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MEMORY, STORY, HISTORY

The Formation and Change of Collective Memory and Narrative of the Past in Early China

by

Tae Hyun Kim

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Chinese Language

and the Designated Emphasis

in

Critical Theory

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

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Professor Mark Csikszentmihalyi, Chair

Professor Paula Varsano

Professor Ling Hon Lam

Professor Karen Feldman

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ABSTRACT

MEMORY, STORY, HISTORY

The Formation and Change of Collective Memory and Narrative of the Past in Early China

By Tae Hyun Kim

Doctor of Philosophy in Chinese Language

and the Designated Emphasis in Critical Theory

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Mark Csikszentmihalyi, Chair

Humans perceive and conceptualize who we are by making a consistent and coherent story of the past. Without making this story, existence is fragmented and dissolved into a series of physical, chemical, or biological states that we can only passively accept. Instead, we recall past moments, selecting and linking them to other ones in a logical manner, composing a reasonable story that explains our existence consistently and coherently. Only by choosing, connecting, and sequencing our experiences and signifying them with concepts, and thereby producing an understandable story, can we identify who we are and what we do.

Constructing a story of the past is similar to composing a narrative fiction whereby we make sense of our identity with pre-existing signifiers, drawing upon values in the culture in order to establish meaning. The moments of existence that are not remembered or not selected in the story-making remain external to the being as if they had never existed. In this regard, we are creatures of our own story. The story provides us with an explanation of our identity through time and legitimizes how we will exist in the future.

Likewise, to identify and explain who the people of a society are and how they should behave, society needs its own story. That is, a society must compose its own story about what it has experienced through time. This group remembrance is referred to as collective memory or social memory—the constructed ideas of particular past event(s) that individuals have communally experienced. The social memory goes through editing processes such as selecting, excluding, elaborating, emphasizing, deleting, and re-sequencing procedures in the pre-existing linguistic, conceptual, ethical, aesthetic orders of the culture. In this sense, society's story is essentially “fictional” in nature.

Unlike individual/personal memory, however, those who experienced the same past event are plural in the society. Due to this plurality, there is tension resulting from different story-making of the same event in the past. The attempt to compose a different story about the past is not entirely resolved, but remains as a possibility for alternative story.

Diversity in collective memory necessarily causes, in the society, a competition among the plural memories for broader, deeper, and stronger acceptance and recognition of a particular memory by fellow society members. In the contest that is conditioned and affected in political and cultural power-relations, one specific memory and story wins out and becomes prevalent and dominant. It is then imposed and embodied in social regulations such as law and justice, and in cultural practices such as education and mass media. The social story is thus a doing, a performance to be done over and over.

In this regard, what the modern mind has termed as “history” is a society’s own self-constructed story that is narrated, written and re-written by its members out of numerous coexisting and competing memories of the past in a repetitive, reconstructive manner. Concerned more with signifying the identity of the society than with concrete facts, history is a dominant story of the memory that the community has come to approve as the narrativistic legitimation of its own identity through time.

Within this theoretical framework, this thesis studies how “history” emerged in so-called Early China, the period roughly from Warring States (ca. fifth to third century BCE) to Western Han (206 BCE-9 CE). It explores the cultural practice of sharing and transmitting various earlier collective memories of the past by representing them in the form of short narrative to establish an “authentic” and “official” memory, i.e., a “history,” by manipulating, editing, revising, or developing the earlier social memories and adopting a developed version of the memory and discourse into the works that had been canonized as the “true” representation of the past in the cultural tradition.

For this, the current study first pays attention to a genre of writing, which I term “Episode Text.” Often termed as “anecdotes” that assumes to have trivial and inferior nature in cultural significance, the Episode Text represents an earlier social memory of a past event and its narrative representation in the culture. Consisting of a short story in various lengths, about a past event of political or cultural figures and their speech, it is free-standing and self-contained as one independent textual unit in nature.

What makes the Episode Texts significant is that many stories in the Texts are comparable to those of transmitted classics of the past. Assuming that the Episode Text reveals earlier collective memory of the past and its literary representation, we can trace how the social memory of the certain past event has changed and developed. By comparing the parallels between the Episode Texts and received classics of “history,” we can see how earlier memories and stories have evolved or were modified when they were recognized and adopted as a part of the canonical texts in the later culture.

The Episode Text remained relatively unknown and paid less attention to until it was re-discovered and re-signified in modern archaeological excavation projects in the late twentieth and

early twenty-first century. However, the Episode Text seems already popular in the socio-cultural reality around fourth century BCE, in which a robust cultural need arose for individual political entities to identify their connection to the past, particularly to their great earlier ancestors. The stories offered to explain and legitimize their current status by creating their own stories of the past after the breakdown of the former hegemonic Central State, Western Zhou, which had provided the conceptual, ethical, aesthetic orders to its subordinates with political and cultural power and imposed the Zhou's story to the subordinate individual entities. In this sense, Episode Texts were made and shared as a social effort for individuated small states to be released from Zhou's cultural hegemony after its breakdown, to cope with their new socio-political circumstances, to explain their origin, and to justify their existence. This was possible within the changing cultural environment where the one absolute cultural and political power no longer existed, and each entity pursued its own story of the past.

This study focuses on the stories in two canonical classics of "history" in Chinese tradition, *Zuozhuan* and *Shangshu*, and compares them to the newly found narratives in the Episode Texts that reflect earlier memories of the same events. This study shows that the creation and establishment of these two seminal texts was a long-term process in which earlier social memories were edited and re-written in various ways, including detailing, refocusing, merging, splitting, re-messaging, re-didacticization, deleting, and excluding.

Notably, the case of textual comparison between the received "Wuyu" in the *Guoyu* and a bamboo slip manuscript found at Cili, Hubei convincingly suggests that long passages that comprise thousands of written characters in the received "historical" texts such as *Guoyu*, *Zuozhuan*, *Shangshu* may have been formed by merging several separate Episode Texts into a single text coherently. Generally, how later people cognized, conceived of, and understood what had occurred in the early past has been shaped and framed with these key references.

Nonetheless, despite the strong and steady efforts to establish specific memories as a socio-cultural norm in the imperial setting of the Han, there remained intellectual attempts to diverge from the growingly dominant memories and reconstruct "history" from different threads of social memory from earlier days in the culture. These disparate threads of memory were also represented in the form of short narrative and widely shared in the society. They were often explicitly critical about the figures or concepts in the increasingly dominant stories. They pursued alternative values, thoughts, and ideas by employing different personalities and a more fictive and imaginative tone and style. The disparate threads of memory explain the plurality of collective memory and the tension for appropriating the past in the society. The received *Zhuangzi* text exemplifies the intellectual conflict and struggle for domination in remembering the past in Early China.

The cultural process of constructing, establishing, challenging, and reconstructing the normative discourse of the past through canonizing such works is understood as a part of the never-ending, repetitive process of a society's own locating, identifying, and legitimating of itself through time. Thus, this thesis concludes that the process was the journey of the early communities to construct and reconstruct themselves as the ideal, the Center State of the cosmos, the state that now is rendered as China. In this course of consolidating discreet memories and producing the

dominant ways of remembering and representing the past through canonical texts, the early societies were dreaming of themselves becoming that Center State—namely, China.

摘要

記憶、故事、歷史：早期中國的集體記憶與過去敘事的形成及其變遷

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人類常常通過製造關於過去的連續性和一貫性的故事而形成對於我們自己是誰的認知與概念。如果沒有這樣的敘事，人類自身的存在形式就會消解而且碎片化，無論是在物理層面、化學層面還是生物層面的存在狀態上，以至於我們只能被動接受這樣的狀態。為了避免這樣的情形出現，我們不斷地回憶過去的片段，篩選並且把它們以一種合乎邏輯的方式彼此連接，從而製造出能夠解釋我們自身存在的一種連續的並且條例清晰的故事。只有通過篩選、拼接和連綴我們的經歷並且用一系列觀念來表徵它們，從而製造出一種合乎情理的故事，我們才能定義自己的身分以及明白我們做什麼。

構建有關過去的故事和創作敘事小說類似，二者都是通過已經存在的意符來理解我們的身分，運用文化中的價值來建立意義體系。那些沒有被記住的，或者是在製造故事的過程中沒有被選中的有關過去的片段，只能游離在這一意義體系之外，彷彿它們從未存在過一樣。就這一點而言，我們只是我們自己故事的產物。正是這些故事為我們提供了自身身分的解釋，也為我們在未來的持續存在提供正當性。

同樣地，社會也需要它自己的故事來定義這一社會中存在的人們是誰以及他們應該如何存在。也就是說，一個社會必須構建它自身在過去的時間中所經歷的故事。這種群體性的記憶被稱作集體記憶或社會記憶——每個個體所共享的有關過去特定事件的被建構的概念和認識。社會記憶會經過編輯的過程，比如篩選、排除、複雜化、強調、刪除以及重新排序等流程，這些流程的順序常常取決於某一文化中先已存在的語言、觀念、倫理和美學的特徵。從這個意義上，社會的故事本質上必然是“虛構”的。

與個體記憶不同，在集體記憶中，即使是關於同一事件的經歷，社會中的每個個體經驗也是不一樣的。由於這種多元性，有關過去經歷的不同的故事之間存在緊張關係。對過去的歷史作出不同的故事編造的常識不會被消解，而是以另一種可能性的故事存在。

集體記憶的多樣性必然導致社會中存在不同記憶之間的競爭，彼此互相爭取成為一個社會中多數成員接受的，更深、更廣和更高接受度的故事版本。這種競爭受到政治和文化權力關係的影響，最終某一特定的記憶和故事勝出並在這個社會中佔據普遍性和主導性。然後它會體現在並且被強加入法律等社會規則，以及教育和媒體等文化實踐中。這樣，這種社會故事就會成為一種不斷上演的劇目。

從這一意義上而言，被現代人稱之為“歷史”的不過是一個社會自我建構和敘述的故事，不斷被它的社會成員重新書寫而從無數與它同類的競爭性的故事中脫穎而出。歷史是一個群體最終所認可為自身主體合法性的敘事，這一敘事是群體記憶中最終成為主導性的故事，它關心的是這個社會的身分而不是具體的歷史事實。

在這一理論框架下，本論文研究“歷史”是如何做早期中國出現，時代跨度大約是戰國（公元前 4-3 世紀）至西漢（公元前 206 年—公元 9 年）。本文通過呈現以短敘事為形式的建構“真實的”和“官方的”記憶的過程，探索共享與傳播多樣化的關於過去的集體記憶的文化實踐。這些方式包括操縱、編輯、修改和發展早前的社會記憶，以及接受一個已經發展出來的記憶和敘述的方式並把它整合進“經典化”的文本中，從而成為一個文化傳統中“真實”的過去的反映。

因此，本文的研究首先關注一種寫作的體裁，我稱之為“記事文本”。通常又被稱為“軼事”，一般認為這類文本在文化意義上是瑣碎且不甚重要的。但記事文本其實代表了早期事件的文化記憶以及對它的敘述的反映。這些文本通常由長度不同的短故事構成，內容通常是關於過去的政治人物和他們的言說的，本質上是獨立的、自成體系的文本單位。

記事文本之所以重要是因為這些文本中的故事通常可以和傳世經典中的記述可以比較。既然記事文本反映了對過去的集體記憶及其文學記述，我們就能由此追蹤關於過去的集體記憶是如何變化和發展的。通過比較記事文本與傳世經典中的“平行文本”，我們可以看到早期記憶和故事在被確認為經典文本的一部份的過程中說如何變遷與修正的。

本文所研究的記事文本在二十世紀後半期考古發掘項目興起之前長期受到忽視。但實際上，記事文本在公元前的社會文化環境中已經很流行了，因為在那一時期，無論個人還是政治體都有強烈的自己與過去、尤其是與祖先聯繫起來的需求。這些故事通過創造西周和春秋霸主衰落之後的故事，為當時的政治體和個人與這些早期政權的聯繫和從屬關係提供了概念的、倫理的和美學的秩序。從這個意義而言，記事文本的創造和分享可以被視為各個小的諸侯國在周代的強勢文化崩解之後從周文化中釋放出來的社會努力，這一努力的目標是應對新的社會政治環境，解釋自己的起源，為各自的存在尋找正當性。當然這些都是在單一的文化與政治強權（周）不再存在之後的環境下才得以成為可能。

本文的研究集中在兩部中國文化的早期經典《尚書》和《左傳》，比較它們和新發現的記事文本中關於同一事件的不同記述。這兩個經典文本的創造和成立經歷了一個長期的過程，在這一過程中，早期的社會記憶以不同的方式被編輯和重寫，主要方式包括添加細節、調整側重點、文本的合併與分離、重新表述、刪除以及排除等。

值得注意的是，《國語吳語》與湖南出土的慈利簡的文本對比令人信服地表明，像是《左傳》、《國語》、《尚書》中的長達數萬字的篇章長段落，通常是合併了多個早期的記事文本而形成一個自成體系的單一文本。概言之，人們普遍相信、認可和理解的早期的歷史大多經過了類似的形塑和重新編組的過程。

儘管在秦漢帝國時期，存在持續而強力的把特定歷史記憶建立成社會文化規範的努力，但仍然有學者嘗試從早期歷史中遺留下來的不同的文化遺產中建構出與日益成為主流的“歷史”相異的歷史記憶與敘述。這些不同的文化記憶也以不同形式的短敘述而廣泛流傳於這一時期的社會上。它們也常常清楚地表達日漸成為主流的歷史故事中的人物與觀念的批評。他們通過不同的人物，以更虛擬和想像性的口吻與形式來表達對不同的價值、思想與觀念的追求。

通過把某些作品經典化而創造、建構、挑戰及重新建構標準的歷史敘述的文化過程，是一個社會重複性地、永無止境地尋找自身定位和身分並將之正當化的文化實踐。而本論文認為，就早期中國而言，這一過程就是中國早期的族群把他們自己建構與重新建構成理想的、居於宇宙秩序中心——也就是今天所謂的“中國”，的歷程。正是在藉由經典文本逐漸強化自身記憶與生成紀念和呈現歷史的主流方式的過程中，早期社會把他們自己想象成為宇宙中心之國，也就是中國。

DEDICATION

To my father, Jeunghui Kim 김증희, and mother, Youngnam Yun 윤영남,

Both of whom are always in me no matter how far I have come,

In respect and love that will never end.

