in greater detail later. Paratext's liminality can be understood as "breaking the fourth wall," where the producers of cultural artifacts acknowledge or even directly address the users and audience, as opposed to staying behind the parallel but separate ontological sphere of the "text," the "stage," or the "set." Within texts or films, what I term "liminality" is palpable at the "dear reader" moments, or when an actor in film or TV looks directly at the camera. But such moments, when occur in the middle of a text or other cultural artifacts, are not paratextual, because they are not spatially peripheral (see below).

This description already reveals that paratext as a space of mediation is strictly unidirectional, consisting of prescriptions from the producers to the users, and not the other way around[111]; it is thus a hierarchical and one-directional rather than a level, two-directional liminal space. As Genette also articulates: "this fringe, always the conveyor of a commentary that is authorial or more or less legitimated by the author… [is] a privileged place of a pragmatics and a

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110. Genette, *Seuils*, 8-9.
111. This is not to say that the influence of users on producers does not exist. While paratext is intimately associated with the position of "production," the reverse directioning conventionally takes place in the space of "reception." For Genette's exploration of reception, see Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree,* trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997)..

strategy, of an influence on the public … at the service of a better reception of the text and a more pertinent reading of it (more pertinent, of course, in the eyes of the author and his allies)."[112] Such uni-directionality of paratext's mediation is its third characteristic, namely its "privileged" positioning.

The key difference between print and pre-print contexts, I would argue, is whether there is an intrinsic hierarchical differentiation between production and reception. Such a hierarchical differentiation is not the default condition in manuscript or oral productions, where the users, audience, or learners of a text can easily become the scribes, compilers, performers or teachers who, in the process of re*producing* a text, take on the active role of producers and transform the existing text. In contrast, the users of a printed text cannot for the most part insert themselves into a text that is already printed. Even if they produce marginalia or perform acts of censorship by crossing out the printed text, the externality of the users' textual production to the printed text is still unmistakable. Therefore, one can say that paratext's privileged position in Genette's study is a reflection of the existing structure of print culture. This hierarchical differentiation in the relationship between production and reception is also why modern printing practice can automate the production of closed texts, while texts in manuscript culture are more likely to stay open and fluid.

Nevertheless, paratext in manuscript contexts can actively create a hierarchized relation-ship where there was none, as I would argue. Paratext's creation and presentation of the author, "real" or putative, performs such a function, for the figure of the author is defined, more than anything else, by its authority and its privilege.[113] Even though Genette did not discuss para-

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112. Genette, *Seuils*, 2.
113. Foucault, "What is an Author."

text's hierarchizing function in detail, his metaphors of "canal lock" or "airlock," to be further un-

packed below, are suggestive of paratext's function of creating and maintaining a difference be-

tween what is part of the text and what is "off-text." Perhaps paratext's function is not unlike

that of a dam; both artificially elevate the content within, be it water or the packaged main text.

We can enlist an arthropodic moment in *The Count of Monte Cristo* as an illustration for

what hierarchized textual production in the manuscript context looks like. Before the title char-

acter's visit to the station of a telegraph operator, he tells us that

> I could not help thinking how wonderful it was that these various signs should
> be made to cleave the air with such precision as to convey to the distance of three
> hundred leagues the ideas and wishes of a man sitting at a table at one end of the
> line to another man similarly placed at the opposite extremity, and all this effect-
> ed by a simple act of volition on the part of the sender of the message... But one
> fine day I learned that the mover of this telegraph was only a poor wretch... all
> his monotonous life was passed in watching his white–bellied, black–clawed fel-
> low insect, four or five leagues distant from him. At length I felt a desire to study
> this living chrysalis more closely, and to endeavor to understand the secret part
> played by these insect–actors when they occupy themselves simply with pulling
> different pieces of string.[114]

The transmission of a telegram in nineteenth century France is not unlike the manuscript trans-

mission of a closed text, where the scribe is persuaded to recopy the existing text as accurately

as possible. Paratexts, as we will see throughout this dissertation, often attempt to convince the

subsequent manuscript users to enter into such a "chrysalis." When it comes to successfully

closed texts, their paratexts can be seen as the crystallization of the larger cultural forces that

compel a scribe — or a telegraph operator — to accurately transmit. But neither these forces nor

the prescription of paratexts can guarantee absolute result. Even when it comes to the most hier-

archized text copied with the greatest attention, scribes will still make mistakes. The telegraph

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114. Alexandre Dumas, *The Count of Monte Cristo (anonymous translation)* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1846).

operator in *The Count of Monte Cristo*, similarly, can be bribed with fifteen-thousand francs to disregard the true message from the "sender" and pass on a false message.[115] Nevertheless, since the degree of variation among copies of successfully closed texts are so much lower than that of open texts, they ought to be studied in the same category as copies of a closed, printed texts, rather than being classified together with other open manuscript texts.

Finally, paratext's hierarchizing function goes hand in hand with its packaging function. As Genette observes, paratext tends to be positioned at the fridge of a cultural artifact, a feature that renders paratext spatially "liminal," in addition to its liminality as the in-between space between producers and users. While Genette emphasizes paratext's location on the border or fringe of the main text, he does not discuss its border-*making* power. If in the print context, paratext seems to by convention congregate at the periphery, manuscript contexts show that paratext performs the function of demarcating boundaries in the first place, defining what is contained within the text and what ought to be kept out. As I will further explain, I use the metaphor of "seal" to refer to paratext's packaging function.

Once we recognize this important function of disambiguating text from "off-text," it becomes more evident why paratext tends to have a formulaic aspect, whether as the conventionalized formatting of the title page or the title sequence, or as the stock opening of oral literature, such as invocation of the muses[116] or the predictable opening phrase of "once upon the time." Many of the paratextual elements identified in this dissertation also possess such formulaic aspects. This allows the users to identify the beginning and the end of a textual unit when its

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115. Ibid.
116. Joshua T. Katz, "Gods and Vowels," in *Poetic Language and Religion in Greece and Rome*, ed. J. Virgilio Garcia and Angel Ruiz (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013).

physicality or genre convention do not necessarily specify these textual boundaries. Finally, since paratexts essentially mark the end of a text, they are usually produced last, occupying the temporally liminal position between the end of production and the beginning of reception. In the manuscript texts that are the result of long gestation period, the paratextual sections often exhibit heterogeneity from the content produced earlier.

In summary, with the exception of paratext's mediating function, Genette tends to describe paratexts as passive phenomena rather than active agents. He formulates paratext as occupying a peripheral yet privileged position as the result of literary and bibliographical conventions, as opposed to acting as the agent that created these boundaries and hierarchies in the first place. By applying the concept of paratext to the early Chinese manuscript context, this project illustrates paratext's critical and active roles in the production and materialization of a closed text. Seeing paratextual elements as having the power to prescribe, regulate, and create also has resonance in early Chinese philosophical writings, some of which see the act of "naming" (*ming* 名) as a method of creating entitites and imposing order.[117]

Paratext as Canal Lock

The concept of paratext highlights the potential intersection between book history and existing studies of compiled early texts, as exemplified by biblical criticism. One of Genette's many evocative metaphors for paratext, namely of paratext as an "airlock" (or "canal lock"), allows us to begin unpacking this intersection:

> The paratext provides a kind of canal lock between the ideal and relatively immutable identity of the text and the empirical (sociohistorical) reality of the text's public […] the lock permitting the two to remain "level." Or, if you prefer, the

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117. See, for example, John Makeham, *Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

paratext provides an airlock that helps the reader pass without too much respira-
tory difficulty from one world to the other […] Being immutable, the text in itself
is incapable of adapting to changes in its public in space and over time. The para-
text—more flexible, more versatile, always transitory because transitive—is, as it
were, an instrument of adaptation. Hence the continual modifications in the
"presentation" of the text (that is, in the text's mode of being present in the
world), modifications that the author himself attends to during his lifetime and
that after his death become the responsibility (discharged well or poorly) of his
posthumous editors.[118]

This is to say, if a (closed) text is what is sealed under the airlock, the paratextual elements are

analogous to the airlock itself. Paratexts can be seen as the tools a text utilizes (i.e. the producers

of the text utilize) to adapt to the changing pressure of the environment, whether through the

continual updating of the book cover or the new prefaces that often accompany new editions. It

is through its transformations that paratext serves as the space of negotiation and mediation be-

tween a text and its changing audience. What this implies is that any given piece of paratext

captures something of the "(socialhistorical) reality" surrounding a particular set of textual

producers and users; paratext, unlike a successfully closed text proper, is conterminous to —

and thus continuously contaminated by — the adjacent social contexts.

If one way to conceive of book history, to borrow D. F. McKenzie's phrasing in tandem

with that of Genette, is as the "sociology of texts," then biblical criticism can also be seen as an

attempt to excavate the sociology of the myriad texts within a single massive compilation, mas-

queraded as "one text." Biblical criticism's effort to disentangle the boundaries of textual units

and reconstruct their earlier histories can be described in McKenzie's terms, for it is an attempt

to recognize "the full range of social realities" a given unit of text has served, to "consider the

human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, trans-

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118. Genette, *Seuils*, 408

mission, and consumption," and to investigate "the roles of institutions, and their own complex structures, in affecting the forms of social discourse, past and present."[119] This definition is especially relevant to form criticism and redaction criticism, for they are both methods for recovering the historical realities with which a given textual unit has interacted, from the oral social setting (*Sitz im Leben*) of a block of verse to the historical background surrounding the creation of a specific redaction.[120]

This intersection between book history and biblical studies lends support to the application of paratext to the study of early Chinese texts, for scholars of early Chinese texts, such as Michael LaFargue, Harold Roth, Edmund Ryden, Richter, and Oliver Weingarten, have already demonstrated the utility of form and redaction criticisms.[121] Richter's studies of the *Analects* and the "Zengzi" 曾子 chapters in *Da Dai Liji* 大戴禮記 (Dai the Elder's Notes on Rites), for instance, demonstrate the possibilities of both reconstructing an earlier social settings that motivated the composition of a didactic verses, and identifying how a written text, once it has absorbed such a verse, attempted to circumscribe and reframe this verse's interpretative possibilities. His discussion of the attribution of a verse to an emblematic figure as a way of reintroducing qualifications to an otherwise open and underdetermined verse is particularly germane to my application of the concept of paratext.[122]

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119. D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 15.

120. Seters, *The Edited Bible*, 7–8, 256–92.

121. Harold D. Roth, "Redaction Criticism and the Early History of Taoism," *Early China* 19 (1994); Michael LaFargue, *Tao and Method: A Reasoned Approach to the Tao Te Ching* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Edmund Ryden, *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons: A Literary Study and Edition of the Text from Mawangdui* (Taipei: Taipei Ricci Institute and Kuangchi Press, 1997); Richter, *Guan ren*; Oliver Weingarten, "Confucius and Pregnant Women: An Investigation into the Intertextuality of the 'Lunyu'," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129 (2009).

122. Matthias L. Richter, "Roots of *Ru* 儒 Ethics in *shi* 士 Status Anxiety," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 137 (2017).

By describing narrative frames and emblematic figures as paratextual elements, I highlight a continuity between early and modern texts that is often overlooked in current accounts of the history of text, which in turn allows for more precise identification of what is distinctive about the pre-imperial Chinese textual culture. According to my framework, the key difference between a Shakespeare play and an early Chinese didactic text attributed to several different emblematic figures is what is sealed under the airlock versus what is part of the airlock. The ubiquitous presence of multiple attributions in pre-imperial Chinese texts means that the figures that perform author functions in this context — which, as I argue in the last section, can also simply be regarded as the "authors" — are part of the airlock, responsible for acting as an "instrument of adaptation," whereas the name of the author, in modern, elite textual culture, is often sealed under the airlock.

An explicit discussion of rhetoric[123] found in the early Chinese corpus lends support to this reading, namely the discussion of the term "lodged speeches" (*yuyan* 寓言) in in one of the more whimsical early Chinese compilations, the *Zhaungzi* 莊子 (Master Zhuang). This passage suggests that the *Zhuangzi* corpus employs a rhetorical trope termed *yuyan*, or "lodged speeches," which it explains in a verse-like and somewhat enigmatic language:[124]

> These lodged words[125] […] are like persons brought in from outside for the purpose of exposition. A father does not act as go-between for his own son because

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123. For discussions on how to conceptualize rhetoric in Early China, see Lisa Indraccolo, "What is 'Rhetoric' Anyway? Briared in words in Early China," *Asiatische Studien – Études Asiatiques* 68 (2014).

124. Most of the possible rhymes of this passage do not exactly follow *Shijing* rhyme pattern, yet quite a few of the tetrasyllabic lines end on closely related rhyme groups, such as in the section after the quoted passage, 因以曼衍 (元部），所以窮年 (真部）… 以不同形相禪 (元部），始卒若環 (元部），莫得其倫 (文部），是謂天均 (真部).

125. I changed Watson's translation of *yuyan* 寓言 from "imputed words" to "lodged speeches," based on A. C. Graham's interpretation that *yu* implies a standpoint that is temporary, a lodging, see A. C. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China* (Chicago: Open Court, 1989), 201.

the praises of the father would not be as effective as the praises of an outsider. This is the fault of other men, not mine. Men [otherwise] would respond only to what agrees with their own views and reject what does not, would pronounce "right" what agrees with their own views and "wrong" what does not.

寓言十九，重言十七，巵言日出，和以天倪。寓言十九，藉外論之。親父不為其子媒。親父譽之，不若非其父者也；非吾罪也，人之罪也。與己同則應，不與己同則反，同於己為是之，異於己為非之.[126]

This passage can be read as an interpretation of an existing *Zhuangzi* corpus, reflecting one compiler's attempt at making sense of the myriad dramatis personae found in the extant *Zhuangzi*. This explicitly articulated poetic of *Zhuangzi*, I would argue, is applicable to much of early Chinese texts packaged as the teachings of a certain figure. According to this passage, the emblematic figures are "persons brought in from outside" who can act as "mediators" or a "go-betweens" (*mei* 媒) between the producers and the targeted audience. Just like Genette's airlocks, such personae are adjusted so as to "agree" with the intended audience, meeting them at their barometric level. Indeed, both modern paratexts and these early anecdotal personae are tasked with the responsibility of "presenting" a text, and they both do so through the construction of an author figure, real or putative.

Paratext as Seal (*Sphragis*)

If paratext can be a "threshold" or an "airlock," my seal metaphor, in illustration of paratext's hierarchizing and packaging function, is taken from the term *sphragis* (seal) used in the study of Greco-Roman classical literature. The *locus classicus* of this expression comes from what appears to be the poet Theognis' declaration of authorship over a collection of gnomic verses,

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126.*Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, compiled by Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. 312), commentary by Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 (1844-96) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 27.947-948; translation adapted from Burton Watson, trans. *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 303.

referred to in modern scholarship as the *Theognidea*.[127] Theognis, according to traditional accounts, was a shadowy poet active in the late seventh or sixth century BCE.[128] The declaration of Theognis as the author, or at least the authority, of this collection of around 1400 verses is located toward its beginning, where the speaker declares his own name; he also addresses for the first time his interlocutor, Kyrnos, the boy who is both his beloved and his mentee:

> Kyrnos, let a seal be placed by me, as I practice my skill,
> upon these verses; that way they will never be stolen without detection
> and no one will substitute something inferior for the genuine thing at hand.
> And everyone will say, "these are the verses of Theognis
> Of Megara. His name is known among all men."
> But I'm not yet able to please all the citizens.
> Which is not surprising, son of Polypaos, for not even Zeus
> can please everyone either by raining or holding back.
> But I, having good intentions toward you, will prescribe to you such things I
>   myself,
> Kyrnos, learned from the noble men when I was still a boy.

> Κύρνε, σοφιζομένῳ μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω
> τοῖσδ᾽ ἔπεσιν—λήσει δ᾽ οὔποτε κλεπτόμενα,
> οὐδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοὐσθλοῦ παρεόντος,
> ὧδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ: "Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη
> τοῦ Μεγαρέως. πάντας δὲ κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστός."
> ἀστοῖσιν δ᾽ οὔπω πᾶσιν ἁδεῖν δύναμαι.
> οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, Πολυπαΐδη: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς
> οὔθ᾽ ὕων πάντεσσ᾽ ἀνδάνει οὔτ᾽ ἀνέχων.
> σοὶ δ᾽ ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷάπερ αὐτὸς,
> Κύρν᾽, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ᾽ ἐὼν ἔμαθον.[129]

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127. I must thank Monica Part for introducing me to the scholarship on Theognis.
128. Hendrik Selle, *Theognis und die Theognidea* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 22-27.
129. Martin West, *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 175. Translation adapted from Andrew Ford, "The Politics of Authorship in Archaic Greece," ed. Thomas J. Figueira and Gregory Nagy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 82 and Gregory Nagy, "Theognis and Megara: A Poet's Vision of His City," ed. Thomas J. Figueira and Gregory Nagy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 29.

The term *sphragis*, translated as "seal," has been adopted to refer to other similar declarations of authorship and author identity in Latin and Greek literature.[130] In Latin literature, *sphragis* can refer to the poetic convention that combines the author's biographical motifs with the signaling of a text's closure.[131]

While this passage appears to be making a forceful authorship claim, the authorship of the *Theognidea* is in fact highly contentious and complicated. Its text, like many early Chinese texts, consists of building blocks, many of which have various alternative author attributions, as Martin West's frequent indications of alternative attributions in his edition of this text show. In earlier scholarship, this seal passage was thought to reflect the emergence of self-conscious authorship in the ancient Greek lyric tradition. More recent scholarship, starting with Thomas J. Figueira and Gregory Nagy's edited volume of 1985, argues against reading Theognis as an individual poet, and reads him instead as a persona representing a certain kind of authority.[132]

The seeming contradiction between an assertive author declaration and the prevalence of disputed author attributions can be resolved once we read the *sphragis* passage as paratext, as Irene Peirano has already argued.[133] It allows us to see this author claim as an illocutionary prescription rather than a description of reality. The existence of authorship disputes, one could even say, heightens the need to strongly contend for the desired author attribution. The declara-

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130. For ancient Greek context, see Lowell Edmunds, "The Seal of Theognis," in *Poet, Public, and Performance in Ancient Greece*, ed. Robert W. Wallace and Lowell Edmunds (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 33-35. For the use of this phrase in the study of Latin literature, see Irene Peirano, "'Sealing' the Book: the *Sphragis* as Paratext," in *The Roman Paratext: Frame, Texts, Readers*, ed. Laura Jansen Cambridge University Press, 2014).

131. Ibid., 224.

132. Thomas J. Figueira and Nagy, Gregory eds., *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985). For a recent survey of existing scholarship, see Selle, *Theognis und die Theognidea*, 3-16.

133. Peirano, "'Sealing' the Book," 226.

tion of Theognis' name is heavily underscored, bracketed by three lines on either side adhering to the antithesis construction, as well as by the two repetitions of the reference to his verses (ἔπεσιν…ἔπη).[134] Such rhetorical emphasis betrays the need to persuade its audience of the new reality it seeks to create. In Peirano's reading of *sphragis* passages in Latin literature, she calls attention to such passages' attempts to demarcate the "outer edge" of a text or even an author's "body" of work. They are thus functionally analogous to modern paratexts.

The *Theognidea* is in fact strikingly similar to Chinese compilations of existing didactic textual units such as the *Analects*. All of them package together an otherwise heterogeneous set of textual materials through framing them as dialogues between the same set of teachers and students, such as between Theognis and Kyrnos and between Confucius and his disciples. Such an instruction trope, as I will argue in greater detail in Chapter I, not only demarcates textual boundaries, but also marks the texts preserved within as a closed text, as a particular selection and arrangement of words that need to be preserve the way they are. This is explicitly articulated in the case of Theognis' seal passage, which demands that "no one will substitute something inferior for the genuine thing at hand." Both Ford and Edmunds see the "seal" metaphor as representing a prohibition against tampering with an authorized collection of gnomic verses.[135] Throughout this dissertation, we will encounter echoes in early Chinese texts of Theognis' injunction. To quote Genette again, "(paratext) surround… and extend (the text), precisely in order to *present* it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to *make present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption in the form (nowadays, at least) of a book." To make this characterization applicable to the *Theognidea* and other early

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134. For a discussion of the antithesis construction, see Edmunds, "The Seal of Theognis," 33-36.
135. Ford, "The Politics of Authorship in Archaic Greece," 89; Edmunds, "The Seal of Theognis," 32.

texts, one just have to replace the word "book" with "text"; the book, after all, (re)presents a textual unit.

Once we look beyond modern print culture and look for the hem of *textus* in other contexts, paratext's packaging function and seal-like quality are what disambiguate it from other meta-discursive and liminal textual features. I believe this is also the conclusion Ellen Oliensis reaches:

> If the paratext comprises all the disparate phenomena that control how we read a given text, ranging from titles and dedications to blurbs and interviews and including the harder-to-delimit penumbra of "common knowledge" (of an author's biography or previous works, for example), does everything that controls our reading belong to the paratext?…I think nevertheless that there is a distinction worth preserving between paratextuality and metapoetics: between, that is, the apparatus of bookishness and all those expressions of poetic self-consciousness that need not be anchored in the material form of the book.[136]

This is to say that while all paratexts are meta-discursive in some sense, not all meta-discursive moments ought to be considered paratextual. What Oliensis refers to as the "apparatus of bookishness" and "material form of the book" is comparable to what I have referred to as paratext's packaging function. For in our contemporary context, the materiality of the book, as the textual form most familiar to us, is what often performs the packaging function that delimits a text.

Paratext as the Exoskeleton

To return to our arthropodic analogy, if closed early compilations are butterflies with a past history as open texts — as caterpillars — then paratexts, as an active agent in the making of closed texts, can be seen as the cocoon that attempts to facilitate the transition from open text to closed text. As a meta-discursive remark communicating something about the text proper to its

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136. Ellen Oliensis, "The Paratext of *Amores* 1: gaming the system," in *The Roman Paratext: Frame, Texts, Readers*, ed. Laura Jansen (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 208.

users, the most basic information paratext communicates is often that the text ought to be hierarchized, as well as how this text ought to be delimited. When a text is successfully closed, the hierarchizing and packaging prescriptions of its paratext is realized, which is to say that these prescriptions become truths universally acknowledged. At the other extreme, an extremely open text is likely to have very minimum paratextual packaging, with weak (or even the absence of) expression for the desire to hierarchize and delimit.

What exist in between these two extremes are texts whose paratextual prescriptions have not been universally — or at least predominantly — heeded by textual producers and users. Such texts are still open texts, but they are open texts bearing the desires of becoming closed texts. Much, if not all, of received early Chinese texts have gone through this phase. The anecdotes with alternative attributions to be discussed in Chapter I, for instance, can be seen as texts packaged within competing prescriptions, each of which was likely acknowledged by some, but evidently not by all. Perhaps we can see them as chrystalises in cocoons, in a world where only a few of the them could become butterflies. Much of early Chinese textual units are preserved in this chrystalis state as they were incorporated into larger compilations; some of the unearthed manuscripts are also texts trapped in a chrysalis state.

Another possible metaphor for paratext is an arthropod's exoskeleton. Such an external shell is an integral part of the creature, both protecting from and mediating its interaction with the external world. But the exoskeleton can also be molted and discarded soon as the text and the external world transform. An exoskeleton, similar to Genette's airlock, is an instrument of mediation, but unlike Genette's metaphors, the exoskeleton as a metaphor acknowledges the fact that the text proper is not necessarily already "relatively immutable," and can also be constantly transforming as a dynamic process. Amidst the accreted compilations of early Chinese

texts, we will find traces of many such discarded paratexts that a text has outgrown.

3. The Texts of Life and the Life of Texts

If the arthropods are an imperfect analogy, a more appropriate comparison for the history of text is the history of life, which, at its core, is also a history of codes and information. There are a few intrinsic similarities between these two histories that are beyond metaphorical.[137] The existence of life and the existence of texts both rely on the insulation and preservation of the pockets of order — which is to say, information — in a thermodynamic universe, where the preservation of order over time is against statistical odds and thus always requires the additional input of energy.[138] In the linguistic sphere, the everpresence of entropy manifests itself in not only in what Genette refers to as the "changes in [a text's] public...over time," but also the fact that languages are continuously and unstoppably changing. An open text is likely less resistent to its ever-evolving linguistic and cultural environment, while a successfully closed text becomes a snapshot of a language at a given moment, or a dam in a river that is otherwise relentlessly flowing forward. If canonical texts such as the *Bible* or the *Book of Odes* have preserved glimpses of ancient languages, we can see their layers of paratext, commentaries and subcommentaries as the continuous construction of dams and bridges as we, their audience, float far-

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137. Most compellingly illustrated by texts stored in synthesized DNA, see George Church, Yuan Gao and Sriram Kosuri, "Next-generation Digital Information Storage in DNA," *Science* 337 (2012); Nick Goldman et al., "Towards Practical, High-Capacity, Low-Maintenance Information Storage in Synthesized DNA," *Nature* 494 (2013). For a poetic dialogue with an E Coli, where a poem written in English is enciphered into a bacterium, causing it to generate a protein in response, see Christian Bök, *The Xenotext: Book 1* (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2015). See also Eduardo Kac, "Biopoetry," in *The Johns Hopkins Guide to Digital Media*, ed. Marie-Laure Ryan, Lori Emerson and Benjamin J. Robertson Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).
138. Erwin Schrödinger, *What is Life?* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

ther and farther down the stream of linguistic change. What the transformation of a text from its open to closed state and the transformations of a death-watch beetle from an nymph into an egg-producing adult have in common is the interest in staving off entropy. Textual redactors and compilers in the early-imperial period often frame their undertakings as acts of restoring or renewing, i.e. as "works" that reduce entropy.[139]

What this comparison between text and life draws attention to is the fact that variations and deviations in the transmission of codes are the norm rather than the exceptions. Just as life depends on the various complex mechanisms that ensure the accurate replications of its genetic materials, we can also ask how it is that texts can be preserved against the ravage of time. The accurate replication of text in any medium requires *work* — in both its everyday and scientific sense — be it the labor of memory, the reverance and attentiveness of a scribe, or the electricity powering a printing press or a computer. While it is extremely important to be able to pinpoint to all the implications of technological innovations, the attention to this fundamental and shared task across media allows for a more accurate narrative of the history of text. My insistence on using the term "paratext" to refer to the formally different but functionally similar devices in texts in different media reflects this goal. This dissertation sees paratext as one among many textual, material, and technological devices that can circumscribe and preserve text, from prosody, verbal formulae, and mnemonic devices, to the invention of writing, paper, and codex. All of these devices, literary and technological, can work in tandem to contribute to the closure of texts. Printing, just like many modern technologies, automates the production of what was once

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139. See footnote 91. See also Nylan's discussion of the objectives of Han period scholars, Nylan, "Manuscript Culture in Late Western Han, and the Implications for Authors and Authority," 166-69, and Cherniack on restoration of textual order as a shared scholarly duty, Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China," 11-14.

far more labor-intensive to produce, be it closed texts or cotton textiles. The desire for textual stability is not necessarily absent from oral or manuscript contexts, not unlike the fact that the desire for clean clothes did exist before the invention of laundry machines.

Orality, or "Songs Perpetuate Words" 歌永言

Purely technology and medium-based explanations can lead to contradictory arguments. The earliest generation of scholarship on media tends to focus on the contrasting differences between different modes of production, a tendency that can perhaps be traced as far back as *Phaedrus*.[140] Bruns, for instance, describes conceptions of open and closed texts as qualities of manuscript versus print cultures.[141] While subsequent scholarship often points out exceptions to the patterns proposed,[142] the technological paradigm is still a dominate mode of explanation for textual fluidity. In the studies of early Chinese texts, orality is often called upon to explain textual variations. This soon leads to a debate over the role of writing in the pre-imperial period.[143] But if writing as a technology is a stabilizing force in the context of Early China, it becomes a source of textual variations in scholarship on manuscript culture, in contrast to print.[144] But whether the introduction of printing technology correlates with increased textual stability is also a big

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140. *Phaedrus* 274b; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982); Jack Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (Cambridge: UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

141. Bruns, "The Originality of Texts in a Manuscript Culture," 115.

142. As an example, Anthony Grafton, "How Revolutionary Was the Print Revolution?," *The American Historical Review* 107 (2002).

143. See summary by Kern, "Methodological Reflections on the Analysis of Textual Variants"; Edward L. Shaughnessy, "Unearthed Documents and the Question of the Oral versus Written Nature of the *Classic of Poetry*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 75 (2016); Christopher M. B. Nugent, "Literary Media: Writing and Orality," in *The Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature*, ed. Wiebke Denecke, Wai-Yee Li and Xiaofei Tian (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

144. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*.

question mark. Scholars such as Cherniack and Michel Jeanneret have argued that the prevalence of printing, in Song China or Renaissance Europe, do not necessarily lead to the production of stable texts.[145] Ann Blair's study of the works of Conrad Gessner reveals that even printed publications can serve as an intermediary step in a continuous process of revision and recreation.[146]

The assumption of this dissertation is that media technology certainly plays a role, but not a determinative one; its role can in fact be more precisely characterized: I would argue that the transition from open text to closed text can take place in all media, but the amount of *work* or *energy* required in each medium can be different. The creation of stable text in an oral context can involve a prodigious amount of investment in versification, learning, and memorization, but it is nevertheless achievable. A writing surface, when compared to oral textual production, reduce the labor needed in packaging together a selection and arrangement of words, but still requires more time and labor per page than print production. This might account for the fact that there are fewer stabilized texts in pre-print contexts, and technology-based narratives, such as Li Ling's comparison of history of texts to gas, liquid, and solid states, largely ring true.

But it is the exceptions to this tendency that informs us of the need to further refine our understanding of the role of technology, whether it is the impressively accurate oral transmission of the Rigveda,[147] the stabilization of canonical texts such as Vergil's *Aeneid* in pre-print me-

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145. Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China," 29; Michel Jeanneret, *Perpetual Motion: Transforming Shapes in the Renaissance from da Vinci to Montaigne* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

146. Blair, "Humanism and Printing in the Work of Conrad Gessner," 29-33.

147. Michael Witzel, "The Development of the Vedic Canon and its Schools: the Social and Political Milieu," in *Inside the Texts, Beyond the Texts*, ed. Michael Witzel (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1997); David M Knipe, *Vedic Voices: Intimate Narratives of a Living Andhra Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Borayin Larios, *Embodying the Vedas: Traditional Vedic Schools of Contemporary Maharashtra* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017).

dieval Europe,[148] or the *mouvance*-like fluidity between the printed versions of late-imperial Chinese novels during their formation stage.[149] These examples suggest that the social attitude toward a text likely have even more deterministic effect on the closure of a text. A highly revered, i.e. hierarchized, text can be stabilized regardless of the required investment of time and labor. Therefore, rather than comparing and contrasting oral versus written texts, or written versus printed texts, we should perhaps view open and closed texts as the two categories of texts to be juxtaposed. The manuscript witnesses of highly stabilized texts, despite their myriad local variations and deviations, behave more like printed editions of stabilized texts, while open texts in oral, manuscript, and even print contexts will bear closer resemblance to each other. The social attitude toward a text is exactly what the hierarchizing and packaging functions of paratext attempt to target.

Attention to these similarities across media alert to the active hierarchizing and packaging functions of paratext even in today's print culture. Despite printed texts' seeming solidity, the fluidity of "what a text is" surfaces time and again in Genette's account, such as in the following passage:

> The distinction between (general) titles and (partial) intertitles is itself less absolute than I have implied, unless one is willing to be blindly guided by the bibliological criterion alone: the title is for the book, and the intertitles are for the sections of the book. I say blindly because this criterion varies considerably according to edition, so much so that a "book" like the 1913 *Du côté de chez Swann* became a "section of a book" in the 1954 Pléiade edition of the *Recherche* […] So the material criterion is fragile, or unstable; but the undoubtedly more sophisticated criterion of the unity of the work is likewise quite slippery […] We all know where custom comes down, more heavily than legitimately, and we will abide by

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148. L. D. Reynolds, "Virgil," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1983).
149. As an example, see Ma Youyuan 馬幼垣, *Shuihu lunheng* 水滸論衡 (Taipei: Lianjing, 1992).

custom willy-nilly, but it is appropriate at least to harbor some suspicion, a feel-
ing of guilt, or a mental reservation.[150]

Highlighting the packaging function of paratext, I believe, is one way to mitigate the "suspicion,

… feeling of guilt, or … mental reservation" and instill methodological clarity. In doing so, we

recognize that the demarcation of the text — not just its interpretation — is the result of the con-

textually-bound paratextual prescriptions. The dictation of "custom," in this case, can be de-

scribed in terms of the fulfillment or failure of competing paratextual prescriptions in specific

historical contexts. In other words, just beneath what appears to be the solidified form of print-

ed editions are also competing *sphragis* moments, and the resulting manifestations of such textu-

al seals are "less absolute" and more "fragile, or unstable" than one might have expected. It also

means what gives early Chinese texts an "airy appearance" is the default, non-hierarchical na-

ture of manuscript culture.

An implication of this discussion is a reexamination of the association between features

of oral literature and textual fluidity, following Haun Saussy's recent deconstruction of orality

and literacy as a binary.[151] Even while oral texts appear to be rather fluid to us, this perception of

fluidity is measured against our standard of textual stability, which is after all irrelevant to the

experience of living in primary orality, to use Walter Ong's term.[152] To be sure, the versified pas-

sages in early Chinese texts tend to exhibit greater degrees of variations.[153] Rather than seeing

this phenomenon as an attestation to the fluidity of oral texts, it is in fact a reflection of how ver-

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150. Genette, *Seuils*, 297.

151. Haun Saussy, *The Ethnography of Rhythm: Orality and Its Technologies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

152. Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 10.

153. See, for instance, the observations by Daniel P. Morgan, "A Positive Case for the Visuality of Text in Warring States Manuscript Culture" (paper presented at Creel-Luce Paleography Forum, 24 April, 2010).

sification allows for the preservation of sound and language over even longer spans of time. By fossilizing older snapshots of language in verse, the earlier meanings of a verse is no longer self-evident to later learners due to linguistic change; when oral texts are written down, each writer is more likely to have to make individual decisions of what ought to be the "words" behind the combinations of sounds.

One possible interpretation of the most canonical articulation of poetics in the Chinese tradition, *ge yong yan* 歌永言, sums up the creation of oral text, since it can be understood not only as "songs intoning (*yong* 詠) words," but also as "songs perpetuate (*yong* 永) words."[154] As Owen states, "unlike speech, which disappears as soon as it is uttered, song is one of the earliest examples of the fixed text; and that repeatability is a miracle."[155] If we compare verses not against closed written and printed texts, but against language and speech in general, the power of prosody to preserve vocalizations, words, and ideas over enormous distance in time and space is indeed a marvel. The centuries covered by this dissertation likely saw the increasing use of writing, the consequences of which Krijgsman has described in detail;[156] but it is also a culture where oral and written texts constantly morphed into each other.[157] In such a context, oral and written features are not strictly separate phenomena. The first and second chapters of this dissertation will show that a device often associated with oral culture, mnemonic cata-

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154. *Shangshu zhushu* 尚書注疏. in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, commentary by Ruan Yuan 院元 (1764-1849) (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 2003), 3.46b.
155. Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1996), 29.
156. Krijgsman, "The Rise of a Manuscript Culture and the Textualization of Discourse."
157. Nugent, "Literary Media: Writing and Orality," 65.

logues, is in turn a device that weaves together increasingly large written texts.[158]

4. The Cicada, or the Author's Two Bodies

This project also builds on existing scholarship that historicizes what I will refer to as the "genius author." The genius author model, which is the normative definition of the word "author" in our contemporary context, equates the author of a cultural artifact with its creator.[159] Foucault, most famously, deconstructs this conception of the author, arguing that the author figure ought to be seen in reverse as a creation of the text.[160] While literary theorists' dethroning of the author might come across as counter-intuitive in our contemporary context, it actually affords a more neutral and descriptive discussion of authorship in pre-imperial China; it is moreover also applicable to other contexts where the producers and the authors do not match, such as ghost-writing. Owen, for instance, describes authorship as "the property of a text" with regard to the attributed authors of early medieval Chinese poetry. The early history of this genre of poetry likely involved the dynamics of open texts.[161] Just as closed texts, rather than open texts, ought to be regarded as the more specialized phenomena in need of explanation, I argue that the genius author, as the authorship model associated with closed texts, is a subset of a

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158. Cf. Martin Kern's study of the role of rhyme and prosody in the construction of the catalogue that is also the table of contents of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Master Huainan); see Martin Kern, "Creating a Book and Performing It: The "Yao lüe" Chapter of the *Huainanzi* as a Western Han *Fu*," in *The Huainanzi and Textual Production in Early China*, ed. Sarah A. Queen and Michael Puett (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
159. What I refer to as "genius author" is often referred to as "individual author." But the contrast I hope to draw is not between individual and collaborative authorship. Instead, the distinction I make hinges on whether the conception of "authorship" is associated the physical act of production (see below). I find the Romantic notion of the genius author a fitting label, especially in view of the close association of the word "genius" with "producing" or "begetting" (*gignere*).
160. Foucault, "What is an Author."
161. Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry*, 215-16.

more generalizable model of authorship proposed below.

The question of authorship in Early China has already prompt a rich and fruitful set of publications. Once pre-imperial author figures are no longer naively conceived of as the creators of the texts attributed to them, thank to the works exposing the problems of such beliefs,[162] alternative interpretations of the meaning of authorship flourished. An impressively succinct summary of the complex landscape of authorship in Early China can be found in Wai-yee Li's entry on authorship in the recently published Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature.[163] Michael Puett retraces the conceptualization of originality and creativity in early Chinese writings and reconstructs the concerted and nuanced debates surrounding this subject matter during the pre-imperial and Han periods.[164] Mark Edward Lewis delineates the history of text-making and author-making as a construction of imagined alternative political realms to the physical polity.[165] Wiebke Denecke, and subsequently Andrew Meyer, offers innovative interpretations of the portrayals of the Masters figures as discursive spaces.[166] Beecroft and Krijgsman, in their respective studies of putative authors in Early China and ancient Greece, both explore the

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162. E.g. Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan, "Constructing Lineages and Inventing Traditions"; Klein, "Were There 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States?"; Vankeerberghen, "Texts and Authors in the *Shiji*"; Kern, "The "Masters" in the *Shiji*"; Hunter, *Confucius Beyond the Analects*; Michael Hunter and Kern, Martin eds., *Confucius and the* Analects *Revisited: New Perspectives on Dating, Composition, and Authorship* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). See also David Nivison, "The Classical Philosophical Writings," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.c*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 754 and Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 25-37.

163. Li, "Concepts of Authorship."

164. Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation*; Michael J. Puett, "The Temptations of Sagehood, or: The Rise and Decline of Sagely Writing in Early China," in *Books in Numbers*, ed. Wilt L. Idema (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2007).

165. Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

166. Wiebke Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature: Early Chinese Thought from Confucius to Han Feizi* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), 22-25; Andrew Meyer, *Reading 'Sunzi' as a Master* 2017).

important author functions performed by the portrayals of these figures regardless of their historical veracity.[167] Similarly exciting are publications investigating the act of compiling and redacting — rather than "original composition" — as acts of authorship.[168] Finally, Christian Schwermann and Raji Steineck's edited volume contains a magnificent synthesis of existing discussions on authorship from many disicplines, where they propose analyzing the author as a complex "constellation" of originality, responsibility, and interpretation functions.[169]

Building on existing theoretical models and studies, I would like to not only assert the importance of the term "author" to the discussion of early Chinese texts — a term often eschewed because of the unwanted association with the genius author model — but also advocate for a strictly Foucauldian definition of the concept "author." In accordance with what Alexander Nehamas suggests, this model makes an absolute distinction between the producer (referred to as the "writer" by Nehamas) and the author of a cultural artifact.[170] I argue that this distinction enables an elegant and economical articulation of the "deep structure" of the various complex manifestations of authorship. It would allow us to characterize the majority — if not all — of these authorship scenarios using the same structure and the same set of terms, without having

167. Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China*; Krijgsman, "The Rise of a Manuscript Culture and the Textualization of Discourse."

168. As examples, see Christian Schwermann, "Collage-Technik als Kompositionsprinzip klassischer chinesischer Prosa: Der Aufbau des Kapitels 'Tang wen' (Die Fragen des Tang) im *Lie zi*," *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 29 (2005); Charles Sanft, "The Moment of Dying: Representations in Liu Xiang's Anthologies *Xin xu* and *Shuo yuan*," *Asia Major* 24 (2011); Sarah A. Queen and Puett, Michael eds., *The* Huainanzi *and Textual Production in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Christian Schwermann, "Anecdote Collections as Argumentative Texts: The Composition of the *Shuoyuan*," in *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, ed. Paul van Els and Sarah Queen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017).

169. Christian Schwermann and Raji C. Steineck, "Introduction," in *That Wonderful Composite Called Author: Authorship in East Asian Literatures from the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Christian Schwermann and Raji C. Steineck (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 6-7, 10.

170. Alexander Nehamas, "What an Author Is," *The Journal of Philosophy* 83 (1986).

to dramatically redefine words such as "author" and "producer" in different contexts. Being more generalizable, this model would avoid framing textual production in Early China (as well as many other authorship scenarios) as the exceptions based on the norms of our own times.

In other words, in contrast to Schwermann and Steineck's characterization, this model decouples the "origination" function from the concept of authorship, and relegates it to the sphere of producers and production, which is a separate and independent sphere of investigation. It limits authorship to the functions of "responsibility" and "interpretation," i.e. the social reception of a cultural artifact. As an example, we can turn to Esther Klein's study of the authorship of Zhuangzi, where she argues for the need to distinguish between three different types of Zhuang Zhou 莊周: <1> the historical figure from the Warring States period, <2> the character in the Zhuangzi, and "the author/originator [<3a> and <3b>] of the philosophy found in the Zhuangzi inner chapter."[171] According to the model proposed here, the <2> character Zhuang Zhou in the Zhuangzi is in fact the <3a> author of Zhuangzi, in so far as the producers of this cultural artifact have chosen to create and present this character as an author figure. The "originator" <3b> of Zhuangzi, in contrast, ought to be regarded as the producers rather than the authors; they are the philosophers, writers, poets, compilers, scribes involved in the creation of the received text, most of whom have chosen to remain anonymous.[172] Had we been able to prove that the <2 + 3a> author character Zhuang Zhou in fact corresponds to a separately attested <1> historical figure Zhuang Zhou, whose involvement in the production of Zhuangzi is demonstrable (or at least plausible), we would have been able to consider the possibility that the Zhuangzi text is attached to — and is partly the product of — of a genius author named Zhuang Zhou.

171.Klein, "Were There 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States?", 309.
172.See Chapter IV for a more detailed discussion.

Once a distinction is made between producers and authors, all cultural artifacts can be said to be the result of the labor of producers, be they writers, compilers, directors, librettists, or painters. Among all artifacts, only a small subset of them are attached to author figures, who are A) the representations of the process of production as a whole, and B) the representations of "production" as a distinct entity in contradistinction to "reception."[173] An even smaller subset of authored artifacts are attached to "genius authors," where the author name demonstrably coincides with the personal name of a real historical individual, who is furthermore demonstrably involved in the production of the said artifact. Regardless of the relationship between the producer and the author of an artifact, the author name, in the case of authored artifacts, is always part of the product rather than part of the production; in fact, the author name and the author figure is very often produced by paratextual elements. They are created to perform paratextual functions of mediating interpretation, hierarchizing, and packaging. Whether this author figure matches a producer, i.e. whether we are dealing with a case of a genius author, is a matter of a separate historical investigation that requires additional evidence outside of this cultural artifact.

As mentioned earlier, the *default* state of textual production in the manuscript context is non-hierarchical, where every reader and user can also become a producer participating in the continual transformation and even growth of a text. Roger Chartier's discussion of notarial registers offers a comparandum for what default manuscript production might have looked like.

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173. See Foucault's example of the fact that anonymous writings have writers, but not authors, and authorship does not denote production, but a specific mode of reception and circulation; see Foucault, "What is an Author," 284. Cf. Mark Edward Lewis' discussion of the separation of "authorship" (by which he means the actual writers) and "authority" (the putative master figures) in early Chinese instruction scenes. The distinction he makes here exactly matches my schema, but I restrict the term "authorship" to refer to "authority," and "production" to refer to what he refers to as "authorship"; see Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 57.

Notarial registers are commonplace books that were

> copied by their own readers, who put in them, in no apparent order, texts of quite different sorts in prose and in verse, devotional and technical, documentary and poetic. These compilations, produced by lay people unfamiliar with the traditional institutions of manuscript production and for whom the act of copying was a necessary preliminary to reading, characteristically show no sign of the author-function. The unity of such a book comes from the fact that *its producer is also its addressee*.[174]

This description shows what it is like when the distinction between "production" versus "reception" is absent. The heterogeneity of these producer/user-generated compilations, containing texts of all form and genres, is reminiscent of both many early Chinese compilations as well as some of the textual collections excavated from tombs. In such textual production context, the confines of a text as well as its pragmatic meaning – or even its content and its semantic meaning – can all be determined by the context of usage, tailored by the *users* of the manuscripts as they *produced* these manuscripts (whether by copying them themselves or directing and dictating to scribes). Against this default state, the creation of the author is a more specialized attempt, where a given group of producers seek to claim an elevated position vis-a-vis a text's subsequent users and handlers. In other words, the production of the author figure is an attempt at creating a distinction between production and reception.

I would further suggest that an author is often created to close a text, so that rather than the process of origination, we ought to associate authors with the process of finalization. The closure of texts that were once open often coincides with the acquisition of a putative author, whether this figure is Confucius, Zhuang Zhou, Homer, or Shi Nai'an 施耐庵 (trad. 14th century). As Figure 0.1 below diagrams, once viewed this way, we can begin to recognize the structur-

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174. Italicization mine. Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 55-56.

al parallel between the productions of ancient compiled texts and the texts of modern genius authors. The production of the author names of both putative and genius authors in fact occupies the same position, only that in the case of the the genius author, the formation history of his or her text is hidden from the public. It thus gives off the illusion that the author stands at the beginning of a text's history. As the versioning approach to editing shows, the surfacing of a contemporary print publication's "formation history" (*Entstehungsgeschichte*) often leads to an open text situation, which, just as the formation history of the bible, can no longer be represented by a single closed text.[175]

Figure 0.1: **A Schematic and Generalized Representation of Textual Production + Reception**

A Schematic and Generalized Representation of Textual Production + Reception:

‣ An ancient text and a modern publication in fact undergo a parallel process
‣ The "author," in both cases, enters not at the moment of *origination*, but *finalization*

	Entstehungsgeschichte	*Kanonisierung*	*Textgeschichte*

Textual History: | Open Text (pre-ception) | | Closed Text (reception) |

Producers
(the "last compilers")

Producers
(writers, editors, compilers…)
Anonymous
textual reuse

**Making Paratext
(Making
Author
Closing Text)**

Commentators, Scribes…
Metatexts (commentaries, criticism)
Hypertext (imitations, parodies)
Intertext (citations)

Textual History of Contemporary Print Publication: | **Textual Production (pre-ception) hidden from public** | **Closed Text (reception)** |

Publication
Date

In other words, if Roland Barthes, Foucault, and Genette have all in various ways de-

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175.See discussion on page 15ff.

cried or described the author as what reins in the otherwise boundless proliferation of a given text's meanings, i.e. its interpretation, I argue that the creation of the author can also play an instrumental role in the history of the text itself, in the closure of an otherwise boundlessly transforming text in its state of preception. A closed text is not only stabilized, its existence in society follow a different set of dynamics, described in existing scholarship as "reception" or "intertextuality."

There are several advantages to this model: firstly, only after the analysis of a text's composition (its coherence and "originality," for instance) is decoupled from its authorship status can there be a true liberation from the ideology of the genius author. Cultural artifacts, anonymous or authored, are produced by human agents, and should be presumed to reflect intelligent design, unless proven otherwise. This is also to say that the values of Homeric epics or the *Analects* should not depend on whether it was truly the utterances of a wandering teacher or a blind bard. This model, secondly, sidesteps the elaborate cataloguing that often comes with the existing attempts to describe authorship scenarios outside of the genius author model. Harold Love's study of more complex scenarios of cultural production, for instance, lists a handful of categories of collaborative authorship.[176] Once production and authorship are separated, it becomes evident that nearly all production processes are collaborative; nearly all production processes, moreover, make use of existing materials, and are both original in some aspects and unoriginal in others. We can describe and compare these aspects and processes as parts of the physical acts of production, before asking why an author figure is produced, and why such a

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176. Harold Love, *Attributing Authorship: An Introduction* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 32-50. See also Lee Hur-li's list of authorship types, Hur-Li Lee, *Intellectual Activism in Knowledge Organization: A Hermeneutic Study of the Seven Epitomes* (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2016), 198-200.

crown of the "author" is placed upon one of the many collaborating producers, in the case of the genius author.

Finally, this model also emphasizes the underlying commonality shared by all author figures. The ontology of the "author," as a term or a concept, is more akin to that of a "king" or a "citizen," rather than a "writer" or a "editor." It refers to a socially perceived status as opposed to a description of physical activities or skills. The reference point of the author name, strictly speaking, is not a person, but something more like the sum total of a literary corpus, or the producers as a collective. The model of authorship proposed here is thus analogous to the medieval conception of a sovereign's 'body natural' (the mortal body) and 'body politic' (the symbol of his office and the divine right to rule), most famously explored by Ernst Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies*.[177] In other words, James Joyce, the proper name, refers to the Joyce's body natural, while James Joyce, the author name, refers to the 'body authorial,' consisting not of his mortal flesh, but of his literary corpus. In the case of ghost writers or many early authors, the "body authorial" are figures who are not physically involved in textual production, just as in the case of British monarchy today, the "body politic" is performed by full-time figureheads who are not behind the daily decisions of government operation. Such a body authorial is really what all author figures have in common, just as the "body politic" is what unites Henry VIII and Elizabeth II, more than their respective daily activities.

Marcel Duchamp's famously iconoclastic *Fountain*, a urinal signed and dated with a pseudonym, exemplifies how the successful creation and application of the author takes an object out of the circulation of open texts and preception, and places it into the realm of closed

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177. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

texts and reception. A urinal, as a ready-made object, is similar to an extremely open text. Urinals do not possess individuated unique identifications. They are anonymous and do not have authors, even though they are ultimately designed and produced by humans. The myriad urinals in the world all resemble each other in some ways, but there is also significant variations behind their design, often on account of the intended contexts of use. They are all replaceable by each other, as long as they fit the piping. Even though most urinals are modeled after existing urinals, we would not consider a given urinal to be citing another, or call it an "imitation."

By signing a urinal with a supposed artist's name, "R. Mutt," Duchamp leashes a found object onto a body authorial, even though "R. Mutt" is not even the name of a historical individual. It is an author name that designates solely a body authorial without a body natural. By transforming a ready-made object into an authored object, Duchamp's *Fountain* will no longer be owned, used, circulated, and handled like other urinals. It enters into the game of reception, and becomes the subject of interpretation, imitation, and parody.[178]

If a text and its paratext can be seen as a dialectic similar to an arthropod's flesh and its exoskeleton, there is at least one early Chinese author figure who is said to have molted like a cicada, namely Qu Yuan 屈原, the putative author of the core chapters of *Chuci* 楚辭 (Verses of the Chu) and the "archpoet" of the Chinese lyrical tradition. According to an early encomium to the author and his most famous piece, "Li sao" 離騷, Qu Yuan, "after sinking in sordid mud, left behind his molted shell in muddled filth to be borne aloft beyond dust, unfettered by the grime of his time, gleaming as one unsullied by mud" 濯淖汙泥之中，蟬蛻於濁穢，以浮游塵埃之外.[179]

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178. See, for instance, artworks on exhibition in homage to *Fountain in* Bradley Bailey, *Marcel Duchamp Fountain: An Homage* (New York: Francis M. Naumann Fine Art, 2017).

179. *Shiji*, 84.2482. Translation consulted Michael Schimmelpfennig, "The Quest for a Classic: Wang Yi and the Exegetical Prehistory of His Commentary to the 'Songs of Chu'," *Early China* 29 (2004), 120-21.

In the early imperial period, the cicada's metamorphosis was linked to the attainment of im-mortality.[180] The successful creation of the body authorial, as I will discuss in detail in the final chapter, incarnates how its associated closed text, having been transformed into a preserved time capsule, transcends time. The dialectic of mortality and immortality involved in the cre-ation of the author mimics the immortal longings of the moribund adult death-watch beetles.

"Poetry expresses intention" 詩言志

The transformation of Duchamp's piece from an urinal into a *Fountain* also illustrates one possible interpretation of the first half of the canonical poetic statement alluded to earlier, namely the statement "poetry expresses intention" (*shi yan zhi* 詩言志) that precedes *ge yong yan* 歌永言.[181] This a phrase, which has inspired much scholarship and critical discussions, is also a statement alluded to by a canonical piece of paratext, the "Great Preface" by the Mao commen-taries on the *Book of Odes*.[182] Read as a speech act according to the framework of this dissertation, this statement becomes a request for reading this collection of verses as closed texts, i.e. as texts whose interpretation is anchored to their author figures and the historical contexts associated with these author figures. This is precisely the interpretative strategy undertaken by the Mao commentaries, as well as what is advocated in *Mencius*.[183] In contrast, *Shijing* quotations in other texts, such as the *Zuozhuan*, function more like open texts, where the meaning of the verses are

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180. Roel Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 202.

181. *Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, 3.46b.

182. *Maoshi zhushu* 毛詩注疏. in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, commentary by Ruan Yuan 院元 (1764-1849) (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 2003), 1.13a.

183. See the instruction in *Mencius* for reading a poem according to the intention of its author, or 以意逆志; see *Mengzi zhengyi* 孟子正義, commentary by Jiao Xun 焦循 (1763-1820) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 5a.638.

interpreted according to the contexts of the users.[184]

It is possible that there is a historical connection between the putative author figures created in service of the closure of texts and the emergence of "genius authors" in China's early imperial period. The explorations of this dissertation suggest a possible link between the Han authors, who began to inhabit both the body natural and the body authorial, and their reception of the bodies authorial from the pre-imperial period.

Terminologies

In this dissertation, the word "author" refers only to the "body authorial," which is once again a representation of a text or a collection of texts, as well as the production process of this text as a whole, in contradistinction from reception. When a text succeeds in creating its body authorial, then society will associate this figure with this text. I will not use the word "author" to refer to the agents actually involved in textual production but are not presented as author figures. I will refer to them as "textual producers," or using more specific terms such as thinkers, scholars, writers, poets, compilers, redactors, scribes, etc. This is to say, I consider Homer the author of *Iliad* and Virginia Woolf the author of *Mrs. Dalloway*, but I will not use the word "author" to refer to the anonymous poets who have contributed to the development of the *Iliad*, nor the anonymous writers and composers of the *Analects*. I will not consider Arthur C. Clarke an author of the film *2001 Space Odyssey*, even though he played a key role in its production as one of its main screenplay writers.

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184. Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality*; Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*. Cf. Beecroft's discussion of what he terms the "ainetic" use of the *Odes* in *Zuozhuan*, versus the more indexical use in Mao commentaries; see Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China*, 195-99. See also Martin Kern, "Speaking of Poetry: Pattern and Argument in the 'Kongzi shilun'," ed. Meyer Dirk and Joachim Gentz (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 180.

I use the term "compiler" and "redactor" interchangeably. The word compiler places emphasis on the act of putting together existing textual materials,[185] while redactor emphasize the adaptations one makes in the creation of such compilations. The word "scribe" conveys the sense that one is trying to copy a text faithfully, sometimes as a result of the fact that the text is closed. I use the term "last compilers" to refer to the producers who have asked for the closure of a compilation, essentially requesting for the termination of textual production or textual forma-tion, and the commencement of reception. Just as the prescriptions of their paratexts are not al-ways heeded, any given group of "last compilers" can be superseded by later compilers as well as a new set of "last compilers." I use this term to refer to people who have articulated such in-tentions, regardless of the outcome. Commentators are often simultaneously compilers, and sometimes the "last compilers." Figures like Wang Yi 王逸 (fl. 130-140) and Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. 312) not only wrote authoritative commentaries on texts, but were responsible for finalizing the closed versions of the texts they commented on. In such cases, "compilers" and commentators will also be used interchangeably.

5. Summary of Chapters

In sum, I believe that recognizing the paratextual functions of the elements closely stud-ied in this dissertation offers a glimpse into the perspectives of earlier textual producers, as well as the process through which the corpus of early Chinese texts was transformed into closed texts, a process that involved the creation of authors. Doing so allows us to penetrate behind the

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185. For a brief history of the word "to compile," see Petra McGillen, "Kompilieren," in *Historisches Wörterbuch des Mediengebrauchs*, ed. Heiko Christians, Matthias Bickenbach and Nikolaus Wegmann (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2015).

paratextual prescriptions of Han scholars and librarians, which, occupying the top layers of the palimpsest of paratextual prescriptions, have for millennia obscured the voices buried underneath. What this approach moreover allows for is an articulation of the relationship between the textual building blocks and the "book" unit. The paratextual elements surrounding a paragraph-length textual unit — such as an anecdote — had once dwelled at the outskirt of that textual unit, much like the title page of a modern book. Such a textual building block can be absorbed into larger textual artifacts, which in turn require increasingly larger layers of paratexts enveloping existing units. The notion of a book-length compilation as a "book" is the product of the packaging prescription performed by the paratexts surrounding the compilation as a whole.

The five chapters of this dissertation identify hitherto unrecognized forms of paratexts in Chinese sources straddling the transition into the imperial period, which include the earliest discursive texts preserved in bamboo manuscripts (c. 300 BCE), unearthed and transmitted compilations, and the bibliography of the Han dynasty imperial library (1st century CE). Since the identified paratextual elements circumscribe the boundaries of nested textual units from small to large, my chapters are ordered according to the size of the textual unit, tracing how building block materials circulated, as well as how they were incorporated into increasingly substantial textual artifacts. Part I, "The Anecdote as a Cell" (chapters 1-2), addresses how the anecdote, an ubiquitous genre form among early Chinese texts, functions as a building block. Chapter 1, "The Capsular Anecdote," elucidates the paratextual functions performed by an anecdote's narrative frame through comparing parallel versions in excavated and transmitted materials, including the reiterations of *zi yue* ("the Master said") in the *Analects,* the most abbreviated form of such narrative frames. A focus of this chapter is the alternative attributions of parallel versions of dicta, illustrating a world of open texts where a textual unit can be packaged

by alternative speech act prescriptions. Chapter 2, "The Tentacular Branches," traces how a textual feature I term "branching catalogue" functions as a paratextual device, which can inhabit both the smallest and the grandest textual units. While it can serve as the structuring element within an anecdote, as exemplified by the *Tang zai Chimen* 湯在啻門 (King Tang at Chi Gate) manuscript, it can also expand to become the organizing device for collections of anecdotes or even chapters, such as in the case of the "Chu shuo" 儲說 (Treasuries of Illustrations) chapters of the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子 (Master Han Fei). At the compilation level, this structure begins to resemble modern tables of contents, utilized by encyclopedic compilations that incorporated massive amount of anecdote materials, such as the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (The Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü) and *Shiji*. It is finally also the organizational principle of the Han imperial library catalogue, the "Yiwenzhi."

Part II, "The Author Corpus" (chapters 3-5), focuses on the paratextual functions performed by the portrayals of authors figures, especially in compilations that are attributed to individual philosopher figures known as *zishu* 子書 (Masters Texts). Chapter 3, "The Corporal Anecdote," compares two compilations featuring limited appearances of the eponymous Masters, namely the excavated manuscript version of *The Art of War*, the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法, and the *Hanfeizi*. Chapter 4, "Master Zhuang's Multitudes," applies the same method of analysis to the far more complex case of *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Master Zhuang), leading to the identification of new clusters and systematic shifts within this compilation. Chapter 5, "The Author is Dead, Long Live the Author," uncovers an intriguing motif revolving around a zero-sum game between the author's physical body and literary corpus, using texts such as *Zhuangzi, Hanfeizi, Mozi* 墨子 (Master Mo), *Chuci zhangju* 楚辭章句 (The Section and Sentence Commentary to the Verses of the Chu), and *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 (The Gongyang Commentary) as examples. I ar-

gue that this set of evidence strongly attests to the function of the author figure in closing and delimiting the boundary of a corpus. Overall, the readings suggested by these chapters bypass the irresolvable debates over authenticity, and rehabilitate these author portrayals, often regarded as "apocryphal" in existing scholarship, as palimpsests of competing paratexts. The case of *Chuci zhangju*, in particular, offers a compelling illustration of the differences between preception and reception.

Part I
The Anecdote
as a cell

Confucius

was in dire straits between Chen and Cai
and created the Spring and Autumn Annals

…

Zuo Qiuming

lost his sight –
therewith the Discourses of the States

…

[Lü] Buwei

was removed to Shu
and his Overview of Lü transmitts through the generations

孔子戹陳蔡作春秋

…

左丘失明厥有國語

…

不韋遷蜀世傳呂覽

…

- Sima Qian, Shiji 130

69

The anecdote was likely the most widespread and "promiscuous" form of composition in compilations from the Warring States and Western Han period.[1] Nearly every Masters text has a layer of anecdotes, and in some of them, collections of anecdotes take up a large proportion. Texts such as the *Lunyu* 論語 (henceforth *Analects*), *Yanzi chunqiu* 晏子春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Yan), and *Shuo yuan* 說苑 (Garden of Illustrations) arguably consist entirely of anecdotes.[2] The anecdotal genre is promiscuous because the same story can be adopted by texts representing a variety of positions, and possesses greater ideological flexibility discursive declaration of one's teaching or belief. One of the anecdotes examined in Chapter I, for instance, is found in many compilations — *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Master Huainan), *Wenzi* 文子 (Master Wen), *Xunzi* 荀子 (Master Xun), *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 (Master Han's Outer Commentary to the *Book of Odes*), *Shuo yuan*, and *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 (The Family Sayings of Confucius) — across opposing sides of Western Han intellectual polemics.[3] Despite its preponderant and ubiquitous presence, research focusing on the anecdote genre is only a relatively recent development in the study of early Chinese texts.[4]

If, as William Boltz noted, early Chinese texts tend to be composites of paragraph-length

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1. For a discussion of the various genres of texts making use of a wealth of anecdotes, see Paul van Els and Sarah A. Queen, "Anecdotes in Early China," in *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, ed. Paul van Els and Sarah Queen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 2-3.

2. For my definition of anecdote, which encompasses what would often be considered aphorisms, see discussions starting from page 100.

3. Paul van Els' careful study of the "Confucius at ancestral temple" anecdotes was an illustration of how this anecdote was able to ferry across ideological divide, from Confucian texts such as the *Xunzi* and the *Hanshi waizhuan* to the text representative of the Huang-Lao camp of Western Han intellectual polemics, the *Huainanzi*, Paul van Els, "Tilting Vessels and Collapsing Walls—On the Rhetorical Function of Anecdotes in Early Chinese Texts," *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* (2012).

4. The first book-length study in English language on early Chinese anecdote genre, Paul van Els and Queen, Sarah eds., *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017)., is published recently. For a summary of existing scholarship in English language on early Chinese anecdotes, see Els and Queen, "Anecdotes in Early China," 3.

textual units, Part One, or first two chapters of this project, are devoted to the anecdote as a basic building block. Chapter I focuses on how a specific subset of anecdotes, which I term "capsular anecdotes," attempt to package, regulate, and stabilize the textual materials enveloped within. Since such anecdotes tend to encase pre-exisitng textual units such as aphorisms, lists, or verses, their narrative framings are capsule-like, and exhibit the features and functions of paratex. The narrative trope most often utilized by capsular anecdotes is the "instruction scene" narrative convention. By identifying paratextual functions performed by such narrative frames, this chapter also offers a new interpretation of this trope, emphasizing the wish often embedded in such narrative frames for the creation of a stabilized package of closed text.

The examples included in this chapter include an excavated manuscript from the Guodian tomb dating to around 300 BCE as well as a variety of received compilations that are finalized between the late Warring States and the end of Western Han. Given the prevalence of capsular anecdotes in early Chinese texts, my analysis is largely atemporal and formalist. Of the two main sets of anecdotes studied in Chapter I, much of the texts come from four compilations that appear to have much anecdotal materials in common, *Xunzi*, *Hanshi waizhuan*, *Shuo yuan*, and *Kongzi jiayu*. While the *Xunzi* is traditionally thought to be a pre-imperial text, the other three are compiled during the early imperial period.

In Chapter II, I begin to address the relationship between the anecdote and larger units of texts, such as the chapter, groups of chapters, or even a compilation. I trace how these various scales relate to each other by focusing on annother form of paratext I call "branching catalogue," which can serve as the structuring element within an anecdote, but can also be stretched to encompass a large chapter, or even an entire compilation. Such a device is one example of how anecdote units can be packaged together to form increasingly larger textual artifacts.

Both the narrative capsules and the branching catalogues can be seen as the products of early textual producers' attempt to organize, circumscribe, and stabilize a unit of text. Aspects of their functionality are not unlike book covers, and they often reveal the interest in the creation of a closed text. Yet even if such devices do succeed in creating a pocket of stability, viewed from a macro-perspective, where related versions of these anecdotes are juxtaposed, we observe a textual environment that is largely open, where parallel didactic materials are framed within alternative and competing paratexts.

Chapter I. The Capsular Anecdote

> Another critical feature in the origin of life was the encapsulation of a genome in a cell membrane.
>
> — David Catling, *Astrobiology: A Very Short Introduction*

In view of the prevalence of anecdotal materials in the corpus of early Chinese texts, scholars have remarked on how fundamental anecdotes are to the development of early Chinese philosophy.[5] The ubiquity of anecdotes could be suggesting a different mode of thought that focuses more on paradigmatic argumentation. David Schaberg's work on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (The Zuo Tradition), an early historiography, illustrate the concern with training an audience's moral discernment by using the anecdote genre.[6] Juxtaposed with Plato's expulsion of the narratival and the particular from philosophy, early Chinese philosophical tradition seems to have pursued the path not taken.

This dissertation was initially intended to further examine anecdotes and paradigmatic

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5. Christoph Harbsmeier, *Language and logic* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006). See also Paul Goldin, "Non-deductive Argumentation in Early Chinese Philosophy," in *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, ed. Paul van Els and Sarah Queen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017); Andrew Meyer, "The Frontier between Chen and Cai: Anecdote, Narrative, and Philosophical Argumentation in Early China," in *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, ed. Paul Van Els and Sarah Queen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017).
6. David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001).

argumentation, or argument from example, in early Chinese philosophy, but I quickly hit a stumbling block. Among the collections of anecdotes, I encountered case after case where the narratives of the so-called anecdotes are so bare-bones that they cannot be said to perform any illustrative function. Even more problematic is the fact that the "lesson" of the anecdote is directly declared in the speech of one of the characters. Take, for instance, the following example from *Lüshi chunqiu* 3.3:

> When Confucius had an audience with Duke Ai of Lu, the duke said, "A man told me that 'those who govern the state should do no more than perform their duties from the head of the hall.' I consider this a quixotic saying." Confucius responded, "It is not a quixotic saying. I have heard that 'he who attains it in himself attains it in others; he who loses it in himself loses it in others.' Though he does not go out of his gate, the world is well-ordered, this can only be done by one who understands self-reflection."
> 孔子見魯哀公，哀公曰：「有語寡人曰：『為國家者，為之堂上而已矣。』寡人以為迂言也。」孔子曰：「此非迂言也。丘聞之：『得之於身者得之人，失之於身者失之人。』不出於門戶而天下治者，其唯知反於己身者乎！」[7]

The underlined portions of this anecdote are what I term "narrative elements," references to people and events that anchor an account within a human and social context. No action depicted in this passage illustrates the imparted teaching. We can, in fact, remove the underlined narrative elements without significantly changing the semantic meaning of this teaching. What then, is the role of these narrative elements? This question eventually led me to turn to the concept of "paratext."

In this chapter, I will argue that a *subset* of early Chinese anecdotal materials meets the criteria of what I term "capsular anecdotes," where the narrative frame performs paratextual

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7. *Lüshi chunqiu jishi* 呂氏春秋集釋, compiled by Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (d. 235 BCE), commentary by Xu Weiyu 許維遹 (Zhonghua shuju: Beijing, 2009), 3.73. Translation adapted from John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, trans. *The Annals of Lü Buwei* Stanford University Press, 2001), 105-06.

functions in service of the sayings, verses, and lists encapsulated within. In the European context, beginning with Greco-Roman rhetorical practice, distinctions are made between stand-alone sayings and sayings prepared by a brief anecdote; the former can be referred to by terms such as proverbs, maxims, *sententiae*, and *gnomai* (γνῶμαι), while the latter apophthegms (ἀποφθέγματα *apophthegmata*), *dicta*, and *chreiai* (χρεῖαι, "usages").[8] The latter genre, referred to either as "apophthegms" (a term primarily employed by manuscript studies) or *chreiai* (technical term in ancient rhetorical education),[9] holds resemblance to the capsular anecdotes. Yu Zhihui 俞志慧 classifies early Chinese anecdote collections into "those that focus on recording words" and "those that focus on narrating deeds." The former encompasses both maxims and apophthegms, while the latter is what I refer to as "narrative anecdotes," which are less likely to function as capsular anecdotes and encapsulate detachable sayings.[10]

For an anecdote to qualify as a capsular anecdote, it must have an identifiable "kernel," a didactic text that directly articulates the intended teaching of this anecdote. Such a didactic text often already has its own internal structure that defines it as a textual unit, such as verses defined by their meter, dicta structured by parallelism, or lists.[11] In the anecdote cited above, the narrative elements can be read as a paratextual capsule. This is not to say that these elements

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8. Denis Searby, "Greek Collections of Wise and Witty Sayings," in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Alessandro Bausi (Hamburg: COMSt, 2015), 443.

9. See, for instance, the three volume text and translation of this genre, first of which is Edward N. O'Neil and Ronald F. Hock, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric: Volume I: The Progymnasmata* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986). Thomas Crone gave an insightful paper comparing rhetorical practices reflected in chapters in *Liji* and *chreia* material; see Crone, "The Master Elaborates.".

10. Yu Zhihui 俞志慧, *Guyu you zhi: xian Qin sixiang de yizhong beijing yu ziliao* 古語有之：先秦思想的一種背景與資料 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue, 2010), 31.

11. Some of such textual units are what Rens Krijgsman calls "traveling sayings": texts that are highly structured, possibly rhyming, and optimized for succinctness and easy memorization. See Rens Krijgsman, "Traveling Sayings as Carriers of Philosophical Debate: From The Intertextuality of the *Yucong 語叢 to the Dynamics of Cultural Memory and Authorship in Early China," *Asiatische Studien – Études Asiatiques* 68 (2014), 98.

are intrinsically paratextual and can only be paratexts, the way the title page of a book perhaps is. But analyzing this passage according to the structure of paratext—text can begin to shed light on the functions of theses elements, which are not evident from a purely semantic standpoint. As will be shown throughout the dissertation, while the narrative elements such as those underlined above do not seem to contribute semantically — they do not add much additional philosophical meaning and substance — identifying them as paratext underscores their pragmatic and bibliographical functions they serve. Figure 1.1 shows the interrelations among the types of anecdotes and paratextual devices examined in Chapters I and II.

Figure 1.1: Classifications of Anecdotes and Paratextual Elements in Chapters I & II

Anecdote

Narrative Anecdotes

Anecdotes that primarily narrate actions. Eg. Aesop's Fables

Capsular Anecdotes

narrative frame encapsulating didactic materials

Expansion

Expanding Narrative Frame

Chapter I Section 2

Branching Catalogue

Chapter II
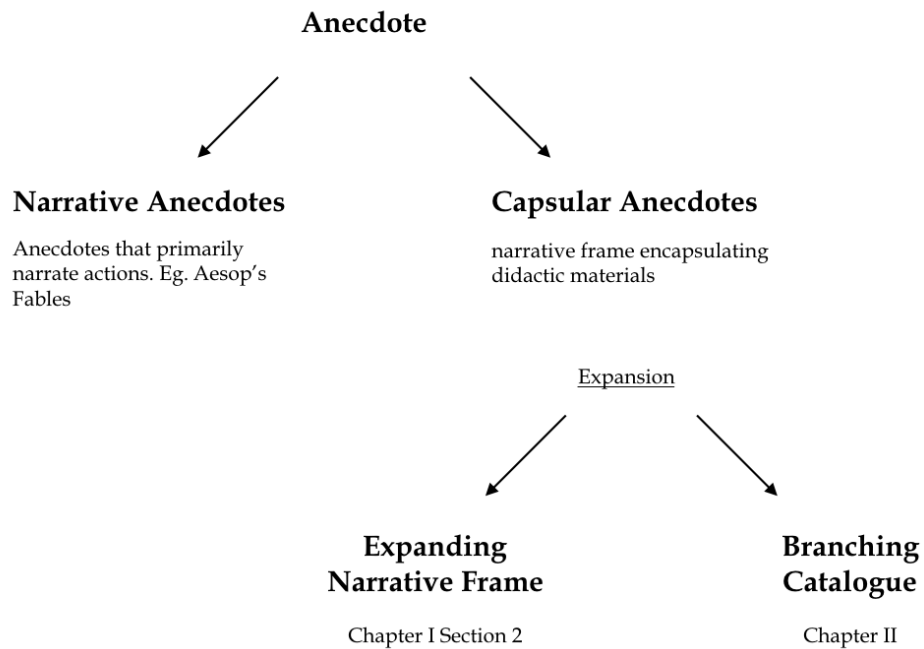
The utility of applying paratext as an analytical framework to a subset of anecdote materials is immediate: as I will show, it helps us grapple with the fact that the frame narrative and

sayings can "detach" from one another and exist independently, evinced in the plethora of versions of the same anecdote or saying. The same gnomic verse can be presented as utterances of different figures in different circumstances. Similarly, the same story can be narrated in different ways, with its characters uttering completely different sets of speeches. In earlier scholarship and for many scholars even today, the recombination of sayings and framing narratives are treated as cases of alternative attributions, which can be resolved by determining which of the versions was more likely to be the earliest, "original" version.[12] Many scholars now recognize, however, that it is impossible to determine whether any of these versions is somehow closer to an objective reality beyond the realm of texts. Existing adjudications often rely on conventionally assumed date and prestige of a text, which has more to do with a given text's reception history than its formation process.

Reading the narrative elements as paratext allows us to analyze them as speech acts rather than attempting to adjudicate their veracity as reflections of reality. As Genette articulated, paratexts are speech acts communicating how the producers of the text wish their texts to be interpreted and utilized. Alternative narrative membranes can thus be read as rivaling speech acts, articulations of different compilers' competing wishes for how the encapsulated didactic materials ought to be contextualized and used, or how an episode in history ought to be remembered. This mode of reading not only allows us to bypass the irresolvable question of the historical veracity of the narrative frames, but also to avoid dismissing them as freely fabricated apoc-

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12. For instance, Guo Qiyong's article judges *Analects*, *Mencius* and *Shiji* versions as more accurate than parallel versions found in other compilations or unearthed manuscripts, Guo Qiyong 郭齊勇, "Shangbo Chujian youguan Kongzi shitu de duihua yu gushi" 上博楚簡有關孔子師徒的對話與故事, *Jianbo* (2015.10).

ryphal texts.[13] We can begin to think about the ocean of anecdote materials as a primordial soup of open texts, bustling with micro-textual creatures packaged by alternative and often competing prescriptions for how to identify, interpret, and use the texts packaged within.

In Section 1 and 2 of this chapter, I will first focus on the formal features of the "capsule" of an capsular anecdote. In the first section, I will demonstrate why such texts' narrative frames exhibit the features and functions of paratext through a close case study of a manuscript text titled *Tang zai Chimen* 湯在啻門 (King Tang at the Chi Gate). In Section 2, I show how such narrative frames can expand, and how such an observation allows us to chart a different topography of the aphoristic and anecdotal materials; I will further expound on the relationship between capsular anecdote and the term *yuyan* 寓言 (lodged words) discussed in the Introduction.[14] In Section 3, I will delve into more complex examples of capsular anecdotes by presenting two sets of interrelated texts. They allow us to observe how different narratives can be enlisted to package versions of the same sayings or didactic materials. Finally, I turn to a more generalized consideration of the narrative convention known as the "instruction scene" in Section 4, showing how the concept of paratext sheds new light on this subset of narrative frames.

What do I mean by "anecdote"? Is the English term "anecdote," which has its own complex history and shades of meaning, a proper nomenclature for the genre of texts I seek to explore here? This is one of the questions we will begin to examine in Part I of this project, and reach a more extensive answer by the end of this dissertation, in the Conclusion section. Let us, for the time being, use the Oxford English Dictionary's definition of the term, namely "the nar-

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13. For an extensive and nuanced discussion of how historical truth was established and conceptualized in ancient contexts, see Garret P. S. Olberding, Dubious Facts: The Evidence of Early Chinese Historiography (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012).

14. See page 39.

rative of a detached incident, or of a single event, told as being in itself interesting or striking."[15]

In other words, an anecdote must be 1) a piece of narrative, and 2) a discrete and self-contained unit of text.

1. The **Tang zai Chimen* as a Case Study

The **Tang zai Chimen* is part of the Tsinghua University Collection of bamboo-slip manuscripts, written on bamboo slips dating to circa 300 BCE.[16] It is a capsular anecdote framed by a dialogue between a King often referred to as King Tang 湯, and his trusted minister, Yi Yin 伊尹. King Tang is said to be the founder of China's first historical dynasty, the Shang dynasty; both figures are mentioned in oracle bone inscriptions dating to ca. 1250-1050 BCE, and if they indeed existed as historical figures, they would have lived around 1600 BCE. The language and the philosophical content of the **Tang zai Chimen*, however, suggests that this text is most likely a fifth century-ca. 300 BCE product (for the full text and a translation, see the Appendix). Like quite a few major manuscript finds of the past decade, this collection was not archaeologically excavated, but was unearthed by tomb robbers. After being smuggled into Hong Kong, this collection of slips was eventually purchased by Tsinghua University in July 2008, where it was finally under the care of scientific conservation. In terms of their radiocarbon dating reading, materiality, and script and calligraphy style, the Tsinghua manuscripts are notably similar to the bamboo slips from the archaeologically excavated Guodian tomb in Hubei province. They are

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15. "anecdote, n." anecdote, n., *OED Online* (2018), accessed 2018-06-04, http://www.oed.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/view/Entry/7367?rskey=KBJg8i&result=1&isAdvanced=false.

16. For facsimile, see Li Xueqin 李學勤 ed., *Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian (V)* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡（伍）(Beijing: Zhongxi shuju, 2015), 15-18; transcription and notes, see Ibid., 141-48. For full text and translation of **Tang zai Chimen*, see Appendix.

thus likely from a tomb sealed around the same time period and located in the same watery region of southern China, namely the Chu 楚 state in the middle of the Warring States period, around 300 BCE.[17]

The publication of the Tsinghua University collection, which contains around 2500 slips, is still ongoing. The *Tang zai Chimen* text was only recently released as part of the fifth volume, published in 2015.[18] Except for a few presentations,[19] English-language scholarship on this text has not yet to be made public.[20] The editing and publishing of pre-imperial manuscripts involves daunting challenges at nearly every step. All Chu region bamboo slips from this period are preserved in a water-logged, noodle-like state. Additional research into how best to conserve such materials is still needed. Furthermore, as Warring States writings predate the standardization process commenced in the imperial period (after 221 BCE), the Chu region writing systems, too, require further research and additional sources before they can be fully deciphered. Since scarcely any pre-imperial bamboo manuscripts emerged with their binding intact, the very act of sequencing these slips presents an enormous challenge, especially for manuscript texts with no transmitted counterparts.[21] Yet despite its lack of transmitted parallels, the *Tang zai Chimen* is among the very few pre-imperial manuscript texts with minimal contention surrounding their sequencing and decipherment. The extensive paratextual devices it deploys, as I

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17. Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 62–63.
18. Li Xueqin, *Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian (V)*.
19. An international conference titled "Human Nature, Morality, and Fate in the Tsinghua University Bamboo Manuscripts," which took place in Erlangen, Germany in May 2016; Joachim Gentz, "Literary Forms of Argument in the Tsinghua Manuscript 'Tang zai Chi Men' 湯在啻門" (paper presented at Warp, Woof, *Wen* / Phoneme, Pattern, Pun: Structural Approach to Early Chinese Texts, Zurich, April 12-14, 2018)
20. For Chinese scholarship on the transcription and interpretation of this text, see Appendix.
21. Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 70-78.

will argue in this chapter and the next, likely contributed to the clarity of its sequencing.

The *Tang zai Chimen* opens with a formulaic narrative frame that introduces the setting, the characters, and the topic. It states that King Tang is at Chimen, or the Chi gate,[22] on the twelfth day of the first month. There, he asks his minister, Yi Yin, whether there are any "fine sayings of the ancient former thearchs (i.e. divine ruler)[23] that have truly reached the present." The subsequent questions and answers are written in highly structured and rhyming language. Adhering to the structure of what I term "branching catalogue," the minister imparts to the king a set of teachings concerning humans, state, earth, and heaven. The branching catalogue will be introduced and analyzed in detail in the next chapter. Here, I will focus on the paratextual features of the narrative frame.

1.1 Metadiscursivity and Self-Identification

An explanation of the meta-discursivity of the *Tang zai Chimen* narrative frame requires situating it in the genre conventions of early Chinese anecdotes. According to Schaberg, early Chinese anecdotes generally conform to the same morphological structure. They open with an introductory phrase that establishes the time, place, dramatis personae, and an event (usually a phenomenon requiring a response). Their middle section usually consists of speeches that analyze and interpret the event. They then conclude with with expressions of explicit or implicit

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22. The meaning and significance of "Chi" 啻 is debated.
23. I.e., theo-arch, a term invented to translate the Chinese word *di* 帝. According to Sarah Allan, it is possible that this term was coined by Edward Schafer, but she has not been able to confirm it. See Ibid., 153n.41.

judgment.[24] What Schaberg calls the "introductory phrase" corresponds in this context to the "narrative frame."

This narrative frame is furthermore an "instruction scene," a narrative trope characterizing a subset of early Chinese anecdotes.[25] An instruction scene consists of a teacher figure, such as Yi Yin, answers questions or imparts instruction to a student, a inquirer, or a ruler, in this case King Tang. Many such instruction scenes are rather bare-bones and do not present an "event," as is the case with the *Tang zai Chimen* narrative frame. However, some narrative frames exhibit more elaborate expansions of this formulaic structure, and can incorporate detailed description of a specific occurrence. They to be explored later in this chapter.

The formulaic framing narratives can be regarded as a cover or a packaging bearing the self-identifying meta-information concerning the text proper: its time, place, and identity of its speakers, and at times even the overall subject. Supplying these information performs what Alexander Beecroft terms as the "indexicalization" function, which stabilizes the referents of the pronouns within a text. As Beecroft points out, lyrical poems by themselves tend not to have stabilized referents, but the narrative frames surrounding them can stabilize the referents of the pronouns within the poems. This dynamic similarly applies to the narrative frames and the encapsulated gnomic verses examined in this chapter. In the case of the *Tang zai Chimen*, the narrative frame identifies the enunciators as well as the source of the didactic teaching: these are words passed down from ancient times, to be transmitted by an exemplary minister to an exem-

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24. Schaberg, *A Patterned Past*, 172-74. While this study primarily addresses the earliest set of anecdote materials preserved by the received *Zuozhuan*, Schaberg points out that this analysis also applies to early Chinese anecdotes in general; see Ibid., 189-90. See also Els and Queen, "Anecdotes in Early China," 7-10.
25. Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 57; Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 94-99.

plary ruler of the Bronze Age. While its explicit statement of time and place, "on the twelfth day of the first month, Tang was at the Chi Gate," appears almost too specific to be meaningful, it not only conform to the structure of the anecdotal narrative frames, but also echoes the formulaic language of the so-called documentary (*shu* 書) genre (i.e. the style of texts collected within *Book of Documents*) as well as early Chinese bronze inscriptions, lending the anecdote an air of the Bronze Age.[26] Rens Krijgsman has written a nuanced analysis of texts that seem to straddle the documentary and the anecdote genre.[27] For our purpose, it is sufficient to point out that this date and place indication further reinforces the injunction that the teaching within ought to be read in the context of the lives and deeds of exemplary figures, who, according to Krijgsman, represent what Jan Assmann terms the "foundational past."[28] In such a manner, the meta-data conveyed by the narrative frame is analogous to the information found on a modern book cover or title page.

As Genette's work suggests, a meta-discursive text, unlike the text proper, pertains to the entirety of the referenced textual unit and can alter its interpretation as a whole.[29] In the following subsections on liminality and hierarchization, I will show how the meta-data supplied by these paratextual elements transforms the reading of the "text proper."

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26. For the *Book of Documents* as a genre, and its generic conventions, see Sarah Allan, "On *Shu* (Documents) and the Origin of the *Shangshu* (Ancient Documents) in Light of Recently Discovered Bamboo Slip Manuscripts," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 75 (2012), 552.
27. Rens Krijgsman, "Cultural Memory and Excavated Anecdotes in 'Documentary' Narrative: Mediating Generic Tensions in the *Baoxun* Manuscript," in *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, ed. Paul van Els and Sarah Queen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017).
28. Ibid., 302.
29. Such as his first example of the title of *Ulysses*; see Genette, *Seuils*, 2.

1.2 Liminality

To many scholars today, there is a glaring discrepancy between the claim made by the narrative frame of **Tang zai Chimen* and its actual content. If the packaged didactic text ought to be regarded as ancient wisdom passed down from legendary Bronze Age rulers of the 1600 BCE, who moreover already regarded it as "ancient" (*gu* 古), the didactic text's language, style, and intellectual content suggests that it is a Warring States period composition, postdating the historical King Tang and Yi Yin by more than a millennium. Disparity between the frame narrative's self-description and the external evidence should not lead us to dismiss the narrative frame as a meaningless fabrication; it in fact further underscore the paratextual nature of this narrative frame, that it is an articulation of textual producers' desired interpretations rather than a historiographical narrative. The narrative frame's function in communicating the wishes of the producers to the users reflect paratext's liminal positioning between the producer and the user.

Paratext's function in mediating a user's experience of a text can be further illustrated by the fact that similar texts can be packaged by different paratext. One of these textual units, an embryological account of the nine months of pregnancy (which is always counted as "ten months" in the Chinese context), is an excellent example, for related versions of this embryology appear in several different texts. As the editors of the Tsinghua cache and scholars of Mawangdui medical texts have pointed out, such embryological accounts are found in the *Guanzi* 管子 (Master Guan), *Wenzi* 文子 (Master Wen), **Taichan shu* 胎產書 (Book of the Generation of the Fetus) of the Mawangdui manuscripts,[30] and *Ishinpō* 醫心方 (Methods from the Heart of Medi-

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30. For the relationship of **Taichan shu* with received literature, see Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 ed., *Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu jianbo jicheng (IV)* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成（肆）(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 136; Zhou Yimou 周一謀 and Xiao Zuotao 蕭佐桃 eds., *Mawangdui yishu kaozhu* 馬王堆醫書考注 (Tianjing: Tianjin keji chubanshe, 1988), 349-35.

cine).[31] While none of these related texts can be regarded as a close parallel to the embryology in

the *Tang zai Chimen*, they exhibit strong resemblances. All of them describe the development of

a fetus in each month — such as "in the first month, it springs up; in the second month, it is en-

veloped" 一月始芻(蕩), 二月乃裏 — employing noticeably similar vocabulary. Juxtaposing these

different versions shows how different paratextual packaging suggests different ways not only

of understanding a text, but also of using it. In other words, paratexts can ascribe different *prag-*

matic meanings to texts that are semantically similar, or even identical. below, I compare the

Tang zai Chimen with the version found in the Mawangdui medical text, the *Taichan shu*.[32]

As is the case in the *Tang zai Chimen,* a narrative frame introduces the text proper in the

Taichan shu. Its narrative frame, however, is strikingly different from that of *Tang zai Chimen*.

The *Taichan shu* scene of instruction is comprised of a set of questions and answers between a

mythical hero and ruler, Yu 禹, and a figure named You Pin 幼頻, translated by Donald Harper

as "Youth Multiplier." The narrative frame of *Taichan shu* is minimal; it essentially disappears

after the initial set of question and answer: "Yu asks Youth Multiplier, 'I wish to propagate peo-

ple and engender children. How is it that this occurs?' Youth Multiplier answers…' 禹問幼頻

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31. See *Ishinpō* 醫心方, compiled by Tamba no Yasuyori 丹波康賴 (912-95), (Tokyo: Nihon Koigaku Shiryō Sentā, 1973), v.22, *a* Japanese medical compilation presented to Emperor Enyū (r. 970-984) in 984, which contains significant amount of citations from extant and lost Chinese texts. Of the two embryologies it contains, the one that is similar to the *Tang zai chimen* account could have originated from *Chan Jing* 產經 (Scripture on Pregnancy) by Sui Dynasty De Zhenchang 德貞常. See Gil Raz, "Birthing the Self: Metaphor and Transformation in Medieval Daoism," in *Gendering Chinese Religion: Subject, Identity, and Body*, ed. Jinhua Jia, Xiaofei Kang and Ping Yao 2014), 185 and Elizabeth Hsu, "Ishinpō 醫心方," ed. Fabrizio Pregadio (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2013).

32. For facsimile, see Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 ed., *Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu jianbo jicheng (I)* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成（壹） (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 138–42; For introduction, transcription, and notes, see Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 ed., *Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu jianbo jicheng (VI)* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成（陸） (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 93–102.

曰：「我欲埴人產子，何如而有？」幼頻答曰...[33] Brief as it is, this exchange is sufficient to inform a potential user of the central concern of this text: how to be fruitful and multiply.

The body of this text indeed contains "lifestyle" and dietary advice for each month of pregnancy, as well as a collection of family planning-related formulae and recipes. In the first part of this text, such advice is introduced by month, headed by the description of the embryo during that month. The embryology in this context functions like a catalogue that can sandwich additional text, similar to the dynamics to be described in the next chapter; it also supplies a rationale for the various medical recommendations. King Tang and Yi Yin's dialogue, in contrast, places the embryology in a different pragmatic context, one that is far removed from reproductive hygiene or the dietary habits of a pregnant woman. The opening question and answer frames its embryology as part of a repository of existing textual materials (i.e., the "words of the ancients"), to be carefully preserved and passed on.

The choice of King Tang and Yi Yin as the student and teacher of this instruction scene further indicates the purport of this miniature encyclopedia: it epitomizes the knowledge essential to governance. This political reading is supported by another set of anecdotes found in the Tsinghua manuscript cache also featuring King Tang and Yi Yin, redacted by the modern editors as a text titled *Tang chu yu Tangqiu* 湯處於湯丘 (Tang dwelling at Tang hills).[34] As I will further discuss below, this text is likely located on the same bamboo manuscript as *Tang zai Chimen*. The collection of anecdotes found in *Tang chu yu Tangqiu* narrates, among other things, Yi Yin's transformation from a menial cook to serving as King Tang's minister. In these anecdotes, Yi Yin

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33. Translation adapted from Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 372-84.
34. Li Xueqin, *Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian (V)*, 10–14 for facsimile, Ibid., 134-40 for transcription and notes.

delivers his instruction to King Tang as a cook, concerning soup-making's harmonizing power and its relevance to governance. Therefore, both the narrative of Yi Yin's life and his explicit lessons represent the adaptation of seemingly humble, hygienic knowledge to political discourse.

In Matthias Richter's discussion of emblematic figures, he shows how the meaning of a verse can be determined by the "emblematic value of this figure, which can either narrowly refer to a specific ideological value (for example figures such as Taigong 太公 or Guan Zhong 管仲 as surrogates for meritocracy, or Zengzi 曾子 for filial piety), or more broadly to the historical narratives clustering around this figure, namely the narratives that are not present in the text but are known to its users."[35] The comparison between the *Tang zai Chimen* manuscript and the *Taichan shu* medical texts exemplifies how installing different emblematic figures in the narrative frame, such as Yi Yin versus You Pin the Youth Multiplier, imparts different pragmatic meanings to semantically similar embryological accounts. The choice between Yi Yin and the Youth Multiplier can similarly be seen as a change in the "presentation" of the text to appeal to different audiences, from political actors to medical professionals, or perhaps even elite and literate women themselves. Such a process of adaptation is thus not limited to diachronic change, but can also reflect attempts to appeal to different audiences within the same time period. In the same manner, different editions of the same Shakespeare text would be bound with different covers and prefatory materials so as to target different groups, such as students, Shakespeare scholars, or theater professionals. In this sense, Yi Yin and the Youth Multiplier are, as the opening passage in the "Yu yan" chapter of *Zhuangzi* states, "persons brought in from outside" who can act as "mediators" or a "go-betweens" (*mei* 媒).[36]

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35. Richter, "Roots of *Ru* 儒 Ethics in *shi* 士 Status Anxiety," 456.
36. See the discussion of the *Zhuangzi* passage in the Introduction, see pages 36ff.

1.3 Hierarchization

Yegor Grebnev compelling argues that one of the few uniting features among the texts grouped under the documentary genres is the "reverential attitude" demanded by these texts from their users.[37] His argument aptly characterizes one of the prescriptions of the *Tang zai Chimen* narrative frame, which I term paratext's "hierarchizing" function. If attributing a set of teachings from at least a thousand years later to figures lived around 1600 BCE seems like gross anachronism, the hierarchizing function of such an attribution is unmistakable. The narrative frame associates the production of its text proper with elevated figures such as King Tang, Yi Yin, and the even more ancient thearchs *(di 帝)*, who occupy the highest echelons of nearly any system of hierarchy in the Chinese tradition.[38]

Moreover, the characters in the narrative frame model the "reverential attitude" toward the text proper. King Tang's concluding statement avers that "these are verily the fine words of the former emperors. Thus how can one possibly change them?" 唯古之先帝之良言，則何以改之. As mentioned in the Introduction, the default state of textual production in the manuscript context is non-hierarchical, where any recopying of a text is also an opportunity to "change" (*gai* 改) it, and thus every reader can also become an active producer participating in the continual growth and transformation of a text. Against the backdrop of this default, non-hierarchical form of manuscript production, the textual producers who composed the frame narrative of *Tang zai*

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37. Yegor Grebnev, "The Core Chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*" (PhD Diss., University of Oxford, 2016), 219-21.

38. According to *Shuowen jiezi,* the radical of the graph *di* 帝 is the Ancient Script for *shang* 上 (up). While this analysis of the graph is not correct in paleographical terms, it reflects how ancient readers likely understood the positioning represented by this deity; see Ji Xusheng 季旭昇, *Shuowen xinzheng* 說文新證 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 2014), 45.

Chimen can be seen as attempting to claim a more "privileged" position, one that elevates them above being merely players in a sequence of equally-positioned producers. Through this speech act, what they demand from the addressees, i.e. the subsequent users, is that they refrain from acting as "producers" and restrict themselves to the role of reverent readers and faithful copyists. This text, as King Tang insists, "can[not] possibly" be "changed." Thus, as a paratextual element, the narrative frame is attempting to create a hierarchized relationship of textual transmission, which is today primarily associated with print culture. The creation of such a hierarchy, essentially the unidirectional relationship that distinguishes "textual production" from "textual reception," facilitates the preservation and stabilization of a given text; it is a crucial step toward the creation of a closed text.

Furthermore, the narrative frame's claim of antiquity betrays an underlying anxiety over the possibility of textual transmission, as revealed by the emphasis in the king's first question: "Are there fine sayings of the ancient former thearchs that have *truly* reached the present?" 古之先帝亦有良言愲至於今乎 (emphasis mine). The question seems to betray an awareness of the difficulty in "truly" (*qing* 情)[39] transmitting a text in a non-hierarchized textual culture, and perhaps even a recognition of its textual flux. Yi Yin's affirmative answer frames the encapsulated text as a precious relic that has indeed withstood the ravages of time. Implied in this self-referential answer is the instruction to future users of this text —such as the scribes who continue to copy it or the compilers who may incorporate it into a different setting — to continue its preservation and transmission through time. The king's injunction against changes to the text at the end of the anecdote can also be read as a wish for textual stability .

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39. As the original editors point out, this meaning of word *qing* 情 is also attested in transmitted literature, see Li Xueqin, *Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian (V)*, 143.

There are other examples from the documentary genre that similarly articulates the desire to "seal" a text, while more subtle expressions can be observed in other types of writings, which will be attended to in other parts of this dissertation. The examples cited below have received more extensive examination by Krijgsman, Grebnev, and other scholars. One of the most striking examples is found in another unearthed manuscript from the Tsinghua cache, titled by the editors *Baoxun* 保訓 [Cherished Instruction]. In the framing narrative of this anecdote, we witness the deathbed instruction of a sage king, King Wen, to his son, the future King Wu. The narrative packages together a group of smaller textual units, including a set of historical accounts and didactic sayings. In all manuscript texts cited in this dissertation, the Chinese text represent an interpretation of the manuscript text, with the exception of the characters with disputed readings; in those cases, the character is a transcription, followed by the chosen reading in parenthesis.

> In the fifteenth year of his reign, the king was feeling indisposed. He thought about the many days that had passed, and feared that the "Cherished Instruction" would be forsaken… [The king] spoke to this effect,[40] "Fa [his son, the future King Wu], Our condition quickly worsens, and We fear We will not survive to instruct you. In the times of yore, when the ancestors transmitted what they cherished, they always bestowed it by recitation. Now that Our illness is grave, We fear We will not recite it to the end. You shall receive it in writing."

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40. Translation of the formulaic phrase *wang ruo yue* 王若曰 as suggested by Michael Nylan, "The Speaker Function in the *Documents*" (paper presented at Warp, Woof, *Wen* / Phoneme, Pattern, Pun: Structural Approach to Early Chinese Texts, Zurich, April 12-14, 2018).

惟王五十年，不豫，王念日之多歷，恐墜寶訓 … [王]若曰：「發，朕疾<ruby>正<rt>音</rt></ruby>(壹)甚，恐不汝及訓。昔前人傳保，必受之以詷(誦)，今朕疾允病，恐弗念(念)[41]終，汝以書受之」.[42]

The passing of time overshadows this framing narrative, made visible by the king's declining body.[43] Against time's passing, transmission of text is again topicalized as the source of anxiety — could a text, the "cherished instruction" (*baoxun* 保訓), be passed down, or will it disintegrate into this flux? The solution suggested within this text is a precious explicit reference to writing as a medium, which are relatively rare among early Chinese texts.[44] The written medium is presented as the carrier for a text's passage through time in the place of recitation, substituting the vanishing lips, tongue, and memories of the dying king.

Another text, "Wuwang jian zuo" 武王踐阼 ("King Wu ascends the Eastern Steps"), a transmitted text with two parallel unearthed manuscript versions also dated to circa 300 BCE, articulates even more strikingly the anxiety over textual preservation and the desire for textual

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41. As noted by Krijgsman, "Cultural Memory and Excavated Anecdotes," 325n. 43, an alternative reading suggested by Zhao Ping'an 趙平安 for the graph *nian* *nəms 念 is *kan* *khəm 堪 (endure). The readings *nian* (Krijgsman) *təm 唸 (recite) and *shen* *n̥imʔ (Baxter-Sagart) 諗 (recite, remonstrate, commemorate), as suggested by Lin Zhipeng 林志鵬, seem fitting for this context. The word *shen* 諗 is utilized in similar contexts of instruction, though seems to be largely restricted to ministers remonstrating their rulers, such as a paratextual statement indicating the officials of King Wen's remonstration to King Wu as the compositional context of a text titled "Wen kai" 文開 (文王卿士，諗發教禁戒，作《文開》) in the "Zhoushu xu" 周書序 (Preface to the Book of Zhou) chapter of *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書; see *Yi Zhou shu huijiao jizhu* 逸周書彙校集注, commentary by Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, Tian Xudong 田旭東 and Zhang Maorong 張懋鎔 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007). Since it appears likely that *nian* 唸 and *shen* 諗 are the more specialized and exoactive forms of *nian* 念 (to think, remember, recite), I read this graph as *nian* 念 (Unless otherwise specified, my Old Chinese transcriptions are taken from Axel Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2007). "Baxter-Sagart" refers to William H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart, *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).).
42. Li Xueqin 李學勤 ed., *Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian (I)* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡(壹) (Beijing: Zhongxi shuju, 2010), 142–48. Translation adapted from Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 263–314 and Krijgsman, "Cultural Memory and Excavated Anecdotes," 312.
43. There are other similar scene of instruction featuring King Wen's deathbed, such as the "Ming zhuan" 明傳 chapter in *Liu Tao* 六韜.
44. For Krijgsman's interpretation of this reference to writing, see Ibid..

stability.[45] Similar to *Tang zai chimen*, the king in the framing narrative, King Wu, asks whether the teachings of the ancients have been transmitted: "Is the Way of the Yellow Thearch and Xuan Xu (two mythical rulers) preserved? Or is it already fallen away and no longer accessible?" 昔黃帝顓頊之道存乎？意亦忽不可得見與.[46]

The teacher figure in this instruction scene, Lü Wang 呂望, eventually reads to the king a set of rhymed words from a written document. Even more elaborate than the written text alluded to in *Baoxun*, this text is said to be written in costly cinnabar (*dan shu* 丹書). The remaining section articulates the wish for textual stability ingeniously. After hearing Lü Wang's instruction, the king proceeds to engrave "cautionary writings" (*jie shu* 戒書) on his furniture, vessels, clothing accessories, and weapons. The text catalogues the inscribed maxims and objects, tallying items altogether; the organization of this catalogue is highly formulaic, following the pattern of "the inscription at X states…", such as "the inscription on the upper left end of the matt states…" 席前左端之銘曰.[47]

This section of the "Wuwang jian zuo" is essentially a compilation of maxims, organized and stitched together by cleverly engineered paratextual elements. The description of the locations of these "inscriptions" performs paratextual functions not unlike those performed by the narrative elements in *Tang chu yu Tangqiu,* the branching catalogue of *Tang zai Chimen*, or the repeated "Master said" (*ziyue* 子曰) phrase in the *Analects*. They associate these sayings with the objects within a king's domicile, introducing the political context as the desired pragmatic for its

45. *Da Dai liji huijiao jijie* 大戴禮記匯校集解, commentary by Fang Xiangdong 方向東 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 617-19; Ma Chengyuan 馬承源 ed., *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu (VII)* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書（柒） (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008). For a full translation and analysis of the framing narrative, see Grebnev, "The Core Chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*," 239-40.

46. *Da Dai liji huijiao jijie*, 617.

47. Ibid., 618.

interpretation. The pairing of the aphorism and the object is carefully chosen. The washbasin, for instance, is engraved with an admonition that "drowning in men" 溺於人 is even more dangerous than "drowning in the deep" 溺於淵.[48] Like the narrative elements and the branching catalogue in *Tang zai Chimen* and *Tang chu yu Tangqiu*, the descriptions of the locations of these inscriptions perform packaging function, both in keeping the set of maxims together (almost like a memory palace), and in distinguishing them distinct from one other.

Finally, the presentation of maxims also reflects the attempt to seal the texts, placing them under an "airlock" thereby making them impervious to the vicissitudes of time. The act of inscribing as the means for achieving textual stability is not only intuitive, but also well-articulated by early Chinese texts such as the *Mozi* 墨子 (Master Mo). A passage that recurs throughout the *Mozi*, which Wiebke Denecke refers to as the "transmission formula,"[49] claims that the sage kings transcribed and inscribed texts onto bronzes and stones so as to ensure their transmission. A version of the transmission formula from the "Ming gui xia" 明鬼下 (Percipient Ghost III) chapter can serve as an example:

> Thus the (ancient sage kings) wrote it down on bamboo and silk to bequeath and transmit it to future descendants. Fearing collectively that it would die out from decay and infestation, lest the future descendants would not be able to take note of it, they carved it onto basins and bowls, engraved it onto metals and stones, so as to hold it dear.

> 故書之竹帛，傳遺後世子孫。咸恐其腐蠹絕滅，後世子孫不得而記，故琢之盤盂，鏤之金石，以重之.[50]

This passage highlights vividly how an early audience might have projected its anxiety over the

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48. Ibid.

49. Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 135.

50. *Mozi jiangu* 墨子間詁, commentary by Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848-1908) (Zhonghua shuju: Beijing, 2001), 31.236.

transmission and preservation of texts onto the act of inscribing. It thus further supports the reading of King Wu's inscription of dicta onto bronze objects and furniture pieces as a metaphorical sealing of these texts.

As suggested earlier, the hierarchization of the text's production and the separation it suggests between production and reception is intimately linked to the creation of textual stability, i.e. the sealing of the text. It is possible that such an interest in the hierarchizing and sealing of a text is in some ways intrinsic to the rhetoric of the instruction scene. Existing scholarship has already discussed in part instruction scene's hierarchization function, pointing out that the presence of the disciples elevate the masters' status.[51] My reading of the instruction scene as a seal (*sphragis*) suggests an additional layer of meaning: the presence of both the master and the disciple allows for the construction of a link, in the sense of a ring in a chain, whose repetitive enchaining allows for a teaching to travel down through time. Such an enchaining is explicitly articulated in the *sphragis* passage of the *Theognidea,* where Theognis addresses Kyrnos, "But I, having good intentions toward you, will prescribe to you such things I myself / Kyrnos, learned from the noble men when I was still a boy."[52] If the sealing of a text facilitates its continuity through time, then the master-disciple link can be read as a symnbolic representation of such a continuity. Thus, even the most minimal suggestion of an instruction scene, the archetypal "Masters said" (*zi yue* 子曰) punctuating the *Analects* throughout, articulates a wish for the preservation of its dicta, as I will discuss in greater detail below.

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51. See, for instance, Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 58.
52. For full text and translation of the *sphragis* passage, see page 41.

1.4 Packaging

Finally, the *Tang zai Chimen* text, as a manuscript artifact, also highlights the packaging function of its paratextual devices, in addition to illustrating the complex relationship between the codicological unit and the textual unit in early Chinese manuscripts. In its initial publication, the *Tang zai Chimen* was presented as an independent unit of text.[53] A subsequent study revealed that the *Tang zai Chimen* is probably located on the same bamboo scroll as *Tang chu yu Tangqiu*, with the *Tang zai Chimen* most likely preceding the *Tang chu yu Tangqiu*.[54] Therefore, these two texts belong to the same codicological unit, as they are found on the same manuscript. At the same time, a formatting feature separates the two texts, namely the blank space on the last slip of *Tang zai Chimen* (Figure 1.2 below shows the last three slips of this manuscript, read right to left). We still do not know, however, whether this blank space indicates that these are two separate texts, or two sections of the same text. As Richter's study of formatting and punctuation practices among early Chinese unearthed texts shows, such a blank space can be used as a "terminator" marking the end of a textual unit.[55] However, since it can be used to mark the end of a section within a text as well as the end of a text in its entirety, the question remains, for the most part, unanswered.

Figure 1.2: the final three slips of *Tang zai Chimen* (slips 19-21)

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53. Li Xueqin, *Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian (V)*, 141-48.
54. This is reconstructed through close observation of the verso marks and the matching surface features of the bamboo slips. A verso mark is a curved, continuous line incised around the bamboo flute before the bamboo is cut into slips and woven into a writing surface. This appears to be another method for keeping the slips in the correct order; see the discussion by Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔 in Qinghua daxue chutu wenxian dushu hui 清華大學出土文獻讀書會, "Qinghuajian diwuce zhengli baogao buzheng" 清華簡第五冊整理報告補正, *Qinghua daxue* (2015), accessed 2018-05-01, http://www.tsinghua.edu.cn/publish/cetrp/6831/2015/20150408112711717568509/20150408112711717568509_.html.
55. Matthias L. Richter, "Punctuation," unpublished manuscript and Richter, "Punctuation as an Indication of Extension and Structure."

Moreover, formatting and punctuation features are not consistently preserved across different manuscript witnesses of similar texts.[56] It would not be surprising to discover another manuscript that is similar to *Tang zai Chimen* and *Tang chu yu Tangqiu* in content, but does not contain the blank space currently separating them, so that they would resemble a single text.

In reading the narrative frame as paratextual, I suggest that this narrative device can also perform a similar packaging function often associated with codicological and formatting features in modern bibliographical practice. This offers another explanation for the "formulaic-

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56. For example, the punctuation and formatting differences between two closely related manuscript texts, such as *Xing zi ming chu* 性自命出 and *Xing qing lun* 性情論, or the two manuscript versions of *Ziyi* 緇衣, see Richter, "Punctuation."

ness" of early Chinese anecdotes discussed earlier. In other words, the formulaic nature of the framing narratives is vital for guiding readers and users in locating the beginning of an anecdote. When a manuscript contains a collection of such anecdotes, the identification of the beginning also signals where the previous anecdote ends, even in the absence of additional punctuation or spacing. When compared with formatting or punctuation features, which easily vary from manuscript to manuscript, the narrative frame might have been a more constant and reliable demarcation of the boundaries of a textual unit, for it is more likely to be preserved in the process of manuscript copying.

But what is, ultimately, is the textual unit demarcated by these paratextual devices? Is the *Tang zai Chimen* a text, or rather a section within a text? Existing research shows that despite a certain degree of pattern and consistency, there appears not to be a standardized and universalized punctuation and formatting convention in the pre-imperial period.[57] Thus we might never completely decipher the paratextual language that is to some degree idiosyncratic to the producers of the *Tang zai Chimen*, and fully understand how they would have liked to identify and group these texts. Nevertheless, recognizing the paratextual function of the narrative frame allows definitively identify the *Tang zai Chimen* as a self-sufficient *semantic unit* that can be read by itself. It can also easily become a *bibliographic unit*, because its semantic independence and well-demarcated boundaries allow it to circulate on its own. We should not be surprised to find another version of this text in a new context. Ontologically, it is in some ways on a equal footing with a modern book, since it is not a fragment, not a part of a larger unit.

The framing narrative's packaging function is even more evident in the *Tang chu yu*

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57. Ibid., 1.14.

Tangqiu manuscript. It contains a few more extensive anecdotes as well as a series of small apophthegms insulated from each other by bare-bones narrative elements, such as the repeated phrases "Tang asks Xiaochen again saying… Xiaochen answers saying…" 湯又問於小臣曰…小臣答曰…[58] These repeated narrative elements suggest that each dictum is a discrete textual unit that should to be understood on its own, even if there are underlying themes or orientations uniting them all.

The textual boundaries demarcated by the narrative elements in *Tang chu yu Tangqiu* have even less formatting reinforcement, for there is not a hint of additional spacing found between these units. Small, dash-like marks (see Figure 1.3) are inserted before the beginning of King Tang's questions, but it is unclear if these marks were made by the scribe or the user. Given the lack of spacing, they are most likely marks made by readers to facilitate their own identification of a semantic unit, or even as a "declamation aid" indicating appropriate pauses in their recitation of this text.[59] These readers likely identified these boundaries through the help of the narrative elements. In whichever case, one cannot rely on such marks to indicate the independence of each individual dictum across manuscripts, seeing that such small dashes are similarly unreliably conserved.

Figure 1.3: Punctuation in *Tang chuyu Tangqiu* (slip 14)

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58. Li Xueqin, *Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian (V)*, 135-36.
59. Richter, "Punctuation," 3.29-39.

In summary, the narrative frame of early anecdotes is in many ways comparable to modern book covers and binding. Both demarcate the boundary of a textual unit and supply the meta-information concerning the text packaged within, stipulating its integrity and survival, as well as mediating its interpretation. In view of the ontological independence of an anecdote, the comparison between such narrative frames and modern book covers more than a metaphor. As discussed, the anecdote is one of the most common forms — if not the most common form — in which early Chinese texts circulated, just as the book form is a major bibliographical unit for the circulation of modern texts. If early Chinese texts predominately circulated in building block textual units, as Boltz postulates, the anecdote, as van Els and Queen point out, was a type of "basic building blocks" of early Chinese prose.[60] Reading these frame narratives as paratexts offers another explanation for the formulaic nature as well as the prevalence of early Chinese

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60. Els and Queen, "Anecdotes in Early China," 16.

anecdotes.