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PROLOGUE

Do not know where this all began.
No one knows where this will end up.
Fragments of memories only,
The excitement at the first seen photo of Guodian slips,
The frustration at the last chapter on a foggy morning.
Collecting and stitching them, now I present this clumsy writing.

Saw what I wanted to see,
Did not see what I could not see.
Wrote what I had to write,
Truth is autobiographical.

Thus,
A chapter left unwritten.
Hope you can find it,
Hope I can find it,
We could talk about it one day.

Freely composed memories
Take me somewhere else,
Where life unfolds anew again.
A lone wild goose flies over the horizon.

不知一切從何開始，
也無人知何處結束。
只有那記憶的碎片，
初見郭店照片的欣喜，
霧晨寫完終章的挫敗。
如今綴集成此一拙文。

曾看到過想看的，
看不到的沒看到。
寫出了想要寫的，
真相即是自傳。

因此，
一篇未寫章，
希您能發見，
盼我能覓得，
他日可暢談。

隨手作的回憶，
把我帶往別處，
生命重新展開，
孤雁飛到天際。

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INTRODUCTION: In Search of Forgotten Memories in Early China

Life in Time: The Significance of Memory and Story

Humans are storytelling animals. We make stories and share them with others. Why? Neurobiologists explain that we do so as a survival strategy. For example, Jonathan Gottschall argues that stories help us navigate life's complex problems and issues, just as flight simulators prepare pilots for difficult situations. Storytelling has evolved, like other behaviors, to ensure our survival. According to Gottschall, once we make a story, and the story shapes us.¹ Lisa Zunshine also argues that we read fiction because it encourages us to speculate about other minds. Zunshine introduces what she calls "theory of mind," or mind-reading. Using the theory of mind, we can explain people's behavior by predicting their thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and desires. In her view, humans have evolved biologically, since the Pleistocene, to figure out how other people act and react based on their words, tone, gestures, or movement. Fiction as a representation of the gestures and movements of other people lets us examine "the motives and intentions of the characters [as well as] the motives and intentions of the author."²

Philosophers see this issue differently. For Ricoeur, story-making and story-telling are essential acts of humanity that aid in understanding and interpreting who we are and where we come from.³ He suggests that the fundamental condition of human existence is that we exist only in the irretrievable passage of time. Ricoeur says, "it [i.e., time] is experience, articulated by language and enlightened by the intelligence."⁴ For him, time is an experience to be understood through language, to be remembered and memorized in the mind. Ricoeur insists that the quality of time as human experience is particularly important because, even if the substance of time might be incessantly passing us by, the traces are left in us, in our mind, as experience. We can only know about time through memory and understanding what we were/are and what we did/do in time and in predicting what we will be and do. Time exists in our present mind, more specifically, in our memory and expectations. Thus, as Ricoeur suggests, to reconstruct what was experienced in the past, we use language and write a story, which Ricoeur calls a "narrative." Our existence always remains in the uncontrollable, undefinable flow and change of time. It might be impossible to reasonably claim our stable, logical continuity of existence *per se* in time, without importing a particular theological belief in God, who guarantees and provides us with the ultimate, final grounds of our continued existence.

¹ Jonathan Gottschall, *The Storytelling Animal: How Stories Make Us Human*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012).

² Lisa Zunshine, *Why We Read Fiction: Theory of Mind and the Novel*, (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2006).

³ Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* vol. 1, trans. by Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984).

⁴ Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* vol. 1, 9.

This experience of mind in time continuously recurs in succession, and requires us to articulate, understand, and interpret what it was/is. Ricoeur underscores the efficacy of Aristotle's term "emplotment" (*muthos*), in which he sees the possibility of establishing a proper relationship between lived experience as time and the means to understand it in language. For Ricoeur, emplotment is a creative imitation of reality using language and the plot of lived temporal experience. He argues that it is in this plot that we combine scattered experiences and memories together and integrate them into one meaningful whole and complete story. In the emplotted story, we can find a broader and more profound meaning in our experiences, and in life, a meaning cannot be grasped when the experiences are not schematized into one coherent plot. This linguistic act is, for Ricoeur, not a literal imitation of the world, but a new creative representation that ultimately opens up a possibility of a new human understanding of self and the world, by using language that is metaphorical in nature.

Human beings make stories because we live in time. We make our life meaningfully only by giving specific meanings to remembered moments in passing time. As Heidegger once observed, time is the fundamental threat to man's being because it reminds him of the impending end of his being.⁵ It warns us about the coming annihilation of our existence. To cope with the threat, to counter the ultimate destruction of oneself, we attempt to resist and tame time. Even though human beings may never be free from the passing of each moment, we do not surrender. Well-told memories of our lives survive our biological deaths.

Time is to be rendered into a story to be remembered. When linguistically rendered as a reasonable discourse in a proper form, humans can understand our current existence, how we exist in time, how we have lived in fleeting time. The story we are making in an attempt to counter time is ultimately not intended primarily to accurately record what we were and what we did at specific individual moments, but to provide a linguistically-ordered record of the meaning of each moment of existence. The story is an artistic production in the medium of human language. Our memory is translated into the language to be a story in order to be remembered. The life that is narrativized is lived in the understanding of verbally generated meaning. Memory's fate is to narrativize this life so it finds its rightful place in our language.

If memory is for understanding and explaining who a person has been in time, the understood and explained self-identity is her/his production of him/herself in a given linguistic, conceptual, and aesthetic condition. Identity is produced through a person's repeated practices of story-making. One's identity is not externally given but self-imposed in a linguistic, conceptual, and aesthetic performance, the conditions for which precedes the person in the tradition, in the society.

From Story to History

We remember our public lives and make stories about them not only on an individual level but also on a social level. In order to cope with the possibility that time will return our community or our society to nothing, we have to remember the collectively experienced past and turn the memory into an agreed upon story. Ricoeur understands history as a form of narrative, too.⁶

⁵ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, translated by Joan Stambaugh; revised and with a foreword by Dennis J. Schmidt, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010).

⁶ Paul Ricoeur, *The Reality of the Historical Past*, (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1984).

Historical narrative is not merely a list of chronological events, but draws causal connections between events and explains them, eventually accounting for the meanings of what the society has experienced in time. Society's own story about itself in time becomes history.

However, Ricoeur also argues that there is a difference between writing history and fiction, and the difference is at the level of emplotment. The ordering of events in history is externally imposed, whereas the fiction writer can manipulate them as he wants. Moreover, unlike the writer of fictional narrative, the historian must deal with the problem of objectivity and truth. To the extent that he maintains a distinction between history and fiction, Ricoeur reiterates the modern European belief in human rationality and science. However, despite his rationalist concern with objectivity, Ricoeur does not ignore that history, as a narrative that human beings create, written to understand their existence and meaning in time, and to produce and create a new meaning in the present for life in the present and the future. In this sense, even for Ricoeur, historical narrative and fictional narrative are not fundamentally different, but ultimately interrelated.

As is the case for an individual, society's own story explains and understands who society's members are or were and what they experienced or are experiencing across changes over time. That is to say, society's story determines its identity. As is the case for individuals, identity is not given but ultimately produced through the repetitive and continuous practice of story-making about itself.

How does a society make its story and produce its identity? First, the social experience of time in the community is the source of the story to be made and shared. Scholars have come up with several terms for this mental experience: collective, social, and cultural memory.

"Collective memory" is a term derived from critical reflection on the conventional notion of individual memory, and casts memory as a matter of reflecting on the properties of the individual, subjective mind. The term collective memory was first suggested and analyzed by a French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) who, as a student of Emile Durkheim, observed the function and meaning of specific memories of past events in society that were created, shared, and transmitted by a group of people. Understanding memory to be a matter of how minds work in society and how their operations are structured in response to given social arrangements, Halbwachs finds that collective memory works and functions for sharers of the memory as a living past that constructs and legitimizes their identity in the society.⁷

⁷ See Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, translated by Mary Douglas, (New York: Harper and Row, 1980); Maurice Halbwachs, "I. The Social Frameworks of Memory" in *On Collective Memory*, edited and translated by Lewis A. Coser, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

In this thesis, I will follow Halbwachs's definition and conception of collective memory. However, unlike Halbwachs, who maintained a clear-cut distinction between historical and collective memory or, in a broader manner, history and collective memory, based on his understanding of historical memory as memory that reaches us only through historical records and thus is dead (especially Ch. 2), I hold the position, like Ricoeur, that these two are not separate but closely connected as collective memory provides the fundamental basis for historical memory and ultimately what we normatively call history.

For an excellent summary and discussion of memory as a social issue in pre-Halbwachs and post-Halbwachs eras, see Nicolas Russell, "Collective Memory before and after Halbwachs," *The French Review* 79.4 (2006):792-804; Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzsky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, "Introduction," in *The Collective Memory Reader*, edited by Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzsky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3-62. Olick also provides a brief and accurate explanation of the status of the issue of collective memory in contemporary scholarly discourses of the Humanities and Social Science in his "Collective Memory," in

The relationship between collective memory and history proper has been much discussed in recent scholarship. This research increasingly highlights the issue of how collective memory provides specific nuclei, in form and content, to constitute discourses that develop into history proper in the contexts of different communities of memory.⁸ The notion of history proper is construed broadly as a concrete narrativization of collective memory, influenced by the power-dynamics of the society.

Besides the term collective memory, scholars have used two other terms, “social memory” and “cultural memory,” but I regard them as largely synonymous as they are used in disciplines such as history, sociology, anthropology, performance studies, and so on. Social memory is the same as collective memory in the sense that memory is ultimately structured by society in order to create shared identity.⁹ However, James Fentress and Chris Wickham distinguish the term social memory from collective memory, arguing that by replacing the adjective, the notion of social memory purports to moderate the notion, embedded in the Durkheimian and Halbwachsian conception, that individuals are rendered passive automata and the determinant of content is society. Paul Connerton also uses the term “social memory” to emphasize the possibility that memory may change as society changes. Connerton asks how memory persists in society, and suggests that the repeated social practices of commemoration embody memories and are also subject to changes in society over time.¹⁰

Cultural memory is, by contrast, a term that stresses the role of culture in the making of memory. It is similar to the other two terms, social memory and collective memory, in the sense that cultural memories are formed, shared and passed down by certain groups of people in society, but also differs in that it focuses on the cultural transmission as an active process of making meaning in the reconstructive imagination through time.¹¹ Here, the term culture should be

International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 2nd edition, edited by William A. Darity, Jr., (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2008), 2:7-8.

⁸ Useful examinations of these relationships are found in Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, translated by Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Anne Ollila, ed., *Historical Perspectives on Memory*, (Helsinki, Finland: SHS, 1999); for a more philosophical discussion, see Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, translated by Kathleen Blamey, David Pellauer, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

⁹ See James Fentress and Christ Wickham, *Social Memory*, (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), viv.

¹⁰ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 39-40.

¹¹ The best discussion of the notion of “cultural memory” is found in Jan Assmann, “What is ‘Cultural Memory’?” *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, translated by Rodney Livingstone, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 1-30. As a representative supporter of this notion, Jan Assmann calls it “communicative memory,” as opposed to individual memory, because the memory is created and shared to be communicated in the culture. Also, he characterizes it as “mnemohistory” in the sense that it is concerned not with the past as such, but only with the past as it is remembered. See also Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 9. For a more detailed discussion about the relationship between cultural memory and cultural identity in ancient Egypt, a topic I will return to in this thesis, see Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Martin Bommas, ed, *Cultural Memory and Identity in Ancient Societies*, (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2011). For a general, comprehensive overview of recent scholarly discussions about the relationship between culture and memory, see Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, (Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter, 2010). Aleida Assmann provides a closer examination of how memory is

understood as concerned with the conceptual, symbolic, or linguistic ways in which lived experience is seen, understood, interpreted, expressed, communicated, transmitted and thereby finally reproduced in the community. Some would explain this by using another term, “ideology.”¹² Understanding, expression, and interpretation of time in the form of story in culture, which is grounded on socially produced symbols and language, needs to be considered as a social construction in which individuals are never entirely free or autonomous but intricately entwined with their position in the socio-political or economic network.

Despite the subtle differences in emphasis between these three concepts of collective, social, and cultural memory, I will treat them as basically synonymous, keeping the proposed conceptual differences valid that the term social memory, unlike collective memory, supports its changes in the society and relates itself to the bodily inscriptions to the remembers through social commemorating practices, and at the same time, the notion of cultural memory is associated with the formation of individual and social identity in the culture. It tells that the formation and transmission of collective memory in the community is eventually a matter of ideology, and so how to view the past, and what to remember from the past, are issues ultimately determined in the ideological dimension. Collective memory is therefore a social invention, and it is through this collective cultural invention that society comes to see its past and learns what it is.¹³

History is ultimately a society’s own story constructed from collective memories that its members preserve in collectively experienced time. In other words, history, society’s own story, is a communally reflected time. It ultimately is a cultural representation of what the reflected time meant for the members of society. Like the individual and the telling of his or her life story, society’s story, history, is not primarily for the accurate recording of what occurred, as Leopold von Ranke argues, but rather a matter of what it signifies to the society.

Hayden White more radically advances the argument that the nature of history is a fictional narrative composition.¹⁴ For White, it is no longer convincing or meaningful to differentiate between history and fiction, between factual descriptions and value judgments, and preserve a clear dividing line separating them.¹⁵ Instead, we should attend the desires manifested in writing,

concretely constructed and transmitted from generation to generation through various media such as writing, images, bodily practices, places, and monuments in the culture. See her *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

¹² For more detailed information about approaches to the concept of ideology that I consider here, see Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction*. (London and New York: Verso, 2007); Louis Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, translated by G. M. Goshgarian and preface by Etienne Balibar, (London and New York: Verso, 2014); Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, (London and New York: Verso), 1989.

¹³ A similar approach to this is taken in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*. (Cambridge, U.K. and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹⁴ Hayden White, *The Content of the Form*, (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

¹⁵ White’s monumental work, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*, published in 1973, was the first full-length discussion of this question. White argues that historical work is “a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse that purports to be a model, or icon, of past structures and processes in the interest of explaining what they were by representing them” (1973, 2), and delineates four ways a narrative is emplotted in archetypal genres: romance, comedy, tragedy and satire, each of which corresponds to the main mode of the writing’s function, representational, reductionist, integrative, and negational, respectively. Each of these in turn

those which bind word to word, image to image, sentence to sentence, paragraph to paragraph, thought to thought, in an order or sequence that thereby creates signification. Thus, what one encounters in writing, in a narrative, is not letters or thoughts but rather ideology encoded in language and symbol. In this regard, a written text as a manifested narrative is more than letters and reading it much more than the act of turning a page. The text identifies and constructs who the members of a society are, in time, over and over, within the limitations prescribed by that society. This is an intrinsic possibility only for written text, for it is made out of language.

Furthermore, history is a literary narrative representation of the collective memory of the past. By “narrative,” I mean a report of connected events, represented in a sequence of words. The relationship between narrative and story, based on the widely agreed narratological conception that a narrative is comprised of both story and narrative discourse, is that between narrative as “the representation of story” and story as “the sequence of events.”¹⁶ A story is the specific content for narrative, basically, a recounting of an event or a sequence of events, while narrative is how the event or events are organized and told. Thus, narrative is a combination of the story and of the distinctive ways that the story is recounted. Narrative will be used below to mean both the actual contents of collective memory as story, and also the ways memories were verbalized and organized in the contexts in which they were produced as narrative discourse.

Paul Connerton reminds us that in defining history as a narrative representation of collective memory in culture, there is a key aspect of how this memory works in society.¹⁷ Once memory is settled in the form of narrative, it must be accepted by others who might disagree with the settled memory and narrative. This is a significant difference between collective and individual memory. Collective memory and its narrative representations constantly need acceptance in order to maintain their status as “proper.” Thus, society generates and enforces mechanisms to make all members of society accepting memory. The establishment of memory as official discourse in society is thus an issue of power. Here power does not simply mean agency or structure. Instead, as for Foucault, it is related to the capacity to produce or establish something as truth. That is,

corresponds to writing modes that he calls tropes, to wit metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony. See Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

After the radical deconstruction of the break between history and fiction that he first attempted in *Metahistory* in 1973, his view has been widely discussed, but unfortunately not very much in China. For recent discussions of White and White's responses to them, see Kuisma Korhonen ed., *Tropes for the Past: Hayden White and the History/Literature Debate*, (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006). For more updated reflections on the Whitean approach, see Robert Doran ed., *Philosophy of History after Hayden White*, (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).

For rare reception of White's critical idea of historiography in Chinese scholarship, see Li Jixiang 李紀祥, *Shijian, Lishi, Xushi* 時間 歷史 敘事, (Lanzhou, China: Lanzhou daxue, 2004); David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001).

¹⁶ For more theoretical discussion, see Gérard Genette, “Introduction,” *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980); Gerald Prince, “Introduction,” *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative*, (Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers, 1982), 1; H. Porter Abbott, “Ch. 2 Definition of Narrative,” *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002). A recent useful discussion of the meaning and significance of various definitions proposed by contemporary scholars is found in Marie-Laure Ryan, “Toward a Definition of Narrative,” in *The Cambridge Companion of Narrative*, edited by David Herman, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 22-35.

¹⁷ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*.

power for Foucault concerns truth claims in society. Thus, it may be seen as a kind of ‘meta power’ or ‘regime of truth’ that pervades society in a state of constant flux and negotiation. Foucault uses the term ‘power/knowledge’ to signify that power is constituted through accepted forms of claims of knowledge, scientific understanding, and truth. Thus, the truth is not an inherent quality that can be ascribed to particular memories.¹⁸ It is variable and produced through the power relations of society.

How does power influence the establishment of a memory in a society? Connerton points to mechanisms like education, mass media, and religion. This list is virtually no different from what Althusser identified as ideological state apparatuses that maintain and reproduce capitalist society.¹⁹ Collective memory and its narrative representation are embodied, inscribed, and internalized into one’s mind through a society’s rituals for self-maintenance and self-reproduction. Therefore, history is not just writing but also doing. as one performs it, it is inscribed in one’s mind,²⁰ so its narrativization is “performative utterance” or “performative language.” History then is defined, in this thesis, as a literary narrative representation of the collective memory of the past that is regularly practiced and embodied by the members of the community.

It is essential to note that memory is fragile. It is subject to change in time and across power relations. It is hard to agree upon, and it is embodied through continuous practices in life. At the same time, to keep memory continuous, society identifies discrete moments in time and individual exemplars as iconic, foundational, and essential to its memories and its narratives. These are the locations to which people return, where they discover, the values in their memories and its stories still preserved. The moment and the figure are narrativized to be remembered, but the story also magnifies itself to increase its impact. More intense, sensitive images are often employed; more mystical, fantastic, and metaphysical language used, and the plot becomes more dramatic.

¹⁸ For recent critical reflections on truth claim issues in traditional Chinese historiography, see Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, Achim Mittag, and Jörn Rüsen, eds., *Historical Truth, Historical Criticism, and Ideology: Chinese Historiography and Historical Culture from a New Comparative Perspective*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005). See also Axel Schneider and Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, *Chinese Historiography in Comparative Perspective, History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History*, Theme Issue 35, (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University, 1996).

¹⁹ Louis Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, 2014; and “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses” in *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other essays*, translated by Ben Brewster and introduction by Frederic Jameson. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001).

²⁰ The concepts of “performative utterance” or “performative language” were first proposed by J. L. Austin in his 1955 William James Lecture, later published as a book, entitled *How to Do Things with Words*. Austin distinguishes two distinct functions of language: descriptive and performative. For example, when a person says at a wedding, “I take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife,” the person does not use words to represent a separate action; instead, in making this utterance, the person is performing the promise. Since promising is an illocutionary act, this utterance is regarded a performative utterance. J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975).

What makes this type of performative language essential to an examination of the critical context is that represents the moment of how one accepts a given linguistic concept (e.g., a married person) within oneself and practices it in one’s life (e.g., being married) and thereby reproduces it to the world (e.g., Get married!). Judith Butler thus understands that the illocutionary moment at which a doctor says, “It is a boy!” when a baby is born, is not the moment that the doctor describes its sex factually, but rather the moment that the subject’s becoming a boy is socially announced. Therefore, it is the moment from which a baby is required to start making himself a boy, that is, the boy’s identity begins to be constructed from this moment. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, (New York: Routledge, 1990).

Individual and social identity are thereby connected to a mythic moment or figure, and authority and power in the present are justified or legitimized.

In memory practices, people are often required to re-live, re-experience, or “re-enact” the important moments in the past²¹ and thereby make themselves vulnerable to the world of the memory. In this story, society explains its own core. The core of social identity is produced, and agreements are given or compelled, so that the memory is preserved and survives through practices of re-telling and re-enacting the foundational story. The foundational story is called myth.

“Episode Texts” as Fragments of Collective Memories of the Past

In this thesis, I examine the ways that early peoples on the East Asian continent remembered and represented what they and their ancestors had experienced using narrative. In the last century, particularly in the latter half of that century, Chinese scholars have begun to excavate a vast number of cultural relics and written texts in various media and have found that many of the newly “discovered” texts are narratives about past events, some of which have parallels in continuously transmitted, or “received” texts. The length of the narratives vary, but most of them are fragmentary and short, comprising several bamboo strips. Each of these narratives deals with a particular historical event, often featuring well-known historical figures. We cannot know for sure who composed these brief written testimonies about the past, for what purpose they were produced, or why such brief narrative had social utility, but their ubiquity alone justifies attention justifies renewed attention to their basic narrative unit of “anecdote” or “episode.” Faced with a dearth of information about this type of text, this thesis approaches these numerous short narrative texts in light of early peoples’ collective memories of the past as the primary source material for genres of writing usually called pre-history or history. They are written vestiges of the memories of the past, and key to understanding the way that early societies sought to construct their identities. Here, this genre of discovered text will be called an “Episode Text” (*jishi wenben* 記事文本).

I equate the English term “Episode” with the Chinese term “jishi” 記事, which means “recording an event.” This equation emphasizes the role of human recording of the event as a product of literary composition and invention, as opposed to the rote, accurate transcription of what happened. As in the case of other “anecdotal” texts, such records were far from dry descriptions of events, but at times a literary treatment of what happened, often featuring conversations between the main characters that deliver a particular message. It was a long (one or more passages) short story about an event, and the narrative was mostly a free-standing, self-contained, independent unit of writing about the past event. Since it was a free-floating and complete textual unit, it was easy for early literati to adapt, revise, and re-write for the ruler’s editorial considerations. An episode text was never fixed, settled, or completed but ever-changing and developing in the hands of early intellectuals. In the early cultures, there were multiple different versions of the same story existing at one time, and, over time, those versions developed into new ones with more details and sophistication. Through examining this type of text, I will

²¹ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, translated by Willard R. Trask, (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1959).

discuss how various social memories of the past presented in these Episode Texts have changed and or were established into dominant memories in the classical texts of the tradition.

The term “Episode Text” and its characterization resists the convention of distinguishing between the “recording the event” (*jishi* 記事) and “recording the speech” (*jiyan* 記言) found in recent scholarship. In this division, the act of recording an event is usually reduced to writing about an event in dry prose, the practice usually associated with the composition of the “Spring and Autumn Annals.” Recording a speech is transcribing the words of speech of a character in an event, traditionally associated with the *Guoyu* 國語 text. However, this conventional dichotomy overlooks the fact that both are often mixed, and instances of explicitly purely recording an event, or purely recording a speech, is very rare in early Chinese writings about past events. The description of an event and the recording of a speech were not mutually exclusive, and both imply writing was simply a reflective written representation of the past in early culture, the main purpose of which was to signify the meaning of the past event in narrative form, and satisfy a desire to accurately record event. The term “Episode Texts” encompass both kinds of record as a more complete and verisimilar representation of the past in the early cultures but is not limited to these mimetic practices.

Key Arguments Concerning Episode Texts

My main argument in this thesis is as follows: stories in Episode Texts, when examined in comparison with stories in transmitted texts, show how people in early societies developed memories of their past in narrative form. This process of development entailed establishing specific memories and stories about the past by as truthful by codifying them in texts and canonizing them in traditions, ultimately constructing the social identity of *Zhongguo* 中國, now rendered “China,” but literally meaning the “Central State [of the cosmos/universe].”²²

Here I want to call readers’ attention to the conceptual problem of the social identity of China in its formative or early period. What was China, say, around the eleventh century BCE? Who or what were Chinese at this time? This question is intended to destabilize the widely used technical term “Early China” (*zaoqi zhongguo* 早期中國), revealing the supposition, based on various models of tradition, of the existence an unarticulated essential characteristic. This is not only vague, but also has the problem, which I think is more serious, of dismissing the significance of other possible politico-cultural or ethnic entities, which coexisted on the continent, in favor of hegemonic centers like the Shang or Zhou.