2. Expandable Membranes

Recognizing the paratextual function performed by the anecdote's narratives allows us to see possible relationships among a wide range of short texts that must have been in circulation in the early period, and chart them on a shared terrain. In early Chinese compilations, unattributed sayings, briefly attributed aphorisms, and anecdotes are often intermingled as part of a single collection of short texts. Such compilations of short texts tend to employ a similar set of terms in their title, such as *yan* 言 (words, sayings), *yu* 語 (sayings, speeches), *tan* 談 (discussions, conversations), *shuo* 說 (discourses, illustrations, persuasion) and *zhuan* 傳 (traditions, commentaries), but there appears to be no single overarching and universally agreed-upon term.[61] But if we focus on the subset of such materials that conform to the structure of a capsular anecdote, structural similarities quickly emerge. They can be situated on a spectrum based on the degree of paratextual packaging, ranging from anonymous maxims (zero degree of contextualization) to elaborate anecdotes (high degree of contextualization).

2.1 A Topography of Anecdotes

Table 1.1 below illustrates how a set of similar teachings can be encapsulated by increasingly lengthy narrative frames that I deem paratextual. Such paratextual elements are shaded, while the related didactic texts are underlined:

Table 1.1: *Expanding Narrative Frame*

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61. Ibid.

Level of Packaging	Examples
None (maxims)	A gentleman is not astray though in privation and dire straits, is not indecorous even in exhaustion, and does not forget the smallest measure of the doctrine when facing calamity. Without winter one cannot know the character of pines and cedars; Without difficulties one cannot know what the gentleman has held from day to day (*Xunzi 27*). 君子隘窮而不失，勞倦而不苟，臨患難而不忘細席之言。歲不寒無以知松柏，事不難無以知君子無日不在是.[62]
Minimum (apophthegms)	The Master said, "Only after the descend of winter does one learn that pines and cedar are the last to shed their leaves" (*Analects* 9). 子曰：「歲寒，然後知松栢之後彫也」.[63]
Contextualized (apophthegms)	When at the state of Chen, all provation exhausted, and all followers were sick so that no one could rise, Zilu met (Confucius) in anger and said, "Even the gentleman should suffer privation?" The Master said, "In privation, a gentleman becomes resolute, while a petty man gives away to dissolution" (*Analects* 15). 在陳絕糧，從者病，莫能興。子路慍見曰：「君子亦有窮乎？」子曰：「君子固窮，小人窮斯濫矣」.[64]

62. *Xunzi 27*, "Dalue" 大略, is a collection of maxims interspersed with a small numbers of apophthegms. *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解, commentary by Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842-1917) (Zhonghua shuju: Beijing, 1988), 27.505-506. Translation adapted from John Knoblock, trans. *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), III.225-26.

63. *Lunyu zhushu* 論語注疏 *in* Shisanjing zhushu 十三經注疏, commentary by Ruan Yuan 院元 (1764-1849) (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1965), 9.81a.

64. Ibid., 15.137a.

| *Elaborate* | Confucius was in such straits between Chen and Cai that for seven days he had eaten nothing except broth of goosefoot greens without grains prepared by Zai Yu. Confucius, strumming his lute, sang in his room, while Yan Hui picked greens outside. Zilu together with Zigong joined him there and spoke with him, "The master was chased from Lu (Confucius's home state), had to cover his tracks in Wey, had a tree cut down on him in Song, and (now) in dire straits between Chen and Cai. He can be murdered with impunity, abused without prohibition. Yet he plays and sings, drums and dances without cease. Can a gentleman really have no shame as such?"
Yan Hui, having no answer, went in and told Confucius. Changing his contenance, Confucius pushed away his lute, sighed deeply and said, "Zilu and Zigong are petty men. Summon them and I will talk with them."
Zilu and Zigong entered, and the latter said, "Being reduced to our present circumstances can properly be called privation."
Confucius replied, "What is that supposed to mean? <u>For a gentleman to advance on the Way is called 'advancement,' and to be deprived of the Way is called 'privation.' Now I, Qiu, have held on to the Way of humaneness and propriety in confronting the troubles of a disordered age. This is where I belong, and why call it privation? Thus in examining myself, I find no regret with regard to the Way, in facing challenges I did not lose my virtue. Only when the great cold has descended and the frost and snow have fallen that I can then recognize the vitality of the pines and ceders</u>….(*Lüshi chunqiu*, "Shen ren" 慎人).

孔子窮於陳、蔡之間，七日不嘗食，藜羹不糝。宰予備矣，而孔子弦歌於室，顏回擇菜於外。子路與子貢相與而言曰：「夫子逐於魯，削跡於衛，伐樹於宋，窮於陳蔡，殺夫子者無罪，藉夫子者不禁，夫子弦歌鼓舞，未嘗絕音，蓋君子之無所醜也若此乎？」
顏回無以對，入以告孔子。孔子憱然推琴，喟然而歎曰：「由與賜，小人也。召，吾語之。」子路與子貢入。子貢曰：「如此者可謂窮矣。」孔子曰：「是何言也？<u>君子達於道之謂達，窮於道之謂窮。今丘也拘仁義之道，以遭亂世之患，其所也，何窮之謂？故內省而不疚於道，臨難而不失其德。大寒既至，霜雪既降，吾是以知松柏之茂也</u>.[65] |

Plotting the famous refrain *ziyue* 子曰 (the Master said) onto this continuum underscores its paratextual potential. This phrase indeed performs all four paratextual functions, similar to the narrative frame of **Tang zai Chimen*. Let us turn to the following passage from the *Analects* 7

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65. *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 14.338-39. Translation adapted from Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 326.

"Shu er" 述而 chapter. As scholars such as Pang Pu 龐樸, Chen Wei 陳偉, and Michael Hunter have pointed out, the Confucius saying cited below has a close parallel in a collection of anonymous maxims in a 4th-3rd century bamboo slip manuscript from the Guodian tomb, entitled *Yucong III* 語叢三 (Thicket of Sayings) by editors.[66]

The Master said (*ziyue*),

Aim at the way,	Aim at the way,
Rest upon virtue,	Habituate to virtue,
Rely on benevolence,	Rely on benevolence,
Roam among the arts (*Analects* 7).	Roam among the arts (*Yucong III*).

子曰
志於道
據於德
依於仁
游於藝.[67]

志於道

虗(狎)[68]於德
依於仁
遊於藝.[69]

The detachability of the phrase *ziyue* is illustrated by the independent attestation of the saying in a different context. But instead of seeing these two texts as two alternative versions of historical reality, the model of paratext allows us to see them as competing prescriptions that were not yet fully realized. The phrase *ziyue,* as a nearly minimal manifestation of the narrative frame, succinctly assigns meta-information to the text — an authorial identity of a Master, which the *Analects* compilation further disambiguates as Confucius. Such a label prescribes a more specific interpretation of the saying, namely that it ought to be understood in the context of other sayings similarly labeled with *ziyue*. Its hierarchization claim is explicit, for the user is

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66. See Chen Wei 陳偉 et al. ed., *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance: shisi zhong* 楚地出土戰國簡冊: 十四種 (Beijing: Jingji kexue chubanshe, 2009), 261n.40; Hunter, *Confucius Beyond the Analects*, 229-30.
67. *Lunyu zhushu*, 7.62b.
68. Chen Wei et al., *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance: shisi zhong*, 261n.38.
69. Jingmen shi bowuguan, *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 211 (*Yucong III,* slip 52).

forced into the position of disciple, who must mimick the master; such "mimicking," in the context of textual production, suggest the replication of the encapsulated dicta with accuracy, perhaps both in memory and in writing.

Finally, the refrain *ziyue* is a packaging device that not only keeps the subsequent four phrases together as a single entity, but also separates them from other sayings. As in the case of *Tang zai Chimen* and *Tang chu yu Tangqiu*, the narrative elements substitute or reduplicate the function of punctuation; without these elements, the apophthegms would likely lose their discrete identities and begin to blend together to form longer textual units. As argued, this is especially crucial in a manuscript culture where punctuation seems not to have been consistently copied.. Finally, it is possible to see the repetition of the phrase *ziyue* not only as the packaging surrounding a given saying, but also as "tags" that have brought together this compilation. One can imagine the making of the *Analects* as an "ordering" (*lun* 論) of "sayings" (*yu* 語) tagged with the phrase *ziyue*.

In short, while a phrase like *ziyue* is not a narrative proper, it behaves like an abbreviation of the fuller paratextual frame. Alternatively, the increasingly elaborate anecdotes can be viewed as expansions of the most basic forms. While all capsules, small and large, can perform the basic functions of paratext, fully developed narratives can carry out even more prescriptive functions. If a fuller narrative frame can begin to serve as an illustration of the teachings packaged within, such an illustration can be seen read as part of a paratext's speech act, for it prescribes the desired interpretation of the sayings. The prescription of interpretation through the illustrative function of narratives will be closely examined in Subsections 3.

2.2 Capsular Anecdote and "Lodged Sayings" (*yuyan* 寓言)

To situate this analysis of the capsular anecdotes in some of the existing discussions of early Chinese anecdotes, let us revisit the discussion of the term "lodged sayings" (*yuyan* 寓言), found in the *Zhuangzi* passage cited in the Introduction.[70] The term *yuyan* in modern Chinese is equivalent to "allegory" or "fable," likely because *Aesop's Fables*, as early as 1872, was translated as "Aesop's *yuyan*."[71] But throughout its long history in pre-modern Chinese literature, *yuyan* had a variety of meanings that are significantly different from "allegory."[72] This is also the case in its *locus classicus* appearance in the *Zhuangzi*.

In contemporary Chinese literary criticism, *yuyan* is increasingly utilized as the technical term for the massive collections of anecdote materials found in early texts, leading some scholars to assume, or even to actively argue for, the anachronistic equivalency between early Chinese anecdotes and texts like *Aesop's Fable*. The anecdotes discussed earlier tend to be summarily included under the umbrella of *yuyan*, meaning "fables."[73] The difference between the early Chinese *yuyan* and "fable" or "allegory," I would argue, is not only an issue of technicality, but

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70. For translation and discussion of this passage, see page 39.

71. I.e. *Yisuo yuyan* 伊索寓言; see Michael Hill, *Lin Shu, Inc.: The Making of an Icon in Modern China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 73.

72. For instance, many Tang poems are entitled "Yuyan," but a large portion of them seem to simply mean "entrusting my thoughts to words" or "entrusting my emotions to words," where *the yan* is the direct object, as opposed to the object, of *yu*. See for instance Du Mu's poem "Yuyan" in Ju Bilian 朱碧蓮 and Wang Shujun 王淑均 eds., *Du Mu shiwen xuanzhu* 杜牧詩文選注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 64. This meaning of *yuyan* could have derived from Medieval literary critical writings. In *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, for instance, Liu Xie summarizes the chapter on elegies as "the sorrow that can last thousands of years, entrusting it to words to see him off." 千載可傷，寓言以送, in Liu Xie 劉勰 (c. 465 – c. 522), *Wenxin diaolong yizheng* 文心雕龍義證, commentary by Zhan Yang 詹鍈 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 486.

73. See for instance Bai Bensong 白本松, *Xian Qin yuyanshi* 先秦寓言史 (Zhengzhou: Henan daxue chubanshe, 2001). Ma Shinian's 馬世年 otherwise insightful study on the *Hanfeizi* also argues for a comparison between the *Hanfeizi* anecdotes and *Aesop's Fables,* see Ma Shinian 馬世年, Hanfeizi *de chengshu jiqi wenxue yanjiu* 《韓非子》的成書及其文學研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), 204-21.

impacts how we envision textual production in Early China from the smallest to the largest scale.

Moreover, this tendency to interpret early Chinese anecdotes as "fables" reflects the focus of existing scholarship on the anecdote genre in general. Anecdotes, generally speaking, have been studies as as small units of narrative that can be enlisted to illustrate something larger, be it an allegorical meaning or a philosophical thesis argued paradigmatically.[74] Attention to the narrative frame's paratextual function — as something that packages rather than being packaged within a larger discourse — can be counter-intuitive, but it offers a more accurate reading of the passage on *yuyan* in *Zhuangzi*; it is also a more fitting explanation for capsular anecdotes with minimal plot development.

The literary terms "allegory" and "fable" dictate a relationship between a text and its meaning, the signifier and the signified. The *other* (ἀλλο-) of "allegory," for instance, refers to the fact that the signified (the figurative meaning) is different from the signifier (the text and its literal meaning).[75] In a sense, there is also an "other" in the *Zhuangzi* definition of *yuyan*, but it is not about the relationship between the signifier and signified; instead, the "other" refers to the (masked) identity of the speaker. It specifies that for the purpose of persuasion, one can enlist an "outsider" (*wai* 外) as the temporary "lodge" for one's speech, since an "outsider" — perhaps not unlike a shill in a street con scheme — is better positioned as the "go-between" between the

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74. See for instance Joel Fineman's influential definition of the anecdote as "the smallest minimal unit of the historiographical fact" Joel Fineman, "The History of the Anecdote: Fiction and Fiction," in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veeser (New York: Routledge, 1989), 56-57. See note 5 on page 73 in this dissertation for scholarship focusing on early Chinese anecdotes' paradigmatic function.

75. G Teskey, "Allegory," in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Greene et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012). For simple distinction between "fable" and "allegory," see Ibid., 37.

persuader and his audience. In other words, the "otherness" or "alterity" involved in the concept of "lodged words" is not about the relationship between a text and its meaning, or its semantics; rather, it is about the relationship between a text's producer and audience, or its pragmatics. According to the *Zhuangzi* definition, any speech can be made into a lodged speech without change, so long as it is spoken by anyone other than its real issuer. It is not concerned with how literal or figurative the speech itself is. Thus, in its earliest meaning, *yuyan* is only concerned with the packaging, the presentation, and the reception of words, not the meaning of the words.

Indeed, the capsular anecdotes discussed earlier are nearly diametrically opposed to allegorical narratives such as *Aesop's Fables*. Many stories in *Aesop's Fable* are what I call "narrative anecdotes," brief narrative accounts that can serve as illustration to a moral lesson or a social observation; while in some of them, a character would deliver a punch line within the fable (termed "epilogue" or *epilogos*), in others, the "moral" of the story is not directly articulated. A body of external "morals" (*epimuthion*) were later developed and appended to the fables, but they are often different from edition to edition.[76] One can also purchase an *Aesop Without Morals*, i.e. without the attached *epimuthia*. In contrast, the narrative portion of the *Lüshi chuqniu* anecdote cited at the beginning of this chapter is minimally illustrative. The "moral," meanwhile, is directly articulated by the characters in the narrative. This is often the case with capsular anecdotes.

The *yuyan* passage can be read as an interpretation of an existing *Zhuangzi* corpus, as a

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76. For the development of *epithumion* in the rhetorical tradition, see Leslie Kurke, *Aesopic Conversations: Popular Tradition, Cultural Dialogue, and the Invention of Greek Prose* Princeton University Press, 2010), 275n.34.

later compiler's attempt at making sense of the multitude of *dramatis personae* found in the majority of the extant *Zhuangzi* chapters. This explicit poetic of *Zhuangzi*, as I would further argue, is in fact applicable to all capsular anecdotes. This form of anecdotes indeed follows the structure suggested by the *Zhuangzi* definition of *yuyan*, where the narrative elements function as packaging of words — as paratexts. In Yu Zhihui's discussion of the concept of *yuyan* in *Zhuangzi*, he similarly describes the narrative of a *yuyan* composition as an "outer shell" (*waike* 外壳) for the lodged didactic content.[77] In sum, I would, on the one hand, agree that capsular anecdotes are *yuyan*, but on the other hand, I would not in this context define *yuyan* according to its meaning in modern Chinese of "fable" or "allegory;" I would instead turn to its earlier and literal meaning as "lodged sayings" or even "encapsulated sayings." As I have discussed in the Introduction, the conceptual structures of *yuyan* and paratexts as concepts have manifold parallels.

The "lodged speech" paradigm also forms parallel with the "two bodies" structure of authorship, for it acknowledges the potential fissure between the producer of the words and the socially perceived author of the words. It is curious to ponder how much self-reflectivity is involved in the theorization of this concept. Was the compiler who wrote this imagining a Master Zhuang, who he imagines to be the rightful author of the compilation he is looking at, assuming the guise of the various personae found throughout the *Zhuangzi*? Or was he in fact thinking of how he himself was writing in the guise of the various anecdote personae?

Let us now summarize the features of a capsular anecdote: the intended message of such anecdotes, its lesson or the moral, of the anecdote is conveyed directly through the speech en-

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77. 「无论是作为一种创作方法的寓言，还是作为一种文体的寓言，它们都是先有一个所寓之意在，然后再为这个意寻找或制作一个合适的外壳」 in Yu Zhihui, *Guyu you zhi*..

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capsulated within the paratextual narratives, while the narrative frame is first and foremost a membrane wrapping together the textual units of this speech. The textual units within, as will be further illustrated by the examples in the next two sections, are usually didactic texts that can exist on its own, whose perimeter is already defined structurally, such as through parallelism, prosody, or cataloguing. Such textual units include what Krijgsman calls "traveling sayings": texts that are highly structured, possibly rhyming, and optimized for succinctness and easy memorization.[78]

Even as I seek to highlight the paratextual function performed by the narrative frames, I must also emphasize that I am not limiting these narratives to merely being paratexts, deprived of their narratival, allegorical, paradigmatic, and illustrative potentials. Rather, I hope to spotlight one facet of a multi-functional textual phenomenon that can act both as paratexts as well as illustration or exemplification. As I have pointed out, a more elaborate narrative frame's illustrative function can be understood as an additional interpretative prescription for how to understand the embedded teaching, as part of the paratextual function performed by the anecdote. In other words, the paratextual function and the allegorical, illustrative, or paradigmatic functions are not mutually exclusive.

Similarly, seeing the narrative frame as paratextual describes a hermeneutic cycle from one direction, focusing on the services the narrative frames provide to the embedded didactic utterances; this relationship by no means has to be unidirectional and hierarchical. Schaberg's interpretation can be understood as describing this phenomenon from the opposite direction, where the narrative as the primary element, and the embedded speeches as interpretations of

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78. Krijgsman, "Traveling Sayings as Carriers of Philosophical Debate," 98.

the narratives.[79] These two perspectives are also not mutually exclusive, but are two ways of describing the same phenomenon. The mutually interpretative relationship between the sayings and the narratives reflects the dynamics of manuscript production during an open text stage that is far from unidirectional and hierarchical, where narratives can absorb didactic materials, while sayings can be engulfed by narratives.

3. Two Sets of Interrelated Capsular Anecdotes

In this and the next sections, I will offer close study of two sets of texts, mostly of capsular anecdotes, that are linked together through parallel versions. The first set of examples all have extensive textual parallels with one of the manuscripts from the Guodian tomb, *Qiongda yishi* 窮達以時 (Privation and Advancement Depends on Time), included in Scott Cook's complete translation and study of the Guodian corpus.[80] This example not only illustrates the interconnections between a manuscript dating to 300 BCE and received compilations that are finalized ranging from around 239 BCE (*Lüshi chunqiu*) to the Han period, but also how an anonymous exposition can be absorbed into capsular anecdotes.

In the next section, I will show how the same gnomic verse can be encapsulated by two different narrative frames among early compilations. Overall, these two sets of interrelated textual materials illustrate the dynamic of relatively open texts, how various textual building blocks circulate and mutate independently, and can be recombined to form larger texts. At the

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79. Schaberg, *A Patterned Past*, 172-74. See also David Schaberg, "Chinese History and Philosophy," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Volume 1: Beginnings to AD 600*, ed. Andrew Feldherr and Grant Hardy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 173-78.
80. Scott Bradley Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian: A Study and Complete Translation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

same time, they also show how narrative frames can perform paratextual functions, packaging and stitching together these building blocks, and attempt to stabilize the textual environment within.

3.1 From Anonymous to Confucius (Set 1)

All of these texts in Set 1 contain closely linked versions of what I term the "endurers' list"; they also share series of dicta arguing for how a "gentleman" (*junzi* 君子) ought to be steadfast in hardship, partly by recognizing the role of forces beyond human agency, such as Heaven (*tian* 天) and timing (*shi* 時). These texts thus address a question that echoes throughout early Chinese texts: the relationship between heaven and human.

The manuscript presents the **Qiongda yi shi* as an anonymous text, free of any paratextual wrapping except for the prosody and manuscript formatting. There is no title found in the likely places, and the current title is given by modern editors. All the other versions listed here, except for the *Lüshi chunqiu* version, frame texts closely related to the **Qiongda yi shi* text within one of the most ubiquitous anecdotes in early Chinese corpus, namely Confucius and his disciples in dire straits between states Cai and Chen. Framed within such a narrative frame, the anonymous teachings found on the **Qiongda yi shi* manuscript becomes Confucius' speech. While the narrative of Confucius between Chen and Cai appears in almost every extensive early Chinese compilation, and has received significant scholarly attention.[81] The parallel relationships among these versions have already been noted by the editor of the Guodian manuscripts,

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81. John Makeham, "Between Chen and Cai: *Zhuangzi* and the *Analects*," in *Wandering at Ease in the Zhuangzi*, ed. Roger T. Ames (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998); Meyer, "The Frontier between Chen and Cai."

and received detailed study by scholars such as Liu Jiao 劉嬌, He Zhihua 何志華, and Cook.[82] By analyzing this set of texts through the lens of paratext introduces a new way of conceptualizing the relationships among these parallel versions

Even though the excavated Guodian manuscripts are dated to around 300 BCE, they are not necessarily older than their received parallels. Nevertheless, *Qiongda yi shi* is statistically likelier than its received parallels to reflect an older form of this passage, since it was buried under ground while the other versions were likely undergoing cycles of redactions between the late Warring States and the Han dynasties. In the Appendix, and in the texts and translations cited below, the repeated building blocks are labeled using the same capitalized letters. These labels are in turn utilized to visualize the textual reuse among these passages in Figure 1.4 below. In this diagram, the location of the Chen and Cai anecdote is represented by the rectangle, while parallel textual units are color-coded, where the repetition of letters approximate the length of the building block. The term "unique" indicates that a textual unit does not have close parallel among this group of texts; it might well be repeated in another text in the early Chinese corpus. The complete text of each version is represented, though space is added to some of them to highlight the parallels across different versions (For complete text and translation see Appendix).

Figure 1.4: *Qiongda yi shi* complex

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82. Jingmen shi bowuguan, *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 145; Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 431-38; Liu Jiao, "Yangong yu chaoshuo," 174-81; He Zhihua 何志華, *Lüshi chunqiu guankui* 《呂氏春秋》管窺 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 2015), 141-52.

Confucius between Chen + Cai

| *Qiongda yi shi | Shuo yuan 17.2 Hanshi waizhuan | Shuo yuan 17.1 | Xunzi 28 | Kongzi jiayu "Zai e" |

Figure content (by column):

Shuo yuan 17.2 / Hanshi waizhuan:
HH
HH
HH
HH
unique
unique
unique
I

| not I, Qiu, Alone |

CCCC
AA
BB
BB
BB
BBB
BB
BB
DD
EEEE
G
FFF
unique unique unique unique unique
unique unique unique unique unique
J

Xunzi 28:
HH
HH
HH
CC
II

| not I, Qiu, Alone |

GG
FFF
CCCC
AA
J

| Confucius: "… I tell you…" |

KKK
LL
N

Kongzi jiayu "Zai e":
HH
HH
HH
HH
CC
I

| not I, Qiu, Alone |

GGGG
CC

KK
LL
N?

| Confucius says |

unique unique
unique unique
unique unique
unique unique
LL

| Confucius elevating Yan Hui |

Shuo yuan 17.1:
KKK
LL
N

| Between Chen and Cai is my fortune… I have heard |

unique unique
unique
unique
unique
unique
unique
Yijing "unique unique"
unique

*Qiongda yi shi:
unique unique unique
AA
BBB
BBB
BBBB
BB
BB
BB
C?O
D?D?
DD
EEEE
C
F
GGGG
C?C?
O?
unique

Guodian Manuscript: "Privation and Advancement Depends on Time"

As Figure 1.4 above shows, the *Qiongda yi shi* manuscript text does not have any narrative frame. Existing scholarly discussions on the *Qiongda yi shi* manuscript not only reveal the contrasting conceptions of the early Chinese textual space among scholars today, but also demonstrate the efficaciousness of the anecdote narrative frames as paratexts, in this case the narrative frame featuring Confucius. When the Guodian manuscript was first discovered, the some scholars insisted that the *Qiongda yi shi* text must be "dislodged" rather than truly anony-

mous, namely that a slip bearing Confucius' name must be missing.[83] Close observation of the manuscript suggests otherwise, that we most likely have the beginning and the ending slip of the manuscript, without major missing pieces.[84] Its terminus is likely marked by a square black dot and space.[85] While we do not know when the Confucius anecdote was combined with versions of this text, these scholars' readings show that this anecdote clearly has been read as a piece of paratext dictating the authorship of this text. Entirely subscribing to this anecdote's prescription leads one to see an intrinsic connection between Confucius and this text.

According to Dirk Meyer's analysis of this text, it is a "well-crafted composition, and it does not seem plausible to imagine that it was created on the spur of the moment."[86] His analysis points not only a high degree of parallelism within each sentence or sets of sentences, but also the mirroring and echoing in the "macrostructure" of the text. While the opening of this text presents tension between two contrasting entities, heaven and mankind, this tension is resolved by the introduction of a concluding element at the end.[87] Meyer's reading suggests that even if this text lack paratextual elements that reinforces its boundaries, its internal structure attempts to construct a stabilized textual unit, perhaps not unlike the interlocking parallel structure that seem to close off some of the textual units in the *Laozi*.[88]

While Meyer divides this text into cantos and subcantos according to its internal logic, my division of this text below reflect information from its parallel versions, basing on whether a

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83. Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 432n.4; also alluded to in Liu Jiao, "Yangong yu chaoshuo," 181.
84. Ibid.
85. Though this marking, as is shown below, also marks the end of the endurer's list within this text.
86. Dirk Meyer, *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 73.
87. Ibid.
88. Rudolf G. Wagner, *The Craft of a Chinese Commentator: Wang Bi on the Laozi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).

block of text is kept together. Even as I highlight this text as a collage of existing building block materials, I am by no means arguing against Meyer's conclusion. The juxtaposition of our analyses in fact illustrates the dialectic of text I explore throughout this dissertation. Recognizing this text's heterogeneity, namely the possibility of each individual block to exist on its own, highlights the function of the structuring elements Meyer has identified in stabilizing and integrating the once heterogeneous elements.

> There is heaven. There is man. Between heaven and man, each has its lot. By examining the allotment between heaven and man, one understands the courses of each.[89]

> <AA> The right man in the wrong age faces impasse, though he be worthy. But given the right age, what difficulties would there be?

> (*The Endurers' List*)
> <BBB> [The mythical emperor] Shun plowed in the fields of Mt. Li and molded pottery on the banks of the Yellow River. But he was established as the Son of Heaven after encountering [the earlier emperor] Yao.
> <BBB> Gao Yao was clothed and capped in the course hemp [of a convict]. Yet released from his labors of earth-ramming he assisted the Son of Heaven, after encountering [the Shang King] Wu Ding.
> <BBBB> Lü Wang worked as storekeeper (?) at Ji Ford, served as gatekeeper in the Ji region, then at the age of seventy slaughtered oxen at Zhaoge. But he was raised up to be the mentor to the Son of Heaven after encountering [King] Wen of Zhou.
> <BB> Guan Yiwu [Guan Zhong] was detained in prison and bound in ropes. But he cast aside the shackles and became the minister of a feudal lord after encountering [Duke] Huan of Qi.
> <BB> Sunshu [Ao] had to resign thrice from the position of lesser war minister of Jisi. But he emerged as the chancellor [of Chu] after encountering [King] Zhuang of Chu.

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89. For the interpretation of this phrase see Smith, "What Difficulty Would There Be?".

<BB> Boli [Xi] was sold off for five sheep[skins] and herded sheep for the Bo [clan]. But he cast aside his whip to serve as a high officials at court after encountering [Duke] Mu of Qin.

<C?>Goodness or baseness is the choice of one's own, while privation or advancement a matter of timing.
<O> Virtue and conduct ought to be unified, while praise or slander is up to others.

<D?D?> For every sanctification (?) there is a hundredfold of censure (?).
<DD> The rise to fame of those once submerged in obscurity was not due to a gain in virtues;
<EEEE> [Wu] Zixu's execution after earlier glories was not because of a decline in wisdom. That [the famous steed] Ji bore the yoke at Mt. Zhang (?) and [the worthy steed] Jin was confined(?) among the brambles(?) was not because they were deficient in physique. They reached the limits of the four seas and ran a thousand leagues [a day] after encountering [the famous charioteer] Zao Fu.

<C> When what one encounters depends on heaven, action ought not be motivated by advancement.

<F> Thus in privation one is not ... for renown. Thus do not grudge the lack of recognition.

<GG> ...] for they do not lose their fragrance [for the absence of men] to smell them.
<GG> Consider colorful gems(?) and precious jades(?) concealed(?) within mountains and rocks, for they do not lose their patterns(?) just because [...

<C?> Privation or advancement depends on timing.
<O?> Be unwavering(?) in prominence or obscurity.
Thus the noble man is earnest in returning to himself.

有⁹⁰天有人 天人有分 察天人之分 而知所行矣

<AA> 有其人 亡其世 雖賢弗行矣 苟有其世 何難之有哉 '[91]

<BBB> 舜耕於歷山 陶拍於河浦 立而為天子 遇堯也
<BBB> 皋陶衣枲蓋褐 帽絰蒙巾 釋板築而佐天子 遇武丁也
<BBBB> 呂望為藏棘津 守監門棘地 行年七十而屠牛於朝歌 興而為天子師 遇周文也
<BB> 管夷吾拘囚束縛 釋桎梏而為諸侯相 遇齊桓也
<BB> 孫叔三謝期思少司馬 出而為令尹 遇楚庄也
<BB> 百里轉鬻五羊 為伯牧牛 釋鞭箠而為朝卿 遇秦穆 ■[92]

<C?> 善否己也 窮達以時
<O> 德行一也 譽毀在旁 '

 <D?D?> 聖之 一 侮之 百
<DD> 初沉晦 ，後名揚，非其德加 '

<EEEE> 子胥前多功 後戮死 非其智衰也
驥軛張山 驥塞鳩棘 非亡體狀也
窮四海 致千里 遇造父也

<C> 遇不遇 天也

<F> 動非為達也，故窮而不 [.][.][.]為名也 故莫之知而不吝

<G> [艹][.][.][.][.][.][.][.] 嗅而不芳 '
<G> 瑪璐瑾瑜葆山石 不為[.][.][.][.] 不理

<C?> 窮達以時
<O?> 幽明不再

---

91. The single quote marks here represent a dot-like punctuation, such as ▯ .
92. This square represents a larger ink blob, usually marking the division between larger textual units, as well as the end of a textual unit. The first one is found on slip 7 ▯ , marking the end of the endurer's list. The second one is on slip 15 ▯ , after which the rest of this slip is left blank.

故君子惇於反己∎[93]

Endurers' List

Among these building blocks, what I call "endurers' list" seem to have enjoyed wide circulation, an open text that recurs throughout early Chinese literary corpus.[94] We will return to this list several more times, for it seems to have become deeply embedded in the emerging authorship discourse. Lists or catalogues in general are a type of building block often found within capsular anecdotes.[95] Some lists are also structured by, or irregularly inflected with, prosodic elements. The endurers' list is a list of figures who have suffered hardship. In some versions of such lists, it is about the change of fortune despite the hardship. What is often seen in early Chinese texts is the listing of exemplary figures, and the endurers' list is a subtype of such exempla list.

Below is a version of this list from *Hanshi waizhuan* 7.6 that recurs in the first set of texts to be discussed in the next section.

> You suppose that the wise are immune from accusation? Then why did Prince Bigan died with his heart cut out?

93. Original publication Jingmen shi bowuguan, *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 25-28, 143-146. Updated transcription and annotation see Chen Wei 陳偉 and Peng Hao 彭浩 eds., *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance heji (II)* 楚地出土戰國簡冊合集（二） (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2011). Manuscript interpretation and translation adapted from Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 453-64.

94. Adam Smith's recent presentation, in addition to several exciting new insights, entertains the possibility of this composition as a literary exercise related to the command of conventional *topos*; see Smith, "What Difficulty Would There Be?".

95. For an important study of listing, J Delbourgo and S Müller-Wille, "Listmania: How Lists Can Open Up Fresh Possibilities For Research in The History Of Science.," *Isis* 103 (2012). My attention to listing owe inspiration to Mercedes Valmisa and Plantholt, Irene, "Listing the Memorable: Titulary Literature in Mesopotamia and China" (paper presented at The Princeton Early Text Cultures Workshop, April 16, 2016); Lisa Indraccolo, "The Multifunctional Role of Lists in the *Hánfēizǐ*" (paper presented at Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference, March 18, 2017). See Chapter II for published studies on listing and cataloguing in early Chinese texts.

You suppose the just are certain to be heeded? Then why did Wu Zixu gauged his eyes out and hang himself at Wu's east gate?

You suppose that the upright are certain to be put to use? Then why did Boyi and Shuqi starve to death under Shouyang mountain?

You supposed that the loyal are certain to be put to use? Then why was Bao Shu's body left out to decompose?

Gongzi Gao of Ye did not serve his entire life.

Bao Jiao [died] standing embracing a tree.

Jie Zitui burned to death climbing a mountain.

…

Thus Shun farmed under the Li Mountain. Because of encountering Yao was he established as the Son of Heaven.

Fu Yue was hauled silt and rammed earth. Because of encountering Wuding he became a grandee.

Yi Yin was a servant to Youxin Shi, carrying cauldrons and chopping board and blending the Five Flavors. Because of encountering Cheng Tang, he was become established the minister

Lü Wang, at age fifty, sold food at the Ji Crossing; at age seventy, was a butcher Chaoge. Because of encountering King Wen did he became the Son of Heaven's teacher, at age ninety.

Guan Yiwu was shackled in a caged chariot. Because of encountering Duke Huan of Qi did he rbecome the (state's) "Uncle."

Bo lixi sold himself for five sheepskins, and shepherded for Qin Bo. Because of encountering Duke Mu of Qin he became a grandee.

Yu Qiu was seen by all under heaven as the minister. But he yielded the position to Sun Shuhao after the latter encountered King Zhuang of Chu.

Wuzi Xu had many achievements but was later put to death. This is not because of rise or decline in his wisdom, but that he encountered Helü at first, and Fuchai later (two rulers of the state of Wu).

子以知者為無罪乎？則王子比干何為刳心而死？
子以義[96]者為聽乎？則伍子胥何為抉目而懸吳東門?
子以廉者為用乎？則伯夷叔齊何為餓於首陽之山?
子以忠者為用乎？則鮑叔何為而不用，
葉公子高終身不仕，鮑焦抱木而立，子推登山而燔？

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96. Xu Weiyu 許維遹 believes this should be read as *yi* 議 (to deliberate, to articulate); see *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, compiled by Han Ying 韓嬰 (2nd c. BCE), commentary by Xu Weiyu 許維遹 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 243.

...
賢不肖者材也
遇不遇者時也，
...
虞舜耕於歷山之陽，立為天子，其遇堯也。
傅說負土而版築，以為大夫，其遇武丁也。
伊尹故有莘氏僮也，負鼎操俎調五味，而立為相， 其遇湯也。
呂望行年五十，賣食棘津，年七十屠於朝歌，九十乃為天子師，則遇文王也。
管夷吾束縛自檻車，以為仲父，則遇齊桓公也。
百里奚自賣五羊之皮，為秦伯牧牛，舉為大夫，則遇秦繆公也。
虞丘[97](名聞)[98]於天下，以為令尹，讓於孫叔敖，則遇楚莊王也.[99]

The Appendix contains a comparison of a few other such lists from *Hanfeizi, Mencius, Zhanguoce* 戰國策 (Stratagem of the Warrng States), and *Huainanzi*, showing that the figures mentioned in **Qiongda yi shi* are the most frequently appearing figure (figures frequently mentioned among this set are underlined), though there are also other versions of endurers' list with fewer or no overlap. These lists seem to be related not only because they tend to feature a set of recurring figures, but also because these figures are described in formulaic phrases. Confucius, for instance, is invariably associated with his episode of dire need between the states Chen and Cai, and almost always described by verbs meaning "confined" or "beleaguered" (such as *e* 戹[100], *wei* 圍[101], *ju* 拘[102]). In Part II, we will discuss the close connection between this topos and Sima Qian's list of authors.

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97. 虞丘 Yuqiu (or Yuqiuzi 虞邱子) could be an alias of Shen Yin Shi 沈尹筮 (usually referred to as Shen Lingyin 沈令尹), see Ibid., 244.
98. Emendation see Ibid.
99. Ibid., 7.243-44.
100. *Shiji*, 130.3300.
101. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu* 韓非子新校注, commentary by Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), 3.52.
102. *Xunzi jijie*, 25.459, 32.554.

The Chen and Cai Anecdote as Paratextual Membrane

In a *Shuo yuan* anecdote, a set of didactic materials closely resembling the **Qiongda yishi* is framed within a narrative: as part of Confucius' speech to his disciples explaining why a good person like himself nevertheless undergoes hardship.[103] Figure 1.4 shows that the majority of the **Qiongda yi shi* segments have parallels in Confucius' speech, though in the latter, some of the building blocks are arranged in a different order. Nevertheless, the overall sequencing of the two versions still closely resemble each other. The other notable difference is that Confucius' speech packs in even more exempla lists as well as other elements before and after the **Qiongda yi shi* parallels.

In contrast to **Qiongda yi shi,* whose structure is derived from its essay-like composition, the *Shuo yuan* version's structure is dependent on its narrative elements. The function of the added narrative frame, first of all, is not that different from the bare-bones paratextual frames of the anecdotes analyzed earlier. In both cases, an instruction scene prescribes a source for the utterances as well as a setting for interpreting them. These scenes are moreover shown to be detachable and replaceable. Just as the anecdote is optional to the exposition, there are many other versions of the Confucius between Chen and Cai narrative, where Confucius utters an different sets of statements.[104]

> When Confucius was stranded between Chen and Cai, despite stationing in
> squalor, seating on crudely sewn mat, having eaten nothing for seven days save
> for soup of goosefoot greens without grain, and with all of his disciples wearing
> a hungry look, he took no break from reading the *Odes* and the *Documents* or

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103. For the production and authorship of *Shuo yuan*, see Schwermann, "Anecdote Collections as Argumentative Texts."
104. For more broadly inclusive studies for the Chen and Cai narrative, see Makeham, "Between Chen and Cai"; Meyer, "The Frontier between Chen and Cai.".

studying the *Rites*. Zilu stepped forward to remonstrate, "Those who do good heaven repays them with blessing and with misfortune those who do bad. Now you, Sir, have for a long time fostered your virtue and conduct and performed good deeds. Could it be that you have also committed something amiss? Why else do you dwell in obscurity?" Confucius said, "Zilu, come, you do not understand. Sit, and let me tell you:

> ...[*Endurer's list, close parallel to the* Hanshi waizhuan *version cited on page* 118]...

Thus a multitude are gentlemen of broad learning and profound plans who did not meet with the right time. How can I, Qiu, am alone in this!
    Whether one is worthy depends on innate talent.
    Whether one acts depends on the person.
    Whether one meets with opportunity depends on timing.
    Life and death depends on fate.
A man with talent but does not meet with his time, he will not be put to use despite his talent; should his moment comes, what difficulties would there be?

> ... [*Endurer's list, close parallel to the* Hanshi waizhuan *version cited on page* 118]...

Wuzi Xu had many achievements but was later put to death. This is not because of decline in his wisdom or merit, but that he encountered Helü at first, and Fuchai later (two rulers of the state of Wu). When a thoroughbred is chained to a salt cart, it is not because it lacked the appearance of a thoroughbred, just that there is no one in the world to recognize it; When a thoroughbred comes upon a Wang Liang or a Zao Fu (famous charioteers), does it not have the hoofs for galloping thousands of miles?

Consider the angelicas[105] that grow in the depth of forests. They do not lose its fragrance for the absence of man. Thus learning is not for the sake of success, but so that in privation one will not despair, in anxiety one will not decline. It is for knowing the origin of fortune and misfortune so that the heart will not err. The profound thoughts of a sage allows him to understand and perceive in solitary.

Shun was indeed a worthy sage, but only because he encountered Yao was he able to face south and rule all under heaven. Had Shun lived in the time of Jie and Zhoù, he could have possibly avoided multilation and death, but what office

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105. *zhi* 芝 is the alloform of *zhi* 芷, *zhilan* 芝蘭 is thus also *zhilan* 芷蘭.

would he be given to administer? That Jie killed Guan Longfeng and Zhòu (last ruler of Shang) killed Prince Bigan, at that time, was Guan Longfeng ignorant, or did Bigan lack grace? It was clearly the deviant times of Jie and Zhòu.

Thus a noble man is studious. He cultivates his person and balances his conducts to await his moment."

孔子困於陳蔡之間，居環堵之內，席三經之席，七日不食，藜羹不糝，弟子皆有饑色，讀詩書，治禮不休。子路進諫曰：「凡人為善者，天報以福，為不善者，天報以禍。今先生積德行、為善久矣。意者尚有遺行乎？奚居隱也！」孔子曰：「由，來，汝不知。坐，吾語汝。

... [Endurer's list, close parallel to the Hanshi waizhuan *version cited on page 118]...*

荊公子高終身不顯，鮑焦抱木而立枯，介子推登山焚死。故夫君子博學深謀、不遇時者眾矣，豈獨丘哉！
　　賢不肖者才也，
　　為不為者人也，
　　遇不遇者時也，
　　死生者命也。
有其才不遇其時，雖才不用，苟遇其時，何難之有！故

... [Endurer's list, close parallel to the Hanshi waizhuan *version cited on page* 118]...*

伍子胥前多功，後戮死，非其智益衰也，前遇闔廬，後遇夫差也。夫驥厄罷鹽車，非無驥狀也，夫世莫能知也；使驥得王良造父，驥無千里之足乎？

芝蘭生深林，非為無人而不香。故學者非為通也，為窮而不困也，憂而不衰也，此知禍福之始而心不惑也。聖人之深念，獨知獨見。

舜亦賢聖矣，南面治天下，唯其遇堯也；使舜居桀紂之世，能自免於刑戮固可也，又何官得治乎？夫桀殺關龍逢而紂殺王子比干，當是時，豈關龍逢無知，而比干無惠哉？此桀紂無道之世然也。

故君子疾學，修身端行，以須其時也。」[106]

The narrative capsule of this anecdote performs the basic identifying, mediating, hierarchizing

and packaging functions as exemplified by the simple framing of *Tang zai Chimen*. But as an ex-

tensive narrative, its mediation of future audience's interpretation becomes more specific, for the enriched narrative details can illustrate the message it encapsulates. The *Shuo yuan* version describes Confucius' behavior in face of both starvation and the lack of prospect, showing his persistence in his study of classical texts despite adversities. The frame narrative is thus also a concrete example of a Job-like patience in abiding obscurity or hardship. It offers a model of "a gentleman" who "is studious," that "he cultivates his person and balance his conducts to await his moment" 君子疾學，修身端行，以須其時也, a final exhortation echoed in many different versions. In other words, the illustrative function of a narrative does not contradict its paratextual functions; in fact, the illustrative potential of anecdotal narratives must have been a reason for their popularity as a paratextual device, for it can be mobilized to prescribe the "pertinent reading"[107] of the packaged dicta as desired by the compilers.

Narrative Elements as Suture

The *Shuo yuan* version is representative of the overall structure of the other versions found in the "Confucian" texts, namely *Xunzi*, *Hanshi waizhuan*, and *Kongzi jiayu*. They all utilize the story of Chen and Cai as the outer packaging, pulling together the various lists and dicta. The *Hanshi waizhuan* version, as is often the case, most closely resembles the *Shuo yuan* text. As Liu Jiao has also noted and illustrated through a table,[108] the *Shuo yuan* and *Hanshi waizhuan* versions seem to combine elements that are not shared between the *Xunzi* + *Kongzi jiayu* versions and **Qiongda yi shi*. In other words, it seems almost as if the *Shuo yuan - Hanshi waizhuan* versions seem to be combining two strands, as Figure 1.5 below visualizes:

107. Genette, *Seuils*, 2.
108. Liu Jiao, "Yangong yu chaoshuo," 181.

Figure 1.5: Narrative Elements as Sutures

	Qiongda yi shi	*Shuo yuan 17.2* *Hanshi waizhuan*	*Shuo yuan 17.1*	*Xunzi 28*	*Kongzi jiayu* "Zai e"

Confucius between Chen + Cai | suture-like narrative elements | similar textual clusters

HH HH HH HH
unique unique unique
I

| not I, Qiu, Alone |

HH HH HH HH
C C
II

| not I, Qiu, Alone |

HH HH HH HH
C C
I

| not I, Qiu, Alone |

unique unique unique
AA BBB BBB BBBB BB BB BB C?O D?D? DD EEEE C F GGGG C?C? O?
unique

CCCC AA BB BB BB BBB BB BB DD EEEE G FFF
unique unique unique unique unique unique unique unique unique unique
J

GG FFF CCCC AA J

| Confucius: "… I tell you…" |

GGGG C C

KKK LL N

| Between Chen and Cai is my fortune… I have heard |

unique unique unique unique unique unique unique unique
Yijing "unique unique"
unique

KKK LL N

KK LL N?

| Confucius says |

unique unique unique unique unique unique unique unique
LL

| Confucius elevating Yan Hui |

Comparing these versions highlights how the narrative elements are nearly always perfectly located between the building blocks, functioning almost like sutures stitching together

these pockets of texts.[109] For instance, there is an interjection in all of Confucius' speeches where Confucius refers to himself, such as "How can it be that I, Qiu, am alone in this" 豈獨丘哉 (*Shuo yuan* version). Such an interjection reinforces Confucius, a character in this narrative, as a speaker of this passage. It is literally an "interjection" of the narrative frame into the speech that could have existed anonnymously (like *Qiongda yi shi*) or as part of other figures' speeches. Such an interjection is thus part of the paratextual frame that asks the audience to read these textual units as the words of Confucius.

As mentioned, it just so happens that in all of the Confucian versions, the textual units that come before this interjection have mostly no parallels in the *Qiongda yi shi* text, while the ones succeeding it do. It is as if the textual boundary of something like the *Qiongda yi shi* was in some ways felt, and it was necessary to insert a piece of connecting tissue to bridge its bundle of textual units with another set of textual units. The *Xunzi* version contains another intrusion of the narrative frame into Confucius' speech, and this instance also seems to perform the same, suture-like function. In the *Xunzi* version, this happens right after the parallels to the *Qiongda yi shi,* at which moment narrative elements reappears: "Confucius said, Zilu, sit down, let me tell you" 孔子曰：「由！居！吾語女」.[110] This reiteration of the narrative frame is not necessary, and the two parts of the speech separated by this phrase could have easily been part of the same speech (they in fact are in the *Kongzi jiayu* version). Nevertheless, this phrase introduces another

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109. On the concept and practice of "stitching" text in Western Han, *shuwen* 屬文 or *zhuiwen* 綴文, see Nylan, "Manuscript Culture in Late Western Han, and the Implications for Authors and Authority," 164. The metaphor of stitching was also used in early modern European context; see for instance Montaigne's fondness of sewing metaphors in Kathy Eden, "Montaigne on Style," in *The Oxford Handbook of Montaigne*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 388, and his compositions in their early stages as patchwork of borrowings in Daniel Russell, "Montaigne's Emblems," *French Forum* 9 (1984), 269.

110. *Xunzi jijie*, 28.527.

exempla list that has no parallel in the *Qiongda yi shi*, but it is a partial parallel to another version of "Confucius between Chen and Cai" anecdote found in the *Shuo yuan* (labeled as *Shuo yuan* 1 in diagram above),[111] immediately preceding the longer *Shuo yuan* anecdote (labeled as *Shuo yuan* 2). In other words, what is presented as "one text" in *Xunzi* are packaged as parts of two independent anecdotes in the *Shuo yuan* compilation because of the reiteration of the narrative frame.

The Lüshi chunqiu Alternative

Finally, let us turn to the *Lüshi chunqiu* version, an encyclopedia-like text compiled by Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (d. 235 BCE), a powerful minister of the Qin, in the decades leading up to Qin's unification of China. At least part of this compilation was completed by 239 BCE.[112] It was labeled a "miscellaneous" or "syncretic" (*za* 雜) text by Han librarians. Between the naked *Qiongda yi shi* and the packaged Confucian versions, the *Lüshi chunqiu* version represents a third alternative, which is in some ways in between these two versions (formally, that is, for we cannot ascertain the temporal relationship among these texts). Whereas in the Confucian versions, the Chen and Cai anecdote clearly serves as the paratextual packaging, situated as the outermost layer enveloping all other textual units, it occupies a more ambiguous position in the *Lüshi chunqiu* .

The parallel texts in the *Lüshi chunqiu* 14.6 is an entire chapter titled "Shen ren" 慎人 [heed the humanly].[113] After an opening discussion of the dichotomy between "heaven" and

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111. *Shuo yuan jinzhu jinyi*, 17.578-579.
112. Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 28.
113. *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 14.336-341.

"man" along the same vein as the *Qiongda yi shi* discursive opening, the rest of the chapter is a series of anecdotes that is essentially an elaborated version of a endurers' list. Though this list is still closely related to the endurers' list in *Qiongda yi shi,* it is now expanded from a list of phrases into a list of anecdotes. Several figures from the endurer's list now each has his own anecdote, arguably in the form of a capsular anecdote. The anecdote of Confucius between Chen and Cai appears as the last of this series of anecdotes, so that Confucius is appended as part of the endurers' list. Figure 1.6 below shows that the narratives of figures from the endurer's function as narrative frames in this text (represented by enclosures of different shapes), encapsulating additional elements.

Figure 1.6: *Lüshi chunqiu* **version**
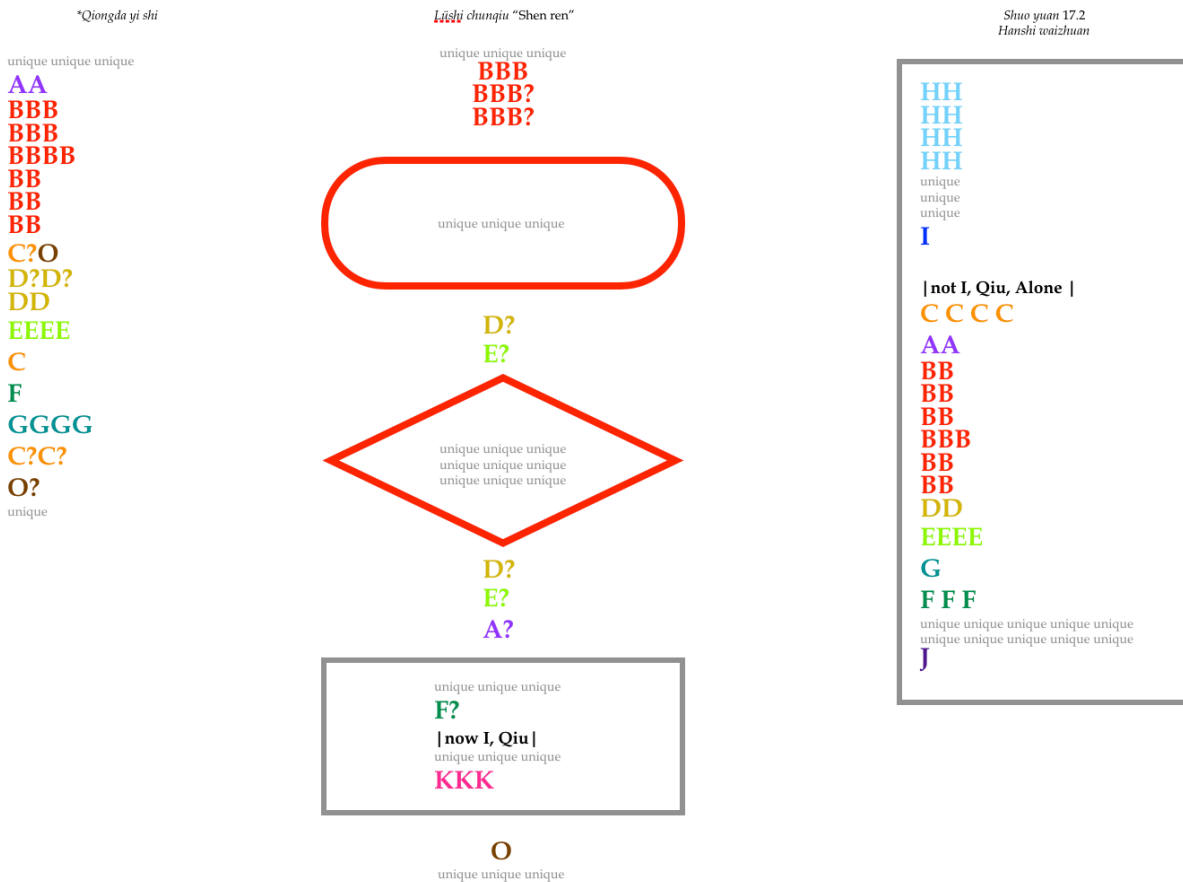
The mythical sage emperor, Shun, for instance, is the first figure listed in the endurer's list in *Qiongda yi shi* and some of the Confucian versions. Here, Shun's story is narrated as a full anecdote.

> When Shun was plowing and fishing, his worthiness was the same as when he became the Son of Heaven. But because he had not yet encountered the right time, with fellow laborers he excavated the wealth of the earth and harvested the resources of water. He plaited straw mats and tied nets, labored ceaselessly so that his hands and feet were calloused, and thus avoided the threat of cold and starvation. Once he encountered the right time and ascended to the position of Son of Heaven, the worthy office-seekers joined him, the myriad peoples praised him, men and women applauded and cheered, and everyone honored him and delighted in him. Shun himself composed an ode: "
> > All that is under the sky
> > Is the king's land.
> > All within the borders of this land
> > Are the king's subjects.[114]
> This was how he showed that he possessed everything. Though he possessed everything, his worthiness did not increase; even when he possessed nothing, it was not as if his worthiness decreased. It is all a matter of timing.

> 舜之耕漁，其賢不肖與為天子同。其未遇時也，以其徒屬，堀地財，取水利，編蒲葦，結罟網，手足胼胝不居，然後免於凍餒之患。其遇時也，登為天子，賢士歸之，萬民譽之，丈夫女子，振振殷殷，無不戴說。舜自為詩曰：
> > 普天之下
> > 莫非王土
> > 率土之濱
> > 莫非王臣
> 所以見盡有之也。盡有之，賢非加也；盡無之，賢非損也；時使然也.[115]

As a capsular anecdote, the narrative frame makes an production claim as well as an interpretative prescription for the poetic line embedded in it, but this production and authorship prescription was not a universally accepted truth. The *Mencius* cites these same lines during a discussion

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114. Cf. *Shijing, "Beishan"* 北山 (Mao #205).
115. Ibid. Translation adapted from Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 323-26.

concerning Shun, without claiming that they were composed by Shun.[116] The Mao commentary attributes their close parallels in Mao #205 of *Book of Odes* to "nobilities satirizing King You [of Zhou]" 大夫刺幽王也.[117]

Confucius, absent from all of the other versions' endurer lists, appears as the last anecdote of this chapter, succeeding a capsular anecdote featuring Boli Xi.[118] This is yet another version of Confucius between Chen and Cai, but unlike in the other versions, Confucius is placed in a position parallel to Shun and Boli Xi, as opposed to being the speaker who enumerates the endurers' list containing Shun and Boli Xi. Thus the Confucius anecdote here functions more like an item in a exempla list than a larger wrapper. At the same time, the Confucius anecdote is both the last and the most elaborate anecdote in the list, and seems to be given greater weight than the other anecdotes.

Overall, The "Shen ren" chapter bears remarkable resemblance to the *Qiongda yi shi* manuscript, perhaps more so than all other parallel versions discussed here. The *Qiongda yi shi* manuscript opens by laying out the difference between heaven and human, stating that "there is heaven. There is man. Between heaven and man, each has its lot. By examining the allotment between heaven and man, one understands the courses of each" 有天有人，天人有分。察天人之分，而知所行矣. Once juxtaposed, the first paragraph of the "Shen ren" begins to resemble an explication of this sentence, for it lays out repeatedly what is attributable to heaven versus what is attributable human effort. The purpose of recognizing the humanly is so that one can heed and

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116. *Mengzi zhengyi*, 5A.637.

117. *Shi sanjia yi jishu* 詩三家義集疏, commentary by Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842-1917) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 739

118. Boli Xi's answer in this anecdote has strong structural parallel and prosodic features. It is also precisely the lesson this anecdote seeks to illustrate. Thus this anecdote can also be considered a capsular anecdote. See Appendix for full text and translation.

act upon what is within the realm of human agency — one might say "the knowledge for action."

The last paragraph of the "Shen ren" chapter, which is part of Confucius' speech, also seems to be in dialogue with a text like *Qiongda yi shi*. While Confucius is absent from the *Qiongda yi shi* manuscript, Confucius' speech in *Lüshi chunqiu*, just like the *Qiongda yi shi* manuscript, presents and discusses the pairing of "privation" (*qiong* 窮) and "advancement" (*da* 達). No other text among our parallel versions presents this pair of concepts with exactly these two words.[119] In discussing the "privation" vs. "advancement" pair, Confucius states, "For a gentleman to gain access to the Way is called 'advancement' (*da*), and to be deprived of the Way is called 'privation' (*qiong*)" 君子達於道之謂達，窮於道之謂窮.[120] This is not only a glossing of what *qiong* and *da* means, it in fact offers a definition that is different from the meaning of "privation" and "advancement" in the manuscript version. the Guodian manuscript version defines *qiong* vs *da* according to worldly success, while here, Confucius offers a redefinition of these terms according to one's moral attainment.

Interestingly, in the "Shen ren" chapter's very last sentence, a summary comment on this anecdote, the definition of *qiong* and *da* reverts back to referencing worldly success. "The ancients who had grasped the Way were happy whether they are in privation (*qiong*) or advancement (*da*), for their happiness had nothing to do with failure or success. When the Way is grasped, then privation or advancement are one and the same, just like the alternation of cold

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119. The *Xunzi* version is the next closest, where *qiong* is implicitly contrasted with *tong* 通 [success, ascendancy], a word often used to gloss *da* 達. The *Xunzi* version and Confucius's speech in *Lüshi chunqiu* 14.6 share the same set of exempla, so that *Qiongda yi shi*, *Lüshi chunqiu* and the *Xunzi* versions are more similar to each other than the rest.

120. *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 14.339.

and heat, wind and rain" 古之得道者，窮亦樂，達亦樂。所樂非窮達也，道得於此，則窮達一也，為寒暑風雨之序矣.[121] It is as if Confucius' redefinition is presented as his own private definition, reflecting the perspective of "the ancients who had grasped the Way." The "Shen ren" chapter's comment on the anecdote thus frames the anecdote with a retrospective gaze.

In summary, the "Shen ren" chapter in the *Lüshi chunqiu* offers yet another interesting type of textual resemblance, and seems to be commenting and responding to a version of a text similar to the *Qiongda yi shi.* The Confucian versions, meanwhile, seem to have wrapped versions of a text like the *Qiongda yi shi* inside the narrative of Confucius in dire straits between Chen and Cai. While the Confucius between Cai and Chen anecdote shows up in every version except for the *Qiongda yi shi* manuscript, it is not the overarching frame narrative in the "Shen ren" chapter, but functions more like the last and perhaps the concluding item in an elaborated endurers' list. But juxtaposed with the versions from the Confucian texts, it is as if the content of Confucius' speech leaked out and permeated throughout the "Shen ren" chapter. Or, in reverse, the other Confucian versions have absorbed these building blocks into the Chen and Cai story, making Confucius the outermost membrane and the overarching authority.

3.2: Alternative Membranes: Duke of Zhou (Set 2A) versus Confucius (2B)

The *Qiongda yi shi* cluster shows the various forms a textual unit can take on in relation to an anecdote: nakedly without any narrative packaging, alongside the anecdote of Chen and Cai, or entirely engulfed by this anecdote. This second cluster will show how a textual unit, versions of a gnomic verse, can become embedded within two different anecdotal narratives: 1) A

121.Ibid., 14.340.Translation adapted from Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 323-26.

model minister, Duke of Zhou,[122] admonishing his son, Boqin (or in one case, Boqin's tutor) before Boqin set out for his fiefdom at Lu, or 2) Confucius at an ancestral temple. In the two examples below, the shared versions of the gnomic verses are underlined:

Hanshi waizhuan 3.30

> Confucius visited the ancestral temple of Zhou, where there was a vessel that tilted at an angle. Confucius asked the caretaker of the temple, "What vessel is this?" The caretaker replied, "It must be is the right-of-seat vessel." Confucius said, "I heard that the right-of-seat vessel topples over when filled, tilts when emptied, and stands upright when filled to the middle. It is indeed so?" He was answered, "Yes." Confucius had Zilu bring water to try it. When it was full, it toppled over; at halfway point, it stood straight; empty, it tilted. Confucius sighed and said, "Alas, does it ever happen that those who are full do not topple over!" Zilu said, "I should like to ask whether there is a Way for maintaining fullness?" Confucius said, "The Way of maintaining fullness is to repress and diminish it." Zilu said, "Is there a Way for diminishing it?" Confucius said, "
>
> > If your influence is broad and deep, preserve it with reverence.
> > If your territory spreads far and wide, preserve it with frugality.
> > If your revenue and position are esteemed and ample, preserve them with servility.
> > If your people are many and your soldiers strong, preserve them with timidity.
> > If your perception is sharp and your knowledge deep, preserve them with
> >   foolishness.
> > If your learning is broad and your memory strong, preserve them with shallowness.
> > Now this is what is called repressing and diminishing."
>
> The *Odes* says, "
> > Tang was not born too late
> > His wisdom and virtue daily advanced"

孔子觀於周廟，有欹器焉。孔子問於守廟者曰：「此謂何器也？」對曰：「此蓋為宥座之器。」孔子曰：「吾聞宥座器滿則覆，虛則欹，中則正，有之乎？」對曰：「然。」孔子使子路取水試之，滿則覆，中則正，虛則欹。孔子喟然而嘆曰：「嗚

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122. For the Duke of Zhou's complex appearances in early Chinese texts, see Michael Nylan, "The Many Dukes of Zhou in Early Sources," in *Statecraft and Classical Learning: The Rituals of Zhou in East Asian History*, ed. Benjamin Elman and Martin Kern (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

呼！惡有滿而不覆者哉！」子路曰：「敢問持滿有道乎？」孔子曰：「持滿之道，抑而損之。」子路曰：「損之有道乎？」孔子曰：「

> 德行寬裕者，守之以恭；
> 土地廣大者，守之以儉；
> 祿位尊盛者，守之以卑，
> 人眾兵強者，守之以畏；
> 聰明睿智者，守之以愚；
> 博聞強記者，守之以淺。

夫是之謂抑而損之。」

《詩》曰：「
> 湯降不遲，
> 聖敬日躋」.[123]

Shuo yuan, "Jing shen" 10.2

In the past, King Cheng enfeoffed Duke of Zhou, who declined it. The king then enfeoffed the son of Duke of Zhou, Boqin, to the state of Lu. When Boqin is about to take leave, the Duke of Zhou admonished him saying, "You are going now. Do not lord over the ordinary officials because of [your position in] the state of Lu. I am the son of King Wen, younger brother of King Wu, the uncle of the current king, in addition to being the minister to the son of heaven. Certainly my position in the empire is not light. Yet every time I bathe, I must hold up my hair three times, and every meal spitting out my food three times [to go receive a caller], in the fear of losing the faith of the officials from all under heaven. I have heard that

> When influence is broad and profuse, those who preserve it with reverence flourish.
> When territory spreads far and wide, those who preserve it with frugality enjoy security.
> When revenue is ample and rank high, those who preserve them with servility are privileged.
> When people are many and soldiers strong, those who preserve them with timidity triumph.
> When perception is sharp and knowledge deep, those who preserve them with foolishness improve.
> When learning is broad and memory strong, those who preserve them with shallowness expand.

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123. *Hanshi waizhuan*, 3.114-15. Translation adapted from James Hightower, trans. *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the* Classic of Songs (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 112-13.

These six methods of preservation are all virtues of humility. If one has the prestige of the Son of Heaven and the wealth of all four seas but does not have the virtue of humility, one's body would be the first to perish before anyone in the empire, like Jie and Zhòu. Is this not to be heeded? Truly, the *Book of Changes* has the One Way. At the grandest scale it can preserve the empire, in the middle the states, and most intimately one's body, and it is called humility. Now

It is the Way of Heaven to damange the full and augment the humble;

It is the Way of Earth to mutate the full and irrigate the humble;

It is the way of the spirits to harm the full and bless the humble;

It is the way of men to dislike the full and be fond of the humble.

Thus

a completed garment must have a missing lapel;

a completed palace must have a missing corner;

a completed room must have the touch of something unpolished.

Such exhibitions of imperfection is the Way of heaven. The *Book of Changes* says, "Humility: Success. The noble man will have his finishing point, auspicious." The *Book of Odes* says,

"Tang was not born too late.

His wisdom and virtue daily advanced."

Take heed! And do not lord over ordinary officials because of [your position in] the state of Lu.

昔成王封周公，周公辭不受，乃封周公子伯禽於魯，將辭去，周公戒之曰：「去矣！子其無以魯國驕士矣。我，文王之子也，武王之弟也，今王之叔父也；又相天子，吾於天下亦不輕矣。然嘗一沐三握髮，一食而三吐哺，猶恐失天下之士。吾聞之曰：

德行廣大而守以恭者榮，

土地博裕而守以儉者安，

祿位尊盛而守以卑者貴，

人眾兵強而守以畏者勝，

聰明睿智而守以愚者益，

博聞多記而守以淺者廣；

此六守者，皆謙德也。夫貴為天子，富有四海，不謙者先天下亡其身，桀紂是也，可不慎乎！故《易》曰，有一道，大足以守天下，中足以守國家，小足以守其身，謙之謂也。夫

天道毀滿而益謙，

地道變滿而流謙，

鬼神害滿而福謙，

人道惡滿而好謙。

是以

衣成則缺衽，

宮成則缺隅，
屋成則加錯；
示不成者，天道然也。《易》曰：『謙亨，君子有終吉。』《詩》曰：『
湯降不遲，
聖敬日躋。』
其戒之哉！子其無以魯國驕士矣。」[124]

The majority of texts included in this complex set of anecdotes are connected together by the shared verse (see Figure 1.7 below). The "Confucius at Lu temple" anecdotes (represented by the water bottle in Figure 1.7), already studied in detail by van Els, bear closely resemblance to each other.[125] According to the five different versions of this anecdote, this could have been a temple of the Zhou, or that of Duke Huan of Lu. During this visit, Confucius spotted a strange vessel, and in four of the five versions, Confucius was informed by the temple custodian that this is a "right-of-seat" vessel (宥/右坐之器).[126] The sage wondered if this was the legendary vessel that is "tilted when empty, upright when half-full, and topples over when filled" (虛則欹，中則正，滿則覆), and bid his disciples to fetch some water and try it out. In all except one versions, past and present, or legend and reality is bridged through a repetition of Confucius' words, stating that in this impromptu physics experiment, the vessel has indeed "tilted when empty, upright when half-full, and topples over when filled." This is a vessel that contains nothing except for a warning against conceit and excess. However, there is a close parallel of this text in the *Wenzi* that places everything in the mouth of Laozi, or the Older Master. Laozi is the "Lao" in the Huang-Lao lineage. Since the text attributed to Laozi, the *Daodejing* (also known as *Laozi*), rarely shows up in early Confucian texts, it is likely that in elite culture, Laozi and Confu-

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124. *Shuo yuan jinzhu jinyi*, 10.312-14.
125. Els, "Tilting Vessels and Collapsing Walls."
126. *Xunzi, Hanshi waizhuan, Kongzi jiayu* has 宥 and *Shuo yuan* has 右. *Huainanzi* is the only one that does not contain a dialogue between the custodian and Confucius, but in the narration, it is stated that this vessel is called *youzhi* 宥卮.

cius represented two competing intellectual camps. This alternative attribution is therefore interesting and significant.

This gnomic verse mimics the revered vessel, swaying back and forth between descriptions of inflation and deflation, two opposing forces tied into a bind by the spell of prosody. And just like the vessel, this verse is a self-contained object, whose metric construction delimits its perimeter, its boundary. Not surprisingly, then, that this self-contained and neatly delineated verse has its own independent existence outside of this anecdote. Duke of Zhou's speech to his son, Boqin, is a narrative that is supposed to have taken place half a millennia earlier. In that cluster, Boqin was about to travel to his enfeoffed land, and his father warned him to safeguard his land, his position, his people and his wits with restrain and humility.

The "Duke of Zhou admonishing Boqin" anecdotes (represented by rounded-square in Figure 1.7), in contrast to the relative uniformity among the versions of the Confucius anecdote, is connected to other related anecdote narratives in complex ways. One version of Duke of Zhou's contains an entirely separate set of didactic points.[127] In yet another version, King Cheng, the under-aged king in whose name the Duke of Zhou ruled, was the one giving admonition to Boqin (marked by a baby in Figure 1.7). In this version, King Cheng similarly taught Boqin to be eager for talent while avoiding acting overbearingly, but there is no verbal parallel. King Cheng's expression of these ideas takes on an archaising in form. The tetrasyllabic rhythm of the *Book of Odes* dominates his speech. A few archaic dictions are also thrown, such as "forbear vellicating" *muge* 毋格.[128] A *Lienüzhuan* 列女傳 (Traditions of Illustrious Women) version (represented by a square in Figure 1.7) dramatizes a mother, Jingjiang 敬姜, admonishing her son in place

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127. *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 1.25.
128. *Shuo yuan jinzhu jinyi*, 1.3. Full text and translation see Appendix.

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of the father-son dialogue found in other versions, where similar descriptions of Duke of Zhou are found, though the gnomic verse is not repeated.[129]

Figure 1.7: Capsular Anecdotes Set 2

Lüshi chunqiu	_Xunzi_	_Shuo yuan_	_Hanshi waizhuan_	_Lienü zhuan_	_Huainanzi_	_Kongzi jiayu_

Lüshi chunqiu "Gui gong"

unique unique unique unique

Shuo yuan 1

| You |
unique unique unique unique
unique unique unique unique
unique unique unique

Lüshi chunqiu "Xia xian"

unique unique unique unique
unique unique unique unique
AAA—
BB

Xunzi, "Yao wen"

unique unique unique
unique unique unique
unique unique unique
| I tell you |
| I |
AAA—
| I |
BBBB
| from them I... |
BB
| I |
BB
unique unique unique
| Cautious! You... |
C
C
unique unique unique

Shuo yuan 10

| You must not... |
| I |
AAA—
DD—
| I have heard |
CC
CC—
E— —
Yijing FFF—
GGGG
HHH—
Yijing "I"
Shijing "J"
| Cautious! You... |

Hanshi waizhuan 3.31

BBBBBBBB
| You must not... |
| I |
AAA—
DD—
| I have heard |
CC
CC
E— —
Yijing FFF—
GGGG
HHH—
Yijing "I"
Shijing "J"

Tradition says
(zhuan yue 傳曰)

| Ziyu |
unique unique unique
unique unique unique
| Ziyu, take note, I tell you |
unique unique unique
unique unique unique
Shijing "J"

Hanshi waizhuan 8.32

Yijing F?—
GGGG
LL
unique unique unique
AAA—
BBB
BB
BBB
BB

unique unique unique
CC
CC—
E— —
Yijing "I"
Yijing FFF—
Shijing "J"

Lienüzhuan 9.3

unique unique unique
BBB
DD—
BB —
unique unique unique unique
unique unique unique unique
unique
| You... |

Xunzi "You zuo"

C
C
CL?

Hanshi waizhuan 3.30

CC
CC
CC L
Shijing "J"

Huainanzi

CC
CC
C
Laozi "unique"

Kongzi jiayu

CC
CC
CC L?

Let us now return to the two anecdotes sharing the same verse cited in full. Once juxtaposed, we can see that the two scenes of instructions project two different enunciatory scenes onto the same didactic material, thus creating two different contexts for interpreting the meaning of the verses. They are meta-discursive, in the sense that they are almost supplying the

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129. _Lienüzhuan jiaozhu_ 列女傳校注, compiled by Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8 BCE), commentary by Liang Duan 梁端 (19th c.) (Guangwen shuju: Taipei, 1987), 1.12-13.

"meta-data" for the text they've enveloped: by whom, to whom, and for what purpose the speech is delivered. The detachability between the narrative frame and the verse underscores the liminal positioning of the narrative. For it is like a shell that can be replaced, but is not entirely detached from the text proper. Had the narrative frame identified itself as a commentary, it would have been a separate text. But here, the narrative and the verse are still presented as the same text. The packaging function of the narrative membrane is most evident in the Duke of Zhou anecdote. Just as with the previous set of anecdotes, this story wraps together quite a few small units of prosodic texts, as well as quotations and lists.

Just as with the *Qiongda yi shi* cluster, the narrative elements in these anecdotes can function like stitches, patching together the various distinct textual units in some of the versions. In the *Xunzi* version, for instance, the prose phrases that reference the characters in the narrative, namely the "I" for Duke of Zhou, "you" for the tutor of Boqin, and "he" for Boqin, suture together the self-contained prosodic building blocks. The section before "let me tell you" 吾語女, has no parallel in other versions (see arrow in Figure 1.8), while the two lists that come after it are repeated in nearly every version.

Figure 1.8: Narrative Elements as Sutures

suture-like narrative elements

Xunzi, "Yao wen"   *Shuo yuan* 10   *Hanshi waizhuan* 3.31

unique unique unique
unique unique unique
unique unique unique
…

|I tell you|
|I |

AAA—

|I|
BBBB
|from them I…|
BB
|I|
BB

unique unique unique

|Cautious! You…|
unique unique unique

C
C
C

unique unique unique

—

|You must not…|

|I |
AAA—
DD—

|I have heard|
CC
CC
CC—
E— —
Yijing **FFF—**
GGGG
HHH —
Yijing "I"
Shijing "J"

|Cautious! You…|

—

BBBBBBBB
|You must not…|

|I |
AAA—
DD —

|I have heard|
CC
CC
CC —
E— —
Yijing **FFF—**
GGGG
HHH—
Yijing "I"
Shijing "J"

|Cautious! You…|

Tradition says
(*zhuan yue* 傳曰)

|Ziyou|
unique unique unique
unique unique unique

|Ziyou, take note, I tell you|
unique unique unique
unique unique unique
Shijing "J"

In the first and unique section before "I tell you," the second-person pronoun directly addressing the tutor and third-person reference to the son sandwich together three sets of teachings consist of aphorisms as well as a prosodic textual unit. After the familiar list in the middle, another narrative element addressing the interlocutor introduces the next block, which again has nearly no parallel in the other versions cited in this cluster. The prosodic block (Labeled C), however, has strong semantic parallel to the gnomic verse we have been tracking. Every line

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features a contrast between words designating worldly success and their antonyms. Nevertheless, the lesson of this prosodic block is different from the gnomic verse found in the other versions. In the translation below, the narrative elements are underlined.

> When Boqin (the son of Duke of Zhou) is about to return to the state of Lu, Duke of Zhou said to the Boqin's tutor, "You are about to depart, why not remark to me your lord's virtues?" In reply, he said, "he is magnanimous, fond of being self-reliant, and reserved — there three are his virtues." Duke of Zhou said, "Alas! you take as virtues what man looks down on?
>> The gentleman is fond of the Way and the Virtue, thus his people return to the Way.
> His magnanimity comes from his lack of judgment, but you praise it! His fondness of self-reliance is how he become narrow and petty. A gentleman is
>> Strong like a bull but he does not contend a bull in strength;
>> Can run like a horse but does not contend with a horse in running;
>> Knowledgeable as an official but does not contend with an official in knowledge.
> Contending gives off the air of being equals, but you praise it! He is reserved, and thus he is shallow. I have heard that "without stepping down, one cannot meet officials."[130] When one meets with an official, one asks, "What have I overlooked?" That he is uninformed is because the world does not go to him. That is in turn why he is shallow. Being shallow is the way of the lowly, yet you praise i!."
>
> Let me tell you,
>
> I am the the son of King Wen, the younger brother of King Wu, and the uncle of King Cheng. Certainly my position in the world is not to be despised. Yet there are ten men to whom I present gifts in meeting; thirty with whom I exchange gifts when in meeting; over a hundred whom I meet with curtesy; over a thousand who can come and speak to his heart's contend. From these I have only found three who can rectify me and secure the empire. I acquired these three officials not from ten men, nor thirty men, but from hundreds and thousands. Therefore the high officials I treat as if I lightly regard them, while the humble scholars I treat with deep respect. When everyone thinks that I step down in my fondness

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130. Many commentators suggest that there is a degree of textual corruption here, so that the original should be something like "I have heard that 'do not let a day pass without meeting an official' 聞之無越日不見士; see *Xunzi jijie*, 32.550.

for officials, officials come to me. When they come, I can observe the world. When one can observe the world, then one understands right from wrong.

Take heed! That you lord over because of [your position in] the state of Lu is perilous! You can perhaps lord over those who receive emolument, but you cannot lord over those who can rectify you. The officials who who can rectify can

abandon privilege and choose humility;

abandon riches and choose poverty;

abandon leisure and choose hardship;

weather-beaten yet do not lose their footing. This is why the principles of the empire do not cease, and its decorum endures.

伯禽將歸於魯，周公謂伯禽之傅曰「汝將行，盍志而子美德乎？」對曰：「其為人寬，好自用，以慎。此三者，其美德已。」周公曰：「嗚呼！以人惡為美德乎？

君子好以道德，故其民歸道。

彼其寬也，出無辨矣，女又美之！彼其好自用也，是所以窶小也。君子

力如牛，不與牛爭力；

走如馬，不與馬爭走；

知如士，不與士爭知。

彼爭者均者之氣也，女又美之！彼其慎也，是其所以淺也。聞之曰：『無越踰不見士。』見士問曰：『無乃不察乎？』不聞，即物少至，少至則淺。

彼淺者，賤人之道也，女又美之！

吾語女：

我、文王之為子，武王之為弟，成王之為叔父，吾於天下不賤矣；然而吾所執贄而見者十人，還贄而相見者三十人，貌執之士者百有餘人，欲言而請畢事者千有餘人，於是吾僅得三士焉，以正吾身，以定天下。吾所以得三士者，亡於十人與三十人中，乃在百人與千人之中。故上士吾薄為之貌，下士吾厚為之貌，人人皆以我為越踰好士，然故士至；士至而後見物，見物然後知其是非之所在。

戒之哉！女以魯國驕人，幾矣！夫仰祿之士猶可驕也，正身之士不可驕也。

彼正身之士，

舍貴而為賤，

舍富而為貧，

舍佚而為勞，

顏色黎黑而不失其所。是以天下之紀不息，文章不廢也。[131]

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131. Ibid., 32.548-551. Translation adapted from Knoblock, *Xunzi*, III.266-7.

Once this narrative framing is read side-by-side with that of Confucius at temple, we can see that the two anecdote narratives are both prescribing and delimiting the interpretation of the gnomic verse. The Duke of Zhou anecdotes connects this gnomic verse to the political sphere, to how a ruler ought to behave in guarding his state. The instruction scene between Confucius and his disciples could suggest a different set of concerns, such as individual behavior and self-cultivation.

In Duke of Zhou's admonition to Boqin (or his tutor), not only does the duke occupy the position of authority from the start, he is also portrayed in great length as someone who exemplifies what he preaches. As an exemplum, Duke of Zhou, just as Confucius in the Cai and Chen anecdotes, performs the additional duty of illustrating the didactic content. In most of the anecdotes cited here, this portrayal is done through Duke of Zhou's self-description. His catalogues attest to both his own position in the kingdom (as son of the king and such) and his effort to nevertheless not to be too *full* of it, to use the anecdote's metaphor. In several versions, e spits out food so as not to make his visitors wait, as if he is emptying himself out like the warning vessel. Interestingly enough, in one of the two *Hanshi waizhuan* versions (3.31), the enumeration of Duke of Zhou's human resources is placed outside of his speech, thus making it part of the narrative description as opposed to Duke of Zhou's self-description (See Appendix). In either case, Duke of Zhou performs the double duty of acting both as a mouthpiece for these teachings, and illustrating them as an exemplum.

In the Confucius at temple anecdotes, the narrative frame also performs illustrative function, but not primarily through the portrayal of the speaker, Confucius; rather, what illustrates

the gnomic verse is the tilting vessel at the heart of the narrative.[132] As mentioned at the outset

of this chapter, this curious vessel mirrors the structure of the verse enclosed in this narrative.

Both the verse and the vessel oscillate between emptiness and full, and both represent an inter-

action or negotiation between these two states. At the same time, the verse is also a remedy to

the problem presented by the vessel: As the "right of seat" vessel empties out as soon as it is

filled, how then, as the disciples in these stories ask, could one attempt to maintain the state of

fullness? The answer, as presented by the verse, suggests a balancing act, a voluntary, preemp-

tive emptying-out before the forces of nature strike. It advocates for the self-damaging or more

literal acts of self-deprecating that negotiates the balance between full and empty, so as to keep

the water full but not overflowing.

4. The Paratextual Functions of Instruction Scene

Nearly all of the anecdotes we examined in this chapter can be considered as "instruc-

tion scenes," where a figure of authority imparts wisdom to a son, a disciple, or an underling.

Instruction scene is a ubiquitous form of building block in early Chinese writing, as Lewis,

Wiebke Denecke, and Oliver Weingarten, among other scholars, have discussed.[133] It is thus also

likely the most common narrative type employed by capsular anecdotes. The question we will

focus on in this section is what exactly is the "meta-data" supplied by these paratextual narra-

tive frames. My Introduction suggested that paratextual *loci* are often the site of author produc-

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132. For an extensive articulation of the connection earlier scholars have recognized between this tilting
    vessel and the term *zhiyan* in *Zhuangzi*, see Daniel Fried, "A Never-Stable Word: Zhuangzi's "Zhiyan"
    卮言 and 'Tipping-Vessel' Irrigation," *Early China* 31 (2007).
133. Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 57; Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*; Oliver
    Weingarten, "What Did Disciples Do? *Dizi* 弟子 in Early Chinese Texts," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic
    Studies* 75 (2015).

tion. Are these anecdotes making author claims? Are they suggesting that Confucius or Duke of Zhou were the authors of the wisdom sayings and the gnomic verses?

Scenes of instructions have often been read as what Christian Schwermann and Raji Steineck term "origination" claim,[134] as indications that these words were created and articulated certain the authority figures. The automatic attribution of *Qiongda yi shi* to Confucius, for instance, reflects such a reading. But if we do read instruction scenes as making an origination claim, the texts themselves sometimes contain subtle indications that contradict this reading. In several versions of "the Duke of Zhou admonishing Boqin" anecdotes, for instance, the Duke of Zhou introduces the gnomic verse on humility by inserting the narrative element "I have heard that" (*wu wen* 吾聞), as if let it slip that the duke was also just a inheritor of words.

One might say that this is a feature unique to this anecdote, but I would like to entertain the possibility that this characterization of Duke of Zhou as both the inheritor and transmitter of teachings could be a more fundamental aspect of "instruction scenes." As I already began to suggest with my analysis in Section 1, instruction scene could have been read more as a "scene of transmission" rather than a "scene of production," for its rhetorical purpose is more concerned the process and temporality of "transmission" rather the moment of a text's origination. If paratexts are always expressions of producers' wishes, instruction scenes, with their hierarchization and packaging functions, are often expressing the wishes that a text be transmitted, faithfully, into posterity. This suggests an additional layer of meaning to the disciples' presence in addition to the amplification of the Master's authority: the presence of both the master and the disciple allows for the construction of a link in a chain of links.

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134. Schwermann and Steineck, "Introduction," 6-7.

This interpretation similarly affords a better understanding of the seemingly conflicting claims instruction scenes, including the *sphragis* passage of the *Theognidea*. If the Duke of Zhou anecdotes presents the duke as a transmitter rather than a creator, Theognis' declaration,[135] as one might recall, suggests a potential clash between these two roles. On the one hand, one cannot ask for a more explicit articulation of authorship; on the other hand, Theognis also seems to suggest that what he calls "the verses of Theognis" are also what he had learned from others when he was a child. The passages preceding the *sphragis* moment, moreover, are the conventional evocation of gods and muses, who are also presented as the sources of Theognis' verses. The word "refinement" is used to refer to both what is given by Apollo (ἐσθλὰ) and Theognis' verses (τοὖσθλοῦ, i.e. τοῦ ἐσθλοῦ).[136] As mentioned, the authorship of the *Theognidea* is highly contentious and complicated. Its text, just like many early Chinese texts, seemed to be made up of building blocks, many of which have various alternative author attributions. Similar to the case of early Chinese texts, reading such attributions as paratexts offer more fruitful interpretative possibilities. If paratext can demand for the transformation of textual materials into a closed text, then the master-disciple link is a representation of how closed texts exist in time, its faithful transmission from the past onto the future.

Some of the early Chinese anecdotes we have read similarly gesture toward this enchaining of the past, the present, and the future. The Duke of Zhou passed onto his son the gnomic verses he had once learned from "someone" (*huo* 或). This transmission process also seems to be subtly suggested in the "Confucius at ancestral temple" anecdotes. While the gnom-

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135. Cited in full on page 41.

136. As the speaker asks in the second couplet of the entire compilation: "O lord, son of Leto, child of Zeus…I bid you listen and grant me refinement." Ὦ ἄνα, Λητοῦς υἱέ, Διὸς τέκος … σὺ δέ μοι κλῦθι καὶ ἐσθλὰ δίδου (v. 1-4).

ic verse is presented as Confucius' speech, it is also supposed to be the verbal equivalent of the "right of seat" vessel, which is also an object that had persisted through time, passed down from the ancestral past to the present. This is a moral lesson that the ancients, perhaps even someone like the Duke of Zhou, have abided by, and is now transmitted via Confucius to the disciples.

4.1 Transmission: from Duke of Zhou to Confucius?

Reading instruction scenes as a representation of transmission offers interesting lens for revisiting the two sets of anecdotes involving both "Duke of Zhou's Admonitions" and "Confucius at Ancestral Temple." Unlike other capsular anecdotes, where unrelated stories can wrap around similar or even near-identical textual units, there are intriguing and perhaps even surreptitious connections between the story of Duke of Zhou and the story of Confucius. What these subtle links suggest collectively is once again the notion of transmission.

Firstly, in both of the two Duke of Zhou admonition anecdotes in *Hanshi waizhuan*, Confucius is included at the periphery. In *Hanshi waizhuan* 3.31, an instruction scene between Confucius and his disciple is appended as a "tradition" or a "commentary" (*zhuan* 傳) after the Duke of Zhou anecdote (see Appendix). In parallel to the father-to-son admonition, Confucius steps into the paternalistic role and warns his disciple Zilu 子路 against wearing ostentatious attires. Given that the character 傳 can write both *chuan*, "to transmit," or *zhuan* , "what is transmitted," Confucius is presented as being somehow related to the transmission of Duke of Zhou's teaching.

If Confucius is given a meta-textual, commentarial position in this version, in another version in chapter 8 of *Hanshi waizhuan*, the entire narrative, including Duke of Zhou's lengthy

speech, is presented as part of Confucius' speech. The phrase "Confucius said" (Kongzi *yue* 孔子曰) is added as an even larger layer of paratextual membrane surrounding the entire anecdote.[137] Among other things, this anecdote illustrates the relational nature of the "text-paratext" label: in many contexts it can be more about a relationship between texts rather than what a text intrinsically is. While in most versions of this text, the narration of Boqin's departure and the Duke of Zhou's admonition is the paratextual packaging. By adding yet another layer of paratext, the entire Duke of Zhou anecdote became the text proper in relation to Confucius as the larger framing.

Even the Confucius at Temple anecdotes seem to subtly suggest a connection between Confucius and Duke of Zhou. As discussed earlier, the framing narrative can be interpreted as implying a transmission of teachings from the former sage kings embodied by the ancestral temple to Confucius and his disciples. Among the five versions, two present the temple as the Zhou state's ancestral temple (*Shuo yuan* and *Hanshi waizhuan*), while the rest labels the temple as that of Duke Huan of Lu. In either cases, there is a connection to the Duke of Zhou. Confucius was either at the temple at the Zhou capital, where the Duke of Zhou worshipped his ancestors, or at the temple of the descendants of the Duke of Zhou, where he, as an ancestor, received worship. In the dialogue between Duke of Zhou and Boqin, his son Boqin was in fact about to set off to serve as the first ruler of the state of Lu. Is this entanglement a coincident? An inevitable result of the close association of Confucius, Duke of Zhou, and the state of Lu in the Confucian tradition? Or a more deliberate choice of compilers and redactors, who likely placed these texts together in the first place, having recognized the similarity of their teachings? In one

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137. *Hanshi waizhuan*, 8.301-303.

of the *Hanshi waizhuan* chapters and the *Shuo yuan* chapter, the Duke of Zhou and the Confucius anecdotes are closely placed together.[138]

We have other evidence for intentional edits by the redactors and compilers. It is interesting to observe that the *Huananzi* version, as a non-Confucian text, slyly dropped the character "Lu" 魯 in front of Duke Huan, making it possible that Confucius could be at the temple of the many other Duke Huans from the Spring and Autumn period, including the Duke Huan of Qi. Unlike the figures affiliated with the state of Lu, both Duke Huan of Qi as an emblematic figure and the text *Huananzi* have much stronger association with the Huang-Lao school of thought. Accordingly, this version ends with a citation of the *Laozi* rather than the *Book of Odes* quote. Given the strong association between the Lu state and Confucianism, this might be an intentional sleight of hand rather than an accident. In the *Wenzi* version, which attributes the entire narrative to Laozi, the "right of seat" vessel is said to be the vessel of the three theoarchs and five emperors, which again has stronger association with the Huang-Lao tradition rather than the Confucians. The traditional account of Western Han political and intellectual history revolves around the rivalry between the Huang-Lao and the Confucian teachings. Paul van Els' article on the Confucius at ancestral temple anecdotes offers further discussion on the subtle differences between these versions and how they relate to the differences in the orientation of the compilations.[139]

A common feature shared by the two sets of anecdotes closely examined in this chapter — both the *Qiongda yi shi* set and the Duke of Zhou-Confucius set — is the increasing para-

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138. For deliberate compilation techniques and practices, see Schwermann, "Collage-Technik als Kompositionsprinzip klassischer chinesischer Prosa.".
139. Els, "Tilting Vessels and Collapsing Walls."

textual role shouldered by Confucius in the Han dynasty compilations. In both sets, Confucius' presence begins to serve as the paratextual membrane in texts whose (possibly) earlier versions were not connected to Confucius. At the moment, this observation can hardly be generalized, not only because of the limited sample size, but also because of the complex relationship between the dating of an individual textual unit vis-à-vis that of a compilation. Nevertheless, scholars have pointed out that Confucius began to take on the mantle of an author and an archetypal compiler between Warring States and Western Han, and my observation would fit into this narrative.[140]

4.2 The Authorship Question

Let us return to the question we have asked originally, whether the masters of instruction scenes, Confucius, Duke of Zhou, or Theognis for that matter, are presented as the author of the packaged didactic materials. As I have discussed in the Introduction, I believe the question of authorship can be more clearly articulated, if we separate how a text is produced, on the one hand, and what is the perception of the relationship between people and text, on the other hand, as two entirely independent questions. I refer to the former the production of texts, and the latter the authorship of texts. Therefore, let us consider what kind of claims these anecdotal narratives are making concerning the production and the authorship of these texts.

With regard to production, three scenarios are presented by the anecdotes we have encountered. In the first case, a *Lüshi chunqiu* anecdote unambiguously claims to present the scene of a text's origination, describing the condition under which the mythical emperor Shun "composed a poem by himself" (*zi wei shi* 自為詩). In most other cases, the narrative frame, read by it-

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140.E.g. Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 231-36.

self, is rather ambiguous concerning the origin and the production of the text embedded within. For the "Confucius at ancestral temple" anecdotes, for instance, we see Confucius reciting a verse, but the narrative frame does not specify whether Confucius is creating this verse, or is transmitting a verse he once had learned. Then there are also cases, such as Duke of Zhou's admonition to his son, where the text more explicitly informs us that we are witnessing a scene of transmission rather than production.

With regard to authorship, I would like to entertain the possibility that in all three cases, the anecdotes are making authorship claims. What these authorship claims mean, i.e. what are the relationships that are dictated between the text and the teacher, is a complex matter. But this relationship, unlike the genius authorship model, is not predicated on whether the teacher figure is the producer of the text. As we have discussed, even in the case of Theognis, where a strongest imaginable author claim has been made, the paratextual frame at the same time remain ambiguous concerning in what sense these verses are "Theognis's." Since the relationship between "creation" (*zuo* 作) and "transmission" (*chuan* 傳 or *shu* 述) was a much debated subject matter within the centuries we are examining, and the specific stance of each anecdote needs to be contextualized within this debate.[141]

What I have tried to argue throughout this chapter is that the teacher figures perform the paratextual "author functions," even if no claim concerning the production of the text is made. Possibly, one way this "author function" was crystalized was the compilation of anecdotes, predominately capsular anecdotes, into an anthology presented as the collected sayings of a Master, such as the *Analects*, *Yanzi chunqiu* 晏子春秋 (The Spring and Autumn Annals of

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141. See Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation.*.

Master Yan), or even the *Mencius* 孟子 (Master Meng). Such anthologies can be seen as the result of taking literally the author prescription of the framing narrative.

As I will discuss in the Conclusion chapter, once we pay attention to the interaction between textual production and the text's own authorship presentation, there are essentially three basic forms in which early Chinese compilations were constituted. The first one is such anthologies, which has a uniform structure throughout. It is an amassing of its most basic unit, the anecdote imprinted with the Master's presence, which can be as simple as "the Master said" (*zi yue* 子曰). Much of these compilations' anecdotes can be analyzed as capsular anecdotes. The second type are organized by branching catalogues, which will be the focus of Chapter II, and the third type are heterogeneous materials unified through what I term "corporal anecdotes," author narratives that can function as the paratext of a compilation as a whole. This third type will be the focus of Part II.

It is furthermore interesting to think about instruction scenes' master figures in the terms of our dual body analysis. Given that none of these figures were likely associated with the actual production of these texts, these authority figures have only a second body, the body authorial. There is no "efficient cause" linking these texts to these master figures' body natural. The master figures are, for the most part, purely the products of the texts attributed to them. This might be why these figures tend to function as exempla figures, whose virtuous presence is suppose to illustrate the teaching of the texts, the texts that are in turn also producing them. They often have a near tautological relationship with the speeches attributed to them. The teaching of the Confucius mired between Chen and Cai, for instance, is deeply entwined with his self-description, and can be read as his apologia. As we have seen in the *Lüshi chunqiu* version, Confucius can also be included as part of the exempla list, as opposed to being the one narrating the exempla

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list. Duke of Zhou's admonitions are similarly entwined with his own self-description. As I will further discuss in the Conclusion, the emergence of genius authors during Early China predictably causes a two-body fissure, where a body natural is introduced onto the scene, and has to be dealt with one way or another.

Conclusion

This chapter explores how the anecdote genre, one of the most ubiquitous types of writing in Early China, functioned within a sea of open textual materials, consisting of free-floating, mutating, and reduplicating textual units. It is not primarily focused on the more familiar and better studied aspect of the anecdote genre, namely its paradigmatic and illustrative functions. Instead, it draws attention to anecdote narratives' potential as paratextual packaging, as typified by the "capsular anecdote" form. After my analysis of the narrative frame of the *Tang zai Chimen* manuscript text, I connected this reading to the discussion of *yuyan*, or lodged sayings, in the *Zhuangzi*. I then argue that recognizing this basic membrane-content structure allows us to see the large body of short texts in early Chinese writing — from anonymous maxims, short apophthegms, to some of the more elaborate narrative texts — as forms with structural similarities that can all be aligned on one spectrum. The succeeding study of the two sets of examples shows the various ways didactic textual units and narrative frames can interact with each other. Observing the paratextual functions of the narrative frame allows for a new reading of a well-studied trope, namely to see the instruction scene as a representation of sealing and transmitting, of closed textual interactions.

Such representations are wishes, which are not always heeded. The alternative attribu-

tions in the two sets of anecdotes illustrate a scenario where texts, at the unit of an anecdote, were never fully closed, despite the wishes expressed by the narrative frame. But such attempts at sealing are both reflections of changing attitudes as well as speech acts that did have illocutionary effects on the history of these texts. They could reflect the emergence of *pockets* of textual stability against a larger backdrop of fluidity and change. This vision of the early textual history of the anecdote corpus corresponds to how biblical scholars see the early, *Entstehungsgeschichte* (formation history) period of biblical texts, before the beginning of canonization process that eventually rendered the stemmatic, genealogical approach to textual criticism more viable. It also corresponds to Boltz's characterization of early Chinese texts, where there are pockets of relative stability within the paragraph-length textual units, but the combination of such units into larger texts was not yet stabilized.[142]

This reading of the anecdote's narrative frame could offer an additional explanation for the ubiquity of the anecdote form. The capsular anecdote was one of the most common forms in which texts circulated, just as the book is one of the most important forms in which texts circulate today. The larger anecdotes often correspond to what is later referred to as a *pian* 篇, i.e. a sheet of woven bamboo slips. Among unearthed manuscripts, what we often interpret as a "text" is often an anecdote. The three manuscript instruction scenes cited in this chapter, **Bao xun*, **Tang zai chimen*, and **Wuwang jian zuo* are all such examples. The packaging function performed by the narrative membrane allow these texts to existence as independent and self-contained pieces of texts, perhaps not unlike the binding of a book. This earlier life of the anecdote as free-floating mono-cellular creatures is to some degree obscured in the received tradition,

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142. Boltz, "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts," 57.

where the anecdotes are compiled to form larger corpora. At the same time, the abundance of parallel versions across different compilations also attest to the earlier independence of these textual units.

There are other signs that the anecdote was not only a textual unit but also something akin to a bibliographical unit. There is a paucity of real citation among early Chinese texts, corresponding, likely, to the rarity of texts that were treated as closed texts. There were a handful of texts that were likely beginning to close even before the Han, such as some of the Confucian classics. But the majority of parallel texts in early corpus appear without attribution, which are much easier characterized as open textual re-appropriation and reuse rather than implicit citations. At the same time, the capsular anecdote offered something much closer to modern citation practice, where statements are surrounded by paratextual meta-data information, much like footnotes in modern bibliographical practice.[143] In an article, I showed that the collections of anecdotes within the *Hanfeizi* were dominated by the voices of competing teachings rather than exempla supporting its own teaching. This seems to suggest that incorporating anecdotes were a way to introduce others' positions, much like citations in closed textual practice.[144]

The anecdote as a bibliographical unit will also be further explored in Chapter II, where we will look at more elaborate capsular anecdotes that contain implicit branching diagrams within them, functioning almost like a book's table of contents.

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143. For a possible connection between the evolution of footnote and closed textual practice, see Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 29-31.
144. Heng Du, "From Villains Outwitted to Pedants Out-Wrangled: The Function of Anecdotes in the Shifting Rhetoric of the *Han Feizi*," in *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, ed. Paul van Els and Sarah Queen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 220-21. See also Sarah Queen's study of Confucius in *Huainanzi*: Sarah A. Queen, "Representations of Confucius in the *Huainanzi*," in *The* Huainanzi *and Textual Production in Early China*, ed. Sarah A. Queen and Michael Puett (Leiden: Brill, 2014)..

Chapter II. The Tentacular Branches

> And now she pictured to herself the days, and months, and years which she must spend in sorting what might be called shattered mummies, and fragments of a tradition which was itself a mosaic wrought from crushed ruins... Mr. Casaubon's theory of the elements which made the seed of all tradition was not likely to bruise itself unawares against discoveries... it was as free from interruption as a plan for threading the stars together.
>
> — George Eliot, *Middlemarch*

The previous chapter focused on the paratextual functions performed by the narrative frames of capsular anecdotes. There, as the framing narrative becomes increasingly elaborate, its paratextual functions also multiply. This chapter is devoted to the other form of expansion often taken on by capsular anecdote: the enumeration and elucidation of teachings in a tree-like, branching fashion, which I term "branching catalogue" (See Figure 2.1 below). Unlike the enlarging narrative frames of the anecdotes in Chapter I, the narratives of these anecdotes often remain sparse; what grows in size instead is their unfolding didactic content.

Figure 2.1: Classifications of Anecdotes and Paratextual Elements in Chapters I & II

Anecdote

Narrative Anecdotes

Anecdotes that primarily
narrate actions. Eg. Aesop's
Fables

Capsular Anecdotes

narrative frame encapsulating
didactic materials

Expansion

**Expanding
Narrative Frame**

Chapter I

**Branching
Catalogue**

Narrative frame stays bare bone,
but a complex set of passages are
woven together through implicit
branching diagrams.
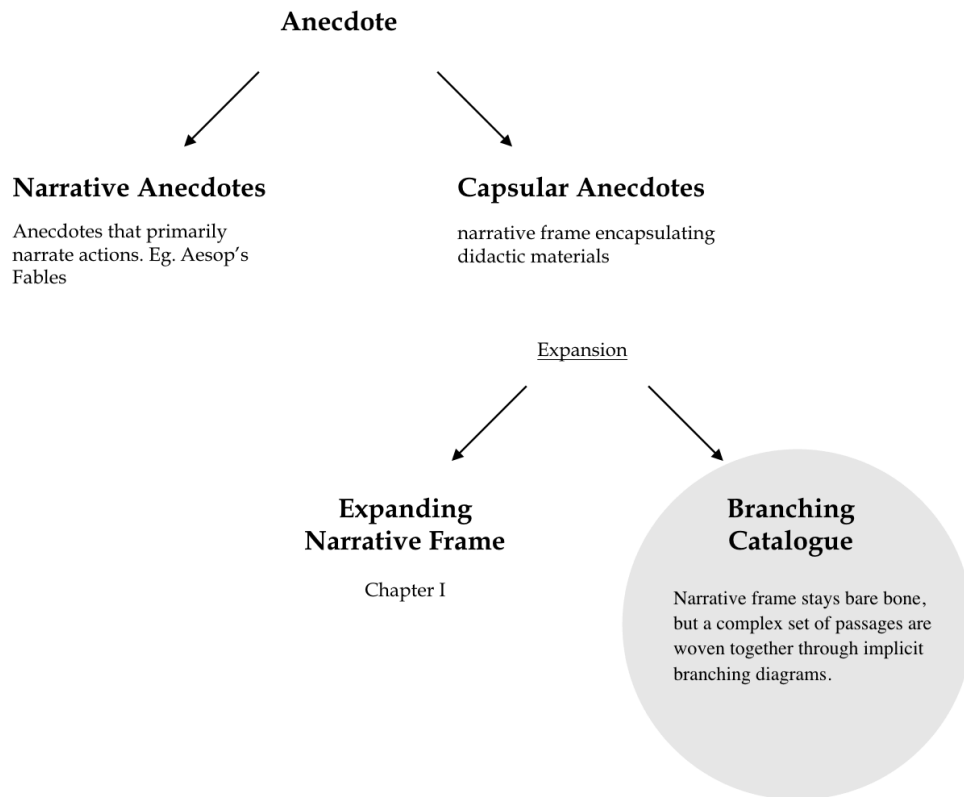
Branching catalogue as a textual structure is not only found within capsular anecdotes, it is also an ubiquitous element of information organization in texts of every scale, since its forking tentacles can clasp around textual units of all sizes. The survey of this chapter will show how the branching catalogue scales up, from within a capsular anecdote, to within and among chapters, to an entire compilation, and finally, to the entire knowledge universe — the bibliography of the Han library. The expansion of this branching structure is one of the links between the small textual units and the book-sized compilations, between pre-imperial and imperial textual practices. It thus bridge the bipolarity discussed in the Introduction between the anonymous and free-floating textual tidbits and the library of authored books both formally and temporally.

While the last chapter focuses on how paratextual elements, such as the narrative frame,

preserve the integrity and the redactional intention of a small textual unit, the emphasis of this chapter is on the role of paratext in assembling larger textual structures from these small units. As part of a capsular anecdote, the paratextual nature of the branching catalogue is — as I would argue — clearly present, but not clear cut. Like the narrative elements discussed in the previous chapter, such branching structures organize, package, and suture together existing units of texts (such as lists or blocks of verses), but they are also arguably part of the "main content." At the chapter or compilation level, however, these structuring elements begin to resemble more familiar forms of paratext, such as chapter titles, or a table of content found in the xu 序 (the genre term for prefatory texts, which literally means "to put in order"). By bringing texts at these various scales together, I highlight the functional continuity and similarity between these seemingly disparate elements.

This exploration will begin with an capsular anecdote, which is an example I have already began to discuss in the previous chapter, the *Tang zai chimen* (Tang at the Chi gate) manuscript from the Tsinghua cache. While the previous chapter examines its narrative frame, the first section of this chapter will turn to the "text" that is preserved within this narrative frame. The next section focuses on the six "Chu shuo" 儲說 (Treasuries of Illustrations) chapters of the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, showing the branching catalogue at work within and between chapters. At the compilation level, the overall structures of quite a few early Chinese texts, and in a few cases their explicit tables of contents, are also branching catalogues, such as the *Shiji*. These branching structures, moreover, became standardized features of imperial China's books and bibliographies in the subsequent millennia. The branching catalogue is thus one illustration of the continuity among early texts at various scales, as well as of the continuity between the pre-imperial manuscript evidence and the imperial book culture.

The membrane of the capsular anecdotes, the framing narrative, works a bit like the book cover or the title page, which not only supplies the meta-information concerning the text enveloped within, but also delimits the boundary of a text. The branching structure, to continue the analogy with the modern book, functions more like the table of contents, which helps the user to structure, navigate, or even acquire and master the text. The title page and framing narrative, as the frontiers and frontispieces of a text, are often the construction site of the "body authorial," the author figure who furnishes the mouthpiece "lodges" (*yu* 寓) of a text. As the *Zhuangzi* passage suggests, the body authorial is ultimately the mask of the textual producers, or, as Genette would put it, a speech act articulating how the producers wish their texts to be received and interpreted. The branching catalogues to be explored in this chapter further reveal the wishes of the anonymous compilers, for what such organizational and auxiliary elements tend to reflect is the redactional intention of a compilation.

1. Branching Structure within Capsular Anecdote

After the examination of the narrative frame of the **Tang zai Chimen* in the previous chapter, I now turn to the elaborate textual organization within. This text's employment of branching catalogue exemplifies one type of the non-linear textual structures Matthias Richter has already noted. Such structures allow the audience to navigate between different levels or layers of a text, and the organizational elements, such as the enumeration of teachings, relate to the content of the teaching like paratext to text.[1] Such non-linear structures are moreover more

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1. Matthias L. Richter, "Interweaving Technical Text and Narrative in *Guoyu* "Yueyu Xia"" (paper presented at American Oriental Society Annual Meeting, Boston, March 19, 2016).

likely to appear in unearthed materials.[2] Yi Yin answers that not only are such fine sayings preserved, but without them, one cannot complete the four major categories of things: human, state, earth, and heaven. The king then proceeds to ask what these sayings are, initiating eight rounds of questions and answers. Yi Yin's first answer is a string of enumerative catchphrases that defines the number of items in each category, such as "Four for completing the state, with Five to assist them; Nine for completing the earth, with Five to support them" 四以成邦，五以相之；九以成地，五以將[之]. Some of these enumerated items are further subdivided as the questions and answers continue. The first of the "Five" that assist the completion of the state, for instance, is Virtue, and it is in turn divided into "fine Virtue" and "foul Virtue" in the next round of questions.

Because of this successive expansion of categories into subcategories, this text is structured by what I term the "branching catalogue" device. Figure 2.2 below illustrates the branching structure this dialogue discursively delineates. Joachim Gentz's presentation on this text includes a diagram that which largely agrees with Figure 2.2 with minor differences.[3]

Figure 2.2: Branching Catalogue of *Tang zai Chimen*

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2. Richter, *The Embodied Text*, 174-77.
3. Gentz, "Paratext, Form, and Structure in Verse-texts Attributed to Rui Liangfu."

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                                                    qi at the tip = Jade Seed
                              Five ────▶   Five     1st month
                                          Flavors   2nd month
                                                    3rd month
                   ┌                      ┌ What     4th month
                   │              ┌       │ allows   5th month
            Human  ┤              │       │ human to 6th month
                   │              │       └ be born? 7th month
                   │    Virtue   ┤                   8th month
                   └    to       │                   9th month
                        Illuminate│                  10th month
                        Them     │       ┌ How do
                                 │       │ they grow?  Youth
                                 │       │ Why young
                                 └       │ then old?   Prime
                                         │ Why some
                                         │ are fair,   Decline + Disease
                                         └ some foul?
                                                       Death

                              Four ────▶   Four
                                          Justices
                                                      Fine Virtue
                                         ┌ Virtue
                                         │            Foul Virtue
                                         │
                   ┌                     │            Fine Affair
                   │             ┌       │ Affair
            State  ┤             │       │            Foul Affair
                   │             │       │
                   │    Five     │       │            Fine Work
                   │    to      ┤        │ Work
                   └    Assist   │       │            Foul Work
                        Them     │       │
                                 │       │            Fine Regulation
                                 │       │ Regulation
                                 │       │            Foul Regulation
                                 └       │
   Fine                                  │            Fine Punishment
   Sayings                               └ Punishment
   of the                                             Foul Punishment
   Ancients
                              Nine ────▶   Nine
                                          Divinities
                   ┌
                   │             ┌       ┌ Water
            Earth  ┤             │       │ Fire
                   │    Five     │       │ Metal
                   │    to      ┤        │ Wood
                   └    Support  │       └ Soil
                        Them     └

                              Nine ────▶   Nine
                                          Divinities
                   ┌
                   │             ┌       ┌ Day
                   │             │       │ Night
            Heaven ┤    Six      │       │ Spring
                   │    to      ┤        │ Summer
                   │    Conduct  │       │ Autumn
                   └    Them     └       └ Winter
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The cataloguing of key terms or different aspects of a lesson has also received scholarly attention, and the devices have been variously termed "catalogues" or "enumerative cata-

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logues."[4] What Yegor Grebnev terms "numerical lists" in his study of the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 (The Omitted Documents of Zhou) and Buddhist scriptures also intersects with the textual features I refer to as branching catalogues.[5] But the branching tendency of such catalogues, exemplified by the **Tang zai Chimen* manuscript, has not yet been systematically studied. Just as the table of contents is a paratextual apparatus that organizes and packages a text and helps modern readers to navigate its various levels and sections, the branching catalogue was likely a form of paratext that performed similar functions. The branching catalogue is, moreover, an important and ubiquitous form of textual organization found in early Chinese texts at every scale, as I seek to show in this chapter.

To support my identification of the framing narrative and the branching catalogue of **Tang zai Chimen* as paratexts, I will show in the following subsections how these textual elements meet the interlinked criteria I have introduced.