²² The Chinese term I am gesturing to in this study when using the English “China” is *Zhongguo* 中國, literally as “Central State.” In early texts, there were other traditional notions equivalent to *Zhongguo* that carried different connotations, such as *zhuxia* 諸夏, *sikai* 四海, *zhonghua* 中華, *huaxia* 華夏, *shenzhou* 神州, or *jiuzhou* 九州. As opposed to these terms, *Zhongguo* is not only the best-known Sinitic term for the concept of China, but also most accurately describes the two crucial aspects of the traditional conceptualization of China: *zhong* temporalizes and spatializes one group in distinction from other groups, and *guo* reveals that the temporalization and spatialization is political in nature.

A resourceful overview of the names of China and *Zhongguo* from early periods through the modern one is Endymion Wilkinson, “Chapter 12. *Zhongguo*, China and the Chinese people,” in *Chinese History: A New Manual*, (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 191-196.

David N. Keightley, who understands the Shang as “China’s first historical dynasty,” was one of the few scholars who sincerely attempted to ask and answer the question of the definition of China in the early period, conventionally regarded as covering the Shang to Han periods.²³ In a paper presented at Stanford in 1986, and later reprinted as a chapter in a recently published collection consisting of his early papers, Keightley lists seven features that make each state and culture in this period “Chinese” as follows: hierarchical social distinctions; massive mobilization of labor; an emphasis of group rather than individual; an emphasis on ritual in all dimensions of life; an emphasis on formal boundaries and models; an ethic of service, obligation, and emulation; and little sense of tragedy or irony.²⁴ But, as Keightley admits several times in the paper, these can never be the satisfactory answers to the question of what makes one Chinese, none of these features are only characteristic of Chinese people or Chinese societies as compared to other cultures or civilizations at the time. For this reason, they cannot be used to meaningfully mark out Shang culture from, say, other Bronze Age cultures in East Asia, as authentically Chinese. These are at best only common denominators of normative political or cultural characteristics shared, or aspired to, by different states.

By carefully examining the artistic styles of unearthed artifacts, mostly those of bronze vessels, produced in the seventeenth to eleventh centuries BCE, Robert Bagley effectively drew attention to the possible coexistence of neighboring cultures or states outside of the Shang – a social and political entity known to today’s scholars mainly through excavation projects at or near Anyang carried out in the twentieth century CE.²⁵ Bagley takes as an example the concept of a “Chinese interaction sphere” proposed by K. C. Chang, by which Chang refers to different kinds of cultures that emerged, thrived and disappeared throughout the Neolithic period, in the geographic area we now call China, that he regarded as the constituents of early Chinese civilizations.²⁶ Bagley argues that today’s territorial and cultural boundaries are naively applied to the understanding of prior political and cultural entities.

Partly agreeing with Bagley’s critique of the widely practiced convention of treating Shang as the sole unified state entity on the continent, Sarah Allan points out that the Shang period, which she regards as represented by the so-called Yanshi Erlitou culture, indeed had an unrivaled cultural hegemony in the sense that their ancestral worship and ritual practice were widely accepted by cultural groups that could be identified as different from Shang by Bagley’s standards.²⁷ Allan

²³ David Keightley, “The Shang: China’s First Historical Dynasty,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 232-91.

²⁴ David Keightley, *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*, edited by Henry Rosemont Jr. Albany: State University of New York. 2015, 67-68; see also chapter 3 of the book in which Keightley discusses this question in light of geographical perspectives.

²⁵ Robert Bagley, “Shang Archaeology,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 124-231.

²⁶ For this concept, see Chang Kwang-chih, *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 234-42.

²⁷ Sarah Allan, “Erlitou and the Formation of Chinese Civilization: Toward a New Paradigm.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 66.2 (2007): 461–497.

synthesizes the notion of diversity championed by Bagley with the traditional position that views the Shang as the first or second legitimate dynasty of China by a focus on the notion of cultural hegemony. Allan's view maintains certain aspects of the conventional one, regarding the Shang as the beginning of the later Chinese civilization based on its origination of the cultural practice of ancestor worship. Her assertion that Shang had hegemonic cultural power over the continent, however, is based on the survival of Shang artefacts, and more importantly, a conceptual frame constructed in a particular political and cultural context. For example, her identification of Erlitou as reflecting early Shang culture relies on a consensus that arose in China specifically in the late 70s to the mid-80s. The problem of whether the new discoveries at Erlitou belong to the Shang or the Xia, or neither of them, arose in the context of different academic discourses at different times. The problem of how to characterize Erlitou is not only an academic or intellectual one but also a social one.

Today, what we call China is a nation-state that claims a history that includes many different dynastic states, population groups (or ethnic groups 民族), and cultural traditions. As many scholars have shown, it was in the late eighteenth century, or the Qing 清 period, that the concept of China gradually started to refer to lands where the state claimed sovereignty, rather than to the broadly conceived Central Plains area and its people.²⁸ Lydia Liu and Gang Zhao find the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century as pivotal in the social imagination and invention of the state and the people as a unified multiethnic state, *zhongguo*, in the rise of nationalism by leading intellectuals such as Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929).²⁹

If the concept of China became “(re-)invented” as a sovereign state only in the wake of modern nationalism, what provided specific content for the (re)invention and political imagination of this state? Rather than emphasizing a radical break in the transition, the current study posits a conceptual continuity between pre-modern and modern cultures in the matter of invention of China. Only such a continuity could make possible a modern political movement. I argue that the concept of China as a trans-dynastic spatial-cultural entity was continuous with a collectively shared and transmitted memory of the past.

The general issue of the concept of nation (*minzu* 民族) or national identity (*minzu rentongxing* 民族認同性) that provides vital theoretical grounding for critical studies of invention of China in the modern political context, scholars have often argued that the concept appeared only in the late eighteenth century and thus was profoundly new.³⁰ Accepting the argument that nation and national identity is a modern phenomenon, Anthony Smith nevertheless attempts to elaborate the cultural grounds of modern nationalism in pre-modern societies and explain how the early sources made the modern phenomena so successful via mass voluntary agreement and recognition

²⁸ For example, see Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Elena Barabantseva, *Overseas Chinese, Ethnic Minorities and Nationalism: De-Centering China*, (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, UK; New York: Routledge, 2011).

²⁹ Lydia H. Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making*, (Cambridge, MA and London, UK: Harvard University Press, 2004); Gang Zhao, “Reinventing China: Imperial Qing Ideology and the Rise of Modern Chinese National Identity in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Modern China* 32.1 (2006): 3-30.

³⁰ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, second edition, (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 2006); Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, second edition, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition, (London and New York: Verso, 2006).

in modern societies. Characterizing his position as ethno-symbolism, Smith argues that sharing of the common cultural grounds, represented by symbolic tools such as myth or specific historical memories, provided a substantial bonding to “imagined communities” and thereby made it appear as if they had been real.³¹

In the specific case of China and the Chinese as nation, Wang Ke 王柯 traces changes in the ruling ideology of China from the unified multi-ethnic state of the earliest times to today.³² Although he tries to clarify that early concepts of *huaxia* 華夏 and *zhonghua* 中華 were not merely ethnic but mainly cultural, arguing that it these categories depended on whether or not other ethnic groups were willing to join the political and cultural order proposed by the Zhou (a group he regards as mainly a proto-Han people), he does not acknowledge that terms like *huaxia* and *zhonghua* were not static or fixed in early times, but rather changed and adapted to new situations, in negotiation with other ethnic entities.

In this regard, Wang Mingke’s 王明珂 anthropological study, which traces the changes in the border to identify and distinguish the ethnic identity of *huaxia* in the early period, is crucial because it shows that even ethnic identity was not considered to be biologically determined, but was a construct negotiated by socio-political dynamics.³³ Criticizing a focus by academics on measurements of measurable characteristics for ethnic identity, Wang pays attention to the subjective qualities in determining ethnic identity and argues that the border of *huaxia* was first conceived as a cultural response to the rise of nomadism as the climate changed and became cooler and drier in the northern areas from 1,500 to 1,000 BCE. These categories became mainstream as a means to discriminate other ethnic groups after the weakening of the Zhou ruling hegemony, and then expanded to embrace more groups into the new socio-political entities of Qin and Han.

Watanabe Hideyuki’s 渡邊英幸 work is also worthy of notice for the similar reasons.³⁴ Questioning the meanings of the *zhonghua* or *yidi* 夷狄, often translated as either “barbarian groups” or “nomadic tribes” in the early historical context, Watanabe examines the rise, change and development of such concepts in early period, mainly from Western Zhou to Eastern Zhou, based on his readings of various received texts and excavated manuscripts. Viewing the dynamics of the usage of the concept in historical context, he argues that based on the sources of the Western Zhou, people were identified as different cultural groups by terms that refer to barbarians or nomadic groups, but there was no hierarchical or pejorative connotation to those terms. After the collapse of the hegemony of the Western Zhou court, some of the Eastern feudal states that were regarded as part of the territory outside of the central rule of the Western Zhou grew and competed against the older Western feudal states, and the concept of *zhonghua* came into increasing use in a chauvinist fashion to enforce the hierarchy among the feudal lords and exclude those who were not fully engaged in the existing Zhou-centered feudal order. Thus, the *zhonghua* concept in the Spring and Autumn Period developed in three ways: 1) to denote differences between feudal states

³¹ Anthony Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

³² Wang Ke 王柯, *Minzu yu guojia: Zhongguo duo minzu tongyi guojia sixiang de xipu* 民族與國家：中國多民族統一國家思想的系譜, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2001).

³³ Wang Mingke 王明珂, *Huaxia bianyuan: Lishi jiyi yu zuqun rentong, zengding ben* 華夏邊緣：歷史記憶與族群認同(增訂本), (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 2013).

³⁴ Watanabe Hideyuki, *Kodai "Chūka" kannen no keisei* 古代〈中華〉觀念の形成, (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2010).

and nomadic tribes; 2) to denote a hierarchy of the feudal states of the Zhou bloodline families, nomadic tribes, and small states; 3) to clarify the difference between the allied states that supported Zhou and states that were not its allies. This conceptual shift produced and established the idea of inner versus outer, or central versus peripheral.

The concept of China itself existed much earlier than the late imperial period, as a signifier to denote a normative earthly realm which had perfected politics and culture, a realm populated by certain ethnic groups. And at the core of the concept was the shared memory of the past that spanned dynasties. This study is mainly about the cultural construction of the shared memory of the past, particularly in the early formative period, from the thirteenth century B.C.E. to the first century BCE, the last phase of which reflected a typical cultural conception of a past delineated in the form of chronology from the legendary era of the Sage-kings, Xia, Shang, Zhou to Qin and Han. The chronology provides the archetype for a later shared consciousness of the past in the idea of *zhongguo* and becomes the basis of Chinese identity at the time of the political reform movements after the Qing.³⁵

As this thesis demonstrates, shared consciousness of the past was, for early peoples, by no means natural or self-evident, but only a complex construct in their own times, which was gradually established and transmitted, with minor modification at times, mainly through the state-authorized official discourse of history, represented by state histories, and through social and cultural practices that commemorated the past such as civil examinations or regular ritual observances. In the early twentieth century, the historical consciousness became a concrete source that substantialized and legitimized China as a historical nation-state.³⁶

In order to study the fragmented collective memory of the past and the development of the memory of an early society's self-identity as China, I will focus on close readings of written representations of that memory in Episode Texts found mainly in bamboo-slip or silk manuscripts, in relation to those found in received texts. I take the Episode Texts as fragmentary collective memories. They show that the received literature of early East Asia constructs complete narratives of the past from variegated and partial fragmented memories through practices such as interpolation and editing by anonymous literati. These editors used Episode Text over hundreds of years in when those texts were increasingly significant for their cultural authority as symbolic capital.³⁷ This allows me to focus on the diversity and complexity of early memories of the past,

³⁵ An excellent discussion of the concept of *zhongguo* during the middle period (8th-15th century C.E.) is found in Peter K. Bol, "Geography and Culture: The Middle-Period Discourse on the *Zhong guo* - the Central Country," in *Space and Cultural Fields: Spatial Images, Practices and Social Production*, edited by Ying-kuei H, (Taipei: Center for Chinese Studies, 2009), 61-106.

³⁶ For sources on the (re)invention of China, see Q. Edward Wang, *Inventing China Through History: The May Fourth Approach to Historiography*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001); Wang Fansen 王汎森, *Jindai zhongguo de shijia yu shixue 近代中國的史家與史學*, (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2010).

³⁷ This leads to another increasingly important notion for describing society in the early periods, "manuscript culture." Debunking the still common and mainstream view that there was a definite critical edition of texts written, compiled, or edited by a person or a group of people clearly known as the author or editor, the new emphasis on "manuscript culture" sheds light on the long, multiple procedures, mediated by writing and orality, through which numerous, now forgotten, people modified, copied, and handed down the manuscripts of early texts. This leads to a new view that early texts existed primarily as particular manuscripts created by an individual transmitter, rather than a critical edition socially approved as reliable. There were indeed efforts to establish one specific text, but despite these efforts, written texts were predominantly created, copied, and circulated in manuscript state by multiple unknown hands. For a brief discussion about this notion and its implications in the studies of early cultures, see Michael Nylan, "Academic Silos,

how they constructed their identity in memories, and narrated their temporal and spatial conditions. In addition, I will examine how such diverse discourses grounded in the narration of a collective memory resulted in social and political changes that ultimately gave rise to the emergence of grand synthetic narratives of the past that encompassed a wide range of individual, competing memories produced in different settings. I will then put them in a well-ordered sequence, culminating in the codification of one definitive memory in the formation of the authoritative book familiar from the received tradition.³⁸

Many of the “Episode Texts” have parallels found in received texts, but mostly not the same in form and content. There have been scholarly attempts to explain significant textual parallels. In this thesis, I will treat these parallel passages as the primary sources for a study of the “Episode Texts” consolidated into the grand narratives represented by some classical works of history such as *Shiji*, *Zuozhuan*, *Shangshu*, and *Guoyu*. They are windows into the world that early intellectuals created, shared, and transmitted from their experiences in the form of short stories. These stories, reflecting early Chinese collective memories of the past, were utilized as the primary sources for making longer texts, embodying and practicing priorities defined in various social contexts. On this point, “Episode Texts” can inform us about the formation of canonical texts.

In this thesis, I mainly focus on the seminal transmitted texts that define the early syntheses of collective memories of the early past, namely, *Zuozhuan* and *Shangshu*, which have been canonized, in the traditional cultures of Chinese civilization, as the state-approved authentic

or ‘What I Wish Philosophers Knew about Early History in China,’ in *The Bloomsbury Research Handbook of Chinese Philosophy Methodologies*, edited by Sor-hoon Tan, London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2016, 92-97. A fuller discussion of this concept in early cultures is found in Christopher M. B. Nugent, “Manuscript Culture,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature (1000 BCE – 900 CE)*, edited by Wiebke Denecke, Wai-yee Li, and Xiaofei Tian, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 61-75. Christopher M. B. Nugent’s “Literary Media: Writing and Orality” in the *Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature*, 46-60, is also illuminating on this issue.

³⁸ Reinhart Koselleck, who is well-known for his original research on the history of concepts, so-called “Conceptual History” (*Begriffsgeschichte*), finds that the notion of history has undergone profound changes in meaning in the pre-modern European context. According to Koselleck, the critical conceptual change was in accord with the structural transformation of Europeans’ experience of time as linear, empty and therefore objectifiable, into physical clock-time in the late eighteenth century. In this change of temporal experience, the concept of history shifts from a premodern one geared to moral lessons, to the modern one about what was in the past and what happened, as Leopold Ranke put it. See Reinhart Koselleck, “*Historia Magistra Vitae*,” *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, translated by Keith Tribe, Cambridge, MA and London, UK: MIT Press, 1985, 21-38. Thus, it was since the late eighteenth century that history came to be viewed and recognized as a separate, independent academic discipline in European universities, particularly in German ones. For the establishment of history as a self-complete science in modern Europe, see Timothy Bahti, *Allegories of History: Literary Historiography after Hegel*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 1992.

Daniel Fulda links structural changes in temporal experience and meaning of history after the eighteenth century of Europe to the changes in and development of narrative art that shaped history as knowledge in the modern sense, as we know it. Daniel Fulda, “Literary Criticism and Historical Science: The Textuality of History in the Age of Goethe and Beyond,” in *The Discovery of Historicity in German Idealism and Historicism*, edited by Peter Koslowski, (Berlin and New York: Springer, 2005), 112-133. The change and development of narrative art in late eighteenth-century Europe is also significant in the sense that it was also at roughly the same moment that the concepts of nation and national identity were emerging and spreading through Europe. For the discussion of this issue, see Benedict Anderson, “Ch. 4” and “Ch. 5,” *Imagine Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London and New York: Verso, 2016).

At least in the modern European context, the notions of history and nation are deeply associated with the new temporal experience in the late eighteenth century when the art of narrative constructing a new cognition about the past was emerging and developing.

representation of the early past. This assumes that the dominant cultural memory of the past of Early China is framed and concretized into two distinct periods, centering around the consolidation and breakdown of Western Zhou hegemony. The first period presents the ideas and discourses of glorious *bell epoque* of early peoples, which also functions as an ideal model for all human societies. The memory of the earlier days of Western Zhou and its past is represented by the canonical text “Shangshu” (尚書; Old Book [of Documents]). The second part of the memory is created through the “Chunqiu” (春秋; Spring and Autumn Annals) and its major commentary, *Zuozhuan*. The *Zuozhuan* tells readers what happened in the post-Zhou era, whereas the *Shangshu* narrates the political reality in the Zhou and even the pre-Zhou. In the historical discourse of early peoples, the *Zuozhuan* instructed people about the tragic conflicts, warfare, and competition for survival among the states, and in the world that would happen if an absolute power was not present. By contrast, the *Shangshu* showed people the peace of a world unified by absolute hegemony and how to keep that peace. By carefully examining how these two texts were formed out of the Episode Texts, I will discuss how the early culture deleted, forgot, or even excluded early partial or fragmented memories of the early days and created major ideas and discourses about the past in the tradition.

At the same time, I will also argue that “Episode Texts” ultimately show us how traditionally constructed grand narratives of China’s early past based on these seminal texts were formed and how they were earlier versions and options for the grand narratives, perspectives, frameworks that have often been taken for granted.³⁹ Episode Texts are thus an example of the

³⁹ In this sense, an “Episode Text” can be viewed as a “monad” of history in Benjaminian term. For Benjamin, what we call history exists in fact in the state of being disruptive, non-integrated, and fragmented. He compared the fragmented particles of history to the notion of “image,” by which he wanted to differentiate the original fragmentation of history from modernity’s linear, universal narrativization that could be appropriated as “a tool of the ruling classes.” Walter Benjamin, “On the Concept of History,” in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 4: 1938-1940*, translated by Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings, (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2006). The notion of the past as fragmentary may be taken out of that context and put into the present situation. Such non-linear and anachronistic “citations” of the past are the only way that we can grasp the truth of history, according to Benjamin. The linearity and continuity of time in history must be broken and torn away to get to the truth of it. Thus, Benjamin says, “To write history thus means to *cite* history. It belongs to the concept of citation, however, that the historical object in each case is torn from its context” [N 11,3]. Tearing a moment from its context is to link the past with the present. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, the third edition, translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2002). Since Benjamin takes the moment of catastrophe as breaking the continuity of time and the arrest of thoughts as the moment when the meaning of history emerges, his dialectic is by no means progress towards a final end as with Hegel or Marx. Benjamin thought that it meaningless and empty to recognize time as ever-continuous and moving forward. According to Benjamin, the notion of homogenous, empty, and objective time perceived in the structure of modernity has allowed historicists, formalists, or modernists to claim to arrange past events in a sequence, to chronologize them (2006, Thesis 3), and finally complete universal history by adding up all the events in the human past (2006, Thesis 17 and A). For Benjamin, however, there is no such time that is linear, continuous, progressive, homogenous, universal, or equal in value. His conception of time and history fundamentally differs from that of Hegel or Marx, who presume time only moves forward towards an end. Thus Benjamin critically revises the Marxian concept of history as follows: “Historical materialism must renounce the major element in history. It blasts the epoch out of the reified ‘continuity of history.’ However, it also explodes the homogeneity of the epoch, interspersing it with ruins – that is with the present” [N 9a,6]. Here Benjamin terms such an idea as a “dialectic at a standstill” [2002, N 2a,3; 9,7; 10a,3]. By “a standstill,” he emphasizes the ultimate importance of the fragmentary moment of the past in the meaning of the present. Benjamin sees clearly the point that every fragment of time has the possibility of truth, and so every moment is not imperfect but rather is to become complete in the moment of the here and now (*Jetztzeit*). Thus, in the notion of “standstill,” one does not have to move

cultural realities about the past and how these realities relate to the formation of a conception of the early Chinese past through the received literature. Examining how early discourses of the past existed in various forms, and how one of them was codified in the transmitted texts, I pursue one possible to understand how views and ideas about China's ancient past have been shaped and framed.

A Brief Literature Review

Serious scholarly research on Episode Texts, the excavated manuscripts that briefly narrate a past event, is now only emerging.

In China, the material I propose to call Episode Texts has been conceptualized as a “Speech-type” (*yulei* 語類) document, where *yu* appears in the titles of received classics such as “Guoyu,” “Lunyu,” and “Kongzi jiayu.”⁴⁰ However, although we do have several examples that demonstrate transmitted texts are named with the word *yu* 語, it is by no means clear that there was indeed a *yu* genre in early cultures. In the earliest surviving bibliographic treatises such as the “Yiwenzhi” 藝文志 in the *Hanshu* 漢書, but also in writings across different genres and sub-genres among the refined writing (*wen* 文) in early culture, such as “Wenfu” 文賦 by Lu Ji 陸機 (261–303 CE) or *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 by Liu Xie 劉勰 (fl. 5th century), we do not find a *yu* category at all. Indeed, the concept of “Speech-type” as a genre-category was proposed by modern researchers like Zhang Zhenglang 張政烺 (1912–2005) to classify newly excavated materials, such as the ones named “Chunqiu shiyu” 春秋事語 or “Zonghengjia shu” 縱橫家書, both found in the Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan in 1973.⁴¹

toward to be more perfect; rather, what is more significant for Benjamin is to awaken the truth hidden in the particular moment of the past on the very horizon of the present, as he says, “[E]very second was the small gateway in time through which the Messiah might enter” (2006, Thesis B).

⁴⁰ Most notable recent research on this material are as follows: Yu Zhihui 俞志慧, *Gu yu youzhi: XianQin shixiang de yizhong peijing yu zhiyuan* 古“语”有之: 先秦思想的一种背景与资源, (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2010); Xia Dekao 夏德靠, “XianQin Yulei wenxian yanjiu de xin changhuo” 先秦语类文献研究的新创获, *Jinzhong xueyuan xuebao* 晋中学院学报 29.4 (August 2012): 112-114; Li Xiaohong 李曉紅, “Lun XianQin Yulei wenxian xingtai de yanbian ji qi wenti yiyi” 論先秦語類文獻形態的演變及其文體意義, *Mingzuo xinshang* 名作欣賞 (2012): 63-64; Zhao Zheng 趙爭, “Zaoqi ‘shiyu’ lei wenxian xingtai ji qi yanbian yanjiu – yi Mawangdui Chunqiu shiyu he Fuyang Shiyu lei cailiao de bijiao yanjiu wei zhongxin” 早期“事語”類文獻形態及其流變研究——以馬王堆帛書《春秋事語》和阜陽“事語”類材料的比較研究為中心, MA thesis, Shanghai University, 2007; Chen Jiannong 陳建農, “XianQin wenxian yanjiu de xin shijiao ping XianQin Yulei wenxian xingtai yanjiu” 先秦文獻研究的新視角_評_先秦語類文獻形態研究, *Huzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao* 湖州師範學院學報 39.1 (January 2017): 91-93.

The most impressive research is Xia Dekao 夏德靠, *XianQin Yulei wenxian xingtai yanjiu* 先秦語類文獻形態研究, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2015). In this volume, Xia attempts to theorize “Speech-type” documents and examines the characteristics and significance of various transmitted Speech-type concerning their excavated counterparts.

⁴¹ Zhang Zhenglang 張政烺, “Chunqiu shiyu jieti” 春秋事語解題, *Wenwu* 文物 1 (1977): 36-38.

With this choice, Chinese scholars have put the emphasis more on the dialogical aspect of these texts. Portraying these materials as brief notes or base texts that might reflect a more immediate, direct, and earlier record of events by scribes (*shiguan* 史官), Chinese scholars generally hold the view that such texts might have been used for instruction or for later expansion of the texts.⁴² Thus, this “Speech-type” document is viewed as a historical record, as opposed to a fictional narrative.

In the West, scholars have used the term “anecdote” to refer to these texts. Recently, taking this “anecdote” as a unique genre of early Chinese literary culture, Paul van Els and Sarah A. Queen examined its meaning and significance in terms of the development of the writing of history and philosophy in early China.⁴³ According to them, anecdotes about respected figures and memorable events played a significant role as historical exemplars to be utilized for argumentation and the development of its rhetorical structure. This explains why numerous individual cases of anecdotes were created and transmitted in early Chinese cultural contexts. Also, they pay attention to the role that anecdotal passages played as the sources for the creation of many received texts. More discussion of scholarship on this genre appears in the following chapter, where I define the term “Episode Text.”

The Composition of the Thesis

This thesis is broken down into six chapters.

In Chapter One, I attempt to describe what I call the Episode Text using the example of a bamboo slip text called “Shuolei zashi,” which was excavated at Shuanggudui village, Fuyang County, Anhui province in 1972. In examining the case of “Shuolei zashi” and attempting to delineate and establish the “Episode Text” as a distinctive genre in early Chinese literature, I contend that what the texts reveal ultimately is the co-existence of multiple competing versions of social memory written about the same past event, then edited into different versions. Texts like “Shuolei zashi” contain myriad accounts of specific past events, which I will show were selected and edited into received texts.

In Chapter Two, I explore another important aspect of the Episode Text by analyzing an example of the “Wuyu” parallel bamboo slip manuscript excavated at Shibao Village, Cili County, Hunan Province in 1987, in textual comparison with the transmitted version of “Wuyu” in the received *Guoyu* text. The “Cili Wuyu” parallel text that has no reported title on it and has not been fully made public yet, and published photographic images are few. Despite this limitation, the Cili “Wuyu” parallel text is a very telling example, not least because it bears different sequencing numbers on the back of each slip that suggest how such long narrative passages often found in the received texts such as *Guoyu*, *Zuozhuan*, and *Shangshu*, may have been compiled. I argue that the

⁴² The best conceptualization of this “Speech-type” document is found in Xia Dekao, *XianQin yulei wenxian xingtai yanjiu*, 1-19. In Chapter one and two, he traces the origin and development of this “Speech-type” material.