1.1 Meta-discursivity

The meta-discursivity of Yi Yin's enumerative catchphrases, which is located in the third tier of the branching catalogue (branching off of the four large categories), can be explained in these terms. As a simple example, the catchphrase "Six to conduct them" (*liu yi hang zhi* 六以行之) in Yi Yin's second answer points to another unit of text, a list of six temporal terms in his eighth and last answer: "Day, Night, Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter" 晝夜春夏秋冬. The meaning of the word "Six" in the catchphrase is unknown until Yi Yin's eighth answer, and the

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4. Joachim Gentz, "Defining Boundaries and Relations of Textual Units: Examples from the Literary Tool-Kit of Early Chinese Argumentation," in *Literary Forms of Argument in Early China*, ed. Joachim Gentz and Dirk Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 128ff.
5. Grebnev, "The Core Chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*," 131-78.

indexical function of the catchphrase cannot be fulfilled without the textual unit it references. In contrast, the list of temporal terms, as the "text" proper, does not point to any other piece of text. It is a building-block textual unit that likely existed and circulated autonomously, as William Boltz has suggested, and could be incorporated into different oral and manuscript contexts outside Yi Yin's branching catalogue. As this discussion illustrates, the enumerative catchphrases and other structuring components of the branching catalogue are meta-discursive in their deictic nature, and in this respect, they are comparable to the modern table of contents.

The paratextual nature of the branching catalogue will become even more evident when we examine textual units of larger scale, which approach the book form more familiar to us today. The text's boundaries, its integrity, and the ordering of chapters and subsections within book-sized compilations such as *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (The Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü), *Shiji* 史記 (The Annals of the Grand Historian), and *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Master Huainan)[6] are also maintained by branching catalogue structures. These texts' branching catalogues are viewed as their tables of contents throughout their reception history.

1.2 Liminality

In Chapter I, I discussed how the narrative frame mediates the user's interpretation of the textual units packaged within *Tang zai Chimen*, presenting them as part of a repository that is relevant to the political sphere. The branching catalogue not only reinforces this notion of a

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6. Unlike *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Shiji,* the branch structure behind the overall organization of *Huainanzi* is more implicit, but has been identified by recent publications. See diagram in John S. Major, Sarah A. Queen, Andrew Meyer and Harold D. Roth, trans. *The* Huainanzi*: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010); Andrew Meyer, "Root-Branches Structuralism in the *Huainanzi*," in *The Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China*, ed. John S. Major, Sarah Queen, Andrew Meyer and Harold D. Roth (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 38.

repository, but also introduces a sense of "encyclopedic-ness." Despite the relative brevity of this text, the four largest branches—human, state, earth, and heaven—are all-encompassing. Joachim Gentz terms what I call branching catalogues *enumerative catalogues*, arguing that such catalogues serve to claim the completeness of what is covered by the text.[7] According to John Emery Murdoch, the encyclopedic-ness of late antiquity and early medieval encyclopedic compilations is similarly uncorrelated to their sizes. What characterizes these texts instead is their presentation of existing textual materials in a "compendious" manner, meaning that they strive to be both comprehensive and concise. Such manuscripts sometimes contain branching diagram illustrations in the form of trees, or *arbores*, which can be viewed as visualized forms of branching catalogues.[8] Together, the framing narrative and branching catalogue of **Tang zai Chimen* present its encapsulated textual units as part of a miniature encyclopedia, to be carefully studied and preserved.

This interpretation of Yi Yin's emblematic meaning suggested in Chapter I is reinforced by the structuring of the branching catalogue as well. Not only is the section on "state" the longest, it is also the only section that is prescriptive, rather than descriptive. The sub-cataloguing of the other three branches are series of articulations on how the world *is*, from how life begins and ends to how the seasons circulate. But under the "state" category, evaluative terms "fine" (*mei* 美) and "foul" (*wu* 惡) enter the picture, presenting the users with ethical choices. In accordance with what the narrative frame suggests, the accounts of the human body, earth, and heaven are indeed in the service to the regulation of the state. The vocabulary used in the de-

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7.   Gentz, "Defining Boundaries and Relations of Textual Units," 128-29.
8.   John Emery Murdoch, *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Album of Science* (New York: Scribner, 1984), 30-32.

scription of heaven, for instance, suggests that it ought to be seen as the model of an orderly government,[9] while the description of physical illness echoes the description of an ill-functioning government.[10] In other words, it is only under the category of "state" that "is" is translated into "ought." This contrasts neatly with the Mawangdui silk manuscript example, *Taichan shu* 胎產書 (Book of the Generation of Fetus), where the function of a similar embryological account is to inform women how they *ought* to manage their pregnancies.

In short, the narrative frame and branching catalogue work in tandem to delimit the interpretative possibilities of the embedded textual units. While the structure of the branching catalogue suggests an interconnection among its four main branches, hinting that the embryological account, for instance, is also relevant to the formation of the state or the heavens, the narrative frame, through Yi Yin's emblematic meaning, narrows down what this interconnection is.[11] Just like Yi Yin's soup-based wisdom, the embryology can be enlisted in the service of governance.

1.3 Hierarchization and Packaging

In addition to serving as the *medium* communicating the producers' wishes regarding the pragmatic meaning of the embedded text, the branching diagram also contributes to the hierar-

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9. Day, night and the four seasons are described with administrative terms when they are said to "each administer tirelessly. This is the chief of affairs" 各司不解, 此惟事首. Both *si* 司 (administer) and *shi* 事 (affairs, service) are heavily associated with governance.

10. For human bodies, "when their *qi* mutiny, descending into harmful chaos, they suffer from diseases" 氣逆亂以方，是其爲疾殃. Bad regulation, on the other hand, is when "one's regulation is chaotic and erratic, the people will all be restless (literally 'disintegrate in body'), seeking help through private means" 政禍亂以無常，民咸解體自恤. The complex term *de* 德 (whose semantic wavers between "virtue" and something closer to its Latin root meaning of "manly power") is an element in both the discourse of the body and that of the state.

11. In Part II of this dissertation, I discuss in more detail anecdotes that — like the cluster of anecdotes from *Tang chu yu Tangqiu* — prescribe interpretations for texts adjacent to them or surrounding them, rather than encapsulated within them. Such anecdotes can perform paratextual functions for a book-length compilation as a whole.

chization and packaging of these textual units, stitching together the otherwise independently circulating smaller textual units (such as the list of temporal terms and the embryological account). imposing a textual sequence as well as demarcating the semantic boundary. Recognizing these functions in turn explains why so much of *Tang zai Chimen* consists of repetitive questions and answers. Not only do these repetitions construct and reinforce the branching catalogue, but they further ensure that the smaller textual units are presented in the order desired by the textual producers; they also forestall the insertion and deletion of text, which now cannot be done without creating notable textual inconsistency. We can thus view the paratextual devices of *Tang zai Chimen* as attempting to prevent precisely the types of textual transformations Li Ling pointed out, which led him to compare early Chinese texts to air.

2. The "Chu shuo" Chapters of the *Hanfeizi*

The compilation *Hanfeizi* 韓非子 (Master Han Fei), a pre-imperial Masters text attributed to Han Fei 韓非 (d. 233 BCE) and classified by the Han imperial bibliography under the "Legalist Lineage" (*fajia* 法家),[12] is known for the wealth of short narratives it preserves. The greatest concentration of such disjointed small textual units is found in the six "Chu shuo" 儲說 (Treasuries of Illustrations) chapters, which make up nearly a third of the *Hanfeizi* compilation.[13] But even more than their size, what is interesting about these chapters is their elaborate structure. The "Chu shuo" chapters are often referred to as an example of pre-imperial Chinese texts conforming to a *jing* 經 (guideline, classics, canon) versus *shuo* 說 (explication, discourse) struc-

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12. *Hanshu*, 30.1736.
13. For a character count of each chapter in the *Hanfeizi*, see Kaizuka Shigeki 貝塚茂樹, *Kanpi* 韓非 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2003), 134-35.

ture. The first section of each chapter is labeled *jing,* which contains lists of paragraph-length maxims or precepts regarding political philosophy or the art of rulership. This *jing* section is followed by a *shuo* section, which consists largely of anecdotes with a small number of aphorisms and short expositions sprinkled in. According to the traditional understanding of the *jing – shuo* structure, these short texts ought to function as exempla illustrating the precepts declared in the *jing* section .

At latest by Eastern Han, the hierarchical primacy of texts titled or labeled *jing* is well-established. As the Eastern Han author Wang Chong 王充 (27-c. 100) states, "the sages created their canons (*jing*), while the worthies made their commentaries (*zhuan* 傳), which transmit the creators' meaning and glean the sages' intention. Therefore the canons need the commentaries" 聖人作其經，賢者造其傳，述作者之意，採聖人之志，故經須傳也.[14] This is to say, *jing* occupies the principal position both in time and in status, while *zhuan* 傳 (tradition, commentary),[15] as commentaries composed in service of *jing,* are secondary. In analogy to Wang Chong's characterization of the relationship between *jing* and *zhuan*, scholars generally apply the "canon ver-

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14. *Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋, commentary by Huang Hui 黃暉 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 82.1158. Translation consulted Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 300.

15. The basic meaning of *zhuan* <*drons 傳 is "a record," derived from the exopassive form of *chuan* < *dron 傳, literally meaning "what has been transmitted," see Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, 630. For Tang scholars' articulation of this relationship, see Tim Wai-Keung Chan, "The *Jing/zhuan* Structure of the *Chuci* Anthology: A New Approach to the Authorship of Some of the Poems," *T'oung Pao* 84 (1998), 296-97, where he recaptures the definition of *zhuan* by Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661 – 721) and Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645). Not all texts transmitted with *zhuan* in their titles were composed as commentaries for other texts. Most famously, the *Zuozhuan* became a commentary for its supposed *jing* text, *Chunqiu* 春秋, only after a gradual process, see Stephen W Durrant, Wai-yee Li and David Schaberg, trans. *Zuo tradition* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), xx-xxii.

sus commentary" model to *jing* and *shuo*, often citing the "Chu shuo" chapters as an example.[16]

However, while the extant titles and intratextual labeling of the "Chu shuo" chapters suggest a *jing* – *shuo* pairing, a closer examination would lead one to question the applicability of the canon versus commentary model, even if this model aptly describes other texts associated with the terms *jing* and *shuo*.[17] In the case of the "Chu shuo" chapters, the primacy of the *jing* section, both temporally and functionally, is far from unambiguous. As I will discuss in detail, many *jing* passages appear to relate to the *jing* sections only tangentially, in addition to the more ubiquitous incongruence and tension between the *jing* and *shuo* sections. Such puzzling mismatches render the reading of the anecdotes as materials gathered specifically to explicate the *jing* text problematic.

This chapter proposes an alternative model for interpreting the relationship between the *jing* and *shuo* sections of the "Chu shuo" chapters: that of paratext and text. By paratext, I refer to textual elements such as the title, table of contents, or preface, which perform auxiliary services to the main texts.[18] I argue that the *jing* sections are often—though not necessarily always—more likely later superimposed onto existing anecdote collections to serve the function of "paratext," so that the anecdote compilations of the *shuo* sections are in fact the "main texts."

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16. For example, Dagmar Zissler-Gürtler, *Nicht erzählte Welt noch Welterklärung: der Begriff "Hsiao-shuo" in der Han-Zeit* (Bad Honnef: Bock + Herchen, 1994), 20-21; Chan, "The *Jing/zhuan* Structure," 315-16; Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 299-300. W. K. Liao, in his complete translation of the *Hanfeizi*, renders the *jing* label in the "Chu shuo" chapters as "canon," see for instance W. K. Liao, trans. *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzŭ: A Classic of Chinese Legalism* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1939), i.285.

17. Aside from the "Jing shuo" chapter titles in *Mozi*, the pairing of *jing* and *shuo* seem to predominately appear in Han texts, such as in *Hanshu*, "Yiwenzhi": 丘明恐弟子各安其意，以失其真，故論本事而作傳，明夫子不以空言說經也 (*Hanshu*, 30.1715). One possible pre-imperial example is found in *Lüshi chunqiu*, "Youshi" 有始 chapter: 天地有始。天微以成，地塞以形。天地合和，生之大經也。以寒暑日月晝夜知之，以殊形殊能異宜說之, see *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 13.276.

18. Genette, *Seuils*, 12.

This reading not only clarifies otherwise puzzling textual features, but also sheds light on the intentions of early writers and compilers in composing the *jing* sections.[19] Specifically, the *jing* sections greatly contribute to the organization, retrieval, and preservation of the anecdote compilations, and are functionally analogous to paratexts found in a modern book, such as the table of contents, descriptive intertitles, and other finding devices. In addition to their function as finding devices, the *jing* sections also mediate the audience's understanding and use of the anecdote compilations as interpretive guides and memorization aids. This once again accords with what Gérard Genette describes as a central feature of paratext: as a mediation between the producers and the users of a text. As such a mediation, paratext is a form of speech act rather than a description of reality. It articulates what the producers – in this case the anonymous compiler(s) of the "Chu shuo" chapters – saw as the "pertinent reading" of the anecdotes, which can be heeded or disregarded by docile or rebellious audiences.[20]

The reading proposed here reverses the assumption held by many scholars throughout the reception history of the *Hanfeizi,* but it is corroborated by some of the more recent publications. Earlier scholars, approaching these chapters according to the canon versus commentary model, tended to presume the *jing* sections to be the earlier and more authoritative writings closely tied to their putative author, i.e. Master Han Fei, whereas the *shuo* sections were suspected to be the work of the master's disciples, or even interpolations of later periods.[21] The Edo pe-

19. Following D. F. McKenzie's defense of the reconstruction of historical readings through bibliographical features, I use the word "intention" intentionally, see McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, 28-29.
20. Genette, *Seuils*, 2.
21. Despite the fact that the "Chu shuo" chapters are among the few chapters of the *Hanfeizi* mentioned in *Shiji,* their authenticity is still very much debated. One telling interpretative reasoning identifies mismatches between the catalogue and the anecdotes so as to demonstrate the inauthenticity of the anecdotes, see the summary of this argument in Bertil Lundahl, *Han Fei Zi: The Man and the Work* (Stockholm: Stockholm University Institute of Oriental Languages, 1992), 147.

riod commentator Ōta Hō 太田方 (1759-1830) evidently recognized the paratextual functions performed by the *jing* texts, and compared it to "headings in later periods" 後世之條目也.[22] In the past decade, scholars such as Zhao Kuifu 趙逵夫, Ma Shinian 馬世年, and David Schaberg began to suggest that the anecdote compilations in the *shuo* sections ought to be seen as the main content, while the *jing* sections function more as the epitomes or even the tables of contents, aiding the use and memorization of the anecdotes.[23] Ma further surmised that the "Chu shuo" chapters must have been utilized as pedagogic materials.[24]

While these scholars' arguments closely align with the reading I propose here, they did not provide detailed evidence in support of their arguments. My close textual analyses, first of all, hopes to fill in this lacuna. Moreover, the implication of reading the *shuo* sections as the main text is yet to be interrogated. Through utilizing concepts such as paratext, I lay out the full spectrum of functions performed by the *jing* sections, and place the "Chu shuo" chapters in a comparative context, where the *jing* sections' similarities and differences from paratextual elements in other texts can be explored. I also apply this method of interpretation to addressing long-standing philological debates concerning the "Chu shuo" chapters, such as offering a new reading of the label *yi yue* 一曰 (it is also said) found throughout these chapters.

Finally, much of existing scholarly works still focuses on the recovery of the authored *Urtext* as well as the identification of later interpolations. My analysis, on the other hand, hopes

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22. At the same time, Ōta Hō seems unable to let go of *jing* as an evaluative label indicating a text's canonical status, so that he proposed reading both *jing* and *zhuan* as the work of a sage, adducing Confucius' authoring of both the *jing* and the *zhuan* of the *Chunqiu* as an example. He criticizes Wang Chong's model of *jing* and *zhuan* as a later fabrication; see *Kanpishi yokuzei* 韓非子翼毳, commentary by Ōta Hō 太田方 (1759–1829) (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2014), 391.

23. Zhao Kuifu 赵逵夫, "Lun xian Qin wenxue de chengjiu" 论先秦寓言的成就, Shaanxi shifa daxue xuebao (2006); Ma Shinian, Hanfeizi de chengshu jiqi wenxue yanjiu, 145-51; Schaberg, "Chinese History and Philosophy," 400-01

24. Ma Shinian, Hanfeizi de chengshu jiqi wenxue yanjiu, 149-51.

to reflect more recent developments in the conceptualization of early texts. View these chapters as the products of a diachronic and complex formation process rather than a one-time, originary composition, I pay special attention to changing understanding of terms and evolving textual practices that are often the sources of tensions and negotiations between existing and newly introduced redactional intentions.

After a more thorough introduction to the "Chu shuo" chapters, I will present evidence pointing to the incongruence between the *jing* and *shuo* sections, which speaks against a simple application of the canon versus commentary model, while lending support to the reading proposed here. The subsequent survey of the *jing* sections' paratextual functions is divided into a section on information management and a section on knowledge acquisition. "Information," as defined by Ann Blair, is applicable in this context, because anecdote compilations, in contrast to continuous compositions such as extensive narratives or essays, can be analyzed in terms of a gathering of individual pieces of materials that can be consulted, reselected, and reused. Accordingly, the *jing* sections can be seen as a form of information management, for they organize and inventory these materials so as to increase their ease of retrieval and likelihood of preservation.

The *jing* sections' interpretative and mnemonic functions, on the other hand, are related to knowledge acquisition. As interpretative guides, the *jing* sections teach users to view a heterogeneous conglomeration of materials through the ideological lens of the *Hanfeizi* compilation. As mnemonic aids, they help the learners to convert a collection of external information

into internalized knowledge.[25]

2.1 The Layout of the "Chu shuo" Chapters

In addition to the shared term "Chu shuo" in their titles, what unites chapters 30 to 35 is their textual organization, which is non-linear and relatively complex.[26] As mentioned, each chapter contains two distinct sections, the *jing* and the *shuo* sections; the *jing* section consists of a list of paragraph-length didactic precepts, followed by the *shuo* section that is a sizable collection of anecdotes. The teachings of the *jing* sections generally echo the rest of the *Hanfeizi* compilation, from advocating a system of reward and punishment, to disputing alternative political visions. The majority of anecdotes found in the *shuo* sections feature known historical figures, though a small minority tell the stories of anonymous characters. There are also a small number of aphorisms and expositional statements, both attributed and unattributed, some of which are analogies or metaphors. Some of these non-narrative pieces appear to be essay fragments. This section's detailed walk-through of the *jing* and *shuo* sections will be summarized by Figure 2.3 on page 178.

Each *jing* text, roughly speaking, can be further divided into sections. They all begin with what I call "instructional statements," which impart political teachings, before proceeding to "catalogues of anecdotes." Both the instructional statement and the catalogue of anecdotes are written in a pithy yet rhythmic language, which comes across as cryptic, as I try to illustrate in this literal translation of a typical *jing* text:

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25. For these definitions as well as the distinction between "information" and "knowledge,", see Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 2.
26. For another account for the structure of the "Chu shuo" chapters, see Schwermann, "Anecdote Collections as Argumentative Texts," 155-56.

Withhold what you know and ask about it, then what is not known will surface. Have deep knowledge concerning one thing, then you will discern a multitude of what is concealed.[27] This is illustrated by how Marquis Zhao concealed a finger-nail in his hand. Thus by preordaining the South Gate three counties were obtained. The Zhou ruler searched for a crooked staff and the ministers were in fear; Bu Pi employed a valet; Ximen Bao feigned losing wheel-guards. Number Six: Withhold Knowledge.

挾智而問，則不智者至；深智一物，眾隱皆變(辨)。其說在昭侯之握一爪也。故必南門而三鄉得。周主索曲杖而群臣懼，卜皮事庶子，西門豹詳(佯)遺轄。挾智六[28]

The instructional statement of this *jing* introduces a technique for uncovering hidden intentions. The underlined portion following it is the catalogue of anecdotes, a list of catchphrases referencing to a group of anecdotes found in the *shuo* sections. I will refer to each of the catchphrases, e.g. "Ximen Bao feigned losing wheel-guards," as the "entry" for the anecdote it points to. Such catalogues are often introduced by the phrase "this is illustrated by" (*qi shuo zai* 其說在), as is the case here. By thus cataloguing the anecdotes, the *jing* texts have essentially divided the anecdotes in a "Chu shuo" chapter into groups, associating each group of anecdotes with a specific *jing* text. For instance, the first nine anecdotes of chapter 30 are catalogued by the first *jing* text (*jing* 1), the next dozen by the second (*jing* 2), etc. The short phrase at the very end, "Number Six: Withhold Knowledge," is a reference back to a catalogue of all of the *jing* texts in this chapter, which I will explain further below.

After three to seven such *jing* texts, the end of the *jing* sections in chapters 30-31 and 34-35 is marked by the phrase "to the right are the *jing*" (*you jing* 右經).[29] Since the default layout

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27. The character 變 can be also read as *bian* 辨 [to discern]. See 夫物至則目不得不見，言薄則耳不得不聞；故物至則變，言至則論; *Shangjunshu jiaoshu* 商君書校疏, commentary by Zhang Jue 張覺 (Beijing: Zhishi chanquan chubanshe, 2012), 24.266.

28. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 30.568.

29. This phrase is absent from chapters 32-33 in the oldest extant editions. Modern editors such as Chen Qiyou supply them based on Qing editors' emendation, whereas Zhang Jue does not; see *Hanfeizi jiaoshu xilun* 韓非子校疏析論, commentary by Zhang Jue 張覺 (Beijing: Zhishi chanquan chubanshe, 2011), 32.652, 33.722.

of sinographic texts (with the exception of publications from the People's Republic of China) is vertical and right-to-left, this phrase means "what precedes are the *jing*" or even "the *jing* section ends here."

In three of the six "Chu shuo" chapters, the *jing* sections consist simply of a list of such paragraphs; in the other three, however, there is one more layer of text at the very beginning, a synopsis of all of the *jing* texts in that given chapter. Below, for instance, is the very beginning of chapter 30, the first "Chu shuo" chapter:

> What the ruler employs are the Seven Techniques, what he investigates the Six Intricacies. Seven Techniques: the First is called "observe and corroborate all opinions"; the Second is called "preordain punishment to manifest power"; … the Seventh is called "speak the opposite and do the contrary." These Seven are what the ruler employs.

> 主之所用也七術，所察也六微。七術：一曰、眾端參觀，二曰、必罰明威…七曰、倒言反事。此七者，主之所用也。[30]

This opening first sums up the subsequent teachings as the "Seven Techniques" and the "Six Intricacies," before enumerating the Seven Techniques. The name of each of these techniques or intricacies is a tetrasyllabic catchphrase referring to an ensuing *jing* text. The typical *jing* text cited above, for instance, is item Number Five in this list, and is named "befuddling summons and confounding envoys." The "Six Intricacies" will not be expounded until the next chapter, chapter 31, which opens with a similar list of tetrasyllabic catchphrases. In other words, the first two chapters of the "Chu shuo" chapters, chapter 30 and 31, both contain synopses cataloguing their *jing* texts, and these synopses are further recapitulated as the "Seven Techniques" and the "Six Intricacies." The very first sentence of the "Chu shuo," i.e. the first sentence of the passage cited

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30. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 30.560.

above, ties together chapters 30 and 31. Such an additional level of synopsis is also present in chapter 34, but in a far simpler fashion. This chapter contains only three *jing* texts, which are summed up as "there are three (rules) whereby the lord governs his ministers" 君所以治臣者有三.

If the phrase "to the right are the *jing*" marks the end of the *jing* section, it also signals the beginning of what is labeled the *shuo* section in modern editions. The history of this *shuo* label is far more involved than the *jing* label. While most extant editions contain the "to the right are the *jing*" label,[31] the explicit *shuo* label is an addition introduced by standardized modern editions. Two influential 16th century editions label the anecdote section *zhuan* 傳 (tradition, commentary),[32] while other early editions simply group the anecdotes with numerical labels that correspond to the numbering of the *jing* texts. This is to say, the number *yi* 一 (one) appears at the beginning of the group of anecdotes catalogued by *jing* 1, and the number *er* 二 (two) appears at the beginning of the next group, etc.

Despite its absence in early editions, the *shuo* label is added to the numerical labels in most, if not all, modern editions, so that the anecdote groups are labeled *shuo yi* 說一 (illustrations one), *shuo er* 說二 (illustrations two), etc. This practice can be traced back to a commentary

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31. The earliest reconstructable edition, the so-called Qiandao 乾道 edition, dates to 1165. None of its Song copies are known to be extant, but a few Qing period copies are said to be reproductions of Song copies, including a traced copy (*yingchao ben* 影抄本); see Zhang Jue 張覺, *Hanfeizi kaolun* 韓非子考論 (Beijing: Zhishi chanquan chubanshe, 2013), 31-36. The critical apparatus of the modern standard editions seem suggest that chapters 30 and 31 of all extant versions have the phrase "to the right are the *jing*." Ōta Hō, however, mentions an unspecified edition that lacks this phrase (*Kanpishi yokuzei*, 359).

32. I.e. Zhao Yongxian's 趙用賢 edition of 1582 and Ling Yingchu's 凌瀛初 edition circa 1600, with Zhao's edition forming one of the base texts of Ling's (Zhang Jue, *Hanfeizi kaolun*, 43). Gu Guangqi points out that the Qiandao and Daozang editions do not have *zhuan* 傳 (*Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 614). The Ling edition has labels such as *zhuan yi* 傳一 (commentary one), while the Zhao edition has the label *you zhuan* 右傳 (to the right is the commentary) at the end of chapter (Ibid., 571).

by the Qing dynasty scholar Gu Guangqi 顧廣圻 (1776-1835), who preferred the term *shuo* in place of the *zhuan* labels found in the 16th century editions. Modern editors such as Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 favored Gu's argument, both in view of the chapter title "Chu shuo" (Treasuries of *Shuo*) and the phrase *qi shuo zai* 其說在 (this is illustrated by …) at the beginning of the anecdote catalogues.

The meaning of the term *shuo* is a complicated issue, partly due to the fact that the character 說 stood for several etymologically related words, among them *shuo* < *lhot (to explain, to speak), *shui* < *lhots (to persuade), and *yue* < *iuat (to please, to be pleased, written with the character 悅 in modern orthography). All of these words seem to have derived from the root meaning of "to loosen, relax."[33] The character 說 appears in quite a few titles of anecdote compilations in addition to the "Chu shuo," such as *Shuo yuan* 說苑 (Garden of Illustrations). This suggests that at some point, 說 became a genre terms for anecdotal texts, together with words such as *zhuan* and *yu* 語 (discourses). Scholars have not agreed on whether to read 說 in such titles as *shuo* or *shui*, as "discourses," "explications," or as "persuasions."[34] When 說 is paired with *jing*, it is more unambiguously *shuo* in the sense of "explicating." I have chosen to read 說 as *shuo* for the wider semantic range it affords, since *shuo* can refer to both commentarial materials as well as discourse, speech, or even argumentation in general.

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33. Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, 476-77, 586; Michael Hunter, "The Difficulty with 'The Difficulties of Persuasion' ('Shuinan' 說難)," in *Dao Companion to the Philosophy of Han Fei*, ed. Paul Goldin (New York: Springer, 2012), 172ff. For an extensive discussion of the character 說 in *Hanfeizi*, see Michael Reeve, "Demonstrating the World: Mind and Society in the 'Shuo Lin' Chapters of the 'Han Fei Zi'" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2003), 75-89.

34. For examples of the *shui* reading, see Martin Kern, "'Persuasion' or 'Treatise'? – The Prose Genres *shui* and *shuo* in the Light of the *Guwenci leizuan* of 1779," in *Ad Seres et Tungusos: Festschrift für Martin Gimm*, ed. Bieg Lutz, von Mende Erling and Siebert Martina (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000); Reeve, "Demonstrating the World"; Hunter, "The Difficulty with 'The Difficulties of Persuasion'." For examples of the *shuo* readings, see Zissler-Gürtler, *Nicht erzählte Welt noch Welterklärung*, 19-20; Schwermann, "Anecdote Collections as Argumentative Texts.".

While I conform to using the labels *jing* and *shuo*, I do not assume them to be intrinsic components of these chapters. Instead, I believe these paratextual elements reflect the readings of certain compiler(s) who played a role in the formation of these chapters. The *shuo* in the phrase *qi shuo zai*, similarly, was not necessarily a genre term from the start. In two *jing* texts, *qi shuo zai* is followed by another phrase that introduces additional catalogues of anecdotes, *qi huan zai* 其患在 (its peril can be seen in).[35] This renders *qi shuo zai* less likely a reference to genre, given that the the parallel construction *qi huan zai* clearly does not refer to a genre. It seems more likely, therefore, that some of the *jing* texts were composed before the words *jing* and *shuo* became genre terms, so that the word *shuo* was used simply in the sense of "explaining" or "illustrating." Indeed,, the pairing of *jing* and *shuo* before Han texts is rare, suggesting that *shuo* might not have been a genre term for commentarial texts or illustrative anecdotes in the pre-imperial period.[36]

This is to say that the current *jing* and *shuo* configuration of the "Chu shuo" chapters was likely the result of a gradual development, likely reflecting a later stage in the formation history of the *Hanfeizi*, when its various types of chapters were beginning to be assembled. Whoever introduced the title "Chu shuo" likely had the "Shuo lin" 說林 (Groves of Illustrations) chapters of the *Hanfeizi* in their purview, for the word *shuo* is consistently used in both titles to describe collections of anecdotes. Similarly, the use of the term *jing* in the phrase "to the right are the *jing*" is consistent with the chapter title "Ba jing" 八經 (Eight Guidelines), which contains texts closely resembling the instructional statement section of the *jing* texts. Compilers

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35. This phrase is paired with *qi shuo zai* in chapter 30 and *jing* 1 of chapter 31. it also appears by itself in *jing* 5 of chapter 35.
36. See note 17 on page 168, in particular the passage from *Lüshi chunqiu*.

who introduced these titles and labels likely read the word *shuo* in the phrase *qi shuo zai* as a genre term, just as later commentators did.

Figure 2.3: The Layout of a "Chu shuo" Chapter.

Chapter 30. Inner "Chu shuo," Upper

What the ruler employs are the Seven Techniques, what he investigates the Six Intricacies. Seven Techniques:
- the 1st is called "observe and corroborate all opinions";
- the 2nd is called "preordain punishment to manifest power";
...
These Seven are what the ruler employs.

Synopsis of all jing

Without seeking multiple sources to verify what is seen and heard, the truth cannot be gleaned ... This is illustrated by

anecdote catalogue
- the story of the dwarf seeing stove in dream and <1a>
- Duke Ai interpreting "without a multitude one is misled." <1b>
...
Number 1- Observe and Corroborate.

jing 1

jing 2

jing 3

...

jing 7

jing Section

To the right (i.e. above) are the *jing*

(*shuo*) one:

Anecdote <1a>

Anecdote <1b>

(*shuo*) two: ...

Anecdote <2a>

Anecdote <2b>

...

...

(*shuo*) seven:

Anecdote <7a>

Anecdote <7b>

...

shuo Section

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Finally, all six of the "Chu shuo" chapters are conjoined as one unit through their titling. All six titles contain spatial terms, as if they are partitions in the same "treasury" or storehouse. The first two chapters are said to be the "inner" chapters, which are further divided into the upper (chapter 30) and lower (chapter 31); the next four "outer" chapters are titled "upper left" (chapter 32), "lower left" (chapter 33), "upper right" (chapter 34), and "lower right" (chapter 35). The "inner" versus "outer" division appears to be meaningful, not least because the synopsis at the very beginning of chapter 30 ties together the two inner chapters, while there is no such overarching synopsis for the outer four. I have discussed other significant differences demarcated by this division in a previous article.[37] In the subsequent sections, I will discuss the inventorying and mnemonic functions these spatial terms likely served.

Figure 2.4: The Spatial Titles of the "Chu shuo" Chapters
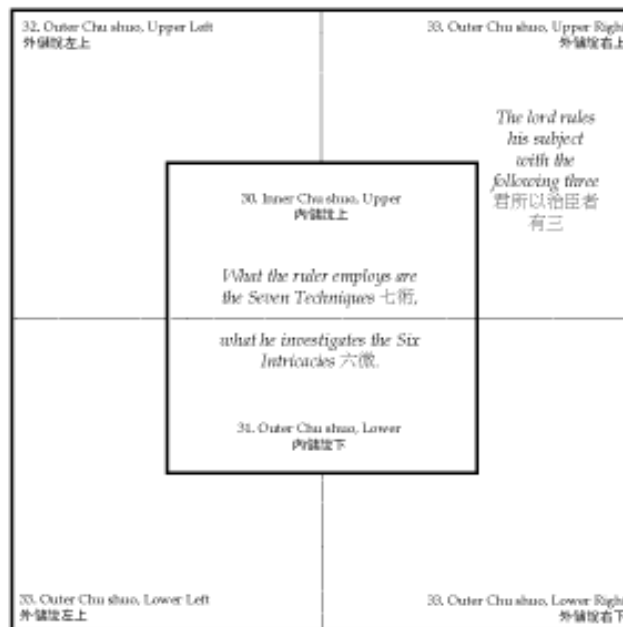
37. Du, "From Villains Outwitted to Pedants Out-Wrangled.".

2.2 The Tension Between the *jing* and *shuo* Sections

As my close reading will show, there are identifiable clusters of anecdotes within the *shuo* sections that often generate tension with their corresponding *jing* texts. The similarities shared by anecdotes within a given cluster vary greatly, suggesting that each cluster likely had its own unique formation history before its adaptation into the "Chuo shuo" chapters.[38] If the "Chu shuo" was composed according to a canon-commentary model, we would have expected the clustering of similar anecdotes to correspond to the prescription and the grouping of the *jing* text. However, the uniting factor within a given cluster is often only tangentially related to the *jing* text. The boundaries of the clusters also do not always correspond to the grouping demarcated by the *jing* texts.

The clustering of anecdote and the resulting tension between the *jing* and *shuo* texts are features shared to different degrees by a majority of the "Chu shuo" texts. The presence of such tension suggests that at least some of the anecdotes were collected together – or written down from memory as a group – independently of the *jing* texts, and the *jing* texts were added as later superimpositions.

The Clustering of Anecdotes

A conspicuous example of this tension can be found in the second half of chapter 30, namely *jing* 5, 6, and 7 and the fifteen associated anecdotes. As part of the "Seven Techniques" (*qi shu*), these three *jing* texts present three ploys to be used in the power struggle within a bu-

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38. In addition to what is suggested by my close readings below, textual analysis of the "Chu shuo" chapters can be vastly complicated, see for instance D.C. Lau's study suggesting that the texts within the same *jing* or a set of *shuo* passages could have been assembled from different base texts; see D. C. Lau 劉殿爵, "Qinhui chutan: jianjiu huizi lun gushu zhong zhi chongwen" 秦諱初探：兼就諱字論古書中之重文, *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hongkong* (1988.19), 247.

reaucratic setting. According to *jing* 5, "befuddling summons and confounding envoys" 疑詔詭使, a ruler can summon or question a subordinate without reason so as to instill fear. *Jing* 6 teaches one to "withhold knowledge and question knowingly" 挾知而問, while *jing* 7 demonstrates the merit of "speaking the opposite and doing the contrary" 倒言反事, i.e. lying.

Even though all three techniques (*jing* 5–7) involve psychological manipulations, they describe three different kinds of behaviors, each with distinctive features. The fifteen anecdotes grouped under them, however, are surprisingly similar to each other. Indeed, most of these fifteen anecdotes appear to be versions of only three plotlines, distributed without adhering to the *jing* texts. To visualize this mismatch, my translation of these three *jing* texts' anecdote catalogues are labeled with these three plotlines:

Plot (1): a ruler loses something that the officials (*li* 吏) cannot locate. The people he employed then find it, instilling fear in the officials.

Plot (2): a ruler obtains information concerning low-level administration and uses this information to instill fear in local officials.

Plot (3): the protagonist, either a superior or a subordinate, lies (*yang* 佯, *wei* 偽, or *jiao* 矯) in order to observe his opponents' reactions.

In addition, three anecdotes that repeat phrases found in the *jing* texts are marked with asterisks*:

[*jing* 5 catalogue:] Pang Jing recalled the inspector*, and Dai Huan ordered someone to observe the covered carriage*; the ruler of Zhou lost his jade hairpin (1); the Grand Minister of Shang discussed ox dung (2). Number Five, Confounding Envoys.
龐敬還公大夫，而戴讙詔視輼車；周主亡玉簪，商太宰論牛矢。 詭使五.[39]

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39. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 30.567.

[*jing* 6 catalogue:] This is illustrated by how Marquis Zhao concealed a fingernail in his hand (1+3). Thus by preordaining the South Gate three counties were obtained (2). The Zhou ruler searched for a crooked staff and the ministers were in fear (1); Bu Pi employed a valet (3); Ximen Bao feigned losing wheel-guards (1+3)[40]. Number Six: Withhold Knowledge (Chinese text see page 173).

[*jing* 7 catalogue:] Yangshan libeled Jiu the little courtier (3) ; Zhuo Chi devised an envoy from Qin (3) ; The Man of Qi wanted to start a rebellion (3); Zizhi employed a white horse (3); Zichan separated the litigants*; Duke Si went through the market checkpoint (2). Number Seven: Speak the Opposite.

陽山謾樛豎，淖齒為秦使，齊人欲為亂，子之以白馬，子產離訟者，嗣公過關市。
倒言七[41]

What this translation shows is that anecdotes telling essentially the same story can be found across all three groups, many of which do not match the technique specified by the *jing* text.

This incongruence is most strikingly illustrated by the five anecdotes straddling the boundary demarcated by *jing* 5 and *jing* 6, labeled below with plotlines.

	Plotline
Last two anecdotes of *shuo* 5 (grouped under *jing* 5)	Anecdote A: (1) Anecdote B: (2)
First three anecdotes of *shuo* 6 (grouped under *jing* 6)	Anecdote C: (1+3) Anecdote D: (2) Anecdote E: (1)

In fact, Anecdotes A and E closely match each other textually, as do Anecdotes B and D. In the following comparison of Anecdotes A and E, their parallel phrasings are underlined.

Anecdote A of *jing* 5	Anecdote E of *jing* 6

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40. This anecdote labeled (1+3) involves superiors feigning losing something they are in search of, thus echoes both Plot (1) and Plot (3) in language and construction.
41. Ibid., 30.570.

周主亡玉簪，令吏求之， 三日不能得也。 周主令人求，而得之家人之屋間， 周主曰：「吾知吏之不事事也， 求簪三日不得之； 吾令人求之，不移日而得之。」 於是吏皆聳懼，以為君神明也。	周主下令索曲杖，吏求之 數日不能得。 周主私使人求之，不移日而得之。 乃謂吏曰：「吾知吏不事事也。 曲杖甚易也，而吏不能得； 我令人求之，不移日而得之。豈可謂忠 哉！」 吏乃皆悚懼其所，以君為神明。
The ruler of Zhou lost a jade hairpin. He ordered his officials to look for it, and they could not find it even after three days. The ruler of Zhou then ordered people to look for it, and they found it in a house of a commoner. The ruler of Zhou says, "I have learned that officials do not busy themselves with their business. They could not find the hairpin even after three days; when I then ordered people (i.e. non-officials) to look for it, they found it even before the day had passed." Thus the officials were all trembling, thinking that their lord must be divinely perspicacious.[42]	The ruler of Zhou sent down an order to look for a crooked staff. The officials looked for it for many days and could not find it. The ruler of Zhou then privately sent people to look for it, and they found it before the day had passed. He thus said to the officials. "I have learned that officials do not busy themselves with their business. The crooked staff was a very easy matter, but still, the officials could not find it. When I then ordered people (i.e. non-officials) to look for it, they found it even before the day had passed. How can this be called devoted?" The officials then were all trembling in their places, taking their lord as divinely perspicacious.[43]

As this table shows, Anecdotes A and E are nearly identical. In addition to minor details, the noticeable differences are merely the missing items: a jade hairpin versus a crooked staff. The other pair, Anecdotes B and D, exhibit a similar level of resemblance with a slightly greater degree of variations, such as the fact that their main characters are different historical figures.[44] What this observation suggests is that Anecdotes A-E are originally a series of five similar and adjacent anecdotes that are arbitrarily divided into two groups.

This apparent repetitiveness is not restricted to these two pairs of anecdotes, but perme-

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42. Ibid., 30.607.
43. Ibid., 30.611.
44. Ibid., 30.608, 610.

ates the anecdotes catalogued under *jing* 5-7, as the underlined recurring phrases in the group

of selected anecdotes below can attest to:

> From *jing* 5:
> 周主亡玉簪，<u>令吏求之</u>，三日<u>不能得</u>也。周主<u>令人求</u>而<u>得之家人之屋間</u>，周主曰：
> "吾知<u>吏之不事事也</u>... (Translation see above).

> From *jing* 6:

> 韓昭侯握爪而<u>佯亡</u>一爪，求之甚急，左右因割其爪而效之，昭侯<u>以此察左右之誠</u>
> <u>不</u>。
> Marquis Zhao of Hán made a fist, pretended that he was missing one fingernail, and was urgently looking for it. His attendant then cut his own nail and presented it. Through this, Marquis Zhao detected whether his attendants were honest or not.[45]

> 西門豹為鄴令，<u>佯亡其車轄</u>，<u>令吏求之不能得</u>，<u>使人求之而得之家人屋間</u>.
> Ximen Bao, the prefect of Ye, pretended that he had lost wheel-guards. He sent officials to look for them, but they could not find them. He sent other people to look for them and they found them in the house of a commoner.[46]

> From *jing* 7:

> 子之相燕，坐而<u>佯言</u>曰："走出門者何白馬也？"左右皆言不見。有一人走追之，報
> 曰："有。"子之<u>以此知左右之誠信不</u>。
> Zizhi was the Prime Minister of Yan. While sitting, he feigningly said, **"**What is that just walking out of the gate? A white horse?!" His attendants all said they did not see it. One person ran out to chase it, and reported, "Yes." Through this, Zizhi found out whether his attendants were honest and trustworthy or not.[47]

It is even possible to draw up several different clusters based on different sets of repeated phrases. Many anecdotes among these, for instance, end with a version of "thus the officials were all trembling in fear, thinking that their lord must be divinely perspicacious" 於是吏皆聳懼，以為君神明也. There are also topical repetitions, such as an unsually high concentration of stories re-

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45. Ibid., 30.609.
46. Ibid., 30.611.
47. Ibid., 30.613.

lated to the new administrative unit of the Warring States period, the districts (*xian* 縣).[48]

Overall, the mismatch between these fifteen anecdotes and their three superimposed *jing* texts is more conspicuous than in the rest of the "Chu shuo" chapters. Rather than overriding the boundaries prescribed by the *jing* texts, the other clusters tend to be smaller, and are confined within a given anecdote group. But what these fifteen anecdotes exemplify is by no means unique, but is a more pronounced case of the dynamic that can be observed throughout the "Chu shuo" chapters. While this cluster is dominated by parallel structures and plotlines, far more clusters share similar phrases,[49] or revolve around the same figure,[50] topic, or themes.[51] Some of these figures or themes do not appear anywhere else in the *Hanfeizi*, and are thus especially noticeable.[52] The clusters of anecdotes cited in the later sections of this chapter will continue to illustrate this tension.

The amassing of similar and related anecdotes is in fact a widely seen compositional technique among early Chinese texts. Christian Schwermann describes such compositions as a collage, and classifies different collage techniques involving linking through association, key

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48. In addition to Ibid., 30.606-11, see also Ibid., 30.609. See Mark Edward Lewis, "Warring States Political History," ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 613-14.

49. Eg. four anecdotes under *jing* 2 of chapter 30 (*Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 30.585-87*),* all of which repeats versions of a line on heavy punishment; see also the repetition of a version of *fangyi* 妨義 (hindrance to propriety) as well the interaction between "inferiors and superiors" (*xia* 下 and *shang* 上) in four anecdotes grouped under *jing* 3 of chapter 33, which happen to be four anecdotes for which the corresponding *jing* entries are missing (Ibid., 33.734-38).

50. For example, the series of anecdotes on Zi Zhi 子之 under chapter 35, *jing* 3 (Ibid., 35.822-27).

51. For example, there is a series of anecdotes under *jing* 4 of chapter 31, revolving on a ruler's cooks or servants sabotaging each other (Ibid., 31.640-41*);* As another example, the last four anecdotes under chapter 34, *jing* 1 all center on an analogy between a ruler's command of his ministers and the taming of animals (Ibid., 34.769-73).

52. A section below will focus on a series of anecdotes featuring the charioteer Zaofu 造父, who is mentioned 22 times in chapter 35, but only one other time in the rest of the *Hanfeizi*.

words, themes, or key concepts.[53] It is likely that what is now a cluster of anecdotes in the "Chu shuo" was earlier an independent composition, much like the anecdote-centered chapters in *Zhuangzi*, *Lüshi chunqiu*, and other early Chinese compilations. Unearthed materials also attest to such compositions, such as the collection of anecdotes revolving on Yi Yin found in **Tang chu yu Tangqiu*.

The jing Texts as Superimposition

There is also evidence to suggest that, in the case of the second half of chapter 30, the three *jing* texts might have been created in view of these fifteen anecdotes as an existing anecdote collection. While neither *jing* 5 nor *jing* 7 describe *all* of the anecdotes grouped under them, they closely describe *one or two* anecdotes within the group. The instructional statement of *jing* 5, "summon someone numerous times and let him wait for a long time without appointing him" 數見久待而不任 and "dispatch someone to ask about odds and ends" 使人問他 happen to correspond to the first two anecdotes of the group (marked with asterisks on page 181), even though it is a poor descriptor of the rest.[54] The key phrase in *jing* 7, *dao yan* 倒言 (speaking the opposite), appears verbatim in one of the anecdotes under *jing* 7 (marked with an asterisk on page 181).[55] Thus while not all anecdotes can fittingly illustrate the *jing* texts, the *jing* texts appear to be keyed to specific anecdotes. As I will discuss in the next section, this allows the *jing* texts to serve as finding devices or memory pegs.

A similar observation can be made concerning the organization of chapter 30 as a whole,

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53. Schwermann, "Collage-Technik als Kompositionsprinzip klassischer chinesischer Prosa," 136-137, 140, 143, 145.
54. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 30.606-607.
55. Ibid., 30.617.

once we identified the three central ideas expounded by its seven *jing* texts:

1. Beware of powerful courtiers who monopolize information channel (*jing* 1, 4).
2. Rewards and punishments are important tools (*jing* 2, 3).
3. How to uncover hidden motives and control subordinates (*jing* 5, 6, 7).[56]

There is no apparent reason why *jing* 2 and 3, preoccupied with the second idea, should come in between *jing* 1 and 4, which are concerned with the first idea. One could have easily arranged the *jing* texts in a more logical order, if they were composed first and independently from the anecdote collections. Their current arrangement seems to suggest, however, that they might have been sequenced according to the pre-existing order of the collected anecdotes.

Of course, not every part of the "Chu shuo" chapters allows us to infer whether the *jing* or the *shuo* texts were created first. It is also very likely that many anecdotes were incorporated – copied down or recalled from memory – at a later point in time in view of the *jing* texts. Moreover, every time the "Chu shuo" text was recopied or recompiled, there is – at least theoretically – a new opportunity to further unify the *jing* and *shuo* section. But in view of such possible harmonizing efforts, the lingering and visible tension between the *jing* and *shuo* section is all the more remarkable.

2.3 Paratexts and Information Management

If many of the *jing* texts were not initially written down as canonical teachings, but were instead composed in view of pre-existing anecdote compilations, we need to ask why they were created, and why they were superimposed upon these anecdotes. As I proposed in the begin-

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56. *Hanfeizi jiaozhu* 韓非子校注, commentary by Zhou Xunchu 周勛初 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2009), 249 and *Hanfeizi jiaoshu xilun*, 30.520 offered similar grouping of these seven *jing* texts.

ning, the *jing* texts appear to perform a variety of paratextual functions for the anecdote compilations, which is to say that they perform auxiliary services to the anecdotes as the "main text." In the case of the *jing* texts, their paratextual functions can be described as facilitating information management and knowledge acquisition. This section focuses on the information management aspect; specifically, on how the *jing* texts organize and inventory the anecdotes, contributing to their retrieval and preservation.

Organizing and Retrieving

If we visualize the relationship between a given *jing* text and the anecdote entries listed in its catalogue, the result is a simple branching structure. Each entry branches from the instructional statement, and points to its corresponding anecdote, i.e. a branching catalogue structure:

Figure 2.5: *Jing - shuo* as Branching Catalogue (1)
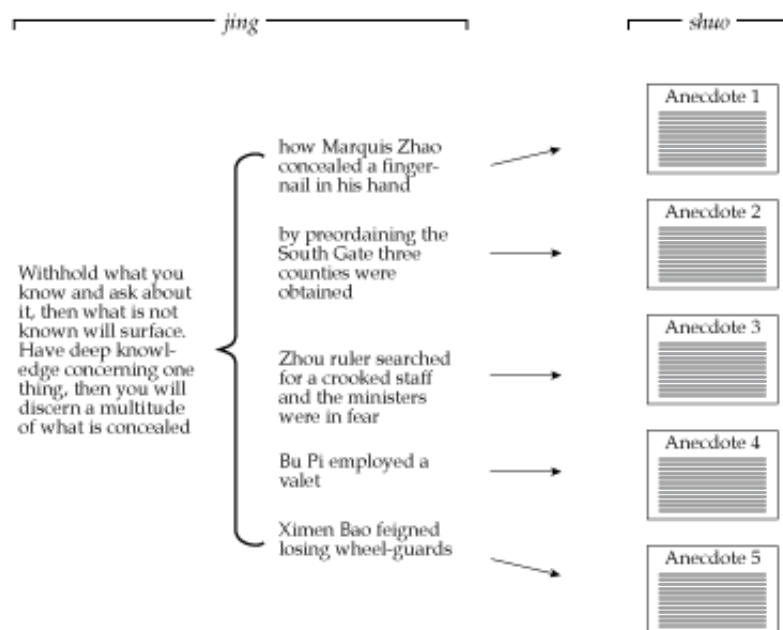
The additional synopses in three of the "Chu shuo" chapter add extra layers to this basic branching catalogue, as Figure 2.6 below visualizes.

Figure 2.6: *Jing - shuo* **as Branching Catalogue (2)**
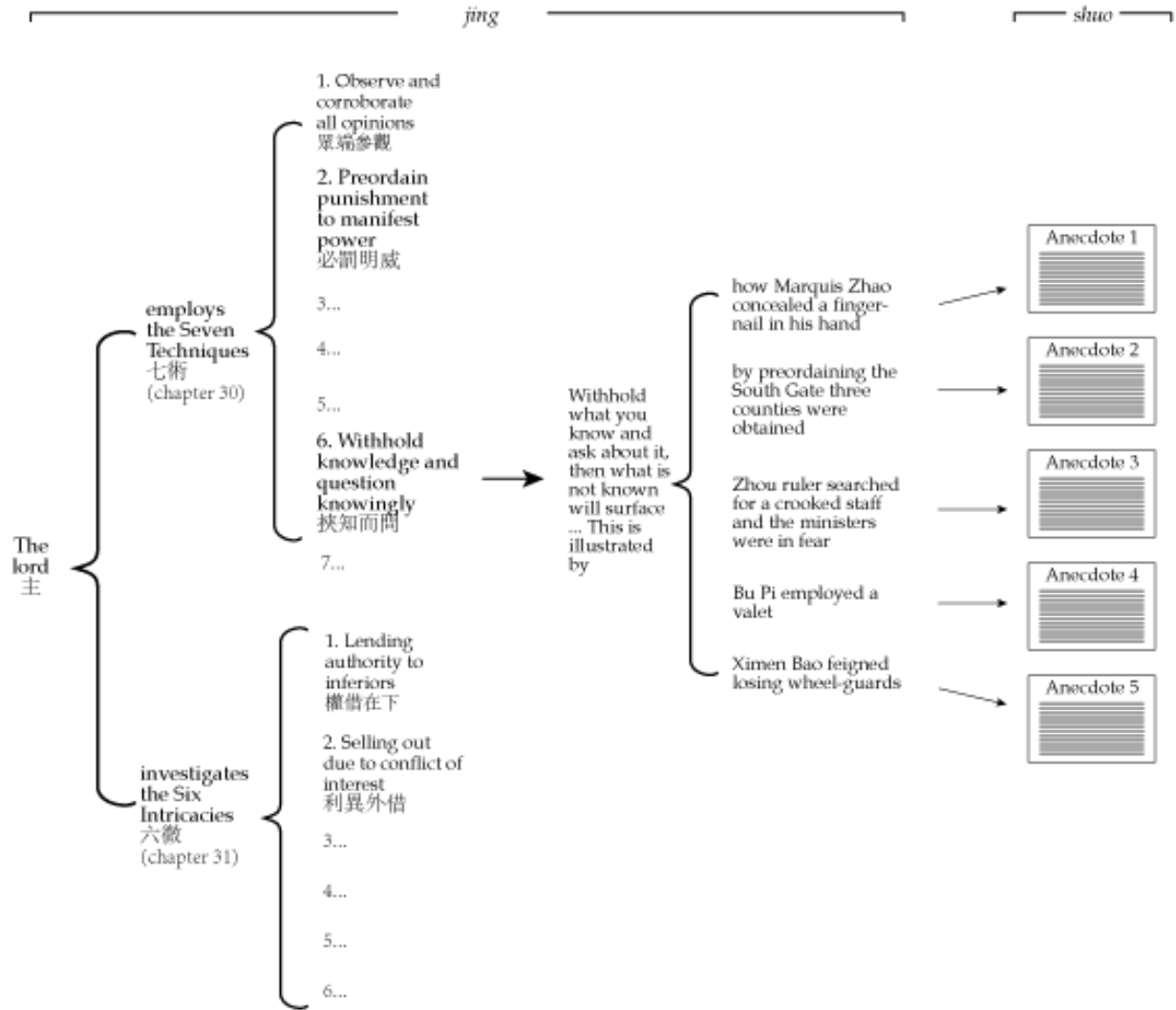
This diagram shows that the *jing* section of the first "Chu shuo" chapter, chapter 30, is a branching catalogue encompasses the content of the two inner "Chu shuo" chapters, chapters 30 and 31, in their entirety. Each *jing* text is a branch of either the "Seven Techniques" or the "Six Intri-

cacies,"as well as a node for the anecdotes in the next layer.

In medieval and early modern European contexts, similar branching structure as a form of information organization manifests in the form of a table of contents, tabulated synopsis, or illustrated branching diagrams.[57] Such visual aids for summarizing and communicating ideas are more commonly associated with derivative compilations – such as textbooks, encyclopedic compendia, commonplace books, handbooks -- rather than with primary, authoritative texts.[58] This resonance seems illuminating, for the "Chu shuo" chapters in many ways resemble more closely a florilegium or a commonplace book; all of them can be described as compendia of anecdotes, sayings and analogies collected for specific didactic purposes, often furnished with finding devices.[59] If the title "Chu shuo" can be translated as "Treasury of Illustrations,"[60] many early modern compilations of derivative materials were also conceived of as "treasuries" of knowledge, giving rise to the term "thesaurus."[61] Similar to more explicit table of contents, the *jing* sections of the "Chu shuo" chapters mediate the users' interaction with the anecdotes. Giving them a system to keep track of the order and groupings of the hundreds of anecdotes found in these six chapters.

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57. An illuminating illustration of this parallel is perhaps the branching catalogues of Jean Bodin's *Juris universi distributio* (1578) and *Universae naturae theatrum* (1596). The latter is introduced discursively, in a dialogue between the book's two characters. In a subsequent French translation, the translator François de Fougerolles appended visual branching diagrams both as an overview and as a finding device, see Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 10, 159-63. Branching diagram is also an important tool for what is known as the Ramist logic, an analytical and educational method developed by Peter Ramus (1515-1572) Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 144.

58. Murdoch, *Album of Science*, 31-32, 277.

59. Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 124-26; for examples of branching diagrams in commonplace books, see discussions of *Polyanthea* and *Theatrum Humanae Vitae*, Ibid., 144-52.

60. Lundahl translates *chu* 儲 as "repository" (Lundahl, *Han Fei Zi*, 146) while W. K. Liao translate it as "congery" (Liao, *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzŭ*, 2.1)

61. Oxford English Dictionary, "thesaurus;" See also Richter, *The Embodied Text*, 172-73 for early texts as repository of didactic materials to be consulted as opposed to linearly read.

Placing the "Chu shuo" chapters in a comparative context also highlights the rhetoric of such branching structures. According to Joachim Gentz, branching catalogues (which he terms enumerative catalogues) imply both completeness regarding what the text covers and unity among the constituent branches.[62] In the European context, preference was also given to branching diagrams on account of their power to represent both the entirety and the relationships between parts.[63]

Inventorying and Storing

The branching catalogue also performs an inventorying function. By "inventorying," I refer to the attempt to create a complete catalogue of the anecdotes, where all anecdotes in the *shuo* sections are accounted for by the entries in the anecdote catalogues of the *jing* section. This inventorying function is performed by two specific textual features: in addition to the catalogues of anecdotes, I believe that the label *yi yue* 一曰 (it is also said) found throughout the *shuo* sections also serves this purpose.

The label *yi yue* is yet another interesting feature of the "Chu shuo" chapters. It has very few parallels in received early Chinese texts,[64] and it is also the subject of much debate. The phrase *yi yue* usually introduces a second – and occasionally even a third – anecdote that is similar or related to the previous anecdote. Most of the *yi yue* anecdotes appear to be alternative versions of the previous anecdotes, though quite a few have significant differences. In many pairs, the second version is more extensive, almost as an elaboration or explanation of the first. Zheng

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62. Gentz, "Defining Boundaries and Relations of Textual Units," 128.

63. Blair, *The Theater of Nature*, 162-63, 176-77.

64. As Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1906) in *Gushu yiyi juli* 古書疑義舉例 pointed out, there are two uses of *yi yue* in *Guanzi*, "Fa fa" 法法 chapter, and one instance of *huo yue* 或曰 (someone says) in the "Dakuang" 大匡 chapter that are comparable; see Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1906) et al., *Gushu yiyi juli wuzhong* 古書疑義舉例 五種, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005).. For parallel in **Taichan shu* see below.

Liangshu counts a total of 44 alternative versions, scattered in every chapter.[65] Scholars have proposed a variety of answers about why, how, and when this label and the associated alternative versions were introduced into the "Chu shuo" chapters. Gu Guangqi, for instance, attributes them to the Han librarians, while Chen Qiyou would go down even further in history and accredit Lu Ji 陸機 (261 – 303).[66] Others, such as Lundahl and Zhang Jue, offer counter arguments, pointing out that these anecdotes' entries in the *jing* section often echo the alternative rather than the first versions.[67] Some of the scholars who do not see the *yi yue* anecdotes as later insertions attribute a special proclivity for collecting alternative accounts to Han Fei.[68]

My argument for the inventorying function of the *jing* texts is coupled with a new explanation for the function of the *yi yue* label. If my observation in the previous section – that the clustering of similar or related anecdotes is a widespread feature among the "Chu shuo" chapters – is valid, then it already necessitates a reexamination of the *yi yue* feature. This is because that existing explanations assume that the anecdotes linked together by *yi yue* are uniquely similar to each other, in contrast to the rest of the anecdotes in the "Chu shuo" chapters. However, if the amassing of similar anecdotes appears to be a regular feature of the *shuo* sections, then the *yi yue* anecdotes are no longer qualitatively different.[69] Indeed, the two pairs of parallel anecdotes from chapter 30 – the pair about the Zhou ruler in search of an missing object and the pair about

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65. Zheng Liangshu 鄭良樹, "Hanfeizi chushuo pian wu lun" 韓非子儲說篇五論, *Gugong xueshu jikan* (1990.7):47-48.

66. Lundahl, *Han Fei Zi*, 148; *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 1166-67. As Lundahl summarizes, the presence of alternative versions is the other feature of the anecdote collections which, alongside mismatches between *jing* and *shuo* texts, leads scholars to suspect that the anecdotes were collected in later times.

67. Lundahl, *Han Fei Zi*, 148; *Hanfeizi jiaoshu xilun*, 30.536.

68. See for instance Zheng Liangshu 鄭良樹, *Han Fei zhi zhushu ji sixiang* 韓非之著述及思想 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1993); Ma Shinian 馬世年, "Hanfeizi "Chu shuo" de tiyi fenpian yu xingzhi" 《韓非子 儲說》的題意、分篇與性質, *Gansu shehui kexue* (2004):70.

69. Like many anecdote clusters in the "Chu shuo" chapters, the *yi yue* anecdotes feature both anecdotes that are close parallels, as well as those that are rather different.

the rulers' unexpected knowledge of bovine misbehaviors – are closer to each other textually than many stories linked together by *yi yue*. But these two pairs are not labeled with *yi yue*. Rather than seeing the *yi yue* anecdotes as special cases, I see them as more extreme manifestations of a basic aspect of the "Chu shuo" chapters.

Moreover, the juxtaposition of similar anecdotes, as mentioned, is far from rare among early Chinese anecdote compilations. This is to say, *Hanfeizi* is in fact not unique in its interest in juxtaposing alternative versions, even if the *yi yue* labels might at first give such an impression. When two similar anecdotes are juxtaposed in other early texts, there was evidently no need felt to add the *yi yue* label. This suggests we need to consider other possible motivating factors for that label.

One possible answer lies in the close correlation between the *yi yue* labels and the anecdote catalogues in the *jing* section. The key difference between the *yi yue* anecdotes and the rest is not just the degree of similarity, but whether an anecdote has its own unique entry in the *jing* catalogues. With one or two exceptions,[70] all "normal" anecdotes have one-to-one correspondences with the catalogue entries, and it is only in the case of the *yi yue* anecdotes that one catalogue entry would refer to more than one anecdote. The "Chu shuo" chapters are not immune to the vicissitudes of textual transmission, and there are many notable lacunae in both the *jing*

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70. There is one possible exception in *jing* 5 of chapter 31, where the entry, "Tian Chang, Kan Zhi, Dai Huan and Huang Xi feuded and thus the lord of Song and Duke Jian were murdered" 田常、闞止、戴驩、皇喜敵而宋君、簡公殺, refers to two anecdotes, one involving Tian Chang, Kan Zhi, and Duke Jian, and the other Dai Huan, Huang Xi, and the lord of Song. However, this entry seems to have collapsed all of the characters involved in two stories in the same grammatical sentence because the structure of the two narratives is entirely parallel, so it is almost as if two entries were abbreviated into one. At the level of information, there is still one-to-one correspondence between the names in the entry and in the anecdotes (*Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 31.620). A true exception is found in *jing* 5 of chapter 32, where there is only one entry concerning Duke Jian of Zheng, but there are two anecdote passages featuring him, and no *yi yue* label (Ibid., 32.665, 702-703).

catalogue and the *shuo* sections.[71] But even these lacunae have not disrupted this general pattern.

In other words, the *yi yue* label adds one more layer to the branching structure, so that one anecdote entry can branches into two or three anecdotes, as Figure 2.7 below illustrates:

Figure 2.7: *Yi yue* as Branching Catalogue
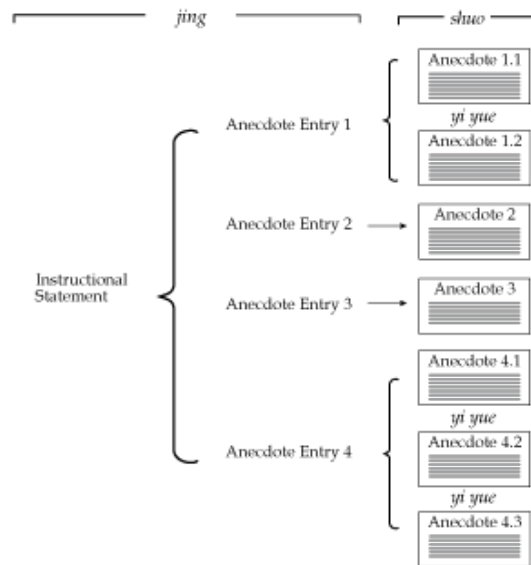
This interpretation is supported by the use of the *yi yue* label in the **Taichan shu*. The second half of this text is a collection of recipes and formulae related to birth, and the label *yi yue* is frequently employed. There, its function is to group together recipes under the same category. For instance, a series of instructions on how to handle the afterbirth is linked together by *yi yue*, so as the recipes for facilitating the birth of a boy. By using the label *yi yue* this way, it is as if these recipes are grouped together under implicit headings.[72]

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71. See Zheng Liangshu, "Hanfeizi chushuo pian wu lun.": 33-69 for full account of textual problems in the "Chu shuo" chapters.
72. For translation see Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 381-82.

Given that the *yi yue* labels and the *jing* texts are closely tied together, either one must have been created in view of the other. As scholars have pointed out, the close tie with the anecdote entries and some of the alternative versions indicates that not all *yi yue* versions were later insertions. This suggests that the *yi yue* label might have been employed from early on, in response to the challenge of inventorying materials that have an inherent degree of repetitiveness. When so many anecdotes resemble each other, it must have been difficult to systematically create a unique entry for every anecdote. The insertion of the *yi yue* label allows one *jing* entry to refer to a pair or a triplet of linked anecdotes, and thus offers an expedient solution. At the same time, it is easy to imagine the continued usage of the *yi yue* label even after the inventory system is established, for later insertions of additional versions would have violated the existing one-to-one correspondence, unless they are labeled with *yi yue*.

Such an inventory system can serve not only as a finding device, it also contributes to the stabilization of the "Chu shuo" chapters as a corpus. If the anecdotes can serve as the building blocks of larger texts, the *jing* sections record how these blocks are supposed to be stacked. This is not to say that the text of the "Chu shuo" chapters was rendered immutable as soon as this inventory system was created, as the presence of lacunae can well attest to. Nevertheless, as Genette insightfully articulated, paratexts as speech acts are expressions of someone's wishes, and are not necessarily the descriptions of reality.[73] This inventory system has clearly indicated the existence of a wish to stabilize this corpus, even if this wish was not perfectly fulfilled. At the same time, the very fact that we can identify lacunae speaks to the efficacy of this inventory system, without which most of these textual changes would no longer be detectable.

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73. Genette, *Seuils*, 10-12.

The spatial terms in the chapter titles also contribute to the "Chu shuo" chapters' stabilization and preservation. The early compilers could have simply entitled this series of chapters with numbers. This is in fact how the four chapters following the "Chu shuo" chapters, the "Nan" 難 (Critiques) chapters of chapters 36-39, are titled: as "Critiques One," "Critiques Two" etc. The advantage of the spatial terms, however, is that each part implies the existence of the other parts. The user knows from the word "inner" that there must be an "outer" component, and from "upper" the existence of the "lower." A title like "The outer upper left Treasury of Illustrations" (*wai chu shuo zuoshang* 外儲說左上) tells us that there must be three other such "outer treasuries," while putting "Two" in the title says nothing about whether there is also a "Three" or a "Four." Therefore, such spatial terms are one more measure for guaranteeing the integrity of the "Chu shuo" chapters as a unit. These titles not only conjure up the image of a storehouse, they perform the function of storing and conserving.

2.4 Paratexts and Knowledge Acquisition

The organizing, inventorying, and storing functions performed by the *jing* texts underscores the anecdote materials as pieces of information. As organizational structure and finding device, the *jing* texts allow for the ease of consultation, facilitating selected reuse for different occasions and purposes. Storing and preserving the anecdotes ensures their availability for such future reuse.

The next two aspects of the *jing* texts are more closely related to learning and knowledge acquisition. They reflect an interest in regulating users' understanding of the anecdote materials, as well as in guiding their memorization of these materials. Such didactic functions imply a learner, someone who does not just consult these materials, but also tries to internalize them as

knowledge.

Guiding Interpretation

While the terms *jing* and *shuo* seem to suggest that the anecdotes, as the *shuo* texts, functioned as the "explications" of the *jing*, there are many cases where the opposite is true, where it is the *jing* texts that specify how the anecdotes ought to be interpreted, as if they were the explications and commentaries. This is yet another way by which the *jing* texts fulfill the roles of paratext, namely the role of prescribing the desired interpretation of the "main text."

This has to do with the fact that the "message" of a narrative can often be far less determined than that of an explicit didactic statement or an expositional argument. The *jing* texts, even as they often can come across as terse and arcane, are such direct statements of didactic messages, whereas many of the anecdotes included in the *shuo* section are open to a wide range of interpretations. Some anecdotes already have explicit didactic messages. The formulaic phrase already discussed, where the officials tremble in fear of their rulers, instructs the audience to admire and emulate – rather than to despise – the rulers' manipulative behaviors. Many other anecdotes do not. As I have discussed in a previous article, this phenomenon is particularly pronounced in the four outer "Chu shuo" chapters (chapters 32 – 35), which incorporate a wider range of heterogeneous materials. In these chapters, the *jing* text often has to prescribe alternative readings or outright refute the anecdote's explicit argument. In the *shuo* section of chapter 32, for instance, we find a quote attributed to Confucius instructing the lords to rule by example. Only after reading the *jing* text do we learn that this is in fact a negative example, for ruling by example is exactly what *Hanfeizi* argues against.[74]

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74. For an example, see Du, "From Villains Outwitted to Pedants Out-Wrangled," 212-13.

There is another noteworthy set of materials that are reinterpreted and re-appropriated through the *jing* text's prescription: jokes. In contrast to the quote attributed to Confucius, many of the anecdotes in the following cluster from chapter 33 explicit didactic messages. Read without the *jing* text, as the first two of this cluster are presented below, their relevance to political philosophy or the art of rulership is not self-evident.

> Buzi, a man from Zheng county, asked his wife to make him a pair of trousers. The wife asked, "What should these trousers look like?" The husband said, "Like my old ones." The wife thus ruined the new pants so that they resembled the old pair.

> 鄭縣人卜子，使其妻為袴，其妻問曰："今袴何如？"夫曰："象吾故袴。"妻子因毀新令如故袴.

> There was a man from Zheng county who came upon a cart yoke but did not know what it was called. He asked someone, "What type of a thing is this?" The person answered, "This is a cart yoke." In a short while he came upon another one, and asked, "What type of a thing is this?" The person answered, "This is a cart yoke." The inquirer was greatly enraged, saying, "The one before was called a 'cart yoke.' This one is also a 'cart yoke.' How can this 'cart yoke' be so numerous? You must be fooling me." Thus he started a fight.

> 鄭縣人有得車軛者，而不知其名，問人曰："此何種也？"對曰："此車軛也。"俄又復得一，問人曰："此是何種也？"對曰："此車軛也。"問者大怒曰："曩者曰車軛，今又曰車軛，是何眾也？此女欺我也。"遂與之鬥.[75]

Readers familiar with the *Hanfeizi* text's polemics might recognize what some of these anecdotes are allegorizing. The wife who doggedly replicated her husband's old pants, for instance, can be read as a satire of those who sought to restore the political systems of ancient rulers. This is indeed the reading prescribed by the *jing* text, which likens these fools to the scholars who are

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75. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 32.691-92.

"unable to change"[76] just like Buzi's wife, who insist on "putting into practice the unfathomable teachings attributed to the Former Kings," which are "unfitting for today" 請許學者而行宛曼於先王，或者不宜今乎？如是不能更也. But had readers come across a manuscript containing only such anecdotes, without the *jing* text and the larger context of the *Hanfeizi* compilation, would they have read them this way?

The need for interpretative guidance is further underscored by the fact that three of the anecdotes among this cluster of jokes do not work well as mockeries of hidebound pedants. The second man from Zheng county, for instance, is confused by the concept of cart yokes not because of the overgeneralization of an existing lesson, but the failure to generalize. As Christoph Harbsmeier points out, this cluster of anecdotes are most likely jokes in origin.[77] Indeed, they call to mind a joke genre attested in many cultures, the "fool jokes" or "simpleton jokes," which tend to be associated with a particular geographical location.[78] Among the seven anecdotes in this cluster, three are about figures from a certain Zheng county. Perhaps "the wife of Mr. Bu, the man from Zheng County" is a formulaic opening for many such jokes.

What we can observe here is once again a tension between the *jing* and the *shuo* sections: while the existing redactional logic of this cluster relates to the message of the *jing* text only obliquely, the superimposed *jing* text transforms how the audience understand these jokes, teaching them a new interpretation that is more "pertinent" to the agenda of the *Hanfeizi* compi-

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76. Ibid.

77. Christoph Harbsmeier, "Humor in Ancient Chinese Philosophy," *Philosophy East and West* 39 (1989): 300

78. Zhou Xunchu "Han Fei de pianjian" 韩非的偏见, points to how people of Song or Zheng were often used as examples of simpletons, see Zhou Xunchu 周勋初, *Zhou Xunchu wenji* 周勋初文集 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, . For Roman parallels, see Mary Beard, *Laughter in Ancient Rome: On Joking, Tickling, and Cracking Up* University of California Press, 2014), 191-93.

lation. Throughout the "Chu shuo" chapters, especially in the outer chapters, the *jing* texts re-appropriate a variety of materials in such a manner.

Mnemonic Aids

Finally, the *jing* texts could have been memorized as mnemonic aids for the hundreds of anecdotes catalogued by them, as their jingle-like, rhythmic composition style already suggests. In the following example, the interconnection among the *shuo* passages showcases yet another form of anecdote clustering in the "Chu shuo" chapters: as parts of an expository composition that were deliberately taken apart and made into individuated pieces.[79] Such clusters beg the questions of why the essay compositions were dissected, as well as their relationship with the superimposed *jing* texts. Despite its complexity, this anecdote cluster provides persuasive evidence for the *jing* text's mnemonic function, for as a slavish repetition of the *shuo* passages, its *jing* text seems to contribute no additional value, except for its inventorying and mnemonic functions.

From the seven *shuo* passages associated with *jing* 1 of chapter 35, I selected the following three pieces. The remaining four passages all have the *yi yue* label, and all of them appear to be parallel versions of these three pieces in one way or another. By leaving out the *yi yue* passages, the original essay form resurfaces. I labeled these passages with numbers for the ease of reference:

> (1) When Zaofu steered four horses, they could gallop, spin, and turn in whatever ways he pleased. The horses sped in every way Zaofu pleased because of his skill in utilizing the control of his reins and whip. But when the horses were startled by a pig running amok, and Zaofu lost control of them, it is not because the

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79. In addition to the example closely analyzed below, other examples of such clusters can be found at the end of chapter 34 and other parts of chapter 35.

severity of the reins and whip was insufficient, but because the pig took share in the deterrence they instilled. When Wang Yuqi[80] harnessed extra horses alongside his chariot, he made the horses do whatever his heart desired without reins and whip, and this was because of his skill in utilizing the attraction of fodder and water. But when the horses passed by a garden and a pool, and the extra horses broke away, it was not because the attraction of fodder and water was insufficient, but that the garden and the pool took share in the virtue they offered. Thus even though Wang Liang and Zaofu were among the best charioteers in the world, if we let Wang Liang hold the left rein yelling commands, and Zaofu hold the right rein and whip, the horse will not go for even ten miles on account of sharing. Even though Tian Lian and Cheng Qiao were among the best zither players in the world, if Tian Lian plucks while Cheng Qiao presses, there is no music, and that is also on account of sharing. If, given Wang Liang's and Zaofu's skills, they cannot command a horse while sharing the reins, how can the lord of men govern when he shares his authority with his minsters? If, given Tian Lian's and Cheng Qiao's skills, they cannot perform music while sharing a zither, how then can the lord of men govern when he shares his position with his minsters?

It is also said… (A much shorter account offering alternative accounts of Zaofu's encounter with the garden – not the pig, the incidents are switched around – and Wangzi Yuqi's encounter with the pig.)…

Zihan, Garrison Commander of the Capital, said to the lord of Song, "Since people welcome reward and bestowal, my lord can perform these himself. What people abhor is execution and punishment, and I, your servant, beg to be in charge of them." "It is allowed," replied the lord of Song. Thus when there are stern orders needing to be issued or ministers needing to be censured, the lord always said, "Ask Zihan." Thus the ministers feared him while the commoners turned to him. In the course of one year, Zihan murdered the lord of Song and took over the government. Thus Zihan, acting as the pig running amok, took over the state from his lord.

(3) Duke Jian, seated above, was heavy in his punishment and severe in his censure. He collected high taxes, punished and executed the common folks. Tian Heng, however, always displayed kindness and fondness and demonstrated leniency and generosity. Duke Jian has turned the people of Qi into thirsty horses by bestowing no favor upon them, while Tian Heng, with his benevolence and generosity, lies in wait as the garden pool.

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80. Scholars have argued that the 子 here is an interpolation; see Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu, 21.454n.1.

(This is followed by three other anecdotes all headed by "yi yue." The first one relates the garden pool incident again, though featuring Zaofu as opposed to Wangzi Yuqi, and likens it to Duke Jian and Tian Heng.

The second one is another version of Wangzi Yuqi encountering the pig, though here he is said to be driving for the lord of Song; no comparison with political power struggle is made.

The last one begins as another account of Zihan and the lord of Song, though after the narration ends, it repeats the comparison between Zihan and the pig, as well as Tian Heng and the garden pool, even though Tian Heng is not mentioned in this anecdote. Its last portion repeats the imagined scenario of the two charioteers sharing reigns and the two musicians sharing a ziher.)

(1) 造父御四馬，馳驟周旋而恣欲於馬。恣欲於馬者，擅轡筴之制也。然馬驚於出彘，而造父不能禁制者，非轡筴之嚴不足也，威分於出彘也。王子[81]於期為駙駕，轡筴不用而擇欲於馬，擅芻水之利也。然馬過於圃池而駙馬敗者，非芻水之利不足也，德分於圃池也。故王良、造父，天下之善御者也，然而使王良操左革而叱吒之，使造父操右革而鞭笞之，馬不能行十里，共故也。田連、成竅，天下善鼓琴者也，然而田連鼓上，成竅攝下，而不能成曲，亦共故也。夫以王良、造父之巧，共轡而御，不能使馬，人主安能與其臣共權以為治？以田連、成竅之巧，共琴而不能成曲，人主又安能與其臣共勢以成功乎？

一曰…

(2) 司城子罕謂宋君曰：「慶賞賜與，民之所喜也，君自行之。殺戮誅罰，民之所惡也，臣請當之。」宋君曰：「諾。」於是出威令，誅大臣，君曰「問子罕」也。於是大臣畏之，細民歸之。處期年，子罕殺宋君而奪政。故子罕為出彘以奪其君國。

(3) 簡公在上位，罰重而誅嚴，厚賦斂而殺戮民。田成恆設慈愛，明寬厚。簡公以齊民為渴馬，不以恩加民，而田成恆[82]以仁厚為圃池也。

一曰…

一曰…

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81. See footnote 80 above.

82. I.e., Tian Heng. According to Wang Xianshen, *cheng* 成 is Tian Heng's posthumous name; see Ibid., 35.812.

一曰…[83]

Unlike the majority of textual units collected in the "Chu shuo" chapters, the first block of text in this *shuo* section, or passage (1), is hardly an anecdote. Instead, it appears to be a well-crafted essay composition that makes use of anecdotes as allegories. It references pairs of famous charioteers and zither players, giving anecdotal accounts of incidents associated with these charioteers. These four allusions are woven together through carefully crafted parallelisms. Zaofu's mastering of the horses through the "control" (*zhi* 制) of whip and rein, for instance, forms contrast with Yuqi's approach, who utilizes the "attraction" (*li* 利) of fodder and water. The rein and the fodder correspond to the "two handles" of power discussed in other parts of the *Hanfeizi*: punishment and reward.[84] These meticulously interlinked allusions ultimately build toward an argument against the "sharing" (*gong* 共) of the instruments of power. The last section of this passage not only makes this point, but also yokes all four allusions together through parallelism.

Just like the other clusters, there is an internal logic that connects this passage with the other passages in this cluster. In this case, the three passages cited above appear to be part of the same essay. At the end of the anecdote concerning the ruler of Song, or passage (2), we see a direct and explicit reference back to passage (1), for the villain's usurpation of the ruler's power to punish is likened to the pig who "took share away" (*fen* 分) from the charioteer's power of deterrence; similarly, at the end of passage (3), Duke Jian's rival is compared to the "garden and pool" (*pu chi* 圃池), for his munificence diverted Duke Jian's hold over his people. If one reads these two anecdotes without passage (1), it would be impossible to know what the "appearance

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83. Ibid., 35.808-814.Translation adapted from Liao, *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzŭ*.
84. Explicitly articulated in chapter 7, which is entitled "Two Handles" ("Er Bing" 二柄).

of pig" (*chu zhi* 出彘) or the "garden and pool" are referring to. We would not even be able to decipher what the pig did, in what sense it "appeared," "emerged," or "exited." Read together, however, these three passages form an elegantly constructed essay fragment.

Without passage (1), the *jing* text would be similarly unhelpful in illuminating the meaning of the pig and the pool, as this literal translation below shows (The *shuo* passages this *jing* text repeats or references are indicated in the square brackets):

> When [the power to] reward and punish is shared, then prohibitions and orders have no effect. What can illustrate this? Let me illustrate it with Zaofu and Yuqi. Zihan acted as the pig that appeared, and Tian Heng the garden pool <*beginning of passage* (1)>. Therefore the lord of Song <*passage* (2)> and Duke Jian <*passage* (3)> were murdered. Its harm is shown in <u>Wang Liang and Zaofu sharing a chariot</u>, as well as <u>Tian Lian and Cheng Qiao sharing a zither</u>" <*end of passage* (1)>.

> 賞罰共則禁令不行，何以明之，明之以造父、於期。子罕為出彘，田恆為圃池，故宋君、簡公弒。患在王良、造父之共車，田連、成竅之共琴也.[85]

Read by itself, this *jing* text is very similar to all other "Chu shuo" *jing* texts, and its anecdote catalogue appears to be listing half a dozen discrete anecdotes. However, it is in fact an elliptical summary of the reconstructed essay composition. The last two underlined entries, for instance, do not have matching anecdotes, as one might have expected; their possible reference point is instead the last two sentences of passage (1).

Why did someone compose this half-legible *jing* text to recapitulate a far more eloquent essay excerpt? This can be partly explained in terms of the aforementioned paratextual functions. As an essay composition, passages (1-3) offer a synthesis of existing cultural knowledge, which weaves together anecdotes concerning famous charioteers, zither players, and rulers. The "Chu shuo" chapters, in contrast, present anecdotes as individuated units of information, to be

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85. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 35.802.

freely selected and recombined for future reuses. When this essay excerpt was incorporated into the "Chu shuo" chapters, there appears to be the desire to take it apart and de-synthesize it, to make it more suitable for this new context. Like other *jing* texts, this anecdote catalogue has attempted to construct an inventory with one-to-one correspondence between the anecdote entries and the anecdotes, as if the essay excerpt was really a collection of discrete anecdotes. Moreover, what the catalogue repeats are the "informational" bits of the essay, such as names and the signature details, as if it is plucking out the allusions that were once tightly woven together. This transformation from synthesized composition to de-synthesized information morsels is also aided by the insertion of the *yi yue* passages, which further obscure the essay's original, integrated state.

In addition to being an inventory, this *jing* text comes close to a being mnemonic rhyme, for it is not only rhythmic, but is also inflected with rhyme and assonance:

賞罰共(*goŋh),
則
禁令不行(*gâŋ / *gâŋ(h))
何以明(*mraŋ)之，
明之以
造父於期 (*gə 之/職 mixed rhyme)

子罕為出彘 (*d-lats 歌/月 mixed rhyme)
田恆為圃池 (*d-lai 歌/月 mixed rhyme)
故
宋君簡公弒 (*lək-s 之/職 mixed rhyme)
患在
王良造父之共車，
田連成竅之共琴
也。

Such prosodic language likely facilitated users' recitation and memorization of the essay or its

informational content.

Since there is no direct information concerning how early audiences might have used this text, we can only hypothesize. But if prosody can indeed be taken as evidence for memorization, it would not be a stretch to recognize the anecdote catalogues' potential function as "memory pegs." Based on manuscript evidence, Christopher Nugent has shown that a prosodic text like the *Qianziwen* 千字文 (Thousand Character Text) can be more than a literacy primer. Once memorized, one can associate each of its lines with classical writing or additional historical knowledge, effectively using them as memory pegs for recalling further information.[86] Had ancient users memorized the *jing* sections, their catalogues would serve ready-made pegs from which to "hang" the anecdotes.

Other features of the "Chu shuo" chapters also appear to have potential as mnemonic and teaching aids. In the early modern European context, branching diagram illustrations were seen as a useful pedagogic tool, valued both as a memory aid and as a shortcut to a comprehensive overview.[87] Even though the implied branching catalogues constructed by the *jing* sections have not been visually illustrated, they do offer a condensed overview of a given chapter. Finally, the chapter titles place the six chapters in a spatial arrangement, reminiscent of a memory palace.[88] It is conceivable that after committing the *jing* sections to memory, one could navigate a rather substantial collection of anecdotes in one's mind.

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86. Christopher M. B. Nugent, "Structured Gaps: The *Qianzi wen* and Its Paratexts as Mnemotechnics," in *Memory in Medieval China: Text, Ritual, and Community*, ed. Wendy Swartz and Robert F. Campany 2018).

87. Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 145, 152; Karl Josef Höltgen, "Synoptische Tabellen in der medizinischen Literatur und die Logik Agricolas und Ramus," *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 49 (1965): 388

88. Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (New York: Random House, 2014)..

3. Branching Catalogue in Compilations and Library Catalogue

At a much larger scale, the branching catalogue can serves as the overall organization of the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Shiji* 史記 (The Records of the Grand Historian), as well as the bibliography of the Han library as devised by Liu Xin 劉歆 (d. 23).[89] The visualized overviews of *Shiji* and "Yiwenzhi" below highlight their structure parallels with *Tang zai Chimen* and the "Chu shuo" chapters.

Figure 2.8: Branching Catalogues of *Shiji* and "Yiwen zhi"

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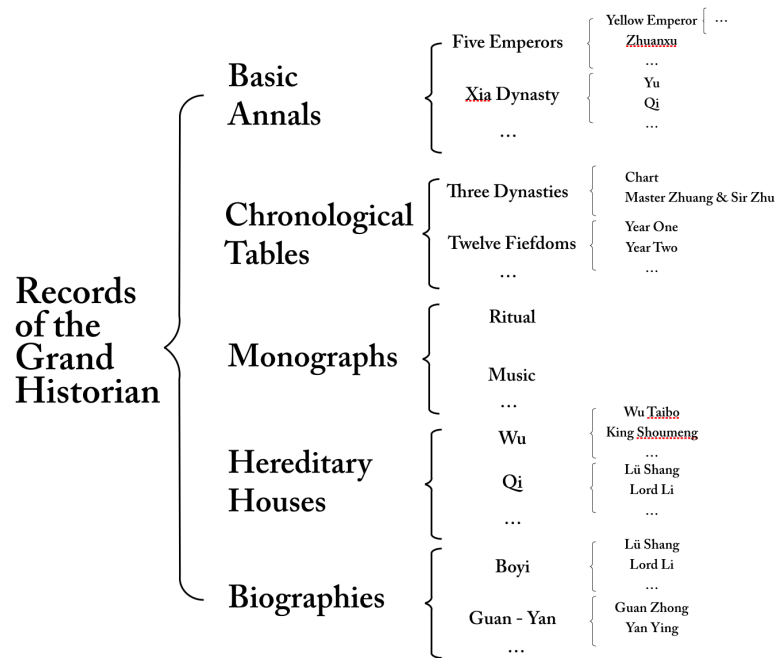
89. Preserved to a large degree in the "Yiwenzhi" chapter of *Hanshu*. See Lee, Intellectual Activism in Knowledge Organization.

Bibliography of Han Imperial Library

- Six Arts
  - *Changes*
  - *Documents*
  - …
- Masters
  - Confucian
  - Daoist
  - …
- Poetry & Rhapsodies
  - Rhapsodies I
  - Rhapsodies II
  - …
- Military
  - Strategies
  - Form and Power
  - …
- Mathematical
  - Astronomy
  - Calendar
  - …
- Medical
  - Medicine
  - Formulae
  - …
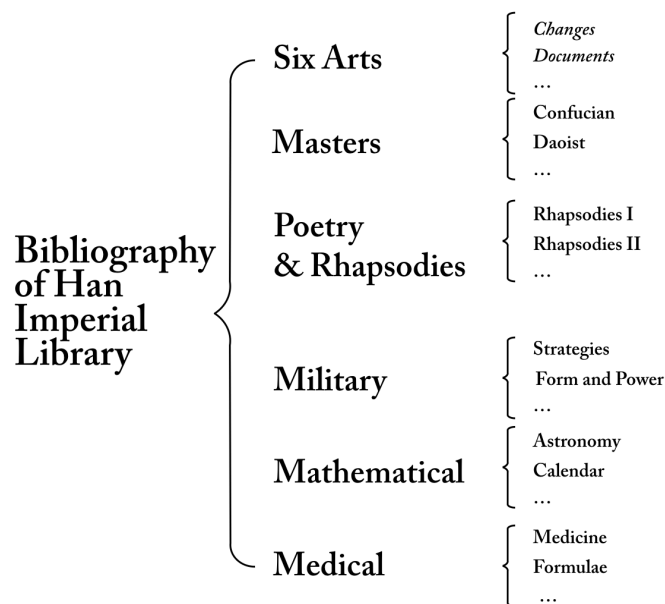
The chapter synopsis in the table of contents of *Shiji,* provided by the author Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145 – ca. 86), has structural parallels to a *jing* text in the two inner "Chu shuo" chapter, as the side by side comparison below shows:

Structural components	*Shiji*, chapter description in table of contents (Chapter 130)	"Chu shuo" *jing* text (chapter 30, jing 6)
Instructional Statement	(None)	Withhold what you know and ask about it 挾智而問…
Synopsis of chapter /Anecdote catalogue	When King Min lost Linzi and escaped to Ju, Tian Dan alone, with his base in Jimo, put Qi Jie to flight, thus preserving the earth alter (i.e. statehood) of Qi. 湣王既失臨淄而奔莒，唯田單用即墨破走騎劫，遂存齊社稷	Marquis Zhao concealed a fingernail in his hand. Thus by preordaining the South Gate three counties were obtained… 昭侯之握一爪也。故必南門而三鄉得

Navigation to Upper Node	This is written as "Tian Shan," Number Twenty-Second of the "Arrayed Traditions." 作田單列傳第二十二[90]	Number Six: Withhold Knowledge 挾智六

Both texts offer synopses of the content they refer to, not unlike descriptive intertitles in novel traditions east and west consisting of plot summaries, such as the title of *Tome Jones* I.3, "An Odd Accident Which Befel Mr. Allworthy at His Return Home, the Decent Behaviour of Mrs. Deborah Wilkins, with Some Proper Animadversions on Bastards."[91] Just like the anecdote catalogues, the synopses of *Shiji* chapters are written in prosodic language (usually in tetrasyllabic lines, unlike the example given here), which is also succinct and seemingly abstruse.[92] Both texts, moreover, end with a reference to the "node" they branched from. The *jing* text navigates back to the list of "Seven Techniques," making it clear that it is the sixth of the seven branches listed earlier. In the case of *Shiji*, the upper node is the category "Arrayed Traditions" (*lie zhuan* 列傳), which is one of the five major parts of the *Shiji*.

The two types of texts are also functionally analogous. The table of contents of *Shiji* is found in its last chapter, "Taishi gong zixu" 太史公自序 ("Self-Narration by the Grand Historian" or "Author's Postface by the Grand Historian"). The word *xu* 序 would eventually become the genre term for prefatory texts in the Chinese literary tradition, but its most basic meaning, "to put in order," is salient here. Since this chapter also contains Sima Qian's autobiographical

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90. *Shiji*, 130.3314.

91. For descriptive intertitles the European tradition, see Genette, *Seuils*, 300-11. Descriptive intertitles are also a regular feature of late imperial Chinese novels, which are written in even stricter prosodic language of parallel couplets.

92. Burton Watson, for instance, omitted the table of contents from his translation of *Shiji* chapter 130, since it seems difficult to understand by itself, see Burton Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien: Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 55.

account, this chapter title suggests the ordering of both Sima Qian's life and his book. Such sequenced chapter synopses and branching organization are essential for preserving Sima Qian's intended chapter ordering and grouping, for such a large text required numerous bamboo or silk scrolls. They also could have served as a finding device, allowing early users to find and consult a specific part of this corpus. The ideological significance of Sima Qian's branching catalogue is moreover comparable to our earlier discussion. Implied in the application of this structure is an argument for the relationship between parts and whole. Yuri Pines has discussed the overarching structure of the *Shiji*, which he terms a "hierarchically structured text," as an innovation that performs "world-ordering function."[93]

Linking together the branching catalogue of **Tang zai Chimen,* the *jing* texts of the "Chu shuo" chapters, and the list of chapters in *Shiji* highlight the shared textual characteristics of paratextual elements. Their cryptic language, for instance, could have been seen as a hallmark of their canonical status, signaling a certain profundity that requires exegesis.[94] But as all of these examples illustrate, being elliptical is also a feature of paratexts, which, as auxiliary texts, were never intended to be read on their own. What moreover ties together branching catalogues at various sizes is their power in the making of closed texts. They incorporate and package together smaller textual units that likely once existed independently, such as the embryology, the cluster of jokes in one of the "Chu shuo" chapters, and the astronomical writings in chapter 3 of

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93. Yuri Pines, "Chinese History Writing between the Sacred and the Secular," in *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BCE-220 AD)*, ed. John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 334.
94. For the association between subtle and obscure language and canonical texts, see Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 300-02.

Huainanzi.[95] As a superimposition, they prescribe the identity, interpretation, ordering, and boundary of a conglomerate of textual units, and demand the preservation of such a textual artifact according to its prescription.

Conclusion

In all the examples surveyed in this chapter, the branching catalogues serve as the *loci* of mediation between this chapter's producers and the users. Both as information management tools or as didactic guides, the branching catalogues express how a certain group of compiler(s) believed the anecdote materials ought to be organized, retrieved, preserved, interpreted, and memorized. In the *jing* sections of "Chu shuo," the presence of the users is also palpable. Not only do various functions of the *jing* texts anticipate them—as didactic texts, the *jing* texts directly address the users in a hortatory tone, sometimes even explicitly naming them: the ruler (*zhu* 主).[96] The anecdotes, in contrast, are assembled from a variety of sources, often reflecting traces of their previous contexts. Without the *jing* sections, the majority of the *shuo* texts are polyphonic and heterogeneous, and do not reflect a unified production vision or targeted audience. Therefore, the *jing* sections clearly function as the paratexts mediating the users' interaction with the anecdote compilations. Reading the *jing* texts as paratextual devices not only explains various textual features, such as the incongruence between the *jing* and the *shuo* texts and

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95. Much of the textual materials absorbed by chapter 3 "Tianwen xun" 天文訓 (Instructions on Celestial Patterns) are independently attested in a Mawangdui manuscript titled *Wuxing zhan* 五星占 (Prognostications of the Five Planets). A catalogue in parallel with the "Tian wen" 天問 (Heavenly questions) chapter of *Chuci zhangju* functions as a list of questions that organizes part of this text as the chapter level; see Major et al., *The Huainanzi*, 112-13.

96. At the very beginning of chapter 30, for instance. While the *jing* texts always seem to be speaking to the ruler, Schaberg surmised that a text like the "Chu shuo" chapters was designed for "orators and essayists" who needed to persuade rulers, see Schaberg, "Chinese History and Philosophy," 401.

the *yi yue* label, but also allows for further insight into the design of these six elaborately constructed chapters.

This analysis of the "Chu shuo" chapters potentially reflects the early development of the term *jing*. Its suggests that in its early usages, the term *jing* could also indicate a text's function, and not necessarily its hierarchical status. The root meaning of the word *jing* (*kêŋ) seems to be "to pass through," which gave rise to meanings such as the "a small path, shortcut" (written with the character 徑 in modern orthography), "warp" (what is being passed through), as well as "to take as norm, plan, practice."[97] According to my analysis, the *jing* sections were indeed composed as a "through line" stringing together groups of anecdotes or even groups of *jing* texts, often overriding earlier redactional logic of the the anecdote compilations.[98]

Analyzing these early Chinese texts terms of paratext, information management, and knowledge acquisition highlights what they have in common with scholastic compilations from other cultures and time periods, such as medieval *leishu* 類書 (categorically arranged writings) or early modern European commonplace books. Just like the "Chu shuo" chapters, many such compilations construct an overarching organization, recycle existing materials as individuated pieces of information, subtly (or not so subtly) foist on the audience a new interpretative agenda, and supply learning aids.

My focus on the branching catalogue as a paratextual device also highlights the role of compilers in the creation of order and the execution of intention, challenging older assumptions

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97. Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, 315. For a more extensive discussion of the term *jing* with summary of earlier discussions, see Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 297-99.
98. Ming dynasty scholars such as Chen Maoren 陳懋仁 (fl. 1584) also read the "Chu shuo" chapters this way, linking them to the *lianzhu* 連珠 (strung pearl) compositions from the early medieval period; see Ma Shinian 馬世年, "Lianzhuti yuanyuan xintan 連珠體淵源新探" Lianzhuti yuanyuan xintan, *Gansu shehui kexue* (2008), 172.

concerning authorship, compilation, and textual transmission. Implicit in the traditional reading of the *jing* as canonical texts by Han Fei, for instance, is the assumption that the author is the source of order and intention, while scribes and anonymous compilers were the cause of textual corruption and disorder. My analysis shows that the *jing* texts, the sources of overarching textual organization and conscious design, were by and large a later development, likely imposed upon existing materials by (possibly generations of) anonymous compiler(s). These later paratextual interventions integrated the anecdote materials into the larger didactic and ideological context of the *Hanfeizi*.

This survey of branching catalogues in early Chinese texts began with the conversation between King Tang and Yi Yin, with the question of whether the words of the ancients are knowable. Yi Yin not only answers in affirmative, but also puts forward words that cover all branches of the known world. King Tang's question is of course only rhetorical, a prompt that allows this manuscript to self-referentially avow the pedigree and value of the words it presents. Yi Yin's branching catalogue further aggrandizes the power of these words through its all-encompassing nature.

Such rhetoric of self-affirmation is possibly a response to the critiques against textual learning in the larger early Chinese intellectual context. The *Zhuangzi* compilation, most famously, preserves many arguments against writing as a carrier of knowledge, as well as the utility of book-learning in general. At best, words are said to be a tool with no value of their own; they are to be "forgotten" once "meaning" is obtained, just as the "fish trap" (*quan* 筌) that

ought to be set aside once fish are caught.[99] Other passages are far less charitable. The wheel-wright from the *Zhuangzi* would have told King Tang that words of the ancients, even if they were preserved, are simply "dregs"(*zaopo* 糟魄).[100] True knowledge dies with the knower, and thus cannot be transmitted against ravaging time. Yet another passage presents the problem that there is simply *too much to know*: "Our lives will run ashore, but knowledge is a shoreless sea. Perilous it is to pursue the limitless with the limited" 吾生也有涯，而知也无涯。以有涯隨无涯，殆已.[101]

If all of these texts can be read as part of the same polemic, then the paratextual elements of the *Tang zai chimen* manuscript are responding to questions concerning the relationship be-tween knowledge and text. Against the wheelwright's objection, the "seal" passages discussed in Chapter I assert the knowability and transmissibility of past wisdom; its self-referential na-ture moreover points to written text as the viable medium for such transmission. More implicit-ly, the branching catalogues, employed by capsular anecdotes and encyclopedic compilations alike, could have been an answer to the anxiety over the proliferation of things to learn. Indeed, for Garbiel Naudé (1600 - 1653), the antidote against "the brevity of our life and the multitude of things which we are now obliged to know" are the likes of commonplace books, which present preselected information in findable and memorizable fashion through the structures that com-pilers took pain to instate.[102] The "Yiwenzhi" bibliography, albeit post-dating *Tang zai chimen* by centuries, offers another indirect testimony. In its very first synopsis of a bibliographical catego-

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99. 荃者所以在魚，得魚而忘荃；蹄者所以在兔，得兔而忘蹄；言者所以在意，得意而忘言。吾安得忘言之人而與之言哉; see *Zhuangzi jishi*, 26.944.
100. Ibid., 13.490-91.
101. Ibid., 3.115.
102. From the 1903 translation of Naudé's *Avis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, cited in Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 119; see pp. 119ff for a discussion of the the compilations Naudé had in mind.

ry, it criticizes the scholars of its day who, overwhelmed by the proliferation of minutiae within a specialization, were blind to knowledge at large.[103] The branching structure of the "Yiwenzhi" bibliography, in contrast, offers a bird's-eye view of the knowledge universe as a unified and interconnected whole.[104]

While *Hanfeizi* editions never visually illustrated the "Chu shuo" chapters' branching structures, there is a passage within a "Chu shuo" chapter that likens a centralized bureaucracy to trees and fishing nets, which happens to be an apt description of the functionality of the "Chu shuo" chapters as well:

> If one wants to shake a tree and proceeds to pull leaf by leaf, one cannot encompass all leaves even after much toiling. But if one strikes the tree trunk left and right, then all of its leaves are shaken… He who is skilled at hauling fishing nets does not pull on each opening one by one, because this is toilsome and difficult. By pulling on the central cord, he will have trapped all of the fish. Thus the officials are the trunk and the central cord of the people. Thus the sage puts into order the officials and not the people.

> 搖木者, 一一攝其葉則勞而不遍，左右拊其本而葉遍搖矣…善張網者引其綱，不一一攝萬目而後得則是勞而難，引其綱而魚已囊矣。故吏者，民之本綱者也，故聖人治吏不治民.[105]

According to these analogies, a ruler ought to rule through a hierarchy of officials that branches out to reach the teeming populace, holding sway over his entire realm by controlling the trunk or the central cord. Just as in the medieval European context, where branching diagrams are often depicted as trees,[106] these analogies could as well be applied to the "Chu shuo" chapters, es-

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103. 後世經傳既已乖離，博學者又不思多聞闕疑之義，而務碎義逃難，便辭巧說，破壞形體；說五字之文，至於二三萬言。後進彌以馳逐，故幼童而守一藝，白首而後能言；安其所習，毀所不見，終以自蔽。此學者之大患也; see *Hanshu*, 30.1723.
104. Lee, *Intellectual Activism in Knowledge Organization*, 139.
105. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 35.829-30. Translation adapted from Liao, *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzŭ*, 132-33.
106. Murdoch, *Album of Science*, 38ff; see also Illustration 21.

pecially the two "inner" chapters. If the anecdotes and their entries are the individual "leaves" and "openings" (*mu* 目), the *jing* sections, by summing up all of them as the "Seven Techniques" and "Six Subtleties," have constructed a central cord (*gang* 綱) that can fit into a user's hand.

These fishing net terms, the *gang* (central cord) and *mu* (opening), would eventually become the standard bibliographical terms for paratextual apparatus such as outline, table of contents, or catalogue of entries. As this passage has articulated, the promise behind these terms is that of mastery: over bureaucrats and populace in the political realm, over information and knowledge in the bibliographical realm. What we observe here seems to be a tangible kinship between these later paratextual apparatus and the "Chu shuo" chapters' *jing* sections: if not in genealogy, then at least in spirit. The branching catalogues as "fishing nets" (*gang* 綱) appear to be more than an expedient means, but an epistemological assurance for the graspability of a world that appeared to be expanding. Between *Tang zai Chimen* and the "Yiwenzhi," empires have been superimposed upon the once independent Warring States. The scholars at the imperial court, as we will see in Part II, were preoccupied with assembling the free-flowing tidbits of information into organized knowledge.

Part II
The Author
Corpus

Qu Yuan

was banished and penned Encountering Sorrow

…

Master Sun

was punished by kneecapping
and put in order an art of war

…

Han Fei

was imprisoned in Qin and thus
The Difficulties of Persuasion and
The Solitary Frustrations

屈原放逐著離騷

…

孫子臏腳而論兵法

…

韓非囚秦說難孤憤

…

- Sima Qian, Shiji 130

The Masters Texts mentioned in chapter I, such as the *Analects*, *Mencius* and *Yanzi chunqiu*, are predominately collections of capsular anecdotes featuring the putative Master, whose physical presence is evoked in nearly every narrative frame. These compilations could have been created by pulling together texts that are essentially already tagged with the author name. In contrast, compilations featured in chapters II, such as *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Shiji*, are not stockpiles of a single voice. The overarching structuring elements of these compilations tend to take on the form of a branching catalogue, tying together a heterogeneous collection of polyphonic voices through structures and categories.

Part II focuses on compilations in yet another form. In texts such as the Yinqueshan version of the *Sunzi bingfa*, *Hanfeizi*, or even the *Zhuangzi*, the Master is often absent from the majority of texts. They are featured only in specific places, such as at the periphery of exposition compositions, or in anecdotes. There is, for instance, only one single anecdote featuring Han Fei in the Hanfeizi, despite the fact that half of this compilation consists of anecdotes. These selected appearances of the Masters, I hypothesize, could have not only begun tie the compilation together, but also leashing it to the putative and eponymous authors. The author appearances most frequently featured in Part II will be the author anecdotes that appear to function as the paratexts for a compilation as a whole. I name them "corporal anecdotes" after their corpus-making power. In these next three chapters, I will experiment with reading these moments as signs of corpus formation, reflecting early compilers attempt to close and stabilize the compilation as a textual unit.

The first chapter of Part II, chapter III focuses on two compilations containing only one corporal anecdote, an excavated version of the *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 ("Master Sun's Art of War," most famously known as *The Art of War* in translation), i.e. the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa,* and the

Hanfeizi. These examples allow us to explore in greater detail the features and functions of a corporal anecdote in both unearthed and received compilations. Chapter IV is devoted to the very complex case of Zhuangzi 莊子 (Master Zhuang), whose corporal anecdotes are scattered throughout. The last chapter zooms in on an interesting motif found in many corporal anecdotes, namely the death or the disappearance of the author. This motif ties together the many strands explored throughout this dissertation. Such moment depicts the end of the author's body natural and the beginning of their body authorial, whose flesh and bones are words, scrolls, and one day in the future, pages. The author's mortality performs paratext's packaging function, for the work of a mortal cannot be an open text that expands limitlessly; the author's body authorial, on the other hand, implicitly or explicitly bids for the faithful preservation of this closed text. The *Chuci* 楚辭 (Verses of the Chu) compilation, as our final major example, will aptly illustrate the contrasting differences between open texts (preception) and closed text (reception), as well as the role of paratext in this transformation.

Chapter III. The Corporal Anecdote

> I said, "people live on
> through texts, texts gain
> renown through people.
> Marvelous people and mar-
> velous texts cannot perish."
> 余謂：「人以文傳，文以人
> 顯，有奇人奇文，曷忍湮滅」
>
> — Niu Ruyuan 鈕如媛, Pref-
> ace to *Jinyu yuan* 金魚緣

This chapter examines the relationship of corporal anecdotes to their compilations. The Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa* proffers the excavated example, and the *Hanfeizi* the transmitted example. Similarly to the previous chapters, my analysis will first show that these anecdotes meet the criteria for paratext as laid out in the Introduction, namely, that they are meta-discursive, liminal (functionally and temporally), and perform hierarchizing and packaging functions. I will proceed to discuss in each case what might be the "author functions" performed by the author figures as presented by the corporal anecdotes.

A corporal anecdote is functionally similar to the narrative frames of a capsular anecdote. Both of them are sites of author figure construction. Through the construction of such figures, they convey meta-information concerning the texts they package (such as when? where? what genre?), prescribe the appropriate interpretation, delimit the boundary of their texts (i.e. the packaging function), and finally, bid for the faithful preservation of this entity they have packaged, i.e. hierarchization.

Corporal anecdotes are often capsular anecdotes. Like many other early Chinese anecdotes, their own confines are demarcated by narrative frames that usually take on the form of an instruction scene; packaged within such narrative frames are didactic contents. But only a tiny minority of capsular anecdotes are corporal anecdotes. If a capsular anecdote is like a single-celled organism, then, by definition, it does not possess any awareness of a larger body it might be part of. The meta-discursivity and auxiliary functions of its narrative frame pertains only to what is within itself. A corporal anecdote, on the other hand, interacts with a larger body outside itself, a body it has become part of. A corporal anecdote asserts the existence of a group of texts as one corpus, even if it does not specify what exactly ought to be part of this larger entity. In other words, corporal anecdotes are extremely relevant to the question of whether and when "multi-chapter" texts came into existence in Early China, discussed in the Introduction. While these corporal anecdotes might not offer us an absolute dating, they do reflect, as I would argue, an awareness of — and perhaps even the desire of making — multi-chapter compilations.

1. The Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa*

The story told in this section will touch upon some of the most colorful characters in Chinese history: Sun Bin 孫臏 (4th century BCE), or "Sun the Kneecapped," who brought down formidable armies despite being deprived of the use of his legs; the cunning warlord Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220), nicknamed the "trickster" (Aman 阿瞞); and finally, their shared archetype, the elusive Sun Wu 孫武 (trad. ca. 500 BCE), or Sun the Martial. While the honorific "Master Sun" (Sunzi 孫子) can refer to both Sun Wu and Sun Bin, it by default refers to the earliest of these three military authors, Sun Wu, the putative author of the eventual global bestseller *Sunzi bingfa*

孫子兵法 ("Master Sun's Art of War," usually known as simply *The Art of War*), a received text in thirteen chapters. If Sun Wu were a real historical figure, he would have lived at the cusp between the Spring and Autumn (722 - 5th ventury) and the Warring States periods. Sun Bin, a Warring States figure, claims to be a descendent of Sun Wu. Cao Cao, who lived at the very beginning of the early Medieval period, is likely the commentator who compiled the most influential redaction of *Sunzi bingfa,* the received redaction that has become the global bestseller

The history of the *Sunzi bingfa* text involving these three figures is an excellent case for illustrating the relationships between author anecdote, paratext, author production, and the *closure* of texts: Not unlike many author figures discussed in this dissertation, the life of Sun Wu is only attested in scant sources. But what makes the Sun Wu case special is that we also have an excavated Western Han manuscript version (ca. 2nd c. BCE) from a tomb site located in Yinqueshan 銀雀山. Not only do the excavated manuscripts contain parallels to the thirteen chapters of the transmitted *Sunzi bingfa*, they also contain new texts absent from the received corpus, including anecdotes featuring Sun Wu. These manuscripts also contain anecdotes featuring Sun Bin, and discursive military texts not known in the received tradition. While the "Yiwenzhi" ascribes a military text to Sun Bin,[1] it did not survive as part of the transmitted corpus; many scholars judge the unattested texts in the Yinqueshan to be the lost military text of Sun Bin. Regardless of how one views its author attribution, the *Sunzi bingfa* preserved as part of the Yinqueshan manuscripts (hereafter Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa*) gives us a glimpse of one possible configuration of a Masters text in the Western Han period. It also shows one possible positioning of the anecdotes featuring the attributive or putative authors in this period, both in terms of their

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1.　齊孫子八十九篇 (*Hanshu*, 30.1757).

physical location and how they are positioned vis-à-vis the "main text."

As is the case with many other authorship contentions discussed in this dissertation, the existing debate on the relationship between the *Sunzi bingfa* and Sun Wu is conducted within the framework of authenticity and historical veracity. By introducing the concept "paratext," I hope to direct this conversation away from the binary between truth and fiction, and provide an alternative way of conceptualizing the role of the Sun Wu narratives associated with the *Sunzi bingfa*. Regardless of Sun Wu's ontological status, his name and the narratives surrounding him perform the paratextual functions akin to those carried out by modern books' title pages and prefaces. The name Sun Wu, be it a name of a historical figure or not, bestows upon a collection of textual units a bibliographical and intellectual identity, and thus wraps them into a single, identifiable entity. In other words, the production of "Sun Wu" as an author figure endows the *Sunzi bingfa* texts with "author function," reflecting an attempt to transform these textual materials into an authored and closed text. This is the case whether Sun Wu was a true historical figure or not.

In this section, I will first give a brief introduction to the textual history of *Sunzi bingfa* as well as the Yinqueshan manuscripts, and then discuss the meaning and implication of reading the Master Sun anecdotes as paratexts.