⁴³ Paul van Els and Sarah A. Queen, eds., *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, (Albany: The State University of New York, 2017).

Jack W. Chen and David Schaberg also use the term “anecdote” but extend their analysis to the culture of the early medieval period. See Jack W. Chen and David Schaberg, eds, *Idle Talk: Gossip and Anecdote in Traditional China*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2014).

numbers on the Cili “Wuyu” text that do not match the sequence of the corresponding passages in the *Guoyu* imply that the source materials were divided into much smaller textual units, suggesting an intermediate stage. Using the same logic, the current long passages seen in the received historical episodes may be the result of an assemblage of shorter textual units into one single text based on similar processes.

After defining and characterizing the central concepts, I will explain how and why these episodes came into being and developed as they did in the early cultures. Chapter Three is thus concerned with the socio-cultural origins of Episode Text production. I approach this issue by locating the Episode Text in the context of the development of local cultures after the breakdown of Western Zhou political hegemony and the subsequent collapse of its cultural authority. It was at this historic moment that each local political entity could pursue its own story of the past after being released from the one unified memory imposed by royal power and authority. Episode Texts were then utilized as essential source materials to construct a discourse of universal history, exemplified by the case of the *Shiji* compiled by Sima Qian. Rather than locating the *Shiji* as the start of Chinese historical writing, I turn to two specific cases of bamboo slip manuscripts and received texts to demonstrate how Episode Texts were related to the formation of received historical texts often regarded as foundational in framing “Chinese History.”

In Chapters Four and Five, I examine specific historical memories that appear in excavated and discovered manuscripts and received texts such as *Zuozhuan* and *Shangshu*, respectively, and lay out possible options for the collective memories that had existed before the consolidation of memory represented by book texts transmitted in the tradition. In Chapter Four, by closely reading excavated and discovered bamboo slip manuscripts, titled “Chunqiu shiyu” (Episodes of Spring and Autumn Period) and “Xinian” (Chronicle), and comparing them to a major classic of “history” known as “Zuozhuan,” I trace the formation of canonical social memory of the Chunqiu period reflected in the received *Zuozhuan* text. I will show how early memories of events and figures in this period had been elaborated, diversified, and re-written in the change of social memory of the period.

In Chapter Five, I examine another major canon of “history” in Chinese tradition, that is, *Shangshu*. I locate the received *Shangshu* materials in the cultural context of Later Eastern Zhou period where each regional polity constructed and developed their own identity based on their different collective memories and stories of the past after the breakdown of Zhou’s hegemony, and claim to approach the transmitted *Shangshu* as a collection of fictional Episode Texts, chronologically arranged by later hands. Reading two purchased bamboo manuscripts, “Fu Yue zhi ming” and “Zhou Wu Wang you ji,” in comparison with the received counterparts, I will argue that the written materials of the received *Shangshu* were literary outcomes from the development of early memories and stories of the past events and figures in the Warring States period.

In Chapter Six, I turn to another type of Episode Text that constructs a past different from what the *Zuozhuan* and *Shangshu* imagined. This discussion reveals that despite the establishment of collective memory by state power through the process of canonization, there were different intellectual and cultural attempts to manufacture different discourses of the past in society. What we know as the *Zhuangzi* is one compilation of Episode Texts. These Episode Texts were similar to others in the sense that they contained short stories narrating events. Even if these texts were relatively less directly concerned with reporting past events, it is not free from the issue of the past. Instead, the core of one of its most profound concerns was the construction of the past—not individual past events in themselves, but what the past tells us about the present. The ultimate concern of Episode Texts is to produce or evocate a specific message from the past, and in this

sense, the reflective side of the Episode Text explains why it had to be produced, shared, and transmitted that much in the society. *Zhuangzi* is thus treated as a historical text, just not the kind we saw earlier, but rather one that pursues the question of what the past means to us now. This case shows another possibility for Episode Texts: that they were also implicated in the development of philosophical discourses in early society as objects of deeper self-reflection on the cases of the past.⁴⁴

Based on the summary of what I have found and argued in the previous discussions about Episode Texts, and how these texts shaped and conditioned the literary canon that formed our conceptions of Early China, I will reflect upon what the Episode Text can mean and suggest for Early China studies in the Conclusion.

⁴⁴ White's argument is also applicable to Chinese history. The division between the historical and the fictional is not necessarily irreconcilable in traditional Chinese culture, either. Viewing the relationship between the two categories not as oppositional or contrasting but rather only as "complementary," Andrew H. Plaks argues, "In fact, the question of how to define the narrative category in Chinese literature eventually boils down to whether or not there did exist within the traditional civilization a sense of the inherent commensurability of its two major forms: historiography and fiction" (Andrew H. Plaks ed. 1977. *Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 311-2). He finds that most traditional bibliographical groupings – including the *sibu* 四部 system – cut rather freely across the lines of fiction and history, with works of both found in more than one section. Thus it was not regarded as contradictory to apply the same generic titles of historiographical works such as *zhuàn* 傳 or *zhì* 志 to various fictional narratives. Also, it was often the same group of literati who worked in both historiography and fictional forms of narrative. From these observations, Plaks insightfully points out that "the interrelation of historical and fictional narrative is a two-way street" (312). Why then were, in Chinese tradition, the two categories, history and fiction, not divided but rather closely connected? Plaks finds an answer in the frequent use of the character *zhuàn* 傳, which means the transmission of known facts and also refers to a broad range of narrative forms, including both history and fiction, reflecting the assumption that every narrative is in some sense a faithful representation of what happened in human experience – that is, that the facts in question are true. In this sense, in China, according to Plaks, history and fiction did not have to be distinguished. He argues that the significance of the term "truth" in the Chinese context is always something more subjective, more relative, and more directly limited to a specific human context (313). By this logic, Plaks concludes that factual and fictive are not the standard by which to divide the genre of historiography and fiction, because both contain both elements, and thus the distinction between the historical and the fictional was a question of *what* or *whom* is being dealt with (state vs. individual) rather than that of *how* it is being dealt with, i.e. a question of content rather than form (335). See also Andrew H. Plaks, "Conceptual Models in Chinese Narrative Theory," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 4(1977):25-47.

For a more recent discussion about the issue of Chinese historicity and fictionality, see Sheldon Hsiao-peng Lu, *From Historicity to Fictionality: the Chinese Poetics of Narrative*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994). Here Lu understands that there was no concept of narrative (*xushi* 敘事) as a literary category in the early Chinese tradition, and narrative writings were in most cases categorized as historical writing (*shi* 史). What we now regard as equivalent to the European notion of the novel is *xiaoshuo* 小說, but it never meant a fictional narrative, but only an insignificant set of talks categorized either as philosophy or history (1994, Ch. 2). Lu reiterates Plaks' basic understanding of the lack of clear distinction between history and fiction in the Chinese tradition. However, he also advances the discussion to the Tang dynasty (618-907 CE), when fictional texts and the genre called *chuanqi* 傳奇, which claimed status as a kind of historical truth, began to be widely accepted and produced by male elite literati. Starting from the Song dynasty (960 - 1279 CE), the attitude of Chinese literati towards fiction began to change significantly. According to Lu's analysis, it was after the Ming that critics of fiction such as Feng Menglong, Jin Shengtian, and Zhang Zhupo first began to understand that, based on the notion of *li* 理, *shi* 事, or *qing* 情, fictional narratives should concern the realm of the non-historical, and thus needed to be separate from history. This was the moment in which fictionality became distinct from history in the Chinese literary tradition, according to Lu (Ch. 6).

CHAPTER 1: What is “Episode Text”? - A Case Study in Light of the Fuyang “Shuolei zashi” Western Han Bamboo Slip Manuscript

In this chapter, I aim to define the genre of “Episode Text” and illustrate it by doing a close reading of an exemplary bamboo slip manuscript, “Shuolei zashi” 說類雜事, found at Shuanggudui 雙古堆 village, Fuyang 阜陽 County, Anhui 安徽 Province in 1977. In this, I will explain the significance of Episode Text as the brief written record of memories of the past that existed before the “history” that canonical or classical texts narrate. Later compilers and editors such as Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6 BCE) found the Episode Text useful as a textual source for creating a larger text of the past. In this chapter, I focus on examining and discussing how individual Episode Texts represented in the excavated manuscript were edited and rewritten to create a fuller and more complete memory of the past by later intellectuals in their making of larger texts of the past.

After discussing the basic patterns shown in the case of “Shuolei zashi” and received counterparts, I characterize the Episode Text as 1) short in length consisting of simple story; 2) literary in nature, as opposed to recorded materials of exact or strict historicity; 3) written rather than oral in creation and transmission; 4) free-standing and self-contained as an independently circulatable text.

Here using numerous examples from individual bamboo slip manuscripts that contain specific stories about past events, either archaeologically excavated or discovered with unclear provenances, I argue that in the literary culture of the Warring States to early Western Han, a particular type and genre of text became popular. The text deals with the figures and events from very early times drawn from cultural memory, oral transmission, and myth, to the time of their composition, now called Spring and Autumn (ca. 771-476 BCE) and early and early mid-Warring States periods (ca. 476-mid fourth century BCE). This genre illustrated a past event in the form of a story, simple in structure and brief in length. It was inscribed on bamboo slips, of various lengths, sometimes only a few slips, and other times more than ten slips. In many cases, the story related to the theme of rulership, was set in the past, and carried a particular message that had an educational and informative lesson.

As mentioned in the Introduction, Chinese scholars have identified this type of text using several terms such as “Speech-type” (*yulei* 語類) or “Event and Speech” (*shiyu* 事語) document; also, European and North American scholars have called this type of text “anecdotes.”⁴⁵ As I will

⁴⁵ For example, Ronald C. Egan, “Narratives in *Tso Chuan*,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 37.2 (1977): 323-352; also his “Selections from *Tso Chuan*: Translation and Analysis,” PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1976; David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001); Li Wai-ye, *The Readability of the Past in Early Chinese Historiography*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007); David Schaberg, “Chinese History and Philosophy,” in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing vol.1: Beginnings to AD 600*, edited by Andrew Feldherr and Grant Hardy, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 394-414; David Schaberg, “Chinese History and Philosophy,” in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Vol. 1: Beginnings to AD 600*, edited by Andrew Feldherr and Grant Hardy, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 394-414; Yuri Pines, “Zhou History and Historiography: Introducing the Bamboo manuscript *Xinian*,” *T’oung Pao* 100.4-5 (2014): 287-324; Jack W. Chen and David Schaberg, eds., *Idle Talk: Gossip and Anecdote in Traditional China*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2014); Paul van Els and Sarah A. Queen, “Anecdotes in Early China,” in *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, (Albany: The State University of New York, 2017), 1-37.

discuss more in detail in the later part of this chapter, distinguishing the genre of writing from those terms such as “Speech-type” document or “anecdote,” I will use a distinct term, “Episode Text,” for the cases of short narrative textual unit in the “Shuolei zashi.” I propose this analytic term “Episode Text” that covers both as a genre of short story and as a textual unit of “building block” that later editors found useful to utilize to create a larger and more complex narrative and text.

This Episode Text was created, shared, and transmitted as a cultural reservoir of the collective memories of the past. They were numerous fragmented literary writings of past events and figures that deserved to be remembered in early societies. We no longer know who composed and circulated them in the early cultures. They may have been used as a written material for discussion about how to rule and how to assist the ruler in improving government. Later these Episode Texts became necessary primary source materials for the production of longer texts in books now believed to have been continuously transmitted in the tradition.

Episode Texts ultimately present us with an account of a past event that has been fixed in a received text as one of several versions of representation of the past. It is by no means the “true” record of what happened in the past, but rather the outcome of one or multiple “negotiations” in an editorial process that include adding lines, detailing, story-expanding, merging different stories, and changing the message, as we will see in the following case study.

I will demonstrate this by using the examples drawn from the text “Shuolei zashi.” The text “Shuolei zashi” has recently been studied by Hu Pingsheng 胡平生. It is comprised of 218 bamboo slip fragments and contains fifty-five episodes about prominent figures and events in Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. Interestingly enough, all fifty-five episodes closely parallel episodes in received texts such as *Xinxu*, *Shuoyuan*, *Zuozhuan*, *Han Feizi*, *Huainanzi*, *Lüshi Chunqiu*, *Shiji*, *Liji*, and *Guoyu*. I will compare the episode parallels between the “Shuolei zashi” and received texts and discuss what the similarities and differences found in the parallel comparisons can tell us about the formation and transmission of received early texts, and ultimately explore implications for the process of the construction of memory.

Examining six different cases of parallelism between “Shuolei zashi” and other texts, I will discuss how an episode existed and was evolving as a textual unit that William G. Boltz has insightfully called a “building block.” Such examinations reveal that many early Chinese texts and the memories of the past that those texts represent to us were often not created and established by a single hand or one group of people at a single point in time, but rather went through multiple editorial and transmission processes at the hands of forgotten writers and editors over extended periods of time. Therefore, what these received early texts represent is not the naïve fact or truth of the attributed author, his groups, or transparent historical events, but ultimately reflections of the collective/social/cultural desires pursued by the editors and transmitters of these texts. This suggests, then, that many of the stories in the received texts that have determined our perception and understanding of early Chinese society, were later cultural products containing earlier collective memories and stories that were edited or re-written by multiple hands at different times.

The examination of the “Shuolei zashi” will show a set of features shared across the proposed category of “Episode Text.”

“Shuolei zashi”: A Western Han Bamboo Slip Manuscript Excavated at Fuyang

The “Shuolei zashi,” which could be rendered as “Collectanea of Miscellaneous Episodes,” is one of the bamboo slip manuscripts that were excavated at a tomb (sealed ca. 165 BCE) at Shuanggudui village, Fuyang County, Anhui Province, in 1977. Since this text was found in an extremely fragmented condition, it was not identified as a separate self-contained text in the initial excavation report. That only happened when Hu Pingsheng 胡平生 reconstructed it in early 2000, naming it based on its calligraphic form, style, and content.⁴⁶ Due to the fragmentary nature of the slips, it is impossible to know the number of slips in the original text or the original organization and arrangement. The initial report by the Fuyang excavation team merely pointed out that some slips contained stories of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States period, many of which are now found in the *Shuoyuan* and *Xinxu* collections compiled by Liu Xiang, but it did not explicitly mention that those slips were part of one independent text.⁴⁷

The “Shuolei zashi” text, as reconstructed by Hu Pingsheng, comprises three different groups of fragments. The first group, consisting of 218 broken slips, is grouped into 55 episodes with textual parallels to 18 different received texts, including *Shuoyuan* 說苑, *Xinxu* 新序, *Zuozhuan* 左傳, *Han Feizi* 韓非子, *Huainanzi* 淮南子, *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, *Shiji* 史記, *Liji* 禮記, *Guoyu* 國語, *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳.⁴⁸ The second group comprises content that is not

⁴⁶ Today, the Chinese character 說 can be pronounced in three different ways (shuō; shuì; yuè), depending on how its meaning is glossed in its textual context (shuō for “to speak,” “explain,” “narrate”; shuì for “to persuade,” “coax”; yuè for “to please,” “be pleased,” respectively). As for the title of this excavated text, this character is used as a term for a literary genre, “story” or “tale,” as in the *Shuoyuan* 說苑 or *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, and thus seems better to be pronounced as “shuō.” In China, this text is usually pronounced as “Shuolei zashi.”

The term “zashi” 雜事 was a technical binome found in written materials presumably produced in the Western Han. This term denotes a type of text as well as a unit to contain dozens of episodes that are sometimes only loosely connected but often have no thematic link between them. For example, the first five chapters of the Western Han collectanea of episodes called *Xinxu* 新序, have “zashi” as their titles, and, as I will discuss later, the source material of received Western Han collectanea, *Shuoyuan* 說苑, was originally called “Shuoyuan zashi” 說苑雜事.

Hu Pingsheng’s title for this Fuyang bamboo slip manuscript uses the concept of *shuo* (tale; story), *lei* (collection; collectanea), and *zashi* (collection of episodes) all terms in title from the Western Han. It is particularly suitable in that this bamboo text, as I will show below, has the most significant number of parallels with the two texts that reflect these concepts in their contents, *Shuoyuan* and *Xinxu*. For more information about the title, see Hu Pingsheng 胡平生, “Fuyang Shuanggudui Hanjian ‘Shuolei zashi’ yanjiu” 阜陽雙古堆漢簡《說類雜事》研究, in *Chutu cailiao yu xin shiye* 出土材料與新視野, edited by Li Zongkun 李宗焜, (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, 2013), 614-616.

⁴⁷ See Anhui sheng Wenwu Gongzuodui 安徽省文物工作隊, Fuyang diqu Bowuguan 阜陽地區博物館, and Fuyang xian Wenhua guan 阜陽縣文化館, “Fuyang Shuanggudui XiHan Ruyin Hou mu fajue jianbao” 阜陽雙古堆西漢汝陰侯墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物 1978, 8:12-32. For a brief description of Fuyang bamboo slip manuscripts in English, see Edward Shaughnessy, *Unearthing the Changes: Recently Discovered Manuscripts of the Yijing (I Ching) and Related Texts*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 189-192. However, Shaughnessy, following the initial report, omits the “Shuolei zashi” text in his listing of the Fuyang manuscripts.

⁴⁸ 55 is the number of the episodes reconstructed with the 218 fragments suggested by Hu Pingsheng. Each bamboo fragment contains three (minimum) to sixteen (maximum) Western Han paleographic graphs in it, overall 6 to 7 graphs on average. Because of the extremely fragmented condition of the bamboo slips, some identifications of parallel episodes proposed by Hu do not seem entirely reasonable. Particularly, cases in which the reconstructed episode in the “Shuolei zashi” text is comprised of only one or two slips, although even such small number of slips might have important hints for parallel construction like the unique name of historical figure in episode no. 43 or the unique concepts or phrases in nos. 48 and 49. In the reconstructed “Shuolei zashi” text, 32 out of 55 episodes consist of only a few fragments in total, 58%. 16 episodes have a one single fragment (nos. 4, 21, 26, 27, 31, 35, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45,

found anywhere in the received text. The third group is the text for which the calligraphic style is the same as the rest but the sizes of the slips and the writing those slips are significantly smaller.⁴⁹ The latter two of Hu's three groups are not officially published yet. Thus, by "Shuolei zashi," I mean only the first.⁵⁰

According to Hu Pingsheng's transcription, the published portion of text is comprised of 218 written fragments of bamboo slip in total and grouped so as to constitute 55 distinct stories. Among the 55 stories, textual parallels are identified to the content of 18 received texts, *Shuoyuan* appears to have at least 31 parallel stories; *Xinxu* 14; *Zuozhuan* 10; *Han Feizi* 9; *Huainanzi* 8; *Lüshi Chunqiu* 8; *Shiji* 8; *Liji* 6; *Guoyu* 5; *Hanshi waizhuan* 3; *Lunheng* 論衡 3; *Guanzi* 管子 2; *Yanzi Chunqiu* 晏子春秋 1; *Xinshu* 新書 1; *Da Dailiji* 大戴禮記 1; *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 1; *Zhuangzi* 莊子 1; and *Lunyu* 論語 1.⁵¹

The result of the variety and frequency of the parallel episodes in the "Shuolei zashi" text has implications beyond the fact that it is a collection of various short stories about historical figures and their affairs in the Eastern Zhou period (770-221 BCE), stories similar to those found in several other received texts. This study examines the nature of these stories and the significance of the fact that early materials possessed so much overlapping content, and is particularly concerned with describing textual production and consumption in early Chinese culture.

The "Shuolei zashi" is an important, interesting text not only because it comprises many parallel episodes but also because it is one of several other similar collectanea type of excavated texts that contain parallel episodes, such as the texts entitled "Chunqiu shiyu" 春秋事語, found at Mawangdui in 1976 (tomb sealed ca. 168 BCE) and Fuyang in 1977 (tomb sealed ca. 165 BCE)⁵² or the texts called "Rujia zhe yan" 儒家者言, excavated at Dingzhou in 1973 (tomb sealed ca. 55 BCE), Fuyang in 1977.⁵³ As I will discuss in detail in Chapter Four, many individual episodes or

47, 49, 50, 53, 54); ten have two fragments (nos. 16, 24, 37, 38, 40, 42, 46, 48, 51, 52); three have three fragments (nos. 18, 28, 32); and three have four fragments (nos. 12, 20, 33). These are the cases that seem too small to reasonably reconstruct a full episode to compare with that of received texts. By this standard, more than half of the entire text may not constitute meaningful parallels.

⁴⁹ Hu considers two possibilities about the creation of slips in this group: first that this group could have been the work of the same copyist on smaller slips; or the slips of this group may have shrunk during the burial. Hu Pingsheng, "Fuyang Shuanggudui Hanjian 'Shuilei zashi' yanjiu," 616.

⁵⁰ Photographic images of the entire text have not been published yet. For the current study, I rely on the transcriptions of this text in Hu Pingsheng, "Fuyang Shuanggudui Hanjian 'Shuilei zashi' yanjiu," 616-67. For an early brief sketch of this stunning discovery by Hu, see also Hu Pingsheng 胡平生, "Fuyang Shuanggudui Hanjian yu Kongzi jiayu" 阜陽雙古堆漢簡與《孔子家語》, *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 7 (2000): 515-545.

⁵¹ This is my count.

⁵² I will read and analyze the "Chunqiu shiyu" text in a detailed comparison to the received *Zuozhuan* text in Chapter Four of this thesis. For the transcription and image of this text, see Qi Xigui 裘錫圭, ed., *Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu jianbo jicheng* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2014), 3:167-200; For the "Rujia zhe yan" text, see Han Ziqiang, "Fulu er: Fuyang XiHan Ruyin Hou mu erhao mudu Chunqiu shiyu zhangti ji xiangguan zhujian" 附錄二: 阜陽西漢汝陰侯墓二號木牘《春秋事語》章題及相關竹簡, *Fuyang Hanjian Zhouyi yanjiu*, 165-205. Despite the shared title, the contents of these two texts are significantly different.

⁵³ Dingxian Hanmu zhujian zhengli zu 定縣漢墓竹簡整理組, "Rujia zhe yan shiwen" 《儒家者言》釋文, *Wenwu* 文物 1981, 8:13-19; Han Ziqiang 韓自強, "Fulu yi: Fuyang XiHan Ruyin Hou mu yihao mudu 'Rujia zhe yan' zhangti"

their headings in the “Chunqiu shiyu” texts, particularly those found at Mawangdui, are also seen in the received texts, such as *Zuozhuan*, *Guoyu*, *Shuoyuan*, *Xinxu*. Likewise, the “Rujia zhe yan” texts also have many parallel episodes or headings also found in the received texts, such as *Kongzi jiayu*, *Shuoyuan*, *Xunzi*, *Hanshi waizhuan*. Considering the fact that all the identified contents of “Shuolei zashi” are shared by received texts such as *Shuoyuan*, *Xinxu*, *Zhanguo ce*, *Guoyu*, *Kongzi jiayu*, *Huainanzi*, *Lüshi Chunqiu*, *Han Feizi*, *Yanzi Chunqiu*, or *Zuozhuan*, “Shuolei zashi” was probably a typical example of a type of text that is a collection of episodes on the historical figures and events from earlier days, in early Western Han.⁵⁴ Thus, even though the current study focuses exclusively on “Shuolei zashi,” the results of this textual analysis may hopefully be applied to similar excavated texts, and thereby the significance of this specific research can be expanded to the larger socio-cultural realm of text-production in early Western Han.

Despite the significance of this text, the “Shuolei zashi” has received little scholarly attention in the field. Noteworthy exceptions are Wu Kejing 鄔可晶 (2015), Yao Juan 姚娟 (2009), and Liu Qiao 劉嬌 (2009). First, Wu Kejing examines this text in the particular light of the formation of the received *Kongzi jiayu* text.⁵⁵ Comparing parallels to various received texts, with particular emphasis on *Kongzi jiayu*, Wu observes how this text reflects early versions of the stories and examines how the received texts have modified and revised the early versions. Second, in her dissertation submitted to Central China Normal University in 2009, Yao Juan approaches the “Shuolei zashi” text in light of the formation of the two texts with the most overlap, *Xinxu* and *Shuoyuan*.⁵⁶ In this thorough re-examination of the parallelism and formation issues of the two received texts, she finds that these received texts may have come from much earlier sources, and

附錄一：阜陽西漢汝陰侯墓一號木牘《儒家者言》章題，*Fuyang Hanjian Zhouyi yanjiu* 阜陽漢簡《周易》研究，(Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2004), 149-163. Likewise, it needs to be clarified that they are considerably different in content, despite the shared title.

Recently, some similar collectanea-type text has been excavated from the tomb at Xinjian, Jiangxi, commonly known as “Haihun hou” (海昏侯; Marquis of Haihun), but they have not been published yet. For more information about the texts excavated at Haihun hou, see Li Longwu 黎隆武, *XiHan Haihun hou mu da faxian yu muzhu Liu He chuanqi* 西漢海昏侯墓大發現與墓主劉賀傳奇，(Hong Kong: Xianggang zhonghe chuban youxian gongsi, 2016); Xin Deyong 辛德勇, *Haihun hou Liu He* 海昏侯劉賀，(Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2016); Jiangxi sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiuyuan 江西省文物考古研究院, Beijing daxue chutu wenxian yanjiusuo 北京大學出土文獻研究所, Jingzhou wenwu baohu zhongxin 荊州文物保護中心, “Jiangxi Nanchang XiHan Haihun hou Liu He mu chutu jianpu” 江西南昌西漢海昏侯劉賀墓出土簡牘, *Wenwu* 文物 11 (2018): 87-96.