1.1 Textual History of *Sunzi bingfa*

The textual history of *Sunzi bingfa*, as far as we can reconstruct, conforms to the likely history for many early texts. In their early history, an increasing number of texts tend to accrete around a set of core chapters; some time later, usually as part of the textual stabilization or even canonization process, the compilation was again pared down. In the case of *Sunzi bingfa*, the

core chapters happen to be the received redaction, namely thirteen chapters (*pian*) consist of short military treatises. We know this because some of the earliest references to this text calls it the "Thirteen Chapters" (*shisan pian* 十三篇), suggesting that by Western Han period and possibly earlier, these thirteen chapters already constituted a textual unit.

At the same time, it is also clear that during the Han, and likely earlier, this "Thirteen Chapters" unit was often not circulated in isolation, but was bundled together with a collection of related texts, which scholars like Li Ling refer to as the "miscellaneous chapters" (*zapian* 雜篇). The bibliography of the Han imperial library, "Yiwenzhi," lists a *Sunzi bingfa* from the state of Wu 吳, i.e. *Sunzi bingfa* by Sun Wu, who was a retainer of the King of Wu. But it is in 86 chapters (*pian* 篇) with 9 volumes (*juan*) of illustration. The Western Han version excavated from Yinqueshan, to be discussed in detail below, contains at least several additional chapters beyond the "Thirteen Chapters." Citations of *Sunzi bingfa* found in later commentaries and encyclopedias (*leishu* 類書) also include fragments of texts not found in the extant "Thirteen Chapters," further attesting to the existence of additional chapters and texts in earlier redactions.[2]

At some point, a pared down version that is limited to the "Thirteen Chapters" rose to dominance. Li Ling suspects that the turning point is the first redaction featuring a named commentator, namely the trickster warlord of the Three Kingdoms period, Cao Cao. In the preface to Cao Cao's redaction, entitled *Sunzi luejie* 孫子略解 (An Abridged Explication of Master Sun), later known as *Weiwudi zhu Sunzi* 魏武帝註孫子 (Emperor Wu of Wei's Commentary on Master Sun), Cao Cao indicates his dissatisfaction with the proliferation of texts within the *Sunzi bingfa*

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2. Li Ling has collected fragments of the *Sunzi bingfa* that are no longer found in the extant "Thirteen Chapters." See Li Ling 李零, Sunzi *shisanpian zonghe yanjiu* 孫子十三篇綜合研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 97-104.

corpus, which he believes to have obscured the text's "essence" (*zhiyao* 旨要). The abridgment of the text to its thirteen core chapters thus serves an illustrative function, just as his commentaries do.[3] Li Ling points out that after Cao Cao, there were numerous medieval commentaries on the "Thirteen Chapters," while other versions of "Master Sun" gradually became extinct.[4] By the Song dynasty, during the important transition to printed editions, the texts available were large-ly limited to the "Thirteen Chapters" redaction.[5] This is the redaction that was eventually trans-lated into modern languages.[6]

In contrast to the received version, the manuscripts excavated from Yinqueshan contain both the "Thirteen Chapters" parallels and additional texts, allowing us to peer into a version of what we might call "Sunzi bingfa" prior to Cao Cao's redaction. The Yinqueshan manuscripts are discovered in tombs unearthed in 1972 and dated to the early years of the reign of Emperor Wu of Han (r. 141-87 BCE). These tombs contained bamboo manuscripts not only of what looks like fragments of a complete redaction of *Sunzi bingfa*, but also quite a few other military texts, as well as close parallels to the received *Yanzi chunqiu*. The editors group the bamboo slips with military content into five texts, which they designated **Sunzi bingfa*, **Sun Bin bingfa* 孫臏兵法 (Sun Bin's Art of War), **Weiliaozi* 尉繚子 (Master Wei Liao), **Liu Tao* 六韜 (Six Strategies),

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3. 而但世人未之深亮訓說，況文煩富，行於世者失其旨要，故撰為略解焉; see *Shiyijia zhu Sunzi jiaoli* 十一家註孫子校理, edited by Tang Bing'an 湯丙安 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 310.

4. Li Ling, *Sunzi shisanpian zonghe yanjiu*, 97-104@393-94.

5. Ibid., 97-104@394. For a discussion of Cao Cao's commentary, see Robin D. S. Yates, "Early Modes on Interpretation of the Military Canons: The Case of the *Sunzi bingfa*," in *Interpretation and Intellectual Change: Chinese Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective*, ed. Jingyi Tu (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2005), 70-72.

6. The introduction of *Sunzi bingfa* into European languages took place as early as 1772, in the form of a fairly free French rendition from a Manchu translation by a Jesuit missionary, Joseph-Marie Amiot (1781-93), published together with his selection of translations from the *Seven Military Classics* titled *Art militaire des Chinois*; see Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual, Revised and Enlarged* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 2609.

*"Shoufa" "Shouling" *deng shisanpian* 守法守令等十三篇 (Thirteen Chapters Including "Methods of Defense" and "Injunctions of Defense").[7]

As soon as they were published, these excavated Yinqueshan manuscripts rekindled a long-standing debate concerning the authorship of *Sunzi bingfa*, especially on the following two intertwined issues: 1) Was Sun Wu the one who wrote *Sunzi bingfa*? 2) What was the relationship between Sun Bin, the Warring States military strategist who claimed Sun Wu's ancestry, and the received *Sunzi bingfa*? The first issue questions whether Sun Wu really existed as a historical figure on account of the paucity and the belated dating of the sources. The received *Sunzi bingfa* limits Sun Wu's appearance to three characters that opens each chapter, "Master Sun said" (*sunzi yue* 孫子曰), and is thus hardly a biographical source on the life of the putative author. Despite the fame and importance Sun Wu later enjoyed, he is notably absent from the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and *Guoyu* 國語, which are traditionally held as the most authoritative historical sources on his period. There are only two possible references to him in compilations traditionally dated to the pre-imperial period, the *Weiliaozi* and the *Hanfeizi*, and only the *Weiliaozi* reference, if it indeed names Sun Wu, is demonstrably *not* referring to Sun Bin.[8]

Other early sources on Sun Wu first appear only in Western Han compilations, which postdates Sun Wu by at least three centuries. Parallel versions of an anecdote, in which Sun Wu trains the harem of a king of the Spring and Autumn state of Wu 吳, constitute the only early

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7. Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 銀雀山漢墓竹簡整理小組, *Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian* 銀雀山漢墓竹簡 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985).. See also Wu Jiulong 吳九龙 and Bi Baoqi 毕宝启, "Shandong Linyi Xi Hanmu faxian *Sunzi bingfa* he *Sun Bin bingfa* deng zhujian de jianbao" 山東臨沂西漢墓發現《孫子兵法》和《孫臏兵法》等竹簡的簡報, *Wenwu* (1974).
8. The *Weiliaozi* passage names a "Master Wu" as opposed to a "Master Sun." 提九萬之眾，而天下莫能當者，誰？曰：『桓公也。』有提七萬之眾，而天下莫敢當者，誰？曰：『吳起也。』有提三萬之眾，而天下莫敢當者，誰？曰：『武子也』. See Li Ling, *Sunzi shisanpian zonghe yanjiu*, 105-14 for references to Sun Wu in early texts.

narrative featuring Sun Wu as the protagonist. In his few other brief appearances, he plays only a small supporting role to the leading man of the southern state narratives, Wu Zixu 伍子胥.[9]

Skepticism regarding Sun Wu's existence can be traced back to the Song. Ye Shi 葉適 (1150-1223) already noted the scarcity of early sources on Sun Wu, as he further elaborated on the earlier scholar Mei Yaochen's 梅堯臣 (1002 - 1060) insight that the *Sunzi bingfa* is most likely a Warring States text, postdating the Sun Wu dated to the end of the Spring and Autumn period. Out of this skepticism grew the second suspicion, namely that the later figure, Sun Bin, was in one way or another implicated in the creation of either Sun Wu, the *Sunzi bingfa* text, or possibly both. Some nineteenth and twentieth century Chinese and Japanese scholars, continuing the inquiry of Mei Yaochen and Ye Shi, proposed that Sun Wu and his alleged descendent, Sun Bin, were in fact the same person. Some of them hypothesize that it was Sun Bin, the Warring States period general from the state of Qi, who authored of the *Sunzi bingfa*, and the Han period tales about Sun Wu actually evolved from legends surrounding Sun Bin.[10]

Many scholars saw the Yinqueshan manuscripts as evidence against the skepticism expressed by these two questions. Unlike the received editions, the Yinqueshan manuscripts places the "Thirteen Chapters" right next to several anecdotal texts clearly featuring Sun Wu as opposed to Sun Bin. Even more excitingly, they also comprise military texts with no parallels in the transmitted corpus, plus anecdotes unambiguously featuring Sun Bin. This led many to conclude that these manuscripts contain the lost text of Sun Bin listed in the "Yiwenzhi." These

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9. As Petersen has demonstrated, even the few extant appearances of Sun Wu seem to ape the plot lines of more substantiated figures, such as Wu Zixu, offering interesting hypothesis for the genesis of the Sun Wu figure, see Jens Østergård Petersen, "What's in a Name? On the Sources concerning Sun Wu," *Asia Major* 5 (1992).

10. For a summary of the history of scholarship on the authorship of *Sunzi bingfa*, see Li Ling, *Sunzi shisanpian zonghe yanjiu*.

manuscripts were furthermore taken as proof that Sun Wu and Sun Bin existed as separate people, military geniuses living during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, respectively. This conclusion made the Yinqueshan discovery an important news even as China was in the throes of the Cultural Revolution.

Li Ling seems to have been the first scholar to point out that the debate over the authorship of *Sunzi bingfa* involves more than the absence of the text traditionally attributed to Sun Bin. What the Yinqueshan manuscripts at most show is that by the 2nd century BCE during the Western Han period, there existed possibly two discrete groups of associated texts, some attributed to Sun Wu and some to Sun Bin. Thus the *Shiji* was not alone in associating the "Thirteen Chapters" with Sun Wu. This, however, is hardly proof that the transmitted *Sunzi bingfa* was composed by a Spring and Autumn figure and existed before the Warring States period.[11] Building on existing challenges that were raised against a historical Sun Wu as the writer of the *Sunzi bingfa*, Li Ling provides considerable evidence showing why the transmitted *Sunzi* bingfa is most likely a Warring States text, based on the style of warfare it reflects, its intellectual content, and its vocabulary. This appears to be the strongest argument against the existence of a historical Sun Wu who was also the primary writer of the *Sunzi bingfa*. Nevertheless, there are still scholars today who continue to use these manuscripts to support the transmitted *Sunzi bingfa* as a Spring and Autumn text authored by Sun Wu.[12]

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11. Ibid., 351.
12. See, for instance, Xiong Jianping 熊劍平 and Huang Pumin 黃樸民, "Jianwen 'Jian Wu wang' yu *Shiji* 'Sunzi liezhuan' guanxi kaolun" 簡文《見吳王》與《史記·孫子列傳》關系考論, *Zhongguo renmin daxue xuebao* (2012.26): 137-38.

1.2 Self-Identifying and Packaging Functions: With Modern Redaction as Evidence

What are the texts found among the Yinqueshan manuscripts that are related to *Sunzi bingfa*? There is a version of the "Thirteen Chapters;" it is very fragmentary but comes with a recognizable table of contents on a wooden tablet (*mudu* 木牘). There are also military and administrative treatises framed as capsular anecdotes, as dialogues between the Master Suns and their respective rulers, the King of Wu in the Spring and Autumn period the King of Qi 齊 of Warring States period; these have no received parallels. Finally, there are two colorful, though also unfortunately fragmentary, anecdotes that contain more elaborate narratives, and are no longer mere capsules for didactic materials. One, set in the Wu state, tells of how Sun Wu methodically and macabrely whipped King Helü of Wu's harem into a disciplined infantry. The other story, set in the Warring States period, stars Sun Bin; it is a brief narrative accounting how Sun Bin captured his arch nemesis, Pang Juan 龐涓.

How do all these texts relate to one another? On the one hand, there is a clearly defined core textual unit that excludes the anecdotes, the "Thirteen Chapters." The anecdotes are not listed on the table of contents on the wooden tablet, which, fragmentary though it is, most likely only contains the chapter titles of the "Thirteen Chapters." On the other hand, nothing in these anecdotes suggests that they ought *not* to be part of the same compilation as the "Thirteen Chapters." These anecdotes thus find themselves in a liminal position: The writers of these texts do not identify themselves as in any way distinct from the producers. None of these texts were labeled *zhuan* or *shuo*, as other early manuscript commentaries do, nor were they written in a different format. At the same time, they stand at the periphery of what appears to be an existing textual unit, the "Thirteen Chapters." These anecdotes, especially the two elaborate ones, are what I would call corporal anecdotes.

Below is a reconstruction of the wood tablet's table of contents, based on the original editors' publication.[13] It is reconstituted from six fragmentary pieces, which the editors suggest was originally tied to the bamboo slips or a book bag containing the *Sunzi bingfa* slips.[14] Scholars interpret that this tablet are read in rows, from right to left, or from (1) to (5). The rows are in turn organized from up to down, or from (I) to (III). The Chinese characters within each cell are transcriptions, to be read up down. The cells with question marks represent the missing pieces that likely contained writing, since only traces of eight or nine chapter titles have survived, while writings within the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa* make reference to a "Thirteen Chapters," as I will further discuss below.[15]

Figure and Table 3.1: Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa* Table of Contents

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13. Photograph see Yinqueshan zhengli xiaozu, *Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian*, Ia.24; tracing see Ibid., 38; transcription see Ibid., Ic.29.
14. Ibid..
15. Li Ling has also pointed this out, see Li Ling, *Sunzi shisanpian zonghe yanjiu*, 135.

5	4	3	2	1	
?	埶 Power of Position	[.] [.]	?	?	I
?	實 [.] Strong point...	• 軍 [.] Military...	行 [.] … [.] 十 五 March-ing...fifteen	?	II
七 埶 三 千 [.] [.] "Seven Power Positions" Three thousand …	火 [.] Fire..	用 閒 The Use of Spies	九 地 The Nine Terrains	[.] 刑 ...Form	III

As a major departure from the received redaction, this table of contents divides the "Thirteen Chapters" into two parts. Cells II2 and III5, lightly shaded, contain character counts, very possibly of the chapters preceding them. Many texts from Yinqueshan contain such character counts, a practice that is also attested in other Han period manuscripts.[16] The second group of chapters is marked as separated from the first by a round dot (Cell II3). The title in the last cell (III5), *qi shi* 七勢 (Seven Power Positions), is not a chapter title, but seems to refer to the seven chapters in the second half altogether. Both the editors and Li Ling interpret the fragmentary title preceding the first character count in II2 as a chapter title, corresponding to the "Xingjun" 行軍

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16. For a summary of attested word counts, see Pian Yuqian and Duan Shu'an, *Ershi shiji chutu jianbo zongshu*, 121-23

("Marching the army") chapter in the received version. Following this interpretation, only four of the five cells marked by question marks can contain chapter titles, in order that the total adds up to thirteen. Li Ling suspects that Cell I1 contained the chapter count, namely *shisan pian* 十三篇 (Thirteen Chapters), similar to what we have so far observed of excavated table of contents on wood tablets.[17] The fragments of the chapter titles can all be interpreted as versions of the received redaction's chapter titles; but the ordering, not surprisingly, does not fully match the received chapter order.[18]

The process through which modern editors reconstructed and organized the excavated bamboo slips serves as a good illustration of corporal anecdotes' self-identifying and packaging function, the first two paratextual functions I will now turn to. I argue that the narrative elements surrounding Sun Wu and Sun Bin, whether the capsular or more elaborate anecdotes, functioned essentially as paratexts which guided the identification and divisions of textual units by modern editors' in their editing of the Yinqueshan text, especially in their construction of the two "Master Sun" texts, namely *Sunzi bingfa* (Master Sun's Art of War) and *Sun Bin bingfa* (Sun Bin's Art of War).

There are five types of information that could help the editors decide how to group and give titles to the Yinqueshan texts:

1. The manuscript text's relationship with received texts.
2. Native paratextual labels, such as chapter titles or table of contents on wood tablets.
3. Narrative elements associated with titular authors.
4. Formatting and material evidence
5. Content, style

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17. Li Ling, *Sunzi shisanpian zonghe yanjiu*, 135.
18. Yinqueshan zhengli xiaozu, *Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian*, Ic.29.

Since types <4> and <5> information are less relevant for our discussion here, I will explain them first. If the unearthed bamboo slips have already lost their original binding and grouping, which is usually the case, editors can regroup slips based on similarity in length and other material features. This information is unfortunately less helpful in the Yinqueshan case, since among the over 7500 numbered slips, only very few are complete and unbroken. Editors believe that the majority of these texts are written on slips around 27.5 cm (10.8") in length; only a divinational text appears to be written on a shorter writing support, on slips of 18 cm (7.1").[19] In other words, information derived from the materiality of the manuscripts, in so far as what is made available by the editors, does not appear to be a major source in aiding the separation of the slips into different texts. Editors' overall impression of a slip's subject matter, namely type <5> information, is also critical. Type <5> information informs the organizing principle of Volume II of the original publication, which contains texts and fragments that have not been group ed under larger compilations. These materials are topically divided into governing and military,"[20] almanac and divinational,[21] and "others" or "miscellaneous" (*qita* 其他).[22]

The separation of the two "Master Sun" compilations from the other military texts appear to be largely based on Type <1-3> information. Type <1> information is generated when editors identify received parallels for the manuscript texts. In this case, parallel versions of the same received texts are grouped together as one textual unit; the parallels of the "Thirteen Chapters" are considered the **Sunzi bingfa*, and the parallels of *Weiliaozi* are grouped together as

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19. Ibid., Ia.5.
20. Ibid., II.9-73.
21. Ibid., II.77-119.
22. Ibid., II.123-131.

Weiliaozi, etc. The wooden table of contents, as a piece of type <2> information, indicates that the parallels of "Thirteen Chapters" were already compiled as one textual unit while the manuscripts were in use. The modern editors accordingly grouped these texts together under Part One (*shangbian* 上編) of the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa*. Five slips of Part One, moreover, possess type <3> information, namely the paratextual phrase *Sunzi yue* 孫子曰 (Master Sun says).[23]

Not all texts grouped under Part Two (*xiabian* 下編) of the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa*, however, possess type <1> and type <2> information; these two types of information are moreover nearly irrelevant for texts grouped under *Sun Bin bingfa*. In many texts where these two types of information are absent, type <3> information, i.e. narrative elements associated with the putative authors, Sun Wu and Sun Bin, begin to play an important role. As Table 3.2 below shows, many manuscripts were incorporated into *Sunzi bingfa* or *Sun Bin bingfa* based solely on their narrative elements. While many of these texts do possess individual chapter (*pian*) titles, these titles only contribute to establishing the identity of the chapter, and not so much in ascertaining the relationship between this chapter and a larger textual unit.

Table 3.2 What Informs the Editors of "What is a text"

Titles	**Information Pertaining to Grouping**

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23. The opening of the remaining chapters are fragmentary, with the exception of the "Shi" 勢 and "Shi xu" 虛實 chapters. While this introductory phrase opens every chapter of the received redaction, it does seem to be absent from these two chapters, even though their openings seem to be preserved; see slips 47 and 53.

Sunzi Bingfa (Master Sun's Art of War)	Part I	["Thirteen Chapters"]	<1> parallels to received *Sunzi bingfa*; <2> titles listed in the wooden Table of Contents <3> "Maser Sun said" (not all chapters)
	Part II	"Wu wen" 吳問	<3> "Maser Sun" + Sun Wu's interlocutor
		*"Si bianz" 四變	<1> textual overlap with "13 Chapters"
		"Huangdi fa Chidi" 黃帝伐赤帝	<1> textual overlap with "13 Chapters"; <3> "Maser Sun" + Sun Wu's interlocutor
		"Di xing er" 地形二	<1> textual overlap with "13 Chapters"
		*"Jian Wuwang" 見吳王	<3> Corporal anecdote, "Maser Sun" + Sun Wu's interlocutor
Sun Bin Bingfa (Sun Bin's Art of War)		"Qin Pang Juan" 擒龐涓	<2> Chapter title featuring character in the Sun Bin narrative <3> Corporal anecdote, "Master Sun" + Sun Bin's interlocutors
		*"Jian Weiwang" 見威王	<3> Corporal anecdote, "Master Sun" + Sun Bin's interlocutor
		*"Weiwang wen" 威王問	<2> Chapter title featuring character in the Sun Bin narrative <3> "Master Sun" + Sun Bin's interlocutor
		"Chenji wenlei" 陳忌問壘	<2> Chapter title featuring character in the Sun Bin narrative <3> "Master Sun" + Sun Bin's interlocutor
		"Cuan zu" 篡卒	<3> "Master Sun"
		"Yue zhan" 月戰	<3> "Master Sun"
		"Ba zhen" 八陣	<3> "Master Sun"
		"Di bao" 地葆	<3> "Master Sun"
		"Shi bei" 勢備	<3> "Master Sun"
		*"Junqing" 兵情	<3> "Master Sun"
		"Xing cuan" 行篡	<3> "Master Sun"
		"Shashi" 殺士	<3> "Master Sun"
		"Yanqi" 延氣	<3> "Master Sun"
		"Guan yi" 官一	<3> "Master Sun"
		"Wu jiaofa" 五教法	<3> "(Master) Sun"
		*"Qiang bing" *強兵	<3> "Master Sun" + Sun Bin's interlocutor

The importance of type <3> information is most apparent in the redaction of the *Sun Bin bingfa* manuscripts. These texts have no parallel in received tradition, and the only reason they

are judged to be the lost texts of Sun Bin are on account of the narrative elements.[24] Following the structure of a capsular anecdote, the didactic content of many of these chapters are bracketed within a dialogue between "Master Sun" (Sunzi) and King of Qi. Also grouped together with these texts is the elaborate anecdote of Sun Bin capturing Pang Juan. If these narrative elements were not present, the *Sun Bin bingfa* manuscripts would have likely been judged as anonymous texts. This is in fact not a conjecture: In the very first publication of these strips in 1975, fifteen additional chapters and fragments — which do not contain any narrative elements — were included as part of *Sun Bin bingfa*. In the full publication of Yinqueshan slips in 1985, these fifteen pieces were moved to Part II, and became anonymous materials. Their original inclusion in the *Sun Bin bingfa* was based on type <5> information, on account of the perceived similarity in content and style to the materials marked by narrative elements associated with Sun Bin. But this type of information was evidently too speculative for other scholars. In the second publication, these materials have not only become anonymous, but also unfettered from the packaging of a larger compilation, and become intermixed with other fragments.[25]

The compilation entitled *"Shoufa" "Shouling" deng shisanpian* 守法守令等十三篇 (Thirteen Chapters Including "Methods of Defense" and "Injunctions of Defense"), also a Yinqueshan compilation, proffers another illustrative example. Just like Part One of Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa*, it contains type <2> information, namely a wooden tablet with its table of contents, but without any type <1> or type <3> information. The wooden table of contents allow editors to

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24. D. C. Lau and Roger Ames' introduction to their translation spells out the importance of the phrase *sunzi yue* 孫子曰 (Master Sun said) in grouping together the first fifteen chapters definitively attributed to Sun Bin; see D. C. Lau and Roger T. Ames, trans. *Sun Bin: The Art of Warfare* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 17.

25. See Volume II of Yinqueshan zhengli xiaozu, *Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian*. See also Lau and Ames, *Sun Bin*, 17-18.

group these thirteen chapters together as one compilation, but it is published as an anonymous text. Since the *Sun Bin bingfa* manuscripts were not found with table of contents, it is doubtful its various chapters would have been grouped together as one compilation, not to say attributed to an author, if not for the presence of their narrative elements.

Moreover, not only did the modern redaction rely on the presence of titular authors, the appearance of their interlocutors, King of Wu or King of Qi, are also necessary, for both Sun Wu and Sun Bin are referred to as "Master Sun" (*Sunzi* 孫子). Were the *Sun Bin bingfa* manuscripts framed with *Sunzi yue* (Master Sun said) alone, it is entirely conceivable that these texts would have been regarded as other "lost texts" of Sun Wu and would have been grouped under Part Two of the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa*. In this light, the introduction of King of Wu and King of Qi into the texts outside of the "Thirteen Chapters" almost appears to be a strategy of disambiguation, asserting the authorial presence of Sun Bin. The fact that there are two sets of anecdotes featuring each of these two author figures do not seem to be a coincidence. In summary, the identification and grouping performed by modern editors based on the information supplied by the corporal anecdotes indicate their self-identifying and packaging functions.

What does observing the modern redaction process tell us about how these elements may have operated in the original context of these manuscripts during the early imperial period? Unlike the modern editors, who had to reconstruct the missing context based on traces of paratextual, archaeological, and intellectual historical information, the ancient users likely handled these manuscripts within a wealth of unwritten cultural information concerning the identity and use of the manuscripts — which is to say, that these texts could have circulated with what Genette would call "oral paratexts" that were not physically recorded onto the manuscripts. Indeed, modern scholars' divergent conceptions of these lost contexts (or lost oral para-

texts) are one source of the wide spectrum of interpretations and disputations; the debate we have just revisited concerning the authorship of *Sunzi bingfa* is one such example.

Nevertheless, even if all of the ancient users had unanimously shared knowledge about the authorship of the *Sunzi bingfa* as well as the proper form and arrangement of the texts in this compilation, it is still interesting to ask what motivated the recording of some of these "oral paratexts" physically. As discussed in the introduction, however, the assumption of such an "unanimously shared knowledge" stems from modern readers' experience with closed texts. In view of the dominance of open textual interactions before 1st century BCE, the corporal anecdotes might have exerted strong prescriptive forces even in the manuscripts' original context. This is to say, the ancient users might have regarded these military writings as anonymous too if these manuscripts reached their hands without the corporal anecdotes. In this case, these anecdotes would have indeed performed a speech act like a modern paratext, and changed how the ancient audience identified and grouped these military writings. Given the murkiness of Sun Wu's ontological status, and given the unlikelihood that the "Thirteen Chapters" were authored by a Spring and Autumn period individual, such corporal anecdotes do seem to not only reflect a transformed reality, but also played a role in creating this reality of Sun Wu as the author of these military writings.

1.3 Corporal Anecdotes as Meta-discursive and Liminal Texts

Let us now turn to the other features and functions of paratext: its meta-discursivity and liminality. In Chapter I, I discussed why the narrative frames of instruction scenes can be read as a kind of meta-data. But the more extensive narrative on the Sun Wu invites an even more interesting analysis. Once this fairly outlandish narrative is read as a meta-discursive text com-

menting on the *Sunzi bingfa* as a corpus, its inclusion within this corpus acquires additional meanings and functions.

In this anecdote, the King of the state of Wu, Helü 闔閭 (r. 514-496 BCE), met Sun Wu, possibly for the first time, and asked him to demonstrate the effectiveness of his methods. They agreed to test out Sun Wu's *bingfa* (art of war) on the king's harem. After the court ladies repeatedly giggled at his marching orders, Sun Wu beheaded the appointed leaders of the unruly troop, the king's two favorites. Not surprisingly, as soon as the heads started rolling, the palace ladies were transformed into a well-trained army. But despite Sun Wu's remarkable success, the king was not very pleased, as one can imagine. This is where Sun Wu delivers his lesson to the king.

Before the discovery of the Yinqueshan manuscripts, there were two versions of this anecdote in the received tradition. One version is the opening act of Sima Qian's biography chapter on three military strategists, Sun Wu, Sun Bin, and Wu Qi 吳起 (d. 381), while the other is found in a collection of narratives related to the southern states, the *Wu Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋. As part of the earliest attestations of Sun Wu, this anecdote is also the only narrative that centers on Sun Wu, for in all other early accounts he is only briefly mentioned. The Yinqueshan version, one of the five texts in Part II that are not found in the received *Sunzi bingfa*, would probably have given us an more extensive account, had it survived in full.[26] In its extant form, the Yinqueshan version likely only contains half of its original bamboo slips. Unlike the majority of other chapters in the Yinqueshan **Sunzi bingfa*, this anecdote was either untitled, or bereft of the slip

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26. See Appendix for full transcript and translation of this manuscript text.

bearing its title.[27] Modern editors gave it the title of "*Jian Wuwang"見吳王 (An Audience with the King of Wu). There is, however, a character count written down on the last slip, indicating that it originally contained a "thousand... fifteen" (千[.]十五) characters.[28] While this chapter has slightly over five hundred characters remaining, it was originally over one thousand character, much longer than the *Shiji* version (only around 350 characters)[29] and the *Wu Yue chunqiu* versions (over 600 characters).[30] Finally, there is a small piece of evidence suggesting that this story was attached to the "Thirteen Chapters" in other early redactions of *Sunzi bingfa* as well, not just the Yinqueshan manuscripts.[31]

What are we to make of the fact that a tale as fantastic as this one is the only available account concerning the putative author of the foundational text of the history of Chinese military thought? The reversal of gender roles in this story could be a sign of its earlier life as a folk legend. Still, this story was either the most well-known narrative concerning Sun Wu, or perhaps even, the only known narrative concerning Sun Wu. The latter proposition is purely hypothetical, and it is highly possible that there were other accounts that did not survive. At the same time, it is probably not an accident that the consort-training anecdote is the sole surviving narrative that stars Sun Wu in three different compilations, unless the winnowing of narratives concerning Sun Wu already took place before the Han. If there were other stories available, and yet

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27. It is likely missing, since the titles in the Yinqueshan manuscripts tend to be written on the back of the first slip, and in Yinqueshan version of this anecdote, the opening section is missing.
28. Yinqueshan zhengli xiaozu, *Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian*, I.35.
29. Xiong Jianping and Huang Pumin, "Jianwen 'Jian Wu wang' yu *Shiji* 'Sunzi liezhuan' guanxi kaolun," 134.
30. *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao* 吳越春秋輯校匯考, commentary by Zhou Shengchun 周生春 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997).
31. One phrase from this narrative (attested in both the Yinqueshan and the *Shiji* versions) is quoted as a citation from *Sunzi bingfa*; see Li Ling, *Sunzi shisanpian zonghe yanjiu*, 98.

Sima Qian, the Yinqueshan compilers, and the compiler of *Wu Yue chunqiu* all decided to preserve this one, it only goes to show how special this story was in the Han dynasty imagination of Sun Wu. How then, should we interpret this anecdote, and how does it relate to the *Sunzi bingfa* or the "Thirteen Chapters," which is featured as an object within its narrative?

Reading this anecdote as performing paratextual functions begins to answer this question. Not only does it — together with the other narrative elements — identify and circumscribe a group of texts as a textual unit, as discussed in the previous section, it is also a meta-discursive text that prescribes what kind of text this textual unit is, who its author is, and how it ought to be used. The meta-discursive and liminal potential of this anecdote is highlighted by the repeated references to the textual unit "Thirteen Chapters" in both the Yinqueshan and the *Shiji* versions of this anecdote.

In the Yinqueshan version, the phrase "Thirteen Chapters" is mentioned twice, on two fragment slips appended by the modern editors:

> … and utilize it, … can be obtained. Like... what the "Thirteen Chapters" … (slip 215)

> ... What the "Thirteen Chapters" illuminates as the way and states as accomplishment, can truly be heard … (slip 216)

> …]而用之，[...]得矣。若[.]十三扁(篇)所[… (slip 215)
> …][十]三扁(篇)所明道言功也，誠將聞[.]… (slip 216)

Unfortunately, given the fragmentary nature of these manuscripts, we cannot reconstruct where in the story these two allusions to the "Thirteen Chapters" are made. The *Shiji* parallel also references the "Thirteen Chapters," right at the beginning of the anecdote:

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Master Sun Wu was a man from Qi. He was summoned to an audience with the King of Wu on account of his Art of War. Helü said, "Your 'Thirteen Chapters,' We have perused them all; can we apply them to a little military exercise?"

孫子武者，齊人也。以兵法見於吳王闔廬。闔廬曰：「子之十三篇，吾盡觀之矣，可以小試勒兵乎？[32]

The *Shiji* version makes it clear that Sun Wu was admitted to audience with the king on account of the "Thirteen Chapters"; it also this writing "wherewith" (*yi* 以) one can test the training of soldiers (*lebing* 勒兵). Thus the *Shiji* version links the training success specifically to the text of the "Thirteen Chapters," and not just as the unique acumen of Sun Wu as a military leader.

While we do not know how the "Thirteen Chapters" is discussed in the Yinqueshan version, Sun Wu makes a textual reference to *an* "Art of War" (*bingfa*), when he gives instruction to his chariot-drivers, who were, for the purpose of this training, made into officers of the new army:

Master Sun then summoned his commander and captain of chariots saying, "The *bingfa* states, 'the lack of command or its communication is the fault of the ruler and the general. But if command is already declared [but it is not obeyed], it is the fault of the officers.' The *bingfa* states, 'Rewarding the good begins low, punishing … "

孫子乃召其司馬與輿司空而告之曰：「兵法曰：弗令弗聞，君將之罪也；已令已申，卒長之罪也。兵法曰：賞善始賤，罰 […[33]

The first quote from this *bingfa* is a close parallel to Sun Wu's speech in the *Shiji* section, which does not frame it as a citation. While neither of these citations have exact parallels in the extant *Sunzi bingfa* proper, they do not veer far from the teachings of the received text. The Yinqueshan version thus even more explicitly appears to be a demonstration of how one ought to carry out the *bingfa* genre of texts in practice.

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32. *Shiji*.
33. Slip 208.

It is interesting to observe that in the *Wu Yue chunqiu* version, which has greater narrative (rather than bibliographical) interests, the details of the story changes, and all references to the "Thirteen Chapters" as a written textual unit disappear.

> Thus (the king) summoned Master Sun and asked him about the art of war (or his Art of War). Every time he presents a chapter, the king cannot stop praising it, and was greatly pleased. He asked, "Could we possibly try this Art of War out? Master Sun said, "Yes. It can be tried on the palace women."

> 而召孫子，問以兵法，每陳一篇，王不知口之稱善。其意大悅。問曰：「兵法寧可以小試耶？」孫子曰：「可，可以小試於後宮之女。」[34]

The emphasis here seems to be on the military teachings as more of oral text that is "presented" (*chen* 陳) face to face, rather than a text read by the ruler beforehand. There is also no sense of a "Thirteen Chapters" compilation as a larger textual unit.

Scholars such as Xiong Jianping or Albert Galvany have read this anecdote as an "early commentary"[35] or a narrative illustration[36] of the "Thirteen Chapters." For both scholars, this anecdote is seen as a "meta-discursive" text, serving as an elucidation or an interpretation of an existing text. As I have argued, both paratexts and commentaries are meta-discursive. The major difference between the two is how their producers identify their roles. While paratexts are presented as part of a text's production, commentaries are presented as the reception of an existing

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34. *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao*.
35. Xiong Jianping, for instance, reads this anecdote as a commentary, as a concrete example for teachings such as utilize the power of reward and punishment, which are found in the "Thirteen Chapters," see Xiong Jianping 熊劍平, "Cong Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian kan *Sunzi* de zaoqi zhushi qingkuang" 從銀雀山漢墓竹簡看《孫子》的早期註釋情況, Junshi lishi (2011): 31.
36. Albert Galvany applies this approach more broadly, preferring not to limit this anecdote to the illustration of a certain military idea, but the overall orientation of *Sunzi bingfa* : He compares this story cross-culturally with other ancient philosophers' biographies, arguing that in the context of ancient philosophy, the action of the philosophers are as much relevant as their words. Thus the biographical accounts ought to be read as an emblem symbolizing a philosopher's system of thought, and this anecdote is also supposed to be an epitome of the thirteen chapters attributed to him, see Albert Galvany, "The Court as A Battlefield: The Art of War and the Art of Politics in the *Han Feizi*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 80 (2017): 630, 633.

text. A commentary's reflection on an existing text is presented from a vantage point outside of an existing text, with full respect to an existing text's already established boundaries, whereas paratexts are produced from a far more ambiguous, *liminal* position. As will be further illustrated by the next case study, the producers of paratexts in fact often attempt to obfuscate the passage of time between their production and the production of the pre-existing "text proper."

Rather than commenting from the outside of an existing text, the positioning of this corporal anecdote, as mentioned, is certainly liminal. It stands between the text and "off-text," as Genette would say, between the clearly demarcated textual unit, the "Thirteen Chapters," and everything else in the universe that is more unambiguously *not* part of the same compilation. On account of its packaging function discussed in the previous subsection, this corporal anecdote is also liminal in that it reflects the process of boundary making.

1.4 The Paratextual Functions of Master Sun as an Author

When this anecdote is treated as a historical account of the principle writer of the *Sunzi bingfa*, the Warring States style of warfare depicted in the text flies in the face of Sun Wu as a Spring and Autumn period figure, and can only be dismissed as an anachronistic fantasy. But its obvious ahistoricity strengthens the case that it served a paratextual, not documentarian, function. Once read as a text that was adapted to serve paratextual purposes within the larger production process of the *Sunzi bingfa* compilation, then narrative details, as well as temporal and geographical settings, can be interpreted as serving rhetorical functions.

Paratexts, as we have discussed, are often the sites of author construction. At the most basic level, as discussed in Section 1.2, the texts modern editors attributed to Sun Bin would have been treated as anonymous texts without these narrative elements. In this section, I will

continue substantiating the argument made in the Introduction that the basic "author functions" are essentially paratextual functions.

Mediating Interpretation

Galvany's article sees Master Sun's training of consorts as exemplifying the new type of warfare engaged in the Warring States period, the wars of mass infantry armies that obsolesced any ludic element found in the earlier aristocratic combats.[37] He points out that right at the outset of the Yinqueshan version, Master Sun tells the king that "Warfare is a matter of gaining advantage, not that of predilection. Warfare is ..., and is not a game. When my lord ask about it as a matter of predilection or game, I, as a guest in your service,[38] dare not reply" 兵，利也，非好也。兵，[.]也，非戲也。君王以好與戲問之 191，外臣不敢對.[39] Indeed, the Yinqueshan version clearly articulates the point of this exercise as the creation of the most basic element of infantry warfare, a *zhen* 陳(陣), or "formation."[40] The formation exemplifies the key feature of Warring States warfare as characterized by Mark Edward Lewis, namely the transformation of individuals into an unified automaton in absolute obedience to the commander.[41] In the words of the Yinqueshan version, when a general gives order to a formation, he can "guide them and make them round, they would confirm to a compass; guide them and make them square, they would confirm to a carpenter's triangle" 引而員(圓_之，員(圓)中規；引而方之，方中巨(矩).[42] The exe-

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37. For a full exposition of this transition, see Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).
38. According to *Yili* 儀禮 "Shi xiang jianli" 士相見禮 chapter, guests from other states refer to themselves as *waichen* in front of the lord (凡自稱於君……他国之人，則曰外臣).
39. Slips 191-192.
40. As Sun Wu says to the King of Wu, "Before the formation is formed, it is not worth seeing "陳（陣）未成，不足見也 (slip 199).
41. Ibid., 103-09.
42. Slip 210.

cution of the king's favorites exemplifies the reliance on ruthless discipline and the literal de-

humanization required in such warfare of organizational power and human resources.[43]

Building upon Galvany's reading, I would like to propose that this anecdote's construc-

tion of Sun Wu as an author figure is centered on prescribing how a military text (such as the

Sunzi bingfa) ought to be used by its human actors. While this anecdote presents Sun Wu as the

author of this text, it does not dwell on what allows Sun Wu to write an insightful military trea-

tise, such as his genius, education, and experience. In all three versions, the training is framed as

a "trial" (*shi* 試) of the text, which seems to say that Sun Wu's task in this story is to implement

what is written on the page, to show that it actually works in practice. The emphasis is thus not

on Sun Wu as a creator of text, but on him as the text's first implementor.

All three versions emphasize Sun Wu's role as a ruthless executor of the text's teachings,

someone who can adhere to the *Sunzi bingfa* regardless of the exigencies of the human context.

The choice of palace ladies as the test subject is a dramatic illustration of this, as one sentence in

the Yinqueshan version, though fragmentary, almost explicitly states. In answer to the king's

choice of women as the test subject, Sun Wu says, "When it comes to women there is much one

cannot bear [to do]. Your servant begs to substitute …" 婦人多所不忍，臣請代[... .[44] The female

gender in this context is associated with the instinctual compassion or pity often articulated by

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43. Galvany, "The Court as A Battlefield: The Art of War and the Art of Politics in the *Han Feizi*," 634-636, 641. Adding to Galvany's discussion, I would also like to point to this passage in the *Liu Tao* on the first step in training an army. It closely mirrors Sun Wu's actions in this anecdote: 武王問太公曰：「合三軍之眾。欲令士卒練士教戰之道，奈何？」太公曰：「凡領三軍，有金鼓之節，所以整齊士眾者也。將必先明告吏士，申之以三令，以教操兵起居、旌旗指麾之變法。故教吏士：使一人學戰，教成，合之十人；十人學戰，教成，合之百人；百人學戰，教成，合之千人；千人學戰，教成，合之萬人；萬人學戰，教成，合之三軍之眾；大戰之法，教成，合之百萬之眾。故能成其大兵，立威於天下。」武王曰：「善哉。」

44. Slip 195.

the phrase *buren* 不忍, or "cannot bear to."[45] But once the trial sets in motion, and Sun Wu takes on the role of a general, there is no more room for such emotions. The removal of compassion and mercy from the application of punishment is what "unsexed" the palace ladies, and turned them into an army.

The dehumanizing transformation, prescribed by the text and executed by Sun Wu, applies not only to the soldiers, but also to the king. In the Yinqueshan version, Sun Wu's first extant statement to the king, quoted above, is a warning against seeing warfare as a matter of pleasure. Yet one cannot help but suspect that the king's choice of test subjects is precisely motivated by pleasure-seeking, by the desire to see a burlesque cosplay with Sun Wu as the stooge. But in the end, the joke is on the king, who was taught a gruesome lesson about the reality of war, as well as the need to relinquish what passions and feelings the king might have for his favorites. The need for a ruler to steer clear of all human relations in governing, not only from his women but also his relatives, servants, as well as other types of personal relationships, is, in fact, a recurring motif in what is later classified as Legalist texts.[46]At the end of the received versions, the king is said to be jolted out of his sorrows and decided to pursue military glory with Sun Wu in his service. The education of the king is complete.

In this reading, the anachronism of the anecdote's setting acquires rhetorical meaning: The paratext, as we have discussed, is where the producers most directly address their audience. In this anecdote, we see the representation of the perspective and objections of this imagined audience again and again. It is possible that this narrative is polemical, pitting one vision

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45. The *locus classicus* being discussions in *Mencius*.
46. See for instance chapter 9 "Ba jian" 八姦, chapter 10 "Shi guo" 十過, and chapter 17 "Bei nei" 備內 in the *Hanfeizi*. Petersen has pointed out the Legalist connection of narratives on the efficacy of punishment, of which this tale is likely a variation; see Petersen, "What's in a Name?", 10.

of warfare and government against another. King Helü, representing rulers adhering to Spring and Autumn epistemes, would be made obsolete in the dog-eat-dog world of the Warring States. Are these potential patrons not the very audience a text like the *Sunzi bingfa* would most want to convert?[47]

In summary, this anecdote presents the art of warfare as fundamentally in opposition to existing human emotions and relationships, and its author, Sun Wu, the executor of the de-humanization it calls for. Fittingly, the narrative of Sun Wu as the author is inserted into an existing, larger saga concerning the King Helü and his minister Wu Zixu, one which is driven by conflicting loyalties, deaths and revenge. Jens Petersen argues that in the earliest accounts, Sun Wu barely has his own identity, and the narrative of his life is calqued upon the far more vivid character of Wu Zixu 伍子胥, in whose life Sun Wu plays a supporting role.[48] Thus if Wu Zixu was a man caught in the nexus of extreme human emotions, the nondescript Sun Wu embodies the disciplined automaton demanded by the *bingfa* text. Below, I will further discuss how the paratextual and bibliographical functions appear to be the primary driving force behind the few narrative details associated with Sun Wu.

In Lewis' account, the rise of military writings reflects both the professionalization of the generals,[49] and the new vision of warfare as a mental battle between the minds of generals.[50] The narratives of Sun Bin further embodies the ethos of Warring States warfare. Whereas Sun Wu

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47. Andrew Meyer offers another provocative explanation of this anachronistic choice of author figure. By highlighting the possible debates and interactions between *Sunzi bingfa* and other Warring States Masters texts, the choice of a Spring and Autumn figure claims rhetorical superiority to masters figures dating to later times, such as Confucius, see Meyer, *Reading 'Sunzi' as a Master*, 10-11.
48. Petersen, "What's in a Name?", 30-31.
49. Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence*, 97.
50. Ibid., 104.

was still presented as a general, Sun Bin, who was cruelly maimed, could not even be a general and instead has to serve as a general's assistant. In accordance with the ideals of Warring States warfare described by Lewis, Sun Bin represents "military strategy" as something utterly divorced from the physicality of war: a purely cerebral — or even textual — activity.

Hierarchization

If the author narratives present Sun Wu and Sun Bin as first and foremost the executors of these texts, they also argue for the value of *bingfa* as a genre. Sun Wu's training of the palace ladies, in particular, can be read as an argument for the universal efficacy of the "Thirteen Chapters." The narrative texts' argument for the value of the main text not only asks for the elevation its status, it is sometimes coupled with the demand for a closed textual interaction, including the accurate preservation and citation.

Recognizing these narratives' hierarchizing function contextualizes the unusual choice of women as the subject of military training, which would have been an absurd proposition in the Warring States context.[51] As is made more explicit in the Yinqueshan version, this choice is to underscore the universal efficacy of the *Sunzi* text. While in the *Shiji* version, the king volunteers his harem without any apparent reason, in the Yinqueshan manuscript, Sun Wu has first stated that his *bingfa* works no matter noble and humble, man or women,[52] essentially suggesting a list of potential test subjects from which the king could choose. The supposed physical weakness of

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51. Both Lewis and Galvany link this choice to the discourse on the Warring States discourse on power of the feminine (*yin* 陰), see Ibid., 112; Albert Galvany, "Philosophy, Biography, and Anecdote: On the Portrait of Sun Wu," *Philosophy East and West* 61 (2011), 636-38. As Petersen points out, this reading is not convincing since the story is about removing (perceived) feminine qualities such as lack of discipline through a horrific "training" process, see Petersen, "What's in a Name?", 8n.16.
52. 以貴者可也，賤者可也，婦人可也 (slips 192-193).

women, just as Sun Bin's disability, only underscores the power promised by these military writings: the ability to defeat troops superior in number and strength. The elaborate anecdote featuring Sun Bin, "Qin Pang Juan" 擒龐涓 ("Capturing Pang Juan"), also contains a hierarchizing claim. After Pang Juan is captured just as Sun Bin has planned, the text concludes with the statement that "thus it is said that what Master Sun does is exhaustive" 故曰，孫子之所以為者盡矣.[53] A more colorful translation that conveys the full force of this statement might be that "what Master Sun does is the be all and end all."

These narratives not only argue for the value in using and preserving the enclosed texts, but also model for a closed textual interaction, showing the importance in understanding and using these texts word for word. In the Yinqueshan version, as mentioned, Sun Wu explicitly bases his commands on a textual source, quoting what he calls an *bingfa* twice. The word-for-word and acknowledge citation is a way of treating a text as a closed entity. In another extra detail, the Yinqueshan version tells us of the specific titles Sun Wu bestowed upon his coachmen so that they can act as officers assisting him in the training: the "commander" (*sima* 司馬) and "captain of chariots" (*yusikong* 輿司空). This additional appointment scene seems to illustrate the importance of the correspondence between one's official titles and the entitled power. Concern over the correspondence between "name" (*ming* 名) and its realization (often termed *xing* 形) is shared by various early writings, include what the "Yiwen zhi" classifies as *bingjia*.[54] If such a correspondence is important, then *bingfa* writings become a blueprint for a functioning military system, and needs to be preserved with accuracy.

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53. Slips 245-246.
54. For instance, the concern with "regulation of divisions" *quzhi* 曲制 in 一曰道，二曰天，三曰地，四曰將，五曰法。…法者，曲制，官道，主用也; see *Shiyijia zhu Sunzi jiaoli*, 2-8).

An anonymous textual unit (which was included in *Sun Bin bingfa* in the 1975 publication), self-titled "Qi zheng" 奇正 ("Irregular and Regular"), can be read as a hierarchizing statement for a particular type of *bingfa* evinced in texts attributed to Sun Wu and Sun Bin. This text argues that the essence of battle is the creation of a "form" (*xing* 形) that is superior to that of the enemy's. But "the changing calculus of forms which can lead one thing to prevail over another could not be fully recorded even if you were to write on all of the bamboos that could be cut from the states of Chu and Yue. Forms are, in all cases, making use of that characteristic in which a particular thing excels to prevail over other things. It is impossible to prevail over all other forms with the advantage of a particular form. That which constructs forms is the same, but the reason for prevailing cannot be the same." 刑(形)勝之變，與天地相敝而不窮。刑(形)勝，以楚、越之竹書之而不足。刑(形)者，皆以其勝勝者也。以一刑(形)之勝勝萬刑(形)，不可。所以裚(制)刑(形)壹也，所以勝不可壹也.[55] This explicit reference to written text, again not the most common phenomenon among Warring States texts, can be read as an argument for a specific approach to military writing. As opposed to teaching specific tactics or formations, or specific "forms," this text argues for the importance of teaching the underlying principles, such as the importance of rewards and punishment expounded later on. The imagery of all the bamboos of Chu and Yue conjures up the myriad other military texts written on bamboo slips that must have been in circulation at the time. But unlike them, what this text teaches is the most essential. As it states at the very end, "if you manage water with an understanding of the principle underlying it, you can send boulders bobbing about and stave in boats" 行水得其理，剽(漂)石折舟.[56]

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55. Slips 1180-82. Translation adapted from Lau and Ames, *Sun Bin*, 174. See also Christopher C. Rand, *Military Thought in Early China* State University of New York Press, 2017), 41-42

56. Slip 1193. Translated by Lau and Ames, *Sun Bin*, 176.

Such principles (*li* 理), the text seems to profess, are its focus.

Packaging

We have discussed the packaging function performed by the presence of author narratives. Evidence preserved in the "Yiwen zhi" bibliography suggests that these author narratives can package together something larger than what we today think of as a "book," on account of what Matthias Richter terms the "emblematic values" of such author figures.[57] What became associated with Sun Wu and Sun Bin, for instance, came perhaps closer to a compendium, a genre, or, to put it more broadly, a bibliographical category. Among the military texts listed in the "Yiwen zhi," the texts attributed to Sun Wu and Sun Bin contain 82 and 89 chapters (*pian*), respectively, while the majority of other military texts contain fewer than ten chapters.[58] It is unclear whether all of these textual units, understood to be chapters or *pian*, were composed to be circulated as part of books attributed to Sun Wu or Sun Bin; many of them likely circulated on their own before the Han librarians grouped them together. Han librarians' grouping decisions were likely at least partly based on the presence of narrative elements associated with author figures, similar to modern editors' redaction process discussed in Section 1.2. But why were these military treatises composed with such narrative elements, in the name of figures such as Sun Wu or Sun Bin? It is possible that utilizing such paratextual devices allowed writers to participate in a larger generic discourse, much like the functions of genres such as "horror" or "self-help book" in today's bookstore. Such a reading builds on Wiebke Denecke's interpretation of Masters figures as constructions of discursive fields.[59]

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57. Richter, "Roots of *Ru* 儒 Ethics in *shi* 士 Status Anxiety," 456-58.
58. *Hanshu*, 30.1756ff.
59. Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 22-25.

Existing evidence suggests that texts making use of author figures could be signaling dialogues with the more widely recognized texts attributed to them. Of the five additional chapters found in the Yinqueshan version, three can be read as explications of parts of the "Thirteen Chapters." Were the 82-chapter version of the Han library extant, we might discover that many of these chapters were in dialogue with the "Thirteen Chapters" in some ways, in the form of responses and interpretations. Such compositions likely reflect a world of open textual interaction. The sense of illegitimacy and the need to exclude such or all of these texts likely came only later, after the *Sunzi bingfa* was beginning to be treated as a stabilized and closed text.

The "Yiwenzhi" bibliography provides additional evidence for how early narratives construct discursive fields. Foucault discusses the function of the author's name in establishing relationship among texts.[60] My discussion of the role of author narratives in reconstructing "texts" from dispersed bamboo slips is an illustration of the author's defining and classifying function. The distribution of texts in the "Yiwenzhi" showcases the fact that narratives tying together groups of authors similarly establish relationship among texts. A significant portion of "Yiwenzhi" military texts are attributed to figures involved in the accounts of the Wu-Yue conflict. These tales seem to be important backdrops to the military writings.[61] In addition to Sun Wu, the three starring characters of Spring and Autumn period southern states Wu-Yue conflicts all have military texts attributed to them. The texts attributed to Fan Li 范蠡 and Wen Zhong 文種 are in the same sub-category as the *Sunzi bingfa* text, under the category "strategies" (*mou quan*

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60. Foucault, "What is an Author," 284.
61. Caley Smith refers to narratives performing similar functions in Vedic literature "establishing shots"; see Smith, "Look at Me!", 70.

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權謀). There is also a text attributed to Wu Zixu, which appears to be on water battles.[62] The association of naval warfare with a southern figure is not surprising, since northerners are famously unacquainted with aquatic warfare, while the ancient south, even more than today, was a web of rivers, lakes, and marshlands. But it is interesting that all other Wu-Yue figures aside from Wu Zixu are grouped under the "strategies" category, which is said to be preoccupied with the balancing of complementary concepts such as *zheng* 正 (regular) and *qi* 奇 (irregular).[63] It is as if the generals of the Wu-Yue conflicts are represented not only as a sources of knowledge regarding warfare, but also a specific type of knowledge. It os even possible that this type of knowledge focuses precisely on the underlying "principles" discussed by the "Qi zheng" 奇正 text among the Yinqueshan manuscripts, cited on page 251.

There are other clusters throughout the "Yiwen zhi" military texts. Most notably, there are a group of texts attributed to the legendary Yellow Emperor, his entourage, and his rival under the "yin-yang" subcategory.[64] According to Michael Puett's reconstruction, narratives surrounding the Yellow Emperor and related figures seem to reflect early discourse on the creation of state and the corresponding need for punishment.[65] He is also a tutelage figure in what was referred to as the "Huang-Lao" school of thought. It is possible that all of these texts approach warfare from a shared intellectual or philosophical perspective. It appears likely that not only could individual author figures serve as the designation of a certain discursive space, but the

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62. Li Ling 李零, *Lantai wanjuan: du Hanshu "Yiwenzhi"* 蘭台萬卷 : 讀《漢書・藝文志》 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2011), 163, which cites several comemntary evidence.
63. 權謀者，以正守國，以奇用兵，先計而後戰，兼形勢，包陰陽 (*Hanshu*, 30.1758). For a discussion of complementary concepts in early Chinese military writings, see Rand, *Military Thought in Early China*, 45-50.
64. 神農兵法一篇。黃帝十六篇。封胡五篇。風后十三篇。力牧十五篇。鵊冶子一篇。鬼容區三篇。地典六篇 (*Hanshu*, 30.1759-60).
65. Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation*, 101-05.

grouping of characters created by narratives can similarly designate relationships and dialogues in that intellectual space.

If so, author narratives might have, to some degree, performed a classificatory function, i.e. packaging function for a group of texts. In the next sub-section, we will see how the *Hanfeizi* text constructs an intellectual lineage among figures who do not have existing narrative associations. These figures were not known to have interacted in their own lifetimes. We can imagine that for other writers, they can choose to utilize existing narrative relationships to express certain kinds of intellectual kinship between the texts they are composing and other existing texts. We can thus see the paratextual packaging function of narratives not only in holding together one text, but also a field of texts.

Like all classifications, the relationships expressed through the choice of narrative elements were likely vague, at times contradictory, and evolving throughout the period. The categories in the "Yiwen zhi" were partly informed by these narrative relationships but also partly overriding them. We see, for instance, that the texts associated with the Wu-Yue stories or the Yellow Emperor are grouped into the same sub-category. At the same time, the various texts attributed to the Yellow Emperor are distributed into different categories of the bibliography, such as the "Daoist school," military texts, or medical texts.[66]

Returning to the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa* manuscripts, we can observe similar degrees of ambiguities by attending to which textual boundaries are prescribed. While the original editors have divided these manuscripts into two books, each revolving around Sun Wu and Sun Bin respectively, Li Ling has pointed out that the claim espoused by these author narratives may be

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66. Lee, *Intellectual Activism in Knowledge Organization*, 213.

that these texts are part of one compilation.[67] Just as Sun Bin is Sun Wu's descendants, the texts presented as Sun Bin's words are also supposed to be organically connected to the more canonical texts attributed to Sun Wu. As one fragment among the Sun Bin texts explicitly articulates, all of these texts are connected and part of the "Sun family's" work (*Sun shi* 孫氏). "It is illuminated in the land of Wu and Yue, and put into words in the land of Qi, saying, whoever understands the Way of the Sun family, can complement heaven and earth. Those of the Sun family…" 明之吳越，言之於齊。曰：智(知)孫氏之道者，必合於天地。孫氏者……[68]

It is even possible that this statement locates the production of this text in Qi, as it is only first "put into words in the land of Qi." This once again, explains the quirks of Sun Wu's biography. There are two contending theories of Sun Wu's place of origin, he is either someone who is native to the south, or is an exile from Qi in the north who ended up serving the king of the Wu state in the south.[69] Behind all of these various contending narratives, a unified trajectory does seem to emerge. From the "Yiwen zhi" bibliography, we can observe what seems to be a strong associations between military writings and both the southern state romance narratives and the Sun family. Not it is not a coincidence, it seems then, that Sun Wu was likely inserted into the southern romance narratives, as Petersen suggests. At the same time, a connection with the Qi state needed to be constructed, either with Sun Wu as an exile originally from Qi, or with Sun Bin as Sun Wu's descendent, or both. In the discussion of the *Hanfeizi* in the next section, we will observe the moment when the *Hanfeizi* constructs its lineage of thinkers, implicitly presenting itself as the heir of this tradition. It is possible that the compiler of the Yinqueshan manuscripts, a

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67. Li Ling, *Sunzi shisanpian zonghe yanjiu*, 114.
68. Yinqueshan zhengli xiaozu, *Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian*, 1c.56.
69. Li Ling, *Sunzi shisanpian zonghe yanjiu*.

collection found within what would have been the territory of the Qi state, wanted to make a similar claim. Perhaps all of the texts attributed to the two Sun Masters are supposed to be part of one compilation, whose very existence is an argument for Sun Bin of Qi as the standard-bearer of Sun Wu's legacy.

*T*he "Yiwenzhi" bibliography is a testament to the success of the Sun family narrative. While over 80 *pian* of texts are attributed to Sun Wu and Sun Bin respectively, there seems to be no other texts listed in the category of *mou quan* associated with the Qi state, whereas other states often feature several general-figures to whom smaller military texts are attributed. As paratextual elements, the Sun family narratives have indeed packaged and engulfed a significant number of texts, and constructed their own discursive space.

2. The Paratexts of the *Hanfeizi*

While Sima Qian's account of Sun Wu is restricted to a single, vaguely surreal anecdote, his Han Fei 韓非 (d. 233) has a bit more flesh and bones. According to him, Han Fei, a native of the Hán state, was a stutterer who was nevertheless able to garner the attention of King of Qin because of his written compositions. But before long, he was throw into prison and executed by the Qin court. Like most other pre-Qin Masters, Han Fei's appearance in pre-imperial corpus is mostly restricted to his own eponymous text. Aside from his biography in *Shiji*, he appears only one other time in *Zhanguoce* 戰國策 (Stratagem of the Warring States).[70] Even in his own corpus, his presence is limited. Just as the appearance of Sun Wu in Yinqueshan redaction of *Sunzi bingfa*

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70. See "Siguo weiyi jiangyi gong Qin" 四國為一將以攻秦 ("Four States United and About to Attack Qin") in *Zhanguoce* 戰國策, compiled by Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8), (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 7.293-300.

is scant, there is only one anecdote involving Han Fei in the *Hanfeizi*. He is also featured, almost indirectly, in an elaborate yet intriguing set of paratextual materials in the first two or three short chapters. This forms stark contrast with the wealth of anecdotal materials preserved by the *Hanfeizi* texts, featuring frequent appearances of figures like Confucius or Guan Zhong. Concerning the skeleton of Han Fei's life accounted in these sources, nearly every detail is debated, but all three sources (*Shiji*, *Zhanguoce* and *Hanfeizi*) suggest that he was killed prematurely in the state of Qin.[71]

In Sima Qian's eyes, both Sun Bin and Han Fei are among the tragic heroes featured in his list of predecessors. In this section and in the Conclusion, I will show that a figuration of Han Fei similar to the one in *Shiji* also envelops the *Hanfeizi*, though with interesting small differences.[72] In both *Shiji* and the *Hanfeizi* compilation, the narratives of Han Fei's life and the texts attributed to him are entangled in a circular relationship: the texts seem to generate an impression of his life, which in turn constructs a context for interpreting these texts.[73] The narratives and texts associated with Han Fei thus offers another interesting case study of the paratextual operations found in early texts.

2.1 Meta-Discursivity

The second and last anecdote of Chapter 42, "Wen Tian" is the only anecdote in the *Hanfeizi* compilation that features its putative author, Master Han Fei. This is also the only time in

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71. For summary of sources and scholarly discussions on the life of Han Fei, see Lundahl, *Han Fei Zi*, 42-68.
72. For the need to untangle *Hanfeizi* from author biography, see Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*.
73. Caley Smith proposes the term "mimetic circle' to refers to a text's representation of its own origin and future performance; see Smith, "Look at Me!", iii.

this text where Han Fei participates in a dialogue, with an obscure figure named Tangxi Gong 堂谿公, possibly Duke Tangxi.[74]

Figure 3.2: Location of *Hanfeizi* Chapter 42

Chapters in the HFZ
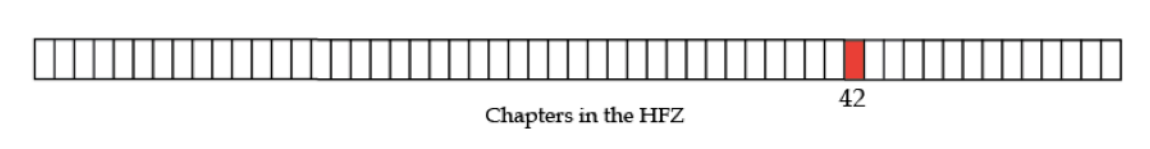
In this section, I propose to read this dialogue as a corporal anecdote that functions as the paratext of *a* compilation coalescing around Master Han, almost like a brief preface or postscript. This is to say, I read this anecdote as certain compiler(s)'s attempt to articulate what they saw as the purport and vision of this compilation.

> Tangxi Gong said to Master Han: "Your servant has heard that obeying to ritual, being humble and yielding is the strategy to preserve one's own life, and cultivating conduct to shed clever appearance is the way to advancement. You, sir, are now establishing rules and strategies and positing measures and accounting. Your servant humbly considers this a danger to your life and a peril to your body. How do I demonstrate this? I have heard your strategies state: 'Chu did not employ Wu Qi and was reduced to disorder. Qin followed Lord Shang [Yang] and became rich and strong. The words of these two Masters evidently meet the mark. That Wu Qi was nevertheless dismembered and Lord Shang dragged apart by chariots was on account of not meeting the right age nor the right ruler.' Indeed, such meetings cannot be fool-proof and afflictions cannot be avoided. I personally believe that you, sir, have nothing to gain from the disregard for self-preservation and advancement and the indulgence in danger and peril." Master Han said, "Your servant understands what you, sir, have said. Indeed, the handle on governing All Under Heaven and the measures for balancing the populace is no easy affair. The reason why I abandoned the teachings of Former Kings[75] and adopted the path of your lowly servant is as follows: I humbly believe that establishing rules and strategies and positing measures and accounting benefit the

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74. Christoph Harbsmeier, trans. *Hanfeizi (Thesaurus Linguae Sericae)* http://tls.uni-hd.de/, n. d.).
75. Can also be *xian sheng* 先生 (you, sir).

populace and serve the masses. Hence it is humane and wise not to shrink from the afflictions of unruly rulers and benighted superiors and to ever keep in mind the balance of the populace's interests, while it is greedy and base to shrink from the afflictions of unruly rulers and benighted superiors and evade the calamity of death, being cognizant of one's own person but blind to the interests and gains of the populace. Your servant cannot bear to enjoy acts of greed and basement at the expense of humaneness and wisdom. You, sir,[76] have the intention to bestow favor upon me, but, in reality, would do your servant great injury.

堂谿公謂韓子曰：「臣聞服禮辭讓，全之術也；修行退智，遂之道也。今先生立法術，設度數，臣竊以為危於身而殆於軀。何以效之？所聞先生術曰：『楚不用吳起而削亂，秦行商君而富彊，二子之言已當矣，然而吳起支解而商君車裂者，不逢世遇主之患也。』逢遇不可必也，患禍不可斥也，夫舍乎全遂之道而肆乎危殆之行，竊為先生無取焉。」韓子曰：「臣明先生之言矣。夫治天下之柄，齊民萌之度，甚未易處也。然所以廢先王之教，而行賤臣之所取者，竊以為立法術，設度數，所以利民萌便眾庶之道也。故不憚亂主闇上之患禍，而必思以齊民萌之資利者，仁智之行也。憚亂主闇上之患禍，而避乎死亡之害，知明夫身而不見民萌之資利者，貪鄙之為也。臣不忍嚮貪鄙之為，不敢傷仁智之行。先生有幸臣之意，然有大傷臣之實.」[77]

Many scholars read this anecdote as a factual account of an episode in Han Fei's life, treating it as one of the few pieces of available evidence for dating Han Fei's lifespan. It is not only a feeble piece of evidence at best, hinging entirely on Tangxi Gong's single other appearance in another anecdote, but also a characteristically problematic one. For it requires Tangxi Gong to have lived a very long life.[78] Commentators troubled by this problem declare this anecdote to be a meaningless apocrypha. Despite the problems plaguing this interpretation, it is already illustrative: it shows how the presence of the putative author readily leads to a paratextual reading,

76. Even though the majority of earlier editions has *sheng* 生 here, both Chen Qiyou and Zhang Jue follow the reading of Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821-1906) and have *xianwang*. The two words *xiansheng* 先生 and *xianwang* 先王 are badly mixed up in this passage; see *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 42.957 and *Hanfeizi jiaoshu xilun*, 42.985.

77. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 42.955-57. I have consulted the translations of Liao, *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzǔ*; Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 310-11; Harbsmeier, *Hanfeizi*.

78. Many critique the time difference between the reign of Marquis Zhao of Hán (362-333 BCE) and Han Fei's time period. Chen Qiyou points out there's a 100 year difference between the deaths of Duke Zhao and that of Han Fei, therefore an old Tangxigong could have met a young Han Fei, *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 904. In his other appearance in *Liezi*, Tangxi Gong meets King Xuan of Zhou (r. 827 - 782) nearly six centuries earlier.

that is to say, an interpretation that is no longer restricted to this particular anecdote but affects the dating and the exegesis of the compilation as a whole.

Reading this passage as a paratextual corporal anecdote allows us to consider this anecdote as an important piece of evidence concerning the formation history of the *Hanfeizi* corpus, regardless of the historicity of the meeting it depicts or of its relationship with the historical Han Fei or Tangxi Gong. As I will discuss below, this reading shows the importance of this anecdote precisely because of the retrospective gaze it betrays, which suggests its temporal distance from the composition of the earlier parts of the *Hanfeizi* compilation. By analyzing this anecdote according to my criteria — meta-discursivity, liminality, hierarchization, and packaging function — I will show how this anecdote functions as paratext.

As a meta-discursive text, this anecdote addresses the compilation as a whole, much like a prefatory material. Tang Xigong, first of all, presents himself as an audience of an existing text through explicit reference to Han Fei's composition. In his question, He asks why Master Han Fei would be so unwise as to engage in "establishing rules and strategies and positing measures and accounting" (*li fashu she dushu* 立法術，設度數), while the Master's own words already describe the gruesome demise of those who did so in the past. Such admonition against risking personal well-being is almost commonplace in Warring States writings, such as Yang Zhu's famous polemics against sacrificing even one hair for the good of the world. At the same time, Tangxi Gong's specific formulation is rooted in the reading of a *Hanfeizi* text. The vocabulary he utilizes, whether read as *fa* 法, *shu* 術, *du* 度, *shu* 數, or *fashu* 法術 and *dushu* 度數, are technical terms found in different parts of the extant Hanfeizi, especially in chapter 11 "Gufen" 孤憤,

chapter 13 "Heshi" 和氏, and chapter 14 "Jian jie shi chen" 姦劫弒臣.[79] Interestingly enough, the

quote Tangxi Gong attributes to Han Fei are found in this cluster of chapters as well. There is a

near verbatim passage in chapter 13, while chapter 14 contains a partial close parallel.[80]

Ch 13	Chu did not employ Wu Qi and was reduced to disorder. Qin followed Lord Shang and became rich and strong. The words of these two Masters evidently meet the mark. That Wu Qi was nevertheless dismembered and Lord Shang dragged apart by chariots, why is that? The ministers detest law and the small folk abhor governance. 楚不用吳起而削亂，秦行商君法而富強，二子之言也已當矣，然而枝解吳起而車裂商君者何也？大臣苦法而細民惡治也。
Ch 14	This is why Lord Shang was dragged apart by chariots in Qin, and Wu Qi dismembered in Chu. 此商君之所以車裂於秦，而吳起之所以枝解於楚者也
Ch 42	I have heard your strategies state: "Chu did not employ Wu Qi and was reduced to disorder. Qin followed Lord Shang and became rich and strong. The words of these two Masters evidently meet the mark. That Wu Qi was nevertheless dismembered and Lord Shang dragged apart by chariots was on account of not meeting the right age nor the right ruler." 所聞先生術曰：『楚不用吳起而削亂，秦行商君而富彊，二子之言已當矣，然而吳起支解而商君車裂者，不逢世遇主之患也。』

Even though the anecdote presents Tangxi Gong as an audience in an oral context — he

"heard" (*wen* 聞), rather than "read," from Han Fei — the closeness in wording among these par-

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79. Aside from Chapter 42, "Wen Tian," Chapter 14 "Jian jie shi chen" is the only other chapter that contains both *fashu* and *dushu* as technical terms.
80. Chen Qiyou has already pointed out the parallel between this passage and the "Heshi" chapter (Ibid., 905).

allel texts suggests that it is most likely a citation from a written text. While textual repetitions in

Early China usually involves textual reuse reflecting an open textual interaction, this passage in

chapter 42 does appear to be a real quotation of chapter 13. First of all, this textual repetition is

attributed, so that a hierarchy can be established, and the existing writings attributed to Han Fei

are recognized as the source. Moreover, the quoted lines are indeed textually close to the pas-

sage in chapter 13. The description of Wu Qi's and Shang Yang's deaths might seem like a set

phrase, but the next closest parallels, such as "Thus Shang Yang established laws and had was

dismembered, Wu Qi [governed] strictly and was dragged apart by chariots" 故商鞅立法而支

解，吳起刻削而車裂 in *Huainanzi*,[81] contain a greater degree of variations. This suggests that the

three passages in the *Hanfeizi* are much more closely related, especially between chapters 13 and

42. Given these observations, it is not unlikely that the person who composed this anecdote was

working with an existing text attributed to Han Fei, and through the mouth of Tangxi Gong, he

quoted a line from this text. If so, this citation is a piece of evidence that someone had begun

treating *a* compilation of *Hanfeizi* as a closed text. Given the close connection between Tangxi

Gong's speech and chapters 11, 13 and 14 (see Figure 3.3), this existing text likely contained the

cluster of these chapters.

Figure 3.3: Sources for chapter 42
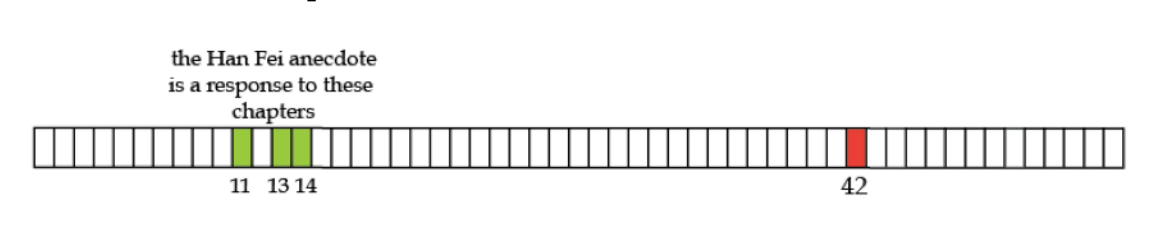
81. *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋, compiled by Liu An 劉安 (?179-122 BCE), commentary by He Ning 何寧 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 10.752-53.

Another hint is the peculiar way in which Tangxi Gong quoted Han Fei, when he says, "I have heard your strategies state (that)" 所聞先生術曰. "Strategies state" (*shu* 術曰) as a way to refer to someone's speech or writing is odd enough that Harbsmeier proposes emending it to "accounts state" (*shuyue* 述曰). This is a philologically sound suggestion, since 術 and 述 are interchangeable in early writings. However, there are no other examples of 述曰 in the corpus of early Chinese texts, while 術曰 is, interestingly enough, often seen in mathematical writings.[82] Is this an intentional appropriation of a mathematical idiom, for the purpose of emphasizing the practicality and technicality of the *Hanfeizi* writing? This is not impossible, given the close connection between mathematical, military, and "Legalist" texts, and their shared interests in the surveying of land and resources.[83] This reading would especially make sense in the context of the last fifteen chapters of the *Hanfeizi*, which frequently chastised speech and writing as wasteful and pointless undertakings, especially when it is done by the Confucians (*ruzhe* 儒者). Calling the *Hanfeizi* "strategies" (*shu*) instead of just "words" (*yan* 言) could be a way to underscore the difference between the *Hanfeizi* text and the type of writings it criticizes.[84]

Tangxi Gong's question not only quotes from a *Hanfeizi* text, he explicitly attributes this text to Han Fei. This is not only the only anecdote featuring Han Fei, but it is also the only place in the *Hanfeizi* where Han Fei is addressed as *Hanzi* 韓子 (Master Han), which was also the title

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82. See, for instance, *Zhoubi suanjing* 周髀算經.
83. See, for instance, the emphasis on numerical accounting of resources of the state in *Shangjunshu* 商君書. *Sunzi suanjing* 孫子算經, an early medieval mathematical text contains prefatory statement echoing the characterization of Han Fei's accomplishment, for it states that arithmetics: 立規矩，準方圓，謹法度，約尺丈，立權衡，平重輕，剖毫釐，析黍絫.
84. 夫世愚學之人比有術之士也，猶螘垤之比大陵也，其相去遠矣 (*Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 14.287); Cf. "Technical treatises" as translation of *tan technan* in pseudo-Epikharmos, Edmunds, "The Seal of Theognis," 42-43.

of this compilation up until the time when there was a need to disambiguate the *Hanfeizi* from another Master Han, Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824). Tang Xigong moreover subscribes writing to Master Han by speaking of *his* "strategies" (先生術). No other place in the compilation makes such an authorial claim. If these "strategies," as I have argued, really refer to a written text, it suggests to us that the repeatedly mentioned "rules and strategies" (*fashu*) and "measures and accounting" (*dushu*) are not just — or perhaps not at all — what Han Fei accomplished as a political actor. In fact, Han Fei is indeed not accredited with successful political actions, unlike other Legalist figures such as Shang Yang and Wu Qi; instead, he is consistently known as the author of powerful, irresistible words. It is possible that all of these discussions of Han Fei's accomplishments are actually referring to what he "established" (*li* 立) as an author, i.e. this very body of texts this anecdote is part of.

In summary, this anecdote seems to present certain textual producers' desired interpretation of the *Hanfeizi* compilation: while the *fashu* 法術 and *dushu* 度數 of Shang Yang and Wu Qi might have been legislations and institutional changes, the *Hanfeizi* text is Han Fei's *fashu* and *dushu*, his establishment as both words and action. Han Fei's speech in response is really a meta-discursive apologia delivered on behalf of the compilation as a whole. He informs his audience that unlike the useless Confucian texts, the *Hanfeizi* is an instruction of state*craft*, so useful that it can "benefit the populace and serve the masses" 利民萌便眾庶, worth sacrificing one's life for.

2.2 Liminality

Reading this anecdote as a meta-discursive prefatory text already places it in a functionally liminal position, a place of mediation that communicates the producers' wishes to the users. In this subsection, I will first focus on demonstrating the *temporal* liminality of this anecdote, be-

fore discussing its potential function as a liminal interface between the producer and the audience. These two types of liminality are of course related. Temporal belatedness is likely one of common characteristics of paratext; for example, prefatory texts tend to be written last. If prefatory materials *present* the main text, their creation takes place in the liminal transition period, as producers begin to work on the *presenting* of their text rather than the text itself.

I will demonstrate that this corporal anecdote likely post-dates many — if not the bulk — of the texts included in the *Hanfeizi*, and is thus situated in a liminal phase of this compilation's formation process. As part of the later stages of its formation, this anecdote likely reflects the effort to seal this compilation, and in fact actively participated in its sealing. At the same time, it is still interior to this compilation, part of its formation and its growth, unlike self-identified commentarial texts.[85]

As discussed, Tangxi Gong's position as an audience and his ability to cite the texts he has read betrays this anecdote's perspective as a latecomer responding to existing texts. Tangxi Gong's question taps into the tension already found in the cluster of chapters listed above (chapters 11-14), for these chapters repeatedly portray their protagonists, the "men of rules and strategies" (*fashu zhi shi* 法術之士), as selfless martyrs, who, just like Wu Qi and Shang Yang, confronted entrenched interests despite the possible fatal consequences. Like a good reader, Tangxi Gong now asks why the "rules and strategies" found in the *Hanfeizi* deserve such sacrifices. This reactive stance suggests that this anecdote post-dates not only the composition of another cluster of texts, but also the recognition of that cluster as existing and closed texts (while the compilation is still open and growing).

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85. E.g. the anonymous "old commentary" (*jiu zhu* 舊註)

This anecdote's eerie foreshadowing of Han Fei's death further attests to its belatedness. Like all "fulfilled" prophecies in historiography, the veracity of Tangxi Gong's ominous words renders them most likely *post facto*, later than either the death of the historical Han Fei or the circulation of the stories of his death. The Han Fei we see here is a resurrected figure, brought back from the dead to deliver an apologia on behalf of "his" writings.

Further evidence of the lateness of this anecdote is the fact that while Tangxi Gong's question suggests familiarity with a cluster of the received *Hanfeizi* chapters (i.e. chapters 11, 13, and 14), Han Fei's answer exhibits a remarkable degree of deviation from the mainstay of the *Hanfeizi* compilation. Han Fei cites "benefitting the populace and serving the masses" as the ultimate *raison d'etre* for his life and work, which, as Denecke points out, is oddly *Mencius*-esque.[86] This is indeed a rare sentiment that the majority of *Hanfeizi* chapters do not share. Even more startlingly, the Han Fei here styles himself as a protector of the people *against* a benighted ruler. The rest of the *Hanfeizi* corpus generally treats the common folk (*min* 民, *baixing* 百姓, or *min-meng/mang* 民萌/氓) as an instrument to be harnessed in service of the ruler and the state, as a means rather than an end. In contrasts to how, within this anecdote, Master Han devotes himself to the interests (*zili* 資利) of the people, terms such as "benefit" or "interest" (*li* 利) in the rest of the *Hanfeizi* mostly refers to the concrete rewards a ruler should only be dole out according to established standards, as part of a carrot and stick mechanism.[87]

The protagonists in the rest of the *Hanfeizi* always proclaim the ruler as their ultimate master and would always blame the ruler's failing on someone else: conniving courtiers, wan-

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86. Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 310-12.
87. For instance, 夫利者，所以得民也 (*Hanfeizi* 45). Or the people as means of production generating resources for the state:力作而食，生利之民也 (*Hanfeizi* 46).

dering persuaders, or even the people. The richness of land and populace, as it has been stated, means nothing when they are not in service of the sovereign.[88] The perfect contrast actually comes from the "Heshi" passage cited by Tangxi Gong, when we compare the major difference between answers in chapters 13 and 42 as to why Shang Yang and Wu Qi died. While chapter 13 sees the "commoners" (*ximin* 細民, literally the "little people") as the direct cause of these two ministers' deaths, Tangxi Gong's citation has changed it to the "unruly rulers and benighted superiors" (*luanzhu anshang* 亂主闇上).

The populist rhetoric of this anecdote, however, resonate with a small selection of chapters traditionally regarded as later additions: the short chapters jammed between the "Shuo lin" and the "Chu shuo," chapters 24-29, and the penultimate chapter 54, "Xin du" 心度 (see Figure 3.4). For instance, the opening statement of chapter 54 also states "benefiting the people" (*limin* 利民) as the ultimate goal of good governance: "When a sage governs the people, he formulates his measures based on the fundamentals, rather than following the people's desires. He hopes only to benefit the people. When he punishes the people, it is not because he abhors them, but is founded on his love" 聖人之治民，度於本，不從其欲，期於利民而已. 故其與之刑，非所以惡民，愛之本也.[89] Chapters 24-29 suggest that the people are the foundation of governance, even to the point of emphasizing the ruler's powerlessness without popular support.[90]

Figure 3.4: Chapters similar to Han Fei's response

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88. A passage in Chapter 11 "Gu fen" perfectly illustrates the perspective usually taken on by the *Hanfeizi*: 今有國者雖地廣人眾，然而人主壅蔽，大臣專權，是國為越也。智不類越，而不智不類其國，不察其類者也。人主所以謂齊亡者，非地與城亡也，呂氏弗制，而田氏用之. This is also well-articulated by Paul Goldin, see Paul Goldin, "Introduction: Han Fei and the *Han Feizi*," in *Dao Companion to the Philosophy of Han Fei*, ed. Paul Goldin (New York: Springer, 2012), 7-8.
89. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 54.1176.
90. Such as 人主之患在莫之應，故曰：一手獨拍，雖疾無聲 (Ibid., 28.552).

the Han Fei anecdote
most closely resembles these
chapters

24 - 29   42   54
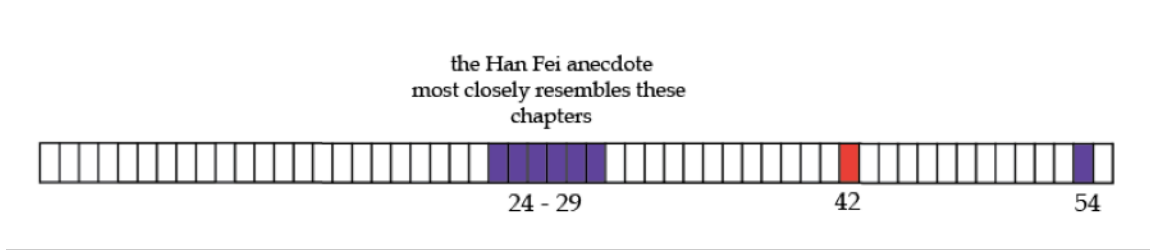
Existing scholarship already discusses in detail how chapters 24-29 share many unique vocabularies and expressions amongst themselves that are not found in other parts of the compilation.[91] As an example, the phrase *qimin(meng)* 齊民(萌), or "balancing the people,"[92] though its use in the *Hanfeizi* seems not to have been extensively commented on, further corroborates my argument. Though it appears only several times in other parts of the *Hanfeizi*, it is used by three of the six clusters of extremely short chapters, chapters 25, 26, and 29.[93] Master Han Fei repeats it twice in his answer to Tangxi Gong. On the whole, these outlier chapters are far more interested in evoking the rhetoric of something akin to virtue ethics and populist sentiment, in contrast to the unabashed *realpolitik* prevalent in the rest of the *Hanfeizi*. One might say that this difference exists only in rhetoric rather than in philosophical substance, but for the purpose of identifying possible stratification within a text, rhetorical or even stylistic differences are equally telling. Together with the previous observations, the resemblance to the outlier chapters further suggests the corporal anecdote's liminal position. Not only is it reacting to a cluster of existing texts that represent the central position of the *Hanfeizi* compilation, its own ideological position-

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91. See Lundahl, *Han Fei Zi*, 241-60 for a summary of existing scholarship as well as Lundahl's own further input.

92. The term seems to range anywhere from "the commoners" (i.e. *pingmin* 平民), "regulating the people," or a stronger and more specific sense of "equalizing the people" through policy; see *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 25.530n.4.

93. 失所長則國家無功，守所短則民不樂生，以無功御不樂生，不可行於齊民 (Ibid., 25.529); 大勇愿，巨盜貞，則天下公平，而齊民之情正矣 (Ibid., 26.535); 使賁、育帶干將而齊萬民；雖盡力於功，極盛於壽，太山不正，民不能齊 (Ibid., 29.555).

ing and vocabulary appear to be rather distinct from the majority of texts found in the *Hanfeizi*,

but are more closely aligned with a small, marginal set of chapters. This reading aligns with impressions of earlier commentators. Matsuzawa En 松皐圓(a.k.a. Hosaka En 蒲坂圓, 1775-1834),

for instance, remarks, though without providing specific evidence, that the style and diction of

this passage gives off the feeling that it was not written during the Warring States period.[94]

In summary, the corporal anecdote of chapter 42 can be said to occupy a temporally liminal position. It likely postdates a version of the compilation that was already in existence, and

seems to contain a more recent group of compilers' response to existing writings. Its distance

from the core of the *Hanfeizi* is further suggested by its distinct ideological and stylistic characteristics, which is markedly different from the majority of the *Hanfeizi* chapters. Further, it resembles a small group of *Hanfeizi* chapters that can be convincingly demonstrated to be outliers.

How then, did this anecdote enter into the compilation? As is the case with the Sun Wu

anecdote, we cannot trace back to the origin of these compositions. It does not appear likely that

this passage was composed to serve as the one and only Han Fei anecdote in the entire compilation. As is typical of compiled texts, the immediate surrounding of this anecdote already complicates the possible source and functions of this anecdote: The Tangxi Gong - Han Fei dialogue

is the second of two anecdotes in chapter 42; the first anecdote is another dialogue between two

figures named Xu Qu 徐渠 and Tian Jiu 田鳩.[95] Since its opening phrase is also the opening

phrase of the chapter, it gives the chapter its title "Wen Tian" (asking Tian). In this anecdote,

these two figures discuss a relatively specific point, that rulers ought to test out official's abilities

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94. Ibid., 42.956n.1.
95. Xu Qu is otherwise unattested. Tian Jiu seems to be the Mohist Tianqiuzi 田俅子 (4th century); see
    Ibid., 32.658n.5..

in low offices and let talent rise through the ranks according to "measures" (*du* 度). Given their differing contents, it is not obvious why these two anecdotes were grouped together. Linguistically, however, they do have interesting similarities. The questioners in both anecdotes for instance open their speech with "your servant has heard" (*chen wen* 臣聞).[96] In no other place in the *Hanfeizi* do we see this self-humbling phrase used in a speech between two peers. In view of such shared idiosyncrasies, the propinquity of these two anecdotes seems not to be entirely accidental.

Perhaps one could even say the coexistence of contradicting signals is what distinguishes compiled texts from the single-authored writings that are published as closed texts, which are more familiar to modern readers. In compiled texts, even as subsequent compilers impose new context and meaning upon existing texts, they often do not fully erase the traces of older redactions. In the present case, these traces suggest several possible historical trajectories, without offering enough evidence to pin them down: Were these two anecdotes originally part of many anecdotes composed as catechisms concerning the *fa* principles? Were there other Han Fei anecdotes that were excised and "edited down," according to Martin Kern's suggestion concerning the general formation process of early compilations?[97] Or was one of them a later insertion, placed alongside each other based on the linguistic similarities? This chapter is furthermore structurally similar to the unmistakably paratextual "Xu yi" 序意 (Ordering Significance) chapter of *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋. As another chapter containing only two anecdotes, its first anecdote features the titular author expounding on the purport of his compilation, while the second

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96. For the use of this phrase in court rhetorical texts, see Olberding, Dubious Facts, 52-55.
97. Kern, "The "Masters" in the *Shiji*," 337.

anecdote again appears to be minor and unrelated.[98] It could also be that the two random-seeming anecdotes happen to be the penultimate passages to which these paratextual pieces are appended to. They then became the two texts found within the same chapter due to subsequent redactions' chapter divisions.[99]

We can neither confirm or deny any of these possibilities. What we can infer with a greater degree of certainty is that, at some point, this Han Fei anecdote was introduced and was purposefully retained in each subsequent redaction. Once again, just as in the case of the Sun Wu anecdote, the compiler(s) who wished to seal this compilation might have accomplished the paratextual speech act by simply positioning this anecdote adjacent to the "main text," or by simply choosing not to remove it from the collection. Though they also might have redacted it to make it more of the paratextual text that we see today. The juxtaposition of the two anecdotes in chapter 42 in fact illustrates the notable difference in these two anecdotes' respective relationships to the larger compilation. The first anecdote is a capsular anecdote demarcated by a bare-bones dialogue. As a didactic text about a specific lesson, its concern is more or less limited to the perimeter of the anecdote itself, as demarcated by its narrative frame. But the Han Fei anecdote, in contrast, is a corporal anecdote. In justifying the pursuits of its titular author, its discussions affect the *Hanfeizi* compilation as a whole.

How does this anecdote perform its portal function, conveying to the audience the producers' wishes regarding how the audience ought to access this compilation? As many instruction scenes discussed earlier, this exchange between Han Fei and Tangxi Gong can be read

98. *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 12.27-275.
99. In this scenario, someone must have switched around the two anecdotes in the "Xu yi" chapter of *Lüshi chunqiu*. This is essentially the suggestion of the commentators, who suspect that the non-paratextual anecdote was originally located at the end of the preceding chapter; see Ibid., 12.275.

as a simulation of a dialogue between compilation's the producers and its audience, with Han

Fei acting as the face of the production. As we have discussed, Tangxi Gong is indeed *a* reader of

the *Hanfeizi* text. At the same time, this anecdote probably raises more questions rather than an-

swers when it comes to the question of intended audience. Why is Tangxi Gong the face of this

text's reception? Tangxi Gong appears only one other time in the *Hanfeizi*, serving as a teacher

figure in his own instruction scene, in which he offers good advice to the Marquis Zhao of Han

(362 - 333 BCE). If there is any special significance in featuring Tangxi Gong as Han Fei's inter-

locutor, that is likely forever lost on us.

It is perhaps significant that Han Fei is speaking to another courtier rather than a ruler,

and moreover, someone who appears to disagree with him.[100] As I have pointed out in a previ-

ous article, the first half of the *Hanfeizi* is dominated by presentations to rulers, whereas in the

second half, we see increasing interest in speaking to peers and addressing rival philosophies.[101]

As mentioned, Tangxi Gong's advice to Han Fei is reminiscent of what we often think of as a

"Yangist" or "Daoist" position. Indeed, his statement that "meeting (with the ruler) cannot be

foolproof" has strong resonance with the opening of the *Zhuangzi* chapter "Wai wu" 外物 (What

is External), which also states that "what is external cannot be fool-proof" 外物不可必, and uses

that as an explanation for the persecution and deaths of ministers.[102] Just as in the Sun Wu cor-

poral anecdote, the interlocutor often introduces a critical voice from outside of one's own dis-

cursive tradition, thus prompting the opportunity for an apologia that lays out what certain

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100. As Olberding points out, the insertion of *qie* 竊 (humbly), used here by both Tangxi Gong and Han
    Fei, often introduces opinions disagreeable to the interlocutor; see Olberding, Dubious Facts, 50-52.
101. Du, "From Villains Outwitted to Pedants Out-Wrangled."
102. 外物不可必，故龍逢誅，比干戮，箕子狂，惡來死，桀、紂亡 in *Zhuangzi* 26 and close parallel in
    Lüshi chunqiu jishi, 14.347.

producers saw as the purport of this compilation.

If Tangxi Gong represents a philosophical Other, the figuration of Han Fei is certainly an author portrait, functioning, as mentioned, as the face of textual production. I will discuss how this portrayal of Han Fei relates to other author discourses within and without the *Hanfeizi* at the end of this subsection.

2.3 Packaging

Does this corporal anecdote perform packaging function? The paratextual elements identified in Part I of this dissertation, the narrative frame of a capsular anecdote or a branching catalogue, tend to physically surround or insulate the main text. In this respect they function similarly to modern book's *peritext*, demarcating the boundary of the main text partly by physically enveloping it. The packaging function of the corporal anecdote and narrative elements found among the Yinqueshan manuscripts is more abstract, but quod erat demonstrandum is borne out by the ways these anecdotes informed modern editors regarding the grouping and boundary of compilation-scale textual unit.

Dealing with a received compilation without early manuscript evidence involves a different set of considerations. There is, on the one hand, very little direct evidence concerning the pre-imperial (or even the Han) physical configuration of the *Hanfeizi*. We do not know with any certainty the relationship between its textual units (the chapter, or *pian* units) and its codicological units (a scroll of bamboo or silk). On the other hand, unlike the Yinqueshan finds, all of the *Hanfeizi* are chapters numbered and sequenced, though it is unclear whether there is a relationship between the extant chapter sequencing and its earlier physical forms as well as formation history.

I would like to suggest that even if we know nothing about the earlier physical configuration of the *Hanfeizi* compilation, it is still possible to argue that the corporal anecdote featuring Han Fei performs an act of packaging conceptually, much like the Sun Wu and Sun Bin anecdotes in the Yinqueshan compilation. As discussed, the Han Fei anecdote, by quoting and discussing existing text, models the treatment of *a* text attributed to Han Fei as a closed text. If we look at other parts of the *Hanfeizi* by themselves, such as the "Chu shuo" chapters or the commentaries on the *Laozi*, it is unclear whether such an overarching entity, i.e. a compilation attributed to Han Fei, exists. We indeed cannot presume that the compilers of the "Chu shuo" chapters thought of their texts as part of a larger textual entity. The Han Fei anecdote, however, articulates exactly such an entity.

Preliminary evidence on chapter sequencing suggests that there is a degree of meaningfulness to the order of chapters.[103] The two locations where Han Fei is explicitly present are chapters 1-3 and chapter 42, which form a wrapper around about 4/5 of the extant *Hanfeizi* chapters. If we were to read these two instances as two attempts at delimiting a compilation-sized textual unit, the boundary defined by the corporal anecdote in chapter 42 coincides with a location of a transition I identified in a previous article, based on a different set of criteria.[104] The concurrence between transitional moments in the compilation and corporal anecdotes is not limited to the *Hanfeizi* compilation, but, as I will discuss in subsequent chapters, is found in many other compilations as well. Moreover, the Han Fei anecdote is also surrounded by a cluster of chapters engaged in intellectual-historiography like meta-discussions, which seek to locate the *Hanfeizi* text in a lineage of authors of ideas, as I will discuss in fuller detail in the next

103.Du, "From Villains Outwitted to Pedants Out-Wrangled," 217.
104.See the transition between Cluster B2 and C in table in Ibid., 205.

sub-section. If these patterns are not the result of mere coincidence, they could be traces of an effort to package and delimit a compilation attributed to Han Fei.

Hanfeizi Opening

Having closely examined the Han Fei anecdote in chapter 42, I will turn to the other end of this possible ring, namely the texts located at the beginning of the compilation (see Figure 3.5). These chapters are the only other place in the compilation where the putative author, Master Han, is explicitly presented. Not surprisingly, the authenticity, attribution, and dating of these chapters are subjected to much debate. As before, I will show how a paratextual reading of these chapters allows us to sidestep this unresolvable debate and focus on excavating the potential historical meanings and functions of these texts.

Figure 3.5: Han Fei at the opening
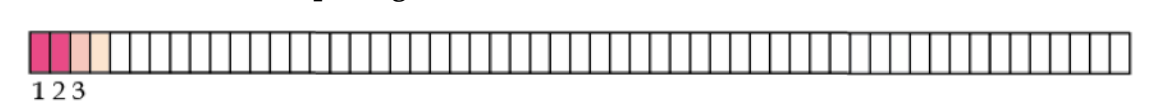
If the Han Fei anecdote in chapter 42 is haunted by the intimation of the putative author's cruel death, this tragic narrative is also hinted at by the first three chapters, though in an even more elusive and circuitous manner. Chapters 1 and 2 (and to lesser degree chapter 3) of the *Hanfeizi* appear to resemble actual speeches or memorials submitted to the king of Qin, and the main reason they came to be included seem to be the perceived connection with Han Fei and his life. If these chapters play a paratextual role, it is both because of their location at a rather liminal position right at the very beginning of the compilation and their connection with the putative author. What is especially interesting is that if these chapters perform the paratextual

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function of presenting the author, they do so largely relying on the paratextual elements surrounding *them*, namely their chapter titles, and an unwritten knowledge of Han Fei's biography, which Genette would refer to as the "oral paratext" or the "epitext."

Chapter 1 and the first half of Chapter 2 are conventionally read as Han Fei's speeches or memorials, but this reading is largely generated by the paratextual elements surrounding them. Chapter 1 is a speech to the ruler of the Qin, the bulk of which enumerates the opportunities the king has missed in defeating all other states and attaining the status of "hegemon" (*bawang* 霸王). It concludes by promising to guide Qin to conquer all other states, including Han Fei's alleged home state Hán.[105] This speech is presented in a "naked" fashion, almost as if it were the "script" of the speech or the body of the memorial, without any introductory phrase to specify who the speaker and addressees are, or what the setting is. While we can deduce that the addressee is *a* king of Qin, no clue is offered within the speech regarding the speaker's identity. In this underdetermined state, it is left as an open text. The chapter title, "Chu jian Qin" 初見秦 (The First Audience with Qin), contains the only three characters that stand outside of the speech; as we will see, this piece of paratext does begin to delimit this text to some degree .

Chapter 2 consists of three speeches to the ruler of the Qin, which I will refer to as 2A, 2B, and 2C, arranged in a notably peculiar fashion. Similar to Chapter 1, Chapter 2 begins with speech 2A in a "cold open" fashion, without any introductory narrative line to set the scene. Whereas the speech of Chapter 1 promises the conquest of "all under heaven," including the destruction of Hán, the main message of 2A is to dissuade the King of Qin from attacking the state Han. Like Chapter 1, the speaker of 2A makes no reference to his own identity.

105.臣昧死願望見大王言所以破天下之從，舉趙、亡韓，臣荊、魏，親齊、燕，以成霸王之名... 趙不舉，韓不亡...四鄰諸侯不朝，大王斬臣以徇國，以為王謀不忠者也 (*Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 1).

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2B also opens without any narrative introduction, and its speech follows directly after the end of the 2A speech without any interruption. Given such an unusual style of composition, one would fear that we cannot tell where 2A ends and where 2B begins. Thankfully, the speaker not only identifies himself at the beginning of the 2B speech, but also informs us of what the 2A speech is:

> Your Highness' decree sent down to your servant, Si (i.e. Li Si), the memorial submitted by the guest from Han, a memorial that states that the lord of Han is not yet to be deposed. Your servant Si strongly disagrees.

詔以韓客之所上書，書言韓子之未可舉，下臣斯，臣斯甚以為不然.[106]

For the first time since the beginning of the *Hanfeizi* compilation, specific names are named. The speaker of this sentence, as we are told, is Li Si 李斯 (d. 208 BCE), the powerful minister to the future First Emperor of China. His slander, according to the *Shiji* account, is the cause of Han Fei's execution. Also mentioned explicitly for the first time is our putative author, referred to by Li Si as a *Han ke* 韓客 (the guest from Han).

Is it just a coincidence that unlike chapter 1 and 2A, the opening line of 2B finally introduces some paratextual information, without which 2A and 2B might be badly mixed up and become rather difficult to read? Is it possible that 2B is framing the 2A text into the Han Fei narrative, since by itself, 2A is an open text that can be uttered by almost any court persuader? In any case, Li Si's 2B speech is a condemnation of Han Fei, as well as a proposal of a stratagem that involves Li Si traveling to the Han court. One way to understand the strange structure of 2A and 2B is to see 2A as a quoted text inside 2B. But even then, such an *in medias res* excerpt of a memorial, without any narrative packaging to preface it, is a bit unusual.

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106. Ibid., 2.37.

We finally encounters a narrative statement after 2B, i.e. a statement outside of direct speech that furnishes some narrative background. It tells us that the king of Qin has followed Li Si's suggestion and sent him to Hán: "Qin thus sent Si as a messenger to Han" 秦遂遣斯使韓也. The final memorial, 2C, is presented in a more customary fashion. An introductory narrative statement tells us that "Li Si went [to Hán] for the purpose of informing the King of Hán the message [from King of Qin]. But since he was not able to obtain an audience, he submitted the following memorial, which says..." 李斯往詔韓王，未得見，因上書曰.... The presence of these terse lines renders this chapter a bit more like what we would call historiography, something that is not unlike certain sections of the *Shiji*, where the author stitches together long excerpts from memorials, letters, and other existing texts with taciturn narratives. Could this chapter have been snipped from a historiographical type of composition? Or is it a composition written specifically for the *Hanfeizi* compilation but in imitation of a historiographical work? Without further evidence, we can probably never adjudicate.

Let us set aside for now how these chapter function as paratexts for the *Hanfeizi* compilation, and focus instead on the paratextual elements enveloping them: elements that dictate their identity, attribution, and purpose. There are, in summary, four memorials in these two chapters; in the first two, the speaker refers to himself only by terms such as "your humble servants," (*jianchen* 賤臣), while in the second two, the speaker identifies himself as Li Si. It is only through paratexts that the first two memorials are identified as the words of Han Fei, and in the case of chapter 1, this is done only ambiguously. As mentioned, the paratext of chapter 1 is limited to the three-character of the chapter title, "Chu jian Qin" 初見秦 (The First Audience with Qin). The audience is prodded to think that this is what Han Fei has presented to the King of Qin, the future First Emperor, upon their first audience, but this prodding is a subtle one. No where is

Han Fei's name mentioned, nor is it specified which king of Qin is inquestion.

As for 2A, the identification of Han Fei, who is referred to as "the guest from Hán" or even "the foreigner from Hán" by Li Si, is more direct, but nevertheless, this chapter seems to only insinuates — rather than directly address — the most important point. If the audience is at all aware of the narrative akin to the biography of Han Fei in *Shiji*, they would be reminded of Li Si's deathtrap for Han Fei. But after delivering Li Si's accusation of Han Fei, the text ultimately does not dwell on the fate of the putative author, but goes on with Li Si's stratagem and journey to Hán. In short, Chapter 1 and 2A seems to touch upon points in the narrative of Han Fei's life, but only tangentially — the plot line approximates the relevant narrative only briefly before veering off to an unrelated direction. The biography of Han Fei is thus the unstated "oral paratext" or "epitext" surrounding these two chapters, the knowledge of which is necessary for understanding the relevance and significance of these texts in this compilation.

Once again, just as in the case of the Sun Wu anecdote in the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa*, the fact that paratext is a speech act rather than impersonal description of reality is heightened by the scholarly contention surrounding the "fact" of the matter. A nearly verbatim parallel version of Chapter 1 is also preserved in *Zhanguoce* 戰國策 (Stratagem of the Warrng States), but as a speech attributed to a different figure altogether. Rather than Han Fei, it is attributed to the wandering persuader *par excellence*: Zhang Yi 張儀.[107] Whether 2A could have plausibly been the words of Han Fei is similarly debated, since the events alluded to in chapter 2 correspond most closely to events around the 10th year of the future First Emperor's reign as opposed to the 14th year, when Han Fei supposedly visited Qin.[108]

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107. *Zhanguoce*, 3.95-114.
108. Cf. Zhang Jue, *Hanfeizi kaolun*, 53.

While such authenticity debates appear to be unsolvable and unanswerable, a paratextual reading offers an alternative framework that is far more productive. Regardless of their historicity, the memorial-like texts found in the first two chapters of the *Hanfeizi* are undoubtedly similar in style to the rhetorical persuasion pieces most extensively collected in the *Zhanguoce*. Such compositions were likely as part of rhetorical repertoire, which were anonymous until a written corpus attempts to prescribe authorship attributions through paratextual operations, such as the *Zhanguoce* for Zhang Yi and the *Hanfeizi* for Han Fei; in other words, they circulated in the world as open texts until they were delimited by paratextual elements. All of these paratextual claims are better understood as the compilers' expressed wishes rather than records of historical reality.

Even though the first two chapters of *Hanfeizi* do not perform direct didactic function, read as paratext, they transform how readers interact with many other chapters within the *Hanfeizi* compilation. As it happens, these two chapters resemble more closely the *Zhanguoce* pieces rather than other chapters of the *Hanfeizi*. Unlike the majority of the texts found in the *Hanfeizi* corpus, these two chapters do not articulate the political teachings reiterated everywhere else, such as governing through reward and punishment, or the fraught relationship between ruler and ministers. Its only relevance to the *Hanfeizi*, as discussed above, appears to be their potential for biographical reading concerning the putative author, which the audience are encouraged to engage in by these two chapters' paratextual elements. If the audience accepts the biographical reading suggested to them, the mental image evoked by these two chapters is Han Fei as a persuader in action. There are many chapters in the *Hanfeizi* that seems to be addressed to court

persuaders or speaking on behalf of persuaders, thematizing the dangers of persuasion.[109] If the first two chapters frame the words of Han Fei in the act of persuading the king of Qin, as well as intimations of his tragic ends at the hand of another conniving courtier, then all of these chapters can be read in light of Han Fei's biography.

This reading is in fact explicitly spelled out in the chapter following the first two Chapter 3, "Nan yan" 難言 (Finding It Hard to Speak), also takes on the form of a memorial written by Han Fei. In this case, the speaker self-identifies as Han Fei, referring to himself as "your servant Fei" (*chen Fei* 臣非). The speaker opens in a parallel prose composition on why "speaking" (*yan* 言), i.e. persuading the ruler, ought to be considered a travail.[110] Such a biographical reading is precisely how Sima Qian read another persuader chapter, chapter 14, "Shuo nan" 說難 (The Difficulties of Persuasion), which, unlike chapter 3, is anonymous within the confine of the chapter. Sima Qian cited this chapter in full, before commenting on the irony and the tragic pathos of this chapter read in light of Han Fei's life: "I alone lament the fact that Master Han authored 'The Difficulties of Persuasion' but could not save himself from them" 余獨悲韓子為說難而不能自脫耳.[111] As I will discuss in the Conclusion, this is an example of the clash between words and deeds that appears to be a motif in *Shiji*.

In summary, the opening chapters of the *Hanfeizi*, along with the Han Fei anecdote in chapter 42, are the only two *loci* in this compilation where the putative author, Master Han, is presented. Once read as paratexts, we can see how these texts are prescribing ways of interpret-

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109. Hunter, "The Difficulty with 'The Difficulties of Persuasion'"; Wai-yee Li, "Riddles, Concealment, and Rhetoric in Early China," in *Facing the Monarch: Modes of Advice in the Early Chinese Court*, ed. Garret P. S. Olberding (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013).
110. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 3.47.
111. *Shiji*, 63.2155.

ing other chapters in this compilation, or the compilation as a whole, be it the biographical reading of the persuader chapters, or what ought to be perceived as the purport of the compilation. These two *loci* reflect the perspective of a compiler — or a certain group/groups of compilers — who began to envision this collection of texts as a compilation attributed to Han Fei.

As I suggested in the beginning of this subsection, it is even possible to see these two *loci* as an attempt to demarcate the boundaries of a compilation, a reading that is indirectly supported by the fact that chapter 42 is placed near a moment of transition in this compilation. Chapter 42 also bears great resemblance to several epilogue chapters in pre-imperial compilations, such as the *Xunzi* (discussed below) and *Lüshi chunqiu*. All of these chapters contain both a paratextual text that has relevance to the compilation as a whole, as well as other texts like the first anecdote in the "Wen tian" chapter, which appear to be simply part of the main text. Of course, chapter 42 did not end up being the epilogue of the compilation. We can see it as another unfulfilled speech act.

2.4 *Hanfeizi* **Paratexts as Author Discourses**

In this subsection, I will discuss how these texts' portrayal of Han Fei as well as the narrative of Han Fei's life relate to other author discourses both within the *Hanfeizi* as well as in other early texts.

Han Fei among authors of concepts

If the corporal anecdote in chapter 42 begins to present Han Fei as an author associated with teachings and texts, the chapters immediately surrounding this anecdote perform a similar operation on a series of other figures within what would be known as the "Legalist" lineage. Chapter 40, "Nan shi" 難勢 (Critiquing Positional Advantage) and Chapter 43, "Ding Fa" 定法

(Defining Standards) begin to attribute key terms such as *fa* (rules) and *shu* (methods) to specific historic figures: Shen Dao 慎到 (fl. late 4th century BCE), Shen Buhai 申不害 (d. 337 BCE), and Shang Yang. These are important technical terms extensively discussed in the first dozen chapters of the *Hanfeizi*, but there, they are without any attribution to a historical figure. In these two chapters, each of these terms is said to have been dictated by a specific person, such as *fa* with Shang Yang and *shu* with Shen Buhai. Earlier in the compilation, these figures make appearances as capable ministers who instated Legalist reforms, whereas here, they are explicitly accredited with the authorship of ideas and words. Chapter 43, in its discussion of ideas attributed to Shen Buhai and Shang Yang, even employs the phrase "the words of the two experts" (*er jia zhi yan* 二家之言).[112] "Words of X expert" (X *jia zhi yan* 家之言) will become a key phrase in reference to texts and authors from the Han dynasties onward but is rarely seen in texts traditionally dated to Warring States period or earlier. Once attributed to historical figures, words and ideas are now packaged within known biographies that anchor them in space and time. Consequently, these chapters of the *Hanfeizi* begin to resemble intellectual historiography.

All together, chapters 40, 42, and 43 construct a series of author figures as the founding fathers for a school of political thought, placing Han Fei in their midst. This clustering, then, may reveal the intentions of the compilers putting together the *Hanfeizi* compilation. A. C. Graham has famously referred to Han Fei the as "synthesizer of Legalism."[113] Paul Goldin, in historicizing the concept of "Legalism" as a Han retrospective construction, points out that this is only true in so far as it is the a claim of the *Hanfeizi* text.[114] Yet even if none of these author fig-

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112. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 43.957.
113. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, 268.
114. Goldin, "Persistent Misconceptions About Chinese 'Legalism'," 95-96.

ures were affiliated during their lifetimes, and the historical reality of "Legalism" (*fajia*) is indeed tenuous, then the compilation of the *Hanfeizi* would be all the more an efficacious speech act, for its construction of the author figure Han Fei and its synthesis of materials soon to be named "Legalism" have transformed the reception of this reality. The 1st century CE imperial bibliography, "Yiwen zhi," list all four of these author figures among the ten "Legalist" Masters texts.[115] This historical development illustrates paratexts' packaging function not only within a text or for a text, but also at a "supra-textual" level, constructing discursive lineages that group together many texts and their author figures.

Authorship, Suffering, and the Endurers' List

The two clusters of paratextual materials in the *Hanfeizi* both indirectly allude to the life of Han Fei. To the producers who treated these texts as paratexts, the unstated narrative of Han Fei's life is paratextual as well, much like Genette's discussion regarding author biographies as the paratextual epitexts (paratexts that is not physically bond up with the main text).[116] The commonality behind the allusions to Han Fei's biography is the link between authorship and suffering. Both the corporal anecdote and the first three chapters of the *Hanfeizi* place Han Fei in a lineage of suffering heroes —i.e. as part of an endurer's list trope discussed in Chapter I. In the corporal anecdote, the reference to Wu Qi and Shang Yang as well as the intimation of Han Fei's premature death implicitly place all three within the heroic martyr paradigm. Han Fei is appended to the pairing of Wu Qi and Shang Yang to form a triad.

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115. *Hanshu*, 30.1736. While the *Hanfeizi* text does not quite contain the term *fajia*, conventionally translated as "Legalism," it certainly suggests that there was group identity based on shared interests in *fa*, as evinced by frequently used terms such as *neng fa zhi shi* 能法之士 (men capable of *fa*).
116. cf. Genette's discussion of Proust' sexuality and the reading of *In Search of Lost Time,* Genette, *Seuils*, 8.

Chapter 3, the memorial written in the voice of Han Fei on why persuasion is difficult, performs a similar operation. The second half of this chapter is an exhaustive list of historical figures who were persecuted and murdered on account of their attempts at persuading rulers. This list is the longest "endurers' lists" I have found among pre-imperial texts, and a rather "non-denominational" one, in that it includes figures thought to belong to rivaling ideological camps, such as Confucius and Shang Yang (though Wu Qi is not included). Since Han Fei is supposedly the speaker of this passage, and since *we know* he would also die on account of persuasion, he is implicitly compared to this list of tortured yet heroic predecessors, just as in the corporal anecdote.

Both Han Fei and Shang Yang are presented as suffering heroes *and* authors if we read the paratextual *loci* I have identified together. This connection between the author figure and suffering is in turn related to author discourses found in other early texts. The inclusion of Han Fei in an endurers' list foreshadows or resonates with (depending on whether this anecdote predates the Han or not) Sima Qian's famous self-justification for writing China's first universal history, the *Shiji*. In Sima Qian's postface (*xu* 序) to this grand historical compilation, in a decidedly paratextual moment, Sima Qian appends himself to a list of figures who became authors on account of their suffering. This list, as mentioned, is also a version of an endurer's list.

> In former times the Elder of the West (King Wen of Zhou) was immured in Youli and educed the *Changes of Zhou*. Confucius was in dire straits between Chen and Cai and created the Spring and Autumn Annals. Qu Yuan was banished and penned "Encountering Sorrow." Zuo Qiuming lost his sight – therewith the *Discourses of the States*. Master Sun was punished by kneecapping and then he elucidated *Sunzi bingfa*. [Lü] Buwei was removed to Shu and his *Overview of Lü* (*Lüshi chunqiu*) was passed down through the generations. Han Fei was imprisoned in Qin and thus "The Difficulties of Persuasion" and "The Solitary Frustrations." The three hundred pieces in the *Book of Odes* are for the most part arisen from worthies and sages venting frustrations.

昔西伯拘羑里，演周易；孔子厄陳蔡，作春秋；屈原放逐，著離騷；左丘失明，厥有國語；孫子臏腳，而論兵法；不韋遷蜀，世傳呂覽；韓非囚秦，說難孤憤；詩三百篇，大抵賢聖發憤之所為作也.[117]

The *Xunzi* (Master Xun) compilation offers another example of the interconnection between the conception of the author and endurers' list. At the very end of its last chapter, chapter 32 "Yao wen" 堯問 (Yao asks), we find a paragraph that is quite distinct from the rest of the "Yao wen" chapter's compilation of anecdotes. This paragraph, written in rhyme and infused with tetrasyllabic rhythm, is both an apologia and a eulogy of the putative author Master Xun. It is clearly intended as a brief epilogue to the entire compilation, and, thus, an unambiguous piece of paratext. This paragraph also contains an endurers' list, placing Xunzi within this tradition:

> Those who offer persuasions say: Xun Qing (i.e. Master Xun) was not the equal of Confucius. This is not so …The world was in disorder and Xun Qing did not meet his time (*yushi*)… Alas! He was a true worthy, one fit to be a Di Ancestor or King. But the world did not recognize him, taking pleasure instead in the Jies and Zhou Xins of the age and killing the good and worthy. Bigan had his heart cut out; Confucius was beleaguered in Kuang (i.e. between Chen and Cai); Jie Yu was forced to flee the world; the Viscount of Ji had to feign madness; Tian Chang has wickedly gained riches, whereas those who were good came to ruin.

> 為說者曰：「孫卿不及孔子。」是不然。。。天下不治，孫卿不遇時也。。。賢哉！宜為帝王。天地不知，善桀紂，殺賢良。比干剖心，孔子拘匡；接輿避世，箕子佯狂；田常為亂，闔閭擅強。為惡得福，善者有殃. [118]

As we have discussed in Chapter I, the concept closely associated with the endurers' list formula is *yushi* 遇時, whether one "meets (favorable) times." Here, the concept of *yushi* is explicitly mentioned. As the examples in Chapter I illustrate, "meeting one's time" usually means meeting the recognition of a ruler. In her analysis of Sima Qian's postface and another related text,

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117. *Shiji*, 130.3300.
118. *Xunzi jijie*, 32 Translation adapted from Knoblock, *Xunzi*, III.269-70

known as Sima Qian's letter to Ren An, Wai-yee Li expounds in great depth the complex nexus between suffering, meeting one's time, and authorship, as well as illustrating the profound legacy Sima Qian's author conception had on the history of Chinese literature. In Sima Qian's postscript, the association with "meeting one's time" and meeting the ruler's recognition is almost purposefully oblique. While the pretext of the postface consists of praises for his time and his ruler, Li identifies the authoring of historical writing as a homology to the ruler's failed recognition of his subject's loyalty. Since he no longer met the ruler's recognition, and, consequently, was no longer able to exercise his discernment in the present, he turned his gaze to the past.[119]

The corporal anecdote of *Hanfeizi* is in quite a few ways comparable to the more conspicuous paratextual epilogues found in *Xunzi* and *Shiji*. Just as the other two passages, which place the author figure within the tradition of suffering figures, Tangxi Gong's question also brings the issue of favorable meeting into play. He points out that since one cannot guarantee "meeting the right age (or) the right ruler" (*fengshi yuzhu* 逢世遇主), engaging in the authorship activities of "establishing rules and strategies" is dangerous. This is particularly significant, since, as I have mentioned earlier, this is exactly the spot where the Tangxi Gong's quotation seemed to have diverged from the original formulation in chapter 13. Whereas chapter 13 blames the deaths of Shang Yang and Wu Qi on the courtiers and commoners, Tangxi Gong introduces the concept of *yushi* and places the responsibility on the ruler.

Juxtaposing these several paratextual moments not only highlights the Han Fei anecdote's intimate connection to other author discourses, but it also provides another piece of evidence for its deviation from the core of the *Hanfeizi*. The concept of *yushi* is otherwise notably

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119. Li, "The Letter to Ren An and Authorship in the Chinese Tradition."

absent from the *Hanfeizi*. The protagonists of the *Hanfeizi* world seem far more interested in actively molding the rulers into the rulers they desired, through the art of rhetoric or even other means; even when they evoke the martyrdom at the hands of reckless rulers, it is within the context of persuading the rulers who are their potential patrons. It is a text singularly uninterested in passively biding one's time, in stark contrast to the texts examined in Chapter I. It is possible that this departure from the mainstay of the *Hanfeizi* was an effort to couch Han Fei's statement within the author discourse of its period. Indeed, Tangxi Gong's position and advice is very similar to the that of the interlocutors in other author anecdotes, such as the fisherman's advice to Qu Yuan (see Chapter V), or Laozi to Confucius in *Shiji*. As I will discuss in the Conclusion, this juxtaposition also sheds new light on Sima Qian's author discourse.

Chapter IV. Master Zhuang's Multitude

> The Old Master said, "Why did you bring along such a multitude?" Disconcerted, Nanrong Chu turned around to looked behind. The Old Master said, "Don't you know what I'm talking about?"
>
> 老子曰：「子何與人偕來之眾也？」南榮趎懼然顧其後。老子曰：「子不知吾所謂乎？」[1]

Unlike Han Fei's hapax cameo, or Sun Wu's one and only starring performance, there is a multitude of the eponymous author figure Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (d. 286) in the *Zhuangzi*, altogether 29 appearances.[2] In contrast to the two texts discussed in the previous chapter, the numerous and dispersed appearances of Zhuang Zhou, who is usually referred to as "Master Zhuang" (*zhuangzi*), present a more complicated case. The *Zhuangzi* text is likely even more heterogeneous than the *Hanfeizi* and *Sunzi*, which means that it preserves more traces of the earlier histories of its constituent parts, be they anecdotes, chapters, or even clusters of chapters. Also unlike the previous two texts, the *Zhuangzi* has received far more attention from early commentators as well as textual scholars imperial and modern, who have produced a sizable tradition of scholarship expressing opposing views on the formation history of this text.

By devoting an entire chapter to this text, I show that the attention to the paratextual as a mode of analysis can bring new insight and perspective to a centuries-long, ongoing debate.

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1. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 23.780.
2. While the vast majority of these appearances are in anecdotes, this also includes the summary of teachings attributed to Zhuang Zhou in chapter 33, "Tianxia" 天下 (All Under Heaven).

The wealth of author anecdotes available in the *Zhuangzi* allows us to test out the hypothesis that the production of the author figure was likely linked with the effort to stabilize an open and growing text, and author representations can serve as paratexts, contributing to the making of a closed text. My analysis will focus on the potential paratextual elements within the *Zhuangzi*, which include author anecdotes, the prefatory final chapter, as well as a new kind of paratextual expression utilizing mythography. The result of this study points to possible clues regarding the intellectual concerns of these compilers, as well as a small glimpse into the *Zhuangzi* materials they might be reading and responding to. It in turns allows for new interpretations of passages within the *Zhuangzi*.

My analysis involves several steps. I will first apply my criteria to identify a small number of Master Zhuang anecdotes that can be considered corporal anecdotes. A close reading of these corporal anecdotes, consequently, offers another set of evidence revealing the centripetal forces that had packaged the received *Zhuangzi* text. The larger textual pattern this approach uncovers engages with the existing debate on the stratification and dating of the chapters within the *Zhuangzi*.

1. Existing Scholarship and New Methodology

Most modern scholars no longer view the *Zhuangzi* compilation as a homogenous text. Many identify a wide spectrum of philosophical stances that are related but at times contradict one another. In addition to what is later considered "Daoist" thought, scholars such as A. C. Graham and Liu Xiaogan see some of its chapters as a repository of Warring States thought that is

now largely lost, such as the positions often termed the Yangist and the Primitivist.[3] The *Zhuangzi* also contains a variety of genres and styles, from philosophical expositions, fable-like anecdotes that resemble parodies of the historical anecdotes examined in Chapter I, to gnomic verses, mythography, and poetic flights of fancy.

The *Zhuangzi* became an influential text starting from the beginning of the early medieval period (third century-sixth century CE). With its wealth of mystical writings ranging from the outlandish or even the grotesque to the whimsical, the irreverent, or the witty, it has served as a wellspring of inspirations for the Chinese literary tradition. Seen as a major source of what is often referred to as philosophical Daoism, *Zhuangzi* is likely one of the most widely studied Chinese texts outside of the Confucian canon. The first known group of scholars who have elevated the status of the *Zhuangzi* texts are the early medieval literary figures who were engaged in what became known as "arcane learning" (*xuanxue* 玄學); they were also the authors of the earliest extant commenteries.[4] The *Zhuangzi* text seems to have influenced the language and vocabulary of religious Daoism as well.[5] In 742, the imperial court of Tang canonized the *Zhuangzi* as one of the Daoist classics, entitling it *Nanhua zhening* 南華真經 (Perfect Scripture of Southern Florescence).[6]

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3. A. C. Graham, "How Much of *Chuang Tzu* Did Chuang Tzu Write," in *A Companion to Angus C. Graham's* Chuang Tzu: *The Inner Chapters*, ed. Harold D. Roth (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1979); Xiaogan Liu and Yama Wong, "Three Groups of the Outer and Miscellaneous Chapters," in *Dao Companion to Daoist Philosophy*, ed. Xiaogan Liu (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2015).

4. Kern, "Early Chinese Literature.". Michael Loewe ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China, 1993), 58.

5. Victor H. Mair, "The *Zhuangzi* and Its Impact," in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 34.

6. Ibid., 35.

1.1 Textual History and Debate

In the reception history of *Zhuangzi*, there have been significant contentions regarding its textual history, as well as its shape and form. Whereas the chapter (*pian*) number of the *Hanfeizi* appears to be stable starting from its earliest record in the "Yiwen zhi," the different redactions of *Zhuangzi* texts varied greatly in size even as late as the Tang (618-907), ranging from 26 *pian* to 52 *pian*.[7] The *Shiji* contains a brief biography of the putative author Zhuang Zhou, attributing to him a text of "over 100,000 words" 其著書十餘萬言, characterizing it as a critique of the Confucian lineage as well as an offshoot from Laozi's teachings. It mentions a few chapter names, none of which are from the core chapters (Inner Chapters), and reproduces an author anecdote that has a parallel in the *Zhuangzi*.[8] While the "Yiwen zhi" mentions a *Zhuangzi* of 52 chapters, the standard transmitted edition contains 33 chapters, and stems from the redaction by the early medieval commentator Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. 312).[9] Tang period scholar Lu Deming's 陸德明 (556-627) preface suggests that some of the earliest commented editions from the third century CE were already divided into the "inner" (*nei* 內), "outer" (*wai* 外), and "miscellaneous" (*za* 雜) sections, even though the number of chapters they contained differed from each other significantly.[10] It also shows that while there was no agreement on which chapters fall under the Outer and Miscellaneous divisions, the first seven chapters were generally recognized as the Inner Chapters.[11] Though scholars such as Wang Shumin 王叔岷 and A. C. Graham suspect that earlier

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7. See *Zhuangzi jishi*, 4-5. For a chart summarizing texts listed in this preface, see Klein, "Were There 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States?", 302.
8. *Shiji*, 63.2143-45.
9. Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 56.
10. See Lu Deming's 陸德明 (556-627) preface, in *Zhuangzi jishi*, 4-5.
11. "Its Inner Chapters are agreed upon by the various commentators" 其內篇眾家并同, see Ibid., 4

versions of the seven chapters included different passages.[12] Finally, Lu reveals that earlier commentators already judged the various *Zhuangzi* redactions to contain interpolations, and some have significant abridgments based on their interpretation of the text.[13] By the Northern Song (960-1127), Guo Xiang's 33-chapter redaction, chosen by Lu Deming as the basis of his *Zhuangzi* redaction in *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 (Explications of the Text of Classics), became the only extant version. But literati from this period onward, including luminaries such as Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101), began to question the authenticity of chapters within this 33-chapter version as well.[14]

Reconceptualizing this history using the terms central to this dissertation, the *Zhuangzi* appears to be an open and evolving text until as late as Lu Deming's generation, around 600 CE. Sources preserved by Lu inform us of the identities of the scholars active in *the earlier centuries* who had produced various redactions of the *Zhuangzi* text, which can be seen as competing prescriptions for what a "closed *Zhuangzi*" ought to look like. The Guo Xiang redaction, likely composed in the late third century and before Guo Xiang's death in 312, is the prescription that ultimately won out. It contains only a portion of all the various texts attributed to *Zhuangzi* up to the Song, as Lu Deming's preface and the wealth of fragments can attest to.[15] If the received text

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12. See "Zhuang xue guankui" 莊學管闚 in *Zhuangzi jiaoquan* 莊子校詮, commentary by Wang Shumin 王叔岷 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1988), 1435-36;Graham, "How Much of *Chuang Tzu* Did Chuang Tzu Write.".

13. "People from later period added appendages, so that [the text] gradually lost its true appearance... thus commentators made selection and abridgment based on meaning" 後人增足，漸失其真。。。故注者以意去取, see *Zhuangzi jishi*, 4. For close reading and discussion of Guo Xiang's and Lu Deming's prefaces, see Klein, "Were There 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States?", 303-05. For Liu Xiaogan's translation see Liu, "Textual Issues in the Zhuangzi," 134.

14. Harold D. Roth, "Who Compiled the *Chuang Tzu*?," in *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts: Essays Dedicated to Angus C. Graham*, ed. Henry J. Rosemont (La Salle: Open Court, 1991). See also Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 56.

15. Lu Deming mentions a host of chapter titles that are not found in the transmitted version. For the collection of *Zhuangzi* fragments, see appendix in *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*.

can be seen as a reflection, at least to a large extent,[16] of a *Zhuangzi* text from the third century CE, we have very little direct evidence of the history of the *Zhuangzi* text before then, aside from the fact that the version deposited in the Han imperial library has 52 chapters. As is the case with all early texts, extant evidence mainly accounts for their "reception history," while their "formation history" remains in a black box. Much of the modern scholarship I will now turn to can be seen as attempts to reconstruct the "formation history" of the *Zhuangzi* before Guo Xiang, and they do so largely through philological analysis of the received *Zhuangzi* text itself.

The best-known approach among these attempts is the identification of strata within the transmitted *Zhuangzi*. Such works focus on uncovering systematic shifts in intellectual orientations and linguistic usage so as to divide the text into layers. Some of these reconstructions, moreover, assign chronology to different layers, essentially proposing a history of textual formation. To different degrees, the earlier generation of modern scholars employing this approach share the goal of imperial period scholars, namely that of discerning the "original" layer attributable to the author Zhuang Zhou.[17] A. C. Graham's six strata model, built on the earlier work by Guan Feng 關峰 and others, greatly influenced subsequent scholarship in western languages.[18] It sees the bulk of the first seven chapters, the traditionally defined Inner Chapters, as

16. Though Wang Shumin emphasizes the likely differences between the received text and what was likely Guo Xiang's text, see Ibid.

17. For a succinct summary of existing positions on the dating and stratification of *Zhuangzi,* see Livia Kohn, *Zhuangzi: Text and Context* (St. Petersburg: Three Pines Press, 2014).. For an impressively succinct summary of Chinese scholarship from Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619-1692) to the 1980s, see Liu, "Textual Issues in the Zhuangzi," 130-31.

18. Guan Feng 關峰, "Zhuangzi 'wai za pian' chutan 莊子外雜篇初探" Zhuangzi 'wai za pian' chutan, in *Zhuangzi zhexue taolunji*, ed. Zhexue yanjiu bianjibu 哲學研究編輯部 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962); Graham, "How Much of *Chuang Tzu* Did Chuang Tzu Write"; A. C. Graham, Chuang-Tzŭ*: The Seven Inner Chapters and Other Writings from the Book Chuang-Tzŭ* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986). Later refined by Brian Howard Hoffert, "Chuang-tzu: the Evolution of a Taoist Classic" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2001).

the original writings of Zhuang Zhou, while assigning later dates to the other five strata. Some of these strata are attributed to other philosophical lineages or judged to be miscellaneous, while one of them is seen as containing imitations of the Inner Chapters by later followers. Graham is among the early proponents of a composite model of early Chinese texts. He proposed that Zhuang Zhou, and ancient authors in general, wrote and made available his writings in small textual units such as poems, aphorisms, and paragraph-length expositions. Not only are the Inner Chapters composites of such textual units, additional textual units attributable to Zhuang Zhou can be recovered from the rest of the compilation.[19] Liu Xiaogan, who proposed another often-cited system of stratification, is in contrast far more defensive of the integrity of the Inner Chapters as the work of a genius author. At the same time, his model of strata, while involving fewer divisions, is largely reconcilable with Graham's model.[20]

More recent publications continue the effort to reconstruct the formation history of *Zhuangzi*, but they are far less beholden to the notion of an original author and often steer away from the search for the original text. Through examining textual parallels between *Zhuangzi* and other early texts, as well as scrutinizing the preserved early medieval commentaries, Harold Roth argues not only that the court of prince Liu An, the compiler-author of *Huainanzi*, likely *finalized the* compilation of the *Zhuangzi* —as Guan Feng and Graham have suggested — but also that

> The frequent unattributed borrowing from the *Chuang Tzu* by the authors of the
> *Huai-nan Tzu,* and the totally random nature of these borrowings, suggests that

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19. Graham, *Chuang-Tzǔ the Inner Chapters*, 27.
20. Xiaogan Liu, *Classifying the* Zhuangzi *Chapters,* trans. William E. Savage (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1994). For Liu's most recent articulation of his model, see Liu, "Textual Issues in the Zhuangzi."

they were not only thoroughly familiar with the *Chuang Tzu* materials, but that the text may have still been in flux while the *Huai-nan Tzu* was being written.[21]

What Roth articulates here, again in the terms central to this dissertation, is a conception of the *Zhuangzi* materials up to the Huainan court as an open text. Scholars also have identified similar unattributed textual parallels between two *fu* 賦 (rhapsody) attributed to Jia Yi 賈誼 (201-169 BCE) and *Zhuangzi*.[22] The relationship between the three groups of texts, *Zhuangzi, Huainanzi,* and the Jia Yi materials, fits into the pattern of what we have been calling "pre-ception" or "textual reuse" rather than the textual game of "reception" and "intertextuality." While there is an overwhelming amount of textual overlap between the *Zhuangzi* and *Huainanzi*, and some between them and the Jia Yi materials,[23] none of these texts recognize each other either as a source or as an authority: i.e., their relationship has not been hierarchized.[24]

More recent publications also to different degrees question the notion of the Inner Chapters as the more privileged section. Esther Klein's 2010 article raises a serious challenge to the earlier dating of the seven Inner Chapters.[25] Her study points out that the majority of *Zhuangzi* textual parallels found in texts thought to predate the *Huainanzi* come from the Outer and the Miscellaneous chapters (O+M Chapters), rather than the Inner Chapters. She adduces what she discovered to the thesis Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 has argued earlier, that the Inner Chapters in fact postdate the other parts of the *Zhuangzi*.[26] I will discuss Klein's work in greater detail in the next sec-

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21. Roth, "Who Compiled the Chuang Tzu?", 122.
22. Liu, *Classifying the Zhuangzi Chapters*, 65; Klein, "Were There 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States?", 353-54.
23. Charles Le Blanc, *Huai-nan tzu : Philosophical Synthesis in Early Han Thought* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1985), 83.
24. Ibid., 85; Roth, "Who Compiled the Chuang Tzu?", 95; Klein, "Were There 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States?", 357.
25. Ren Jiyu 任繼愈, *Zhongguo zhexue fazhan shi* 中國哲學發展史 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1983), 386
26. Klein, "Were There 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States?", 355

tion. David McCraw's 2010 monograph employs an entire different method of analysis, but also undermines the vision of Inner Chapters as originally the product of one person. In this work, he tests out a statistical analysis of cross-rhyme patterns as a possible new approach for teasing apart the layers in the *Zhuangzi*. The result of this experiment, though extremely tentative, appears to roughly confirm Graham's stratification.[27] At the same time, it also reveals that there is no consistency in rhyming pattern within each of the "Inner Chapters." Instead of the Inner Chapter as a monolithic unit, McCraw suggests that each of the Inner Chapters is potentially already a composite of layers.[28]

To summarize, on account of the early recognition of the heterogeneity within the *Zhuangzi* text, its textual scholarship is among the first to adopt a composite and accretive model of textual formation. In contrast, the *Hanfeizi* text, just as the received *Sunzi bingfa*, tends to be seen as a homogenous text, often unproblematically accredited to the historical figure Han Fei even to this date.[29] At the same time, we are approaching the *Zhuangzi* at a moment of stalemate between opposing opinions regarding its formation history, between a tradition of scholarship arguing for the Inner Chapters as the earlier chapters, and newer voices challenging the primacy of the Inner Chapters or the presence of systematic stratification.[30]

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27. David McCraw, *Stratifying* Zhuangzi: *Rhyme and Other Quantitative Evidence* (Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2010), 28

28. Ibid., 46-47

29. David Knechtges' authoritative handbook on early and early medieval Chinese texts, for instance, attributes most of the *Hanfeizi* to Han Fei, see David R. Knechtges, "*Han Feizi*," in *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide*, ed. David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 314.

30. Other more recent critical voices of systematic stratification or the early dating of Inner chapters include Li Rui 李銳, "Guodian jian 'Tangyu zhi dao' zhong chuxian de 'xingming' yu Zhuangzi neipian zaocu de wenti" 郭店簡《唐虞之道》中出現的"性命"與《莊子》內篇早出的問題, *Renwen zazhi* (2011.4); Jean-François Billeter, *Leçons sur Tchouang-tseu* (Paris: Allia, 2014); Jean-François Billeter, *Études sur Tchouang-tseu* (Paris: Éditions Allia, 2016)..

Despite the disputes and uncertainties, a few likely scenarios regarding the formation and early reception history of *Zhuangzi* do emerge: Even though the author figure Zhuang Zhou is thought to have been active around 300 BCE, a significant amount of materials found within the received *Zhuangzi* was still treated as open and evolving texts during the Liu An court's compilation of *Huainanzi (*second half of the second century BCE). There is also some evidence pointing to the involvement of Liu An's court in the compilation of a *Zhuangzi* text.[31] The younger contemporary of Liu An, Sima Qian, attests to a sizable text attributed to Zhuang Zhou, though his brief biography does not touch upon materials from the Inner Chapters, as Klein would emphasize. In view of the records in Sima Qian and "Yiwen zhi," closed redactions of these materials as texts attributed to Master Zhuang emerged at the latest by the second century BCE, a version of which is 52-chapter in length. The early medieval commentators from the third century CE might have been the next major group of scholars to produce closed versions of *Zhuangzi,* though their redactions, as Lu Deming's preface indicates, likely differ significantly from each other in size and content. Among these early medieval versions, Guo Xiang's 33-chapter redaction, the basis of the received text, is the only one that survived.

What this shows is that the differences in the textual history between *Zhuangzi* and early texts such as the *Hanfeizi* and *Sunzi* lie in chronology and details, but not in the trajectory itself. All three of these texts, when juxtaposed with the discussions from my previous chapter, followed the stages most recently outlined by Martin Kern.[32] All three texts began as open and

31. In addition to the significant textual overlap, Roth has also identified references to possible texts attributed to Liu An that were included in the pre-Guo Xiang *Zhuangzi*, including what might have been a summary of chapters similar to the final chapter of *Huainanzi,* see Roth, "Who Compiled the Chuang Tzu?", 119-20.
32. Kern, "The "Masters" in the *Shiji.*" *See also* Li Ling, *Sunzi shisanpian zonghe yanjiu*, 115.

evolving texts that ballooned in the centuries leading up to the Han. While the *Hanfeizi* seems to have reached its stabilized state even before reaching the Han imperial court, competing redactions of *Sunzi* and *Zhuangzi* existed side by side until the Song, by which point the prescriptions of the currently extant redactions became the only speech acts that remained successful (and one might even say, fulfilled). Both *Sunzi* and *Zhuangzi*, moreover, contain a set of core chapters that were widely recognized by medieval commentators as the authentic or essential chapters — the Thirteen Chapters of the *Sunzi bingfa* and the Inner Chapters of *Zhuangzi* — and were thus secured against redactors' pruning. The major difference in this respect is that while the core chapters of *Sunzi bingfa* are the only chapters that were transmitted, the received *Zhuangzi* preserves many additional chapters outside of the Inner Chapters.

1.2 What My Approach Can Contribute

By searching for paratexts that package a compilation as a whole, this dissertation draws attention to the redactional intention of the compilers who were attempting to close a corpus, which has not been the main focus of the majority of the existing scholarship, with the exception of Roth's work. The types of evidence that form the basis of earlier analyses, including linguistic and vocabulary patterns, evidence of citation and textual reuse, or rhyme schemes, tend to reflect more strongly the history of individual textual units, rather than the considerations behind the selection, arrangement, and redaction of such textual units. The search for paratext at the compilation level, on the other hand, tries first and foremost to recover the wishes and methods of the people who were responsible for gathering together existing textual units and redacting them into a compilation.

What is perhaps the most fundamental difference between the model proposed here and

earlier works is that, rather than aligning the author figure with the *writer*, the *main text*, and the *composition* of a text (often true even for publications that seek to critique the genius author model), my model aligns the construction of the author with the *compiler*, the *paratext*, and the *finalization* of a text. This also means that I see the creation of Zhuang Zhou as an author as an intrinsic part of the textual formation process, and is part of the structuring of the fabric of the Zhuangzi as a text; it is not just an extrinsic and anachronistic projection. This difference leads to new observations and new ways of reading the *Zhuangzi* text: While the evidence from the *Zhuangzi* seem to further substantiate the alignment of author construction and paratext, assuming this alignment in turn uncovers larger patterns within the transmitted compilation.

Klein's conclusion, for instance, rests on several assumptions derived from textual cultures dominated by genius authors and closed texts, even as she explicitly sets out to challenge these assumptions. I include a lengthy critical discussion of her work because a) I largely agree with her model of textual history and transmission, except for what I consider to be her blind spots. I also see her findings as significant and ones that I must address since b) if she is correct precisely in the ways she has argued, then much of what I will argue is wrong, and c) as I have discussed in my Introduction, what I see as her assumptions based on closed textual practices are shared by other publications, and are thus worth making explicit.

Klein's central argument, first of all, can only be true if no distinction is made between citation of a closed text and the reuse of open textual materials. Her chief argument, that the Inner Chapters must be later than the Outer and Miscellaneous (O+M) Chapters, is based on the fact that there were pre-*Huainanzi* textual parallels of the Outer and Miscellaneous chapters, but allegedly not of the Inner Chapters (she in fact had to explain away a few Inner Chapters paral-

lels in *Hanfeizi, Lüshi chunqiu*, and *fu* attributed to Jia Yi[33]). This argument, at first, seems to rest on the assumption that if a text is not cited, then it does not exist, which is a bad assumption. But Klein has already made a rebuttal to this critique, and explained her more nuanced reasoning, namely that if *Lüshi chunqiu, Hanfeizi,* two *fu* by Jia Yi, and the *Shiji* all share textual parallels with the *Zhuangzi*, but the majority of these parallels come from the O+M Chapters, then why do we presume the Inner Chapters to be earlier?[34]

A better answer to this question, I believe, is not that the texts inside the Inner Chapters did not exist, but that a hierarchized and closed *Zhuangzi* corpus did not exist. A quote in Klein's article is telling:

> Suppose the inner chapters were the work of a master, and call him Zhuang Zhou. Suppose further that he also had devoted followers—the putative authors of at least some of the other chapters. If this were the case, then we would expect Zhuang Zhou's chapters to be cited more often than those of his followers, not less.[35]

In other words, what Klein's evidence argues against is this specific, hierarchized notion of the Inner Chapters and the expected citation patterns associated with such a notion, and not actually the existence of the texts found within these chapters. Textual parallels of the O+M chapters can only be in some ways related to the presence or absence of textual materials found in the Inner Chapters if we are dealing with a closed, stabilized text, where the Inner Chapters were already bound to the O+M chapters (or absent from a stabilized *Zhuangzi* consisting only of O+M chapters).[36] As she seeks to explain away the minority of Inner Chapter parallels, she concedes

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33. Klein, "Were There 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States?", 340-42; Ibid., 345-49; Ibid., 354-55.
34. Klein, "Were There 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States?", 354-55.
35. Ibid., 360.
36. In other words, Klein's evidence is grievous for someone like Liu Xiaogan, who wants to argue for the existence of a widely-acknowledge and closed text written by Zhuang Zhou in the pre-imperial period, the core of which is the Inner Chapters.

the possible existence of "proto-Zhuangzi materials" that were not in general circulation.[37] Such materials are what I would call "open texts." The pattern she uncovers is significant, but seems to fit the general pattern of textual reuse of early Chinese text, based on my preliminary impression: The majority of pre-imperial texts outside of the early classics — such as the *Book of Odes* – were unlikely to be cited or have enjoyed general circulation. The maxim, apophthegm, and anecdote materials, however, seem to be circulating far more widely, and they greatly contribute to the amount of textual parallels between compilations. The majority of textual parallels between *Zhuangzi* and other pre-*Huainanzi* compilations are in fact anecdotes.

While I entirely agree with Klein's argument that the Inner Chapters should not be carelessly used for reconstructing the intellectual history of the fourth century BCE, my analysis does seem to suggest that a number of passages from the O+M chapters are reacting to the textual materials found within the Inner Chapters. I will revisit Klein's observation in the discussion of a specific passage. In addition, my last section in this chapter shows that — contrary to what I expected at the outset of this project — there does appear to be an overarching pattern of transitions that largely conforms to the chapter sequence. What my observations overall show is that there is some degree of intention behind the sequencing of the chapters, as well as the redaction of the boundary and content of each chapters.

What my analysis furthermore shows is that the elevation of the Inner Chapters and Zhuang Zhou as their venerated author taking place within the received *Zhuangzi* text. It is intrinsic to the formation process of this compilation, and not just a retrospective and anachronistic projection. The compilers responsible for constructing a closed compilation likely edited the

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37. Ibid., 355.

Inner Chapters and packaged them as a unit, as Roth and earlier scholars have shown. Indeed, a section of this chapter will show how Zhuang Zhou's "disciples" entered into the picture and will examine what role their entrance played.

1.3 New Methodological Challenge

Finally, I must discuss the methodological challenge in applying the method I proposed to the *Zhuangzi*. The insight gleaned from the study of the author anecdotes in Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa* and *Hanfeizi* cannot be applied without modification. Unlike the cases of a single author anecdote (or even a collected group of author anecdotes in the case of *Xunzi*), we cannot assume that all of the anecdotes featuring Zhuang Zhou were absorbed into this compilation around the same time, nor can we assume that they represent the same position of the same group of compilers, and were intended to perform the same functions. According to my overarching assumption regarding the gestation process of early Chinese texts, the formation of a large compilation such as *Zhuangzi* or *Hanfeizi* involved repeated rounds of collection and redaction of smaller and independently circulating textual units. Logically then, not all texts in a given compilation originated under the auspices of one single author figure; many of the textual units or even chapters likely evolved at first without Master Zhuang in mind.

While this formation process likely characterizes all early Chinese texts, there are significant differences between the author anecdotes examined in Chapter III and the Zhuang Zhou anecdotes. When there is only one single major narrative featuring the eponymous master (as in the cases of *Hanfeizi* and the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa*), then the introduction and adaptations of this narrative into the compilation, even if it is a process that involved many stages, necessarily reflect the perspective of one single party at any given stage. We then only have to ascertain

whether these narratives were inserted as "corporal anecdotes," as stories concerning the compilations' putative authors, or as just an anecdote on par with all other anecdotes in the compilation, without the conception of, for example, Han Fei or Sun Bin as authors. In the former case, such anecdotes are corporal anecdotes and perform paratextual functions for the compilation as a whole, while in the latter case, they are simply part of the main text. The criteria for identifying paratext help us make the distinction between these two scenarios. On account of their meta-discursive features, liminal positioning, and the hierarchizing and packaging functions, the Han Fei and Sun Wu anecdotes can be shown as performing paratextual functions.

Even the masters anecdotes that are clustered together — as in the cases of chapters 46-50 *Mozi,* chapters 15-16 of *Xunzi,* or chapters 18-22 of *Guanzi* — it is still possible to assume that such collections involved the intentions of single parties of compilers at some point in their formation process, which had molded them into the clusters in the transmitted compilation. But the nearly thirty Zhuang Zhou anecdotes, scattered throughout the compilation, cannot be assumed to reflect unitary positions. Even if some of them are demonstrably paratextual, we cannot assume that therefore *all* of them postdate the notion of a "*Zhuangzi*" text, and were introduced into their current locations in the *Zhuangzi* as portrayals of its author and corporal anecdotes. Many of these anecdotes likely reflect an earlier state, where Zhuang Zhou was but one among the many characters.

Can the placement and functions of the author anecdotes offer more clues regarding the formation processes of these texts? In the next section of this chapter, I would like to entertain this question by lining up all the appearances of Zhuang Zhou and evaluate their potentials as possible paratextual elements, so as to see if any pattern emerges.

2. Zhuang Zhou Anecdotes as Paratexts

The Zhuang Zhou anecdotes, just like the anecdotes of Han Fei and Sun Wu, have been read paratextually throughout the reception history of *Zhuangzi*, not only as the biographical glimpses of its author, but also as indices for how to package and organize this complex textual conglomerate. As an example, we can turn to A. C. Graham's study of the anecdotes featuring Master Zhuang. Even though Graham sees nearly all Zhuang Zhou anecdotes outside of the "Inner Chapters" as later additions (dating them to as late as 2nd century BCE), he still interprets the majority of them as reflections of the life of the author.[38] In his translation of these tales, he rearranged them into a sequence that could plausibly be read as a narrative of Zhuang Zhou's life. His emplotment of these anecdotes is not unlike Sima Qian's arrangement of Confucius anecdotes; in both cases the heterogeneity and inconsistency of existing lore are transformed into possible turning points or even epiphanies.

According to Graham's arrangement, Zhuang Zhou begins his life as a young man educated in the Confucian tradition, but soon becomes a Yangist, before experiencing a moment of conversion, leading him to become a Master of his own school. These biographical stages have parallels in Graham's division of the *Zhuangzi* text, which contains both layers of the *Zhuangzi* school as well as a Yangist layer. By postulating a Confucian upbringing, Graham not only offers an explanation for why Confucius is a major figure in the *Zhuangzi*, but also suggests an

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38. Graham, *Chuang-Tzǔ the Inner Chapters*, 116-25.

Oedipal or "anxiety of influence" type of reading of the contradictory portrayals of Confucius in *Zhuangzi*.[39]

2.1 An Overview of Appearances of Zhuang Zhou

In the table below, I list all the appearances of Master Zhuang in the *Zhuangzi* text, nearly all of which are in anecdote forms. Following each appearance I pose two questions based on two of the four criteria for the identification of paratext: 1) Is it explicitly meta-discursive? 2) Is it positioned in the periphery in some ways, so as to possibly perform a packaging function? Unlike the criteria concerning whether a text is liminal or privileged, these two questions can have relatively straightforward answers. However, if a text has obvious liminal or hierarchizing features, it will also be commented on in the "Note" column, as are other interesting features. This exercise is a first step toward exploring whether some of these anecdotes perform paratextual functions as corporal anecdotes.

For Question 1), a text is labeled "explicitly meta-discursive" when it can be read as a comment on another text within the *Zhuangzi*, or on the *Zhuangzi* text as a whole. In most cases thus labeled, their meta-discursivity is fairly self-evident, for example when characters within these anecdote frame their conversations as a discussion about the "words" (*yan* 言) of Zhuang Zhou. My designation of meta-discursivity here is conservative and limited only to fairly unambiguous cases. My answer to Question 2) focuses on the positioning of an anecdote within a chapter, for, as I will discuss below in *Table 4.1*, there appears to be a pattern to such positioning: clusters of chapters with the same positioning of Zhuangzi anecdotes will be shaded grey.

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39. Ibid., 117-18.

Table 4.1: Appearances of Zhuang Zhou

Chapter	Appearances of Zhuangzi	1) Meta-discursive?	2) Peripheral?	Note
1. "Xiaoyao you" 逍遙遊 ("Free and Ease Wandering")[40]	1. Zhuangzi and Huizi discussing whether a giant gourd is useless		Y - End of chapter	Zhuangzi's teaching rhymes
	2. Zhuangzi and Huizi discussing whether a giant tree is useless	Y - useless tree as metaphor for the words of Zhuangzi: "Now your words, sir" (今子之言)	Y - End of chapter	Zhuangzi's teaching rhymes
2. "Qiwu lun" 齊物論 ("Discussion on Making All Things Equal")	3. Zhuang Zhou dreaming of being a butterfly		Y - End of chapter	"Zhuang Zhou" 莊周 instead of "Zhuangzi" Has meta-discursive potential[41]
3. "Yangsheng zhu" 養生主 ("The Secret of Caring for Life")				
4. "Renjian shi" 人間世 ("In the World of Men")				
5. "Dechong fu" 德充符 ("The Sign of Virtue Replete")	4. Zhuangzi and Huizi discussing whether humans can be "without feelings" (*wuqing* 無情乎)		Y - End of chapter	Zhuangzi's teaching rhymes

40. Translations of titles adapted from Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*..

41. As Wai-yee Li points out, the philosophy of language developed in *Zhuangzi* is also an integral part of this anecdote, see Wai-yee Li, "On Making Noise in *Qi wu lun*," in *Ways with Words: Writing about Reading Texts from Early China*, ed. Pauline Yu, Peter Bol, Stephen Owen and Willard J. Peterson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 102-03.

6. "Da zongshi" 大宗師 ("The Great and Venerable Teacher")				
7. "Ying diwang" 應帝王 ("Fit for Emperors and Kings")				
8. "Pianmu" 駢拇 ("Webbed Toes")				
9. "Mati" 馬蹄 ("Horses' Hoofs")				
10. "Qu qie" 胠篋 ("Rifling Trunks")				
11. "Zai you" 在宥 ("Let It Be, Leave It Alone")				
12. "Tian di" 天地 ("Heaven and Earth")				
13. "Tian dao" 天道 ("The Way of Heaven")	5. A set of teachings introduced by "Master Zhuang said"(Zhuangzi *yue* 莊子曰)		Y - Head of a series of anecdotes, succeeding an opening discursive passage.	

14. "Tian yun" 天運 ("The Turning of Heaven")	6. The Prime Minister of Song (Shang Taizai 商太宰) asking Zhuangzi about humaneness		Y - Head of a series of anecdotes, succeeding an opening passage, which consists of a series of cosmic questions and the answer of a shaman (*wu* 巫).	
15. "Ke yi" 刻意 ("Constrained in Will")				
16. "Shan xing" 繕性 ("Mending the Inborn Nature")				

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17. "Qiu shui" 秋水 ("Autumn Floods")	7. Gongsun Long and Prince Mou of Wei discussing how to understand the "words of Master Zhuang" (Zhuangzi *zhi yan* 莊子之言)	Y - Meta-discursive discussion of "words of Master Zhuang" (Zhuangzi *zhi yan*)	Y- End of chapter (part of clusters of of chapters related to Zhuangzi at the end of this chapter)	Hierarchizing - explicit elevation of Zhuangzi's teachings
	8. Zhuangzi fishing in the Pu River		Y - End of chapter	
	9. Zhuangzi visiting Huizi while Huizi was the prime minister of Liang		Y - End of chapter	
	10. Zhuangzi and Huizi strolling along the dam of Hao River, discussing the joy of fish		Y - End of chapter	Rafael Suter's innovative reading, based on early phonology, suggests that this anecdote could be a series of meta-textual puns about language and interpretation.[42]
18. "Zhi le" 至樂 ("Ultimate Happiness")	11. Zhuangzi plays drum and sings at his wife's funeral, Huizi objects		Y - Head of a series of anecdotes, succeeding an opening discursive passage	
	12. Zhuangzi sees a skull		N - Middle of chapter	
19. "Da sheng" 達生 ("Mastering Life")				

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42. Rafael Suter, "Whose Joy? *Zhuangzi* on Happy Fish" (paper presented at Warp, Woof, Wen / Phoneme, Pattern, Pun: Structural Approach to Early Chinese Texts, Zurich, April 12-14,

20. "Shan mu" 山木 ("The Mountain Tree")	13. Zhuangzi encountered a useless tree	Y - Meta-discursive (detailed explanation see below)	Y - Opening of chapter	Hierarchizing - instruction scene with disciples present, Zhuangzi addressed as a "master" (*fuzi* 夫子) Zhuangzi's teaching rhymes
	14. Zhuang Zhou trespasses **into a grove** and witnesses animals preying on each other	Possibly Meta-discursive (detailed explanation see below)	Y - End of chapter (penultimate)	Hierarchizing - instruction scene with disciples present, Zhuangzi addressed as a "master" (*fuzi* 夫子) "Zhuang Zhou" instead of "Zhuangzi"
21. "Tian Zifang" 田子方	15. Zhuangzi has an audience with Duke Ai of Lu (Lu Aigong 魯哀公), discussing whether Lu has many Confucian scholars (*ru* 儒)		N - Middle of chapter	
22. "Zhi bei you" 知北遊 ("Mr. Knowledge Wandered North")	16. Dongguozi asks Zhuangzi about where the Way (*dao* 道) is		N - Middle of chapter	
23. "Gengsang Chu" 庚桑楚				

24. "Xu Wugui" 徐無鬼	17. Zhuangzi and Huizi discuss various intellectual lineages, including Huizi		N - Middle of chapter	On intellectual divisions
	18. Zhuangzi was in a funeral procession, and passed by Huizi's tomb	Y - Comment on Huizi's role in Zhuangzi's discurse, with Zhuangzi saying that after Huizi's death, he no longer has anyone to speak with	N - Middle of chapter	Huizi's death
25. "Zeyang" 則陽	19. Zhuangzi commenting on what the border warden of Changwu (長梧封人) said to Zilao 子牢		N - Middle of chapter	Meta-discursive within the confine of the anecdote: Zhuangzi commenting on the border warden's utterance.
26. "Waiwu" 外物 (External Things)	21. Zhuang Zhou in poverty, borrowing grain from the marquis of Jianhe (Jianhe ho 監河侯)		Y - Head of a series of anecdotes, succeeding an opening discursive passage	"Zhuang Zhou" instead of "Zhuangzi"
	21. Huizi telling Zhuangzi that his words are useless	Y - Meta-discursive discussion of "the words of Zhuangzi"	Y - End of chapter	
	22. A set of teachings introduced by "Master Zhuang said"(Zhuangzi *yue*)	Y - last saying is on the function of words: as fish trap (*quan* 筌) for catching "meaning" (*yi* 意)	Y - End of chapter	

27. "Yuyan" 寓言 ("Lodged Words")	23. Zhuangzi and Huizi discussing Confucius' transformations		Y - Head of a series of anecdotes, succeeding an opening discursive passage	Can be a Meta-discursive text on Confucius' anecdotes in *Zhuangzi*, some of which involves a transformation
28. "Rang wang" 讓王 ("Giving Away a Throne")				
29. "Dao zhi" 盜跖 ("Robber Zhi")				
30. "Shui jian" 說劍 ("Persuasion on Swords")	24. Zhuangzi curing a king of his obsession with sword fighting through words	Possibly Meta-discursive: Modeling a rhetorical approach of *Zhuangzi*	Entirety	
31. "Yufu" 漁父 ("The Old Fisherman")				
32. "Lie Yukou" 列御寇	25. A set of teachings introduced by "Master Zhuang said"(Zhuangzi *yue*)			Zhuangzi's teaching rhymes
	26. A person boasts to Zhuangzi about receiving gift from the king of Song		Y - End of chapter	
	27. Zhuangzi likens likens an invitation to office to an invitation to become a sacrificial ox		Y - End of chapter	
	28. Zhuangzi on deathbed		Y - End of chapter	Author's death scene/ Scene of Instruction

33. "Tianxia" 天下 ("All Under Heaven")	29. Epitome of Zhuangzi's teaching	Y - synoptic chapter comparing Zhuangzi's teaching to that of other masters	Y - End of compilation	"Zhuang Zhou" instead of "Zhuangzi"

A few interesting patterns emerge from this investigation: In terms of the Zhuangzi anecdotes' meta-discursivity, this table shows that 9 of the 29 cases are in fact explicitly meta-discursive. In terms of their positioning, there appear to be, interestingly enough, only a few limited options, and all except the last option occupy a peripheral position. Option one is ending a chapter with one or a series of Zhuang Zhou anecdotes (In a few of the chapters counted under this category, there is one additional, small paragraph after the Master Zhuang anecdote.) This characterizes all three of the "Inner Chapters" that contains Zhuang Zhou anecdotes, as well as chapter 17 "Qiu shui" and chapter 32 "Lie Yukou." The second option is having the Zhuang Zhou anecdote as the head of a collection of anecdotes. This includes both of the "syncretist" chapters that mention Zhuang Zhou, chapter 13 "Tian dao" and chapter 14 "Tian yun," as well as chapter 18 "Zhi le" and chapter 27 "Yu yan." There are two "rag bag" chapters that involve the combination of these two options, positioning the Zhuang Zhou anecdotes both at the head and at the end of the chapter, namely in chapter 20 "Shanmu" and chapter 26 "Waiwu." Unlike the chapters where the Zhuangzi stories are found in the middle, intermingled with all other anecdotes, the placement at the end or at the head appears more likely to be purposeful.

In short, three notable clusters emerge, once we focus on the location of Zhuangzi anecdotes within a chapter (chapters belonging to these clusters are colored grey in the table). Liu Xiaogan has already made a similar observation regarding the pattern of distribution of Zhuang Zhou anecdote, but the framework of paratext offers a more systematic explanation. This obser-

vation, first of all, lends support to the view that the Inner Chapters were at some point redact-

ed as a unit, as Liu Xiaogan pointed out.[43] Just as the titling of these seven chapters is distinct

from the rest of the compilation, Zhuang Zhou in the "Inner Chapters" always appears at the

end, and in three of the four cases he burst into rhymed verses. The chapters referred to as "syn-

cretic" or "Huang-Lao" form another cluster: The two appearances of Master Zhuang are both

at the head of the anecdotes, right after an opening section. Finally, there is a cluster of chapters,

straddling the traditional divide between the "Outer Chapter" and the "Miscellaneous Chap-

ters" (or between Graham's "School of Zhuangzi" and "rag bag" strata) that place Zhuangzi

anecdotes in the middle of its collections of anecdotes, chapters 21, 22, 24, 25. Such a position,

unlike the other options, is not a privileged position. In addition to the fact that these four chap-

ters are closely placed together in the extant compilation, they are also similar in that they all

lack the discursive opening seen in many other chapters of the *Zhuangzi*.

In summary, attention to the paratextual potentials of anecdotes featuring Zhuang Zhou

offers another set of clues regarding the compilation process of the transmitted recension. While

this exercise tells us nothing about the history and dating of the individual textual units, it does

suggest that when Master Zhuang is present in a chapter, he is likely placed in a framing posi-

tion, either at the beginning or at the end. The prevalence of this phenomenon throughout the

compilation can be seen as reflecting the transformation of this compilation from collections of

texts into a text attributed to Zhuang Zhou. It also buttresses the stratifications other scholars

have suggested, but places emphasis on differing redactional methods as another source of such

local variations. It also points to a cluster of chapters in the latter part of the compilation where

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43. Liu, "Textual Issues in the Zhuangzi," 143-45.

Zhuang Zhou does not occupy an position of significance; this could suggest, very tentatively, that these chapters were not subjected to these later redaction processes that had elevated Zhuang Zhou.

At the same time, the majority of the Zhuang Zhou anecdotes cannot be said to be "explicitly meta-discursive." In such cases, whether an anecdote will be read as a comment on the compilation as a whole depends on the audience's perception of the relationship between Zhuang Zhou and the compilation. Many such anecdotes portray an episode in Zhuang Zhou's life, including famous examples such as his refusal to serve in court or his irreverent musical performance at his wife's funeral. If Zhuang Zhou is seen as the author, then these anecdotes, as biographical details of the author, would act as the paratextual devices of the compilation and have influences on it as a whole. This is the case even if Zhuang Zhou is only the putative author. This is because an anecdote about the author of a text, putative or not, was intended by *someone* to say something about this author figure's text in its entirety; in contrast, an anecdote about a given character in this text, such as a person named Lie Yukou 列禦寇, is not by default about how one ought to read the other parts of the *Zhuangzi.* However, we can also imagine a stage when some, or perhaps the majority, of the texts that are now in the *Zhuangzi* compilation were not yet associated with Zhuang Zhou. In this earlier context, the Zhuang Zhou anecdotes would likely be perceived as portrayals of a recurring character, similar to the Laozi anecdotes in *Zhuangzi*, or the several anecdotes involving a certain Ziqi 子綦. At this stage, they were not yet read as paratextual texts that addressed as whole a compilation attributed to Zhuang Zhou.

In the following sections, I will focus on the anecdotes that likely perform paratextual functions. The majority of them are explicitly meta-discursive and occupy a peripheral position within the chapter. They often actively invite the audience to interpret them as comments on the

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Zhuangzi compilation. Most of these texts are an explicit discussion of the value of words attributed to Master Zhuang. Moreover, nearly all of them exhibit a concern with rhetoric, often specifically in response to the rhetoricians known as the "experts of names" (*mingjia* 名家), a term often translated as "sophists" since the "experts of names" in many ways resemble the "sophists" in ancient Greece.[44] This shared concern with rhetoric, as I will discuss in more detail below, suggests the possibility that the insertion of these explicitly meta-discursive anecdotes reflects the perspective of one group of compilers. Sub-section 2.2 traces the complex relationship between the portrayals of Zhuang Zhou and discussions of the function of words and rhetoric. Sub-section 2.3 focuses on the rare but extremely significant appearances of disciples.

2.2 Zhuang Zhou and the Sophists

We can begin to note the preoccupation with the sophists in the most unmistakably paratextual text in the entire extant *Zhuangzi* compilation, that is, its final chapter, chapter 33 "Tianxia."[45] Similar to the "Jiebi" 解蔽 (Undoing Fixation) chapter in *Xunzi* or the "Xianxue" 顯學 chapter in *Hanfeizi,*[46] compositions in this synoptic genre critique competing traditions of learning while bolstering the lineage with which they identify. The consequent self-reflexive and self-referential quality lends this type of texts a prefatory feel.[47] Notably, this chapter references quite a few of its sources as written texts, sometimes with titles. The discussion of Master

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44. For a recent monograph on *mingjia*, see Bernard Solomon, *On the School of Names in Ancient China* (Sankt Augustin: Steyler Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2013).

45. For a thorough study of this chapter, see Lin Zhipeng 林志鵬, *Zhanguo zhuzi pingshu jizheng: Yi Zhuangzi 'Tianxia' wei zhuyao xiansuo* 戰國諸子評述輯證: 以《莊子·天下》為主要線索 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2014).

46. As well as others such as "Fei shi'erzi" 非十二子 in *Xunzi* and "Bu'er" 不二 and "Zhiyi" 執一 in *Lüshi chunqiu.*

47. Denecke's systematic study of these texts Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 34-61.

Zhuang, for instance, includes a discussion of "his writings" (*qi shu* 其書). Hui Shi 惠施 or Huizi 惠子 (Master Hui), the sophist philosopher often portrayed as Master Zhuang's debate partner, is said to have written "five cartload of writings" (*qi shu wu che* 其書五車).[48]

Hui Shi is in fact given even greater prominence than Zhuang Zhou, which is a some-what surprising aspect of this chapter.[49] While Zhuang Zhou is highly praised, the section devoted to him is similar in length to the descriptions of other Master figures. However, the critique against Hui Shi is both significantly longer than its discussion of any other Master figure and it is placed at the very end. Nearly all other synoptic texts introduce the rival positions in the beginning, and reserve the latter sections to expounding the position advanced in each text. This is unusual enough that scholars have argued that the Hui Shi section could be a later addition, and there is indeed indirect evidence for this in Guo Xiang's redaction, though not in other early medieval commentators redactions.[50] At the same time, as scholars have pointed out, the prominence given to Hui Shi corroborates other potentially paratextual moments of the *Zhuangzi* text.[51] Denecke underscores how unique the portrayal of Hui Shi is by pointing out that *Zhuangzi* is the only Masters Text that contains a "double" of its central master figure.[52] Indeed, ten of the 29 appearances of Zhuang Zhou involve Huizi, quite a few of which are the explicitly meta-discursive discussions on "the words" of Master Zhuang. One of these dialogues between Zhuangzi and Huizi is a mini-sized synoptic text, where Zhuangzi asks Huizi to com-

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48. For a thorough overview of available sources on Hui Shi in early Chinese texts outside of *Zhuangzi*, see Lisa Raphals, "On Hui Shi," in *Wandering at ease in the* Zhuangzi, ed. Roger T. Ames (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).
49. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 33.1102-112.
50. According to Takeu Yoshio 武內義雄, cited by Qian Mu 錢穆 in *Zhuangzi cuanjian* 莊子纂箋 on page 278.
51. Such as Lin Zhipeng, *Zhanguo zhuzi pingshu jizheng*, 25 or Raphals, "On Hui Shi," 144.
52. Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*; Ibid., 267.

pare himself to other masters and lineages.[53] If the Hui Shi section is a later addition, its insertion is likely related to the compilers who introduced the other Zhuangzi—Huizi stories.

In short, many of the paratextual passages that recognize a corpus of "words" or even "writings" attributed to Zhuangzi also feature Huizi prominently. This suggests that one compiler or a party of compilers who played a major role in shaping the *Zhuangzi* as a compilation was preoccupied with refuting the teaching of the sophists.[54] Since only some of the existing writings in this compilation are in dialogue with the sophist tradition or are concerned with language and rhetoric, this redactional intention represents one direction among the complex vectors of forces that participated in the formation process of the *Zhuangzi*. I will now examine more closely some of the dialogues with Hui Shi that are likely paratextual.

"Your Words are Useless"

In two anecdotes, the Hui Shi accuses Zhuang Zhou of uttering useless "words" (*yan* 言). As in the dialogue between Tangxi Gong and Han Fei in the *Hanfeizi*, the interlocutor's criticism prompts the Master to defend and justify his teaching. The first of such anecdotes occurs at the very end of chapter 1, "Xiaoyao you." Hui Shi first describes a large yet useless tree, before likening it to the words of Zhuang Zhou. This conversation is almost entirely in rhymed verse, giving the the masters' mutual jabbing a quality not unlike rap battles today:

> Master Hui said to Master Zhuang:
> > "I have a great tree,
> > Which man calls ailanthus.

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53. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 24.838-40.
54. Additional evidence including the lost Hui Shi chapter mentioned by Lu Deming; see Ibid., 4-5. In one anecdote in chapter 25, "Ze yang" 則陽, Huizi is featured without Zhuangzi and as the hero of the story.

Its great trunk bulges and defies the line marker,
Its small branches gnarl and baffle the square and compass.
Though it stands right by the road,
Carpenters would not cast a glance.
Just as your words, so grand yet useless.
All would bid them good riddance.

Master Zhuang said, "Are you alone blind to the wild dog?
It crouches and hides in wait for a stray.[55]
Jumping over beams east and west, be it low or high,
Until caught by a trap, and die in a net or web.
Now consider a yak as big as the cloud hanging from the sky.
It can grow to such a size,
Yet it cannot catch mice.
Now you, sir, have a great tree, but worry that it is useless.
Why not plant it in the realm of nothingness, in a field barren and vast?
Ramble and do nothing by its side, or lie underneath, free from distress?
Its life will not be cut short by an axe.
When nothing will come to its harm,
How is 'uselessness' a cause for alarm?"

惠子謂莊子曰：「
吾有大樹，
人謂之樗。
其大本擁腫而不中繩墨，其小枝卷曲而不中規矩，
立之塗，
匠者不顧。
今子之言，大而無用，眾所同去也。」

莊子曰：「
子獨不見狸狌乎？卑身而伏，以候敖者；
東西跳梁，不避高下；
中於機辟，死於罔罟。
今夫斄牛，其大若垂天之雲。此能為大矣，而不能執鼠。
今子有大樹，患其無用，何不樹之於無何有之鄉，廣莫之野，
彷徨乎無為其側，逍遙乎寢臥其下？

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55. For reading *ao* 敖 as *ao* 遨 (wandering), i.e. a wandering or flying creature, see *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*, 37.

不夭斤斧，物無害者，無所可用，安所困苦哉！」[56]

To fully understand the paratextual prescription of this text as a corporal anecdote, we must first unpack its various metaphors. If Hui Shi's metaphor of a useless tree can be labeled as component (A), Zhuang Zhou's response consists of three additional metaphorical utterances; these four components form a chiasmus composition: (A) Useless tree - (B) Wild dog - (B') Yak - (A') Useless tree. The wild dog, *lisheng* 狸狌, is a counter-example to the useless tree. Its one other appearance in the *Zhuangzi* is also as a capable mouse-catcher.[57] It thus exemplifies a creature that is useful to humans, but loses its life on account of usefulness. The yak, briefly mentioned, is in turn a counter-example to the wild dog: it is fabulously big, yet useless to mankind. The yak's resemblance to the great tree bridges the transition from the animal world back to the world of vegetation. Reframing the description of the giant tree, Zhuang Zhou imagines an alternative setting, away from the world of "existence" (*you* 有), where one could rest and be carefree. Zhuang Zhou ends his response not only transforming the great tree into a positive example, but also veers into a grandiose yet nebulous style of speech that is probably exactly what Hui Shi sought to criticize.

The useless tree metaphor is part of a larger field of metaphorical discourse not only within the *Zhuangzi* text, but also across many other early Chinese compilations. Albert Galvany's article on the useless trees in *Zhuangzi* draws attention to a web of metaphors involving the cultivation, utilization, and domestication of plants, citing a variety of examples from other early Chinese compilations where plants serve as embodiments of human nature or moral char-

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56. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 1.40. Translation consulted Albert Galvany, "Discussing Usefulness: Trees as Metaphor in the Zhuangzi," *Monumenta serica* 57 (2009), 77-78.

57. 捕鼠不如狸狌, see *Zhuangzi jishi*, 17.580.

acter.[58] The useless trees of *Zhuangzi*, for instance, can be read as rejoinders to the carpentry images frequently featured in *Xunzi* texts, where they serve as metaphors for the process of moral cultivation.[59] Zhuang Zhou's giant yet gnarly trees, unlike Xunzi's timber, cannot be tamed by carpenter's compass and the square.

John Major's investigation of the concept of uselessness within *Zhuangzi* juxtaposes other instances of the useless tree motif, including two other anecdotes in chapter 4 — a tree in a town named Quyuan 曲轅[60] and another one on the hill of Shang (Shang *zhi qiu* 商之丘),[61] both of which do not involve Zhuang Zhou — and one in chapter 20 featuring Zhuangzi, a paratextual anecdote I will further discuss below. As Major points out, not only do all four of these anecdotes expound the utility of uselessness, there is a significant degree of overlap in narrative structure and phrasing.[62] Table 4.2 illustrates the formula shared by all four versions.

Among these four anecdotes, the dialogue between Zhuang Zhou and Hui Shi is the only case where the tree explicitly serves as a metaphor for the words of Master Zhuang; it is thus an unmistakable meta-discursive comment. What then is the term of comparison between the words attributed to Zhuangzi and the giant, gnarly tree? Galvany suggests that Hui Shi is pointing to this text's usage of unusual words, as well as the fact that the *Zhuangzi* does not teach anything useful to court advisors or rulers.[63] Indeed, the writer(s) of chapter 33, the synop-

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58. Galvany, "Discussing Usefulness: Trees as Metaphor in the Zhuangzi," 71-77. See also Tobias Zürn, "Overgrown Courtyards and Tilled Fields: Image-Based Debates on Governance and Body Politics in the Mengzi, Zhuangzi, and Huainanzi," *Early China* (2018).

59. Interpretation of some of the craft metaphors can also be found in Puett's discussion of attitudes toward creation in Warring States texts, Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation*, 39-91.

60. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 4.170-174.

61. Ibid., 4.174-177.

62. p. 266-7

63. Galvany, "Discussing Usefulness: Trees as Metaphor in the Zhuangzi," 70. See also Michael Puett's discussion of culture as craft, Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation*, 76-78.

tic final chapter, states that Master Zhuang uses "odd and outlandish terms, brash and bombastic language, and unbound phrases" 謬悠之說，荒唐之言，無端崖之辭, comparing his "writing" to "string of curious beads and baubles" (*guiwei* 瓌瑋).[64]

Since the giant tree is a metaphor for Master Zhuang's words, the prescription for what to do with the tree can be seen as performing the mediating function communicating to the audience the purpose of Master Zhuang's words. Instead of seeking for the tree's practical applications, one is told to "ramble and do nothing by its side, or lie underneath, free from distress." In the first three cases of the useless tree, including both this corporal anecdote and two other anecdotes in chapter 4, the critique of "usefulness" seems to reflect a Yangist position. The reshaping of trees into "timber" (*cai* 材, a word can also mean "talent"), into what is useful to others, is fatal to the tree itself. Facing this trade-off, the composers of these anecdotes privilege self-oriented interest or private fulfillment, as opposed to social and public good. In all three anecdotes, the useless trees stand defiantly against the definition of value based on one's servicability, exposing the concept of "usefulness" as instrumentalization and exploitation. Rather than searching for the "usefulness" of Zhuangzi's words, i.e. treating them as an instrument for societal purposes, one ought to take refuge in them, so as to acquire the freedom from exploitation and a vision of the self as the end rather than the means.

This anecdote's hierarchizing and packaging functions are less pronounced, but are nevertheless detectable. By giving Master Zhuang the last word in the debate with Master Hui, this anecdote elevates the putative author figure above his rival. The soaring rhetoric of the giant tree similarly functions to aggrandize the "words of Master Zhuang." Located as the end of

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64. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 33.1098-99. Translation adapted from Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, 373.

chapter 1, this anecdote likely performs packaging function demarcating the end of this chapter as a textual unit. But it possibly also performs a packaging function for the compilation as a whole, though in a more subtle way. By likening "the words of Master Zhuang" to a tangible object with defined boundaries, it transforms the "words of Master Zhuang" from what could have been an abstract or undelimited concept to something more object-like, something with materiality and perhaps even a sense of "bookness."[65]

The Use of Words

If the anecdote of the useless tree envisions the *Zhuangzi* text through a Yangist lens, and argues for its freedom from practical purpose, we can detect a different direction in the other paratextual moments. The next two corporal anecdotes, in contrast, seem to argue for the rhetorical usefulness of the approach to language enacted in the *Zhuangzi* text. My close readings below show that these varying attitudes could reflect an ongoing discussion or even debate regarding the use of words, as well as the *Zhuangzi* text's ambivalent relationship with the practice of rhetoric.

The following anecdote from chapter 26, "Wai wu" 外物, is the other anecdote where Hui Shi faults Zhuang Zhou for his useless words, but Zhuang Zhou's answer presents a different argument:

> Master Hui said to Master Zhuang: "Your words are useless." Master Zhuang said, "Only when one understands the useless can one begin to talk about use. The earth is certainly broad and vast, but what a human can use is only what his feet rest on. If so, then if one digs away all the earth around one's feet, all the way to the Yellow Spring [in the netherworld], then is the earth still useful to

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65. Oliensis, "The Paratext of *Amores* 1," 208.

mankind?" Master Hui says, "It would be useless. " Master Zhuang says, "If so,
then the use of uselessness is clear."

惠子謂莊子曰：「子言無用。」莊子曰：「知無用而始可與言用矣。夫地非不廣且
大也，人之所用容足耳。然則廁足而墊之，致黃泉，人尚有用乎？」惠子曰：「無
用。」莊子曰：「然則無用之為用也亦明矣。」[66]

Zhuang Zhou's answer here is no longer about the harm of the concept of social utility to indi-

viduals, nor the private enjoyment one could derive from his impractical writings. Instead, he

contends that what is seemingly useless is in fact vitally useful, not just for the individual, but

for mankind (*ren* 人) as a whole. We would not be able to make more one more step if we were

only interested in the piece of earth that is of immediate use. This analogy can easily be em-

ployed today to argue for the value of basic science research or humanities.

Thus even though this anecdote also tries to defend Zhuang Zhou's words against the

accusation of uselessness, its argument is different from the previous Zhuang Zhou — Hui Shi

dialogue, as well as from the two other anecdotes of the useless tree from the Inner Chapters.

Rather than presenting uselessness as a key to self-preservation, the earth metaphor evokes

another recurring theme in the *Zhuangzi* text, namely the importance of an ever-broadening per-

spective. As I will discuss in more detail in the last section of this chapter, the *Zhuangzi* text

tends to portray its own perspective as much broader than that of its rivals, likening its protago-

nists to soaring, demigod-like creatures, while comparing its detractors to undersized critters

confined to the ground, or even within a well. It is possible that this anecdote is also evoking

this motif. Zhuang Zhou's words are not only useful, they reflect a higher understanding of

"use" that someone like Hui Shi, whose perspective is restricted to what is directly underneath

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66. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 26.936. Translation adapted from Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*.

his feet, cannot fathom.

Arguments for the previous anecdote's meta-discursive nature as well as its mediating and hierarchizing functions can be applied to this anecdote as well, on account of both anecdotes' similarities in structure and in content. In terms of location, this anecdote is the second last capsular anecdote of chapter 26, preceding a collection of paragraph-length philosophical teachings all packaged by the introductory phrase "Master Zhuang said" (*Zhuangzi yue* 莊子曰). In this context, the brief exchange between Zhuang Zhou and Hui Shi begins to resemble a mini-preface to the "words of Master Zhuang" succeeding the phrase *Zhuangzi yue*, packaging this set of aphorisms and analogies. Then as a block of texts attributed to Zhuang Zhou, the two capsular anecdotes mark the end of chapter 26.

The last anecdote featuring the "useless tree" motif, the anecdote that opens chapter 20, "Shanmu," also takes the discussion of "uselessness" to a different direction. The underlined section below is the section that follows the formula of the motif, while the rhymed section is formatted as verse.

> Master Zhuang was traveling in the mountains, when he saw a great tree with luxuriant branches and leaves. Woodcutters stopped by its side without cutting it. When asked why, they would say, "it cannot be used for anything." Master Zhuang said, "Because this wood is not good as timber, it gets to live out its heavenly-allotted years." Coming down from the mountains, the Master lodged at the home of an old friend, who was delighted, and bid his servant boy to kill a goose and prepare it. The boy asked, "One of the geese can sing, the other cannot. May I ask which I should kill?" The host answered, "Kill the one that cannot sing."[67]
>
> On the next day, the disciples asked Master Zhuang, "Yesterday, the tree in the mountain got to live out its full lifespan because it was not good as be timber; Now, the goose of our host dies because it is good for nothing. What position, sir, do you take?"

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67. For *ming* referring to music-related performance, see also 鳴而當律，言而當法 in *Zhuangzi* 27.

Master Zhuang laughed and said, "I, Zhou, will probably take a position in between being good for something and being good for nothing. Positioned between these two, one resembles both but is neither, and is not yet freed from burden. But if one mounts the Way and the Virtue and roams adrift, then it is not so:

> Without praise, without blame
> Now a dragon, now a serpent.
> Transform with the times
> And don't be one thing's servant.
> Now up, now down,
> Use harmony as your measure,
> Roam adrift over the ancestor of the myriad things.
> Treat things as things and do not be turned into things by things,[68]
> How can you ever be encumbered?

This is rule and the precept of the Yellow Emperor and the Divine Husband. But when it comes to the condition (qing) of all things, and the tradition of human ethics, it is not so.

> Things join only to part,
> Reach completion only to crumble;
> The sharp-edged are blunted,[69]
> Those high-stationed tumble;[70]
> The ambitious are foiled,
> While the wise are beset by schemes.
> The foolish are fooled.
> What can ever be fool-proof?

Alas! Take note, my disciples, that is only the realm of the Way and the Virtue."

莊子行於山中，見大木，枝葉盛茂，伐木者止其旁而不取也。問其故。曰：「無所可用。」莊子曰：「此木以不材得終其天年。」夫子出於山，舍於故人之家。故人喜，命豎子殺雁而烹之。豎子請曰：「其一能鳴，其一不能鳴，請奚殺？」主人曰：「殺不能鳴者。」

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68. This line, 物物而不物於物, does not rhyme with the rest of this passage. It is also a proverbial line that shows up in other compilations. There is therefore a strong likelihood that it is a later insertion.

69. See *Zhuangzi jishi*, 20.669-670, where the character here is suspected to be either *cuo* 剉 or *cuo* 挫, which are likely cognates meaning either physical or metaphorical abrasion

70. For emending *yi* 儀 to *e* 俄 (tilted); see Ibid., 20.670.

明日，弟子問於莊子曰：「昨日山中之木，以不材得終其天年；今主人之雁，以不材死。先生將何處？」莊子笑曰：「周將處乎材與不材之間。材與不材之間，似之而非也，故未免乎累。若夫乘道德而浮游則不然。

> 無譽無訾，
> 一龍一蛇，
> 與時俱化，
> 而無肯專為；
> 一上一下，
> 以和為量，
> 浮游乎萬物之祖；
> 物物而不物於物，
> 則胡可得而累邪！

此黃帝、神農之法則也。若夫萬物之情，人倫之傳，則不然。

> 合則離，
> 成則毀，
> 廉則挫，
> 尊則議，
> 有為則虧，
> 賢則謀，
> 不肖則欺，
> 胡可得而必乎哉？

悲夫！弟子志之，其唯道德之鄉乎！」[71]

While this anecdote begins with the useless tree motif and follows its formula closely, it is presented in highly abbreviated form, as Table 4.2 below shows. While chapter 20 shares the majority of the components with the other three versions, it touches upon all of them through brief phrases. In contrast, the other three versions all exhibit what might be referred to as features of orality. They tend to elaborate and expand each component through rhythmic cataloguing. The abbreviated sections in the English translation list the items that are being catalogued. While in

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71. Ibid., 20.667-68. Translation adapted from Graham, *Chuang-Tzŭ the Inner Chapters*, 121-22.

the Inner Chapter versions, this formula covers nearly all the anecdotes, it is only a departure point for chapter 20. The rest of the anecdote, outside of the underlined portion, has no parallel in the Inner Chapter versions.

Table 4.2: "Useless Tree" Motif in Four Zhuangzi Chapters:

Formulaic Components	Ch. 1 (Zhuangzi & Huizi)	Ch. 4 (Qu Yuan 曲轅)	Ch. 4 (Hill of Shang 商之丘)	Ch. 20
Great tree	I have a great tree 吾有大樹	Carpenter Shi ... saw a serrate oak standing by the village shrine ... It was broad enough... 匠石之齊...櫟社樹, 其大...	Ziqi of Nanbo... saw a huge tree there, different from all the rest. 南伯子綦...見大木焉有異	Master Zhuang was traveling in the mountains, when he saw a great tree 莊子行於山中, 見大木
Its size and lushness		...to shelter several thousand oxen and measured a hundred spans around [... its height... branches can be made into boats...] ...蔽數千牛, 絜之百圍, 其高臨山十仞而後有枝, 其可以為舟者旁十數.	A thousand teams of horses could have taken shelter under it. 結駟千乘, 隱將芘其所藾.	with luxuriant branches and leaves 枝葉盛茂
Ignored by carpenter	Though it stands right by the road, carpenters could not care less. 立之塗, 匠者不顧.	The carpenter did not even glance at it, went on his way without stopping. 匠伯不顧, 遂行不輟.		Woodcutters stopped by its side without cutting it 伐木者止其旁而不取也
Carpenters are questioned		His apprentice... asked, "... I have never seen timber this beautiful..." 弟子...曰: 「...未嘗見材如此其美也...」	Ziqi said [to himself], "What tree is this? It must have extraordinary timber." 子綦曰: 「此何木也哉? 此必有異材夫! 」	When asked why 問其故。

| Explanation for why the tree is useless | Its great trunk bulges and defies the line marker. Its small branches gnarl and baffle the square and compass.
其大本擁腫而不中繩墨，其小枝卷曲而不中規矩 | Carpenter Shi, "Its wood is loose. Make boats out of it they will sink... [coffins will rot... vessels break...as doors they sweat sap...as pillars worms eat them up]
散木也，以為舟則沈，以為棺槨則速腐，以為器則速毀，以為門戶則液樠，以為柱則蠹. | Looking up, he saw that the smaller limbs were gnarled and twisted, unfit for beams or faters, and looking down, he saw that... [trunk rotten, unfit for coffin... leaves poisonous... odor noxious.]
仰而視其細枝，則拳曲而不可以為棟梁；俯而見其大根，則軸解而不可為棺槨；咶其葉，則口爛而為傷；嗅之，則使人狂酲三日而不已. | they would say, "it cannot be used for anything."
曰：「無所可用。」 |
| Its useless-ness is the basis for the tree's good life | | It is not good timber ... That is how it got to be that old!"
<u>是不材之木也</u>，無所可用。<u>故能若是之壽</u>.」 | This is indeed not good as timber, and thus it has been able to grow this big.
此果<u>不材之木也，以至於此其大也</u>. | Master Zhuang said, "Because this wood is not good as timber, it gets to live out its heavenly allotted years."
莊子曰：「<u>此木以不材得終其天年</u>。」 |

| Contrast to "useful" creatures who die of early deaths | Are you alone blind to the wild dog? It crouches and hides in wait for a stray...until caught by a trap, and die in a net or web. 子獨不見狸狌乎？卑身而伏，以候敖者…中於機辟，死於罔罟 | [Oak tree appears in carpenter's dream, saying,] "... Are you comparing me with those useful trees? The cherry apple, the pear ... as soon as their fruit is ripe, they are torn apart and subjected to abuse. Their big limbs are broken off, their little limbs are yanked around. Their utility makes life miserable for them, and so they don't get to finish out the years Heaven gave them, but are cut off mid-journey. 若將比予於文木邪？夫柤、梨、橘、柚、果、蓏之屬，實熟則剝，剝則辱，大枝折，小枝泄。此以其能苦其生者也，<u>故不終其天年而中道夭</u>， | ...catalapas, cypresses, and mulberries...Those more than one or two armspan around are cut down to make monkey perches...[...3-4 armspan: ridgepoles...7-8 armspan: luxury coffins]... So they never get to live out the years Heaven gave them, but are cut down in mid-journey by axes. 宋有荊氏者，宜楸、柏、桑。其拱把而上者，求狙猴之杙者斬之；三圍四圍，求高名之麗者斬之；七圍八圍，貴人富商之家求樿傍者斬之。<u>故未終其天年，而中道已夭於斧斤</u>，此材之患也. | |
| The blessing of uselessness | When nothing will come to its harm, How is 'uselessness' a cause for alarm? <u>不夭斤斧</u>，物無害者，無所可用，安所困苦哉 | I've been trying a long time to be of no use, and though I almost died, I've finally attained it. This is of great use to me.[72] 且予求無所可用久矣，幾死，乃今得之，為予大用。使予也而有用，且得有此大也邪？ | [What the shamans regard as] inauspicious is what the Holy Man for the same reason considers highly auspicious.[73] 所以為不祥也，此乃神人之所以為大祥也. | |

Klein emphasizes the fact that *Lushi chunqiu* contains an extremely close textual parallel to the version in chapter 20 while the accounts of the "useless trees" in the Inner Chapters have no early textual parallels, adducing this as another piece of evidence that the O-M chapters are

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72. Translation adapted from Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, 63-64.
73. Translation adapted from Ibid., 65-66.

in fact earlier. She argues that once we steer clear of what she calls "inner-chapter bias," we would find that the anecdote version in chapter 20 is more likely to be the earliest of the four anecdotes containing the motif of the "useless trees."[74] In this section and the next, I will present several pieces of evidence suggesting that, on contrary, the version in chapter 20 is most likely written in view of the versions preserved in the Inner Chapters.

First of all, the additional portion is evidently a reaction to the existing idea of the useless tree, for it furnishes not only an antithesis foiling the teachings embodied by the useless tree motif, but also a synthesis reconciling the two. The added portion begins by introducing a second allegory: the goose that could not sing. Instead of preserving its life, the goose's lack of talent is the reason it is chosen for slaughter, thus complicating the existing thesis that being of no use to others serves to prolong one's own life. The two opposing examples — the tree and the goose —prompt the interlocutor to confront Zhuang Zhou and ask him of his positioning (*jiang he chu* 將何處) between being useful and useless. Zhuang Zhou answers in verse, and these verses, as I will further discuss below, appear to be the teaching packaged within this capsular anecdote structure.[75] *In short, this appears to be* a meta-discursive text reacting to existing texts, whose versions are found in the Inner Chapters. Master Zhuang in this anecdote represents the position of the textual producers working with these existing texts as well as their critiques. His answer to the question regarding his "position" is an apologia not unlike his earlier responses after being accused of producing "useless words;" it is also similar in function to Han Fei's apologia to Tangxi Gong. Zhuang Zhou's answer suggests a revised, and perhaps more nuanced, un-

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74. Klein, "Were There 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States?", 343-44.
75. The tria-syllabic verse beginning with "things join only to part" (*he ze li* 合則離) is in fact similar in content and structure to one set of the verses we traced in a set of caspular anecdotes in Chapter I.

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derstanding of one's relationship to "use" and "uselessness," and such an answer ought to guide the audience inside and outside of this anecdote in their understanding of the *Zhuangzi* corpus. In the next section, I will supply additional evidence supporting a close relationship between this anecdote and an attempt to finalize a closed *Zhuangzi* text. For now, I will continue to pursue the meta-discursive articulations of this passage, and how they relate to the other para-textual moments.

I propose that we can read this anecdote as a comment on the function of words and rhetoric, once we read the goose metaphor as an allegory for human speech. Indeed, why does anyone care if a goose can crow or sing (*ming* 鳴)?[76] Whatever the practical function of a singing goose may have been, in the *Zhuangzi,* the chirping of birds and human speech can become indistinguishable. There are many examples of the word *ming* or the imagery of bird used this way within *Zhuangzi*. For example, in chapter 4, Confucius advises Yan Hui about when to "chirp" (*ming*) and when not to chirp (入則鳴，不入則止),[77] i.e. whether he should speak at court. In another dialogue between Zhuang Zhou and Hui Shi, Zhuang Zhou mocks Hui Shi for "tweeting (*ming*) about 'hard and white'" 子以堅白鳴.[78] There also examples of blurred boundaries between human speech and bird calls. The text of chapter 2 asks if human speech is indeed "different from the twitter of fledgelings" 異於鷇音. In chapter 17, Gongsun Long 公孫龍, another sophist, states that "now I do not know how to open my beak" 今吾無所開吾喙.[79] If the uni-

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76. Major suggests that a cackling goose can warn owner against thieves, similar perhaps to a guard dog. John S. Major, "The Efficacy of Uselessness: A Chuang-tzu Motif," *Philosophy East and West* 25 (1975): 272.

77. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 4.148.

78. Ibid., 5.222. Cf. the explication of the concept of *ming* 鳴 in Han Yu's *Song Meng Dongye xu* 送孟東野序.

79. Ibid., 26.936. Additional examples include 丘也聞不言之言矣，未之嘗言，於此乎言之...丘願有喙三尺 (chapter 24) and 鳴而當律，言而當法 (chapter 27).

verse of *Zhuangzi* is thus, perhaps the geese's relationship with crowing or singing is not unlike that of humans with speech. Indeed, for the Yan Hui depicted in chapter 4, the deliberation over speaking versus not speaking is linked to his survival in a treacherous court environment.

Once the association between bird calls and speech is identified, this anecdote begins to resemble the other two corporal anecdotes even more closely: the two dialogues with Hui Shi were not just about the concept of "use" in general, but also the usefulness of the words of *Zhuangzi* in particular. If embedded in the image of the singing goose is a speaking human, then Master Zhuang's final teaching can also be read as a comment on whether and how to use language. Indeed, its recommendation to occupy an in-between state between that of the "useless tree" and the "mute goose" so as to bob up and down with the flux of the Way is reminiscent of the *Zhuangzi* compilation's answer to the question of what philosophical language ought to be, especially the passages on the so-called "goblet words" (*zhiyan* 卮言) defined several times using language similar to Master Zhuang's speech to the disciples.[80] As Wai-yee Li deduces from her close study of chapter 2, the *Zhuangzi* text's response to the problem of "instability of reference" contrasts with other philosophical traditions that attempt to stabilize linguistic reference. Li suggests that the *Zhuangzi* text "makes a virtue of necessity and celebrates unstable reference as play and polysemy. Language is ... measured ... as a dynamically changing field of meaning, [matching] the flux of experience and phenomena."[81] While the meaning of Master Zhuang's didactic verse is difficult to pin down (which seems to make it a likely candidate for being "goblet words"), it seems to describe a dynamic similar to what Li captures.

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80. Ibid., 27.947, 33.1098. Chapter 2 also contains parallel passages to the descriptions of *zhiyan* 卮言 (goblet words) without mentioning this term, but associating it with the concept of "liang xing" 兩行 in one place; see Ibid., 2.69-70, 108.
81. Li, "On Making Noise in Qi wu lun," 95.

As I have suggested, the two dialogues between Zhuangzi and Huizi seem to reflect ambivalence toward the words of *Zhuangzi.* This ambivalence might be linked to the clashing attitudes toward language, rhetoric, and writing observable throughout the *Zhuangzi* compilation. On the one hand, as scholars have pointed out, the *Zhuangzi* text often presents language and rhetoric as inadequate, and eschew "speaking" (or "singing" *ming*). Well-known parables, such as the parables featuring Cook Ding or the wheelwright, argue that the true Way cannot be gleaned from words.[82] Statements similar to "to know the Way is easy; to keep from speaking about it is hard" 知道易，勿言難 can be found throughout.[83] At the same time, the *Zhuangzi* seems to have a complex relationship with the sophist tradition, and it is more preoccupied with the power of words than the explicit disavowals of language would lead one to believe. There are a few Zhuang Zhou anecdotes that depict Master Zhuang as a successful persuader, most notably in chapter 30 "Shui jian" 說劍. This chapter consists of a single elaborate narrative, where Zhuang Zhou successfully convinces a ruler to give up his obsession with sword fighting.[84] There are also anecdotes positively portraying the use of persuasion, such as Huangzi Gao'ao 皇子告敖 curing Duke Huan of Qi with words.[85] David Schaberg has in fact proposed reading the *Zhuangzi* as a collection of rhetorical and poetic performances for the purpose of persuasion and entertainment.[86]

These positive portrayals of persuasions call attention to the fact that the production of the *Zhuangzi* was likely associated with a rhetorical tradition utilized in court persuasion and

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82. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, 199-200.
83. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 32.1045. Translation adapted from Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, 355
84. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 30.1016-22.
85. Ibid., 19.650-54..
86. David Schaberg, "Economies of Scale in *Zhuangzi*," unpublished manuscript, 11.

performance, involving precisely the type of grandiose and fantastical language Hui Shi likens to the colossal yet useless tree. Such an approach to rhetoric is identifiable in some of the speeches in the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Strategems of the Warrng States), which appears to be a rhetorical textbook containing composition exercises comparable to the *suasoria* genre, as J. I. Crump has demonstrated.[87] We will examine a specific case of overlap between *Zhuangzi* and *Zhanguo ce* in the next section. Another source of evidence is the criticism of such a rhetorical approach in other early texts. The *Hanfeizi,* for instance, disparages persuaders whose "discourses are recondite and grand but are useless" 論有迂深閎大非用也,[88] which echoes the descriptions of the "words of Master Zhuang." The most profound illustration of the *Zhuangzi* text's complex relationship with rhetoricians is the depiction of Zhuang Zhou and Hui Shi. As one anecdote admits, even as Hui Shi is consistently portrayed as Zhuang Zhou's inferior rival, he can also be seen as the *sine qua non* of the *Zhuangzi* text, without whom Zhuang Zhou would no longer have anyone to talk to.[89] There is in fact an anecdote — among the texts that portray persuasion positively — that features Hui Shi alone and as the hero of the story. The rhetorical technique employed by this Hui Shi is the one often associated with the protagonists in the *Zhuangzi* texts, namely the introduction of ever-broadening perspectives (see discussion in the next section).[90]

In summary, the prominence of Hui Shi in Zhuang Zhou anecdotes, together with the recurring explicit and implicit discussion of the use of words, seems to suggest that the formation of the received *Zhuangzi* as a closed redaction was shaped by compilers who saw the *Zhuangzi*

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87. James I. Crump, *Chan-kuo ts'e* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1996), 11-22.
88. *Hanfeizi* 32.
89. 吾無與言之矣 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 24.843. For Denecke's translation and discussion of this passage, see Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 266-67.
90. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 25.888-94.

text as the product of a dialogue with the sophist tradition. They might have felt the need to distinguish themselves from the sophist tradition represented by Hui Shi precisely because of the palpable kinship. If we follow Galvany's interpretation, and see persuasion at court as the implicit context for the evaluation of Zhuang Zhou's words' usefulness, then a debate emerges among the several corporal anecdotes we have so far surveyed. While the discussion concerning the "useless tree" between Master Zhuang and Master Hui emphasizes self-preservation and the avoidance of social utility, the second dialogue between Zhuang Zhou and Hui Shi, which employs the earth metaphor, suggests that the "words" of Master Zhuang are only seemingly useless—they in fact possess greater utility than the patently practical. Such a debate over the issue of "use" is more explicitly manifested in the "Shanmu" anecdote from chapter 20. If we read the singing goose as possible reference to speech at court, then there might be even a veiled concession to the necessity of speaking (i.e. seeming useful), so long as one can navigate this dangerous terrain by constantly adapting to the circumstances and "transform" with the Way.

2.3 Zhuang Zhou as a Master

As Andrew Meyer points out, the Zhuang Zhou anecdote of the "useless tree" and "singing goose" is also one of the very few passages where Zhuang Zhou appears along with his disciples (*dizi* 弟子), thus one of the rare master-disciple instruction scenes in the *Zhuangzi*.[91] Denecke, Meyer, and other scholars have demonstrated how the *Zhuangzi* text throughout tends to

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91. Andrew Meyer, "What Made Mo Di a Master? Exploring the Construction of a Category in Warring States Sources," *T'oung Pao* 101 (2015), 292.

transform and subvert the conventions of master-disciple instruction scenes.[92] The three master-disciple anecdotes are therefore exceptions and outliers in contrast to the other portrayals of Zhuang Zhou. Meyer, for instance, has voiced the difficulty of reconciling the image of Zhuang Zhou as a revered master and the iconoclast and irreverent figure depicted in other stories.[93] The hierarchizing and packaging functions associated with instruction scenes, as I have discussed in Chapter I, offers a possible explanation for why such anecdotes would be introduced into this text during its closing days.

This anecdote's employment of the master-disciple trope is thus another reason this anecdote is more likely to be a later addition to the compilation, contra Klein's argument. The juxtaposition of this anecdote with its close parallel in *Lüshi chunqiu* shows that, despite the near verbatim repetition between the two versions, a key difference between them is the addition of formulaic expressions associated with instruction scenes in the *Zhuangzi* version. In the sentence by sentence comparison below, the textual differences that are semantically significant are underlined. What it shows, first of all, is that the final verse block exhibits a greater degree of variation, as often is the case among early verse texts. The few other major differences include the addition of the final line in the *Zhuangzi* version, as well as the fact that Zhuang Zhou is referred to to by the most polite form of "Master," *fuzi* 夫子, in the *Zhuangzi* version.

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92. Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 261-77; Meyer, "What Made Mo Di a Master?", 291-92. See also Carine Defoort's study of an instruction scene construction in the *Zhuangzi* that emphasizes the importance of "non-teaching:" Carine Defoort, "Instruction Dialogues in the *Zhuangzi*: An 'Anthropological' Reading," *Dao* 11 (2012)..
93. Meyer, "What Made Mo Di a Master?", 292.

Lüshi chunqiu 14 version:
莊子行於山中，見木甚美，長大，枝葉盛茂
伐木者止其旁而弗取
問其故，曰：無所可用。
莊子曰：此以不材得終其天年矣。」
出於山，及邑，舍故人之家。
故人喜，具酒肉，令豎子為殺鴈饗之。
豎子請曰：其一鴈能鳴，一鴈不能鳴，請奚殺？
主人之公曰：殺其不能鳴者。

明日，弟子問於莊子曰：
昔者山中之木以不材得終天年，主人之鴈以不材死，先生將何以處？莊子笑曰

周將處於材不材之間。材不材之間，似之而非也，故未免乎累。若夫道德則不然

無訝無訾，一龍一蛇
與時俱化，而無肯專為
一上一下，以禾為量
而浮游乎萬物之祖
物物而不物於物，則胡可得而累

此神農黃帝之所法
若夫萬物之情、人倫之傳則不然
：
成則毀，大則衰
廉則剉，尊則虧
直則朒，合則離
愛則墮，多智則謀
不肖則欺

胡可得而必？ [94]

Zhuangzi 20 version:
莊子行於山中，見大木，枝葉盛茂
伐木者止其旁而不取也
問其故，曰：無所可用。
莊子曰：此木以不材得終其天年。
夫子(master)出於山，舍於故人之家。
故人喜，命豎子殺鴈而烹之。
豎子請曰：其一能鳴，其一不能鳴，請奚殺？
主人曰：殺不能鳴者。

明日，弟子問於莊子曰：
昨日山中之木以不材得終其天年；今主人之鴈，以不材死。先生將何處？莊子笑曰

周將處夫材與不材之間。材與不材之間，似之而非也，故未免乎累。若夫乘道德而浮游則不然

無譽無訾，一龍一蛇
與時俱化，而無肯專為
一上一下，以和為量
浮游乎萬物之祖
物物而不物於物，則胡可得而累邪

此黃帝神農之法則也
若夫萬物之情，人倫之傳，則不然

合則離，成則毀
廉則挫，尊則議
(_____)
有為則虧，賢則謀
不肖則欺

胡可得而必乎哉？

悲夫！弟子志之，其唯道德之鄉乎! (Alas! Take note, my disciples, that is only the realm of the Way and the Virtue.")

As I will explain, both of these two features that are not shared by the *Lüshi chunqiu* parallels are uncharacteristic of how Zhuang Zhou is otherwise portrayed, but they are common features of master—disciple instruction scenes in Confucian texts. Except for the three anecdotes

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94. *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 14.247-249.

that feature disciples, Zhuang Zhou is not referred to as *fuzi* anywhere else.[95] As if to ensure that no one overlooks its adaptation of the conventions of instruction scene, Master Zhuang even concludes his teaching with the phrase "take note, my disciples" (*dizi zhi zhi* 弟子志之), a *topos* most strongly associated with Confucius's instruction scenes.[96] In other words, the comparison between the two versions suggests that the instruction scene elements of this anecdote were likely intentional redactional decisions, so much so that the additional emphasis of Zhuang Zhou as a Confucius-like master figure is one of the few features present in the *Zhuangzi* version but absent from the *Lüshi chunqiu* version. Such an exceptionally reverent portrayal of Zhuang Zhou is more likely a reflection of the hierarchization process associated with the finalization of a redaction.

In addition to this anecdote at the beginning of chapter 20, the penultimate anecdote of chapter 20 features the other possible appearance of a disciple,[97] so that chapter 20 is essentially bracketed by two master-disciple instruction scenes. In this second anecdote, Zhuang Zhou wanders into a park in pursuit of a strange bird, but ends up witnessing a series of animals preying upon each other. Just as he realizes that he is in fact part of this "food chain," a park keeper (or park keepers) shows up to chase after him. Shaken by this experience, he eventually

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95. Though *fuzi* is a common form of polite appellation, it seems to be most strongly associated with Confucius. Interestingly enough, Zhuang Zhou called Hui Shi *fuzi* in several passages, but there is no evidence of the reverse.

96. Such as the phrase 由志之，吾語汝 that appears in quite a few different compilations. Correlating with the association with Confucius, the phrase *zhi zhi* or *shi zhi* 識之 is also associated with recording of history as well as disciples' recording of teachings. It is often used in *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 (Guliang Commentary) to discuss why something is "recorded"; see also 夫詩書隱約者，欲遂其志之 思也 (*Shiji* 130). Zengzi 曾子 uses it once in his instruction of a disciple (*Xunzi* 30). Cf. also the *Shiji* passage that involves both the recording of history and the recording by disciples: 故季次、原憲終身 空室蓬戶，褐衣疏食不厭。死而已四百餘年，而弟子志之不倦 (*Shiji* 124). See also Michael Hunter's discussion of *zhi* and *shi* in Hunter, *Confucius Beyond the Analects*, 103-05, 265.

97. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 20.695-99.

has a conversation with a certain Lin Zu 藺且, and delivers a saying he had learned from a "Master" (*fuzi* 夫子). Medieval commentators explain that Lin Zu is a discipline of Master Zhuang.[98] *While there is no additional information on this Lin Zu,* he addresses Zhuang Zhou as "Master" (*fuzi*), and appears to be waiting on Zhuang Zhou in the privacy of Zhuang's home. He thus does appear to be disciple-like. I will discuss this anecdote in greater detail in the next section. The final appearance of disciples occurs both at the very end of the compilation and at the end of Zhuang Zhou's life, a scene of Master Zhuang at his deathbed, surrounded by disciples; I will further discuss this narrative in my final chapter.

Here, I will focus on what these anecdotes tell us about the "instruction scene" narrative convention, for such conscious adaptation of this trope further illuminates its meaning and function. As discussed in Chapter I, scholars have read the "scene of instruction" between teachers and disciples as a construction and representation of authority. Indeed these three anecdotes, all occurring in the latter half of the compilation, reflect the elevation of Zhuang Zhou's status, affirming his position as the master and author of this compilation, as opposed to one of the many characters. What my reading suggests is that such hierarchization facilitates the paratextual functions performed by this narrative trope.

The *topos* of "take note" (*zhi zhi* 志之), for instance, reflects how the elevation of the authors' status is also about the hierarchization and stabilization of the text associated with them. It is a command that tells its audience in plain words to remember and preserve a certain set of words, i.e. a text. In two of the three instruction scenes, Master Zhuang transmits teachings attributed to earlier figures, either ancient thearchs or his "master" (*fuzi* 夫子), thus enacting a

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98. Ibid., 20.697. Wang Shumin mentions that Lin Zu is the only disciple of Zhuang Zhou that is identifiable.

chain of transmission similar to the *sphragis* passage in the *Theognidea*, or other instruction scenes discussed in Chapter I. In short, the disciple's presence performs hierarchizing function in that it models a uni-directional and thus hierarchized process of textual production that is not by default the case in oral and manuscript productions. Such a hierarchized model of production is what enables the stabilization and continuous transmission of a text.

What these imitations of the instruction scene further reveal is the retrospective gaze embedded within this literary trope. They suggest that even though the masters usually embody the *text*, or the body authorial, the disciples are the ones that represent the retrospective and liminal *perspective* of the compilers, the people who are actually involved in the textual production, or the body natural. Just like disciples, the textual producers are the recipients of existing texts —the Master's words — as well as producers who are are "taking note," both in the sense of copying and reproducing the text, and in the sense of saving the text from oblivion — exactly also the two meanings of *zhi* 志 (識 or 誌). As discussed in chapter one, what the chain of mimetic relationships found in instruction scenes articulates is the wish for a text's continuous survival. The Masters, Confucius and Zhuang Zhou, are similarly transmitters of earlier wisdom. If Confucius in the ancestral temple is an interpreter of an ancient vessel, Zhuang Zhou here is an interpreter of the significance represented by the useless tree. If Confucius acts as a bridge between the wisdom of Zhou dynasty's sage rulers and his disciples, Master Zhuang here is also a transmitter of the words of ancient thearchs, or "the precepts of Yellow Emperor and the Divine Husband" (*Huangdi Shennong zhi faze* 黃帝神農之法則). The command of "take note" asks the textual producers to faithfully continue this textual transmission process, and to act as a transmitter and a receiver of text rather than a producer and creator of text.

It is possible that built into the "scene of instruction" is almost always a retrospective,

external, and liminal perspective, situated at the brink of the event recorded, the book about to take form, or even a life lived, as in the case of Master Zhuang on his deathbed. All future audiences of this text gains access to such a scene because of the "taking note" of the disciples and their disciples, which is in fact the stabilized and continual textual reproduction. Following this logic, such literary tropes are written from the perspective of the disciples, so that what they represent is not the immediate presence of the master, but a mediated recall of the master looking back from a point long after his death.

This reading of the instruction scene is, on the one hand, in harmony with the traditional readings of early Chinese texts. The compilations that are dominated by teacher and student dialogues, such as the *Analects* or *Mencius*, are usually read as notes taken by disciples, as mediated *re*-collections. In contrast, the anonymous and discursive proportions of Masters texts tend to be perceived as something more immediate — as the original compositions of a Master. Perhaps because of the presumed antiquity of the *Analects*, the discursive essay is in often perceived as a later development in the history of Chinese writing, an innovation made by masters from the late Warring States period.[99] On the other hand, my reading revises this traditional narrative in several ways: Rather than reading the instruction scenes literally, my interpretation allows for textual producers to have many identities other than historical disciples of historical masters. It also points out that instruction scenes and the anecdote or dialogue form associated with them are not necessarily an earlier literary form. They just present the rhetoric of orginating from something earlier. Their hidden retrospective glance in fact suggests that the actual textual

99. See, for instance, an account of this narrative in a university-level textbook on the history of Chinese literature, Yuan Xingpei 袁行霈, *Zhongguo wenxue shi* 中國文學史 (Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005), 91.

production is likely to be later, reflecting a turning point in the formation history when there was the desire to stabilize and close a text.

3. From the Peng Bird to Master Zhuang

In this section, I will zoom out from close reading of corporal anecdotes associated with Master Zhuang, and contextualize these anecdotes in the larger dynamics of this compilation. Our reading so far already suggests a gradual elevation of Zhuang Zhou's status roughly corresponding to the progression of the *Zhuangzi* text. By examining other paratextual elements in the *Zhuangzi,* another textual pattern emerges that further bolsters this hypothesis.

Like other early compilations, the use of Master Zhuang as an overarching paratextual device likely took place during the final stages of this compilation's development. While these corporal anecdotes attempt to tie together the compilation as a whole, it is likely that many of the chapters in the *Zhuangzi* were not first conceived as texts that would fall under the auspices of Zhuang Zhou, not to mention the earlier history of the much smaller textual units such as anecdotes or aphorisms. Just as in the case of *Hanfeizi* of *Sunzi*, we can identify chapters or even clusters of chapters that are structured and packaged by their own paratextual devices. The "Chu shuo" chapters probably became a textual unit structured by branching catalogues independent of the notion of a text by Han Fei. Chapter 23 "Gengsang Chu" 庚桑楚 of *Zhuangzi* is a good example of a chapter that seems to have its own paratextual packaging. It opens with an elaborate narrative building toward an instruction scene between Laozi and a figure named Nanrong Chu 南榮趎.[100] After the narrative frame disappears, the rest of this chapter is a discur-

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100. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 23.769-790.

sive text. This chapter thus adheres to the capsular anecdote structure discussed in Chapter I, where a framing narrative encapsulates a set of otherwise anonymous texts, but its frame narrative centers on Laozi as the master of instruction, and does not involve Master Zhuang.

We can also point to anecdotes featuring Zhuang Zhou that have so few paratextual features that they could be reflecting a stage in the textual formation process when Zhuang Zhou was not yet the Master of the compilation, but one among the many figures and characters found throughout the compilation. The two anecdotes portraying Zhuang Zhou dwelling in poverty could be a reflection of this stage.[101] Both anecdotes seem to have very little to do with the larger intellectual concerns of Zhuangzi as a compilation, but they do fit into their surrounding texts in one way or another. *Had these texts become part of a compilation named after another master figure, then these two anecdotes would be two among the myriad anecdotes without special significance for the interpretation of the compilation at large.*

What is most interesting about the *Zhuangzi* compilation is that we can in fact identify a pattern where the rise of Master Zhuang as a paratextual device seems to replace another form of paratexts featured in the earlier chapters: the motif of mammoth creatures. In the subsection below, I will explain how the depiction of the mammoth creatures functions as paratext, and the distribution of this motif in relation to the distribution of Master Zhuang anecdotes.

3.1 Mammoth Creatures as Paratexts

Once we examine the *Zhuangzi* text according to the criteria for paratexts, another major form of paratextual expression emerges: mythography. Among the fantastic and fable-like writ-

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101. Ibid., 20.687-88, 26.924.

ings the *Zhuangzi* text is known for is a recurring motif, namely the descriptions of gargantuan mythical creatures in possession of superior perspectives beyond the grasp of lowly and common creatures.

Recent works on the *Zhuangzi* tend to point out that its mythography cannot be simply read as "allegories" or "fables," in that its interpretation is not limited to the identification of the "other" (ἄλλος) meaning hidden behind its literal meaning, at which point the literal meaning itself, the talking animals for instance, can almost be discarded. As Denecke points out:

> [The creatures in *Zhuangzi*] never appear only as receptacles of meaning, as mere vehicles for a higher meaning. They always represent the very flesh of narrative. That is why I believe that it would be wrong to talk only about "imagery," "metaphors," or "parables" in Zhuangzi. The "parables" are the very stuff of intellectual signification itself. There is no mediation through embellishing devices, no additional brushwork to a "Lao-Zhuang philosophy." The flesh of Zhuangzi is at once fictional and philosophical. To think about this possibility is the greatest challenge in understanding Zhuangzi.[102]

Indeed, if "metaphor" as a literary device is characterized by the description of one category of things using another category,[103] *Zhuangzi* is precisely about the breaking down of these categories. A successful user of the *Zhuangzi* text is one who acquires not only the freedom from the human perspective but also the ability to see the world from the perspective of fish, or even better, the perspective of a giant mythical bird who soars above the earthly minions' narrow purviews.

I would like to suggest that "paratext," and the distinction between paratext and the main text, would help pinpoint another difference between some of the mythography in the *Zhuangzi* and the more conventional forms of allegories or fables. Just as I have discussed in the

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102. Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 278.
103. Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008). on *Figurae per immutationem*.

Introduction and Chapter I, the primary function of the narrative elements in early Chinese anecdotes is often paratextual rather than illustrative, i.e. what they illustrate is the relationship between the writer and reader, the production and the reception of the text (i.e. paratext's liminality), rather than the *content* of the text. Put in linguistic terms, such narrative elements are first and foremost about the pragmatics, rather than the semantics, of a text. Such anecdotes *can* become illustrative once its paratextual function expands to include the control of the interpretation of the main text. But this illustrative function is almost always an added function that can be removed in the more abbreviated versions of the story, which often do not supply anything beyond the names of the speakers and listeners. A large proportion of the anecdotes in the *Zhuangzi*, though they often involve fantastic figures, function similarly: they are capsular anecdotes that package instructional utterances inside narrative frames.

A significant number of mythographic passages in the *Zhuangzi*—which is to say, certainly not all of them, but only the ones that meet the criteria for paratext—functions similarly to "corporal anecdotes," i.e. they serve as paratext for the compilation as a whole. Most prominent among them is the recurring motif, namely the descriptions of gargantuan mythical creatures. The famous opening passage of *Zhuangzi* chapter 1, which features the *kun* 鯤 fish and the *peng* 鵬 bird, is one such example. In my close reading below, I will show how it exhibits the features of paratexts, as well as performing the expected paratextual functions.

The opening of the first chapter of *Zhuangzi*, "Xiaoyao you," is extremely complex. In a meandering and collage-like fashion, it recounts three times the southward journey of a mythical creature, a giant fish in the Northern Deep named *kun* that can transform into a bird named

peng, whose wings span thousands of miles.[104] The second of these accounts is attributed to a person or a text named "Qi Xie" 齊諧, a record or a recorder of the strange (*zhi guai zhe ye* 志怪者也).[105] The third iteration states that this is also what King Tang has asked about or learned from a figure named Ji 棘 (湯之問棘也是已).[106] Two different sets of small creatures are seen "ridiculing" (*xiao zhi* 笑之) the giant fish-bird, either "a cicada and a dove" (*tiao yu xuejiu* 蜩與學鳩)[107] or a "quail" (*chiyan* 斥鴳).[108] The lesson of this story, as the text explicitly explains, is about "the distinction between small and large" (*xiao da zhi bian* 小大之辯), namely how small creatures cannot comprehend the experience of a giant being. As it goes on to illustrate with a series of other metaphors, a short-lived insect (*huigu* 蟪蛄) cannot know the cycle of seasons.[109]

While the lesson imparted by this passage, namely recognizing the limitation of one's perspective for the purpose of transcending it, is a central didactic point of the *Zhuangzi* text, it is also, as I will demonstrate, a meta-discursive passage commenting on this compilation in its entirety. What the fish-bird knows, and what the cicada is not privy to, is also the totality of what the *Zhuangzi* teaches. This passage also likely performs packaging function, for it is probably not a coincidence that it occupies the very beginning of the transmitted redaction. Someone in this text's formation and transmission history likely considered this passage a fitting "incipit marker" for the compilation as a whole.

The meta-discursive nature of this passage is further underscored by the two paratextual

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104. For Denecke's interpretation of these three recountings, see Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 245-50.
105. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 1.4.
106. Ibid., 1.14.
107. Ibid., 1.9.
108. Ibid., 1.14.
109. Ibid., 1.11.

functions that directly involve the producer and user of the text, the mediating and hierarchizing functions. Just as in instruction scenes, the actors in this passage are representations of the text's producers and its potential audience. The producers' claim for a superior and more privileged position is performed through a rather literal representations of superior positioning, such as that of the teacher or even the high god (*di* 帝); in the case of the mammoth creatures, the mythical beings are in a literal sense much grander in size, and often have access to unfathomable heights. The petty creatures, in contrast, are the text's potential detractors. This comparison is made explicit in chapter 23 "Gengsang Chu," where the disparaged "men of today" (*jin zhi ren* 今之人) are compared exactly to "the cicada and the dove" (*tiao yu xuejiu* 蜩與學鳩).[110]

An even more explicit articulation of this motif as a representation of the producer and potential audience is found in chapter 17, "Qiu shui." In this chapter, this motif is explicitly employed as a metaphor for discussing "Master Zhuang's words" (莊子之言), while Zhuang Zhou is likened to a mammoth creature. The "Qiu shui" chapter opens with a dialogue between the vast North Sea and a puny River Earl, who nevertheless acquires an inflated sense of self upon seeing his girth expand with the "autumn flooding" (*qiushui* 秋水). In this dialogue, the River Earl represents someone who has been once persuaded by "the knowledge of Zhongni (i.e. Confucius)…[and] the propriety of Boyi" 仲尼之聞…伯夷之義,[111] while the North Sea reveals to him a much grander and more universal perspective. The North Sea's teaching to the River Earl opens with several metaphors reminiscent of the series of metaphors at the opening of the extant *Zhuangzi* compilation. Just as chapter 1 speaks of short-lived insects that cannot understand seasons, the North Sea opens by saying "you cannot discuss the ocean with a well frog —he iss

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110. Ibid., 23.807.
111. Ibid., 17.561.

limited by the space he lives in. You cannot discuss ice with a summer insect — he is bound to a single season. You cannot discuss the Way with a scholar — he's shackled by his doctrines" 井蛙不可以語於海者，拘於虛也；夏蟲不可以語於冰者，篤於時也；曲士不可以語於道者，束於教也.[112] Followers of the teachings of Confucius are compared to the frog in the well.

A few anecdotes later, the frog in the well metaphor is further elaborated and turned into another instantiation of the mammoth creature motif, but as an illustration in a discussion that concerns "Master Zhuang's words." The use of this metaphor takes place in a dialogue between two Masters figures, the sophist Gongsun Long 公孫龍 and a prince named Wei Mou 魏牟:

> Gongsun Long asks Prince Wei Mou, "When I was young I studied the Way of the former kings, and when I grew older I came to understand the humaneness and righteousness. I unified sameness and difference, separated "hard and white," proved so what was not so, and admissible what was not admissible. I confounded the knowledge of the hundred schools and rendered a host of speakers lost for words. I believed I had attained the highest degree of accomplishment. But recent when I heard the words of Master Zhuang, I felt at sea and I found them strange. I don't know whether my arguments are not as good as his, or whether I am no match for him in understanding. I find now that I can't even open my beak. May I ask what you advise?

> Prince Mou leaned on his armrest and gave a great sigh, and then he looked up at the sky and laughed, saying, "Haven't you ever heard about the frog in the caved-in well? He said to the great turtle of the East Sea, 'What fun I have! II come out and hop around the railing of the well, or I go back in and take a rest in the wall where a tile has fallen out… To have complete command of the water of one whole valley and to monopolize all the joys of a caved-in well — this is the best there is! Why don't you come sometime and see for yourself?" But before the great turtle of the Eastern Sea had even gotten his left foot in the well his right knee was already wedged fast. He backed out and withdrew a little, and then began to describe the sea. 'A distance of a thousand leagues cannot indicate its greatnes… [*extensive description of the vastness of the sea*].' When the frog in the

112. Ibid., 17.563. Translation see Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, 175-76.

caved-in well heard this, he was dumfounded with surprise, crestfallen, and completely at a loss.

Now your knowledge cannot even define the borders of right and wrong and still you try to use it to see through the words of Master Zhuang — this is like trying to make a mosquito carry a mountain on its back or a pill bug race across the Yellow River. You will never be up to the task! He whose understanding cannot grasp these minute and subtle words, but is only fit to win some temporary gain — is he not like the frog in the caved in well? Master Zhuang, now — at this very moment he is treading the Yellow Springs [the underworld] or leaping up to the vast blue…" Gongsun Long's mouth fell open and wouldn't stay closed. His tongue stuck to the roof of his mouth and wouldn't come down. In the end he broke into a run and fled.

公孫龍問於魏牟曰：「龍少學先王之道，長而明仁義之行；合同異，離堅白；然不然，可不可；困百家之知，窮眾口之辯；吾自以為至達已。今吾聞莊子之言，汒焉異之。不知論之不及與，知之弗若與？今吾無所開吾喙，敢問其方。」

公子牟隱机大息，仰天而笑曰：「子獨不聞夫埳井之鼃乎？謂東海之鱉曰：『吾樂與！出跳梁乎井幹之上，入休乎缺甃之崖 … 且夫擅一壑之水，而跨跱埳井之樂，此亦至矣，夫子奚不時來入觀乎？』東海之鱉左足未入，而右膝已縶矣。於是逡巡而卻，告之海曰：『夫千里之遠 … 』於是埳井之鼃聞之，適適然驚，規規然自失也。

且夫知不知是非之竟，而猶欲觀於莊子之言，是猶使蚊負山，商蚷馳河也，必不勝任矣。且夫知不知論極妙之言，而自適一時之利者，是非埳井之鼃與？且彼方跐黃泉而登大皇…」公孫龍口呿而不合，舌舉而不下，乃逸而走。[113]

In this anecdote, Master Zhuang is explicitly compared to a giant mythical creature, the great turtle of the East Sea, while a rival Master figure, Gongsun Long, is likened the frog of the well.

The comparison between Master Zhuang and a giant mythical creature recurs in the subsequent anecdote as well, in a dialogue between Master Zhuang himself and his frenemy Hui Shi. In this anecdote, Zhuang Zhou made a trip to visit Hui Shi, who has assumed the minister position in the state of Wei. Zhuang Zhou's visit arouses suspicion in Hui Shi, who fears that

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113. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 597-603, translation adapted from Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, 185-87.

Zhuang is interested in usurping his position. Zhuang Zhou evokes the mammoth motif to ridicule Hui Shi, likening himself to a "young phoenix departing from the South Sea to fly to the North Sea" 鵷鶵發於南海而飛於北海, which "rests on no tree but the sterculia, eats nothing but the seeds of the bamboo, drink only from the sweetest springs" 梧桐不止，非練實不食，非醴泉不飲. Hui Shi, in turn, is an owl (*chi* 鴟) who is trying to protect its rotten rat (*fushu* 腐鼠) from a phoenix.[114]

In contrast to the paratextual functions repeatedly assumed by the mammoth creature motif, there are many other allegories and metaphors in the *Zhuangzi* text that do not perform paratextual functions. Consider, for instance, the well-known fable of the monkeys who grow angry when their caretaker offered three yams in the morning and four in the evening, but are appeased when given four yams first and three later.[115] On the one hand, this fable can be interpreted as another illustration of what it is like to have limited perspective, to only be able to see the number of yams in the immediate moment, without grasping that in the larger picture, the same number of yams are involved. But unlike the instances of the mammoth creatures, this narrative does not exhibit features of paratext either at the local level, or with regard to the compilation as a whole. At the local level, there is no kernel, nor an aphorism that articulates the intended teaching packaged within. While this fable illustrates an important teaching, it is not concerned with the relationship between the producers and audience, or how other parts of the *Zhuangzi* ought to be interpreted or understood. One can make a case that the monkeys are not unlike the puny animals or Master Zhuang's unenlightened audience, but the caretaker cannot be equated to the producers, for in what sense can the *Zhuangzi* text switch around the number

114. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 605, translation adapted from Graham, *Chuang-Tzǔ the Inner Chapters*, 123
115. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 2.70.

of yams, the most important element in this narrative? Thus a tale like this is much more amenable to be interpreted as a classic allegory, illustrating a specific teaching like many Aesop's fables.

Once the recurrences of the mammoth motif are read as paratexts, a larger pattern begin to emerge: the mammoth creatures are concentrated toward the beginning of the *Zhuangzi* compilation, and they fade out as more and more Master Zhuang anecdotes show up starting from the middle of the compilation, in fact precisely in chapter 17, "Qiu shui." This chapter is the first chapter with larger clusters of Master Zhuang anecdotes, and the same chapter in which the two comparisons between Master Zhuang and mammoth animals are made. In other words, not only does Master Zhuang seems to substitute the mythical animals as the representation of the authorial position, his substitutive relationship with these creatures is explicitly articulated in chapter 17.

Figure 4.1 Mammoth Animals and Zhuang Zhou Anecdotes
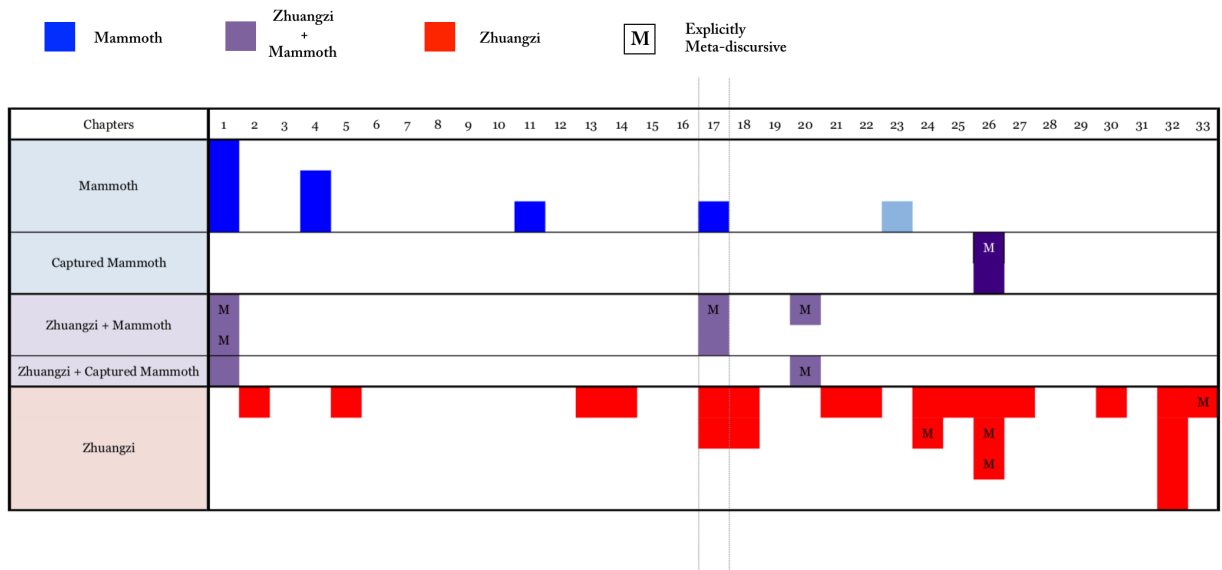
After chapter 17 as the pivotal chapter, the mammoth creatures rarely appear again. When they do, they are no longer featured in the subjective, authorial position; instead, they appear in the *objective* position, to be viewed and even captured by the subjects of the story. For instance, an anecdote in chapter 26, "Waiwu," featured a fabulously giant fish, but unlike the *kun* fish in chapter 1, this fish is no longer the hero of the anecdote. Instead, the protagonist is a certain Prince Ren (*ren gongzi* 任公子), who baits this mammoth fish with fifty oxen and captures it with an enormous hook. The end of this anecdote makes explicit that the fisherman, Prince Ren, represents the authorial position: "Now if you shoulder your pole and line, march to the ditches and gullies, and watch for minnows and perch, then you will have a hard time ever landing a big fish. If you parade your little theories and fish for the post of district magistrate, you will be far from the Great Understanding. So if a man has never heard of the style of Prince Ren, he is a long way from being able to join with the men who run the world" 夫揭竿累，趣灌瀆，守鯢鮒，其於得大魚難矣；飾小說以干縣令，其於大達亦遠矣。是以未嘗聞任氏之風俗，其不可與經於世亦遠矣.[116]

In contrast to chapter 1, where the *kun* fish is the subject in possession of "Great Understanding" (*dada* 大達), the mammoth fish here represents the content of understanding, the knowledge rather than the knower. This anecdote is, incidentally, located toward the beginning of a chapter with recurring aquatic creatures, while the end of the chapter is marked by well-known metaphor comparing words or speech to fishing net, and meaning, or the content of understanding, to fish.

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116. Ibid., 925. Translation adapted from Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, 296.

3.2 Zhuang Zhou as a Reader

This new paradigm for the textual producers as the captors of mammoth animals also offers a new context for reinterpreting one of the three master-disciple instruction scenes, the one where Zhuang Zhou had a traumatic experience witnessing animals preying upon each other, for this anecdote begins with a giant and strange bird reminiscent of the mammoth avian creatures in the earlier chapters. Before delving into translation and close analysis, I must also point out that this anecdote contains a number of interpretive difficulties. As my discussion after the translation suggests, it is possible that the extant text already reflects evolving understanding and interpretations of this text, so that several difficult phrases are possibly the result of a palimpsest of readings, and cannot be resolved into a single, correct interpretation.

Unlike existing translations and interpretations, mine focuses on highlighting the parallels and echoes between this passage and other related anecdotal and allegorical accounts.While my translation below offers several interpretative possibilities that are by and large not yet adopted by previous translators, I am not arguing that they are necessarily the superior interpretations. Instead, this translation attempts to offer another set of possible historical readings, to be read as a complement to other existing translations and interpretations, as a "fragment" of the "vessel"[117] constituted from the totality of all the historical and potential meanings of this passage.

> Zhuang Zhou was wandering on the slopes of Eagle Hill, where he saw a strange magpie approaching from the south, with wings seven-feet broad, and eyes a good inch in diameter. It brushed against Zhou's brow before perching inside a grove of chestnut trees. "What kind of bird is that!"Zhuang Zhou exclaimed. "Its tremendous wings take it nowhere, and its huge eyes do not seem to see." Hitch-

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117. Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 78.

ing up his gown, he strode forward, took out a slingshot[118] and took aim. As he did this, he espied a cicada just settling into a lovely spot of shade and seemed to have forgotten its own body, and a preying mantis grabbed hold of its wings and began wrestling with it. But with its eyes on the prize, the preying mantis too forgot its own form. The peculiar magpie swept in from behind and profited from the situation, also forgetting its vitals in face of gain. Zhuang Zhou, shuddering at this sight, said, "Ah! — creatures indeed bring troubles upon each other, as one summons another!" He threw down his crossbow and ran the other direction, as a keeper raced after him, cursing him roundly.

Zhuang Zhou, upon returning home, entered the house and did not go to court for three months. Lin Zu followed after him and asked, "Master, for what reason have you of late begun to avoid the court to this extent?"[119] Zhuang Zhou said, "I have guarded my form but forgot my own body. I began staring into the muddy water but end up getting lost in a clear deep.[120] Moreover, I have heard from the Master that 'If you enter into the customary, you will follow its customs.'" Now I wandered among the Eagle Hill and forgot my body, so that as soon as a peculiar magpie brushed against my brow, I wandered into chestnut forest, forgot my vitals, and taken by the park keepers as an outlaw. That is why I have stopped going to court."[121]

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118. Translators have rendered *dan* 彈 as "crossbow." I chose slingshot here to emphasize the parallel between this account and other versions of this narrative, nearly all of which explicitly describe a slingshot.

119. Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744-1832) prefers emending *sanyue* 三月 (three months) to *sanri* 三日 (three days) according to one attested variant, since he interprets Lin Zu to be asking why Zhuang Zhou has *qingjian* 頃間, "all of sudden" or "within a short time," undergone such a change. Three months, according to Wang, would no longer be described as *qingjian*, which he interprets to mean a very short period of time. My translation of this passage reflects the following considerations: other usages of the word *qing* 頃, such as *qingnian* 頃年 (recent years) or *qingdai* 頃代 (the recent era), shows that *qing* does not just indicate the length of temporal duration, it also has a deictic meaning that points to the "recent" period in contrast to what had happened earlier. It is therefore possible to understand *qingjian* 頃間 as "recently" or "of late." The reading of *sanyue* (three months) has a parallel in another anecdote in chapter 14, "Tian yun" 天運 of *Zhuangzi*, which attributes a conversion experience to Confucius. In this anecdote, Confucius is said to have "not gone outside for three months" (孔子不出三月) after a meeting with Laozi, who then is said to have reached attainment (丘得之矣) after this period of seclusion (*Zhuangzi jishi*, 14.533). In view of the strong plot parallel between the two anecdotes, it seems likely that the notion of secluding oneself for three months was a trope associated with the process of attaining new understanding. My reading of *buting* 不庭 as "not going to court" is not without problems, which I will explain in the main text below.

120. Watson and Ivanhoe read this as "mislead into taking it for a clear pool," but I am not sure if *mi* 迷 can be read as "confusing A with B." According to HYDCD, *mi* can only be used transitively to mean "losing something," and is otherwise always ergative. Thus *mi* here most likely refers to Zhuang Zhou's sense of confusion, of losing himself.

121. *Ibid., 20.695-99.* Translation consulted Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, 218-19 and Philip J. Ivanhoe, "Zhuangzi's Conversion Experience," Journal of Chinese Religions 19 (1991), 23-24.

莊周遊乎雕陵之樊，睹一異鵲自南方來者，翼廣七尺，目大運寸，感周之顙而集於栗林。莊周曰：「此何鳥哉？翼殷不逝，目大不覩。」蹇裳躩步，執彈而留之。睹一蟬方得美蔭而忘其身；螳蜋執翳而搏之，見得而忘其形；異鵲從而利之，見利而忘其真。莊周怵然曰：「噫！物固相累，二類相召也。」捐彈而反走，虞人逐而誶之。

莊周反入，三月不庭。藺且從而問之：「夫子何為頃間甚不庭乎？」莊周曰：「吾守形而忘身，觀於濁水而迷於清淵。且吾聞諸夫子曰：『入其俗，從其俗。』今吾遊於雕陵而忘吾身，異鵲感吾顙，遊於栗林而忘真，栗林虞人以吾為戮，吾所以不庭也。」

Just as in the case of Prince Ren, the protagonist of this story is Master Zhuang rather than the mythical bird. Master Zhuang is moreover viewing and trying to capture this bird. Unlike the anecdote featuring Prince Ren, however, this passage is less explicitly meta-discursive. Nevertheless, I believe that identifying potential paratextual features of this anecdote can lead to interesting readings. I have already discussed this anecdote's other paratextual features: its hierarchizing employment of instruction scene and its peripheral position at the end of chapter 20. The subsequent discussion considers whether it is also a meta-discursive passage that comments on the compilation as a whole as well as a liminal passage that mediates an audience's interpretation of the compilation according to the producers' wishes.

Various versions of this story are found among early Chinese texts, and it is known today by the idiom of "mantis preying on cicada, with the yellow sparrow lurking behind" (*tanglang bu chan huangque zai hou* 螳螂捕蟬黃雀在後). But I have not found studies that try to resolve the interpretive problems of the *Zhuangzi* version by comparing it to these other versions. All the other versions are featured in compilations known to have been compiled in the Han period – *Shuo yuan, Hanshi waizhuan, Wuyue chunqiu, Zhanguoce, Xinxu,* and *Hou Hanshu* – and several of these are known to be compiled by Liu Xiang. In all except one of the versions I was able

to identify, the cycle of preys was told as a parable to a king in a southern state, variously King Xiang of Chu, King Zhuang of Chu, Fuchai 夫差, or an unspecified king of Wu. In these stories, the king intends to engage in a risky military expedition and forbids his courtiers to attempt to dissuade him.[122] As a warning to the king, this fable is told, in several versions, by known ministers, and in other versions by a child. These stories thus exemplify the so-called "indirect remonstrance" (fengjian 諷諫), as Schaberg's analysis of this cluster of anecdotes shows.[123] The kinship among these stories is evident on account of the recurrence of similarly described characters: the cicada, the yellow sparrow, and the child or the prince clutching a slingshot. Just as in the *Zhuangzi* version, the presence of "gain" (li 利) as the reason for exposing oneself to danger is discussed in the three versions: in *Shuo yuan, Hanshi waizhuan, Wuyue chunqiu*. In the *Hanshi waizhuan* and the *Wuyue chunqiu* versions, the human hunters are similarly implicated into the chain of harm. They fell into a pit or a well in their concentrated pursuit of the yellow sparrow. In the *Wuyue chunqiu* version, this human hunter is the storyteller himself, just as in the case of Zhuang Zhou.

The plot element shared by all of these versions is the moment of sudden awakening brought about by observing the animals. An important strand in the interpretation of *Zhuangzi*, in fact, is the treatment of this anecdote as a "conversion story" reflecting an important moment of intellectual awakening in the philosopher Zhuang Zhou's life, an interpretation first suggest-

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122. The *Hou Hanshu* version, which is featured in the biography of Cai Yong 蔡邕, is the exception. Cai is said to have detected murderous intent in the zither music coming from the banquet he was about to attend, and retreated home in alarm. He later learned the more harmless reasons for what he had astutely detected, namely that the zither player at that moment was witnessing a mantis getting ready to attack a cicada.

123. David Schaberg, "Playing at Critique: Indirect Remonstrate and the Formation of *Shi* Identity," in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, ed. Martin Kern (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).

ed by Maspero, and taken to different directions by A. C. Graham, Nivison, and Ivanhoe.[124]

None of these existing publications, however, analyzed the *Zhuangzi* anecdote as a version of a stock narrative. By juxtaposing all of these versions, the parallel in the function performed by the chain of animals is highlighted. While in the other versions, this account aims to bring about the king's recognition of the mortal danger his thirst for conquest can precipitate, in the version concerning Zhuang Zhou, it is the observer himself that undergoes a spiritual transformation, leading him to not only grasp a lesson imparted by an earlier Master, but also to impart it to his disciple, Lin Zu.

Juxtaposing these parallel versions also lends support to my reading of the difficult phrase *bu ting* 不庭 as "not going to court." This phrase is puzzling enough that medieval commentators Sima Biao 司馬彪 (d. ca. 306) and Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (early seventh century) essentially supplied a *chu* 出 (exit) in their readings and explains the phrase to mean that Zhuang Zhou did not exit his own courtyard for three months.[125] This reading is disputed by Qing philologist Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744-1832), who suggests reading the character 庭 (*dʰieŋ) as standing for 逞 (*tʰi̯eŋ), and thus *bu ting* 不庭 as *bu cheng* 不逞, "disheartened." What supports Wang's reading is the adverbial modifier *shen* 甚 (to such a degree, excessively) before the second occurrence of *bu ting* 不庭, when Lin Zu asks why Zhuang Zhou has "to such a degree confined himself within his courtyard/disheartened/avoided court" (*shen bu ting* 甚不庭). Since *shen* 甚 is almost always combined with descriptions of evaluations or degrees – predominantly

124. Henri Maspero, *Le Taoïsme et les religions chinoises* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971); Graham, *Chuang-Tzŭ the Inner Chapters*, 117; Ivanhoe, "Zhuangzi's Conversion Experience"; David Nivison, "Hsun Tzu and Chuang Tzu," in *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts: Essays Dedicated to Angus C. Graham*, ed. Henry J. Rosemont (La Salle: Open Court, 1991).

125. It is always possible that their commentaries were written based on a different text that is in fact more like *bu chu ting* 不出庭, but such a version does not appear to be attested.

adjectives or stative verbs – rather than simple actions, "to such a degree disheartened" (*sheng bu cheng* 甚不逞) appears to be a much smoother reading than the alternative.

At the same time, the most common meaning of the phrase *bu ting* 不庭 in early texts is refusing to appear at the court of a ruler, commonly used in the *Zuo zhuan*. A line in Wang Ji's 王績 (590-644) "You Beishan fu" 遊北山賦 ("Rhapsody on an Outing to Beishan") states "Zhuang Zhou for three months did not appear at court" 莊週三月而不朝, appears to reflect this reading.[126] While modern commentators and translators appear not to favor this reading, nearly all the other versions of this narrative take place in the context of court persuasion. The two related passages in *Zhanguoce* and *Xinxu*, while they do not resemble the *Zhuangzi* passage as closely, illustrate the kinship between the *Zhuangzi* texts and a certain strand of rhetorical practice in this period. Instead of describing a chain of preys, they describe a series of increasingly large animals which are oblivious to the danger lurking behind. In the same way that the yellow sparrow is unaware of the aim of a child's slingshot, the yellow swan is unaware of the approaching arrow, and the rulers unaware that they are about to be deposed. This version's grandiose description of the yellow swan's soaring flight is reminiscent of content often found in *Zhuangzi*, while the king's startled reaction to the persuader's account most closely resembles Zhuang Zhou's moment of realization, who "shuddered" (*churan* 怵然) at the sight.[127] These resonances further support the possibility that the *Zhuangzi* anecdote is similarly related to the court setting. The reading of *shen bu ting* 甚不庭 as "to such a degree avoided court," while not the most elegant, is not impossible; it is also possible that the word *shen* 甚 was added early on by a com-

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126. Cited by Wang Shumin, see *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*, 762, though Wang Shumin otherwise agrees with Wang Niansun's reading.
127. Zhanguoce, 17.555-561.

piler who has indeed understood the character 庭 as an adjective like *cheng* 逞.

Moreover, reading *bu ting* as "not attending court" would produce a consistent reading for the reminder of the passage. Read in this way, Master Zhuang recognizes the grove brimming with peril as a situation analogous to the court. This reading is different from Maspero's and Ivanhoe's reading, both of whom read the *saying of "If you enter into the customary, you will follow its customs*" 入其俗，從其俗 *as an exhortation to enter into the "customary" (su 俗) rather than a warning against it.*[128] *Both saw this story as a critique against a certain style of reclusion.* Maspero saw Zhuang Zhou's encounter in the park as the result of being led astray by the philosophy of withdraw. While Ivanhoe does not fully subscribe to this reading, he interprets the error suffered by Zhuang Zhou and the other animals as a result of self-focus that renders one oblivious to the world; he believes that this anecdote teaches one the need to pay attention to the "common" (*su* 俗) people as opposed to ignoring them, as well as the ideal of moving among the human sphere without being caught up in their folly.[129]

While chapter 20 does indeed appear to be interested in a more nuanced discussion of political disengagement, this line of reading, which involves seeing the nature scene as a representation of the sphere of reclusion and withdraw, appears to be too literal, and has not taken into account the tradition of using the cycle of prey in the natural world to illustrate the dangers and threats of the human sphere, more explicitly articulated in the related versions. *The word su* 俗 *(conventional) is moreover rarely used as a positive term in the Zhuangzi.*[130] In view of the recur-

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128. As is reflected in the difference in Ivanhoe's translation, which interprets the word *cong* 從 (to follow) in the imperative mode and renders the sentence as "when among common people, follow common ways" (Ivanhoe, "Zhuangzi's Conversion Experience," 24).

129. Ibid., 21-24.

130. For instance, an immediate example earlier in the chapter, 吾願君去國捐俗，與道相輔而行.

rence of the exhortation to relinquish political life in chapter 20, it appears plausible that this moment of conversion depicts a transition not that different from the transformation undergone by other characters in *Zhuangzi*. Confucius in *Zhuangzi*, for instance, has reached epiphanies that lead him to relinquish of book-learning or the pursuit of office. In one of such conversion anecdotes, Confucius is clearly stated as "not leaving home for three months" 不出三月. [131]

Juxtaposing the various versions of the chain of prey narratives underscores the more unique features of the *Zhuangzi* version. While the birds in the other versions are realistic animals such as the "yellow sparrow" or a swan, the "strange magpie" (*yi que* 異鵲) of the *Zhuangzi* version, with its preternaturally large wingspan and eyes, has its genealogy in the bestiary of the *Zhuangzi* universe, especially in its initial half. Yet once again, unlike in the earlier chapters, where the mammoth creatures represent the textual producers, the strange magpie is to be captured by the protagonist of the anecdote.

All of these considerations can help us reflect on whether this anecdote can also be read as a corporal anecdote performing paratextual functions. Similar to other anecdotes featuring the author figures, the existing interpretations already read this anecdote paratextually, seeing it as a key moment in the author's life, which has consequence for the entire compilation. Maspero, for instance, reads this anecdote as the beginning of the pursuit of the Fasting of the Heart (*xinzhai* 心齋) mentioned in chapter 4. He is therefore reading this anecdote as providing a contextualization for the philosophical argument made elsewhere in the *Zhuangzi* text. Ivanhoe furthermore states that his interpretation is more concerned with what was perceived to be the story of the author figure, rather than with the historical reality of Zhuang Zhou's life.[132] To me,

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131. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 14.533.
132. Ivanhoe, "Zhuangzi's Conversion Experience," 14.

this is already an acknowledgment of the paratextual function of these anecdotes, a recognition of how they shape the perception of the users and readers of this text.

Similar to the author figures in many instruction scenes, the Master Zhuang of this anecdote is both a teacher and a student, an interpreter and a transmitter. In fact, both Prince Ren and Zhuang Zhou, as captors of the mammoth creatures, can be seen as the recipients of an existing *Zhuangzi* text filled with giant birds and leviathans. These narratives in turn can be read as instructions for how to make use of these existing texts. Specifically, Zhuang Zhou's conversion story seems to suggest that the "pertinent" reception of the *Zhuangzi* text ought to be that of a moment of self-awareness and transformation, as opposed to a passive viewing that treats the earlier chapters' "strange writings" (*zhiguai* 志怪) as curiosities, perhaps warning readers against getting lost in entertainment and "entrancement" (mi 迷). In this anecdote, Zhuang Zhou begins as a viewer, but is transformed into a participant or even a victim as the narrative unfolds. Words meaning "viewing," *du* 睹 and *guan* 觀, are repeated throughout to describe Zhuang Zhou's initial activity. *Guan* is in fact one of the common words for describe reading a text.[133]

The creatures entangled in the great chain of beings are portrayed as the opposite of viewing and seeing: they are marked by confusion and blindness. All of these creatures, including enthralled Zhuang Zhou, were said to have *wang* 忘, or "forgotten" their own bodies, *wang* being a cognate of *mang* 盲, "blindness." In his reflection, Zhuang Zhou describes this experience as a shift from viewing to confusion, i.e. no longer able to have clear (in)sight: "in observing (*guan* 觀) the muddy water I got lost (*mi* 迷) in the clear deep." This is a transition from

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133.Eg. 子之十三篇，吾盡觀之矣 (*Shiji*, 65.2161). I must thank Graham Chamness for suggesting this interpretation to me.

a speculative position to a subjective experience. If a praying mantis losing its life to its lust for prey is an allegory, then Zhuang Zhou's realization is an allegory for how best to read an allegory. It is simultaneously also an anti-allegory: there is no "other" (*allos*) in this picture, no separate sphere. The metaphor is in fact literal, and we the audience should realize that the dangerous grove is not just in the text, but all around us.

Furthermore, if this anecdote can indeed be seen as having an implicit connection to court persuasion, it can also be read as a meta-comment on the act of persuasion. As we have discussed, there is a strand of discussion in the extant *Zhuangzi* text that presents the rhetorical style of the *Zhuangzi* text as a useful approach to persuasion. The *Zhanguoce* version of the "chain of prey" narrative exemplifies such a rhetorical approach, where the persuader employs fantastical and lofty vocabularies and imageries. In these other versions, the animal world serves as a warning to the ruler, even if in several of these versions, the persuaders fell into a pit on account of their concentration on the bird, having "forgotten their bodies," as the *Zhuangzi* text would say. The *Zhuangzi* version, on the other hand, seems to suggest to the persuaders the very danger they place themselves in as they utilize the fantastical language of the *Zhuangzi* text to have the ruler's ear. Once again, if such persuaders could have also been a user of the *Zhuangzi* text, they were warned treating its often fantastical content as something entirely separate from their own lives. While parts of the *Zhuangzi* text seem to present itself as a useful rhetorical tools, this anecdote apparently belongs to the other parts that dissuade one from one from at all "singing" (*ming*) in court, and suggests that one should consider "not to go to court" (*buting*).

4. Conclusion

Similar to the previous chapter, this chapter attempts to uncover the paratextual devices associated with the transformation of an open and growing text into a closed compilation. By applying the identification criteria of paratext to the Zhuang Zhou anecdotes, this chapter distinguishes a subset of anecdotes that likely functioned as paratexts of the compilation as a whole. The notable presence of meta-discursive, mediating, hierarchizing, and packaging features among the Zhuang Zhou anecdotes lends additional support to the hypothesis that the portrayal of author figures, even if they were putative, performed important functions that included the delimitation of a closed text. Many of the paratextual Zhuang Zhou anecdotes were likely introduced by the compilers who also produced or revised the prefatory final chapter, chapter 33, into its present state. All of these texts reflect a complex and ambivalent relationship with rhetoric and sophist teachings, as well as a preoccupation with the uses and functions of words.

In view of the existing debates over the relative dating of the Inner Chapters versus the subsequent chapters, my observation lends some support to seeing parts of the latter chapters as written in response to the materials preserved in the Inner Chapters. The paratextual Zhuang Zhou anecdotes appended to the end of the Inner Chapters are likely later insertions in the process of shaping a group of open textual material into a closed text, and they might even have performed the role of demarcating the boundaries of individual chapters. Far more paratextual Zhuang Zhou anecdotes are found in the O+M chapters, and a few of these anecdotes are arguably written in reaction to textual materials that are now found in the Inner Chapters. Three of them even adopted the conventions of master—disciple instruction scenes. Even more suggestive is the systematic substitution of the mammoth creatures by Zhuang Zhou as representa-

tions of the authorial position between the earlier and the latter chapters, with this substitutive relationship explicitly articulated in chapter 17. I am not suggesting that this tells us something about the dating sequence of every individual textual unit found within the received *Zhuangzi*. But it does show that this approach and its attention to the intention and perspective of the compilers can shed new light. We can almost tell a story of an earlier set of open textual materials embodied by the otherworldly animals who fluidly metamorphosed as they roamed between land and sea, who "have great beauty but did not speak" 有大美而不言,[134] who might be said to "create but not transmit" (作而不述). Zhuang Zhou, in contrast, often betrays himself as an audience and perhaps even a reader, someone who speaks but debates about whether he should. He was a creation of the transmitters.

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134. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 22.735, see also Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation*, 79.

Chapter V. The Author is Dead — Long Live the Author

> But we are each
> that, while we live,
> however much
> we resist: almost
> without surface, barely
> contained
>
> - Kay Ryan

The ending of the received *Zhuangzi,* as I would like to argue, is demarcated by an account of Zhuangzi's death. To fully explicate this coterminous alignment of the author's life and "his" book, we must begin with the death of the author — in theory, that is — in the twentieth century. When did the author die, if it ever did? Many would trace it to Roland Barthes's essay published in 1967, which calls for the death of the author and the liberation of texts from biographical readings.[1] Foucault's explication of the concept of the author, clearly in dialogue with Barthes, retraces the entanglement between death and writing back to the origin of literature, to Achilles' decision for an immortal afterlife over a life long-lived.[2] A closely related *locus classicus* in the Chinese tradition can be found in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo Tradition), namely the pronouncement of "establishing words" (*li yan* 立言) as one of the three methods for attaining the state of *si er buxiu* 死而不朽 (to die but not perish).[3] But when it comes to death as a prerequisite for literary afterlife, the earliest identified case is Sima Qian. Stephen Owen brings to light a

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1. Barthes, "The Death of the Author."
2. Foucault, "What is an Author," 281-82.
3. The other two being "establishing virtue" (*li de* 立德) and "establishing achievement" (*li gong* 立功), see Durrant et al., *Zuo tradition*, 1124-25.

zero-sum game between the author's physical body and literary corpus in both writings in Sima Qian's *Shiji* 史記 (The Annals of the Grand Historian) and writings about *Shiji*.[4] Around three centuries later, this sentiment is unambiguously articulated in Cao Pi's "Lun wen" 論文 ("Discourse on Literature"), where authors are urged to entrust their bodies to the inexhaustible permanence of literature.[5] In the case of Foucault, he seems to have presented a mini-history of the death of the author, only to say that the author has never truly died. He points to the persistence of the author function in controlling interpretation, disguised in concepts such as "work" and even "writing," in spite of the rhetorical or perhaps even ritualistic avoidance of the author's life in literary criticism.[6]

By focusing on early Chinese compilations' presentations of evanescing authors, this chapter's first argument is that narratives on the death or physical disappearance of the author, as a rhetorical trope, can function as the ultimate paratextual device in the formation of large compilations. In the contexts more familiar to us, authors' lifespans bookend their *oeuvre*. In the case of early Chinese compilations, what is packaged can also be a single text. A similar bibliographical practice is found in the Greco-Roman classical context, as Irene Peirano demonstrates. The adaptation of the conventions of Hellenistic funerary epigram can function as paratextual *sphragis* (seal), marking the completion of a poetic collection.[7] Horace, for instance, famously concludes the first three books of the *Odes* by declaring them his own funerary monument, a

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4. Stephen Owen, "Speculative Futures: Making Books and Progeny," unpublished manuscript *check* Li, "The Letter to Ren An and Authorship in the Chinese Tradition.".

5. 年壽有時而盡，榮樂止乎其身。二者必至之常期，未若文章之無窮。是以古之作者，寄身於翰墨，見意於篇籍，不假良史之辭，不託飛馳之勢，而聲名自傳於後. See Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 57-72 for translation and discussion of this passage.

6. Foucault, "What is an Author," 282-83.

7. Peirano, "'Sealing' the Book," 226.

gesture that in turn recalls the Hellenistic practice of closing epigrammatic collections with sepulchral poems for the authors.[8] Scholars have also noted the inverse of this phenomenon, namely that without a strong concept of single authorship, textual producers will continuously add and revise a text.[9] The early Chinese examples examined in this chapter can involve more subtle gesturing toward the author figure's physical vanishment, and are thus, upon first sight, less recognizable as a trope. Nevertheless, I argue that these allusions to physical death, direct and indirect, all similarly perform paratextual functions.

The last major case of this chapter, an early Chinese poetic compilation known as the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Verses of the Chu), not only exemplifies the paratextual function of the author's death, it also illustrates the transformation in textual practice before and after a text is closed, between "pre-ception" and reception. This is the second focus of this chapter. As the final case study of this dissertation, the *Chuci* compilation contains examples for all components of Genette's larger textual universe, from the main text (archetext), the texts that seal the boundary of the main text (paratext), to texts that belong to the realm of reception: intertext (citations), metatext (commentary), and hypertext (imitations). This case study, I would like to argue, the utility of Genette's existing system; it also allows us to widen the applicability of this system by adapting and mapping it onto closed texts that had a long history as open texts.

How is it that the death of the author has taken on such a paratextual role? There might be two aspects to this. Foucault's essay focuses on the "author function" as a containment strate-

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8. Ibid., 231-32. Horace ultimately added a fourth book, again illustrating that as a speech act, the wish articulated in paratext is not always obeyed.
9. Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 55, 94. See also Paul Zumthor's discussion of correlation between textual instability and the elusive presence of an authorial subjectivity, Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, 40-46

gy for dealing with what he describes as the "cancerous... proliferation of signification,"[10] i.e. a text's potentially unlimited possibilities of interpretations; in this chapter, the construction of the author, real or putative, is shown to perform a similar author function in controlling the proliferation of texts themselves. In fulfillment of paratexts' packaging function, the imposition of an author, an individual with a limited lifespan, is an attempt to circumscribe the otherwise never-ending growth of open texts. In the context more familiar to us, the deaths of the genius authors finalize their texts in a practical way. We only need to think of the notoriously difficult task of dealing with Montaigne's endless revisions generated during his life time,[11] or the complex textual history of Goethe's *Faust,* the finalization of which is articulated through the extinction of a part of an author's body: *die Ausgabe letzter Hand* (the *ultima manus* edition).[12] If the imposition of an author, real or putative, limit the authority of creation to the author figure alone, the death of the author, real or imagined, is the expiration of the creative license and the sealing of the text. What Barthes has written regarding interpretation, that

> to give a text an Author is to impose a limit on that text, to furnish it with a final signified, to close the writing.[13]

can be applied to the formation history of a text as well, if we substitute "final signified" with *Endgestalt* — the earliest finalized form of a closed text, which has attained a "relatively immutable" state.[14]

In short, the examples included in this chapter further illustrate the larger argument of

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10. Foucault, "What is an Author," 290.
11. I. D. McFarlane and Maclean, Ian eds., *Montaigne: Essays in Memory of Richard Sayce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); George Hoffmann, *Montaigne's Career* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).
12. Marita Mathijsen, "The Concept of Authorisation," *Text* 14 (2002).
13. Barthes, "The Death of the Author," 277.
14. Genette, *Seuils*, 408.

Part II, namely that the "privileged position" of the author, often first created by a text's paratextual discourse, is also often what transforms a set of open textual materials into closed texts. A text's making of its author is also its moment of self-creation, its self-demarcation as a privileged selection and arrangement of words worthy of preservation across time. Accordingly, putative authors are not just extraneous fabrications, but are often woven into the very fabric that holds a text together. Extending this metaphor, the dialectic entanglement between death and authorship can serve as the device that hems the *textus* in.

If there is a certain degree of universality to the dialectic between physical death and literary immortality, I would like to see it as a moment of intense interaction between the author's two bodies, perhaps the final transfiguration of the body natural into the body authorial. Ernst Kantorowicz's account of the evolution of the medieval royal funeral ceremony shows that the king's death can be a site for the manifestation of the conception of immortal kingship, as encapsulated by the chant "the king is dead, long live the king."[15] Similar dynamics are observable in the literary imaginations of the author's death. If a text, once closed, becomes an object that can be transmitted through time, it then becomes the immortal second body[16] designated by the author name, the body authorial. If royal succession makes visible the transference of the body politic from one mortal flesh to the next, a transference also happens at the moment of the author's physical death. As soon as a name becomes both the name of real historical individual and an author name, then it begins to reference two corpora, as the personal name of a physical body and the author name of a body of work.[17] Upon this individual's physical death, the refer-

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15. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 409-13.
16. Though often really the first and only body, in the case of putative authors.
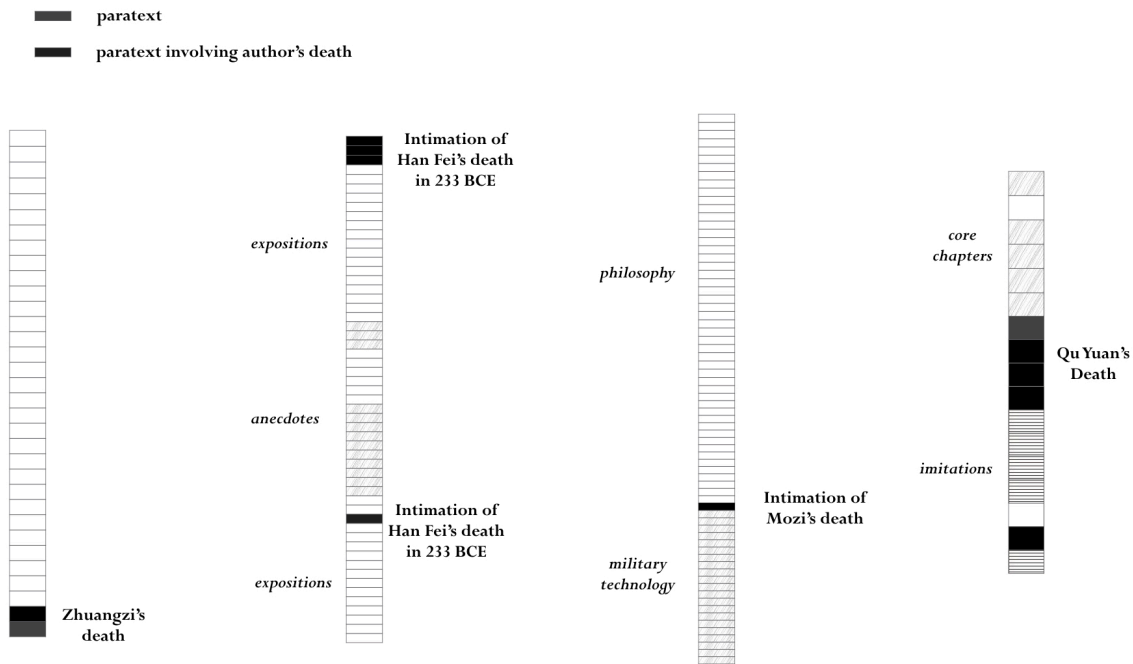17. Foucault, "What is an Author," 284.

ence to the physical body can only exist in the past tense, while the reference to the corpus of work is ever-present. The desire invested in the creation of a closed text thus requires the imagination of both the dying body natural and the surviving body authorial in the form of the text.

The Masters texts as a genre offers a most specialized manifestation of this dynamic. Due to the way this type of texts was transmitted and how this genre had evolved, Masters texts came to be a total embodiment of all significant writings associated with an author.[18] Thus not only do narratives of death of the author recur as a way to delimit a Masters text, a Masters text is often both a book and a corpus. Figure 5.1 below includes all the cases examined in this chapter, showing that the death narratives are located in what appear to be moments of transition in the received versions, where these can be notable differences in the content, language, and rhetorical approaches before and after these narratives. These narratives thus could be located at the boundary of a textual stratum, where the text could have closed (or did in fact close, in the case of the received *Zhuangzi*). By including the poetic anthology, *Chuci*, as the central example in this chapter, I furthermore show that this compilation strategy was not limited to the creation of a Masters text or a "philosophical text." This observation hearkens back to the age-old comparison between a person and a book,[19] but perhaps with a greater degree of literalness than the trope usually implied. In the case of the *Chuci*, for instance, the beginning and end of an author's life are not just *like* book covers, but in many ways *are* the equivalent of book covers.

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18. Xiaofei Tian, "The Twilight of the Masters: Masters Literature (Zishu) in Early Medieval China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (2006); Puett, "The Temptations of Sagehood"; Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*.
19. See, for instance, Roger Chartier and Peter Stallybrass, "What is a Book," in *Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 188-89.

Figure 5.1: Narratives of the Author's Death in Early Chinese Texts

▬ paratext

▬ paratext involving author's death

expositions

Intimation of
Han Fei's death
in 233 BCE

philosophy

*core
chapters*

anecdotes

Qu Yuan's
Death

Intimation of
Han Fei's death
in 233 BCE

Intimation of
Mozi's death

imitations

expositions

*military
technology*

Zhuangzi's
death

1. Master Zhuang's Death and the Sealing of a Text

Among the authors' departures examined in this chapter, the case of Zhuang Zhou is the most self-evident, since it not only depicts Zhuang Zhou's death, it also more or less marks the the end of the *Zhuangzi* compilation. Located at the end of the penultimate chapter (chapter 32), this anecdote is succeeded only by a brief dictum, and even this additional saying is often read as part of the anecdote.[20] As we have discussed, the final chapter, or chapter 33, is a paratextual text in its own right. It seems plausible then that this death narrative was positioned to mark the end of what is considered the "main text" by a certain compiler(s), thus performing the packaging function for the compilation as a whole, much like the passages resembling funerary epigrams in Roman poetry anthologies.

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20. Kern, "Early Chinese Literature," 74.

As we have discussed in the previous chapter, there are only three anecdotes where Master Zhuang is seen accompanied by disciples. This deathbed scene is the last one, it tells us that,

> When Master Zhuang was about to die, his disciples wanted to give him a rich burial. Master Zhuang said, "If I make heaven and earth my coffin, the sun and moon my pair of jade disks, the stars and constellations my pearls and beads, and the world my burial accompaniment, wouldn't my funerary implement be the most complete? For what would you add to these?" The disciples said, "We fear the crows and kites would come and feed on our master!" Master Zhuang said, "Above I will be fed on by crows and kites, and below by mole crickets and ants. If we take from one and give to the other, is it not rather unfair?"

> 莊子將死,弟子欲厚葬之。莊子曰:「吾以天地為棺槨,以日月為連璧,星辰為珠璣,萬物為齎送。吾葬具豈不備邪?何以加此!」弟子曰:「吾恐烏鳶之食夫子也。」莊子曰:「在上為烏鳶食,在下為螻蟻食,奪彼與此,何其偏也!」[21]

Adhering to my general view on the production of compiled texts, I would by no means suggest that this anecdote was *originally* composed as a corporal anecdote, as a piece of paratext serving the compilation as a whole. Since this anecdote resembles the myriad other anecdotes within *Zhuangzi* that deride funerary rituals — such as Master Zhuang's own unconventional singing at his wife's funeral or the funeral of Laozi — its earlier *Sitz im Leben* likely has something to do with the ongoing debate with Confucians regarding burial service.[22]

Nevertheless, it seems likely that this composition was at some point turned into a corporal anecdote through its placement as well as possible redactional modifications. In addition to its packaging function, i.e. as a demarcation of the end of the compilation, it performs the hierarchizing function like the other two anecdotes featuring disciple(s). The eponymous author's

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21. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 32.1063. Translation adapted from Kern, "Early Chinese Literature," 74.
22. For a survey on the various attitudes toward burial presented by early Chinese text, see Mu-Chou Poo, "Ideas concerning Death and Burial in Pre-Han and Han China," *Asia Major* 3 (1990). For a recent study on the depiction of Laozi's funeral in *Zhuangzi*, see Albert Galvany, "Death and Ritual Wailing in Early China: Around the Funeral of Lao Dan," *Asia Major* 25 (2012).

status is elevated in the presence of the disciples, who addresses him as the "master" (夫子 *fuzi*). The lesson it imparts also appears to be emblematic of the central and recurring arguments advanced by the *Zhuangzi*, so much so that this anecdote is cited in the *Cambridge History of Chinese Literature* as a representative passage of the *Zhuangzi* text.[23] The cosmic vision of Master Zhuang's body dissolving into the universe, moreover, matches the characterization of the *Zhuangzi* compilation in Guo Xiang's preface, which describes the words of Zhuang Zhou as "penetrating what unifies heaven and earth, putting into order the nature of the myriad things, comprehending the transformations of life and death, and illuminating the Way of someone who is internally a sage and externally a king" 通天地之統，序萬物之性，達死生之變，而明內聖外王之道.[24]

As discussed in the previous chapter, the length and shape of the *Zhuangzi* was still in contention as late as the seventh century, with ample evidence attesting to compilations containing far more textual materials than what is found in the transmitted redaction. It is possible that the redactor of the received 33 chapter compilation, Guo Xiang or an earlier figure, placed this anecdote where it is to mark the end of this particular redaction. As a speech act, this placement can be read as an argument for what a complete and completed text of Master Zhuang ought to look like. It can thus also be read as an implicit rejection of the legitimacy of the additional texts found in the longer redactions of *Zhuangzi*, accusing those extra texts to of being apocryphal. Similar to Lu Deming's preface, it regards such texts as the "appendages" added by "people from later period" 後人增足, texts "later" than the death of Master Zhuang.[25]

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23. Kern, "Early Chinese Literature," 74.
24. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 3.
25. Ibid., 4. Translation see Klein, "Were There 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States?", 303.

Even within the received *Zhuangzi*, there is another possible competing prescription for the completion of the *Zhuangzi* text, marked not by the death of Master Zhuang, but by the death of his interlocutor Hui Shi. In this anecdote, Zhuang Zhou passes by his frenemy's grave, and remarks on how he no longer has anyone to speak to (吾無與言之矣), now that Hui Shi is dead.[26] We have mentioned in the previous chapter the centrality of Hui Shi to the formation of the received *Zhuangzi*, for its redactors seem to frame their *Zhuangzi* as a rival and a response to Hui Shi and the sophist tradition he represents. In the received redaction, this anecdote is found in the middle of chapter 24, and does not appear to occupy a peripheral location, as expected of paratextual elements. But its evocation of a Master Zhuang who has stopped speaking is striking, and would have been fitting at the end of a compilation. It also succeeds a mini-synoptic anecdote, where Hui Shi is asked to discuss himself as one of the five Masters,[27] which is reminiscent of the synoptic final chapter, or chapter 33. It seems plausible that this anecdote of Master Zhuang mourning Master Hui's death was once employed as a paratextual *sphragis* marking the end of a redaction that is no longer extant.

2. *Mozi* and *Hanfeizi*

Mozi 墨子 (Master Mo) proffers another clear case where the narrative of the author's death performs paratextual functions. Attributed to Mo Di 墨翟 (ca. 479-381 BCE), the *Mozi* compilation preserves writings affiliated with a "prominent" lineage of "learning,"[28] the Mohists (Mozhe 墨者), who appear in many early texts. Unlike the retrospectively designated "schools"

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26. *Zhuangzi jishi*, 24.843.
27. Ibid., 24.838-42.
28. i.e. *xianxue* 顯學, a descriptor of the Mohist, together with the Confucians, from *Hanfeizi* 50.

or "lineages" catalogued in Han period writings, the Mohists, along the with Confucians or the

Classicists (*ruzhe* 儒者), seem to have existed as self-defined communities in the pre-imperial pe-

riod.[29] They are often seen as the first group of rivals against the Confucians.[30] Despite their no-

tability in the pre-imperial period, the Mohist movement did not survive beyond Western Han.[31]

The survival of the *Mozi* text owes largely to its inclusion in the Daoist Canon compiled in

1445.[32] There is evidence to suggest that the received *Mozi,* except for the lost chapters, largely

reflects the shape and form of the *Mozi* compilation archived in the Han imperial library.[33]

Recent scholarship, exemplified by Carine Defoort and Nicolas Standaert's edited vol-

ume, presents the received *Mozi* as an open and evolving text between the fourth and the third

centuries BCE, which was possibly finalized during the Han dynasty.[34] The received compila-

tion can be easily divided into distinctive layers based on form and content. Drawing from ex-

isting scholarship, Table 5.1 below summarizes the divisions within the *Mozi*. It also shows

where chapter 50, the focus of my discussion here, is located:

Table 5.1: Chapter Divisions in *Mozi*[35]

29. Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan, "Constructing Lineages and Inventing Traditions," 64. For a summary of existing scholarship on the Mohists, see Ian Johnston, trans. *The Mozi: A Complete Translation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), xxiii-xxv. For additional discussion of Confucianism in Warring States period as a self-conscious group, see Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality*, 256; Smith, "Sima Tan and the Invention," 139.
30. Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 34; Johnston, *The Mozi*, xxii-xxiii.
31. Johnston, *The Mozi*, xxv.
32. Ibid., xxvii; Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 338-39.
33. Johnston, *The Mozi*, xxxi.
34. Carine Defoort and Nicolas Standaert, "Introduction: Different Voices in the *Mozi:* Studies of an Evolving Text," in *The Mozi as an Evolving Text: Different Voices in Early Chinese Thought*, ed. Carine Defoort and Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1.
35. Largely synthesized from Johnston, *The Mozi*, xxxi-xxxiv and Defoort and Standaert, *The Mozi as an Evolving Text.*.

Philosophy (political, ethical, language and logic, optics)	ch. 1-7: Opening Chapters (essays)
	ch. 8-39: Core Chapters[36] (essays grouped into ten triplets, with the essays in each triplet sharing the same title)
	ch. 40-45: Logic Chapters (canon and commentary, short definitions and expositions)
	ch. 46-49: Dialogues (anecdotes)
Military technologies	ch. 50: "Gongshu" (an elaborate anecdote)
	ch. 52-71: Defense warfare chapters[37]

2.1 *Mozi* 50 as Paratext

As Table 1 shows, the boundary between the philosophical chapters and the city-defense chapters is clearly demarcated by an elaborate anecdote, chapter 50, "Gongshu" 公輸.[38] This anecdote not only features the eponymous author as a hero, but also alludes to his potential death. In this section, I will elucidate in detail how *Mozi* 50 functions as a corporal anecdote and performs paratextual functions for the compilation as a whole.

This anecdote recounts a battle of wit between Master Mo and a proverbially famous artisan named Gongshu Ban 公輸盤.[39] While Gongshu Ban is accredited with the invention of elaborate siege machines, Master Mo and his disciples are known as pacifists, who taught small states city-defense technologies. In this anecdote, Mozi learns that Gongshu Ban has invented a new type of ladder for scaling walls, and the King of Chu is eager to test it out on a small state named Song. Mozi travels to the court of Chu hoping to dissuade the two from invading Song.

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36. Defoort and Standaert excludes the "Fei ru" 非儒 chapters from the Core Chapters, since there is evidence to suggest that the single surviving chapter of the triplet dates to a later period, see Defoort and Standaert, "Introduction: Different Voices in the Mozi," 5.
37. Chaper 51 is lost.
38. *Mozi jiangu*, 50.443-449.
39. His personal name is written as 盤 in *Mozi* but more often as 般 in other texts.

He first meets Gongshu Ban, who is made to recognize the moral injustice of such an invasion. Gongshu then introduces Mozi to the King of Chu. In his speech to the king, Mozi first uses an analogy to explain why the desire to invade Song is irrational and yields no benefit to his state. While the king is persuaded, he still hungers for victory, and eager to try out this ladder. A simulated warfare of sort ensued, where Mozi and Gongshu Ban try to best each other with their offensive and defensive machineries. With Mozi's belt serving as the city wall and writing slips the machineries, the two describes to each other how they would go about attacking and defending the city.[40]

The intimation of Master Mo's death comes after Gongshu Ban has exhausted his technological options. Rather than conceding, Gongshu Ban hints that he has one more tactic in store, namely to have Mozi, who has brought himself to the Chu court, killed. Mozi answers defiantly that hundreds of his disciples have already mastered his teachings. They are stationed on the walls of Song, awaiting Gongshu Ban. With this, Mozi wins this imaginary battle, and the king gives up on his plan to invade Song. In the coda section, Mozi passes through the state of Song and seeks shelter from the rain. The gatekeepers of the city, clueless as to who this man is or what he has done for their state, would not let him in.

In my analysis below, I will show that the comparison between *Mozi* 50 and its parallel versions in four other texts underscores how this particular redaction of an existing narrative aims to perform paratextual functions. This analysis builds on Ting-mien Lee's article, which not only presents a persuasive intellectual historical reading, but also brings together the paral-

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40. 子墨子解帶為城，以牒為械 (Ibid., 50.447). The word *die* 牒 usually refers to bamboo slips that are used as writing surfaces.

lel versions found in other compilations.[41] Table 5.2 below includes all the versions identified by

Lee, with an addition of a *Zhanguoce* parallel. It breaks down this chapter according to its build-

ing block components. While certain plot elements, such as Mozi's travel and the king's decision

to relinquish the invasion, are shared by all versions, there are also blocks of elements that are

not. The plot elements labeled A are attested only in *Zhanguoce* and *Shizi*, the ones labeled B

only in *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*. *Mozi* 50 not only contains both A and B elements, but also

elements labeled C, which are absent from all other versions. Since the versions in *Lüshi chunqiu*

and *Huainanzi* closely resemble each other, they are only represented by one column. As my dis-

cussions will unpack, the compositional features that are unique to the *Mozi* 50 version all ap-

pear to fulfill paratextual functions.

Table 5.2: Parallel Versions of *Mozi* 50

	Mozi 50	*Zhanguoce*[42]	*Shizi*[43]	*Lüshi chunqiu* + *Huainanzi*[44]
Intro + Mozi's travel	✓	✓	✓	✓
A) Meeting with Gongshu Ban	✓ A0	✓ A0	✓ A0	
A) Mozi offers to hire Gongshu as an assassin, who turns it down on moral ground, calling it *bu yi* 不義 (amoral).	✓ A1	✓ A1		

41. Ting-mien Lee, "Mozi as a Daoist Sage? An Intertextual Analysis of the 'Gongshu' Anecdote in the *Mozi*," in *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, ed. Paul Van Els and Sarah Queen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017).

42. *Zhanguoce*, 32.1146-48.

43. *Shizi* 尸子, compiled by Wang Jipei 汪繼培 (b. 1775), (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009), 77-78.

44. *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 21.594 and *Huainanzi jishi*, 19.1324-25.

Invading Song is morally wrong, since Song is not guilty of any offense (宋何罪之有).	✓	✓	✓	"amorality" (*bu yi* 不義) briefly mentioned in audience with King of Chu
Audience with King of Chu	✓	✓	✓	✓
A) Invading Song is not profitable, similar to a rich person with kleptomania (*qie ji* 竊疾).[45]	✓ A2	✓ A2	✓ A2	
B) Gongshu Ban's siege machines cannot break through Mozi's defense mechanisms	✓ B			✓ B
C) Gongshu hints at killing Mozi	✓ C1			
King decided against invasion	✓	✓	✓	✓
C) Mozi rejected by the gatekeepers at Song	✓ C2			

Table 2 shows that, first of all, *Mozi* 50 presents the most extensive and comprehensive version of this story; not only do all the other versions reflect *Moz* 50 only partially, none of them contains substantial additional plot elements that are not included in *Mozi* 50. This is perhaps not surprising, given that this version is found in a compilation devoted to its protagonist Master Mo (similar to the fact that the story of Sunzi in the Yinqueshan *Sunzi* appears to be longer and more extensive version). At the same time, the comprehensiveness of *Mozi* 50 also reflects the meta-discursive and packaging function performed by this anecdote.

Firstly, A and B elements happen to each represent the two distinctive parts of *Mozi* that are neatly demarcated by *Mozi* 50, as shown in Table 5.1 on page 378. The A elements consist of

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45. Paul van Els identifies a dialogue closely resembling A2 in *Mozi* 46, see Paul van Els, "How to End Wars with Words: Three Argumentative Strategies by Mozi and His Followers," in *The Mozi as an Evolving Text: Different Voices in Early Chinese Thought*, ed. Carine Defoort and Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 92.

arguments against invading Song on ethical and economic grounds, reflecting the philosophical content of chapters 1-49, while the B element is clearly a representation of technical military writings of chapters 52-71. Even the individual components of A elements seem to refer to different parts or aspects of chapters 1-49. In fact, they correspond with great precision to the two distinct arguments presented respectively by chapter 17 and chapter 18, or the first two chapters in the triplet of chapters all entitled with "Condemning Offensive Warfare" (*fei gong* 非攻). Paul van Els shows that not only does each chapter in the triplet present a different argument, each does so from a different branch of philosophy.[46] The first dialogue with Gongshu Ban, labeled A1, argues against the invasion on the ground of "morality" (*yi* 義). After Gongshu Ban refuses to be hired as an assassin on the ground of *yi*, Mozi asks how he would then justify the murder of a multitude, when the state of Song cannot be shown to have committed any crime. This captures the argument presented by chapter 17, which van Els terms the "moral argument."[47] In contrast, the dialogue with the king, labeled A2, argues against the invasion on the ground of rational interests. The king is led to concede that for a state to covet a destitute state is not unlike the irrational behavior of a kleptomaniac. This closely corresponds to the reasoning presented in chapter 18, which van Els refers to as the "economic argument."[48] These two arguments, moreover, reflect two important underpinnings of *Mozi's* political-ethical teaching, which is preoccupied with both moral justice and utilitarian, rational interests.

If this anecdote can be read as a meta-discursive text that references various sections of *Mozi*, it also performs the mediating function and communicates to the textual users how these

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46. Ibid., 73.
47. Ibid., 74-78.
48. Ibid., 78-84.

sections would be interpreted. What it communicates are, once again, the two basic prescriptions of paratextual elements: that these texts contain effective teachings worthy of study and preservation (hierarchizing) and that all of these texts — on morality, economic calculation, and technicalities of city defense — ought to be understood as one person's teaching and part of one compilation (packaging). The hierarchizing prescription is reflected in the repeated portrayal of Master Mo outwitting his interlocutors. Mozi's ethical and political teachings are shown to be persuasive, while his city defense technology is proven to be superior, so much so that it alone can ward off the threat of a superpower. Indeed, the coda section, discussed below, compares Master Mo's teaching to powers supernatural and divine.

2.2 Intimation of Mozi's Death

The allusion to Mozi's potential death, or C1, further enforces this anecdote's hierarchizing and packaging prescriptions. Lee has already pointed out that the coda section, or C2, is absent from all other versions, but Table 1 shows that even the C1 element, Gongshu Ban's murder threat, is also unattested anywhere else. Like other narratives of the author's death, these C elements can be read as demands for the closure of the *Mozi* corpus.

The last exchange between Gongshu Ban and Mozi (C1) reads almost like a creative variation of a master—disciple scene of instruction. Similar to an instruction scene, it bids the continuity of a text through time, beyond the temporal limit of a teacher figure's lifespan. After Gongshu Ban hints at the murder of Master Mo, Master Mo counters that

> My disciple Qin Guli and three hundred such men have already prepared my
> machines of defense. They are on the walls of Song awaiting the attack from Chu.
> Although you may kill me, you will not be able to put a stop to this.

然臣之弟子禽滑釐等三百人，已持臣守圉之器，在宋城上而待楚寇矣。雖殺臣，不能絕也.[49]

This exchange points to the continuity of a Master's teaching onto the next generation, regardless of the Master's physical presence. While this text seems to refer to a concrete and physical act, namely the stationing of disciples headed by Qin Guli 禽滑釐, it can also be read as a meta-discursive moment pointing to the subsequent city defense chapters (ch. 52-71). Over half of the surviving defense chapters are framed by a bare-bones instruction scene, depicting Qin Guli soliciting teaching from Master Mo.[50] Despite Qin Guli's prominent presence in these chapters, he is nearly absent from the earlier chapters, and is not found in the Core Chapters. Before this moment in chapter 50, he appears only twice in one of the anecdote collection chapters,[51] and is mentioned one more time in one of the short Opening Chapters.[52] Therefore it appears plausible that Qin Guli has a strong association with the city defense writings, and is thus referenced in this chapter that demarcates the transition from the ethical-political teaching to the military manual.

Not only do disciples represent the temporal continuity of the *Mozi* text, Master Mo almost explicitly states it, when he asserts to the Gongshu that "although you kill me, you will not be able to put a stop to this." Once juxtaposed with Confucius's stock phrase exhorting disciples to "note" or to "remember" (*zhi zhi* 志之 or *shi zhi* 識之[53]), as well as other instruction scenes' urgings to preserving ancient teachings, it becomes clear that Mozi's assertion expresses

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49. *Mozi jiangu*, 50.448-49. Translation adapted from Johnston, *The Mozi*, 729.
50. Of the eleven surviving city defense chapters, five do not have such a narrative framing, namely chapters 58, 61, 68, 69 and 70.
51. In chapter 46 "Geng Zhu" 耕柱 ("Geng Zhu"), where Qin Guli is referred to once as a Master Qin (Qinzi 禽子) and once as Luo Guli 駱滑釐 (*Mozi jiangu*, 46.397, 46.400).
52. Ibid., 317.
53. See note 96 on page 341 in Chapter IV.

something similar, only formulated in litotes. The invaders cannot "put a stop" (*jue* 絕) to what Master Mo has taught and what the *Mozi* text will teach, even with the elimination of Master Mo's physical body. The word *jue* 絕 has been used to describe the perishing of words or teachings, such as its usages in "Yiwen zhi" and *in Yuejueshu* 越絕書 (*Book of the Extinct State of Yue* or *Book of the Incomparable State of Yue*).[54] What we glimpse at this moment is the separation of the author's two bodies, the wish that the body authorial, the corpus of text attributed to Master Mo, will live on independently of the Master's physical body.

This reading adds another dimension to the haunting and intriguing coda section (C2), where Master Mo is turned away by the gatekeepers of the Song state:

> On his way back, Master Mozi passed through the Song. Since it was raining, he sought shelter within the gate, but the gatekeepers would not let him in. Thus it is said, "Ordering through the invisible (*shen*), the multitudes will not be aware of your merits. Competing for the visible, the multitudes will be aware of them."

> 子墨子歸，過宋，天雨，庇其閭中，守閭者不內也。故曰：「治於神者，眾人不知其功，爭於明者，眾人知之。」[55]

The word *shen* 神 has the basic meaning of a "divine being," and by extension can mean "supernatural," "god-like," or even "invisible," as in Ting-mien Lee's translation. Mozi's achievement is "god-like" because it influences the world through "invisible" means, like the working of gods or spirits. As Lee points out, while this passage espouses an inverse relationship between one's merits (*gong* 功) and one's renown, this position is not shared by the earlier *Mozi* chapters, which advocate for recognition as proper reward for one's achievement. This attitude,

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54. 昔仲尼沒而微言絕 in "Yiwenzhi" (*Hanshu*, 30.1701) and 故聖人沒而微言絕 in *Yuejueshu*. For the translation of the title of *Yuejueshu*, see David R. Knechtges and Chang, Taiping eds., *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2084.
55. *Mozi jiangu*, 50.449. Translation adapted from Lee, "Mozi as a Daoist Sage," 97-98, and consulted Johnston, *The Mozi*, 729.

in contrast, is far more congruent with texts such as *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, and moreover fits with the descriptions of Mozi in several syncretic texts, *Lüshi chunqiu*, *Huainanzi*, and *Shizi*.[56] Her research shows that this anecdote (or at least the insertion of the coda section) likely reflects a later phase in the evolution of the *Mozi* text.[57]

Adding to Lee's interpretation, this coda section (C2) also further reinforces the disappearance of the author's physical body entertained in the last exchange between Mozi and Gongshu Ban (C1). The C1 exchange can be read as the sealing of the corpus, for it implies that Mozi's instruction has already been completed, so that his own death will no longer be a loss. By extension, the *Mozi* text already contains the complete teaching of Master Mo, and nothing more needs to be added to it. When the city guards fail to recognize him, it is as if a ritual of transference has already occurred, where proper name "Master Mo" has metamorphosed into an author name, migrated from designating his physical person to his written corpus. Consequently, the living Master Mo, while narrowly escaped a potential death, has turned into a persona incognita.

In summary, the strategically placed chapter 50 seems to mark a moment when the compilation could have closed. While it marks the end of the ethical and political teachings found in chapters 1-49 (referenced by the A elements), it also looks forward to the city defense chapters (B elements). This anecdote thus packages together two otherwise heterogeneous strata of the *Mozi*, while its allusion to the disciples bids for the preservation and continuity of this text. Its intimation of the eponymous author's physical death, similar to Master Zhuang's death scene, implies that the corpus is now complete, and ought to be sealed.

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56. Lee, "Mozi as a Daoist Sage," 101-06.
57. Ibid., 93-94.

The dynamic exemplified by *Mozi* 50 closely parallels the corporal anecdote of *Hanfeizi*, or second half of chapter 42, which also subtly intimates the death of the titular author. Since I have already closely examined this anecdote in Chapter III, this table below summarizes the structural and functional similarities between these two corporal anecdotes:

Table 5.3: Corporal Anecdotes of *Hanfeizi* and *Mozi*

	Hanfeizi 42 (second half)	*Mozi* 50
Meta-discursive	- cites chapter 13, acknowledges various central terms of *Hanfeizi* - offers a *raison d'être* for the production of *Hanfeizi*	- references arguments of chapters 17 and 18, as well as the content of 51-71
Liminal	- Between production (Han Fei) and reception (Tang Xigong) - Notable intellectual departure from the majority of chapters, indicating that its redactors were among the "last compilers" working with existing materials, hoping to transform them into a closed text.	- Between production (Mozi) and reception (Gongshu Ban, King of Chu, disciples) - Notable intellectual departure from the majority of chapters, indicating that its redactors were among the "last compilers" working with existing materials, hoping to transform them into a closed text.
Hierarchizing	- Elevation of Han Fei's teachings - Forming association between Han Fei and previous masters (*zi* 子), inducting him into the endurers' list.	- Elevation of Mozi's teachings, demonstration of their efficacy - Suggesting that Mozi's teaching will be passed on through time.
Packaging	- Intimation of Han Fei's death - Located between distinctive sections of the compilation, where the *Hanfeizi* could have ended (between the anecdote chapters of roughly 21-39 and the last group of exposition chapters, 41, 43-55)	- Intimation of Mozi's death - Located between distinctive sections of the compilation, where the *Mozi* could have ended (between the philosophical chapters and the military technology chapters).

3. An Autopsy of *Chuci zhangju*

The centerpiece of this chapter is the *Chuci zhangju* 楚辭章句 (The Section and Sentence Commentary to the Verses of the Chu), a compilation of early verses from several centuries that

likely contributed to the development of a major poetic genre of the imperial period, the *fu* 賦

(rhapsody, poetic exposition).[58] In its reception history, this compilation is often seen as an ar-

chetext of the "sao" 騷 style, repeatedly imitated and recreated by imperial and even modern

writers.[59] Since the *Chuci* compilation fully illustrates the central theses of this dissertation — the

difference between the "pre-ception" and reception, and the role of paratext in closing a text and

facilitating the transition between these two phases — it also serves as the concluding example

of this project.

This compilation appears, upon first sight, to be dated later than the other texts featured

in this dissertation, because the compiler who has successfully closed this text, Wang Yi 王逸 (fl.

130-140), postdated the "Yiwenzhi" (first century CE) by nearly a century. At the same time,

since compilations such as *Sunzi bingfa* and *Zhuangzi* were open and actively evolving long after

the Han, the formation process of *Chuci zhuangju* is likely concurrent and comparable to other

early texts. The major difference between the *Chuci zhangju* and other early compilations, in fact,

is that its transmitted redaction, the *Chuci buzhu* (*CCBZ*) 楚辭補注 (The Supplements and Anno-

tations to the Verses of the Chu) by Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090-1155), preserves evidence of how

this text evolved during the Han period. When it comes to many other early texts, there is no di-

rect information on their formation history before "Yiwenzhi," and there is most likely a gap of

information between "Yiwenzhi" and at least the beginning of early medieval period (third cen-

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58. "Yiwenzhi" refers to pieces in *Chuci* as "fu" 賦, see Hanshu, 30.1747. For relationship between *Chuci* and the development of the *fu* genre, see Wai-yee Li, *Enchantment and Disenchantment: Love and Illusion in Chinese Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 16; Christopher Leigh Connery, "*Sao, Fu,* Parallel Prose, and Related Genres," in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, ed. Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 225; Kern, "Early Chinese Literature," 76; Paul F. Rouzer, "'Chinese Poetry'," in *The Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature*, ed. Wiebke Denecke, Wai-Yee Li and Xiaofei Tian (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 252.

59. David Hawkes, trans. *The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology of Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), 41; Connery, "Sao, Fu, Parallel Prose," 224-30.

tury CE), if not even later.

The *CCBZ* and other Han sources, in contrast, have preserved many pieces of information regarding the formation history of *Chuci zhangju*. The final compiler Wang Yi, writing in the second century CE, names the two Western Han figures we have already encountered many times, Liu An (179? -122 BCE) and Liu Xiang (79 BCE-8 CE), as key producers in the formation history of this corpus. The *Hanshu* (History of the Han) attests to Liu An presenting a "Li sao zhuan" 離騷傳 (commentaries to "Li sao" or "Li sao" and traditions) to Emperor Wu of Han (r. 141-87 BCE).[60] The "Yiwenzhi," whose initial author is Liu Xiang, mentions 25 chapters (*pian*) of *fu* attributed to Qu Yuan.[61] Wang Yi's postscript to the first chapter of *Chuci zhangju*, on the other hand, attributes a commentary named *Li sao jing zhangju* 離騷經章句 (The Sections and Sentence Commentary to the Classic of 'Li sao') to Liu An, while attributing a section and sentence commentary (*zhangju*) of 16 volumes (*juan* 卷) to Liu Xiang. He also criticizes the two section and sentence commentaries on *Chuci* in 15 volumes by two other Han figures, Ban Gu (32-92), the main author of *Hanshu*, and Jia Kui 賈逵 (30-101). Wang Yi's own compilation, building on the works he attributes to Liu An and Liu Xiang, is also in 16 volume.[62] Even more precious is the information from an older redaction that is still preserved in *CCBZ*, for it likely suggests the sequence in which chapters were introduced into the *Chuci* compilation during the Han period. I will further explain this reconstruction below. The availability of such pieces of information, even if they do not fully cohere with each other, renders the *Chuci* compilation an illuminating case study for understanding textual production in Early China.

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60. *Hanshu*, 44.2145.

61. Ibid., 30.1747.

62. *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補注, compiled by Wang Yi 王逸 (fl. 130-140), commentary by Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090-1155) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 1.47-48.

Perhaps on account of the availability of such evidence, this compilation is not only a near-perfect summary of all the various aspects of paratexts, it also exemplifies the five related yet distinct forms of *transtextuality* classified by Genette in *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, illustrating how paratext fits into the larger universe of textual relationships. The *Chuci* corpus includes not only pieces attributed to the archetypal author figure 屈原 (trad. 343-290 BCE) — i.e. chapter 1 or chapters 1-7 depending on one's position in an ongoing authorship debate (see below) — as well as extensive commentaries; it also contains imitations attributed to known figures from the Han period, roughly chapters 11-17. These various types of texts found within the *Chuci* compilation, as I will argue, match the five types of transtextuality outlined by Genette, includes *architext* (a text seen as a singular archetype of a genre or a mode of discourse, the "original text"), *paratext*, *metatext* (texts commenting on another text, such as commentary and criticism), *intertext* (i.e. intertextuality as exemplified by citations), and *hypertext* (transformations of preexistent texts, such as imitations and parodies).[63]

Genette's *Palimpsest*, focusing primarily on works transforming western canonical literary pieces, is a demonstration of how one interacts with closed texts according to the game of reception. By applying his system to the textual histories of early Chinese texts, I show how the game of transtextuality changes between "pre-ception" and "reception," between textual formation and textual transmission. If *transtextuality* is the relationship between texts, early Chinese texts force us to confront the question of what endows texts with their individual identities as distinctive entities, which, I argue, is the prerequisite for transtextual relationships. More than any other texts studied in this dissertation, the *Chuci* compilation offers a detailed illustration of

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63. Genette, *Palimpsests*, 1-5.

the process through which an open textual repertoire evolves into a closed and stabilized text. The paratextual elements I will identify contribute to the demarcation of the boundaries of a closed *Chuci* text (packaging) as well as the creation of a hierarchical relationship between production and reception (hierarchization). The layers within this compilation reveal that the mechanisms of architextuality, metatextuality, intertextuality, and hypertextuality can only come into play after a text is stabilized and hierarchized. In other words, paratext performs an instrumental role in the initiation of the other four transtextual relationships.

The author figure constructed by the paratextual elements of *Chuci zhangju* (to be further explained below) is the archetypal poet of the Chinese literary tradition, Qu Yuan 屈原 (trad. 343-290 BCE), who is said to be a talented and loyal minister of King Huai of Chu 楚懷王 (r. 328 -299). Sent into exile due to the jealousy and slander of other courtiers, he eventually committed suicide by drowning himself in the Miluo 汨羅 River. If Qu Yuan is a poet from the southern state of Chu, the *Chuci* compilation, never a state-sanctioned classic, has always been perceived as a representation of poetic styles of the south, in contrast to the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing*) as the poetic canon of the Central Plains to the north.[64] The majority of the poems in the *Chuci* compilation are written from the first person perspective. Such poems, as exemplified by the first and most well-known piece of the anthology, "Li sao" 離騷 ("On Encountering Trouble), consist largely of lamentations, plaints, as well as descriptions of both real and supernatural journeys. Their often repetitive and formulaic laments, termed *tristia* by David Hawkes, are that of an "endurer," someone whose talent and virtue are no longer recognized by the ruler, who is in turn

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64. For a reading of the *Chuci* compilation as a reflection of Han dynasties' perception of the south, see Gopal Sukhu, "Monkeys, Shamans, Emperors, and Poets: The *Chuci* and Images of Chu During the Han Dynasty," in *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China*, ed. Constance A. Cook and John S. Major (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

referred to as the beloved in these poems. The protagonists of these poems vent bitterly as they endure slander, misunderstanding, and exile.[65] The *tristia* are from time to time interrupted by descriptions of travels or even celestial tours of all directions of the heavens, which Hawkes refers to as *itineraria*.[66]

The intensely personal voice of these *Chuci* poems has led many literary historians to view Qu Yuan as the first individualist and Romantic poet, even attributes to him the awakening of the self and the personal in the Chinese literary tradition.[67] As Martin Kern points out, even if Qu Yuan never existed as a historical figure, the name "Qu Yuan" is still the very first literary author name.[68] Indeed, Qu Yuan serves as the archetype not only of lyrical poets, but also that of intellectuals in political service. Laurence Schneider's book-length study retraces how the Qu Yuan narratives, as well as the study and imitation of *Chuci,* serve as a space of negotiation between political loyalty and dissent from the Han period onward.[69]

At the same time, the absence of early and contemporaneous sources on Qu Yuan — similar to many author figures examined in this project — has generated a long-standing authorship debate, which I will briefly summarize in the section below. The evident heterogeneity of the materials collected in the *Chuci* might have also contributed to the early emergence of this debate. In addition to the pieces that resemble "Li sao" and their later imitations, the *Chuci* com-

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65. Laurence Schneider has already noted and discussed in detail the rich presence of what I call "endurers' list" in the *Chuci* corpus, see Laurence A. Schneider, *A Madman of Ch'u: The Chinese Myth of Loyalty And Dissent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 37-47.

66. For Hawkes' definition of *tristia* and *itineraria*, see David Hawkes, "The Quest of the Goddess," *Asia Major* 13 (1967), 82.

67. See, for instance, Liu Dajie 劉大傑, *Zhongguo wenxue fazhanshi* 中國文學發展史 (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2007), 56; Shih-Hsiang Chen, "The Genesis of Poetic Time: The Greatness of Ch'ü Yuan, Studied with a New Critical Approach," *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 10 (1973), 39-39; Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 27.

68. Kern, "Early Chinese Literature," 78.

69. Schneider, *A Madman of Ch'u*.

pilation also includes compositions that, while exhibiting kinship to these pieces, have significant departures. These include "Jiu ge" 九歌 ("Nine Songs"), which appears to be ritual songs addressing specific deities,[70] "Tianwen" 天問 ("Heavenly Questions"), a catalogue of questions ranging from the beginning of the universe to the history of the Chu state,[71] "Yuan you" 遠遊 ("Far Roaming"), a version of *itineraria* that reflects late Warring States to Han period Daoist cultivation[72] and self-divination[73] practices, and the three "Summons" (*zhao* 招), which appear to be rooted in funerary chants.[74] While the vast majority of the *Chuci* texts are in verse, chapters 6 and 7, "Bu ju" 卜居 (Divination) and "Yufu" 漁父 (The Fisherman), are verses enveloped by prosaic narrative frames recounting two episodes in Qu Yuan's life. To various degrees, the authenticity of all of these chapters has been subjected to debate.

As in previous case studies, in this case too paratext as an analytical tool offers an alternative framework for dealing with the authorship question. As with the received *Zhuangzi*, *Mozi*, and *Hanfeizi*, I argue that the received *Chuci* corpus contains its own prescription demarcating its boundary of the "main text," as signaled by the author figure's physical death. The construction of Qu Yuan as an author figure, as in the other cases, plays an important role in the formation of the *Chuci* as a text, regardless of his historical veracity. The paratextual elements in the *Chuci,* as I will demonstrate in detail, are the five chapters that are notably distinct from the rest of the compilations: the two narrative chapters, chapters 6-7, and the three "Summons,"

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70. Kern, "Early Chinese Literature," 80-83. For the paradigm of enchantment and disenchantment set up by the interaction between the shaman and the goddess in the "Jiu ge," and its relationship to "Li sao," see Li, *Enchantment and Disenchantment*, 3-10.

71. Kern, "Early Chinese Literature," 83-84.

72. Paul W. Kroll, "On 'Far Roaming'," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116 (1996).

73. Michael J. Puett, *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-Divinization in Early China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), 217-20.

74. Kern, "Early Chinese Literature," 84-86.

chapters 9, 10, 12. Not only are these chapters strikingly different in form and structure, Galal Walker's systematic study of textual reuse shows that these five chapters, along with chapter 3 "Tianwen," are abrupt departures from the remaining twelve pieces, all of which to a far greater degree participate in the same tradition of poetic language.[75]

After analyzing these paratextual pieces, I will then turn to the "hypertext" sections of this corpus, or the imitations. The differences in textual strategy before and after the paratextual chapters illustrate the difference between pre-ception and reception, exemplifying the change in textual practice once a corpus is closed and stabilized.

3.1 The Qu Yuan "Corpus" and its Debated Borders

As in the case of Sun Wu, there is no extant source on Qu Yuan that dates to before the Han. Had we inherited the earliest group of texts in the received compilation by itself, without the paratexts, metatexts, and hypertexts we are about to discuss, it would likely have appeared to be a set of anonymous texts. Timothy Wai-Keung Chan's careful reconstruction reveals that contradictory signals regarding what Qu Yuan has authored seem to be present from the beginning, embedded in the paratextual and commentarial prescriptions of the *CCBZ* compilation itself.[76] Each poem in the *CCBZ* is introduced by a preface and is glossed with detailed commentaries; two chapters, chapter 1 "Li sao" and chapter 3 "Tianwen," also have postscripts. All of these metatexts were finalized by Wang Yi, but they likely include writings from earlier redactors and commentators such as Liu Xiang and even Liu An.[77] In addition, Hong Xingzu's sub-

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75. Galal L. Walker, "Toward a Formal History of the 'Chuci'" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1982), 129-31. Though chapter 9 "Zhao hun" share lines with "Jiu ge," Ibid., 437.
76. Chan, "The *Jing/zhuan* Structure."
77. Timothy Chan recounts Lin Weichun's 林維純 argument that all of the prefatory texts placed in front of every piece are in fact Liu Xiang's composition, which Chan finds convincing, see Ibid., 306-07.

commentary from the twelfth century brings to the table additional philological rigor and, from time to time, a healthy dose of skepticism. Since Wang Yi identifies himself in both postscripts,[78] I will refer to them as Wang Yi's writings. I will refer to the rest of the Han period metatexts as *Zhangju* or *Zhangju* commentaries.

According to Timothy Chan, the *Zhangju* commentaries represent one position in the debate over Qu Yuan's authorship: they attribute the first seven titles of *CCBZ* (which include both individual poems and suites of poems) to Qu Yuan; they also name Qu Yuan as one of the two possible authors of chapter 10, "Da zhao" ("The Great Summons"). This position likely matches the opinion of the Han librarians, headed by Liu Xiang, for the "Yiwenzhi" states that there are twenty-five chapters (*pian*) of *fu* by Qu Yuan,[79] which equals the number of poems attributed to Qu Yuan by the *Zhangju* commentaries, if we count the poems within the suites individually. *Zhangju* moreover interprets these poems as reflections and responses to specific episodes in Qu Yuan's life.

Even though Wang Yi's scholarship never garnered as much respect as the other well-known Han period philologists, his biographical reading of *Zhangju* is highly influential, and has essentially set the tone of *Chuci* exegesis up to the twentieth century. All known commentaries before the thirteenth century subcommentaries to Wang Yi.[80] Moreover, the biographical reading of *Zhangju*, according to Gopal Sukhu, is adopted to different degrees by the majority of the extant interpretative works, including those by the Qing period *kaozheng* 考證 (evidential

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78. Less directly so in the "Tianwen" postscript, but it overlaps with the "Li sao" postscript in wording.
79. 屈原賦二十五篇 (*Hanshu*, 1747).
80. Schimmelpfennig, "The Quest for a Classic," 113.

learning) scholars.[81] Many prominent contemporary scholars of *Chuci*, such as Tang Bingzheng 湯炳正[82] and Jiang Liangfu 姜亮夫,[83] follow the prescription of *Zhangju* and maintain Qu Yuan's authorship of all seven titles.

However, Hong Xingzu's notes allow for the reconstruction of an earlier and no longer attested redaction of the *Chuci* corpus, the *Chuci shiwen* (*CCSW*) 楚辭釋文 (Explications of the Texts of the Verses of the Chu). This lost redaction dates to Southern Tang (937-976) at the latest, and its alternative chapter sequence and table of contents, at least according to Timothy Chan's interpretation, prescribe a different set of author attributions.[84] The reconstructed table of contents of *CCSW*, as the evidence gathered by Tang Bingzheng suggests, is most certainly much closer to Wang Yi's *Chuci zhangju*.[85] The chapter sequence of *CCSW* is chaotic in appearance, which might be why the *CCBZ*, organized according to the *Zhangju* commentaries' author attributions and the chronological sequencing of these authors, proved to be more popular, and eventually supplanted the *CCSW* redaction.[86] While I will use the chapter numbering of *CCBZ* throughout, I will refer to this older sequence when the ordering of chapters is relevant. Figure

81. Gopal Sukhu, *The Shaman and the Heresiarch: A New Interpretation of the Li Sao* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), 18-26.

82. Tang Bingzheng 湯炳正, "*Chuci* bianzuanzhe jiqi chengshu niandai de tansuo" 《楚辭》編纂者及其成書年代的探索, *Jianghan luntan* (1963)..

83. Jiang Liangfu 姜亮夫, *Jiang Liangfu quanji (VIII): Chuci xue lunwenji* 姜亮夫全集（八）：楚辭學論文集 (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 2002). See especially his engagement in the debate over the historicity of Qu Yuan on pages 78-90.

84. Chan, "The *Jing/zhuan* Structure," 294-95.

85. One of the most significant differences in chapter sequence between *CCSW* and *CCBZ* is the placement of "Jiu bian" 九辯 ("Nine Changes"), which is chapter 2 in *CCSW*, but chapter 8 in *CCBZ*. As Hong Xingzu has already noted, the *Zhangju* commentaries reveal that "Jiu bian" was placed before "Jiu zhang," or chapter 4 in *CCBZ*. Hence *CCSW* must reflect the older arrangement (Table of Contents page three in *Chuci buzhu*.). Tang Bingzheng adduces additional evidence, such bibliographical records, as well as the chapter sequence reflected in Liu Xie's 劉勰 (ca. 460s-520s) *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, see Tang Bingzheng, "*Chuci* bianzuanzhe jiqi chengshu niandai de tansuo," 50.

86. Scholars trace the new chapter sequence adopted by *CCBZ* to Chen Yuezhi 陳說之 (ca. 1032), see Chan, "The *Jing/zhuan* Structure," 295.

5.2 offers a graphic representation of the two chapter sequences; it also contains the textual formation history reflected by the *CCSW* reconstruction as well as the distribution of paratexts and hypertexts.

According to Timothy Chan's interpretation, the *CCSW* table of contents sees "Li sao" alone as the work of Qu Yuan. It regards the rest of the poems found in the *Chuci* compilation as "commentaries" or "elaborations" (*zhuan* 傳) of the canon "Li sao;" it leaves chapters 2-7 and 9 as anonymous. The first poem, "Li sao," is not only attributed to Qu Yuan by all sources, it is also referred to as *jing* 經 (classic, canon) by all known table of contents and *Zhangju* commentaries.[87] But while the *Zhangju* commentaries attributes chapters 2-7 to Qu Yuan, and chapter 9 "Zhao hun" 招魂 ("Summons of the Soul") to a shadowy Warring States figure, Song Yu 宋玉, the *CCSW* table of contents leave all of these pieces unattributed. The *CCSW* moreover labels all remaining chapters outside of "Li sao" as *zhuan* 傳 (tradition, elaboration, commentary). Both Timothy Chan and David Hawkes, the great English translator of the *Chuci* anthology, agree with the attribution of the *CCSW* table of contents. Hawkes considers chapters 2-6 to be either works of anonymous poets imitating Qu Yuan, whom he sometimes refers to as the "school of Qu Yuan," or religious ritual hymns that were "cannibalized" by this anthology.[88]

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87. Hong Xingzu's note in fact states that the *CCSW* edition does *not* have the character *jing* under the title "Li sao" (*wu jing zi* 無經字). Timothy Chan cites Yu Jiaxi's 余嘉錫 research that is based on earlier bibliographical records, which shows that the word *jing* was in fact attested in earlier versions, and judges this to be a mistake on Hong's part, see footnote 3 in Ibid. The word *jing,* as part of the title of the "Li sao" piece, must have at least predated Wang Yi, since it is glossed by the preface to "Li sao" as part of its explanation of the title; see *Chuci buzhu*, 2. But Hong seems to have strong opinions about the *jing* label. He writes a forcefully worded comment on the "Li sao" preface saying that the word *jing* must be a later addition, and Wang Yi is wrong to interpret it as part of the title; see Ibid., 1.2. It seems possible that he had an old edition that does not have the word *jing*, and used it deliberately to support his stance.

88. For cannibalization of religious materials, see Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 37-41; For attribution of the first group of poems outside of "Lisao," see Ibid., 152-55; For "school of Qu Yuan," see Ibid., 222.

If the discrepancy between the prescriptions of the reconstructed table of contents and the *Zhangju* commentaries reveals conflicting views from as early as the Han, the first half of the twentieth century saw a heated debate over Qu Yuan's historical existence. According to Sukhu, the precursor to this debate is none other than the commentator and compiler of the received redaction, the Hong Xingzu of *CCBZ*.[89] In his note to chapter 7 "Yufu," he criticizes Sima Qian, Liu Xiang, and Xi Kang (and probably Wang Yi by extension) for reading the two narrative chapters, chapters 6-7, as historical accounts (*shilu* 實錄).[90] Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), as Sukhu characterizes, was the first to read some of the *Chuci* pieces "ethnographically" rather than biographically. Even though he never rejects the *Zhangju* commentaries' attributions, he no longer interprets the meaning of the "Jiu ge" suite, for instance, as responses to situations in Qu Yuan's life.[91] By all accounts, the late Qing scholar Liao Ping's 廖平 (1852-1932), a forerunner of the Doubting Antiquity movement, was the first to wage an unambiguous attack on the historical veracity of Qu Yuan himself.[92] His "Chuci xinjie" 楚辭新解 (A New Explanation of the *Chuci*), published in 1922, is the first known piece of scholarship that points to the absence of pre-Han sources on the supposedly pre-imperial poet.[93] While Liao's work did not garner much attention, Hu Shih 胡適 (1891-1962) published an essay ten years later contending that Qu Yuan is a composite figure, and his biography in *Shiji* an interpolation, inserted after Sima Qian's death.[94] The participants in the backlash to Hu Shih's iconoclastic argument include the revolutionary

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89. Sukhu, *The Shaman and the Heresiarch*, 9.
90. *Chuci buzhu*, 179, translated by Sukhu, *The Shaman and the Heresiarch*, 9.
91. Ibid., 12-18.
92. Liao Ping 廖平 (1852-1932), *Chuci xinjie* 楚辭新解 (Chengdu: Sichuan cungu shuju, 1922).
93. Walker, "Toward a Formal History of the 'Chuci'," 51-55.
94. Hu Shih 胡適 (1891-1962), "Du Chuci" 讀楚辭, in *Hu shi wencun* 胡適文存, (Taipei: Yuandong tushu gongsi, 1961); Walker, "Toward a Formal History of the 'Chuci'," 55-59; Chan, "The *Jing/zhuan* Structure," 324.

Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929)[95] and the author Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978).[96] A new position emerged in the late 1940s, when He Tianxing 何天行 argued for Liu An as the real author of *Chuci*,[97] which subsequently received support from a series of essays by Zhu Dongren 朱東潤.[98]

Several Western language works in the more recent decades also write Qu Yuan out of the production process of the *Chuci* compilation. Walker's 1982 dissertation introduces linguistic evidence to this debate and argues for an early Han dating.[99] The first book-length study of *Chuci* in English-language, Sukhu's *The Shaman and the Heresiarch*, similarly suggests the Han period as a more fitting context for interpreting the *Chuci* compilation.[100] Stephen Owen questions the utility of the Qu Yuan attribution for any of the *Chuci* poems. He demonstrates that the various problematic features of all *Chuci* pieces can be better explained once they are stripped naked of the *Zhangju* interpretations.[101]

The impasse in the authorship debate surrounding *Chuci* is not that different from those concerning other early texts, where existing evidence does not really answer questions that are

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95. Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929), "Qu Yuan yanjiu" 屈原研究, in *Yinbing shi heji* 飲冰室合集, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1936).

96. Such as Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978), "Geming shiren Qu Yuan" 革命詩人屈原 (1940), in *Guo Moruo gudian wenxue lunwenji* 郭沫若古典文學論文集, (Shanghai guji chubanshe: Shanghai, 1985). and Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978), "Qu Yuan yanjiu" 屈原研究 (1942), in *Guo Moruo gudian wenxue lunwenji* 郭沫若古典文學論文集, (Shanghai guji chubanshe: Shanghai, 1985). Guo not only defended the traditional biographical reading, but also began reshaping Qu Yuan to fit the twentieth century leftist agenda. Wen Yiduo 聞一多 (1899-1946) famously declared Qu Yuan as "the people's poet" (人民的詩人). See also Schneider, *A Madman of Ch'u*, 87-124.

97. He Tianxing 何天行, *Chuci zuo yu Handai kao* 楚辭作與漢代考 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2014).

98. The authorship of *Chuci* was similarly an important debate in Japanese scholarship; see Wang Haiyuan 王海遠, "Zhong Ri *Chuci* yanjiu bijiao — yi xiandai wei zhongdian, qiyu 20 shiji 80 niandai" 中日《楚辭》研究及比較 — 以現代為重點，迄於20世紀80年代 (PhD diss., Fudan daxue, 2010); Zhang Jingyu 張靜宇, "'Qu Yuan fouding lun' lunzheng yanjiu" 「屈原否定論」論爭研究 (MA thesis, Zhangzhou shifan xueyuan, 2012).

99. Walker, "Toward a Formal History of the 'Chuci'," 430.

100. Sukhu, *The Shaman and the Heresiarch*.

101. Owen, "Reading the Li sao"; Owen, "Too Many Commentaries."

based on assumptions associated with the "genius author" and closed texts. Paratext as an analytical tool, I believe, offers a more productive alternative. As in my previous analyses, in this case too I am not primarily concerned with the who, how, when and why of the *original* composition of a piece, whatever "original" could mean. In searching for paratextual elements within what we today consider as the "main text," I seek to determine whether the texts within this compilation express what "it" (i.e. its producers and redactors) considers to be its text, and how this text ought to be understood. As before, I will also investigate whether it has made any attempt in presenting its author figure, and if yes, if this presentation then performs the mediating, hierarchizing, and packaging functions of paratexts.

3.2 The Paratextual Demarcations within *Chuci zhangju*

In this subsection, I will argue that chapter 6, "Bu ju" 卜居 (Divination), chapter 7, "Yufu" 漁父 (The Fisherman), and chapters 9, 10, 12, or the "Summons" (*zhao*) chapters, perform paratextual functions within the *Chuci zhuangju* compilation, because they reflect layered attempts to demarcate the boundary of the *Chuci* corpus. Through presenting Qu Yuan as an author figure, they attempt to establish an hierarchized relationship between the production of the text (represented by the author figure) and its reception.

"Bu ju" and "Yufu" as Corporal Anecdotes

In all known chapter sequencings, the first seven (or eight in the *CCSW* sequencing) chapters are consistently bracketed by accounts of the beginning and the end of the protagonist's life (See Figure 5.2). This largely matches the attribution by the *Zhangju* commentaries, namely the attribution of the first seven chapters to Qu Yuan. I will therefore refer to chapters 1-7 as the "core chapters." Chapter 1 "Li sao," standing at the beginning of the compilation, fa-

mously opens with a declaration of the protagonist's origin: his ancestry, the moment of his birth (or his descension from heaven), and the names his father bestows upon him. While such an autobiographical narration of birth is likely unparalleled among early Chinese texts,[102] the names carefully chosen by the father are not "Qu Yuan," or in any apparent way related to the two characters "Qu" and "Yuan."

> My father, seeing the aspect of my nativity,
> Traced the omens to give me an auspicious names.
> The name he gave me was "Zhengze" (True Exemplar)
> The title he gave me was "Lingjun" (Divine Balance).
>
> 皇覽揆余初度兮, 肇錫余以嘉名
> 名余曰正則兮, 字余曰靈均.[103]

These names are a source of much scholarly contention.[104]

In contrast, the two short narrative chapters at the end of the core chapters, chapters 6-7, are the ones that pronounce the name "Qu Yuan" for the very first time. In fact, they contain the only two occurrences of the name "Qu Yuan" within the core chapters. Unlike the rest of the *Chuci* compilation, all of which are in verse, these two chapters alone have narrative frames written in prose. One can even say that they closely follow the structure of a capsular anecdote, namely anecdotes consisting of narrative frames serving as paratexts that encapsulate speeches, which are in many ways the "main text." In the case of chapters 6 and 7, the embedded speech-

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102. Hong Xingzu believes that this is the earliest case of an author's self-narration or autobiography. He notes that Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661-721), in his *Shitong* 史通, traces the author's self-narration (*zixu* 自敍) to the middle period (*zhonggu* 中古). Hong argues that this passage in "Li sao" predates all other cases of autobiography, such as Sima Qian's postscript; see *Chuci buzhu*, 1.3.

103. Ibid., 1.4. Translation adapted from Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 68.

104. The imitation attributed to Liu Xiang, "Jiu tan" seems to already reflect the need felt to explain these names; see footnote 196. *For a summary of existing attempts at connecting these names to Qu Yuan, see Chuci jijiao jishi* 楚辭集校集釋, commentary by Cui Fuzhang 崔富章 and Li Daming 李大明 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), 68-75.

es, being in verse, align more closely to the rest of the *Chuci* compilation.

Both anecdotes relate Qu Yuan's encounters during his exile. Chapter 6 describes a visit to a diviner, while chapter 7 a dialogue with a fisherman. Chapter 6 opens with the first occurrence of the name "Qu Yuan," and its description of Qu Yuan echoes Han commentators' writings about the tragic poet. In the comparison below, repeated phrases are underlined:

<table>
<tr><td>

Chapter 6 "Bu ju"

Since Qu Yuan was sent on exile, he has not obtained a recall for three years. Though he had taxed his knowledge and strained his loyalty to the utmost, his worth has been obscured by the tongues of slander. His mind was in such a turmoil that he did not know which way to turn.

屈原既放，三年不得復見。竭知盡忠，而蔽鄣於讒。心煩慮亂，不知所從.[105]

</td><td>

Zhangju Preface to "Li sao"

Qu Yuan, despite being loyal and true in his conduct, was met with perverse slander. His sorrowed mind was in such a turmoil that he did not know which way to turn (or "he did not know what to divulge").[106] He thus composed "The Classic of Encountering Trouble."

屈原執履忠貞而被讒衺, 憂心煩亂, 不知所愬，乃作《離騷經》.[107]

</td></tr>
</table>

While reading chapter 6 as paratext appears to be my interpretative decision, its opening line is echoed by the commentarial preface to "Li sao," which would be considered a piece of paratext[108] even by modern standards. While from Hong Xingzu onward, these two chapters are often regarded as apocryphal, I would argue that they in fact perform important paratextual func-

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105. *Chuci buzhu*, 6.176. Translation adapted from Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 204.
106. The word *su* 愬 can mean both to "face" or "turn" to a certain direction, and to "tell" or to "divulge." The first meaning is semantically close to the word in the parallel position in chapter 6, *cong* 從 (to follow), while the second meaning builds a natural connection to the composition of "Li sao" mentioned in the next phrase. The choice of this word could be a subtle attempt to shift the meaning of an existing text, from an image of Qu Yuan wandering to that of Qu Yuan verbalizing.
107. *Chuci buzhu*, 1.2.
108. Whether allographic prefaces in later editions are paratext or metatext is an interesting question. One can perhaps think of them as the paratext of a given edition, but the metatext of the "original text." In other words, both apply, depending on what one wants to emphasize. These terms, after all, are articulating relationships among texts, and not intrinsic qualities of a given piece of writing.

tions. Even if chapters 6 and 7 ought not to be read as reflections of historical reality — even Hong Xingzu strongly advises not to do so[109] — these accounts were nevertheless introduced to ancient audiences as a contextual framework for interpreting the "main text" they bookend.[110] In some ways, chapter 6 almost resembles a modern book cover, in that it contains the very first mention of the author's name.

Chapter 7, "Yufu," meanwhile, is a close parallel of the anecdote in the *Shiji* biography of Qu Yuan, which is in turn closely related to an account in *Xinxu* 新序 (New Ordering) by Liu Xiang.[111] It portrays an episode that precipitated Qu Yuan's suicide. In its intermingling of its author account with the *Shiji* biography, the *Chuci* compilation is similar to many other Masters texts. In all known configurations of the *Chuci* compilation, the "Yufu" chapter is invariably placed at the end of the core chapters (See Figure 5.2). It moreover shares many similarities with the lone Han Fei anecdote in the *Hanfeizi*. In both of these corporal anecdotes, the author figures are asked to explain why they have put themselves in harm's way. The fisherman in chapter 7 explicitly blames Qu Yuan for his own exile, while Tangxi Gong, more implicitly, suggests that Han Fei has planted the seed for his unfortunate end.

While Han Fei provides an apologia for "his" writings, what Qu Yuan defends is, prolep-

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109. See page 399.
110. For biographical reading as a new type of reading strategy, see David Schaberg, "Song and the Historical Imagination in Early China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 59 (1999), 314.
111. *Xinxu jiaoshi* 新序校釋, compiled by Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8 BCE), commentary by Shi Guangying 石光瑛 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2017). For a brief discussion of this passage, see Schimmelpfennig, "The Quest for a Classic," 125-26.

tically, his choice of suicide.[112] In the verses packaged within this chapter, the poet vividly imagines how his life would end, as ascribed to him by all Qu Yuan lores: "I would rather cast myself into the waters of the river and be buried in the bowels of fishes, than hide my shining light in the dark and dust of the world" 寧赴湘流，葬於江魚之腹中。安能以皓皓之白，而蒙世俗之塵埃乎.[113] Similar to the transmitted *Zhuangzi*, the staging of the author's death scene also marks the end of the texts ascribed to him. Thus these intimations of the authors' deaths mark the endpoints of not only their physical lifespan, but also their textual corpus.

Moreover, chapters 6 and 7 exhibit the full set of paratextual features. They supply the meta-information and interpretative context for the core chapters, most significantly through introducing an author name. Without these two chapters, chapters 1-5 are nearly atemporal. Their content, ranging from addresses to divinities to plaintive articulations of personal grievances, almost seems to purposefully eschew association with a specific historical context. Like most open text, which tends to encompass both ritual texts and lyrical verses, the "I" within chapters 1-5 — had they been transmitted without chapters 6 and 7 — would have designated the enunciator of these poems, such as the ritual re-enactor, or every new performer or reader. But the association with an author, as Foucault points out, changes our reading of this "I" to designating the author.[114] In Walker's words, as simplifying and unsatisfactory the biographical readings are,

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112. Qu Yuan's suicide became a topic of debate among Han writers, possibly already in the piece attributed to Jia Yi and Sima Qian's biography, but certainly among Eastern Han writers such as Ban Gu and Yiang Xiong, see Ibid. for translations and study of some of these discussions. For further contextualization, see Timothy Wai Keung Chan, *Considering the End: Mortality in Early Medieval Chinese Poetic Representation* (Leiden: Brill, 2012). While indirect evidence suggests that chapter 7 likely predates Liu Xiang, given the speculative nature of the dating of these various texts, I will not delve into whether the prominence given to Qu Yuan's suicide in this paratextual moment anticipates or participates in this debate.

113. *Chuci buzhu*, 7.180. Translation see Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 206.

114. Foucault, "What is an Author," 287.

"Qu Yuan locates Chu poetry in time,"[115] forever anchoring chapters 1-5 to the lifetime of Qu Yuan and the voice of a person from that time period, so long as the audience heed such prescriptions. The meta-information supplied by chapters 6 and 7 thus demonstrably transforms how the core chapters are understood.

Similarly remarkable is the packaging function performed by these two narrative chapters. Recognizing this packaging prescription is important, for it is in fact a matter of debate whether the *Chuci* materials existed as a compilation, or as individual pieces. The "Yiwenzhi," by naming compilations as *Zhuangzi* or the *Hanfeizi,* shows a recognition of these texts as individuated yet integral entities or objects, even if it is unclear to us what these objects exactly contain. The grammatical construction used in the "Yiwenzhi" to describe Masters texts and the *fu* poetry compositions are different: whereas it describes the *Zhuangzi* as "*Zhuangzi* in 52 chapters (*pian*)" 莊子五十二篇, it describes the *Chuci* materials as "twenty-five chapters of Qu Yuan's *fu*" 屈原賦二十五篇. One can reasonably infer that the word "Zhuangzi" here is a name of a text rather than an author, or *Zhuangzi*《莊子》 rather than "Master Zhuang" 莊子, because it is in parallel position to other terms that are more unambiguously names of texts, such as "*The Classic of Changes* in twelve chapters" 易經十二篇. In the case of Qu Yuan, however, there is an added noun of *fu*, rendering the name of Qu Yuan more likely the author name, grouping together 25 pieces of *fu* that were read individually. One could hypothesize and read the three characters "Qu Yuan fu" as a book title, or *Qu Yuan fu*《屈原賦》 (*The Rhapsodies of Qu Yuan*). While this is not impossible, none of the *fu* collections tallied in the "Yiwenzhi," all of which following this formula, were transmitted as a text named 《XX 賦》 or *The Rhapsodies of XX*. In short, what are

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115. Walker, "Toward a Formal History of the 'Chuci'," 26.

now the core chapters of *Chuci* were probably read by the writer of this bibliographical entry (not unlikely Liu Xiang) as individual pieces rather than part of one compilation.

This is to say that up to the first century CE, the integrity of chapters 1-7 as "one text" cannot be taken for granted, and the *Chuci,* as an entity, was still in its gestation phase, characteristic of open texts whose paratextual prescriptions were not yet widely followed.[116] In this context, the placement of chapters 6-7 is all the more significant. Their similarity to other corporal anecdotes suggests that they might reflect the earliest attempt to both delimit the end of the *Chuci* and to package together these 25 pieces as one entity (see Figure 5.2, which shows these two chapters marking the end of an earlier redaction, possibly that of Liu An's). The information from "Yiwenzhi" also highlights the packaging power of the paratextual elements more familiar to us: chapter titles. The titles of chapter 2 "Jiu ge" and chapter 4 "Jiu zhang" have grouped together poems that could also be read as individual pieces, transforming them into the poetic suites found in the received *Chuci zhangju*.

If chapters 6-7 articulate the confines of Qu Yuan's oeuvre, then chapter 8 "Jiu bian" 九辯 (Nine Changes) presents a complicating factor. In all known direct evidence, "Jiu bian" is attributed without dispute to Qu Yuan's supposed disciple, an even more obscure figure named Song Yu 宋玉. It is placed after the core chapters as chapter 8 in the CCBZ sequence, but it is chapter 2 in CCSW, right after "Li sao" and within the packaging of Qu Yuan's birth and death (see Figure 5.2). This apparent violation can still be explained by the tropes of author construction we have

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116. Timothy Chan has also made this argument, that Liu Xiang read the 25 chapters of *fu* as individual pieces, based on another argument, namely that the prefaces to the pieces in *CCBZ* (as opposed to the two postscripts) are written by Liu Xiang. Since Liu Xiang is said to only write one report per work, this would show that Liu Xiang read each individual piece in the *Chuci* collection as a work, see Chan, "The *Jing/zhuan* Structure," 312-13.

been exploring, though one should also accept from the outset that given the complex history behind the formation process of all early texts, not everything about these texts can be "explained." The paratextual language I have proposed are descriptions of tendencies rather than rules — a description of a language that has not yet been standardized, so to speak.

In the case of "Jiu bian," one should first point out that there is at least one instance attested where a line from "Jiu bian" is attributed to Qu Yuan rather than Song Yu, in the "Chen shen ju biao" 陳審舉表 (Memorial Explaining Judicious Appointments) by Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232).[117] The placement of "Jiu bian" and the notion of Song Yu as Qu Yuan's disciple might also reflect another dynamic of author construction we have discussed: the need of a disciple figure to perform the hierarchizing function of paratexts, both in elevating the status of the author, and in demanding the accurate transmission of a text through time. This is exactly Hawkes' interpretation. Commenting on the CCSW table of contents, he writes

> Since *Li sao jing* was immediately followed by a work which everyone confidently attributed to Qu Yuan's 'disciple' Song Yu, it follows that whoever compiled the original anthology must have thought of *Li sao* as the master-text written by the Archpoet himself and all the works which followed as merely 'School of Qu Yuan.' Of this school Song Yu alone is named because he was the greatest and best-remembered of the 'disciples.'[118]

The relationship between Qu Yuan's "Li sao" and Song Yu's "Jiu bian" not only confirms to the binary and inter-dependent structure of master-disciple, it could also be reflecting the author-transmitter (作而不述 and 述而不作) model that I will touch upon in the Conclusion of this disserta-

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117. 屈平曰：「國有驥而不知乘，焉皇皇而更索！」See *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文, compiled by Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762-1843), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 16.1139a. For a discussion of this citation, see Tang Bingzheng, "*Chuci* bianzuanzhe jiqi chengshu niandai de tansuo," 52-53.
118. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 32.

tion. Song Yu, in any case, seems to be closely associated with the position of the "transmitters" or the compilers, as I will discuss in the next subsection.

For now, it seems reasonable to suggest that between the beginning and the end of the core chapters, the emergence of a textual corpus' identity seems to have taken place. The opening of chapter 1 bestows names upon its protagonist, none of which is the eventual author name. Just as the author is in fact more of a finalizer rather than an originator, the "I" of *Chuci* was not born as Qu Yuan, but dies as Qu Yuan. The naming of Qu Yuan, much like the declaration of the author name "Theognis," might have been one of the magic spells that began to transform a set of anonymous, open, evolving materials into a closed corpus.

The Changing Attributions of the "Summons:" From Laudator to Laudandus

Almost uncannily, if the death scene of the author marks the end of "his" work, what happens next in the *Chuci zhangju* is the elegizing, embalming, and enshrining of both the author's physical body, and I would argue, his literary corpus. The next major group of poems presents a new genre: renditions of the shamanistic incantations calling back the soul of the deceased, a ritual procedure that is also attested in other early sources.[119] These three poems all contain the word *zhao* 招 (summoning) in their titles, chapter 9 "Zhao hun" ("Summons of the Soul"), chapter 10 "Da zhao" 大招 ("The Great Summons"), and chapter 12 "Zhao yinshi" 招隱 士 ("Summoning the Recluse"). Chapter 12, likely the earliest to enter the compilation, is always attributed to the Liu An court, which is also said to be the source of the earliest *Chuci* compila-

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119. Ibid., 219-21; Kern, "Early Chinese Literature," 84-86; Miranda Brown, *The Politics of Mourning in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 11.

tion.[120] It appears to be a literary reworking of the ritual incantations, and calls upon a prince to return from the wilderness. The other two "Summons" poems are closer to the original ritual context, and seem to be addressing the deceased. Their cries embellish in detail the treacherous landscapes in all directions, while enticing the lost souls by listing the sumptuous allures of civilization. The author attributions of these two chapters, in contrast to chapter 12, involve a great degree of fluidity and ambiguity.

In this subsection and the next, I will present a possible reading of the "Summons" as representations of the position of the "last compilers," the compilers who were attempting to close this corpus; they are accordingly also the paratexts that perform the hierarchizing and packaging functions associated with the effort of such compilers. There are several lines of evidence for this reading, which I will briefly state here: 1) Early, pre-*Zhangju* attribution seems to associate the "Summons" texts with Qu Yuan, while the *Zhangju* commentaries attribute them to the followers of Qu Yuan; this shift could be reflecting Qu Yuan's changing status from the one performing the elegy to the one being elegized, from the *laudator* to the *laundandus*.[121] 2) The three authors of "Summons" named by *Zhangju* all occupy the ambiguous position between production and reception, and are apt representatives of compilers. 3) The older chapter sequence of *CCSW*, according to Tang Bingzheng's interpretation, suggests that each of the three "Summons" was introduced every time a new redaction was made, and was added to the end of that particular redaction, until Wang Yi successfully closed the corpus (see Figure 5.2). Thus

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120. *Wenxuan* attributes it directly to Liu An, as opposed to the literary collective Huainan xiaoshan 淮南小山.

121. Terms often employed in Pindar scholarship. For *laudare* as "to pronounce a funeral oration over a person," see Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956).

each of the "Summons" chapters was in some ways similar to a terminus delimiter that signals the end of the compilation. 4) As I will elaborate in the next subsection, not only is there a strong association between the formation of the Qu Yuan corpus and the mourning of Qu Yuan, the goals of funeral ritual and the aims of compilation also seem to converge in early Chinese discourse.

Figure 5.2 Formation History of *Chuci zhangju* and Distribution of Paratexts + Hypertexts

Captions:
- All numbers are chapter numbers from the 12th c. *CCBZ* (the received text):

Authors Attributions	QY	QY	QY	QY	QY	QY	QY	Song Yu	Song Yu	QY?? Jing Cuo??	Jia Yi??	Liu An et al.	DF Shuo	Yan Ji	Wang Bao	Liu Xiang	Wang Yi
Chapters	1 Li sao	2	3	4	5	6 Bu ju	7 Yufu	8	9 Zhao hun	10 Da Zhao	11	12 Zhao yinshi	13	14	15	16	17

- Paratexts: Corporal Anecdotes ; "Summons" chapters (*zhao*)
- Hypertexts: **15 = chapter with hypertextual markers**
- People: QY=Qu Yuan; **Compilers**; 16= Chapter attributed to a compiler
- Dotted Line ....: boundary between possible re-compilations

1st c. BCE *Shiji:*

Poems attrib. to QY	Li sao		Tian wen	Huai sha + Ai Ying			Zhao hun

2nd c. BCE -2nd c. CE *Chuci Zhangju* (based on reconstruction of *CCSW* table of contents, adapted from Tang Bingzheng 湯炳正 1963 and Chan 1998):

Author attrib. in *CCSW* ToC	QY	Song Yu							Liu An et al.		Wang Bao	DF Shuo	Liu Xiang	Yan Ji	Jia Yi	QY/ Jing Cuo	Wang Yi
Author attrib. in Wang Yi Commentaries	QY	Song Yu	QY	QY	QY	QY	QY	QY	Liu An et al.	Song Yu	Wang Bao	DF Shuo	Liu Xiang	Yan Ji	Jia Yi??	QY?? Jing Cuo??	Wang Yi
Compiled: by **Liu An**	1 Li sao	8	2	3	4	5	6 Bu ju	7 Yufu	12 Zhao yinshi								
by **Liu Xiang**									9 Zhao hun	**15**	**13**	**16**					
by **Wang Yi**													14	11	10 Da Zhao	17 (?)	

Let us begin with the first piece of evidence, the shifting author attributions of chapters 9 and 10. The *Shiji*, likely the earliest evidence, attributes chapter 9 "Zhao hun" to Qu Yuan. The evidence from the *CCSW* reconstruction suggests that this piece was not included in the redaction associated with Liu An (see Figure 5.2). The reconstructed *CCSW* table of contents leaves

chapter 9 anonymous. The *Zhangju* commentary attributes chapter 9 to Qu Yuan's disciple Song Yu, who is said to be calling for Qu Yuan's return from exile.[122] When it comes to the authorship of chapter 10 "Da zhao," the *Zhangju* commentaries show hesitation for the first time, attributing it either to Qu Yuan or another obscure younger contemporary of Qu Yuan, Jing Cuo 景差.[123] The *Zhangju* preface to "Da zhao," interestingly enough, spends most of its ink on Qu Yuan summoning his own dispersing spirits.[124] Later scholars, starting with Hong Xingzu, would question the attributions made by *Zhangju*.[125] As Hawkes convincingly demonstrates, the *Zhangju* attributions can only produce forced interpretations of the content of these poems. Nevertheless, rather than seeing the *Zhangju* attributions as mistakes, I would like to suggest that this interpretative history is in fact revealing. These palimpsests of readings seem to hint at a period of transition, where the image of Qu Yuan elegizing his beloved king was receding, while entering into view was the image of "transmitters" and compilers such as Song Yu, Jing Cuo, and Liu An, calling upon an evanescing author figure.

Chapter 9 "Zhao hun," first of all, is among the few pieces explicitly attributed to Qu Yuan by *Shiji*, reflecting an earlier reading that predates Wang Yi. Hawkes has convincingly argued that this poem was likely composed for a king. Its key is to be found in the coda section (*luan* 亂), which recounts a royal hunting expedition.[126] Chapter 10 "Da zhao," as Hawkes points

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122. *Chuci buzhu*, 9.197.
123. "Jing" appears to be one of the three important clan names associated with the Chu state, according to *the Zhangju preface of "Li sao"*: 屈原與楚同姓，仕於懷王，為三閭大夫。三閭之職，掌王族三姓，曰 昭、屈、景 (Ibid., 1.3). The only other piece of information on Jing Cuo in extant literature is his brief mentioning, along with Song Yu, as a follower of Qu Yuan in *Shiji*: 屈原既死之後，楚有宋玉、唐勒、 景差之徒者，皆好辭而以賦見稱；然皆祖屈原之從容辭令，終莫敢直諫 (*Shiji*, 84.2491).
124. *Chuci buzhu*, 10.216.
125. Hong Xingzu appears to agree with the Song Yu attribution for chapter 9, but not the attribution to Qu Yuan in chapter 10, see Ibid..
126. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 222-23.

out, similarly addresses a ruler. Hawkes also suspects that Sima Qian in fact had chapter 10 "Da zhao" in mind, when he mentioned a piece named "Zhao hun" as Qu Yuan's work, accounting for why the *Zhangju* commentaries names Qu Yuan as one of the two possible authors of chapter 10.[127] While Hawkes's conjecture with regard to chapter 10 seems difficult to fully substantiate, the royal identity of both poems' addressees appears certain. This is to say that both poems, at least in the earlier phase of their history, were unlikely to have been addressed to a minister figure like Qu Yuan, despite the wishes articulated in the *Zhangju* commentaries. Read as poems *by* Qu Yuan, however, the "Summons" poems can easily be explained as a loyal minister performing funerary rites for his king. It is possible that the traces of this reading are preserved even among the *Zhangju* commentaries. The preface to chapter 10 "Da zhao," for instance, partly describes it as Qu Yuan "exalting the virtue of [King] Huai and [King] Xiang" 崇懷襄之德.[128]

Close reading of the *Zhangju* commentaries reveals their primary motivation: namely to replace the kingly figures with Qu Yuan as the primary addressee, or the *laudandus*. Attributing the poems to the disciple-like figures, Song Yu or Jing Cuo, would transform their role into that of disciples conjuring their master, and accomplish such a purpose. As the line I just cited reveals, the *Zhangju* commentaries are not oblivious to the royal references in chapters 9 and 10 — it would in fact be difficult to overlook the explicit and repeated references to a king (*wang* 王) in the coda section of chapter 9. Nevertheless, the *Zhangju* commentaries go to great lengths to insert Qu Yuan into the *laudandus* position. The description of the royal hunt, for instance, is explained as the great poet, in his exile, reminiscing the times when he accompanied King Huai of

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127. Ibid., 232-33.
128. *Chuci buzhu*, 10.216. Scholars such as Tang Bingzheng reads "Zhao hun" as Qu Yuan elegizing his deceased king; see *Chuci jijiao jishi*, 2130.

Chu on such excursions.[129] Hong Xingzu, apparently on the same page with the *Zhangju* commentators on this one, cooperatively suggests that the evocation of the royal hunt serves to entice the soul's return.[130] The *Zhangju* preface to chapter 10, as already alluded to, offers an even more circuitous explanation. It evidently feels beholden to the existing attribution to Qu Yuan, and cannot fully commit to reading this piece as a poem by Jing Cuo. The solution it offers is to say that even when this poem was composed by Qu Yuan, it was a troubled Qu Yuan attempting to gather and collect *his own* souls, who praised the kings and the lands of Chu for the purpose of articulating his own intent.[131] Such an auto-elegizing again places Qu Yuan in the *laudandus* position, allowing the commentators to acknowledge the royal references[132] but ultimately see chapter 10 as a poem *for* Qu Yuan and *about* Qu Yuan.

This reading strategy is not only advocated by the *Zhangju* commentaries, but is already inserted into what is now part of the "main text," namely the first segment of chapter 9. This section, which I will refer to as the "prologue," is strikingly different from the rest of "Zhao hun," or the language and content of the "Summons" in general. It however bears great resemblance to poems exemplified by "Li sao," as Table Table 5.4 below shows. While Hawkes sees this prologue as an "unconnected fragment" that has "absolutely nothing to do with what follows,"[133] I would like to suggest that it was purposefully introduced so as to reframe the reading of the "Summons" proper. Through echoing the poems associated Qu Yuan, most prominently "Li sao,"

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129. 以言嘗侍從君獵，今乃放逐，歎而自傷閔也; see *Chuci buzhu*, 9.214.
130. Ibid., 9.213.
131. 屈原放流九年，憂恩煩亂，精神越散，與形離別，恐命將終，所行不遂，故憤然大招其魂, 盛稱楚國之樂，崇懷、襄之德... 達己之志也 see Ibid., 10.216.
132. For the *Zhangju* commentary's acknowledgement of *a* king of Chu (*Chu wang* 楚王), see Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 225.
133. Ibid., 222.

this prologue has once again again inserted Qu Yuan as the addressee of the ritual calls:

> When I was young, I was pure and spotless;
> My body was imbued with unfailing righteousness
> … this perfect virtue,
> Entangled in the world's affairs, grew sullied with neglect.
> The sovereign cannot register this brimming virtue,
> So that I have long been unfortunate and full of bitter sorrow.
> The High God said to Wu Yang:
> "There is a man below whom I would help:
> His souls are dispersed. Make divination for him."
> Wu Yang replied: "The Master of Dreams …
> The Lord God's bidding is hard to follow."
> [The Lord God said:]
> "You must divine for him. I fear that if you any longer decline, it will be too late."

> 朕幼清以廉潔兮，身服義而未沫。
> [...]主此盛德兮，牽於俗而蕪穢。[134]
> 上無所考此盛德兮，長離殃而愁苦。
> 帝告巫陽曰：「有人在下，我欲輔之。
> 魂魄離散，汝筮予之。」[135]
> 巫陽對曰：「掌夢[...]
> 上帝其命難從.」
> [帝曰]
> 「若必筮予之，
> 恐後之謝，不能復用。」[136]

Much of this passage seems to have textual problems and is likely corrupted. Nevertheless, in

what is still legible, the ghostly subject to be rescued by the lord god (*di* 帝, or the thearch) and

Wu Yang 巫陽, a diviner or shaman, bears close resemblance to the protagonist of the core chap-

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134. Zhu Xi and Wen Yiduo both suspect that one to a few characters are omitted before *zhu* 主; see Chuci jijiao jishi, 2131.

135. Many commentators read *yu* 予 as the act of making the soul return to Qu Yuan's body; see Ibid., 2134-35.

136. *Chuci buzhu*, 9.197-98. Translation adapted from Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 223-24. Punctuation and emendation to the text is based on Hawkes's interpretation, which is partly based on Wang Niansun's emendation, see *Chuci buzhu*, 9.198.

ters. Nearly every word in this opening dialogue frame, as Table 5.4 below show, echoes the

protagonist's self-description in the core chapters, as well as characterizations of Qu Yuan from

the Han period.

Table 5.4: "Zhao hun" Prologue and Descriptions of Qu Yuan

"Zhao hun" prologue	朕<u>幼清</u>以<u>廉潔</u>兮，身<u>服義</u>而<u>未沫</u>/主此盛德兮，牽於<u>俗</u>而<u>蕪穢</u>/上無所考此盛德兮，長<u>離</u>殃而<u>愁苦</u> / 帝告巫陽曰：「有人在下，我欲輔之 / <u>魂魄離散</u>，汝筮予之。」
Chapter 1 "Li sao"	朕皇考曰伯庸…皇覽揆余初度兮…哀衆芳之<u>蕪穢</u>…非世<u>俗</u>之所服…進不入以<u>離</u>尤兮…夫孰非<u>義</u>而可用兮，孰非善而可<u>服</u>…芬至今猶<u>未沫</u>
Chapter 6 "Bu ju" & chapter 7 "Yufu"	寧<u>廉潔</u>正直，以自<u>清</u>乎…誰知吾之<u>廉</u>貞(chapter 6); 舉世皆濁我獨<u>清</u>… 安能以皓皓之白，而蒙世<u>俗</u>之塵埃乎(chapter 7)
Description of Qu Yuan in *Shiji*, containing passages attributed to Liu An[137]	離騷者, 猶離憂也…屈平正道直行，竭忠盡智以事其君…屈平之作離騷，蓋自怨生也… 其文約，其辭微，其志絜，其行廉…其志絜，故其稱物芳。其行廉，故死而不容自疏。濯淖汙泥之中，蟬蛻於濁穢，以浮游塵埃之外，不獲世之滋垢，皭然泥而不滓者也。推此志也，雖與日月爭光可也。
Zhangju Preface to "Li sao"	離，別也。騷，<u>愁</u>也。言己放逐離別，中心<u>愁思</u>…以自證明，終不見省。不忍以<u>清白</u>久居濁世
Wang Yi Postscript to "Li sao"	而屈原履忠被譖，憂悲<u>愁思</u>….今若屈原，膺忠貞之質，體<u>清潔</u>之性…
Zhangju preface to "Zhao hun"	宋玉憐哀屈原，忠而斥棄，<u>愁</u>懣山澤，<u>魂魄放佚</u>，厥命將落。故作招魂

Beyond the vocabulary overlap, the narrative contents of all of these passages are very similar.

Furthermore, the "Zhao hun" prologue also echoes another motif of the core chapters, namely

the appeal to the diviner to give direction to the restless and aggrieved protagonist. I will un-

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137. Both Ban Gu and Liu Xie's attribute parts of this passage in *Shiji* to a *zhuan* 傳 by Liu An, see Ban Gu's first *xu* in Hong Xingzu's subcommentary Ibid., 1.49-50, and Liu Xie's "Bian sao" 辨騷 Ibid., 1.51-53. See also Hong Xingzu's prefatory note to "Li sao" Ibid., 1.1. For a discussion and translation of this passage, see Schimmelpfennig, "The Quest for a Classic," 120-21.

pack the implication of the similarity among these passages in the next subsection. For now, we should observe that if this prologue can be read as a paratextual framing device enveloping the "summoning" text proper, its prescription has been heeded. The *Zhangju* preface clearly takes on this reading, for it identifies the "dispersed souls" (*hun po li san* 魂魄離散) as souls of Qu Yuan. The eighth century commentators of *Wenxuan* 文選 (Selections of Refined Literature), the so-called "Five Officials" (*wuchen* 五臣), similarly identify the "I" voice as that of Qu Yuan.[138] It is also possible that Hong Xingzu did not question the attribution of *Zhangju* here (in contrast to his objections in the case of chapter 10 "Da zhao") on account of this passage.

Turning now to supporting evidence 2): if Qu Yuan is inserted into chapters 9 and 10 as the new *laudandus,* the *Zhangju* commentaries choose authors who are fitting as the *laudatores* of Qu Yuan, as well as the stand-ins of the compilers. Unlike many of the later imitators named in the *Chuci* compilation, Song Yu, Jing Cuo, Liu An and the texts attributed to them occupy the ambiguous position between production and reception. Temporally, Song Yu and Jing Cuo are the only two other pre-imperial author figures named besides Qu Yuan. In available sources, they have no additional features outside of being putative authors of *fu*[139] and followers of Qu Yuan.[140] They are supposed to be distinct figures from the *original* author, Qu Yuan, but they are at same time entangled with Qu Yuan's identity and *his* core chapters. The chapter "Jiu bian," as we have discussed, is placed right after "Li sao" in *CCSW*, and is thus likely the only chapter in *CCSW* that is bracketed by chapters 1 and 7 but not attributed to Qu Yuan. Jing Cuo is also entangled in Qu Yuan's authorship, since he is known only for being an alternative to Qu Yuan in

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138.*Chuci buzhu*, 9.197.
139.Kern, "Early Chinese Literature," 76.
140.In addition to *CCBJ* and *Shiji*, 後有宋玉、唐勒之屬慕而述之 (*Hanshu*, 28.1668).

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the authorship of "Da zhao," in addition to a brief mention as a follower of Qu Yuan in *Shiji*.[141]

The insertion of two figures conforms to the "instruction scene" paradigm, where the position of the disciples is closely tied to that of the compilers, who are not fully distinct from the "production" of the text, but are yet at the same time the first audience who wish to initiate the process of "reception." If Song Yu and Jing Cuo, as Qu Yuan's contemporaries, are also Qu Yuan's disciples and look-alikes, Liu An et al. are the compilers *par excellence*. The Liu An collective is recorded as the first known compiler of the *Chuci*, in addition to other large textual projects, as discussed in previous chapters. If the disciple figures symbolically represent the position of compilers, the Liu An collective did actually operate as compilers.

Evidence 3) has to do with the positioning of the three "Summons." Corresponding to their putative figures' position as the compilers, the "Summons" all occupy a peripheral and liminal position when they were first introduced into the compilation, and are thus likely paratextual in nature. As Figure 5.2 shows, the three "Summons" appear to be scattered all over the place in the older *CCSW* sequencing. But as Tang Bingzheng's reconstruction[142] brilliantly suggests, there is in fact a pattern to the placement of these three chapters, namely that they are closely tied to the chapters attributed to the three known compilers of *Chuci*, Liu An, Liu Xiang, and Wang Yi. Tang's reconstruction is partly based on the assumption that compilers would place their own works at the very end the compilation, which is a reasonable assumption based on known practices. There are of course plenty of reasons to be skeptical of this supposition, especially given how little we know of early Chinese textual practice. But if we do take this as-

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141. *Shiji*, 84.2491.
142. Tang Bingzheng, "*Chuci* bianzuanzhe jiqi chengshu niandai de tansuo." This reconstruction is largely adopted by Hawkes, see Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 222.

sumption as a premise, the *CCSW* table of contents can be analyzed as the product of at least

three stages of re-compilations, and becomes far less chaotic (Figure 5.2).[143]

To characterize more precisely the relationship between the "Summons" chapters and the

compilers' chapters: chapter 12 "Zhao yinshi" *is* the one and only chapter attributed to Liu An in

the transmitted *Chuci* corpus. Placed right after chapter 7, or Qu Yuan's death scene, this text,

calling upon a prince (*wangsun* 王孫) rather than kings, can be easily read as Liu An elegizing

Qu Yuan. It marks the end of Liu An's compilation both as an elegy for the deceased arch-au-

thor, and as the work of the compiler. The next compiler, Liu Xiang, might have added four

more chapters to this compilation, including his own piece. There is no apparent logic behind

the sequencing of these four pieces, other than the positioning of the compiler's piece, chapter

16 "Jiu tan" 九嘆 ("Nine Laments"), at the end. The choice of chapter 9 "Zhao hun" at the begin-

ning might then be a deliberate choice. It could simply be that the compiler wanted to place the

two "Summons" poems together. But as it is, "Zhao hun" is placed at a liminal position, marking

the end of the existing compilation, insulating the older materials from the newly introduced

pieces. Turning to the last stage of this compilation, the introduction of the last four pieces ap-

pear to involve a rather complex history: it is unclear, for instance, if Wang Yi was the one who

introduced them, and it is equally unclear if Wang Yi actually included the final chapter attrib-

uted to himself, chapter 17 "Jiu si" 九思 ("Nine Longings"), in the redaction submitted to the

throne.[144] But since this group contains the only two poems where the *Zhangju* expresses doubt

concerning its author attribution, it appears plausible that they entered the compilation in the

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143. Tang in fact argues for five stages.
144. Tang Bingzheng, "*Chuci* bianzuanzhe jiqi chengshu niandai de tansuo," 56.

same phase.[145] What we can note is that the final "Summons" poem, "Da zhao," is placed either at the very end of the compilation — if it had circulated without chapter 17 "Jiu si" — or right before the final piece attributed to the last compiler Wang Yi.

While my unpacking of the chapter sequence may seem a bit overwrought and even ad-hoc, what is consistent is that there is *always* one — and *only* one — "Summons" poem added to the end of existing texts at each round of recompilation. This is especially striking when we consider how different the "Summons" are in form, content, and language, from the rest of the *Chu-ci*, as we have already discussed. Each of the compilers has essentially grouped together verses that highly resemble each other, but they made sure to always add a dirge-like piece to the mix. Considered with evidence 1) and 2), as well as evidence 4) to which I will turn next, I do believe that the "Summons" could have functioned as the terminus delimiter of sort, i.e. fulfiling para-text's packaging function. If so, then in the next subsection, I will focus on the hierarchizing function performed by these three pieces.

3.3 The Task of the Undertaker and the Task of the Compiler

If Song Yu, Jing Cuo, and Liu An are all simultaneously elegizers and compilers in ser-vice of Qu Yuan's physical and textual bodies, this subsection seeks to expound this intimate connection between the task of mourning and the task of text-making. Both processes, I argue, are about the repackaging of a corpus, literal or literary. This repackaging not only contains and delimits this body, it also performs a hierarchizing function, which creates an ancestral figure to be emulated by descendants, either in deeds or in words.

The entanglement between funerary rites and compilation might have been present

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145.Ibid., 55.

from the start. Han sources attribute the creation and transmission of the *Chuci* to the mourning for Qu Yuan.[146] Ban Gu's "Li sao zan xu" 離騷贊序 ("An Panegyric Preface to 'Li sao'"), for instance, states that "the verses (*ci* 辭) of [Qu Yuan] became what many worthies mourned and grieved over. Therefore they are transmitted to posterity" 其辭爲眾賢所悼悲，故傳於後.[147] Such sentiment is repeated in many *Zhangju* prefaces. The earliest piece of writing said to be about Qu Yuan is already a dirge, namely the *fu* included in Sima Qian's biography on Qu Yuan, presented to us as a threnody by the early Han writer Jia Yi 賈誼 (200 - 168 BCE).[148] It appears more understandable, in this context, why the *Zhangju* commentaries are interested in inserting Qu Yuan into the "Summons" pieces as the *laudandus*.

As we continue to probe into the paratextual functions of the funerary "Summons" poems, we begin to uncover their connections to the conception of textual scholarship in the Han period. The similarity in language between the prologue of chapter 9 and Han period discussions, as laid out in Table 5.4, already alludes to parallels between compilation and funerary rites. If the diviner and the high god are in charge of rescuing someone from filth and disintegration, similar language is used to describe a compiler's responsibility for salvaging a text from fragmentation, obscurity, or even defamation. To illustrate this parallel between the compiler and the diviner (or even the high god), we can turn to Wang Yi's postscript to "Li sao," focusing on the subtle difference between Wang Yi's characterization and an early eulogization of "Li sao," found within the *Shiji* biography and attributed to Liu An by Ban Gu and Liu Xie.[149]

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146. This is probably also related to the association between Qu Yuan and the Duanwu 端午 folk festival, see Schneider, *A Madman of Ch'u*, 125-57; Ian D. Chapman, "Carnival Canons: Calendars, Genealogy, and the Search for Ritual Cohesion in Medieval China" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2007), 71-77.
147. *Chuci buzhu*, 1.51.
148. *Shiji*, 84.2492-95.
149. See note 137 on page 416.

Turning to the early eulogy first, we can see that it accredits the lofty "intention" (*zhi* 志) of Qu Yuan/"Li sao" for lifting Qu Yuan/"Li sao" beyond the dust and grime of earthly realms. The *Shiji* version states:

> Because of his pristine intention (*zhi*), he praises the fragrance of things; because of his uncorrupt conduct, he would sooner die than absolving himself. After sinking in sordid mud, he left behind his molted shell in muddled filth to be borne aloft beyond dust, unfettered by the grime of his time, gleaming as one unsullied by mud. In commending this intention (*zhi*), one can even match it with the brilliance of sun and moon.

> 其志絜，故其稱物芳。其行廉，故死而不容自疏。濯淖汙泥之中，蟬蛻於濁穢，以浮游塵埃之外，不獲世之滋垢，皭然泥而不滓者也。推此志也，雖與日月爭光可也.[150]

As Schimmelpfennig points out, Qu Yuan's ascension here is articulated in terms similar to the *Huainanzi* text's description of the attainment of immortality.[151] According to this text, Qu Yuan attained this immortal-like state on account of his own "intention" (*zhi* 志).

In contrast, Wang Yi's postscript to "Li sao" suggests that upon an author's death, his "intention" is in fact very much under the threat of distortion and obscurity. Closely echoing the opening of "Yiwenzhi," this postscript begins by stating that on the day when Confucius was about to die (*linzhong zhi ri* 臨終之日), "his great meaning began to distort and his subtle words died off" 大義乖而微言絕.[152] Wang Yi then praises Liu An's compilation of the *Li sao jing zhangju* 離騷經章句 (Section and Sentence Commentary to the Classic of "Li sao") as part of the "expansion of the Way and its expounding" (*huikuo daoxun* 恢廓道訓) during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han. It is on account of Liu An's redaction and commentary, says Wang Yi, that the "great

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150. Ibid., 84.2482. Translation consulted Schimmelpfennig, "The Quest for a Classic," 120-21.
151. Ibid., 121.
152. Cf. 昔仲尼沒而微言絕，七十子喪而大義乖 (*Hanshu*, 30.1701).

meaning" of Qu Yuan's poem was again "radiant" (*dayi canran* 大義燦然). Whereas in the early eulogy, the author's attainment of the radiant luminary sphere was buoyed by his own "intention," in Wang Yi's postscript, agency is assigned to the redactors and commentators, for the author's intent, his "great meaning," is already in need of rescue. Thus if the prologue in chapter 9 conjures up an image of a figure like Qu Yuan facing the threat of defilement, Wang Yi's postscript imbues compilers and commentators with the power to come to deliverance. In a concrete way, Wang Yi presents his own redaction as a rescue mission, saving the Qu Yuan corpus from misinterpretations as well as existing censures, such as Ban Gu's criticism of Qu Yuan's suicide.[153] As if echoing the vocabulary employed in the prologue of chapter 9, Wang Yi accuses Ban Gu of "damaging [Qu Yuan's] purity and pristine nature" 損其清潔者也.[154]

Sima Qian postscript to *Shiji* suggests another parallel between the collecting of texts and the gathering of souls. If the diviner needs to "assist" (*fu* 輔) the figure who is about to "dispersed" (*li san* 離散), Sima Qian also tries to reconstitute the personhoods that have fallen apart, such as "to anthologize the remnants and repair (*bu* 補) omissions, completing the work of one lineage"以拾遺補蓺，成一家之言.[155] The word "to repair" (*bu* 補), a common descriptor of the work of a commentator, is a close cognate of word "assist" (*fu* 輔), the task the High God assigned to the diviner. Both words have the meaning of "complementing" what is otherwise not yet fully whole. At a larger scale, Sima Qian's postscript to *Shiji* describes a textual world in disarray, in need of reassembling and restoration. It speaks of "the plans and the records of the Illustrious Hall and the stone rooms, of the metal caskets and jade tablets" that were "*dispersed*

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153. See footnote 112.
154. *Chuci buzhu*, 1.47-49.
155. *Shiji*, 130.3319. See also Owen, "Speculative Futures."

and fallen into chaos" 明堂石室金匱玉版圖籍<u>散亂</u>.[156] The formulaic structure of the "Summons"

poems in many ways mirrors such gathering and unifying missions. As Owen points out,

whereas the majority of *Chuci* poems are centrifugal, on account of the *itineraria* that send the

protagonists to every directions, the "Summons" poems are centripetal, calling for the return to

the human habitat located at the center of the cosmic mapping.[157]

In short, the prologue to chapter 9 "Zhao hun" and echoes of it − as well as writings on the act

of compiling − suggest the parallel between the recollecting of the Qu Yuan's dispersing body and the re-

constitution of his literary corpus. Using the terms central to this dissertation, the "dispersed" and

"chaotic" texts described in *Shiji* can be seen as the "open texts," anonymous textual materials

that circulated without restraint, and can be freely adopted and adapted. If the redactional and

commentarial work of the *Chuci zhangju* indeed brings the "dispersed" verses of Chu into unity

and order, it also transforms it into a closed text.

Philosophical Parallels between Burial Rites and Compiling

If the diviner in the prologue of chapter 9 mirrors the compilers, this parallel applies to

the "Summons" poems in general. The author's death, as discussed, can be read as a request for

the annulment of a text's power to grow and transform. It corresponds to the "packaging" func-

tion of paratext, its valence to demarcate and delimit. The author's funerary rites in turn match-

es the "hierarchizing" function. The compilers not only collect and clean up the textual body,

they are also responsible for generating the reverence toward the text that facilitates its mummi-

fication, namely the attainment of its "relatively immutable identity."[158] Once the "Summons"

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156. Emphasis mine; see *Shiji*, 130.3319.
157. Owen, "Reading the Li sao," 39.
158. Genette, *Seuils*, 408.

poems are read as reflections of the perspective of the compilers, they are not only a commemoration of the *laudandus* Qu Yuan, they also become allegories for the compilation process that finalizes Qu Yuan's literary corpus and authorial body.

Chapter 19 "Li lun" 禮論 ("Discourse on Ritual") of *Xunzi*, a Confucian rationalization of inherited ritual prescriptions, allows us to pinpoint to the functional parallel between funeral rites and the compilation of a closed text. In most succinctly articulated terms, this chapter characterizes the function of burial ritual as "putting in order life and death" 治生死者也.[159] The term "ordering" (*zhi* 治), firstly, can be applied to both the task of ritual and the work of the compiler.[160] Ritual "orders" in that it bridges the chasm between two otherwise bifurcated spheres, between the natural sphere of raw materials, and the manmade sphere of order and beauty. "Nature is the root and the beginning, the raw material and original constitution. Artifice is the form and principle of order, its development and completion. If there were no nature, there would be nothing for artifice to improve; if there were no artifice, nature cannot beautify itself" 性者、本始材朴也；偽者、文理隆盛也。無性則偽之無所加，無偽則性不能自美.[161] In other words, the sphere of order and pattern is by default artificial (*wei* 偽), while the sphere of "nature" (*xing* 性), without man's exertion, is not in possession of beauty. It is through ritual that these two spheres can be brought together, for ritual can impose order onto nature.[162]

Accordingly, funerary rites "put in order life and death" in the sense of imposing order onto life and death, and they do so in several ways. First of all, funerary ritual demarcates the

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159. *Xunzi jijie*, 19.358. For ritual's ordering power, see also "Aigong wen" 君子以此之為尊敬然。然後以其所能教百姓，不廢其會節。有成事，然後治其雕鏤文章黼黻以嗣. Cf. "Liyun" in *Liji*, 故聖王修義之柄、禮之序，以治人情.

160. See Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China," 11.

161. *Xunzi jijie*, 19.366. Translation adapted from Knoblock, *Xunzi*, III.66.

162. For the discussion of these two spheres in *Xunzi,* see Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation*, 64-73.

boundary between life and death. Ritual is said to be "sedulous in matters of auspicious and in-auspicious signs to keep them from affecting each other" 禮者，謹於吉凶不相厭者也.[163] If this statement by itself is not entirely clear, the ensuing discussion indicates that the "auspicious" and the "inauspicious" refer to life and death respectively, and that funeral ritual has the function of disambiguating them. It interprets the initial steps of a funerary procedure — such as detecting the patient's breath with a silk floss[164] and waiting for three days to put on mourning clothes[165] — as ways of ascertaining that the deceased has indeed departed. The incantation practice reflected in the "Summons" texts is also said to partly serve this function.[166] These steps allow the "services that sustain life" (*chisheng zhi shi* 持生之事[167]) to end without ambiguity, and the mourning process to commence. Adhering to seeing ritual as a demarcation separating life and death, this passage argues against what must have been a competing interpretation, which saw such a prolonged ritual procedure as an attempt to detain the dead in the sphere of the living.[168]

Secondly, ritual transforms the deceased from something that is decomposing and ab-horrent into something that is beautified and composed. Without the adornment of rituals, the dead is revolting to behold: "Hence, the way of the dead is that if [the corpse] is not adorned, it becomes hideous, and if it is hideous, no grief is felt … (if) one shows neither grief nor respect, then one has conducted oneself as a beast would" 故死之為道也，不飾則惡，惡則不哀….不哀不

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163. *Xunzi jijie*, 19.361.Translation adapted from Knoblock, *Xunzi*, III.64.
164. 紸纊聽息 (*Xunzi jijie*, 19.361).
165. 故雖備家必踰日然後能殯，三日而成服 (Ibid.).
166. Brown, *The Politics of Mourning in Early China*, 11.
167. *Xunzi jijie*, 19.361.
168. 故三月之葬，其貌以生設飾死者也，殆非直留死者以安生也，是致隆思慕之義也 (Ibid., 19.362).

敬，則嫌於禽獸矣.[169] The concealment and transformation that take place through burial rites are thus the *sine qua non* of an orderly human realm, in contrast to the realm of beasts.

Finally, what completes this ritual transformation is the replacement of the corpse with a new subjectivity, an ancestor bearing the ancestral name. Along with the interment that hides the corpse and the sacrificial offering that serves the spirit, "the inscription, eulogy, and genealogical record reverently transmit their names to posterity" 故葬埋，敬藏其形也；祭祀，敬事其神也. 其銘誄繫世，敬傳其名也.[170] The resulting ancestral name is not only what occupies the ancestral tablet, it signifies the new identity of an individual, who, in his or her afterlife, can hope to transcend the limitation of space and time.

This conceptualization of ritual exhibits strong structural similarity to Sima Qian's and Wang Yi's articulations of the compiler's task. As discussed, early imperial descriptions of the inherited writings often repeat terms such as "dispersed" (*san* 散), "remnants" (*yi* 遺) or "distorted" (*guai* 乖), and reveal a similar tendency to see such writings as "raw materials" needing of external rectification. The compiler's work, just as the work of ritual specialists, fulfills this need. The dichotomy between "raw material" and an artificially imposed "order" is observable in Wang Yi's description of Qu Yuan, who refers to the poet in terms of "substance" and material, such as "[Qu Yuan] internalized the *substance* of fidelity and chastity, and embodied the *nature* of purity and spotlessness" 膺忠貞之質，體清潔之性 (emphasis mine). This description seems to echo the "Hua sha" poem included in chapter 4 "Jiu Zhang" 九章 (Nine Pieces) as well as Sima Qian's biography, where it serves as Qu Yuan's suicide note. "Huai sha" repeatedly expresses the anxiety that one's internal "nature" or "substance" cannot be recognized by the ex-

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169. Ibid. Translation from Knoblock, *Xunzi*, III.68.
170. *Xunzi jijie*, 19.361. Translation adapted from Knoblock, *Xunzi*, III.68.

ternal world. "The nature I cherish in my bosom, the feelings I embrace, are one of kind and matchless / For when Bo Le [a famous horse connoisseur] is dead and gone, how can the thoroughbred go coursing" 懷情抱質, 獨無匹兮。伯樂既沒，驥焉程兮.[171] Like other members of the endurers' list, Qu Yuan does not meet the proverbial Bo Le who can appreciate his inner quality. By echoing such vocabularies of nature and substance, Wang Yi styles himself as Qu Yuan's Bo Le, who discovers an extraordinary nature in an existing text.

Once the raw materials are identified, Wang Yi (and perhaps also earlier compilers) similarly sees the need to impose order upon them. The external application of order performed by the *Zhangju* compilers can be analyzed in terms similar to the characterizations of funerary rituals. Firstly, if ritual instates a clear demarcation between life and afterlife, the creation of this compilation disambiguate "text" from "off-text." Just as funeral ritual officializes the end of one's life, the "last compilers'" task is to close the otherwise open and growing corpus, pronouncing its end as a "living" entity, and initiating a new kind of literary game, that of "reception." Within the *Chuci* compilation, the paratextual chapters package together the core chapters as texts supposedly produced during Qu Yuan's life, insulating them from the texts generated in their "afterlife." They thus delimit the "main text" from the collection of "hypertext" — the imitations — disambiguating "pre-ception" from reception.

The creation of this closed text is intimately tied to the order-making of an authorial body. The *Zhangju* preface before every title identifies the scenario in Qu Yuan's life that has prompted this particular composition. This reading strategy, similar to what Sima Qian has done in the *Shiji*, places every piece of text into a historical moment, imposing a temporal se-

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171. *Chuci buzhu*, 4.154. The phrase 稽之舊章，合之經傳 is repeated in 3.119. Translation adapted from Hawkes, "The Quest of the Goddess," 172.

quence upon them. The core chapters are all emplotted onto the narrative of Qu Yuan's life, so that, for instance, the opening of chapter 1 "Li sao" became an account of Qu Yuan's birth, the religious ritual songs of chapter 2 Qu Yuan's reworking of the rites he witnessed,[172] chapter 3 Qu Yuan's reactions to murals in a Chu temple,[173] and finally chapter 7 an account of Qu Yuan's death.[174] This reading strategy allows the commentaries to transform a heterogenous set of materials into the *oeuvre* of one person, utilizing the body authorial as a unitary and unifying principle.

Furthermore, the compilation of the *Chuci zhangju* imposes moral order and ideological unity, reflecting an attempt, as Timothy Chan states, to incorporate the *Chuci* material into the "Confucian orthodoxy."[175] Writing according to a logic strongly reminiscent of "Li lun" in *Xunzi*, Wang Yi states in his postscripts to both "Li sao" and chapter 3 that he hopes to "once more based on what [he] knows and understands, compare the old sections and conjoin them with the classics and commentaries" 復以所識所知，稽之舊章，合之經傳.[176] To put aim to practice, the postscript to chapter 1 ends with a series of quotations from "Li sao" that Wang Yi pairs (*he* 合) with quotations from the *Book of Odes*, the canonized Confucian classic. This exercise exemplifies how Qu Yuan's "substance" ought to be "conjoined" with what is orderly, namely the orthodox writings of the "classics" and "commentaries" (*he zhi jingzhuan* 合之經傳). Just as rituals are presented as the beautification of a corpse that is otherwise repulsive, this Confucianizing

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172. *Chuci buzhu*, 2.55.
173. Ibid., 3.85.
174. Ibid., 7.179.
175. Chan, *Considering the End*, 38. Owen has pointed out a text like "Li sao" already reflects the imposition of political and moral discourses of associated with the Central Plain to the north onto earlier materials (Owen, "Reading the Li sao," 4-7).
176. *Chuci buzhu*, 1.48. Translation adapted from Chan, *Considering the End*, 16.

reading covers up elements perceived to be disorderly, deviant, or even threatening, which are nevertheless intrinsic to the *Chuci* material. The preface to chapter 2 "Jiu ge," for instance, characterizes its source as "ugly and vulgar" (*bi lou* 鄙陋).[177] The postscript to chapter 3 "Tianwen" explains the difficulty in interpreting this text by stating that its "content is not in sequence, and it is moreover heavy in oddities and strange matters" 文義不次，又多奇怪之事.[178] As the prologue to chapter 9 and the early eulogy hints at, thinly veiled by the discourse of luminary immortality is the unsettling imagination of a drowned body "down below" (*zai xia* 在下), "sinking in sordid mud" 濯淖汙泥之中, "growing sullied with neglect" (*wuhui* 蕪穢).

Finally, funerary ritual and the act of compilation create the same product: the creation of a revered ancestral name. If the "Huai sha" poem articulates the anxiety of not being recognized, Wang Yi's postscript, as we have seen, assigns itself the duty to refute slanders and bring to light Qu Yuan's moral and poetic excellence. The compilers facilitate transmission just as funerary rites "transmit [the deceased's] names to posterity." Wang Yi's postscript ends with a celebretory description of Qu Yuan's literary afterlife. Explicitly articulated here is the immortalization of Qu Yuan's name, as that of both an author and an ancestor.

> Since his passing, no renowned classicists and insightfully erudite gentlemen in their verse compositions would not imitate him as a model, emulate him as an *ancestral* archetype … His name will pass down without limit, forever indelible (emphasis mine).

> 終沒以來，名儒博達之士著造詞賦，莫不擬則其儀表，祖式其模範... 名垂罔極，永不刊滅者矣.[179]

The phrase introducing this passage, "since his passing" (*zhongmo yi lai* 終沒以來), recalls the

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177. *Chuci buzhu*, 2.55.
178. Ibid., 3.118.
179. Ibid., 1.47-49.

very beginning of this postscript, which describes the day of Confucius' departure with a similar phrase, *linzhong zhi ri* 臨終之日. This structural parallel serves as a reminder of the earlier compilers' achievement in rescuing Confucian teachings from deviation, linking by analogy this glorious vision of Qu Yuan's afterlife to the *Zhangju* compilers' labor.

In summary, in view of 1) the shift in the author attributions of the "Summons" poems, including the insertion of a prologue at the beginning of chapter 9 "Zhao hun," 2) the disciple-transmitter role of author figures associated with the "Summons," 3) the peripheral positioning of the "Summons" in the *CCSW* sequence, and 4) the functional parallels between funerary rituals and the act of compilation, it is possible that at some point in the formation history of the *Chuci* corpus, the "Summons" poems were introduced and adapted to reflect the perspective of the compilers in their veneration of Qu Yuan as the author figure.

All together, chapters 6 and 7 and the three "Summons" perform all four functions of paratext. As corporal anecdotes, "Bu ju" and "Yu fu" for the first time supply the key meta-information for the interpretation of the core chapters, namely the author's name "Qu Yuan." They prescribe to the earlier poems biographical and historical contexts, since Qu Yuan's biography — "real" or not — is temporally bound. The interpretative strategy communicated by these corporal anecdotes is reflected in the *Zhangju* commentaries, and can be seen as realized or fulfilled prescriptions. Similar to the narratives of the author's death or departure in other early compilations, these two chapters serve as attempt to package and delimit the core chapters or the "main text."

If burial rites function as a conduit between death and afterlife, the "Summons," as funerary chants, also serve as a transition between the "main text" and the hypertexts, namely the imitations constituting the remaining *Chuci zhangju* chapters. The palimpsest of meanings asso-

ciated with the "Summons" seem to reflect Qu Yuan's transformation from a courtier performing elegy to the elegized ancestral author. The *Zhangju* commentaries ask the audience to read the "Summons" as such elegies addressed to Qu Yuan. In the next subsection, we will turn to the literary descendants that perform dutiful emulations of the newly packaged ancestor.

3.4 "Emulating Him as an Ancestral Archetype" 祖式其模範

Our discussion has so far covered the "main text," paratext, and metatext (commentaries) portion of the *Chuci zhangju*. In this subsection, I will demonstrate that the majority of the remaining chapters — five of the remaining six — are demonstrably hypertextual. Much like Hellenistic poetry, these final pieces in the *Chuci zhangju* tend to be regarded as pedantic and derivative, and have received far less scholarly attention. Hawkes' introduction of Liu Xiang's imitation, for instance, describes it in the following terms: "Liu Xiang is perhaps too learned a writer to be enjoyable, and he cannot always escape the charge of dullness. Yet sometimes there is a nobility and grandeur in these poems which atones for the surrounding flatnesses and infelicities."[180] Identifying the hypertextual features of these pieces seems to bring out interesting aspects of these poems, which has greatly enhanced at least my own personal enjoyment of these compositions.

In Genette's terminology, a "hypertext" is "a text derived from another preexistent text … through a process… (called) transformation."[181] In the context of early Chinese texts, the word "preexistent" becomes an operative term. As Owen has pointed out in his study of early classical Chinese poetry,

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180. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 282.
181. Genette, *Palimpsests*, 5.

> The term "intertextuality" is probably inappropriate for early classical poetry. Intertextuality presumes a relationship between "texts."[182]

Open texts can involve ample reuse of existing materials, but no one text is marked as "<u>pre</u>existent" vis-à-vis another. Of the lines shared by chapter 1 "Li sao" and chapter 2 "Jiu ge," for instance, it is not due to a loss of information that we do not know whether chapter 1 is citing chapter 2, or vice-versa, but that their producers were not yet interested in establishing such a unidirectional hierarchy. Since both texts, as they were sharing materials with each other, were also growing and evolving, what "pre-" would mean in this context is not self-evident. The creation of a closed text is the transformation of a text from an ongoing process into a datable object. It is only with the creation of closed texts — the publication of a printed book, for instance — that the concept of "preexistent" acquires its full meaning. Thus it is only after the paratextual (and to a large degree metatextual) materials have succeeded in circumscribing the core chapters of the *Chuci* that the stage is set for the game of reception: that of intertextuality and hypertextuality.

I suggest there are at least two features of hypertexts that distinguish them from textual reuse: 1) acknowledgment of the privileged position of the source text and 2) an acknowledgement of the source text as a closed text, as a stabilized selection and arrangement of words. Five of the six remaining chapters of *Chuci zhangju* have one or both of these hypertextual features, which I will further explain in my close reading. As Walker's methodical and systematic study demonstrates, the poetics of the *Chuci* rests on its repetitiveness, not unlike repetitions of stock phrases in Homeric epics. The majority of the *Chuci* poems share a great deal of vocabularies and formulations among each other, regardless of whether they are a core chapter or an imita-

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182.Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry*, 15.

tion chapter. According to Walker's indexing, the core chapters in fact have significantly higher rate of textual reuse than the remaining chapters.[183] This shows that what makes a text an "imitation" is not merely the repetition of other texts.

Among the *Chuci* chapters, only the hypertextual chapters I am about to discuss acknowledge the source text and its privileged position (i.e. feature 1). Once such a status of pre-existence is acknowledged, the act of imitation becomes unidirectional: only the hypertext can be the "transformation" of the source text, not the other way around. It is in this sense that the relationship between the source text and the imitation text is hierarchized. The hypertextual chapters also interact with the core chapters as closed texts (i.e. feature 2). Textual repetition among open texts in a shared tradition is more akin to how "speaking" in general works, which consists of repetitions of existing words. As Owen has articulated in his masterful study of a tradition of open texts,

> A poet did not need to think of any particular prior case because he had read or heard many poems "of the same kind" and knew many lines that followed a certain pattern. As in language acquisition itself, the multiplication of particular utterances leads to language as a virtual set of possibilities, rules, and habits.[184]

Composing in the *Chuci* tradition is like "speaking" using a more specialized and limited set of not only words, but also phrases, structures, and tropes. Imitation, on the other hand, is more about the mirroring of a very specific selection and arrangement of words. It has to reflect the preexistent closed text's distinguishing word choices and/or something about the sequencing of these words.

Four of the six remaining chapters exhibit feature 1). In stark contrast to the core chap-

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183. Walker, "Toward a Formal History of the 'Chuci'," 133.
184. Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry*, 16.

ters, these four chapters all mention the author name "Qu Yuan" and his signature text, "Li sao."

These chapters include chapter 14 "Ai shi ming" 哀時命 ("Alas That My Lot Was Not Cast"),

chapter 15 "Jiu huai" 九懷 ("Nine Regrets"), chapter 16 "Jiu tan" 九嘆 ("Nine Laments") and

chapter 17 "Jiu si" 九思 ("Nine Longings"). Prior to these imitation chapters, the only other ref-

erences to the name "Qu Yuan," once again, are in the two paratextual chapters, chapters 6-7. In

the last four chapters, Qu Yuan is sometimes referred to as Quzi 屈子 (Master Qu).[185] Three of

these references moreover pair Qu Yuan with Wu Zixu, as if to induct him into the endurers'

list.[186] Overall, these later chapters' explicit acknowledgment of Qu Yuan and the source texts

defined by his authorship suggest the establishment of Qu Yuan as the archetypal author figure,

indicating the successful fulfillment of the speech acts performed by the paratextual chapters.

Of the remaining two chapters that do not explicitly acknowledge Qu Yuan, chapter 13

"Qi jian" 七諫 ("Seven Remonstrances") contains more subtle references to the source text and

its author figure. It is a suite of poems attributed to the Western Han writer Dongfang shuo 東方

朔 (fl. 140-130 BCE). While it does not name "Qu Yuan," it repeatedly mentions Chu 楚, Qu

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185. In chapter 15, 伍胥兮浮江，屈子兮沈湘; see *Chuci buzhu*, 15.275; in chapter 17, 悼屈子兮遭厄，沈王躬兮湘汨; see Ibid., 17.321.

186. In addition to the two mentioned in footnote 185, see also chapter 14 子胥死而成義兮，屈原沈於汨羅; Ibid., 14.265. The endurers' list is a recurring element in nearly all poems in the transmitted *Chuci* corpus, but it is only in the imitation chapters that Qu Yuan is explicitly placed among its rank. This is significant given the association of endurers' list with authorship discourse, discussed in Chapter III and in Conclusion.

Yuan's home state, which is never actually named in the core chapters.[187] It also contains references to key figures, terms, or even chapter titles from the core chapters, such as the shaman mentioned in "Li sao" 離騷, Nüxu 女嬃.[188] The suite of poems, chapter 4 "Jiu zhang," appears to be an important source text for this imitation, for it makes references to the orange tree of the "Ju song" 橘頌 ("In Praise of the Orange-Tree") poem,[189] as well as poem titles "She jiang" 涉江 ("Crossing the River")[190] and "Huai sha" 懷沙 ("Embracing Sand").[191] Despite the prevalence of textual reuse in *Chuci*, these phrases are nearly unique to chapter 13; except for the one occurrence of the title "She jiang" in chapter 9,[192] none of them are to be found anywhere else outside of their source locations and chapter 13. The repetition of such unique word choices of chapter 4 exhibits both feature 1): an acknowledgement of the titles of the source texts, and feature 2): the intertextual reference to a unique and stabilized selection of words, rather than the repetition of the commonly shared vocabularies within the tradition. The exhibition of these features distinguish chapter 13 as a hypertextual imitation. This leaves chapter 11 "Xi shi" 惜誓 ("Sorrow for Troth Betrayed") as the only poem outside of the core chapters without any paratextual or hy-

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187. References to the Chu state also occur in chapters 16 and 17. The only references to Chu outside of the imitation chapters are in chapter 10 "Da zhao." Hawkes has already noted the repeated references to Chu in "Da zhao" and considers it a "peculiarity." He points out that in chapter 9 "Zhao hun," in contrast, no reference to Chu is made, because the "king does not need to be reminded that he is a king of Chu, and products, unless their country of origin is specified, are naturally assumed to be of local make;" see Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 232. Chapter 10 "Da zhao," as discussed, is likely among the last group of texts to be introduced into the *Chuci* corpus. It is thus likely composed not only with the awareness of texts like "Zhao hun," but also the notion of such texts as part of a corpus named *The Verses of Chu*. This observation further supports the supposition that references to Chu are a marker of hypertextuality, indicating someone who is writing in reaction to a corpus that was already established as the texts of the Chu state.

188. In "Li sao," *Chuci buzhu*, 1.18, and in "Qi jian," Ibid., 13.251.

189. Ibid., 4.153-55. References in chapter 13 include 斬伐橘柚兮 (13.237), 雜橘柚以為囿兮 (13.250), 橘柚萎枯兮 (13.257).

190. Ibid., 13.251.

191. Ibid., 13.242.

192. Interestingly, not only as a title, but also as a title of a "new song" (*xinge* 新歌; see Ibid., 9.209.

pertextual markers I was able to identify.

The features of hypertextuality are most pronounced in chapter 16 "Jiu tan," which comprises a suite of poems attributed to the imperial librarian Liu Xiang, who is acknowledged by Wang Yi as a compiler of *Chuci zhangju*.[193] Once we pay attention to how this poem participates in the game of reception or hypertextuality, we can identify its structures and layers that are otherwise easily obscured by prevalence of the imitative and repetitive lines. Hawkes, for instance, reads this piece as a fluid interchange between Qu Yuan's and Liu Xiang's voices. He describes it as written "mostly in the persona of Qu Yuan, but often Liu Xiang speaks for himself through Qu Yuan's mouth, and sometimes he drops the mask altogether and speaks of Qu Yuan in the third person."[194] The hypertextual markers in this piece, however, suggest that this text can be divided into three parts. Only part one, or poems 1-4, are written in the voice of the persona Qu Yuan, while part two, or poems 5-8, are in the voice of Liu Xiang. The final poem, poem 9 or part three, is a grand *itineraria* that seems to have returned to the voice of Qu Yuan.

The suite opens by unambiguously introducing Qu Yuan as the speaking persona, pronouncing,

> The last scion of Bo Yong's line,
> The truly faithful-hearted Qu Yuan
> Thus speaks...

> 伊伯庸之末冑兮，
> 諒皇直之屈原。
> 　云...

This opening frame introduces the subsequent lines as Qu Yuan's direct speech, which, as I will

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193. Hawkes points out that words of "Jiu tan" can be found paralleled in Liu Xiang's memorials to the throne, see Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 282.
194. *Chuci buzhu*, 16.282. Translation adapted from Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 283.

argue, ends at the end of poem 4. The opening section moreover contains a nearly line-by-line imitation of the opening of chapter 1 "Li sao," as well as the opening of chapter 7 "Yufu," as the comparison below shows. Much of the resemblance occurs at the structural level, and is difficult to replicate in English. I made small changes to Hawkes' translations to emphasize vocabularies shared by these passages:

1 "Li sao:"	16 "Jiu tan"
Scion of the high lord Gao Yang.	The last heir of Bo Yong's line,
Bo Yong was my father's name.	The truly faithful-hearted Qu Yuan
When Sheti pointed upright to the first month of the year,	Thus speaks: "Tracing my ancestry from Gao Yang
And on the day *geng-yin*, I passed from the womb.	I am the kindred of King Huai of Chu.
My father, seeing the aspect of my nativity,	Of upright integrity I received at birth,
Traced the omens to give me an auspicious name.	And exalted with an auspicious name my life's long road.
The name he gave me was True Exemplar	My name and title are...
The title he gave me was Divine Balance	
7 "Yufu:"	
[He] wandered, sometimes along the river's banks, sometimes along the marsh's edge, singing as he went.	...To sing by marsh's edge and river's banks.[195]
1:	
帝高陽之苗裔兮，朕皇考曰伯庸。	伊伯庸之末冑兮，諒皇直之屈原。
攝提貞於孟陬兮，惟庚寅吾以降。	云余肇祖於高陽兮，惟楚懷之嬋連。
皇覽揆余初度兮，肇錫余以嘉名。	原生受命於貞節兮，鴻永路有嘉名。
名余曰正則兮，字余曰靈均。	齊名字...
…	
7:	
遊於江潭，行吟澤畔.	... . 吟澤畔之江濱.

The rewriting in "Jiu tan" has made one major change: it explicitly names the speaker as "Qu Yuan," as opposed to the unrelated names supplied by "Li sao."[196] It also firmly establishes the

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195. Translation adapted from Ibid.
196. The second poem of "Jiu tan" contains another couplet that imitates two of the opening lines of "Li sao," almost as if to offer a more concrete explanation of the names bestowed upon the protagonist at the beginning of "Li sao:" 兆出名曰正則兮，卦發字曰靈均 / 余幼既有此鴻節兮，長愈固而彌純.

relationship between Qu Yuan and the state of the Chu, even mentioning King Huai of Chu by name. These references to Chu, not to say King Huai, never occur in the core chapters. This is to say, "Jiu tan" has rewritten "Li sao" according to the reading prescribed by the historical narratives of chapters 6 and 7, the two paratextual chapters.

If this rewriting of "Li sao" suggests the success of these paratextual prescriptions, it gets even better: the opening passage of chapter 16 is also both a nutshell version of Qu Yuan's life story, and a nutshell of the core chapters. This nutshell is circumscribed by the close imitations of chapters 1 and 7 we have just read, which are, once again, the bookends of the core chapters. The full version cited below has the line-by-line imitations underlined. My footnotes show that elements from nearly every core chapter are incorporated into this opening section:

> The last heir of Bo Yong's line,
> The truly faithful-hearted Qu Yuan
> Thus speaks: "Tracing my ancestry from Gao Yang
> I am the kindred of King Huai of Chu.
> Of upright integrity I received at birth,
> And exalted with an auspicious name my life's long road.
> My name and title are equal of earth and sky;
> In brightness I rivaled the starry firmament.
> I sucked pure essences and spewed out earthy humors:
> Thrown on an evil world, I held no truce with it.
> And for sounding men's metal without fear or favor
> I was turned out, and lies were told about me.
> My prince gave ear to falsehood and spurned the truth,
> Rejected my counsels and followed his own bent.
> My proud heart, burning, was choked with rage;
> My high hopes, shattered, came tumbling down.
> His feckless mind could find no place for me;
> His person freezingly withdrew from me
> Crestfallen, I took leave of my dear prince,
> To sing by marsh's edge and river's banks.
>
> 伊伯庸之末胄兮，諒皇直之屈原。

云余肇祖於高陽兮，惟楚懷之嬋連。
原生受命於貞節兮，鴻永路有嘉名。
齊名字於天地兮，並光明於列星。[197]
吸精粹而吐氛濁兮[198]，橫邪世而不取容。[199]
行叭誠而不阿兮，遂見排而逢讒。[200]
后聽虛而黜實兮，不吾理而順情。
腸憤悁而含怒兮，志遷蹇而左傾。
心懭慌其不我與兮，躬速速其不吾親。[201]
辭靈修[202]而隕志兮，吟澤畔之江濱.[203]

Such close imitations at the level of the words as well as the structure of the core chapters exhibit feature 2); it is also a full acknowledgment that the core chapters form a delimited and stabilized entity—a closed text.

Indeed, even the minute changes made in chapter 16 seem to point to the differences between open and closed texts. The very first line of "Li sao" is composed in the words of a protagonist of an open text. He is — as Hawkes' inspired word choice captures with precision — a "scion" (*miaoyi* 苗裔), a young shoot (*miao* 苗) with all the potential for growth and transformation. The word in the exact matching position in the first line of chapter 16 is *mozhou* 末胄, the "last heir." This is imitation at its finest. While *yi* 裔 and *zhou* 胄 are nearly synonyms, *miao* 苗

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197. Closely echoes chapter 4, 與天地兮同壽，與日月兮同光; chapter 2 contains a similar hemistich: 與日月兮齊光.

198. This description of breathing is reminiscent of chapter 5, 餐六氣而飲沆瀣兮，漱正陽而含朝霞 / 保神明之清澄兮，精氣入而粗穢除.

199. Possibly echoing chapter 4, 蘇世獨立，橫而不流兮.

200. This line is reminiscent of chapter 6, 竭知盡忠，而蔽鄣於讒. It expresses a recurring sentiment especially prevalent in chapter 4, such as 竭忠誠以事君兮，反離群而贅肬.

201. These lines (from 后聽虛 to 不吾親) similarly express recurring sentiments that are especially prevalent in chapter 4, such as 心純厖而不泄兮，遭讒人而嫉之 / 君含怒而待臣兮，不清澈其然否 / 蔽晦君之聰明兮，虛惑誤又以欺 / 弗參驗以考實兮，遠遷臣而弗思 / 信讒諛之溷濁兮，盛氣志而過之 / 何貞臣之無罪兮，被離謗而見尤 or 驟諫君而不聽兮，重任石之何益 / 心絓結而不解兮，思蹇產而不釋 ("Bei huifeng" in "Jiu zhang"). Chapter 6 "Buju" also speaks of the distancing from the king, even though there is no resemblance in wording, 三年不得復見. Cf. Kern's discussion of "Jiang zhang" language in "Li sao," Kern, "Is the 'Lisao' Actually One Poem?".

202. This follows chapter 1 "Li sao" in referring to *Ling xiu* 靈脩 as the ruler or the beloved from whom the protagonist bids farewell, 余既不難夫離別兮，傷靈脩之數化.

203. *Chuci buzhu*, 16.282-283. Translation adapted from Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 283.

(*miau) and *mo* 末 (*mat)[204] are phonetically alliterative, and semantically similar. If *miao* means a budding young shoot, *mo,* in its graphic etymology, refers to the fine offshoot at the end of a branch. Yet "last scion" (*mozhou*) reflects the retrospective perspective of someone looking at a closed text, not only after the end of Qu Yuan's life, but also the end of Qu Yuan's entire lineage, i.e. the toppling of the Chu state. While the end of the author's life signals the closure and mum-mification of his text, the demise of a lineage and a state can be read as the meta-comment on this lyrical tradition or genre. Rather than a "living" tradition, the writer of chapter 16 is now working with a "classical" form, a fossilized ancient genre.

Moving on to the second part of this poem, the opening of the fifth poem, "Xi xian" 惜賢 ("Lament for the Worthy") introduces the second voice of "Jiu tan:"a reader of Qu Yuan. It be-gins with the line

> When I read the "Li sao" of Master Qu
> My heart is heavy with sorrow for him.
> 覽屈氏之離騷兮，心哀哀而怫鬱.[205]

The use of the verb *lan* 覽 (to view) unambiguously presents Liu Xiang as a reader of a written text, and not just any kind of audience. This reader is the voice of poems 5-8. Not only are the openings of these two parts of chapter 16 marked by two different voices, their endings are also marked. Chapter 16 contains two repetitions of *itineraria,* the first one marking the end of Qu Yuan's voice, while the second one succeeds Liu Xiang's voice as the third and last part of the suite. These two *itineraria* as a set are both an imitation of the double *itineraria* in "Li sao," and

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204. There is an intriguing echoing or even chiasmus among the finals of these four words too, for the vowels and finals of (*miaoyi* 苗裔) vs. (*mozhou* 末冑) is something like (*-aw *-at) vs. (*-at *-uw), or rhyme groups 宵月 vs 月幽.
205. *Chuci buzhu*, 16.295.

what separates the two voices of the suite.

Both ascensions, moreover, conclude with the same terminus delimiter of sorts, namely the lines following the same structure of X *sao sao er* XX (X騷騷而XX): "but throbbing anxieties would not leave me" (*jian saosao er bushi* 蹇騷騷而不釋)[206] in poem 4, and "how with throbbing anxiety I am afflicted" (*he saosao er zigu* 何騷騷而自故) in poem 9.[207] It is notable that the reduplication of *saosao* 騷騷 is what recurs at the end of both *itineraria*. Not only is the persona of Liu Xiang seen reading "Li sao" 離騷 from the start, poems 5-8 references the title "Li sao" 離騷 three times. The repeated character *sao* 騷 is the second character of this title "Li sao." But aside from in the title "Li sao," the word *sao* is not used even once outside of chapter 16. As a literary term, *sao* will at some point begin to refer to a genre or a literary style whose architext is Qu Yuan's "Li sao."

While the first two parts of this suite resemble each other upon first glance, there are in fact systematic differences. To be sure, the "point" of such an imitative exercise is for Liu Xiang to sound like Qu Yuan, to express that whatever he is suffering, it aligns with Qu Yuan's narrative and poetic voice. Nevertheless, poems 5-8 all contain small clues pointing toward the fact that it is Liu Xiang, not Qu Yuan, who is speaking. Three of them, poems 5, 6, and 8, do so by mentioning titles of poems from the core chapters. These titles, once again, are markers of hypertextuality; they are never referenced by the core chapter, nor are they referenced by Qu Yuan's voice in poems 1-4 and 9.[208] Poem 7 mentions a figure far postdating Qu Yuan's life time,

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206. Ibid.. Translation see Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 291.
207. *Chuci buzhu*, 16.312. Translation adapted from Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 301.The first hemistich 聊假日以須臾兮 is, moreover, a repetition of the end of the second ascension of "Li sao," 聊假日以婾樂, see *Chuci buzhu*, 1.46.
208. In addition to the opening of the poem 5 depicting Liu Xiang reading "Li sao," poem 6 "You kuhas 歎《離騷》以揚意兮，猶未彈於《九章》, and poem 8 興《離騷》之微文兮，冀靈修之壹悟.

a general who played a key role in the founding of the Han dynasty, Han Xin 韓信 (d. 196 BCE). All of these hints remind the audience that the speaker of poems 5-8 is a reader, from the Han dynasties, of the pieces that form Qu Yuan's core chapters.

There are also subtle, though systematic, differences in how the protagonists of the first two parts are portrayed. The first four poems are dominated by recurring depictions of Qu Yuan sailing, floating, or submerging into river, narrating his travels as if he has already dissolved into the torrent. In the second four poems the narrator is more likely to climb on mountains and looking down on streams. Qu Yuan's convergence with the river is evidently a reference to his death scene, and is reminiscent of the anxiety over the muddying of his body in Han discourses; Liu Xiang's position from above the mountains, once again, reinforces his perspective as a *viewer*.

Moreover, nearly all the descriptions of the composition of poetry occur in part one. Its protagonist is said to have "met with many misfortunes, falling on dire disgrace / Poured out wondrous words in writing, to leave to posterity" 遭紛逢凶蹇離尤兮 垂文揚採遺將來兮[209] and "unburdening emotions in poetry, hoping to escape" 舒情陳詩冀以自免兮.[210] This is the depiction of Qu Yuan the author. The protagonist of the second half is not only a reader, but also a compiler and a redactor, who "by lifting up the subtle text of 'Li sao,' hopes to recall the Fair One to his senses" 興離騷之微文兮，冀靈修之壹悟.[211] This last line, in particular, can almost be read as a statement of purpose for Liu Xiang's compilation of *Chuci*, with the "Fair One" here no longer referring to Qu Yuan's king of Chu, but subtly (or not really that subtly) points to his

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209. Ibid., 16.285. Translation adapted from Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 285.
210. *Chuci buzhu*, 16.295. Translation adapted from Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 291.
211. *Chuci buzhu*, 16.307. Translation adapted from Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 298. Cf. also 大義乖而微言絕.

own emperor. Indeed, with the insertion of Han Xin, it is difficult not to read poems 4-8 as a veiled (or not so veiled) critique of the Han court. Finally, the first protagonist, Qu Yuan, cries only one single time, at the very end of his speaking part.[212] The narrator of poem 5-8, in contrast, sobs and weeps and wails profusely, like a proper mourner and *laudator*.

The imitations examined in this subsection can be seen as a continuation of the hierarchizing effort initiated by the paratextual chapters. As Genette has pointed out, the creation of an architext is almost always facilitated by hypertexts' imitations, such as the imitation of Homer by Vergil.[213] Recognizing the markers of hypertextuality, such as references to core chapters' titles or the state of Chu, in turn helps us decipher the sophisticated textual games these final chapters are engaged in.

Conclusion: Deaths in Histories and the Death of the Historian

"What does it matter who is speaking," says Foucault, citing Samuel Beckett.[214] As the final example of this dissertation, the full gamut of textual relationships in the *Chuci zhangju* illustrates how the game of textuality changes once a text is spoken through an author. The core chapters and imitation chapters of this compilation is a miniature model of the transformation in textual practice early Chinese texts experienced between their gestation period and their afterlife, between preception and reception. The liminal transition between these two states, as I seek to show, often seem to be facilitated by, and are crystalized as, accounts of author figures' death. If the author is not the *originator* but the *finalizer* of a text, the death of the author under-

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212. 長吟永欷涕究究兮 (*Chuci buzhu*, 16.295).
213. Genette, *Palimpsests*, 7.
214. Foucault, "What is an Author," 281.

scores the finality of such a process of sealing.

The *Shiji* contains other passages describing authors' departures that are not transmitted to us as part of an author's text.[215] In view of the frequent overlaps between the author anecdotes in early compilations and the author biographies in *Shiji*, one should not be surprised if we find versions of such texts accompanied by the *Shiji* narratives, as in the case of the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa*. There is, for instance, the intriguing account of the prodigious *fu* author Sima Xiangru 司馬相如. The narrative at the end emphasizes the seeming disappearance of his writings upon his death, with the exception of the texts on the matter of political legitimacy, the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices (*fengshan* 封禪).

But perhaps more typical of the dynamics explored in this chapter is the genesis account of *Laozi* 老子. Sima Qian tells us that upon witnessing the decline of the once halcyon Zhou dynasty, the sagely Laozi (Old Master), who was Zhou's librarian of sorts, decided to leave it all behind. On his way to exist the known world, he encountered a warden in charge of the mountain pass (關 *guan*), and was asked whether the Old Master could "be compelled to write down a text for [him]" 彊為我著書. Thus at a locale highly symbolic of liminality ("pass") and closure (*guan*), for the guardian standing between the Chinese civilization and the beyond, Laozi wrote down the famous five thousand words, before walking into the sunset, so to speak, and into the unknown. "No one knows where he ended up" 莫知其所終. Not privy to our insistence that nothing is beyond the world of text, the Old Master walked off the page.

This story of Laozi and *Laozi* embodies all the dynamics we have explored throughout this dissertation. Had it been included with a redaction of *Laozi*, it would have been a perfect

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215. For discussions of author narratives in *Shiji*, see Vankeerberghen, "Texts and Authors in the *Shiji*"; Kern, "The "Masters" in the *Shiji*."

paratext. Just as in the narrative of Qu Yuan, we witness a certain separation of two bodies at such a liminal moment. Qu Yuan "molts" his drowned flesh and attains his immortal body authorial. Had the voice of *Zhuangzi* described the same process, it might have stated that it is the text Laozi left behind that is his old shell, the "dregs" (*zaopo* 糟魄).[216] Like instruction scenes, this story depicts a liminal moment, as both a scene of production and a scene of reception. The warden is both the text's first audience and its producer, someone who is responsible for stepping in and "forcing" (*qiang*[*jiang*] 彊) the text into existence.[217] As the titular authors hurry from the scene, it is the disciples and the warden who have to take in and preserve the newly orphaned compositions, as the step-parents, the adopters and adapters of texts, that is to say, the compilers.

And finally, we must at least mention the historians themselves. Owen has already identified the trade-off between the body natural and body authorial surrounding Sima Qian's life and book project. The other historian, putative though he is, is Confucius, who somehow lurks behind so many projects of authorship in Early China, including *Chuci zhangju*. Schneider and Timothy Chan have commented on the audacious implication of Wang Yi's postscript, who positions himself vis-à-vis *Chuci* in parallel to Confucius vis-à-vis the *Book of Odes.*[218]

But it is Confucius' putative authorship of the *Chunqiu* 春秋, or the *Spring and Autumn Annals,* that serves as another example of an authorial body's packaging and delimiting function. Imposing a human author with a limited lifespan transforms an annals, which does not naturally have an end point, into a completable and closable text. Not only do two of the three

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216. See footnote 100.
217. As Kern points out in Kern, "The "Masters" in the *Shiji*," 335-62, 349-50.
218. Schneider, *A Madman of Ch'u*, 30-31; Chan, *Considering the End*, 39-40.

Chunqiu redactions conclude in 481 BCE, shortly before Confucius' death in 479 BCE, the final section of the *Gongyang* 公羊 commentary, which includes a highly paratextual coda,[219] made the link between the end point of this annals and the end of Confucius' life more or less explicit.

The last entry in the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* redactions records the capturing of an unicorn, a sign or an omen in need of interpretation. In reaction,

> Confucius said, "For whom has it [the unicorn] come? For whom has it come?"[220] He rolled up his sleeve to wipe his face, his gown wet with tears. When Yan Yuan died, the Master said, "Alas! Heaven has forsaken me." When Zilu died, the Master said, "Alas! Heaven curtails me." When the hunting expedition to the west yielded a unicorn, Confucius said, "my path has come to a dead end."

> Why does the *Spring and Autumn Annals* begin with Duke Yin (722 BCE)? It records what our ancestors were able to learn ... Why does it end at the fourteenth year of Duke Ai (481 BCE)? It is said, "it is completed." Why has the Nobleman authored the *Spring and Autumn Annals*? For reining in a chaotic age and returning it to the righteous path, nothing was nearer at hand than the *Annals.* Then is it for this reason that the Nobleman authored it? Or is it that he delighted in relating the Way of Yao and Shun? Would not Yao and Shun have delighted in knowing the Nobleman? Based on what the Nobleman has accomplished, he must have delighted in fashioning the meanings of the *Annals* in anticipation of later sages.

> 孔子曰：「孰為來哉！孰為來哉！」反袂拭面，涕沾袍。顏淵死，子曰：「噫！天喪予。」子路死，子曰：「噫！天祝予。」西狩獲麟，孔子曰：「吾道窮矣！」

> 《春秋》何以始乎隱？祖之所逮聞也 ... 何以終乎哀十四年？曰：備矣。君子曷為為《春秋》？撥亂世，反諸正，莫近諸《春秋》。則未知其為是與？其諸君子樂道堯舜之道與？末不亦樂乎堯舜之知君子也？制《春秋》之義以俟後聖，以君子之為，亦有樂乎此也.[221]

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219. Joachim Gentz, "Long Live The King! The Ideology of Power between Ritual and Morality in the *Gongyang zhuan*," in *Ideology of Power and Power of Ideology in Early China*, ed. Yuri Pines, Paul R. Goldin and Martin Kern (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 73.

220. The interrogative here, *shuwei* 孰為, can also be interpreted as "why has it come?" The *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 parallel has *huwei* 胡為, thus asking "why" more unambiguously. The *Kongcongzi* 孔叢子 parallel has *shuwei*, where it prefaces the question by discussing the absence of sagely rulers in its time, making it clear that *shuwei* ought to be read as "for whom."

221. *Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu* 春秋公羊傳注疏. in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, commentary by Ruan Yuan 院元 (1764-1849) (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 2003), 28.356a-359a.

In this final section of the *Gongyang* commentary, the opening and the closing of the *Annals* are problematized, suggesting that for the ancients too, the question of how to define the boundaries of an annals was a concern. The answer offered by this passage is the epistemological limit of the author, Confucius, namely what he could have learned both from his ancestors and within his lifetime. The question of the cut-off of the annals is especially poignant, for the *Gongyang* redaction ends in the middle of Duke Ai's reign, as the sub-commentary (*shu* 疏) points out.[222] All signs within this passage indicate that this end point is tailored according to Confucius' death.

To be fair, Confucius' death is never explicitly declared, but it is indirectly alluded to through words of termination, such as "forsake" (*sang* 喪), "curtail" (*zhu* 祝), "come to a dead end" (*qiong* 窮), as well as their more complimentary sister, "complete" (*bei* 備). The word translated as "forsaken," *sang* 喪, is laden with funereal connotations, so much so that its graph writes two etymologically unrelated words that nevertheless both have 'death' in their semantic ranges.[223] Such a circuitous reference to Confucius's death accords with the overall hermeneutic strategy of this text, with its Kabbalist belief in hidden significations.[224] Early audience, moreover, read this passage as Confucius's moment of comprehension of the portent of his own death. The *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 (The Luxuriant Dew of the Annals) compilation, attributed to Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (?179 - ?104 BCE), repeats Confucius's three laments nearly verbatim. Its ensuing comment states that "three years later, his body accordingly expired. Seeing from this,

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222. Ibid., 28.358a.
223. I.e., *sāng* (*sâŋ) "mourning, burial, corpse" (Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, 450) and *sàng* (*sâŋh, cognate of *wang* 亡) "to lose, destroy, die" (Ibid., 507).
224. I owe this characterization of the *Gongyang* commentary to Yuri Pines, "Early Chinese Historiography" (paper presented at the International Center for the Study of Ancient Text Cultures Workshop: Ancient Historiography in Comparison, Beijing, June 14, 2018).

sages understand heaven's decrees of success and failure. What cannot be helped is indeed fate."[225] 三年，身隨而卒。階此而觀，天命成敗，聖人知之，有所不能救，命矣夫.[226] The sub-commentary of *Gongyang* interprets the deaths of Confucius' favorite disciples as signs gesturing toward the end of the sage's life, and Confucius' laments his recognition of heaven's intent.[227] In contrast, the redaction of the same annals in *Zuozhuan,* far less associated with the notion of "Confucius authoring the *Annals*" (孔子作春秋), ends with the year of 468 BCE, more than a decade after Confucius' death. The alternative cut-off point of *Zuozhuan* further attests to the fact that the textual boundary of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* is not a given. The imposition of Confucius as the author prescribes – rather than describes – an ending, a prescription that has been realized by the survival of the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* as closed texts.

But what is even more remarkable about this passage is its acknowledgment of the body authorial's temporal transcendence. In my discussions of the corporal anecdote in the *Hanfeizi*, as well as the portrayals of Xunzi, Sima Qian, and Qu Yuan as authors, I have identified the entanglement between these early author discourses and the discourse of "meeting [favorable] times" (*yushi* 遇時). The concept of *yushi* looms over this coda as well, as evinced by the heavy presence of "heaven" (*tian* 天) and the terms *qiong* 窮 (the opposite of the "success," the *tong* 通 and *da* 達 that comes with meeting one's time) and *zhi* 知 (being understood and recognized), echoing the *yushi* discussions among the parallel versions of **Qiongda yi shi* examined in Chapter I. But while the other author discourses only suggest a certain nebulous relationship between the failure to *yushi* and authorship, this passage, together with Sima Qian's postface, are

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225. I.e. *fatum*, what is spoken and ordained.
226. *Chunqiu fanlu yizheng* 春秋繁露義證, commentary by Su Yu 蘇輿 (d. 1914) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 9.137.
227. *Gongyang zhuan zhushu*, 28.357a-b.

likely the first explicit articulations of the *raison d'être* of authorship in terms of the *yushi* discourse. They present the creation of texts as a remedy to the problem of *yushi*, an escape route from the unfavorable age one's body natural is trapped in (*qiong* 窮). Owen points out that Sima Qian might have been the first identifiable individual who "thought of the book in terms of its future."[228] Stated in the penultimate sentence of *Shiji* is the wish that it ought to be preserved "in anticipation of the sages and noblemen of later ages" 俟後世聖人君子.[229] Without an identifiable genius author, the *Gongyang* nevertheless concludes with nearly the same phrase, "fashioning the meanings of the *Annals* in anticipation of later sages" 制《春秋》之義以俟後聖.[230] Behind these closing phrases are the widely attested exhortations of the *yushi* discourse: "cultivate one's person [lit. body] and balance one conduct in anticipation of one's moment" 修身端行以俟其時.[231] The closures of *Shiji* and *Gongyang* substitute the body natural (*shen* 身) with the body authorial, and the ruler's recognition with future readers' approbation. This is precisely the modification undertaken by Sima Qian in his version of the endurers' list — the famous authors' list — as I will further discuss in the Conclusion.

But the *Gongyang* constructs an even more elaborate transcendence. The text imagines recognitions (*zhi* 知) across millennia, where the ancient sages take delight in their posthumous reception by Confucius; the same mechanism in turn guarantees a compensation for Confucius' own untimely birth and death, realized by the *Gongyang* commentary's perception of the "meanings" (*yi* 義) hidden within the *Annals*. By the same token, the *Gongyang* awaits its posteri-

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228. Owen, "Speculative Futures."
229. *Shiji*, 130.3320. See page 462 for additional discussion of the postface of *Shiji*.
230. As Owen and other scholars have discussed in detail, Sima Qian was clearly influenced by the lores of Confucius the author.
231. *Xunzi jijie*, 28.527.

ty. This is another version of the enchaining of instruction scenes. A closed text is not only a time capsule, but also a time machine.

Conclusion: The Body Authorial and the Body Politic

This dissertation tackles the questions of what constitutes a text and what constitutes an author in pre-imperial China (before 211 BCE), focusing on proposing a new set of methodologies developed from an engagement with both manuscript and transmitted sources. Recent manuscript discoveries have upended existing historical narratives of this period, including the system of canonical books and authors that had once structured the pre-imperial corpus. As a result, the study of Early China is now confronted with a set of challenging and fundamental questions, such as how to determine textual boundaries within excavated manuscripts, or whether compilations like the *Analects* can be read as single unified texts. To address these questions, I adapt and expand Gérard Genette's concept of "paratext" — the materials surrounding the main text such as titles, book covers, author names, and prefaces — into an analytical tool. Rather than as descriptions of historical reality, Genette approaches paratexts as prescriptions furnished by textual producers outlining how a text ought to be understood.

By proposing a systematic distinction between open texts and closed texts, I shed light on paratext's active role in the creation of closed and stabilized texts. Through performing functions such as imposing individuated identification, mediating interpretation, hierarchization, and packaging, paratextual devices play an instrumental role in the creation of closed texts. This analysis suggests that the early history of many of the transmitted early Chinese compilations

involved a transformation from open to closed texts. Traces of this process are preserved in the layers of often discarded paratextual exoskeletons still detectable within a compilation. The identification of such paratextual elements, just as other paratexts outside of the familiar print context, can be performed according to a matrix of interrelated features and functions.

The application of this method allows for a descriptive rather than prescriptive or evaluative account of authorship in Early China. Rather than engaging with the longstanding tradition of authenticity debates, my analysis emphasizes the functional similarity of the "bodies authorial" of both putative authors and genius authors. It limits the identity of the author to the "body authorial" alone, and separates it from the identities of the "producers" who actually participated in the origination and production of cultural artifacts. This mode of analysis is generalizable, applicable to nearly every form of authorship configuration such as putative authorship, collaborative authorship, and ghostwriting. It renders the "genius author," just as its correlating closed texts, as the exception rather than the norm. It can also succinctly describe what the "point" of authorship is. By decoupling the author from the producer, this model eschews the notion that authorship indicates a certain mode of production, so that authored objects are more sophisticated than anonymous ones. Instead, it sees the imposition of an author figure onto a cultural object as primarily a wish or a prescription of how this object ought to be handled by its subsequent users. It is a demand for the creation of a closed text or a closed object, one that is an unique entity, anchored to the historical context of the author figure, and ought to be preserved according to its state during the historical context of the author figure. In other words, it reflects a desire to circumscribe "production," as represented by the author figure, as a distinct entity from subsequent contexts of use, and create a hierarchical and uni-directional relationship between production and reception. In its practical application in this dissertation, this model al-

lows for the rehabilitation of narratives concerning the putative authors — often considered apocryphal — as historical sources, performing paratextual functions that attempt to facilitate the creation of closed texts and corpora.

The attention to the paratextual also offers a more nuanced account of the relationship between textual production and media technology. Existing scholarship on textual transmission tends to attribute the varying degree of textual fluidity to differences in technology, such as oral versus written and manuscript versus print, or to differences in cultural and historical context, such as China versus Europe and medieval versus modern. By expanding the scope of paratext beyond the print media, I show that textual producers throughout history have wrestled with the vagaries of textual flux by deploying paratextual tools. In lieu of a deterministic technological analysis, this approach attests to the desire of ancient writers and poets to impose structures and confines upon their texts, highlighting their agency in response to the fluidity of an early textual environment. A more accurate mapping of systematic differences in textual stability and repetition is that of open texts versus closed texts, rather than, for instance, oral texts versus manuscript texts. The production of open texts is not concerned with the accurate replication of an existing text. It is often generative in the linguistic sense, involving the creative repetitions of language, tropes, conventions and textual building blocks. Closed texts, in contrast, are characterized by the concern with the transmission of a unique selection and arrangement of words. It accordingly prohibits unattributed repetitions, so as to ensure the uniqueness of an existing closed text. This difference between open and closed texts points to the fact that concepts central to literary studies, such as citation and imitation, applies only to closed texts. If the received corpus has undergone this transformation from open to closed texts, then paratextual elements and their creation of author figures often function as the cocoon between these two phases, the *limen*

between preception and reception.

The mode of analysis proposed in this dissertation can be utilized to examine other texts produced through complex formation histories, where one can excavate paratextual devices or moments within what has become the main text. Genette has already analyzed the paratextual functions of author biographies. The biographies of putative authors, as Alexander Beecroft points out, often reflect "implicit poetics"[1]; not only are many of them are analyzable as paratexts, some of them could even be seen as texts created first and foremost as paratexts, given the absence of the body natural. The *Lives* of Aesop, for instance, are only found in conjunction with a collection of fables, and seem to function as their introduction or preface.[2] Narrative frames beyond early Chinese anecdotes also perform paratextual functions. The narrative frame of the book of Job sandwich together sets of verses,[3] while those of late-imperial Chinese novels similarly envelope accounts that were once independently circulating.[4]

Such complex formation process can take place regardless of the authorship status. Writers and poets, be they genius authors or anonymous producers, could also have made use of various paratextual devices to package together writings that have grown heterogeneous over the course of their prolonged production process. In doing so, they attempt to transform a collection of textual units into a single, closed entity. The meta-discursive nature of the narrative frame of *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 (The Dream of the Red Chamber), for instance, is unmistakable. By depicting its main text as a text carved upon a stone, it contains an image of itself as a dis-

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1. Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China*, 2-4.
2. Kurke, *Aesopic Conversations*, 45.
3. For a summary of scholarship on the heterogeneous nature of the book of Job, see Mark Larrimore, *The Book of Job: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 195-211.
4. For a collection of studies on the complex textual history of *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (*Water Margin*), for instance, see Ma Youyuan, *Shuihu lunheng.*.

crete object that can be accurately transmitted through time.[5] The long anticipated reunion of

Odysseus and Penelope in book 23 is accompanied by a catalogue of the major episodes in the

Odyssey, almost like a table of contents that affixes the ordering of textual materials within this

epic.[6] The layers of epigraph and narrative frames at the opening of Goethe's *Faust* could also

reflect an attempt to bring together a corpus of writings composed over many decades.[7]

1. Compilation Strategies in Early China

An overview of the content of each chapters in this dissertation can be performed

through a summary observation: once we identify paratextual elements surrounding textual

units of different sizes, we begin to recognize patterns in the relationship among these paratex-

tual elements, between paratexts at the building block level and at the compilation level. There

are predominantly three types of relationships between paratexts surrounding the building

block and the compilation, which in turn seem to suggest three distinct compilation approaches

and processes that can account for the majority of early Chinese compilations:

1) A compilation of mostly capsular anecdotes predominantly featuring the same author figure, such as the *Analects*, *Mencius*, *Yanzi chunqiu*. The compilation is largely homogenous in structure, and the

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5. For a detailed study of the complex opening of *Honglou meng*, see Li, *Enchantment and Disenchantment*, 152-85.

6. *Odyssey* 23.310-43, which Adrian Kelly refers to as "recapitulation" in his detailed of this passage in Adrian Kelly, "Performance and Rivalry: Homer, Odysseus, and Hesiod," in *Performance, Iconography, Reception: Studies in Honour of Oliver Taplin*, ed. Martin Revermann and Peter Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Among the linguistic eccentricities of this pessage is the fact that it is the longest indirect speech in Homer, as Irene De Jong, *A Narratological Commentary on the* Odyssey (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 562 points out. Scholia opine that the original ending of the *Odyssey* is located right before the scene of storytelling that introduces this recapitulation, namely at v. 296; see for instance Carroll Moulton, "The End of the *Odyssey*," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 15 (1974), 153-57.

7. I must thank Massimo Cè for countless illuminating discussions on Homeric epics, as well as classical and German literature in general.

paratext of the compilation at large is derived from the paratexts at the local, building block level. This is addressed in Chapter I.
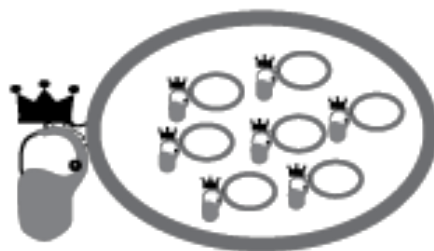

2)   A compilation under the umbrella of one author figure consisting of heterogeneous collections of a variety of texts and genres, such as anonymous expositions, anecdote compilations, chapters organized by branching catalogues, verses, commentaries on a *jing* 經 texts, etc. Such compilations tend to have one — or a layer of — author anecdotes featuring the author of the compilation, which I call "corporal anecdotes." This covers many of the Masters texts such as the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa, Hanfeizi, Xunzi, Zhuangzi, Mozi,* and *Chuci zhangju.* This is addressed by Part II, or Chapters III-V.
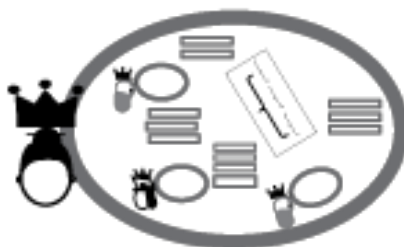
3)   A compilation that is structured topically and taxonomically, using one or multiple levels of branching catalogues. This includes compilations such as the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Shiji,* as well as some of the texts compiled by Liu Xiang. It also appears to be the structure that underlies the *Huainanzi.*[8] One could similarly analyze the *Book of Odes* and *Book of Documents.* Even the transmitted *Zuozhuan* can be analyzed this way, for it transforms the *Chunqiu* text into a catalogue or an index, onto which units of anecdotal materials are attached.[9] This is addressed by Chapters II.

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8.   For a detailed exploration of the textual production of the *Huainanzi,* see Queen and Puett, *The Huainanzi and Textual Production.*

9.   Christopher Nugent illustrates such an use of *Qianziwen* 千字文 in medieval manuscript texts; see page 206.
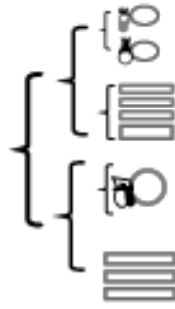
A significant difference between 1-2) and 3) is that 1-2) represent their texts as the words and ideas of their author figures, as "the words of one lineage" (*yi jia zhi yan* 一家之言), even though their author figures tend to be putative. The authored texts in the 3) model, in contrast, are attributed to known patrons or compilers, who are historically attested as the chief patrons or even the main compilers; at the same time, these texts do not represent their author figures as the producers and enunciators of the individual words and ideas.[10] *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi*, for instance, are supposed to be collections of the ideas of experts patronized by minister Lü Buwei or Prince Liu An. The case of *Shiji* is more ambiguous, but the fact that Sima Qian's own voice in this compilation has to be explicitly marked seems to suggest that we are *supposed to* read the rest as objective accounts or assemblages of existing knowledge. This contrasts with the type 2) compilations, where the texts, such as the anonymous chapters, are assumed to be the words of the author figure, unless they are explicitly marked to be someone else's.

Additionally, there seems to be a competing zero-sum relationship between the person-based and the taxonomy-based packaging options, or between the author narrative and the branching catalogue as two alternative forms of paratexts. We can observe this at various levels.

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10. See, for instance, the distinction Fung Yu-lan (Feng Youlan) 馮友蘭 (1895-1990) made between *Lüshi chunqiu* and other Masters texts: *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 1.

At the anecdote level, an anecdote tend to have either an elaborate narrative frame, or an elaborate catalogue, but not usually both. At the compilation level, we have observed how the narrative based compilations, namely models 1) and 2), seem to be distinct from the taxonomy-based compilations, namely model 3). At the level of the Han library catalogue, Lee Hur-li points to the tension between author-based organization versus topic or discipline based organization (i.e. the branching catalogue).[11]

2. Endurers, Authors, Textual Closures

In the remaining sections of this provisional conclusion will be devoted to the seminal and liminal author figure of Early China, Sima Qian, the author of the first universal history in Chinese language, the first author in Chinese history whose "genius author" status is still widely accepted. Not only do we know with a great degree of certainty that he is both the author and a producer of the work he is accredited with, he has also written about his own body natural in his paratext. The last chapter of *Shiji,* mentioned in Chapter II for its branching catalogue, contains the first extensive autobiography in Chinese history. Sima Qian fell from the favor of the powerful Western Han emperor, Emperor Wu, and was punished with castration. In a letter either written by or attributed to Sima Qia preserved in *Hanshu*, he declares that after his humiliating punishment, he endured living in ignominy rather than committing suicide so as to complete his grand historiography. To many scholars, the trauma Sima Qian suffered seem to have jolted a new type of author consciousness into existence. There is already a rich and insightful

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11. Lee, *Intellectual Activism in Knowledge Organization*, 213.

corpus of writings on Sima Qian as an author in English language.[12] My preliminary thoughts below focus on what happens when we contextualize Sima Qian among the paratextual and author discourses surrounding the pre-imperial author figures. Some of such paratextual compositions were likely Han period products, while others are already attested on pre-imperial manuscript materials. This exercise thus highlights the continuity with the textual practices and discourse habits that can be traced back to the pre-imperial period.

The juxtaposition of the paratextual endurers' lists, for instance, not only reinforces scholars' existing interpretations, but also addresses lingering philological questions. As Wai-yee Li summarizes, Qing scholars such as Cui Shu 崔述 (1740-1816) have already pointed to the inconsistencies within Sima Qian's author list. It is, for example, a temporal and causal stretch to associate Confucius' redaction of the *Chunqiu* with his episode between Chen and Cai. But as I suggested in Chapter I, whenever Confucius appears in an endurers' list, it is nearly always in association with the episode between Chen and Cai. This reference to Chen and Cai is thus a formulaic feature of the endurers' lists. Sima Qian's author list adheres to the conventions of such lists, just like the endurers' list preserved in the the *Qiongda yi shi* manuscript.

Contextualizing Sima Qian's author list among other endurers' lists underscores unmistakably what Sima Qian's unique take on this trope is, highlighting what he has tried to articulate. Sima Qian's list appears to be the first extant list that enumerates the endurers as authors.

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12. Such as Owen, "Speculative Futures"; Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*; Li, "The Idea of Authority in the *Shih chi*"; Stephen W. Durrant, *The Cloudy Mirror: Tension and Conflict in the Writings of Sima Qian* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); Nylan, "Sima Qian: A True Historian?"; Grant Hardy, *Worlds of Bronze and Bamboo: Sima Qian's Conquest of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation*, 177-212; Kern, "The "Masters" in the *Shiji*"; Olga Lomová, Hans van Ess and Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, *Views from Within, Views from Beyond: Approaches to the* Shiji *as an Early Work of Historiography* Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015); Durrant et al., *The Letter to Ren An and Sima Qian's Legacy.*.

Even as the lists in *Hanfeizi* and *Xunzi* eulogizes their putative authors, as discussed in Chapter III, the endurers within the lists are not portrayed as authors. As exemplified by the **Qiongda yi shi* version, the endurer's change of fortune is usually on account of the ruler's recognition, but in Sima Qian's list, the authorship of texts substitutes the narratives of recognition. Thus juxtaposing Sima Qian's list with other endurers' lists lends additional support to the existing interpretation proposes by scholars such as Wai-yee Li, namely that Sima Qian sees the authorship of *Shiji* as a substitute for ruler's recognition and for the political participation in one's own lifetime that would have come with it.

I would like to further suggest that this substitutive relationship between authorship and meeting one's time correspond to paratext's hierarchizing functions, for what textual authorship offers is the possibility of transcending the time slot "heaven" happened to have assigned to one, and meeting recognition after one's own life time.[13] Such possibility hinges upon the text's survival and preservation through time. As Stephen Owen points out, unlike in portrayal of the earlier author figures, whose center of life was always political engagement outside of the writing projects they are associated with, Sima Qian was the first figure who became an author primarily because of the book he produced, the book as "a physical thing whose future he could and did imagine."[14]

For a text to "have" a future, it has to have a paratext that circumscribes it as a whole and asks for its preservation as a closed text. It is no surprise then that the *Shiji* was among the first early texts to be in possession of a versified table of contents, as discussed in Chapter II, which

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13. Mark Edward Lewis lists the transcendence of time and space as one of the six functions of writing as a source of power and authority; see Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, 2.
14. Owen, "Speculative Futures."

binds together all the individual chapters. What introduces this table of contents is Sima Qian's endurers' list, i.e. his author list. What concludes this table of contents is a mind-bendingly recursive passage that is also unmistakably calling for textual closure and temporal transcendence. Below are selections from the two passages bracketing the table of contents:

> This our house of Han has succeeded the descendants of the Five emperors and has carried on the task of unification of the Three dynasties. The Way of the Zhou fell into disuse and the Qin abolished the Ancient Script,[15] burned and extinguished the *Odes* and the *Documents*. Therefore the plans and the records of the Illustrious Hall, the stone rooms, metal caskets and jade tablets were dispersed and fallen into chaos. … [*the rise of Han and the gradual rebirth of arts and letters; listing of Han period scholars and authors before Sima Qian*] … For a period of some one hundred years, the books that survived and records of the past were all without exception gathered (by) the Grand Historian. The Grand Historians, father and son [i.e. Sima Qian and his father], each in turn held and carried on their duty… [*Sima Qian's father's admonition on continuing the Sima family's legacy*]… I have sought out and gathered together the ancient traditions of the empire which were scattered and lost…

> …[*branching catalogue listing the five major divisions and 120 chapters*]…

> Without failing to seize their moments (*shi* 時, "time"), their achievements established renown in the realm under heaven. Of such men I made the seventy "Biographies." In all the one hundred and thirty chapters and 526500 words comprise the *Book of the Grand Historian*, compiled in order to anthologize the remnants and repair omissions, completing the work of one lineage (*yi jia zhi yan* 一家之言). It is designed to supplement the Six Classics and their various interpretations, to put into order the miscellaneous sayings of the Hundred Schools. I have placed one copy in the Renowned Mountain with a backup copy in the capital, where they shall await the sages and scholars of later ages. The Seventieth Chapter.

> 維我漢繼五帝末流，接三代統業。周道廢，秦撥去古文，焚滅詩書，故明堂石室金匱玉版圖籍散亂 … 百年之閒，天下遺文古事靡不畢集太史公。太史公仍父子相續纂其職 … 罔羅天下放失舊聞 …

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15. *Guwen* 古文, Chinese writing before Qin's standardization and reform.

不令己失時，立功名於天下，作七十列傳。凡百三十篇，五十二萬六千五百字，為太史公書。序略，以拾遺補闕，成一家之言，厥協六經異傳，整齊百家雜語，藏之名山，副在京師，俟後世聖人君子。第七十.[16]

The chapter containing this passage is included as the last entry in the table of contents listing all chapters of the *Shiji*, i.e. the "Seventieth Chapter" of the seventy "Biographies." But since the last chapter of *Shiji* is the chapter that contains this table of contents, this description of this last chapter is yet again a description of the entirety of *Shiji*. If paratext's meta-discursivity often leads to self-referentiality, this passage's mirroring of itself opens up a *mise en abyme*.

Just like the wishes for textual stability articulated in the framing narratives of capsular anecdotes, the dialectic between entropy and transmission pervades this passage. As discussed in Chapter I, the dying king Wen of **Baoxun*, "feared that the 'Cherished Instruction' would be forsaken," and transmitted it to his son as a written document. In Sima Qian's passage, the father-son transmission (where the father admonished in the same linguistic register as the Zhou king) stands at a pivotal point in a civilizational restoration of order, for they "gathered together"(*ji* 集) all that had fallen "into disuse… abolished … burned … extinguished… dispersed and fallen into chaos… scattered and lost" 廢…撥去…焚滅…散亂…放失. If the far-side of the father-son pivot was the disintegrating traditions, its near-side is the written document, the *Shiji*. This pivotal position is not only temporal, but also precisely describes how the Sima father-and-son is positioned in this passage. In fact, noting this pivotal position might explain why the first mention of their office in this paragraph, which, though most likely the subject of its sentence, is nevertheless placed after the verb, a grammatically and stylistically unusual construction: "the books that survived and records of the past were all without exception gathered [by] the Grand Historian" 天下遺文古事靡不畢集太史公. While it is not conclusive what the term "Renowned

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16. *Shiji*, 130.3319-20. Translation adapted from Watson, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, 55-57.

Mountain" refers to,[17] the wish for the preservation of *Shiji* onto the future, as discussed in Chapter V, is unambiguously articulated.

This comparison shows that on the one hand, Sima Qian's imagination of his cultural role is very similar to what earlier writers articulated in instruction scenes. Their writings all function as the medium for the preservation of ancient heritage. At the same time, as our first unambiguous genius author, there are two major differences. In all "seal" passages discussed in earlier chapters, the transmission is described in indicative mood. Even as Sima Qian implicitly listed his own biography among the seventy who has "seized the moment," as Owen points out, the addressee of this transmission, "the sages and scholars of later ages," is decidedly future-oriented, who exist in the subjunctive.

The second difference is that while nearly all earlier paratexts are supposed to package "words of the ancients," the *Shiji* is simultaneously a collection of cultural heritage and the words of the Simas, "the words of one lineage" (*yijia zhi yan* 一家之言). This is the *locus classicus* of the phrase "the words of one lineage," which is also employed to describe Shang Yang and Shen Buhai in the *Hanfeizi,* as discussed in Chapter III. Unlike all other textual producers discussed in this dissertation, who lodged their texts in figure rather than themselves in paratextual *loci*, Sima Qian presented himself and his father as the authors of their text. Consequently, their names begin to "fissure."

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17. See David Schaberg, "Speaking of Documents: *Shu* Citations in Warring States Texts," in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic of Documents)*, ed. Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 352-54 for a compelling interpretation of *mingshan*.

3. The Fissure of Author's Bodies and the Birth of the *yishi* 軼事

Foucault speaks of the author function as operating in "scission," resulting in the production of multiple selves.[18] There are differences between the proper name and the individual it names, on the one hand, and the author's name and the corpus it names, on the other hand:

> If I discover that Shakespeare was not born in the house that we visit today, this is a modification which, obviously, will not alter the functioning of the author's name. But if we proved that Shakespeare did not write those sonnets which pass for his, that would constitute a significant change and affect the manner in which the author's name functions.[19]

In the case of genius authors, the proper name/author name links together two bodies, the historical individual and a body of works, that have complex relationships and interactions with each other. Genette's inclusion of the author's biography as a type of paratext (under the category of epitext, or paratexts that are not tied to the main text through the same physical object) addresses one aspect of this link.[20] As we have discussed in the Introduction, the audience' knowledge concerning the authors' bodies natural often affects its interpretation of their works, even despite the prohibitions of biographical interpretations in the wake of New Criticism. When there are enough sources on the bodies natural of the authors, there can often be challenging disparities that confound the public. While the location of the historical Shakespeare might not affect his body authorial,[21] other aspects of authors' bodies natural, their moral failings for instance, can create interpretive or even ethical challenge for the audience and the public, particu-

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18. Foucault, "What is an Author," 287.
19. Ibid., 284.
20. Genette, *Seuils*, 346.
21. Although the Anti-Stratfordians' objection to Shakespeare's authorship evidently has something to do with his zip code.

larly in contexts where a unity between the author's two bodies is desired.[22]

In contrast, the names of putative authors, be it "Sun Wu" or "Qu Yuan," have only one reference point. The unity of putative authors derive from the fact that they "create, but not transmit" 作而不述, they are seen acting and even speaking, but they did not try to produce doubles of themselves in the form of texts. Their actions are perfect exemplifications of their words. They are in fact solely authors, while the producers of their texts are those who "transmit, but do not create" 述而不作.[23]

By asserting the words of *Shiji* as that of his own, or at least that of his "lineage" that includes himself, Sima Qian's name begins to refer to both his own mortal body and the author of *Shiji*. He performs the paradoxical action of both "creating" and "transmitting." I find this distinction very helpful, though it is not absolutely clear-cut. The depictions of the Masters in their corporal anecdotes, especially in the imaginations of their deaths and disappearance, tend to betray a certain vague notion of separation between the authors' physical bodies and their texts. The paratexts of *Hanfeizi* and *Xunzi* already begin to illustrate this. As discussed, the corporal anecdote featuring Han Fei prefers to refers to discuss Han Fei's *action* (i.e. *zuo* 作) even though it is most likely referring to the text attributed to him; the *Xunzi* epilogue similarly stays at the level of actions and accomplishments. At the same time, by utilizing the "meeting with one's time" motif, both texts might have indirectly expressed what is explicitly stated in *Shiji*: By preserving textual bodies encapsulated within these paratextual elements, Han Fei's and Master

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22. E.g. for a discussion of Thomas Paine's "body" and the problem it creates, see Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770-1870* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 32-103.

23. Further discussion of this dynamic see Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation*; Puett, "The Temptations of Sagehood.".

Xun's bodies authorial can hope for a more favorable time in the future, after their physical deaths.

Regardless of whether an author name was historically "putative" or not, the producers of the texts can always *choose* to represent the authors as more than just an embodiment of their texts. In the case of *Shiji*, Sima Qian, as a genius author, has repeatedly chosen to represent the earlier author figures in his own image, as genius authors with fissuring names. This can be illustrated by the major difference between the *Shiji* and the *Hanfeizi* accounts of Han Fei: while Han Fei appears to be an eloquent persuader in the *Hanfeizi*, he is portrayed as a stutterer in *Shiji*, who resorted to writing precisely because he could not speak. In Sima Qian's account, Han Fei's name no longer refers to an unity of body, words, and action. It now refers to two things, the author's physical body and a set of written texts, detached from the author's physical body.

To fully explicate this difference between *Shiji* and *Hanfeizi*, I would like to entertain the possibility that the fissure of the author's "authorial" and "physical" body mirrors a bipolar split of the anecdote genre itself, as articulated by Lionel Gossman. I will first introduce Gossman's analysis and how it relates to early Chinese anecdotes, before linking it back to the discussion of author narratives.

In his survey of the anecdote genre in the European tradition, Gossman identifies two diametrically opposing types. There are, on the one hand, anecdotes that follow a formulaic tripartite structure of setting - crisis - resolution, with the resolution usually marked by a "bon mot" or a clinching remark. Such anecdotes tend to epitomize a general worldview or widely-held beliefs, and they are often found in historical works as illustrations or exempla.[24] The ex-

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24. Lionel Gossman, "Anecdote and History," *History and Theory* 42 (2003), 155-61.

emplary anecdotes are mirrored by an evil twin, anecdotes that do not have discernible structures, and tend to be lurid in content. Such anecdotes usually cannot function as exempla or illustrations, since they are resistant to interpretation and often subvert existing narratives.[25] This is the type of anecdotes that hearkens back to the *locus classicus* of the word "anecdote," Procopius' *Secret History*, referred to by the *Suda* as Ἀνέκδοτα (*Anecdota*), or "the unpublished." Unlike Procopius' published accounts that glorified emperor Justinian's wars and public works, the *Anecdota* is filled with tabloid-like accounts of cruelty and lust. I will refer to the anecdotes of the first type as the "paradigmatic anecdotes," and the second type the "*anecdota* proper."

It is possible that this bipolarity within the anecdote genre is connected to its basic characterization. To cite the Oxford English Dictionary definition again, the anecdote is "the narrative of a detached incident, or of a single event, told as being in itself interesting or striking."[26] One way to interpret this definition is that for a short narrative to be told and retold by itself, it must contain something that is "in itself interesting or striking." Gossman's study suggests that to achieve this, anecdotes either succinctly encapsulate what is *ought* to be true —perhaps not unlike how poetry is said to articulate general truths[27] — or shockingly transgress the norms that define how the world *ought* to be. Paradigmatic anecdotes seem to embody poetic truth, but can also feel too good, too perfect, or too meaningful to be true; *anecdota* proper, in contrast, are often simultaneously suspected to be both slanderous rumors *and* candid revelations of how things actually are, free of ideologically motivated gilding.[28]

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25. For Gossman's citation of Roland Barthes' characterization of *fait divers*, see Ibid., 149, 161-63.
26. "anecdote, n."
27. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 9.1451b. Cf. Olberding's discussion of historical representation before empiricism; see Olberding, *Dubious Facts*, 28-31.
28. Gossman, "Anecdote and History," 162.

Gossman's analysis has many interesting resonances with the short texts found in the early Chinese corpus. The tripartite structure, for instance, roughly mirrors what Schaberg proposes as the general structure of early Chinese anecdotes: an introduction of an event often requiring response (i.e. what Gossman refers to as "crisis"), followed by speeches responding to the event, before a conclusion that expresses or implies judgment.[29] In other words, early Chinese anecdotes tend to follow the basic structure of a paradigmatic anecdote, the narrative of which functions as the spring board for the point it illustrates, usually articulated in speech. This in turn suggests why such anecdotes can be analyzed in terms of paratext versus text, with the narratives functioning as the packaging of their didactic content. Paratextual narratives are exemplary, for it is through their illustrative functions that they delimit the interpretation of the "main text," be it the didactic verses packaged within a capsular anecdote or an entire compilation.[30]

What the early Chinese corpus also illustrates is the possible mutual dependency of the two types of anecdote. Transgression needs to be defined against an established system of norm. Extant anecdote compilations' juxtaposition of contradictory accounts, such as the three versions of the Confucius between Chen and Cai anecdotes in the "Shanmu" chapter of *Zhuangzi*, could be reflecting a world of competing narratives concerning Confucius, without universally acknowledged "orthodox" or "authentic" account — a world of open texts. This is once again likely how texts and information were produced and circulated in pre-imperial China, consisting of many local centers of learning with competing ideologies and narratives. Read by itself,

29. See page 81.
30. Cf. analysis of early Chinese author personae as constructed exemplary figures in Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan, "Constructing Lineages and Inventing Traditions.".

within the confines demarcated by the capsular narrative frame, each of these anecdotes advocates for a certain version of an event and a certain outlook. But once versions of the same story are gathered together in anecdote compilations — as they often are in received texts — it is no longer clear which among them ought to be considered exemplary, and which transgressive.

In this context, Sima Qian's writing of an universal history can be seen as an attempt to establish authoritative narratives, an effort that often involved choosing among alternative versions of an event. Such an effort seems to reflect a larger, structural change in the intellectual sphere: rather than a relatively flat structure consisting of equal and competing open texts, there emerged hierarchies of authorities, with certain texts and narratives becoming more likely to be universally read or even universally accepted, i.e. emerging as closed texts. Fittingly, the modern Chinese term for "anecdote," *yishi* 軼事, seems to have made its first appearance in this context, in Sima Qian's *Shiji*. The literal meaning of *yishi* is "missing events" or "missing accounts," in the sense of a story that has been left out — likely by the official and authoritative accounts — or even, a story that is *unbefitting* both literally and metaphorically. Thus semantically, *yishi* is very close to the original meaning of *anecdota* in Procopius. Concepts like the "unpublished" or the "missing" depend on the existence of what is already included in what is already "published," i.e. made into closed text. Before *Shiji*, there was likely some degree of even playing fields among the various accounts, so long as we do not take on the perspective of any given side. But once texts like the *Shiji* became widely accepted authorities, some of the anecdotes would become *paradigmata*, and others the *anecdota* proper.

The hapax use of *yishi* in *Shiji* occurs at the end of chapter 62 "Guan Yan Liezhuan" 管晏列傳 (Biography of Guan Zhong and Yan Ying), in Sima Qian's explicit authorial remark:

His Honor the Grand Historian says: "I have read Master Guan's 'Mu min' 牧民 (Shepherding the People), 'Shan gao' 山高 (The Mountains are High), 'Cheng ma' 乘馬 (Chariots and Horses), 'Qing zhong' 輕重 (Light and Heavy), and 'Jing fu' 九府 (Nine Bureaus), and the *Spring and Autumn of Yanzi*. With such detail have they [Guan Zhong and Yan Ying] spoken of things. Since I have seen their writings, I want to observe their conduct, and have thus put in order traditions [surrounding them]. As for their writings, many people today have them in their possessions. I therefore did not make a selection of them, and selected instead some *yishi*."

太史公曰：吾讀管氏牧民、山高、乘馬、輕重、九府，及晏子春秋，詳哉其言之也。既見其著書，欲觀其行事，故次其傳。至其書，世多有之，是以不論，論其軼事.[31]

It is not entirely clear in what sense is Sima Qian's account the *yishi* concerning Guan Zhong and Yan Ying. It could be referring to anecdotes that were not included in the two widely-circulated texts, at least not in the versions Sima Qian saw; it could also mean "neglected stories," according to Nienhauser's translation, i.e. anecdotes that were less known or less discussed. In *Shiji*, there are two other instances of *yi* 軼 or *yi* 逸 that are employed in discussions of texts, and they are more unambiguously referring to texts that are not included, lost, or in danger of being forgotten.[32] As quoted in the previous subsection, Sima Qian also defines his own task as "anthologize the remnants and repair omissions" 拾遺補闕. I therefore favor the first interpretation.[33] Versions of the anecdotes in Sima Qian's biography are in fact found in the transmitted *Yanzi chunqiu* and *Guanzi* (Master Guan). I see this as a tantalizing glimpse into the alternative versions of early Masters texts that were likely in circulation, as the differences between the Yin-

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31. *Shiji*, 62.2136; Translation adapted from William H. Nienhauser ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records: VII The Memoirs of Pre-Han China* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 16.

32. 予觀春秋、國語，其發明五帝德、帝系姓章矣，顧弟弗深考，其所表見皆不虛。書缺有閒矣，其軼乃時時見於他說 (*Shiji*, 1.46); Also relevant is one use of an alternative character *yi* 逸 to refer to a supposedly lost and recovered *Book of Document* manuscript, 逸書得十餘篇，蓋尚書滋多於是矣 (Ibid., 121.3125)

33. For an argument for the second interpretation, see *Yanzi chunqiu bianzheng* 晏子春秋辨證 by Yan Ting 嚴挺.

queshan *Sunzi bingfa* versus the transmitted *Sunzi bingfa* also attest to. They reveal how these texts grew and accreted while they were open texts.

Sima Qian's authorial comment suggests a certain degree of dichotomy between *yan* 言 and *xing* 行, between "word" and "deed." Han period compilations reveal the prevalence of notion of word and deed as two distinct items recorded separately by historians, for many of them contain a version of how in the Zhou court, words were recorded by the Left Historian, and deeds by the Right Historian. In "Yiwenzhi," this is cited as explanation for the two texts or perhaps even two genres found among the Confucian classics, the *Book of Documents* as records of kings' speeches, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* records of deeds.[34] The dichotomy and tension between words and deeds often come to the fore in *Shiji*, as this passage suggests. There is the need to check a person's words against their actions, because the two cannot be assumed to cohere.

What is the relationship between the Guan Zhong's and Yan Ying's widely-circulated texts and their *yishi*, the *anecdota*, as recorded by Sima Qian? What is the relationship between these author figures' words and deeds? This is a complex and difficult question that might never have definitive answers. Quite a few of the anecdotes Sima Qian included revolve around the motif of "recognition," just like the author accounts discussed in Chapter III and Chapter V. Guan Zhong, especially, is often included in "endurers' lists," and a large portion of Sima Qian's brief account is focused on the recognition that saved Guan Zhong from poverty and freed him from shackles. According to Sima Qian, the fortunes of these two author figures' words and the fate of their persons cohere. Both enjoyed the recognition of their rulers and the people in their

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34. 左史記言，右史記事，事為春秋，言為尚書 (*Hanshu*, 10.1715).

life time, just as their words are widely-recognized in Sima Qian's time.

At the same time, Sima Qian's accounts also suggest small fissures between words and deeds. When Guan Zhong was living in poverty (or even, in privation), his behaviors are said to betray greed, foolishness, cowardice and shamelessness. But his friend, Baoshu Ya 鮑叔牙, was able to correctly interpret these flaws as the result of circumstances, and recognized his true qualities and talent. Yan Ying is revealed in the *yishi* to be rather short in stature, but his ability similarly shone through despite this physical flaw. If the *anecdota* offer the opportunity to "observe" (*guan* 觀) these figures outside of their own words, which is to say, to have a glimpse at their "bodies mortal" independent of their "bodies authorial," they reveal less flattering features that could have obscured the wisdom and talent manifested in their texts.

The tension between words and deeds, between the body authorial and the body natural, is even more pronounced in other chapters, such as the chapter stringing together the lives of Sun Wu, Sun Bin, and Wu Qi. In the first of these biographies, Sun Wu accuses the king of Wu of having fondness "merely for the words" of the *Art of War*, without being capable of "realizing it in practice" 王徒好其言，不能用其實.[35] In the conclusion of this chapter, Sima Qian's authorial comment remarks:

> When the common folk of our generation speak of divisions and brigades, they all mention Master Sun's "Thirteen Chapters" and Wu Qi's *Bingfa*. Many of our generation have in their possessions [their writings], so I have not selected any of them. I selected instead what was established and put into practice because of their conduct. A saying goes, 'those who can put it to practice cannot necessarily put it to words, and those who can put it to words cannot necessarily put it to practice.' Master Sun was brilliant in his calculations against Pang Juan, but could not save himself earlier from mutilation. Wu Qi tried to persuade Marquis Wu of the fact that tactical disposition and the structuring of power were no

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35. *Shiji*, 65.2162.

match for virtue, yet when he tried to put this into practice in Chu, he lost his body to his tyrannical harshness and lack of mercy. Tragic indeed, wasn't it?"

世俗所稱師旅，皆道孫子十三篇，吳起兵法，世多有，故弗論，論其行事所施設者。語曰：「能行之者未必能言，能言之者未必能行。」孫子籌策龐涓明矣，然不能蚤救患於被刑。吳起說武侯以形勢不如德，然行之於楚，以刻暴少恩亡其軀。悲夫！[36]

Sima Qian's remark here has many structural parallels to his remarks concerning Guan Zhong and Yan Ying, yet in the cases of Sun Bin and Wu Qi, their deeds do not match their words.

As Denecke has already pointed out, there is similarly a tragic tension between words and deeds in Sima Qian's portrayal of Han Fei.[37] Indeed, his comment on Han Fei is very similar to the remark on Sun Bin and Wu Qi. After citing Han Fei's "Shui nan" (Difficulties of Persuasion), Sima Qian laments, "Master Shen and Master Han both authored books, which have been passed down to later generations, and many scholars possess them. I alone bemoan that Master Han authored 'The Difficulties of Persuasion' but could not rescue himself" 申子、韓子皆著書，傳於後世，學者多有。余獨悲韓子為說難而不能自脫耳.[38] At the very end of this chapter, Sima Qian describes what Han Fei has accomplished as "snapped his plumb line, cut through to the truth of things, and made clear true from false" 韓子引繩墨，切事情，明是非. This description echoes that of "establishing rules and strategies and positing measures and accounting" 立法術，設度數 found in the corporal anecdote of the *Hanfeizi*, for *fa* (rules) in the *Hanfeizi* is often likened to plumb lines. But just as in the case of Wu Qi, Sima Qian accuses Han Fei of "carrying cruelty and harshness to extremes, while lacking mercy" 其極慘礉少恩.[39]

In light of the similarity of Sima Qian's remarks on these three figures, Han Fei's stutter-

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36. Ibid., 65.2168-69. Translation adapted from Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe's Records: VII*, 45.
37. Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 72.
38. *Shiji*, 63.2155. Translation adapted from Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe's Records: VII*, 29.
39. *Shiji*, 63.2156.Translation adapted from Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe's Records: VII*, 29.

ing can be understood as a perfect embodiment of the folk saying concerning the mismatch between words and deeds. In Sima Qian's account of Han Fei, Han Fei could only put words onto the page, which were never translated into action. As Denecke insightfully points out, this forms stark contrast with Sima Qian's portrayal of Su Qin, the archetypal wandering persuader, whose powerful art of persuasion renders his words synonymous with action.[40] In contrast to Su Qin's felicitous speech acts, Sima Qian's Han Fei could only produce "futile words" (*kongwen* 空文). While no direct connection between Han Fei and this elusive concept of *kongwen* is drawn in *Shiji*, in the letter to Ren An attributed to Sima Qian, two of the endurers — Zuo Qiuming and Sun Bin, the putative author of the Yinqueshan *Sun Bin bingfa* — following a reiteration of the same author's list, are said to have "suspended their thoughts in futile words so as to reveal themselves." 思垂空文以自見. As Wai-yee Li expounds, the *kong wen* here ought to be understood as "words not validated by political power or immediately apparent significance… Futile words cannot save their authors from present calamity but will ensure posthumous fame."[41]

Here lies the major difference between the two Han Fei's, the one in *Hanfeizi* and the one in *Shiji*. There is not only no mentioning of Han Fei's stuttering in the *Hanfeizi*, there is in fact emphasis on Han Fei's physical ability to speak. At the opening of chapter 3, written in his first-person voice, Han Fei tells us that "it is not that your servant, Fei, has any difficulty speaking." 臣非非難言也.[42] As discussed in Chapter III, the Han Fei of *Hanfeizi* is presented as an archetypal persuader. The death he suffered is not attributed to his personal failure, but to a general threat

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40. Denecke, *The Dynamics of Masters Literature*, 69. Wandering persuaders are figures depicted in Warring States texts who were said to be traveling from court to court persuading rulers of different political ideals or military alliances.
41. Li, "The Letter to Ren An and Authorship in the Chinese Tradition.".
42. *Hanfeizi* 3.

faced by all persuaders. The corporal anecdote in *Hanfeizi* prefers to represent Han Fei's accomplishment as deeds, even though we can indirectly deduce that it most likely refers to writings attributed to Han Fei. In short, the Han Fei of *Hanfeizi* (or Sun Wu in the Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa*) is a lot more similar to the author figures of presented by capsular anecdotes, who possess only the bodies authorial, and function as emblems of their main text. Such author figures are not only products of the texts attributed to them, they are created to illustrate these texts. The capsular and corporal anecdotes that produce the bodies authorial are almost always paradigmatic anecdotes, for they by definition present something that is meta-discursive and illustrative of something else.

If Sima Qian was the first unambiguous individual author (i.e. what I term "genius author"), who has explicitly identified himself in not only the prefatory materials of *Shiji*, but also in nearly every chapter, he is the first individual in Chinese history associated with sources concerning both his body natural and his body authorial. Accordingly, his account of earlier authors is haunted by the fissure between their physical bodies and their corpora of words. As a result, the author anecdotes included in Sima Qian often resemble more closely the *anecdota* proper. His description of Han Fei, Sun Bin, and other author figures are descriptions of mortal and maimed bodies as well as flawed lives. They are not exemplary illustrations of didactic texts. They are records of deviations from one's words, and are thus the *yishi* that cannot fit into these authors' written corpus. This sheds light on a major difference between the putative authors and the "real" authors: as a genius author, Sima Qian is closely tied to his own mortal body as well as his body of works. In contrast, the anonymous compilers behind the vast majority of the corpus of early Chinese texts wrote *in the voice of* the bodies authorial, and have opted *not* to create a tie between their own physical bodies and the words they (re)produced.

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By analogizing authorship with kingship, I draw attention to two functions already discussed in the Foucault essay. Firstly, both the body authorial and the body politic perform a packaging function that creates entities out of what is otherwise disparate things, such as the state consisting of its subjects or a "body of work" consisting of smaller textual units. In other words, the creation of an author, in the early Chinese context, was deeply entangled with the creation of a closed text, for the production of authors was among the methods that facilitated the packaging and stabilization of larger and larger units of texts. Secondly, What these imaginary bodies prescribe is that these entities ought to outlast the lifespan of the body natural. Such "immortal longings" seem to be what distinguish authored works, or closed texts, from writing in general, or open texts. Attention to these two types of transcendence, spatial and temporal, allows us to recognize the underlying performance of the "author functions" behind various motifs in early Chinese texts: from the depiction of the author figures' travels, the "scene of instruction," the "encountering right time" (*yushi*) discourse, to the staging of the moment of the author's death or disappearance. The fulfillment of such spatial and temporal transcendence is synonymous with textual integrity and stability: the preservation of a particular selection and arrangement of words across space and through time.

Appendix: Primary Texts and Translations

Chapter I

*Tang zai Chimen 湯在啻門

On the twelfth day of the first month, Tang was at the Chi Gate. He asked Xiaochen,[1] "Indeed, are there fine sayings of the former thearchs in ancient times that have truly reached the present?" (Q1) Xiaochen answered saying, "There are indeed. Should there not be such fine sayings truly reaching the present, then with what could we complete a human? With what could we complete a state? With what could we complete the earth? With what could we complete heaven?" (A1)

Tang asked Xiaochen again saying, "How many sayings are on completing a human? How many on completing a state? How many on completing the earth? How many on completing the heavens?" (Q2) Xiaochen answered, "Five for completing a human, with Virtue[2] to illuminate it; Four for completing the state, with Five to assist them; Nine for completing the earth, with Five to support them; Nine for completing the heavens, with Six to conduct them." (A2)

Tang asked Xiaochen again saying, "When it comes to humans, what allows them to be born? What must they gain to grow? How is it that they are first young, then old? Why, even

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1. One of the appellations associated with Yi Yin, which literally means "little servant."
2. The word *de* 德 is notoriously difficult to translate. Its particular semantic here is likely closer to "power," i.e., *virtus* (manly power), than to "virtue" in a moral sense.

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though they are all humans, are some fair, and some foul?" (Q3) Xiaochen answered saying, "The *qi* in five flavors, it is they that germinate[3] and become human. The *qi* at the tip is called the Jade Seed. In the first month, it springs up; in the second month, it is enveloped; in the third month, it takes shape; in the fourth month, it is solidified; in the fifth month, it burgeons; in the sixth month, the muscles grow; in the seventh month, there is skin; in the eighth month, it is properly positioned; in the ninth month, it is decorated; in the tenth month, it is completed, and at this moment a person is born.

When people's *qi* gradually reveal and shoot up from their origin, they are growing and are fair. When their *qi* boom and thrive, they are at their prime. When their *qi* integrate and circulate, they possess strength. When their *qi* are shortened and aged, their *qi* slow down and begin to halt. When their *qi* mutiny, descending into harmful chaos, they suffer from diseases. When their *qi* wear out and come to an end, their hundreds of thoughts expire." (A3)

Tang asked Xiaochen again, "That there are Four for completing the state, with Five to assist them, what are they?" (Q4) Xiaochen answered saying, "The Four Divinities are called the 'Four Justices.'[4] The Five that assist them are Virtue,[5] Affairs, Work, Regulation, and Punishment." (A4)

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3. Various readings and interpretations are suggested for the character that can be transcribed as 哉 (translated here as "germinate"), but they all revolve around the meaning of "beginning." One alternative reading suggested by the original editors is "to plant" (*zai* 栽), which also suits this passage well. Since among this particular set of alternative interpretations it is nearly impossible to adjudicate which reading is more likely, the word I chose here, "germinate," tries to reflect all of them.
4. I find these terms difficult to accurately render, since in this context their references are not entirely clear. Based on the context, I interpret the *zheng* 正 here (whose most basic meaning is "upright, correctly positioned," but is just as often a political or moral term) to have a political connotation, i.e., in the direction of its cognate *zheng* 政 (to regulate, govern).
5. I am inclined to translate it as Virtue here in the sense of "virtue ethics," given that this category seems to be primarily concerned with the ruler's personality and conduct.

Tang asked Xiaochen again, "What is Fine Virtue like? What is Foul Virtue like? What are Fine Affairs like? What are Foul Affairs like? What is Fine Work like? What is Foul Work like? What is Fine Regulation like? What is Foul Regulation like? What is Fine Punishment like? What is Foul Punishment like?" (Q5)

Xiaochen answered, "If one's virtue is perspicacious, holding fast trustworthiness and striving for accomplishment through propriety, it is called Fine Virtue, which preserves what is accomplished; if one's virtue is petty and brusque, holding fast falsehood and reaching for accomplishment through wantonness, it is called Foul Virtue, and any accomplishment will dissipate. If one initiates military affairs[6] and reaps profit, the people benefit, and they called Fine Affairs; if one initiates military affairs without reaping profit, the people are troubled for no cause, and they are called Foul Affairs. If one initiates public work with deference to the seasons, the people's manpower is not enervated, and it is called Fine Work; if one initiates public work in violation of the seasons, it comes at a great cost to the state, and it is called Foul Work. If one's regulation is simple yet complete, it is called Fine Regulation; if one's regulation is chaotic and erratic, the people will all be restless, seeking help through private means, and it is called Foul Regulation. When punishment is appropriate to the situation (?) and is not harmful, it is called Fine Punishment; when punishment is (?) and erratic, it is called Foul Punishment." (A5)

Tang asked Xiaochen again, "Nine for completing the earth, with Five to support them, what are they?" (Q6) Xiaochen answered saying, "Those Nine Divinities, they are called the Terrestrial Perfected; The Five that support them are Water, Fire, Metal, Wood, and Soil, which

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6. *Shi* 事 and *qi shi* 起事 seem to refer to services and government projects in general, including military action, as a *Hanshu* statement from a few centuries later, cited in *Hanyu dacidian,* might suggests, 《書》曰『惟先假王正厥事』，言異變之來，起事有不正也. The word *huo* 獲 (reap profit, obtain loot) is associated with military action and hunting.

form the Five Regions, and cultivate the Five Crops."[7] (A6)

Tang asked Xiaochen again, "That there are Nine for completing the heaven, with Six to conduct them, what are they?" (Q7) Xiaochen answered saying, "Those Nine Divinities, they are called the Nine Immensities.[8] The Six that conduct them are Day, Night, Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter. They each administer tirelessly. This is the chief of affairs, as well as the way of heaven." (A8)

Tang said, "Heavenly Minister! These are the fine words of the former thearchs. Thus how can one possibly change them?"

Transcribed Chinese Text: *The following text is fully interpreted according to modern writing conventions (i.e., it is a reading, and not a transcription, of the manuscript text), except for characters that cannot be positively deciphered, which are first represented with a direct transcription, followed by my chosen reading or a question mark in parenthesis. Interpretative choices based on scholarship published after the original publication are noted in the footnote.*

正月己亥，湯在啻門，問於小臣：「古之先帝亦有良言情至於今乎？」小臣答曰：「有哉－。如無有良言情至於今，則何以成人？何以成邦－？何以成地－？何以成天－？」

湯又問於小臣曰：「幾言成人－？幾言成邦－？幾言成地－？幾言成天－？」小臣答曰：「五以成人，德以光之－；四以成邦，五以相之－；九以成地，五以將[之]－；九以成天，六以行之－。」

湯又問於小臣曰：「人何得以生－？何多以長？孰少而老－？胡[9]猶是人－，而一惡一

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7. This is one of the earliest attestations of the Five Phases.
8. Unattested elsewhere, according to the original editors.
9. The original editors read this as 固, although Chen Jian has convincingly suggested that it ought to be read as 胡; see Chen Jian 陳劍, "Qinghua jian wu yu jiushuo huzheng liangze" 《清華簡（伍）》與舊說互證兩則, *Fudan daxue chutu wenxian yu guwenzi yanjiu zhongxin* (2015), accessed 2018-06-19, http://www.gwz.fudan.edu.cn/Test/Web/Show/2494..

好－？」小臣答曰：「唯彼五味之氣，是哉(栽)以爲人。其末氣，是謂玉種，一月始剔(蕩[10])，二月乃裹，三月乃形－，四月乃固－，五月或褒，六月生肉，七月乃肌－，八月乃正，九月顯章－，十月乃成－，民乃時生－。其氣晉(潛)觧(解)[11]發絅(始)[12]－，是其爲長且好哉。其氣奮昌，是其爲當壯。氣龤(融)交以備，是其爲力－。氣戚乃老，氣徐乃猷。氣逆亂以方，是其爲疾殃。氣屈乃終，百志皆窮－。」

湯又問於小臣：「夫四以成邦，五以相之，何也－？」小臣答曰：「唯彼四神，是謂四正，五以相之，德、事、役、政、刑－。」

湯又問於小臣：「美德奚若？惡德奚若－？美事奚若？惡事奚若？－美役奚若？惡役奚若－？美政奚若？惡政奚若－ 美刑奚若？惡刑奚若－？」

小臣答：「德濬明執信以義成，此謂美德，可以保成－；德㝸(褊)[13]亟執譌以亡成，此謂惡德，雖成又潰－。起事有稼，民長賴之，此謂美事－；起事無稼，病民無故，此謂惡事－。起役時順，民備不庸，此謂美役－；起役不時，大費於邦，此謂惡役－。政簡以成，此謂美政；政禍亂以無常，民咸解體自恤，此謂惡政－。刑情(?)以不方，此謂美刑；刑竓(?)[14]以無常，此謂惡刑－。」

湯又問於小臣：「九以成地，五以將之，何也－？」小臣答曰：「唯彼九神，是謂地真，五以將之，水、火、金、木、土，以成五曲，以植五穀－。」

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10. For this character, 剔, the original editor tentatively suggested the reading of *yang* 揚 (flourish). I follow the reading of *dang* 蕩 (to spring up) suggested by Chen Wei 陳偉, based on a reading attested in the "Yueling" 月令 chapter of *Liji* 禮記: "All lives are *dang*" 諸生蕩, which the commentator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 glosses as "something is quickening and about to sprout" 蕩，謂物動將萌芽也; see Chen Wei 陳偉, "Du Qinghua zhujian wu zhaji (xu)"" 讀《清華竹簡（伍）》札記（續）, *Jianbo wang* (2014), accessed 2018-06-19, http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=2192..

11. This alternative reading proposed by the editors seems more attractive since it is a more direct reading of the Chu graph.

12. The original editor interprets this as *chong chu* (or *jie*) *fa zhi* 崇歜 (or 解) 發治 (burgeoning and spirited [or advancing], developing in orderly fashion). I follow the reading suggested by the "Jianbo wang" 建波網 user "ee," *qian jie fa shi* 潛解發始; see ee, "Qinghua wu 'Tang zai Chimen' chudu, post 0" 清華五《湯在啻門》初讀, *Jianbo luntan* (2015), accessed 2018-06-19, http://www.bsm.org.cn/bbs/read.php?tid=3248..

13. The "Jianbo wang" user "Musilang" 暮四郎 suggests reading 㝸 as *bian* 褊,"small-minded, spiteful." As Musilang points out, this reading is not only phonologically sound and supported by transmitted textual evidence, but it also nicely contrasts with the previous term *ruiming* 濬明 (perspicacious, i.e., a mind that is clear and unobstructed); see Musilang 暮四郎, "Qinghua wu 'Tang zai Chimen' chudu, post 5" 清華五《湯在啻門》初讀, *Jianbo luntan* (2015), accessed 2018-06-19, http://www.bsm.org.cn/bbs/read.php?tid=3248..

14. There is not yet a convincing interpretation of the two words contrasted here, 情(?) and 竓(?).

湯或問於小臣：「夫九以成天，六以行之，何也–？」小臣答曰：「唯彼九神，是謂九宏，六以行之，晝、夜、春、夏、秋、冬，各司不解，此惟事首，亦惟天道–。」

　　湯曰：「天尹，唯古之先帝之良言，則何以改之–。」[15]

Additional Examples of Endurers' Lists

Hanfeizi 3	Mencius	Zhanguoce	Huainanzi

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15. Li Xueqin, *Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian (V)*, 141-48.

子胥善謀而吳戮之，仲尼善說而匡圍之，管夷吾實賢而魯囚之…故文王說紂而紂囚之，翼侯炙，鬼侯腊，[16] 比干剖心，梅伯醢，夷吾束縛，而曹羈奔陳，伯里子道乞，傅說轉鬻，孫子臏腳於魏，吳起收泣於岸門, 痛西河之為秦，[17] 卒枝解於楚。公叔痤言國器，反為悖，公孫鞅奔秦。[18] 關龍逢斬，萇宏分胣，[19] 尹子穽於棘，[20] 司馬子期死而浮於江，[21] 田明辜射，[22] 宓子賤、西門豹[23]不鬬而死人手，董安于[24]死而陳於市，宰予不免於田常，范雎折脅於魏.[25]	舜發於畎畝之中，傅說舉於版築之間，膠鬲舉於魚鹽之中，管夷吾舉於士，孫叔敖舉於海，百里奚舉於市.[26]	太公望，齊之逐夫，朝歌之廢屠，子良之逐臣，棘津之讎不庸，文王用之而王。 管仲，其鄙人之賈人也，南陽之弊幽，魯之免囚，桓公用之而伯。 百里奚，虞之乞人，傳賣以五羊之皮，穆公相之而朝西戎。 文公用中山盜，而勝於城濮.[27]	則伊尹負鼎而干湯，呂望鼓刀而入周，百里奚轉鬻，管仲束縛，孔子無黔突，墨子無暖席.[28]

16. Commentator suggests that this is the Jiuhou 九侯 mentioned in *Shiji*, 3.106, said to be one of the three dukes of King Zhòu (Ibid., 83.2463).

17. Key words recur in *Lüshi chunqiu* account: 吳起治西河之外，王錯譖之於魏武侯，武侯使人召之。吳起至於岸門，止車而望西河，泣數行而下…「…西河之為秦取不久矣，魏從此削矣」(*Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 11.255-256). Though the *Lüshi chunqiu* account does not mention Wu Qi's death.

18. Key words recur in *Lüshi chunqiu* account: 魏公叔痤疾。惠王往問之，曰：「公叔之疾，嗟！疾甚矣！將奈社稷何？」公叔對曰：「臣之御庶子鞅，願王以國聽之也。為不能聽，勿使出境。」王不應，出而謂左右曰：「豈不悲哉？以公叔之賢，而今謂寡人必以國聽鞅，悖也夫！」公叔死，公孫鞅西游秦 (Ibid., 11.256-257)

19. d. 492 BCE (third year of Duke Ai of Lu, and 28th year of King Jing of Zhou).

20. Unknown narrative.

21. There is an Yinzi Xi 尹子西 who died in 白公之亂, 497 BCE. But the event referred to here unknown.

22. Unknown figure.

23. Unknown narratives.

24. d. 498 BCE (fourteenth year of Duke Ding of Lu). Cf. 西門豹之性急，故佩韋以自緩；董安于之心緩，故佩弦以自急 (*Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 24.520).

25. d. 255 BCE. Text see Ibid., 3.52-53.

26. Mengzi zhengyi, 6b.864.

27. Zhanguoce, 7.296.

28. Huainanzi jishi, 19.1319.

Capsular Anecdote Set 1: *Qiongda yi shi* 窮達以時 and textual parallels

*Guodian Manuscript: *Qiongda yi shi*

There is heaven. There is man. Between heaven and man, each has its lot. By examining the allotment between heaven and man, one understands the courses of each.[29] The right man in the wrong age faces impasse, though he be worthy. But given the right age, what difficulties would there be?

[The mythical emperor] Shun plowed in the fields of Mt. Li and molded pottery on the banks of the Yellow River. But he was established as the Son of Heaven after encountering [the earlier emperor] Yao. Gao Yao was clothed and capped in the course hemp [of a convict]. Yet released from his labors of earth-ramming he assisted the Son of Heaven, after encountering [the Shang King[Wu Ding. Lü Wang worked as storekeeper (?) at Ji Ford, served as gatekeeper in the Ji region, and at the age of seventy slaughtered oxen at Zhaoge. But he was raised up to be the mentor to the Son of Heaven after encountering [King] Wen of Zhou. Guan Yiwu [Guan Zhong] was detained in prison and bound in ropes. But he cast aside the shackles and became the minister of a feudal lord after encountering [Duke] Huan of Qi. Sunshu [Ao] had to resign thrice from the position of lesser war minister of Jisi. But he emerged as the chancellor (of Chu) after encountering (King) Zhuang of Chu. Boli (Xi) was sold off for five sheep[skins] and herded sheep for the Bo [clan]. But he cast aside his whip to serve as a high officials at court after encountering [Duke] Mu of Qin.

Goodness or baseness is the choice of one's own, while privation or advancement a mat-

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29. For the interpretation of this phrase see Smith, "What Difficulty Would There Be?".

ter of timing. Virtue and conduct ought to be unified, while praise or slander is up to others.[30]

For every sanctification (?) there is a hundredfold of censure (?). The rise to fame of those once submerged in obscurity was not due to a gain in virtues; [Wu] Zixu's execution after earlier glories was not because of a decline in wisdom. That [the famous steed] Ji bore the yoke at Mt. Zhang (?) and [the worthy steed] Jin was confined(?) among the brambles(?) was not because they were deficient in physique. They reached the limits of the four seas and ran a thousand leagues [a day] after encountering (the famous charioteer) Zao Fu.

When what one encounters depends on heaven, action ought not be motivated by advancement. Thus in privation one is not ... for renown. Thus do not grudge the lack of recognition. ...] for they do not lose their fragrance [for the absence of men] to smell them. Consider colorful gems(?) and precious jades(?) concealed(?) within mountains and rocks, for they do not lose their patterns(?) just because [...[31] Privation or advancement depends on timing. Be unwavering(?) in prominence or obscurity. Thus the noble man is earnest in returning to himself.

Transcribed Chinese Text: The following text is fully interpreted according to modern writing conventions (i.e., it is a reading, and not a transcription, of the manuscript text), except for characters that cannot be positively deciphered, which are first represented with a direct transcription, followed by my chosen reading or a question mark in parenthesis. Interpretative choices based on scholarship published after the original publication are noted in the footnote.

有天有人，天人有分。察天人之分，而知所行矣。有其人，亡其 (slip 1) 世，雖賢弗行矣。苟有其世，何難之有哉 '

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30. Scott Cook has "their virtue and conduct were uniform throughout, and [all considerations of] praise and slander were set aside." My translation aims to bring out a possible parallel between 善否己也，窮達以時 and 德行一也，譽毀在旁.

31. This phrase is difficult to reconstruct partly due to the lack of transmitted parallels. None of the scholars' proposed readings seem conclusive. I am following Cook's reading and translation; see Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 462-64.

舜耕於歷山，陶拍³² (slip 2) 於河浦，³³ 立而為天子，遇堯也 ' 咎(皋)陶³⁴衣枲蓋褐，帽絰蒙巾，(slip 3) 釋板築而佐天子，遇武丁也。呂望為藏 (棘)³⁵津，守監門³⁶ (slip 4) (棘)地，行年七十而屠牛於朝歌，(興)³⁷而為天子師，遇周文也 。(slip 5) 管夷吾拘縲(囚)³⁸束(束)縛³⁹，釋杙(桎)(梏)⁴⁰而為諸侯相，遇齊桓也。(slip 6) 孫叔⁴¹三(謝)⁴²邨(期)思⁴³少司馬，出而為令尹，遇

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32. For reading 拍陶 read as *bozhi* 搏埴, see Liu Zhao 劉釗, *Guodian chujian jiaoshi* 郭店楚簡校釋 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2005), 170.

33. 瀕 read as 濱 based on *Shuowen jiezi*, 浦，瀕也 (Ibid.).

34. For an extremely interesting discussion of how Gao Tao might have substituted the customary Fu Yue here, see Smith, "What Difficulty Would There Be?".

35. Graphic confusion 來 and 棘 (Liu Zhao, *Guodian chujian jiaoshi*, 171).

36. 監門 is a gate keeper (Ibid.).

37. Original editors read it as *ju* 舉, in addition to an alternative transcription of . This reading is based on the readings of similar graphs in **Kong Zi shilun* 孔子詩論 and **Rongcheng shi* 容成氏 of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts; see Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 456.

38. According to Qiu Xigui; see Ibid..

39. Scott Cook follows Qiu Xigui's suggestion of reading this graph as a deformed variant of 束. This seems convincing given the graphic similarity between this character, and 束, and the fact that *shufu* 束縛 is frequently used in the description of Guan Zhong's capturing, even if, strictly speaking, its components look like 告 over 廾; see Ibid.. For the reading of *gu* 梏 see Chen Wei et al., *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance: shisi zhong*, 174.

40. This reading follows that of the original editors. Cook and Liu Zhao, among others, read it as *xiexia* 械柙, a cage for beasts, in parallel of the "caged chariot" 檻車 found in the *Shuoyuan* version (Liu Zhao, *Guodian chujian jiaoshi*, 172; Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 456). Both words are equally possible phonetic readings of the Chu scripts, however, *zhigu* 桎梏 is mentioned frequently in the narratives of Guan Zhong, and its often used together with *shufu* 束縛 in early texts. I have so far not been able to find an instance of *xiexia* used together.

41. Following Chen Wei 陳偉, commentators have switched the original slips 7 and 8 around, so that the punctuation marks the end of this list (Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 456). According to Cook, this is Sunshu Ao 孫叔敖, minister to King Zhuang of Chu 楚莊王 (r. 613–591 BC) and a figure who first appears in the year 597 (12th year of Duke Xuan). "In the "Tian Zifang" 田子方 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, the "Dao ying" 道應 chapter of the *Huainanzi*, and other sources, the story is given of his thrice acceptance of and thrice dismissal from the position of *lingyin* 令尹, but in other early sources such as the "Gongye Chang"公冶長 chapter of the *Lunyu*, the figure in question is instead (Dou) Ziwen (鬭)子文" (Ibid.).

42. For this reading see Liu Zhao, *Guodian chujian jiaoshi*, 173. Scott Cook follows Qiu Xigui 2002 reading of 捨, based on *Guoyu* account of a similar event, stating that Sunshu 三舍令尹. There are also two instances of 三去(*jag)令尹 in *Huainanzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu* respectively.

43. Qisi 期思 is mentioned as Sun Shuao's hometown in *Huainanzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu*.

楚庄也。(slip 8) 百里轉鬻五羊，為伯牧牛，釋鞭箠而為 [44]卿，遇秦穆■ (slip 7).[45]

　　善否, 己也。窮達以時, 德行一也，譽毀在旁 ' 聖之，弋(一)，侮之，白(百)。[46] (slip 14) 初沉晦，後名揚，非其德加 ' 子胥前多功，後戮死，非其智 (slip 9) 衰也。驥駒(軥)張山， 騹空(塞)[47]

占(鳩)，[48] 非亡體壯也。窮四海, 致千 (slip 10) 里，遇告(造)古(父)[49]也。遇不遇，天也。童(動)非為達也，故窮而不 (slip 11) [.][.][.]為名也，故莫之知而不吝。[艸][.][.][.][.][.] (slip 12) [.][.][.]嗅而不芳 ' 無(璑)苔(璐)堇(瑾)愈(瑜)山石，不為[.][.][.][.] (slip 13) 不理。窮達以時，幽明不再。故君子惇於反己 ■ (slip 15).[50]

Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋 14.6 "Shen ren" 慎人 in "Xiaoxing lan" 孝行覽

Whether accomplishment and name are greatly established depends on heaven. But if, on account of this, one takes no heed of what is in mortal hands, that is not permissible. Shun's encounter with Yao was heaven's work. But it was Shun who plowed at Mount Li, made earthenware on the banks of the Yellow River, fished at Thunder Marsh, and won the delight of all under heaven and the following of the eminent office-seekers. These were the works of a man. Yu's encounter with Shun was heaven's work. But it was Yu[51] who perambulated the world in

44. Alternative transcription of the phonetic as 龜 and the reading *jun* 軍 "military minister" (Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 457).

45. Slip order from this point on follows Chen Wei et al., *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance: shisi zhong*, 177, as well as Liu Zhao and Cook, which differs significantly from the original publication.

46. This phrase is difficult to parse, and the interpretation here adopted from Cook appears to be an excellent possibility. For a summary of various readings and punctuations proposed, see Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 459.

47. Alternative reading *xue* 穴, taken in the sense of "trapped" (Ibid., 461).

48. Many alternative readings, see Ibid..

49. For the reading of Zaofu 造父 see Ibid., 461-62n.61.

50. Original publication Jingmen shi bowuguan, *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, 25-28, 143-146. Updated transcription and annotation see *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance heji (II)*. Manuscript interpretation and translation adapted from Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 453-64.

51. The last of three mythical, sage rulers.

search for the worthies for the benefit of the black-capped commoners; whatever was needed in dredging waters and marshes of their silting and blockage, Yu did them all. These were the works of a man. [King] Tang's[52] encounter with Jie[53] and [King] Wu's encounter with Zhoù Xin were in heaven's hand.[54] But it was Tang and Wu who reformed themselves, accumulated good deeds, performed righteous acts, had concern for the people and labored on their behalf; these were the works of men.

When Shun was plowing and fishing, his worthiness was the same as when he became the Son of Heaven. But because he had not yet encountered the right time, with fellow laborers he excavated the wealth of the earth and harvested the resources of water. He plaited straw mats and tied nets, labored ceaselessly so that his hands and feet were calloused, and thus avoided the threat of cold and starvation. Once he encountered the right time and ascended to the position of Son of Heaven, the worthy office-seekers joined him, the myriad peoples praised him, men and women applauded and cheered, and everyone honored him and delighted in him. Shun himself composed an ode: "

> All that is under the sky
> Is the king's land.
> All within the borders of this land
> Are the king's subjects.[55]

This was how he showed that he possessed everything. Though he possessed everything, his worthiness did not increase; even when he possessed nothing, it was not as if his worthiness decreased. It was all a matter of timing.

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52. The founding king of Shang dynasty, ca. 1600 - ?1046.
53. The last ruler of Xia, overthrown by King Tang.
54. The last ruler of Shang, overthrown by King Wu. Jie and Zhoù are both proverbial tyrants.
55. Cf. *Shijing*, *"Beishan"* 北山 (Mao #205).

Before Boli Xi encountered his time, he fled the state of Guo and was taken captive by the state of Jin. He became a feeder of cattle in Qin and was traded for five sheepskins. When Gonsun Zhi obtained Boli Xi, he was delighted and offered him to Duke Mu (of state Qin). For three days Gongsun Zhi begged that Boli Xi be assigned official duties, but Duke Mu said, "You bought him for five sheepskins. Would the world not laugh if I assigned him official duties?" Gongsun Zhi replied, "

> To rely on worthies and employ them shows the intelligence of the lord.
> To yield to worthies and bow before them shows the loyalty of a minister. Your
>   lordship is an intelligent lord,
> His minister, (I), a loyal minister.

That man is truly worthy. When all within the borders are submissive and enemy states are intimidated, who indeed will have the leisure to laugh?" Duke Mu thus employed Boli Xi. That nothing in his plans misses the mark and that everything he did met with success were not the result of increased worthiness. Worthy though Boli Xi might have been, without Duke Mu, he would not have had such renown. How do we know that there is not another Boli Xi in our generation? Thus, a ruler who desires for officials must look broadly.

Confucius was in such straits between Chen and Cai that for seven days he had eaten nothing except broth of goosefoot greens without grains prepared by Zai Yu. Confucius, strumming his lute, sang in his room, while Yan Hui picked greens outside. Zilu together with Zigong joined him there and spoke with him, "The master was chased from Lu (Confucius's home state), had to cover his tracks in Wey, had a tree cut down on him in Song, and (now) in dire straits between Chen and Cai. He can be murdered with impunity, abused without prohibition. Yet he plays and sings, drums and dances without cease. Can a gentleman really have no shame

as such?" Yan Hui, having no answer, went in and told Confucius. Changing his contenance, Confucius pushed away his lute, sighed deeply and said, "You (Zilu) and Ci (Zigong) are petty men. Summon them and I will talk with them."Zilu and Zigong entered, and the latter said, "Being reduced to our present circumstances can properly be called privation."

Confucius replied, "What is that supposed to mean? For a gentleman to advance on the Way is called 'advancement,' and to be deprived of the Way is called 'privation.' Now I, Qiu, have held on to the Way of humaneness and propriety in confronting the troubles of a disordered age. This is where I belong, and why call it privation? Thus in examining myself, I find no regret with regard to the Way, in facing challenges I did not lose my virtue. Only when the great cold has descended and the frost and snow have fallen that I can then recognize the vitality of the pines and ceders. In the past, Duke Huan has attained this at Ju, Duke Wen in Cao, and the king of Yue at Kuaiji. Isn't the crisis of Chen and Cai my fortune?" Ardently, Confucius returned to his lute and strummed it. Zilu in excitement picked up his shield and danced, while Zigong exclaimed, "I did not know the height of Heaven nor the depth of Earth."

The ancients who had grasped the Way were joyful in advancement or privation, for what they rejoiced in was not advancement. When the Way is grasped, advancement or privation are one and the same, just like the alternation of cold and heat, wind and rain. Thus, Xu You enjoyed himself on the north bank of the Ying and the Earl of Gong was satisfied with Mount Gongshou.

功名大立，天也；為是故，因不慎其人不可。<BBB> 夫舜遇堯，天也；舜耕於歷山，陶於河濱，釣於雷澤，天下說之，秀士從之，人也。<BBB?> 夫禹遇舜，天也；禹周於天下，以求賢者，事利黔首，水潦川澤之湛滯壅塞可通者，禹盡為之，人也。<BBB?> 夫湯遇桀，武遇紂，天也；湯武修身積善為義，以憂苦於民，人也。

<B> 舜之耕漁，其賢不肖與為天子同。其未遇時也，以其徒屬掘地財，取水利，編蒲葦，結罘網，手足胼胝不居，然後免於凍餒之患。其遇時也，登為天子，賢士歸之，萬民譽之，丈夫女子，振振殷殷，無不戴說。舜自為詩曰：

「普天之下，
莫非王土，
率土之濱，
莫非王臣」

所以見盡有之也。<D?> 盡有之，賢非加也；盡無之，賢非損也；時使然也。

<B> 百里奚之未遇時也，亡虢而虜晉，飯牛於秦，傳鬻以五羊之皮。公孫枝得而說之，獻諸繆公，三日，請屬事焉。繆公曰：「買之五羊之皮而屬事焉，無乃[為]天下笑乎？」公孫枝對曰：「

信賢而任之，君之明也；
讓賢而下之，臣之忠也；
君為明君，
臣為忠臣。

彼信賢，境內將服，敵國且畏，夫誰暇笑哉？」繆公遂用之。<D?> 謀無不當，舉必有功，非加賢也。<A?> 使百里奚雖賢，無得繆公，必無此名矣。今焉知世之無百里奚哉？故人主之欲求士者，不可不務博也。

孔子窮於陳、蔡之間，七日不嘗食，藜羹不糝。宰予備矣，孔子弦歌於室，顏回擇菜於外。子路與子貢相與而言曰：「夫子逐於魯，削跡於衛，伐樹於宋，窮於陳蔡，殺夫子者無罪，藉夫子者不禁，夫子弦歌鼓舞，未嘗絕音，蓋君子之無所醜也若此乎？」顏回無以對，入以告孔子。孔子憱然推琴，喟然而歎曰：「由與賜，小人也。召，吾語之。」子路與子貢入。子貢曰：「如此者可謂窮矣。」孔子曰：「是何言也？<F?> 君子達於道之謂達，窮於道之謂窮。今丘也拘仁義之道，以遭亂世之患，其所也，何窮之謂？故內省而不疚於道，臨難而不失其德。大寒既至，霜雪既降，吾是以知松柏之茂也。昔

<K> 桓公得之莒，
<K> 文公得之曹，
<K> 越王得之會稽。

陳蔡之阨，於丘其幸乎！」

孔子烈然返瑟而弦，子路抗然執干而舞。子貢曰：「吾不知天之高也，不知地之下也。」古之得道者，窮亦樂，達亦樂。所樂非窮達也，道得於此，<O> 則窮達一也，為寒暑風雨之序矣。故許由虞乎潁陽，而共伯得乎共首.[56]

Xunzi 荀子 20 "You zuo" 宥坐

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56. *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 14.336-341. Translation adapted from Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 323-26.

When Confucius was traveling south toward Chu, he was reduced to straits between Chen and Cai. For seven days he and his disciples did not touch hot food, and had only broth of goosefoot greens without grains. The disciples were all wearing a hungry look. Zilu stepped forward and asked, "I have heard that Heaven repays those who do good with blessing and those who do bad with misfortune. Now you, our Master, have for a long time in your daily conduct accumulated your virtue, fostered propriety, and cherished refinement. Why, then, do you dwell in obscurity?"

Confucius said, "Zilu, you do not yet understand. Let me tell you:
You suppose that the wise are certain to be put to use?
Did not Prince Bigan have his heart cut out?
You suppose that the loyal are certain to be put to use?
Was not Guan Longfeng multilated?
You suppose that remonstrators are certain to be put to use?
Was Wu Zixu not dismembered outside of the gate of Gusu?

Thus whether one meet with opportunity depends on timing, while whether one is worthy depends on innate talent. Many are the gentlemen of broad learning and profound plans who did not meet with the right time. Seeing this, those who were not born into the right times are a multitude, and I, Qiu, am not at all alone.

Further, consider the angelicas that grow in the depth of forests. They do not lose its fragrance for the absence of man. A gentleman's learning is not for success, but in order that in privation he does not despair, in anxiety he will not decline, and that by knowing the source and the ends of fortune and misfortune his heart will not err. Thus
Whether one is worthy depends on innate talent;
Whether one acts depends on the person;
Whether one meet with opportunity depends on timing;
Life and death depends on fate.

Now if a man has not met with the right time, even though he is worthy, how can he act out [his

ideas]? Should his moment comes, what difficulties would there be? Thus, the gentleman broadens his studies, deepens his plans, cultivates his person, and balances his conduct in order to await his moment."

Confucius said: "Zilu, sit down, and let me tell you: In the past Chong'er, the noble son of Jin [i.e. Duke Wen], conceived his hegemonic ambition in Cao state; King Goujian of Yue conceived his hegemonic ambition in Kuaiji; Xiaobai, the future Duke Huan of Qi, conceived his hegemonic ambition in Ju. Thus one who has not dwelled in obscurity cannot think far; one who has not experienced exile does not harbor wide aims. How do you know that is not what I will attain from here under Sangluo?

孔子南適楚，厄於陳、蔡之間，七日不火食，藜羹不糝，弟子皆有飢色。子路進而問之曰：「由聞之：為善者天報之以福，為不善者天報之以禍。今夫子累德、積義、懷美，行之日久矣，奚居之隱也？」孔子曰：「由不識，吾語女。
　　<HH> 女以知者為必用邪？王子比干不見剖心乎！
　　<HH> 女以忠者為必用邪？關龍逢不見刑乎！
　　<HH> 女以諫者為必用邪？吳子胥不磔姑蘇東門外乎！
夫
　　<C> 遇不遇者，時也；
　　<C> 賢不肖者，材也；

<I> 君子博學深謀不遇時者多矣！由是觀之，不遇世者眾矣，何獨丘也哉！

　　且夫
　　<GG> 芷蘭生於深林，非以無人而不芳。
　　<FF> 君子之學，非為通也，為窮而不困，憂而意不衰也，知禍福終始而心不惑也。
夫
　　<C> 賢不肖者，材也；
　　<C> 為不為者，人也；
　　<C> 遇不遇者，時也；
　　<C> 死生者，命也。
<AA> 今有其人，不遇其時，雖賢，其能行乎？苟遇其時，何難之有！<J> 故君子博學深謀，修身端行以俟其時。」

孔子曰：「由！居！吾語女。昔
        <K> 晉公子重耳霸心生於曹，
        <K> 越王句踐霸心生於會稽，
        <K> 齊桓公小白霸心生於莒。
故<LL> 居不隱者思不遠，身不佚者志不廣；<N> 女庸安知吾不得之桑落之下？ [57]

Hanshi waizhuan 韓詩外傳 7.6

When Confucius was stranded between Chen and Cai, despite seating on crudely sewn mat, having eaten nothing for seven days save for soup of goosefoot greens without grain, and with all of his disciples wearing a hungry look, he took no break from reading the *Documents* and practicing the *Rites* and the *Music*. Zilu stepped forward to remonstrate, "Those who do good heaven repays them with blessing and with harm those who do bad. Now you, master, have for a long time done good, fostered your virtue and accumulated good conduct. Could it be that you have also committed something amiss[58]? Why else do you dwell in obscurity?"

Confucius said, "Come, Zilu! You are a pettyman, not yet taught in ordered discourse. Sit, and let me tell you:

> You suppose that the wise are immune from accusation?
> Then why did Prince Bigan died with his heart cut out?
> You suppose the just are certain to be heeded?
> Then why did Wu Zixu gauged his eyes out and hang himself at Wu's east gate?
> You suppose that the upright are certain to be put to use?
> Then why did Boyi and Shuqi starve to death under Shouyang mountain?
> You supposed that the loyal are certain to be put to use?
> Then why was Bao Shu's[59] body left out to decompose?
> Gongzi Gao of Ye did not serve his entire life.[60]
> Bao Jiao [died] standing embracing a tree.

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57. *Xunzi jijie*, 28.526-527. Translation adapted from Knoblock, *Xunzi*, III.249-250.
58. Text here seems to be a corrupted version of what is found in *Shuo yuan*.
59. This figure is unknown. *Shuo yuan* has Bao Zhuang 鮑莊
60. Cf. in *Shuo yuan Xing Gongzi Gao* 荊公子高.

Jie Zitui burned to death climbing a mountain.

Thus a multitude are gentlemen of broad learning and profound plans who did not meet with the right time. How can I, Qiu, am alone in this! Whether one is worthy depends on innate talent. Whether one meets with opportunity depends on timing. When the right timing lacks, what can the worthy possess?

> Thus Shun farmed under the Li Mountain. Because of encountering Yao was he established as the Son of Heaven.
>
> Fu Yue was hauled silt and rammed earth. Because of encountering Wuding he became a grandee.
>
> Yi Yin was a servant to Youxin Shi, carrying cauldrons and chopping board and blending the Five Flavors. Because of encountering Cheng Tang, he was become established the minister
>
> Lü Wang, at age fifty, sold food at the Ji Crossing; at age seventy, was a butcher Chaoge. Because of encountering King Wen did he became the Son of Heaven's teacher, at age ninety.
>
> Guan Yiwu was shackled in a caged chariot. Because of encountering Duke Huan of Qi did he rbecome the (state's) "Uncle."
>
> Bo lixi sold himself for five sheepskins, and shepherded for Qin Bo. Because of encountering Duke Mu of Qin he became a grandee.
>
> Yu Qiu was seen by all under heaven as the minister. But he yielded the position to Sun Shuhao after the latter encountered King Zhuang of Chu.

Wuzi Xu had many achievements but was later put to death. This is not because of rise or decline in his wisdom, but that he encountered Helü at first, and Fuchai later (two rulers of the state of Wu). When a thoroughbred is chained to a salt cart, it is not on account of its appearance, but no one to recognize it. If thoroughbred does not have Bole (a famouse horse connoisseur), how can it have the hoofs for galloping thousands of leagues? Nor would Zaofu have the hands for driving thousands of leagues. Consider the angelicas[61] that grow in the midst of a thick forest deep in the mountains. They do not lose its fragrance for not being seen by human.

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61. Since *zhi* 芝 is the alloform of *zhi* 芷, *zhilan* 芝蘭 is also *zhilan* 芷蘭.

Thus learning is not for the sake of success, but so that in privation one will not be despondent, in anxiety one's resolve will not decline. When one understands in advance the origin of fortune and misfortune, the heart will not err. Thus the sage dwell in reclusion and contemplate deeply, perceive and understand in solitary.

Shun was indeed a worthy sage, but only because he encountered Yao was he able to face south and rule all under heaven. Had Shun lived in the time of Jie and Zhòu, it would already be good if he could avoid being caught in multilation and death, what position would he have had? That Jie killed Guan Longfeng and Zhòu killed Prince Bigan, at that time, was Guan Longfeng ignorant, or did Bigan lack wisdom? They both did not meet with the right time. Thus a gentleman is devoted to learning, self-cultivation, and the balancing of conduct, so as to await his time. May you err not therein.

> The *Book of Odes* says, "
> The crane cries in the ninth pool of the marsh,
> And her voice is heard in the sky."[62]

孔子困於陳蔡之間，即三經[63]之席，七日不食，藜羹不糝，弟子有飢色，讀書習禮樂不休。子路進諫曰：「為善者，天報之以福，為不善者，天報之以禍。今夫子積德累仁，為善久矣，意者當遺行[64]乎。奚居之隱也？」孔子曰：「由來！汝小人也，未講於論也。居，吾語汝：
　　<HH> 子以知者為無罪乎？則王子比干何為剖心而死？
　　<HH> 子以義[65]者為聽乎？則伍子胥何為抉目而懸吳東門？
　　<HH> 子以廉者為用乎？則伯夷叔齊何為餓於首陽之山?
　　<HH> 子以忠者為用乎？則鮑叔何為而不用，
葉公子高終身不仕，
鮑焦抱木而立，

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62. Mao #184 "He ming" 鶴鳴.
63. Japanese commentator Seki Genshū 関元洲 (1753-1806) states this could be a reference to the three classics, namely the *Odes, Documents* and *Rites* mentioned below; see *Hanshi waizhuan*, 242.
64. likely a corruption of 尚有遺行 due to graphic similarity.
65. Xu Weiyu 許維遹 believes this should be read as *yi* 議 (to deliberate, to articulate); see Ibid., 243.

子推登山而燔？

<I> 故君子博學深謀，不遇時者眾矣，豈獨丘哉！

　　　<C> 賢不肖者，材也

　　　<C> 遇不遇者，時也。

<A> 今無有時，賢安所用哉！故

　　　<BB> 虞舜耕於歷山之陽，立為天子，其遇堯也。

　　　<BB> 傅說負土而版築，以為大夫，其遇武丁也。

　　　<BB> 伊尹故有莘氏僮也，負鼎操俎調五味，而立為相， 其遇湯也。

　　　<BBB> 呂望行年五十，賣食棘津，年七十屠於朝歌，九十乃為天子師，則遇文王

　　　　也。

　　　<BB> 管夷吾束縛自檻車，以為仲父，則遇齊桓公也。

　　　<BB> 百里奚自賣五羊之皮，為秦伯牧牛，舉為大夫，則遇秦繆公也。

　　　<BB> 虞丁[66](名聞)[67]於天下，以為令尹，讓於孫叔敖，則遇楚莊王也；

<DD> 伍子胥前功多，後戮死，非知有盛衰也，前遇闔閭，後遇夫差也。<EEEE> 夫驥罷鹽車，此非無形容也，莫知之也。使驥不得伯樂，安得千里之足？造父亦無千里之手矣。<G> 夫蘭茝生於茂林之中，深山之間，(不為)[68]人莫見之故不芬。<FFF> 夫學者非為通也，為窮而不困，憂而志不衰，先知禍福之始，而心無惑焉。故聖人隱居深念，獨聞獨見。

　　　夫舜亦賢聖矣，南面而治天下，惟其遇堯也，使舜居桀紂之世，能自免於刑戮之中，則為善矣，亦何位之有？桀殺關龍逢，紂殺王子比干，當此之時，豈關龍逢無知，而王子比干不慧哉？此皆不遇時也。<J> 故君子務學，脩身端行而須其時者也。子無惑焉。」

　　　《詩》曰：「

　　　鶴鳴九皋[69]

　　　聲聞于天。」[70]

Shuo yuan 說苑 17 "Zayan" 雜言

two consecutive versions

　　　　Confucius encountered difficulties at the boundary between Chen and Cai. As they ran

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66. Yuqiu 虞丘 (or Yuqiuzi 虞邱子) could be an alias of Shen Yin Shi 沈尹筮 (usually referred to as Shen Lingyin 沈令尹), see Ibid., 7.244.

67. Emendation see Ibid.

68. Emendation see Ibid., 7.245.

69. While all editions except for one has 鶴鳴于九皋, which adheres to the received *Book of Odes*, Xu Weiyu chooses to excise *yu* 于 since one early edition and early citations have 鶴鳴九皋; see Ibid., 7.245-246.

70. Ibid., 7.242-246. Translation adapted from Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*.

out of food, and all the disciples wore a hungry look, Confucius sang between two pillars. Zilu entered to see Confucius and said, "Is the master's song ritually proper?" Confucius did not answer until he finished his song, when he said, "Zilu, a gentleman is fond of music so as to have no hubris; a petty man is fond of music so as to have no fear. Who understands this? Why do you follow me without understanding me?" Zilu is not pleased. He held a shield and danced, and left after three strophes.

When it reached the seventh day, Confucius took no break from cultivating his music. Zilu, in anger, came to see him and said, "Is the master's cultivation of music timely?" Confucius did not answer until he finished his song, when he said, "Zilu: In the past, Duke Huan of Qi conceived his hegemonic ambition in Ju; King Goujian conceived his hegemonic ambition in Kuaiji; Duke Wen of Jin conceived his hegemonic ambition on account of consort Li. Thus one who has not dwelled in obscurity cannot think far; one who has suffered obscurity does not have broad knowledge. Average in understanding and will not meet (success). Thus he rose up.

By the next day they were released from their straits. Zigong held the reins and said, "The few of us will never be able to forget following the master and encountering this difficulty." Confucius said, "Why is that? Are you speaking without saying? After breaking one's arm three times one becomes an able doctor. [This episode] between Chen and Cai is my fortune. A few of you who followed me are all men of fortune. I have heard that without experiencing impediment, a lord of men cannot become king, and a man of aspiration cannot fulfill his action. In the past, Tang was confined in Lü, King Wen in Youli, Duke Mu of Qin in Yao, King Huan of Qi in Changshao, Goujian in Kuaiji, King Wen of Jin on account of Consort Li. That impediment can becomes a path follows from how cold becomes warmth and warmth becomes cold. Only the worthy alone understands this and it is difficult to speak about. The *Book of Changes* says,

"Impediment. Success. Perseverance. The great man brings about good fortune. No blame. When one has something to say, it is not believed."[71] This is why it is difficult for sage's words to be believed by men."

　　孔子遭難陳、蔡之境，絕糧，弟子皆有饑色，孔子歌兩柱之間。子路入見曰：「夫子之歌，禮乎？」孔子不應，曲終而曰：「由，君子好樂為無驕也，小人好樂為無懾也，其誰知之？子不我知而從我者乎？」子路不悅，援干而舞，三終而出。及至七日，孔子脩樂不休，子路慍見曰：「夫子之脩樂，時乎？」孔子不應，樂終而曰：「由，**昔者**
　　<K> 齊桓霸心生于莒，
　　<K> 句踐霸心生於會稽，
　　<K> 晉文霸心生於驪氏.
故 <LL> 居不幽則思不遠，身不約則智不廣. <N> 庸知而不遇之。」
　　於是興。明日免於厄。子貢執轡曰：「二三子從夫子而遇此難也，其不可忘也！」孔子曰：「惡是何也？語不云乎？三折肱而成良醫。夫陳蔡之間，丘之幸也。二三子從丘者皆幸人也。吾聞
　　人君不困不成王，
　　列士不困不成行。昔者
　　湯困於呂，
　　文王困於羑里，
　　秦穆公困於殽，
　　<K> 齊桓困於長勺，
　　<K> 句踐困於會稽，
　　<K> 晉文困於驪氏。
夫困之為道，從寒之及煖，煖之及寒也，唯賢者獨知而難言之也。《易》曰：『困, 亨, 貞，大人吉，無咎。有言不信。』聖人所與人難言信也」.[72]

When Confucius was stranded between Chen and Cai, despite stationing in squalor, seating on crudely sewn mat, having eaten nothing for seven days save for soup of goosefoot greens without grain, and with all of his disciples wearing a hungry look, he took no break from reading the *Odes* and the *Documents* or studying the *Rites*. Zilu stepped forward to remonstrate,

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71. Richard Wilhelm and Cary Baynes, trans. *The I Ching, or Book of Changes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 181.
72. *Shuo yuan jinzhu jinyi*, 17.578-579.

"Those who do good heaven repays them with blessing and with misfortune those who do bad.

Now you, Sir, have for a long time fostered your virtue and conduct and performed good deeds.

Could it be that you have also committed something amiss? Why else do you dwell in

obscurity?"

> Confucius said, "Zilu, come, you do not understand. Sit, and let me tell you.
> You suppose that the wise would do nothing ignorant?
> Then why did Prince Bigan died with his heart cut out?
> You suppose that remonstrators are certain to be heeded?
> Then why did Wu Zixu gauged his eyes out at Wu state's east gate?
> You suppose that the upright are certain to be put to use?
> Then why did Boyi and Shuqi starve to death under Shouyang mountain?
> You supposed that the loyal are certain to be employed?
> Then why was Bao Zhuang's[73] body left out to decompose?

Gongzi Gao of Jing (i.e. Chu state)[74] was not recognized his entire life. Bao Jiao died embracing a

tree and decomposed standing. Jie Zitui burned to death climbing a mountain. Thus a multi-

tude are gentlemen of broad learning and profound plans who did not meet with the right time.

How can I, Qiu, am alone in this!

> Whether one is worthy depends on innate talent.
> Whether one acts depends on the person.
> Whether one meets with opportunity depends on timing.
> Life and death depends on fate.

A man with talent but does not meet with his time, he will not be put to use despite his talent;

should his moment comes, what difficulties would there be?

> Thus Shun farmed under the Li Mountain and made pottery by the bank of Yel-
>   low River. Only after encountering Yao was he established as the Son of
>   Heaven.

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73. This figure Bao Zhuang 鮑莊 is unknown. *Hanshi waizhuan* Bao Shu 鮑叔.
74. Xing Gongzi Gao 荊公子高 is Ye Gongzi Gao in 葉公子高 *Hanshi waizhuan*.

Fu Yue was hauling silt. Only after encountering Wu Ding was released from the labor of ramming earth and established to counsel the Son of Heaven.

Yi Yin was a servant and Youxin Shi's dowry. Only after encountering Cheng Tang (founding ruler of Shang) was he carrying cauldrons and chopping board and blending the Five Flavors so as to become established as the counsel to the Son of Heaven.

Lü Wang, at age fifty, sold food at the Ji Crossing; at age seventy, slaughtered cattles at Chaoge.[75] Only after encountering King Wen did he became the Son of Heaven's teacher, at age ninety.

Guan Yiwu was shackled and blindfolded in a caged chariot. Only after encountering Duke Huan of Qi did he rose from the chariot to become the (state's) "Uncle."

Bo lixi sold himself for five sheepskins, and shepherded for Boshi. Only after encountering Duke Mu of Qin did he became a grandee.

Shen Yin was renowned all under heaven and served as the minister. But he yielded the position to Sun Shuhao after the latter encountered King Zhuang of Chu.

Wuzi Xu had many achievements but was later put to death. This is not because of decline in his wisdom or merit, but that he encountered Helü at first, and Fuchai later (two rulers of the state of Wu). When a thoroughbred is chained to a salt cart, it is not because it lacked the appearance of a thoroughbred, just that there is no one in the world to recognize it; When a thoroughbred comes upon a Wang Liang or a Zao Fu,[76] does it not have the hoofs for galloping thousands of miles? Consider the angelicas that grow in the depth of forests. They do not lose its fragrance for the absence of man. Thus learning is not for the sake of success, but so that in privation one will not despair, in anxiety one will not decline. It is for knowing the origin of fortune and misfortune so that the heart will not err. The profound thoughts of a sage allows him to understand and perceive in solitary.

Shun was indeed a worthy sage, but only because he encountered Yao was he able to

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75. One of Shang's capitals.
76. famous charioteers.

face south and rule all under heaven. Had Shun lived in the time of Jie and Zhoù, he could have possibly avoided multilation and death, but what office would he be given to administer? That Jie killed Guan Longfeng and Zhoù (last ruler of Shang) killed Prince Bigan, at that time, was Guan Longfeng ignorant, or did Bigan lack grace? It was clearly the deviant times of Jie and Zhoù.

Thus a noble man is studious. He cultivates his person and balances his conducts to await his moment.

孔子困於陳蔡之間，居環堵之內，席三經之席，七日不食，藜羹不糝，弟子皆有饑色，讀詩書，治禮不休。子路進諫曰：「凡人為善者，天報以福，為不善者，天報以禍。今先生積德行、為善久矣。意者尚有遺行乎？奚居隱也！」孔子曰：「由，來，汝不知。坐，吾語汝。

<HH> 子以夫知者為無不知乎？則王子比干何為剖心而死？
<HH> 以諫者為必聽耶？伍子胥何為抉目於吳東門？
<HH> 子以廉者為必用乎？伯夷、叔齊何為餓死於首陽山之下？
<HH> 子以忠者為必用乎？則鮑莊何為而肉枯？

荊公子高終身不顯，
鮑焦抱木而立枯，
介子推登山焚死。

故夫君子博學深謀、不遇時者眾矣，豈獨丘哉！

<C> 賢不肖者，才也；
<C> 為不為者，人也；
<C> 遇不遇者，時也；
<C> 死生者命也。

有其才不遇其時，雖才不用，苟遇其時，何難之有！故

<BB> 舜耕歷山而陶於河畔，立為天子，則其遇堯也；
<BB> 傅說負壤土, 釋板築而立佐天子，則其遇武丁也；
<BB> 伊尹，有莘氏媵臣也，負鼎俎、調五味而佐天子，則其遇成湯也；
<BBB> 呂望行年五十賣食於棘津, 行年七十屠牛朝歌, 行年九十為天子師, 則其遇文
　王也；
<BB> 管夷吾束縛膠目，居檻車中，自車中起為仲父，則其遇齊桓公也；
<BB> 百里奚自賣取五羊皮，伯氏牧羊，以為卿大夫，則其遇秦穆公也；
<BB> 沈尹名聞天下，以為令尹，而讓孫叔敖，則其遇楚莊王也；

<DD> 伍子胥前多功，後戮死，非其智益衰也，前遇闔廬，後遇夫差也。 <EEEE> 夫驥厄罷鹽車，非無驥狀也，夫世莫能知也；使驥得王良造父，驥無千里之足乎？ <G> 芝蘭生深林，非為無

人而不香。<FFF> 故學者非為通也，為窮而不困也，憂而不衰也，此知禍福之始而心不惑也。聖人之深念，獨知獨見。

舜亦賢聖矣，南面治天下，唯其遇堯也；使舜居桀紂之世，能自免於刑戮固可也，又何官得治乎？夫桀殺關龍逢而紂殺王子比干，當是時，豈關龍逢無知，而比干無惠哉？此桀紂無道之世然也。故 <J> 君子疾學，修身端行，以須其時也。」[77]

Kongzi jiayu 孔子家語 20 "Zai e" 在厄

King Zhao of Chu invited Confucius, and Confucius went on a journey to Chu to pay his respect. On his way out from the states of Chen and Cai, the grandees of those states deliberated together, saying "Confucius is sagely and worthy. What his criticisms all pinpoint the ills of all the feudal princes. If he were to be employed by Chu, then Chen and Cai would be at risk." Thus they sent footsoldiers to block Confucius. Confucius could not continue his travel. They ran out of food for seven days having no access to others. There was not enough soup of grain, and all the followers were sick. Confucius recited and taught with increasing spiritedness, strummed and sang tirelessly. He then summoned Zilu and asked. "The *Odes* says, '

We are not rhinoceroses, we are not tigers,
To be kept in these desolate wilds.'

Is my Way in error? Why have we come to this?"

Angered and with his face colored, he responded, "The gentleman cannot be impeded. Can it be that the master has not yet attained humaneness? For people have no faith in us. Can it be that the master has not yet attained wisdom? For people will not let us pass. Further, I, Zilu, have heard from the master that 'those who do good heaven repays them with blessing and with misfortune those who do bad.' Now you, master, have for a long time fostered your virtue and harbored propriety in your conduct. Why do you dwell in obscurity?

Confucius said, "Zilu, you do not understand. Let me tell you.
You suppose that the humane is certain to be entrusted?

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77. Ibid., 17.580-582.

Then Boyi and Shuqi would not have starved to death on (Mt.) Shouyang.

You suppose that the wise is certain to be put to use?

Then Prince Bigan would not have had his heart cut out.

You suppose that the loyal is certain to be rewarded?

Then Guan Longfeng would not have been multilated.

You suppose that remonstrators is certain to heeded?

Then Wu Zixu would not have been killed.

Whether one encouters opportunity is a matter of timing. Whether one is worthy depends on innate talent. A multitude are the gentlemen of broad learning and profound plans who did not meet with the right time. It is not just I, Qiu, alone! Thus,

The angelicas growing in the depth of forests do not lose fragrance for the absence of man.

A gentleman, in cultivating his Way and establishing his virtue, do not ruin his integrity on account of privation and impediment.

What one does in in the hand of man, while life and death is a matter of fate. Thus Chong'er of Jin (i.e. Duke Wen) conceived his hegemonic ambition in the states of Cao and Wey; King Goujian of Yue conceived his hegemonic ambition in Kuaiji. Thus those who dwell under no distress cannot think far; those who are placed in perennial leisure cannot harbor wide aim. How can they understand the soure and the end of things?

Parallel with other passages for the most part ends here. In the rest of this anecdote, however, Confucius also had conversations with Zigong and Yan Hui, both of whom claim that Confucius' Way is so enormous and that is why he almost cannot fit into the world. The passage, however, ends with Confucius' praise for Yan Hui, saying he'd be happy to serve as his disciple's minister.

　　楚昭王聘孔子，孔子往拜禮焉，路出于陳蔡。陳蔡大夫相與謀曰：「孔子聖賢，其所刺譏，皆中諸侯之病。若用於楚，則陳蔡危矣。」遂使徒兵距孔子。孔子不得行，絕糧七日，外無所通，黎羹不充，從者皆病，孔子愈慷慨講誦，絃歌不衰。乃召子路而問焉，曰：「《詩》云：

　　『匪兕匪虎，

　　率彼曠野。』

吾道非乎？奚為至於此？

　　子路慍，作色而對曰：「君子無所困。意者夫子未仁與？人之弗吾信也；意者夫子未智與？人之弗吾行也。且由也，昔者聞諸夫子：『為善者，天報之以福；為不善者，天報之以禍。』今夫子積德懷義，行之久矣，奚居之窮也？」

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子曰：「由未之識也！吾語汝。

<HH> 汝以仁者為必信也，則伯夷叔齊不餓死首陽；

<HH> 汝以智者為必用也，則王子比干不見剖心；

<HH> 汝以忠者為必報也，則關龍逄不見刑；

<HH> 汝以諫者為必聽也，則伍子胥不見殺。

夫

<C> 遇不遇者，時也；

<C> 賢不肖者，才也。

<I> 君子博學深謀，而不遇時者，眾矣。何獨丘哉！且

<G> 芝蘭生於深林，不以無人而不芳；

<F?> 君子修道立德，不為窮困而敗節，

<C> 為之者，人也；

<C> 生死者，命也。

是以

<K> 晉重耳之有霸心，生於曹衛；

<K> 越王句踐之有霸心，生於會稽。

故 <LL> 居下而無憂者，則思不遠；處身而常逸者，則志不廣。<N?> 庸知其終始乎？」[78]

Capsular Anecdote Set 2A: Confucius at Ancestral Temple

(motif labels are not connected to Set 1)

Xunzi 20 "You zuo"

Confucius visited the ancestral temple of Duke Huan of Lu, where there was a vessel that tilted at an angle. Confucius asked the caretaker of the temple, "What vessel is this?" The caretaker replied, "It must be is the right-of-seat[79] vessel." Confucius said, "I heard that the right-

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78. *Kongzi jiayu zhuzi suoyin* 孔子家語逐字索引, (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1993), 20.39-40.

79. *Hanyu dacidian* interprets *you* 宥 here to simply be an alternative character of *you* 右, right. But I imagine whoever chose this graph might have intended a pun, where the meaning of 宥 as "guarding" is also present. "Right" in English has a comparable semantic range, from right-hand side to power and authority.

of-seat vessel topples over when filled, stands upright when filled to the middle, and tilts when emptied." Confucius turned and said to disciples, "pour water into it." Disciples scooped up water and poured into it. When it was full, it turned over; at halfway point, it stood straight; empty, it tilted. Confucius sighed and said, "Ah, does it ever happen that those who are full do not topple over!" Zilu said, "I should like to ask whether there is a Way for maintaining fullness?" Confucius said, "The Way of maintaining fullness is to repress and diminish it." Zilu said, "Is there a Way for diminishing it?" Confucius said, "

> Preserve sharp perception and sagely wisdom with foolishness.
> Preserve achievement that overspread the world with being yielding.
> Preserve the courage and strength that can order the world with fear.
> Preserve the possession of the Four Seas with humility.

This is what is called to scoop[80] and diminish."

　　孔子觀於魯桓公之廟，有欹器焉，孔子問於守廟者曰：「此為何器？」守廟者曰：「此蓋為宥坐之器，」孔子曰：「吾聞宥坐之器者，虛則欹，中則正，滿則覆。」孔子顧謂弟子曰：「注水焉！」弟子挹水而注之。中而正，滿而覆，虛而欹，孔子喟然而歎曰：「吁！惡有滿而不覆者哉！」子路曰：「敢問持滿有道乎？」孔子曰：「
> <CC>[81] 聰明聖知，守之以愚；
> <CC> 功被天下，守之以讓；
> <CC> 勇力撫世，守之以怯；
> <CC> 富有四海，守之以謙；

此所謂 <L?> 挹而損之之道也。」[82]

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80. In *Hanyu dacidian, yi* 挹 has several meanings revolving around "scoop up, absorb, or suck up water." It also contains a special entry of *yi* meaning to"diminish," though citing only Yang Jing's 楊倞 interpretation of this passage. I suspect that Yang Jing has interpreted this character based on his knowledge of the parallel passages, nearly all of which say "dimishing" twice (such as "to repress and to deminish" 抑而損之). It seems that *the* normal meaning of *yi* not only makes sense here, it echoes the earlier phrase describing the disciples scooping up the water. This renders the action that came before an illustration of the teaching imparted.

81. *Motif labels are not connected to Set 1.*

82. *Xunzi jijie*, 20.520.

Huainanzi 淮南子 20 "Daoying xun" 道應訓

Confucius visited the ancestral temple of Duke Huan, where there was a vessel that was called the "right goblet." Confucius said, "Good indeed that I got to see this vessel!" He turned around and said, "disciples, bring water." Water was brought. When it was filled to the middle, it stood upright; empty, it is tilted. Amazed, Confucius' contenance changed and said, "Goodness, isn this not what maintains the brimming? " Zigong at his side said, "I should like to ask about maintaining the brimming?" He said, "When matter flourishes it declines. Joy to the uttermost turns to sorrow. The sun at midday descends. The full moon wanes. Thus

> Preserve sharp perception and sagely wisdom with stupidity.
> Preserve broad learning and deep discernment with crudeness.
> Preserve military strength and courage with timidity.
> Preserve widespreading wealth with frugality.
> Preserve virtue that overspread the world with being yielding.

These five is what the Former Kings relied on to preserve their empire so as not to lose it. Going against these five is invariably dangerous.

Thus Laozi (the Old Master) said, "Those who observe this Way do not desire to overflow. Only those who do not overflow can appear worn and not newly-made."[83]

孔子觀桓公之廟，有器焉，謂之宥卮。孔子曰：善哉！予得見此器。」顧曰：「弟子取水。」水至，灌之其中則正，其盈則覆。孔子造然革容曰：「善哉，持盈者乎！」子貢在側曰：「請問持盈。」曰：「益而損之。」曰：「何謂益而損之？」曰：「夫物盛而衰，樂極則悲，日中而移，月盈而虧。 是故
> <CC> 聰明睿智，守之以愚；
> <CC> 多聞博辯，守之以陋；
> <CC> 武力毅勇，守之以畏；

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83. Cf. 保此道者，不欲盈。夫唯不盈，故能蔽不新成 (*Laozi Daodejing jiaoshi* 老子道德經校釋, edited by Lou Yulie 樓宇烈 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 15.34).

<CC> 富貴廣大，守之以儉；
<CC> 德施天下，守之以讓。

此五者，先王所以守天下而弗失也；反此五者，未嘗不危也。」

故老子曰：「服此道者，不欲盈。夫唯不盈，故能弊而不新成。」[84]

Hanshi waizhuan 3.30

Confucius visited the ancestral temple of Zhou, where there was a vessel that tilted at an angle. Confucius asked the caretaker of the temple, "What vessel is this?" The caretaker replied, "It must be is the right-of-seat vessel." Confucius said, "I heard that the right-of-seat vessel topples over when filled, tilts when emptied, and stands upright when filled to the middle. It is indeed so?" He was answered, "Yes." Confucius had Zilu bring water to try it. When it was full, it toppled over; at halfway point, it stood straight; empty, it tilted. Confucius sighed and said, "Alas, does it ever happen that those who are full do not topple over!" Zilu said, "I should like to ask whether there is a Way for maintaining fullness?" Confucius said, "The Way of maintaining fullness is to repress and diminish it." Zilu said, "Is there a Way for diminishing it?" Confucius said, "

> If your influence is broad and deep, preserve it with reverence.
> If your territory spreads far and wide, preserve it with frugality.
> If your revenue and position are esteemed and ample, preserve them with
>   servility.
> If your people are many and your soldiers strong, preserve them with timidity.
> If your perception is sharp and your knowledge deep, preserve them with
>   foolishness.
> If your learning is broad and your memory strong, preserve them with
>   shallowness.

Now this is what is called repressing and diminishing."

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84. *Huainanzi jishi*, 20.905-907.

The *Odes* says, "

> Tang was not born too late
> His wisdom and virtue daily advanced"

　　孔子觀於周廟，有欹器焉。孔子問於守廟者曰：「此謂何器也？」對曰：「此蓋為宥座之器。」孔子曰：「吾聞宥座器滿則覆，虛則欹，中則正，有之乎？」對曰：「然。」孔子使子路取水試之，滿則覆，中則正，虛則欹。孔子喟然而嘆曰：「嗚呼！惡有滿而不覆者哉！」子路曰：「敢問持滿有道乎？」孔子曰：「持滿之道，抑而損之。」子路曰：「損之有道乎？」孔子曰：「

> <CC> 德行寬裕者，守之以恭；
> <CC> 土地廣大者，守之以儉；
> <CC> 祿位尊盛者，守之以卑，
> <CC> 人眾兵強者，守之以畏；
> <CC> 聰明睿智者，守之以愚；
> <CC> 博聞強記者，守之以淺。

夫是之謂 <L?> 抑而損之。」

<J>《詩》曰：
> 「湯降不遲，
> 聖敬日躋」.[85]

Shuo yuan 10 "Jing shen" 敬慎

　　Confucius visited the ancestral temple of Zhou where there was a vessel that tilted at an angle. Confucius said, "I heard the vessel to the right of seat topples over when filled, stands upright when filled to the middle, and tilts when emptied. It is indeed so?" He was answered, "Yes." Confucius had Zilu bring water to try it. When it was full, it toppled over; at halfway point, it stood straight; empty, it tilted. Confucius sighed and said, "Alas, does it ever happen that those who are full do not topple over!" Zilu said, "I should like to ask whether there is a Way for maintaining fullness?" Confucius said, "The Way of maintaining fullness is to take and to diminish." Zilu said, "Is there a Way for diminishing it?" Confucius said, "

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85. *Hanshi waizhuan*, 3.114-15. Translation adapted from Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 112-13.

At height capable of descending

When filled capable of emptying

Wealthy but capable of frugality.

Privileged but capable of servility.

Wise but capable of being a fool.

Brave but capable of fear.

Eloquent but capable of being slow-witted

Erudite but capable of shallowness.

Enlightened but capable of dimness.

This is what is called avoiding the extreme through diminishing. Only the uttermost virtuous can put this Way to use. The *Book of Changes* said, "Adding to it without diminishing it, it is therefore diminished; diminishing oneself until the end, it is therefore increased."[86]

　　孔子觀於周廟而有欹器焉，孔子問守廟者曰：「此為何器？」對曰：「蓋為右坐之器。」孔子曰：「吾聞右坐之器，滿則覆，虛則欹，中則正，有之乎？」對曰：「然。」孔子使子路取水而試之，滿則覆，中則正，虛則欹，孔子喟然嘆曰：「嗚呼！惡有滿而不覆者哉！」子路曰：「敢問持滿有道乎？」孔子曰：「持滿之道，挹而損之。」子路曰：「損之有道乎？」孔子曰：「

<C> 高而能下，
<C> 滿而能虛，
<C> 富而能儉，
<C> 貴而能卑，
<C> 智而能愚，
<C> 勇而能怯，
<C> 辯而能訥，
<C> 博而能淺，
<C> 明而能闇；

是謂損而不極，能行此道，唯至德者及之。<L> 《易》曰：『不損而益之，故損；自損而終，故益。』」[87]

Kongzi jiayu 孔子家語 9 "San shu" 三恕

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86. It is ambiguous whether the citation of classics at the end of these anecdotes ought to be read as part of the speaker's speech. I translate them as part of the speaker's speech unless it is a text like *Hanshi waizhuan,* which presents itself as a commentary to a classic, and systematically cites the text of the classic at the end of nearly every anecdote.

87. *Shuo yuan jinzhu jinyi*, 10.312-14.

Confucius visited the ancestral temple of Duke Huan of Lu, where there was a vessel that tilted at an angle. Confucius asked the caretaker of the temple, "What vessel is this?" The caretaker replied, "It must be is the right-of-seat vessel." Confucius said, "I heard that the right-of-seat vessel topples over when filled, stands upright when filled to the middle, and tilts when emptied. Enlightened rulers see it as uttermost wholesome, and thus often places it at the side of their seats" He turned and said to disciples, "Try pour water into it." When water is poured into it, at halfway point, it stood straight. When it was full, it turned over. The master sighed, "Alas, is there ever something that fills up without toppling over!" Zilu said, "I should like to ask whether there is a Way for maintaining fullness?" Confucius said, "

> Preserve sharp perception and sagely wisdom with stupidity.
> Preserve achievement that overspread the world with being yielding.
> Preserve the courage and strength that can order the world with fear.
> Preserve the possession of the Four Seas with humility.
> This is what is called the Way to diminish and to further diminish."

孔子觀於魯桓公之廟，有欹器焉。夫子問於守廟者曰：「此謂何器？」對曰：「此蓋為宥坐之器。」孔子曰：「吾聞宥坐之器，虛則欹，中則正，滿則覆。明君以為至誠，故常置之於坐側。」顧謂弟子曰：「試注水焉。」乃注之水，中則正，滿則覆。夫子喟然歎曰：「嗚呼！夫物惡有滿而不覆(者)哉！」子路進曰：「敢問持滿有道乎？」子曰：「

> <CC> 聰明叡智，守之以愚；
> <CC> 功被天下，守之以讓；
> <CC> 勇力振世，守之以怯；
> <CC> 富有四海，守之以謙。

此所謂 <L?> 損之又損之之道也。」[88]

Wenzi 文子 3 "Jiu shou" 九守

Laozi said, "The Way of heaven is such that in extreme it turns around, when filled it diminishes, such as the sun and the moon. The sage daily diminishes and empties out his *qi* and

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88. *Kongzi jiayu zhuzi suoyin*, 9.15.

dare not to be self-satisfied. He advances daily through the yonic,[89] and his achievement and virtue do not decline, for this is the Way of heaven. It is human nature to be fond of ascending and detest descending; to be fond of obtaining and detest losing; to be fond of benefit and detest illness; to be fond of being served and detest servility; to be fond of privilege and detest being inferior. The masses act, therefore they cannot accomplish; seize, therefore they cannot obtain. Thus the sage models after heaven, accompishes without acting, and obtains without seizing. His disposition is the same as (other) humans but his Way is different, therefore he is longlasting.

Thus the Three Theoarchs and Five Emperors have a warning vessel that they named the Right Goblet. When it filled to the middle, it stood straight; emptied, it tilts. When matter flourishes it declines. The sun at midday descends. The moon when full wanes. When joy ends sorrow begins. Thus
>
> Preserve sharp perception and sagely wisdom with stupidity.
> Preserve broad learning and deep discernment with frugality.
> Preserve military strength and courage with timidity.
> Preserve widespreading wealth with narrowness.
> Preserve virtue that overspread the world with being yielding.

These five is what the Former Kings relied on to preserve their empire so as not to lose it.

Those who observe this Way do not desire to overflow. Only those who do not overflow can appear worn and not newly-made."

老子曰：天道極即反，盈即損，日月是也。聖人日損而沖氣，不敢自滿，日進以牝，功德不衰，天道然也。人之情性皆好高而惡下，好得而惡亡，好利而惡病，好尊而惡卑，好貴而惡賤。眾人為之，故不能成，執之，故不能得。是以聖人法天，弗為而成，弗執而得。與人同情而

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89. It seems that the word *pin* 牝 not only refers to female animals, but also the shape of the female anatomy. The latter sense seems important in this dicussion about advancing through desending.

異道，故能長久。

　　故三皇五帝有戒之器，命曰侑卮，其沖即正，其盈即覆。夫物盛則衰，日中則移，月滿則虧，樂終而悲，是故

　　　　<CC> 聰明廣智守以愚，
　　　　<CC> 多聞博辯守以儉，
　　　　<CC> 武力勇毅守以畏，
　　　　<CC> 富貴廣大守以狹，
　　　　<CC> 德施天下守以讓，

此五者，先王所以守天下也。服此道者，不欲盈，夫唯不盈，是以弊不新成.[90]

Capsular Anecdote Set 2B: Duke of Zhou admonishing Boqin

(Motif labels unconnected to Set 1, but are connected to Set 2A)

Xunzi 32, "Yao wen" 堯問

When Boqin (the son of Duke of Zhou) is about to return to the state of Lu, Duke of Zhou said to the Boqin's tutor, "You are about to depart, why not remark to me your lord's virtues?" In reply, he said, "he is magnanimous, fond of being self-reliant, and reserved — there three are his virtues."

Duke of Zhou said, "Alas! you take as virtues what man looks down on? The gentleman is fond of the Way and the Virtue, thus his people return to the Way. His magnanimity comes from his lack of judgment, but you praise it! His fondness of self-reliance is how he become narrow and petty. A gentleman is strong like bull but he does not contend a bull in strength; can run like a horse but does not contend with a horse in running; knowledgeable as an official but does not contend with an official in knowledge. Contending gives off the air of being equals, but you praise it! He is reserved, and thus he is shallow. I have heard that "without stepping down,

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90. *Wenzi shuyi* 文子疏義, commentary by Wang Liqi 王利器 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), 3.158-9.

one cannot meet officials."[91] When one meets with an official, one asks, "What have I overlooked?" That he is uninformed is because the world does not go to him. That is in turn why he is shallow. Being shallow is the way of the lowly, yet you praise i!." Let me tell you,

I am the the son of King Wen, the younger brother of King Wu, and the uncle of King Cheng. Certainly my position in the world is not to be despised. Yet there are ten men to whom I present gifts in meeting; thirty with whom I exchange gifts when in meeting; over a hundred whom I meet with curtesy; over a thousand who can come and speak to his heart's contend. From these I have only found three who can rectify me and secure the empire. I acquired these three officials not from ten men, nor thirty men, but from hundreds and thousands. Therefore the high officials I treat as if I lightly regard them, while the humble scholars I treat with deep respect. When everyone thinks that I step down in my fondness for officials, officials come to me. When they come, I can observe the world. When one can observe the world, then one understands right from wrong.

Take heed! That you lord over because of [your position in] the state of Lu is perilous! You can perhaps lord over those who receive emolument, but you cannot lord over those who can rectify you. The officials who who can rectify can
> abandon privilege and choose humility;
> abandon riches and choose poverty;
> abandon leisure and choose hardship;

weather-beaten yet do not lose their footing. This is why the principles of the empire do not cease, and its decorum endures.

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91. Many commentators suggest that there is a degree of textual corruption here, so that the original should be something like "I have heard that 'do not let a day pass without meeting an official' 聞之無越日不見士; see *Xunzi jijie*, 32.550.

伯禽將歸於魯，周公謂伯禽之傅曰「汝將行，盍志而子美德乎？」對曰：「其為人寬，好自用，以慎。此三者，其美德已。」周公曰：「嗚呼！以人惡為美德乎？君子好以道德，故其民歸道。彼其寬也，出無辨矣，女又美之！彼其好自用也，是所以竅小也。君子力如牛，不與牛爭力；走如馬，不與馬爭走；知如士，不與士爭知。彼爭者均者之氣也，女又美之！彼其慎也，是其所以淺也。聞之曰：『無越踰不見士。』見士問曰：『無乃不察乎？』不聞，即物少至，少至則淺。彼淺者，賤人之道也，女又美之！

吾語女：<AAA>[92] 我、文王之為子，武王之為弟，成王之為叔父，吾於天下不賤矣；然而吾所<BBBB> 執贄而見者十人，還贄而相見者三十人，貌執之士者百有餘人，欲言而請畢事者千有餘人，於是吾僅得<BB> 三士焉，以正吾身，以定天下。吾所以得<BB> 三士者，亡於十人與三十人中，乃在百人與千人之中。故上士吾薄為之貌，下士吾厚為之貌，人人皆以我為越踰好士，然故士至；士至而後見物，見物然後知其是非之所在。

戒之哉！女以魯國驕人，幾矣！夫仰祿之士猶可驕也，正身之士不可驕也。彼正身之士，
    <C?> 舍貴而為賤，
    <C?> 舍富而為貧，
    <C?> 舍佚而為勞，
顏色黎黑而不失其所。是以天下之紀不息，文章不廢也.[93]

Hanshi waizhuan 3.31-32

During the seven years that the Duke of Zhou occupied the place of the Son of Heaven, there were ten plain-dressed scholars to whom he presented gifts and treated as teachers; thirteen whom he received as friends; forty-nine from unadorned houses in impoverished alleys who had the privilege of being received first; hundreds who could give counsel; thousands who could give instructions, and myriad who came to court. At this time, should the Duke of Zhou have been prideful and ungenerous, then meager would have been the number of worthies coming [to his court] from all under heaven. After King Cheng enfeoffed Boqin in Lu, the Duke of Zhou admonished him saying, "You are going now. Do not lord over the ordinary officials because of [your position in] the state of Lu. I am the son of King Wen, younger brother of King Wu, and the uncle of King Cheng. Certainly my position in the empire is not light. Yet every

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92. *Motif labels unconnected to Set 1, but are connected to Set 2A.*
93. Ibid., 32.548-551. Translation adapted from Knoblock, *Xunzi*, III.266-7.

time I bathe, I must hold up my hair three times, and every meal spitting out my food three times [to go receive a caller], in the fear of losing the faith of the officials from all under heaven.

I have heard that

> When influence is broad and profuse, those who preserve it with reverence flourish.
> When territory spreads far and wide, those who preserve it with frugality enjoy security.
> When revenue is ample and rank high, those who preserve them with servility are privileged.
> When people are many and soldiers strong, those who preserve them with timidity triumph.
> When perception is sharp and knowledge deep, those who preserve them with foolishness fare well.
> When learning is broad and memory strong, those who preserve them with shallowness are wise.

Now these six are virtues of humility. To have the prestige of the Son of Heaven and the wealth of all four seas, one must adhere to this virtue. The likes of Jie and Zhòu were not humble, and they lost both the empire and their own bodies. Is this not to be heeded? Truly, the *Book of Changes* has the One Way. At the grandest scale it can preserve the empire, in the middle the states, and at smallest one's body, and it is called humility. Now

> It is the Way of Heaven to diminish the full and augment the humble;
> It is the Way of Earth to mutate the full and irrigate the humble;
> It is the way of the spirits to harm the full and bless the humble;
> It is the way of men to dislike the full and be fond of the humble. Thus
> a completed garment must have a missing lapel;
> a completed palace must have a missing corner;
> a completed room must have the touch of something unpolished.

Such exhibitions of imperfection is because of the Way of heaven. The *Book of Changes* says, "Humility: Success. The noble man will have his finishing point, auspicious." The *Book of Odes* says, "Tang was not born too late, and his wisdom and virtue daily advanced." Take heed! And

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do not lord over ordinary officials because of [your position in] the state of Lu.

The tradition/commentary states: Zilu met Confucius in sumptuous clothes. Confucius said, "Zilu, for what reason are you so brightly dressed? Back when the Yangtze was at the Fen region where it first emerged, it cannot even float wine goblets. But by the ford of Yangtze, one cannot cross without square boats and avoiding winds. Is it not because of (what it took in from its) numerous branch rivers? When you are dressed sumptuously, and wearing a satisfied look, who in the world can improve you?"

Zilu exited in quick steps, changed, came back, and bowed. Confucius said, "Zilu, take note of this, let me tell you. He who heeds his speech is not loud. He who heeds his conduct do not flaunt. A petty man displays what he knows and inflates it. Thus for a gentleman, the essense of speech is that what he knows is regarded as what he knows, and what he does not know as what he does not know; the essence of conduct is that what he can is regarded as what he can, and what he cannot is what he cannot. When speech reaches its essence then one is wise; when conduct reaches its essence then one is humane. If one is wise and humane, what can one improve?"[94]

The *Book of Odes* says, "
Tang was not born too late,
his wisdom and virtue daily advanced."

周公踐天子之位七年，<B> 布衣之士所(執)贄而師者十人，<B> 所友見者十二人，<B> 窮巷白屋所先見者四十九人，<B> 時進善者百人，<B> 教士者千人，官朝者萬人。當此之時，誠使周公驕而且吝，則天下賢士至者寡矣。成王封伯禽於魯，周公誡之曰：「往矣！子無以魯國驕士。吾 <AAA> 文王之子，武王之弟，成王之叔父也，又相天下，吾於天下亦不輕矣。然 <DD>

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94. This second scene has parallels in *Xunzi 29*, as well as in *Shuo yuan* 17 several paragraphs down from the Cai Chen story.

一沐三握髮，一飯三吐哺，猶恐失天下之士。吾聞

　　　　<CC> 德行寬裕，守之以恭者，榮；
　　　　<CC> 土地廣大，守之以儉者，安；
　　　　<CC> 祿位尊盛，守之以卑者，貴；
　　　　<CC> 人眾兵強，守之以畏者，勝；
　　　　<CC> 聰明睿智，守之以愚者，善；
　　　　<CC> 博聞強記，守之以淺者，智。

夫此六者、皆謙德也。<E> 夫貴為天子，富有四海，由此德也；不謙而失天下亡其身者，桀紂是也，可不慎歟！

　　　故《易》有一道， <FFF> 大足以守天下，中足以守其國家，小足以守其身，謙之謂也。

夫

　　　　<G> 天道虧盈而益謙，
　　　　<G> 地道變盈而流謙，
　　　　<G> 鬼神害盈而福謙，
　　　　<G> 人道惡盈而好謙。

　　　是以

　　　　<H> 衣成則必缺衽，
　　　　<H> 宮成則必缺隅，
　　　　<H> 屋成則必加措，

示不成者、天道然也。<I> 《易》曰：『謙、亨、君子有終、吉。』<J> 《詩》曰：『湯降不遲，聖敬日躋。』誠之哉！其無以魯國驕士也。」[95]

　　　傳曰：子路盛服以見孔子。孔子曰：「由疏疏者何也？昔者江於濆，其始出也，[96] 不足以濫觴；及其至乎江之津也，不方舟，不避風，不可渡也，非其眾川之多歟！[97]今汝衣服其盛，顏色充滿，天下有誰加汝哉！」子路趨出，改服而入，蓋揖如也。孔子曰：「由志之，吾語女；夫
　　　慎於言者不譁，
　　　慎於行者不伐。
　　　色知而有長者小人也。故
　　　君子知之為知之，不知為不知，言之要也；
　　　能之為能之，不能為不能，行之要也。
言要則知，行要則仁，既知且仁，又何加哉！」

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95. Xu Weiyu inserted *zi* 子 before 其無以魯國驕士也 based on the *Shuo yuan* version, but it does not appear to be attested anywhere else; see *Hanshi waizhuan*, 3.118.

96. Xu Weiyu inserted *chu* 出 before Fen 濆 based on similar passages in *Shuo yuan* and *Xunzi*.

97. Xu Weiyu inserted *xialiu* 下流 before *zhongchuan* 眾川 based on similar passages in *Shuo yuan* and *Xunzi*.

<J> 《詩》曰：

「湯降不遲，
聖敬日躋。」 [98]

Hanshi waizhuan 8.31

Confucius said, "The *Book of Changes* places the "Fellowship with men" [chapter] before the "Possession in Great Measure" [chapter], and follows it with "Humility" [chapter].[99] Is it not commendable? Thus

It is the Way of Heaven to diminish the full and augment the humble;
It is the Way of Earth to mutate the full and irrigate the humble;
It is the way of the spirits to harm the full and bless the humble;
It is the way of men to dislike the full and be fond of the humble.

Humility is what can repress and diminish affairs. The Way to maintain fullness is to repress and diminish it, and this is the working of the virtue of humility. Those who submit to it are propitious, and those who go against it is ill-fated. After the Five Emperors perished, and Three Kings expired, was it Duke of Zhou alone who could still perform the virtue of humility?

He was the son of King Wen, the younger brother of King Wu, and the uncle of King Cheng, who provisionally occupied the position of the Son of Heaven for seven years. There were ten men to whom he presents gifts and meets as teachers, thirteen with whom he exchanges gifts and meets as friends, forty-nine from unadorned houses in impoverished alleys who have the privilege of being received first, hundreds who can give counsel, thousands who came to palace and paid tribute. (Among his ministers,) five are appointed to remonstrate, five to assist, six to aid, of those who rose up from being foot soldiers to landed lords(, there were

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98. Ibid., 3.116-120. Translation adapted from Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 113-16.
99. Translation of chapter titles adapted from Wilhelm and Baynes, *The I Ching*..

ninety-seven from different clans, and)a hundred who bore his clan name.

Confucius said, "It is as if the Duke of Zhou saw all under heaven as his own tribe, so

that his clan outnumbered other clans. Thus

When influence is broad and deep, those who preserve it with reverence flourish.
When territory spreads far and wide, those who preserve it with frugality enjoy
  security.
When rank is high and emolument ample, those who preserve them with servili-
  ty are privileged.
When people are many and soldiers strong, those who preserve them with timid-
  ity triumph.
When perception is sharp and knowledge deep, those who preserve them with
  foolishness are wise.
When learning is broad and memory strong, those who preserve them with shal-
  lowness do not overspill.

These six are all virtues of humility. The *Book of Changes* says, "Humility: Success. The noble

man will have his finishing point, auspicious." To be able to end auspiciously thus is the way of

the gentleman. To have the prestige of the Son of Heaven and the wealth of all four seas but

lack the virtue of humility, it would lead to self-destruction, just as Jie and Zhoù, not to mention

the multitude of commoners. Thus the *Book of Changes* has the One Way. At the grandest scale it

can preserve the empire, in the middle it can maintain peace in family and state, and most

intimately it can preserve one's body. Is it not humility?"

The *Book of Odes* says, "
Tang was not born too late.
His wisdom and virtue daily advanced."

孔子曰：「<F?> 易先《同人》，後《大有》，承之以謙，不亦可乎？」故
  <G> 天道虧盈而益謙，
  <G> 地道變盈而流謙，
  <G> 鬼神害盈而福謙，
  <G> 人道惡盈而好謙。

<L> 謙者，抑事而損者也。持盈之道，抑而損之，此謙德之於行也。順之者吉，逆之者凶。五帝既沒，三王既衰，能行謙德者，其惟周公乎！<AAA> 文王之子[100]，武王之弟，成王之叔父，假天子之尊位七年，<BBB> 所執贄而帥見者十人，所還質而友見者十三人，窮巷白屋之士所先見者四十九人，<BBB> 時進善者百人，宮朝者千人，諫臣五人，<BBB> 輔臣五人，拂臣[101]六人，載干戈以至於封侯(，異族九十七人，)而同姓之士百人。

　　孔子曰：「猶以周公為天下[黨](賞)，則以同族為眾，而異族為寡也。」故
　　　　<CC> 德行寬容而守之以恭者榮；
　　　　<CC> 土地廣大而守之以儉者安；
　　　　<CC> 位尊祿重而守之以卑者貴；
　　　　<CC> 人眾兵強而守之以畏者勝；
　　　　<CC> 聰明睿智而守之以愚者哲；
　　　　<CC> 博聞強記而守之以淺者不溢。[102]
此六者皆謙德也。<I>《易》曰：「謙、亨，君子有終，吉。」能以此終吉者、君子之道也。<E> 貴為天子，富有四海，而德不謙，以亡其自身，桀紂是也，而況眾庶乎！<FFF> 夫易有一道焉，大足以治天下，中足以安家國，近足以守其身者，其惟謙德乎！

　　<J>《詩》曰：
　　　　「湯降不遲，
　　　　聖敬日躋。」[103]

Shuo yuan 1 "Jun dao" 君道

This account of the admonition to Boqin after his enfeoffment is done by King Cheng, rather than Duke of Zhou. His speech contains almost no parallel text when compared to the other passages, but the overall message is still closely related.

After King Cheng enfeoffed Boqin as the Duke/Prince of Lu, he summoned Boqin and exhorted him thus, "Do you understand the superior way of self-conduct? Those who occupy a revered position must rely on respect. When your subordinates offer remonstration in accordance with virtue, you must keep open the door of no liability, and put them at ease with by be-

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100. Xu Weiyu added 周公以 Before this phrase; see *Hanshi waizhuan*, 8.301.
101. *Bi* 拂 interpreted as *bi* 弼.
102. Xu Weiyu emends *yi* 溢 to *ai* 隘; see Ibid., 8.302.
103. Ibid., 8.301-303. Translation adapted from Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*.

having with restraint and serenity. Do not shake up your remonstrators by projecting strength. Forbear vellicating their words. Only if you gather widely from their speeches, can you pick out what you can hold in high regard. In general, cultivation without might lacks the means to intimidate the subordinates; might without cultivation leaves the people intimidated and feeling no affection. Only when cultivation and might are practiced in tandem can you establish both your strength and your virtue." Boqin bowed again, received his mandate, and took leave.

　　成王封伯禽為魯公，召而告之曰：「爾知為人上之道乎？凡處尊位者必以敬，下順德規諫，必開不諱之門，撙節安靜以藉之。諫者勿振以威，毋格其言，博采其辭，乃擇可觀。夫有文無武，無以威下，有武無文，民畏不親，文武俱行，威德乃成；既成威德，民親以服，清白上通，巧佞下塞，諫者得進，忠信乃畜。」伯禽再拜受命而辭.[104]

Shuo yuan 10 "Jing shen"

In the past, King Cheng enfeoffed Duke of Zhou, who declined it. The king then enfeoffed the son of Duke of Zhou, Boqin, to the state of Lu. When Boqin is about to take leave, the Duke of Zhou admonished him saying, "You are going now. Do not lord over the ordinary officials because of [your position in] the state of Lu. I am the son of King Wen, younger brother of King Wu, and the uncle of the current king. Certainly my position in the empire is not light. Yet every time I bathe, I must hold up my hair three times, and every meal spitting out my food three times [to go receive a caller], in the fear of losing the faith of the officials from all under heaven. I have heard that

>　When influence is broad and profuse, those who preserve it with reverence
>　　flourish.
>　When territory spreads far and wide, those who preserve it with frugality enjoy
>　　security.
>　When revenue is ample and rank high, those who preserve them with servility
>　　are privileged.

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104. *Shuo yuan jinzhu jinyi*, 1.3.

When people are many and soldiers strong, those who preserve them with timid-
 ity triumph.
When perception is sharp and knowledge deep, those who preserve them with
 foolishness improve.
When learning is broad and memory strong, those who preserve them with shal-
 lowness expand.

These six methods of preservation are all virtues of humility. If one has the prestige of the Son of

Heaven and the wealth of all four seas but does not have the virtue of humility, one's body

would be the first to perish before anyone in the empire, like Jie and Zhoù. Is this not to be

heeded? Truly, the *Book of Changes* has the One Way. At the grandest scale it can preserve the

empire, in the middle the states, and most intimately one's body, and it is called humility. Now

It is the Way of Heaven to damange the full and augment the humble;
It is the Way of Earth to mutate the full and irrigate the humble;
It is the way of the spirits to harm the full and bless the humble;
It is the way of men to dislike the full and be fond of the humble.

Thus

a completed garment must have a missing lapel;
a completed palace must have a missing corner;
a completed room must have the touch of something unpolished.

Such exhibitions of imperfection is the Way of heaven. The *Book of Changes* says, "Humility:

Success. The noble man will have his finishing point, auspicious." The *Book of Odes* says, "Tang

was not born too late, and his wisdom and virtue daily advanced." Take heed! And do not lord

over ordinary officials because of [your position in] the state of Lu.

　　昔成王封周公，周公辭不受，乃封周公子伯禽於魯，將辭去，周公戒之曰：「去矣！子其
無以魯國驕士矣。<AAA> 我，文王之子也，武王之弟也，今王之叔父也；又相天子，吾於天下
亦不輕矣。<DD> 然嘗一沐三握髮，一食而三吐哺，猶恐失天下之士。
　　吾聞之曰：
　　　　<CC> 德行廣大而守以恭者榮，
　　　　<CC> 土地博裕而守以儉者安，
　　　　<CC> 祿位尊盛而守以卑者貴，

<CC> 人眾兵強而守以畏者勝，

<CC> 聰明睿智而守以愚者益，

<CC> 博聞多記而守以淺者廣；

此六守者，皆謙德也。<E> 夫貴為天子，富有四海，不謙者先天下亡其身，桀紂是也，可不慎乎！<FFF> 故《易》曰，有一道，大足以守天下，中足以守國家，小足以守其身，謙之謂也。夫

<G> 天道毀滿而益謙，

<G> 地道變滿而流謙，

<G> 鬼神害滿而福謙，

<G> 人道惡滿而好謙。

是以

<H> 衣成則缺衽，

<H> 宮成則缺隅，

<H> 屋成則加錯；

示不成者，天道然也。<I>《易》曰：『謙亨，君子有終吉。』<J>《詩》曰：

『湯降不遲，

聖敬日躋。』

其戒之哉！子其無以魯國驕士矣。」[105]

105.Ibid., 312.

Chapter III

*"Jian Wuwang" 見吳王 in Yinqueshan *Sunzi bingfa*

...] At Master Sun's... [lodging], saying, "We are fond of ... warfare?" [Master] Sun [...] "...? That We are fond of warfare ... [With war] We are in our element, and we love it." Master Sun said, "Warfare is a matter of gaining advantage, not that of predilection. Warfare is ..., and is not a game. When my lord ask about it as a matter of predilection or game, I, as a guest in your service,[106] dare not reply." Helü said, "We have not gleaned from the Way, and venture not pursuing its gains..." [...] Master Sun said, "Whatever my lord desires, be it with the noble or the humble, or even the womenfolk. Take the right when testing it on the male; take the left when testing it on the female [...] [Helü] said, "We would like to [try it] on the womenfolk." Master Sun said, "When it comes to women there is much one cannot bear [to do]. Your servant begs to substitute […] [Helü said,"...] fear, what is there to regret?" Master Sun said, "If so, then I beg for the palace... within the hunting park to the hinter left of the capital, with two formations [...

...] said, "The formation is not yet accomplished, and is not yet worth reviewing. When it is accomplished ... " [...] not shy away from difficulties. The lord said, "Granted." Master Sun made his charioteer the commander, [made his] chariot companion the captain of chariots,[107] announcing to his charioteer and chariot companion that [...

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106. According to *Yili* 儀禮 "Shi xiang jianli" 士相見禮 chapter, guests from other states refer to themselves as *waichen* in front of the lord (凡自称於君……他国之人，则曰外臣).
107. See Yinqueshan zhengli xiaozu, *Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian*, Ic.36n.8.

...] The women and calling out to them, "Do you know [where your] right hand [is?]" They answered, "We know." ["Your left hand?" "We know."] "Your chest?" "We know." "Your back?" "We know." ...["When I say to you 'right,' follow your right hand; 'left,' follow your] left hand; 'forward,' follow your chest; ['backward,' follow your back..."][...[108]

...] are those who do not follow order." After seven rounds he released them, ordering them to march forward with drum... [Having announced thrice and] dictated five times, drumming and ordering them forward, the women were in disarray and ... [struck the] bronze [bell], ordering them to a standstill. He again announced thrice and dictated five times his command, drumming and ordering them forward. The women fell into disarray and broke into laughters. There were three rounds of announcing thrice and dictating five times, but his command was not followed. Master Sun then summoned his commander and captain of chariots saying, "The *Art of War* states, 'the lack of command or its communication is the fault of the ruler and the general. But if command is already declared [but it is not obeyed], it is the fault of the officers.' The *Art of War* states, 'Rewarding the good begins low, punishing … "

...] asking them to be spared(?).[109] Master Sun said, "My lord..."

...] guide them and make them round, they would confirm to a compass; guide them and

108. Editors point out that this passage can also be placed before the appointment of Sun Wu's officers; see Ibid., Ic.36n.9.
109. This fragment could be part of the passage where the king asks that his concubines be spared, see Ibid., Ic.36n.14.

make them square, they would confirm to a carpenter's triangle... For six days Helü did not ...

Master Sun bowed again, then rosed up saying, "[King, you have] apprehended the Way...

Forevermore closely practice this teaching, make it a constant command. Such is the longstand-

ing instruction, which is the Way of the generals. The people ... none more precious than author-

ity. When authority is established among the populace, and discipline among the officers, while

the troop have faith in their generals and authorities, then there is triumph over the enemies." A

Thousand ... Fifteen [Characters].

…][.]於孫子之[.](館)，曰：「不穀好[.][.][.][.][.][.][.][.][.][.]兵者與(歟)？」孫 (slip 190) …]乎？不穀
之好兵[.][.][.][.]之[.][.][.]也，適之好之也。」孫子曰：「兵，利也，非好也。兵，[.](也)，非戲
也。君王以好與戲問之 (slip 191)，外臣不敢對。」蓋(闔)廬曰：「不穀未聞道也，不敢趣之利與
[... (slip 192) …] [.]孫子曰：「唯君王之所欲，以貴者可也，賤者 (slip 193) 可也，婦人可也。試
男於右，試女於左，[.][.][.][.][... (slip 194) …]曰：「不穀顚(願)以婦人。」孫子曰：「婦人多所不
忍，臣請代 (slip 195) …]畏，有何悔乎？」孫子曰：「然則 (slip 196) 請得宮[.][.][... (slip 197) …]
之國左後璽(獼)圂之中，以為二陳(陣)[.][.] (slip 198)

…] [.]曰：「陳(陣)未成，不足見也。及已成[... (slip 199) …] [.][.]不辤(辭)其難。」君曰：「若
(諾)。」孫子以其御為 [司馬，以其[110]][... (slip 200) 參乘為輿司空，告其御、參乘曰：「[.][.][...
(slip 201)

…][.]婦人而告之曰：『知女(汝)右手？[曰：「知之。」「知汝左手？」曰：「知[111]] (slip 202)
之。」「知女(汝)心？」曰：「知之。」「知女(汝)北(背)？」曰：「知之。」[... (slip 203) …] [謂
汝右，從汝右手。謂汝左，從汝][112] 左手。胃(謂)女(汝)前，從女(汝)心。胃(謂)女(汝)[後，從汝
背][... (slip 204)

…][.]不從令者也。七周而澤(釋)之，鼓而前之[... (slip 205) …] [三告而]五申之，鼓而前之，婦人
亂而 (slip 206) [.][.]金而坐之，有(又)三告而五申之，鼓而前之，婦人亂而笑。三告而五申之者三
矣，而令猶不行。孫子乃召其 (slip 207) 司馬與輿司空而告之曰：「兵法曰：弗令弗聞，君將之罪
也；已令已申，卒長之罪也。兵法曰：賞善始賤，罰 (slip 208)

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110. Emendation based on Ibid., Ic.36n.8.
111. Emendation based on Ibid., Ic.36n.9.
112. Emendation based on Ibid..

…] [.]請謝之。」孫子曰：「君[.][... (slip 209)

…] 引而員(圓)之，員(圓)中規；引而方之，方中巨(矩)[... (slip 210) …]蓋(闔)廬六日不自[.][.][.][.][.][.][... (slip 211) …][.][.][.][.][.]孫子再拜而起曰：「道得矣[... (slip 212) …] [.][.][.] 長遠近習此教也，以為恆命。此素教也，將之道也。民 (slip 213) …][.]莫貴於威。威行於眾，嚴行於吏，三軍信其將畏(威)者，乘其適(敵)。千[.]十五 (slip 214)

Additional Fragments:

…] and utilize it, … can be obtained. Like... what the "Thirteen Chapters" […
…]而用之，[.][.][.]得矣。若[.]十三扁(篇)所[... (slip 215)

...] What the "Thirteen Chapters" illuminates as the way and states as accomplishment, can truly be heard […
…][十]三扁(篇)所明道言功也，誠將聞[.][... (slip 216)

...]Master [Sun] said, "try it for the time being, if one succeed in putting it to use, nothing will [...
…][孫]子曰：「古(姑)試之，得而用之，無不[.][... (slip 217)

...] and tried it ...
…][.]而試之[.]得[.][... (slip 218)

...]it. Master Sun said, "Outer and inner, high and low-stationed are established." [Master] Sun [...
…][.][.][.]之孫子曰：「外內貴賤得矣。」孫[... (slip 219)

...] Master [Sun] said, "...
…][孫]子曰：「唯[... (slip 220)

...] My lord can take place on the terrace and wait, while I, your servant [...
…][.]也，君王居臺上而侍(待)之，臣[... (slip 221)

...] at midday, asking for command [...
…][.]至日中請令[... (slip 222)

...] is lord of men. If an order is obeyed when issued, and those who do not obey are punished [...
…]人主也。若夫發令而從，不聽者誅[.][.][... (slip 223)

...] I beg to make it cohere with [...

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…][.]也。請合之於[.][.][.]之於[... (slip 224)

...] The formation is accomplished, instructions ... obey...
…]陳(陣)已成矣，教[.][.]聽[... (slip 225)

...][the king said],"...We ask to learn it. After a meal [...
…][.]不穀請學之。」為終食而[.][... (slip 226)

...][the king said],"...General... We dare not to neglect to [...
…]將軍[.]不穀不敢不[.][... (slip 227)

...] ... is... Master Sun [...
…]者[.][.]也。孫子[... (slip 228)

...] Master Sun said [...
…]孫子曰：「[.][... (slip 229)

...] Master Sun [...
…]孫子[... (slip 230)

...] Master Sun [...
…][.][.]孫子[.][.][... (slip 231)

...] Helü [...
…]蓋(闔)廬[... (slip 232)

...] Helü [...
…]蓋(闔)廬[... (slip 233)[113]

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113. For images see Ibid., Ia.19-23; for transcription and notes see Ibid., Ic.34-37.

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