⁵⁴ One purchased Han bamboo slip text entitled as “Rujia shuocong” 儒家說叢 in the Peking University Western Han Bamboo Text Collection also exemplifies this type of collectanea in the early Western Han culture. The “Rujia shuocong” greatly resembles the “Shuolei zashi” and the other excavated texts in this group in terms of form and content. Its contents have parallels to several received texts such as *Shuoyuan*, *Xinxu*, *Hanshi waizhuan*, *Yanzi Chunqiu*. See Beijing daxue chutu wenxian yanjiusuo 北京大學出土文獻研究所, *Beijing daxue cang XiHan zhushu* 北京大學藏西漢竹書 vol.3, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2015).

⁵⁵ Wu Kejing 鄔可晶, *Kongzi jiayu chengshu kao* 《孔子家語》成書考，(Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2015), 69-91. However, as with Liu Qiao 劉嬌 in her dissertation introduced below, Wu expresses reservations about calling this text by the title suggested by Hu Pingsheng, instead naming it “Shuo’ lei canjian” “說”類殘簡 (Fragments of Episode Collections).

⁵⁶ Yao Juan 姚娟, “*Xinxu Shuoyuan* wenxian yanjiu” 《新序》《說苑》文獻研究, Ph.D. dissertation, Central China Normal University, 2009, 173-195.

the current form and contents of these received texts must have been edited during their long formation processes. Lastly, Liu Qiao studies this text in her dissertation which she completed under the supervision of Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 at Fudan University.⁵⁷ Concerned with the general issue of textual parallelism between received and excavated texts, Liu uses “Shuolei zashi” as an example of how stories were in circulation and were modified to appear in received texts such as *Xinxu* and *Shuoyuan*. By examining each case, she concludes that this “Shuolei zashi” text was a “storehouse of source-materials” (*sucai ku* 素材庫).

These three scholars emphasize the fact that the text “Shuolei zashi” shows the earlier state of stories that existed before they were adapted into received classics, and thus allow us to approach an earlier cultural “scene” of text-making that has not been attested to by received texts. But more specifically, what is the scene that the “Shoulei zashi” possibly presents us? How does the text allow us to see that? In previous research, scholars approached “Shuolei zashi” in terms of historical textual formation, but largely did not explore the issues of its potential implication and significance for a larger context of society and culture where the literati were forming texts. Therefore, in this chapter, I will treat the parallel contents of the “Shuolei zashi” as earlier written representations of the memories of the past events and, by comparing them to the received texts, trace how the cultural memory had developed and changed. This will eventually reveal the more significant, more fundamental issue that this dissertation ultimately engages in: how society produces and (re)establishes its own identity by making and sharing its memories and stories of the past.

Parallelism in the “Shuolei zashi” Bamboo Slip Manuscript and Received Texts

First, I specifically compare the parallels in the “Shuolei zashi” and related received texts. This comparison seeks not only to find out and articulate what has been added, deleted, or changed, as previous research focused on, but to notice, trace, and generalize some meaningful patterns of editing and thereby to link the issue of textual editing to the broader cultural issue that remembrance of the past is retold and re-written collectively in the society.

⁵⁷ Liu Qiao 劉嬌, “XiHan yiqian guji xiangtong hu leisi neirong zhongfu chuxian xianxiang de yanjiu: yi chutu jianbo guji wei zhongxin” 西漢以前古籍相同或類似內容重複出現現象的研究：以出土簡帛古籍為中心, Ph.D. dissertation, Fudan University, 2009, 105-120.

Liu’s dissertation identifies four categories of parallelism: 1) the same chapter in more than two excavated or received texts; 2) an original self-contained text fully or partially taken or divided in the received text; 3) phrases or passages found in received and excavated texts; 4) quotation or saying collections in the texts. She treats the “Shuolei” text as one of the first category.

Liu’s conclusions are: 1) there was no concept of copyright in early culture, and the equivalent of a “copy and paste” function was widely practiced in the early text-making; 2) the issue of parallelism can provide evidence for the authenticity of the texts that have long been regarded as forged, such as *Heguanzi* 鶡冠子, *Wenzi* 文子, and *Kongzi jiyu*; 3) parallels may contribute to making of a better critical edition of received text.

However, despite a meticulous examination of parallelism issue, one issue ignored by Liu Qiao is that any parallelism on the level of sentence, paragraph, or even chapter, does not necessarily tell us about the largest unit, the book itself. More importantly, since she focuses on the matter of similarity or sameness of parallels, Liu does not go on to explain in a more systematic way reasons for differences in wording or content in the parallels, and what such textual differences suggest about the text production and consumption.

In the following pages, I will discuss the cases of editing of narrative from minor to significant changes. Discussing these minor changes suggest that the re-writing of the memory as the social project has diverse, complex dimensions: some memories and stories remained relatively intact and well-preserved in time, while some were significantly edited and revised over time. This implies that social memories and stories contributing to "history" have various degrees of fluidity or changeability in form and content. Despite the eventual and essential nature of editing and re-writing of the memory and story of the past in the society, the degree of being re-written can be different case-by-case. The following comparison and discussion will exemplify this.

Before that, however, three caveats need to be addressed: first, as stated earlier, the current "Shuolei zashi" text exists only in an extremely fragmented state, which means the longest fragments contain 15 to 16 graphs maximum, and the shortest ones only three, and on average, each has six to seven. Thus, with these fragments, we can never precisely confirm how much similar or different the content of the original slips is compared to the received one. The present estimation remains as necessarily incomplete.

Second, if an episode text in the "Shuolei zashi" is comprised of a too limited number of fragments and graphs, so that there is no meaningful concreteness for its episode, it should be regarded as unconvincing to take those limited fragments as a parallel in comparison with an episode in any received text.

Third, the episode that the current "Shuolei zashi" text represents should be understood as neither the single version or as the earliest of the stories but most likely as one of many early versions around late second century BCE in the Western Han society. One same story could have been represented into multiple different versions at the same time. This means that even if we find some significant difference between the parallels, we may not assume that there was a direct textual relationship between the two in the same transmission lineage, but should also be able to understand that the difference may reflect a different codification of the same story in the process of a different transmission.

Despite these three limitations, however, some parallel cases in the "Shuolei zashi" and received texts that I will examine below show that reasonable speculations about the textual relationship between them and the formation of each text are nonetheless not entirely impossible.

Case 1: The Same Version?

	說類雜事	說苑 臣術
1	公乾曰□ ⁵⁸	楚令尹死，景公遇成公乾曰：「令尹將焉歸？」
2	□於□□京公怒曰國人□	
3	公乾	成公乾曰：「殆於屈春乎！」
4	資少屈春	景公怒曰：「國人以為歸於我。」
5	之至憂也而子以為	成公乾曰：「子資少，屈春資多，子義獲天下之至憂也，而以為友；鳴鶴與芻狗，其知甚少，而子玩之。鷓夷子皮日侍於屈春，損頗為友，二人者之智，足以為令尹，不敢專其智而委之屈春，故曰：政其歸於屈春乎！」
6	狗其智甚少而子□之鷓	
7	夷子皮	
8	令尹不敢=專其智而委之屈春故曰	
9	歸於屈春序	

⁵⁸ The square symbol □, used in the table, stands for a missing or unrecognizable character.

Summary: This episode is a dialogue between Jing Gong 景公 and Cheng Gong Qian 成公乾 about the qualifications of Jing Gong and Qu Chun 屈春 to be in charge of next Chancellor (*lingyin* 令尹) in the state of Chu. Cheng Gong Qian says that Qu Chun will take charge of Chancellor over Jing Gong because Qu Chun makes a companion of sagacious people like Zi Pi 子皮 and Sun Po 損頗, and they trust and serve Qu Chun

The episode, listed as the 3rd in the Hu Pingsheng’s reconstructed “Shuolei zashi” text, narrates a dialogue about Qu Chun’s qualification to be the next Chancellor at the Chu, between two historically unknown men, Jing Gong and Cheng Gong Qian.⁵⁹ The fragments display a high degree of similarity in wording. Four tangible disparities are virtually insignificant. First, in the second fragment, the episode of the “Shuolei zashi” shows it originally had two more characters after the proposition *yu* 於 whereas the episode in the “Chenshu” of the *Shuoyuan* has three now. The absence of one character in the “Shuolei zashi” could be explained if it did not have an interrogative or exclamatory postpositional particle *hu* 乎, which is consistently written in an older form as 庠 in the excavated text, and does not bear any specific significance in determining the meaning of the sentence in which we may have already noticed the tone with the graph *dai* 殆, now lost. Also, the episode in the “Shuolei zashi” writes the name of an interlocutor as 京 rather than 景. However, it does not seem to make a significant difference in distinguishing the narrative.⁶⁰

In the fifth fragment, the “Shuolei zashi” episode adds the nominative case of second person pronoun *zi* 子, which may sound redundant due to the repetition but may also be seen as more consistent in the parallel structure of the composition. The addition of the character, however, does not affect the homogeneity of the story at all. Lastly, the eighth fragment shows a common duplication marker, “=,” which signals that the graph *gan* 敢 should have been used twice consecutively, but the episode of the “Chenshu” chapter uses it only once. This seems to be a scribal mistake or error, considering that the duplicated graphs in a consecutive manner obstruct the conveyance of the meaning.

⁵⁹ For the modern Chinese version of *Shuoyuan*, I use Zuo Songchao’s 左松超, *Shuoyuan jizheng* 說苑集證, 3 vols., (Taipei: Jingwen shuju, 2000). This episode appears in 1:110. Zuo Songchao views the “Rujia zhe yan” text found at Dingzhou might exemplify an early source of the *Shuoyuan* and be linked to what Liu called “Shuoyuan zashi” in his lost preface. However, he does not see that the Dingzhou “Rujia zhe yan” is merely one of several other excavated texts that are all highly similar with one another as collectanea of Episode Texts in nature.

⁶⁰ Any earlier paleographic form of the *jing* 景 has not been identified yet in excavated texts, but is found in the Eastern Han text, *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, where the character is listed in the section of *ri* 日 signifier (7A). See Xu Shen 許慎 (58-148 C.E.), *Shuowen jiezi (zhuyin ban)* 說文解字 (注音版), edited by Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916-991 C.E.) and pronunciation notated by Yu Ruo 愚若, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2015), 7A:134. However, due to the lack of its paleographic examples, Ji Xucheng 季旭承 skips this graph in his *Shuowen xinzheng* 說文新證, (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin, 2010), 547-564. Suggestively, this *jing* graph was a relatively new one or scarcely used in early culture, and further that the *jing* 京 graph the “Shuolei zashi” episode displays might have been an earlier form of graph that would later develop into the new *jing* 景. This latter graph was based on the first in both form and sound, and so not only the resemblance of their graphic structure but their archaic pronunciation (*shang guyin* 上古音) was the same as *kian* (Wang Li 王力 or Zhou Fagao 周法高); *kjǎn* (Dong Tonghe 董同龢); *kljiang* (Li Fanggui 李方桂).

If we consider that these are acceptable minor differences that do not affect the story or the message at all, the surviving fragments demonstrate that the “Chenshu” chapter of the *Shuoyuan* may have represented the source material almost identically. This suggests that some earlier sources were possibly preserved intact or with only a minor change.

Also, this episode is not found in any other received text but only in the *Shuoyuan*, and so it can be used as an example to show how faithful Liu Xiang, who was the editor of the *Shuoyuan*, was to his source material.

Case 2: Traces of Editing

	說類雜事	說苑 尊賢
1	司城	宋司城子罕之貴子韋也，
2	子罕	
3	貴子韋也入與	入與共食，
4	□同食出與緣衣君亡子韋不從來復有	出與同衣；司城子罕亡，子韋不從，子罕來，
5	□召而貴之	復召子韋而貴之。
6	曰君之	左右曰：「君之善子韋也，君亡不從，來又復貴之，
7	□亡子韋不從來復有召而貴	之，
8	不愧君之忠臣庠曰	君獨不愧於君之忠臣乎？」
9	吾唯不用子	子罕曰：「吾唯不能用子韋，故至於亡；今吾之
10	子韋之遺□	得復也，尚是子韋之遺德餘教也，吾故貴之。且
11	餘教也	我之亡也，吾臣之削跡拔樹以從我者，奚益於吾
12	何益吾毋亡哉	亡哉？」

Summary: This episode is a dialogue between Zihan 子罕, the Superintendent of City Walls (*sicheng* 司城) of Song, and his unnamed subordinate(s) on the issue of why Zihan treats a man named Ziwei 子韋 so well, even if Ziwei had betrayed Zihan when Zihan was in exile.

This episode is listed as no. 6 in the Hu’s reconstructed version of “Shuolei zashi” and no. 29 of the eighth chapter “Zunxian” 尊賢 in the received *Shuoyuan*.⁶¹ As the table shows above, the two texts appear overall similar enough to say that the episode of “Zunxian” is almost the same as the episode of “Shuolei zashi.” Nonetheless, two possibly meaningful differences make this episode text separate from the previous one in the first case.

First, the “Shuolei zashi” episode tends to be different in using the names of the characters within the text. Overall, how the “Shuolei zashi” episode states who did what to whom appears more ambiguous and unclear when compared to that of “Zunxian.” It indicates that “Zunxian’s” episode may reflect a version that eliminated such confusion and ambiguity that had remained in the “Shuolei zashi” episode. For example, in the fourth fragment, the full combination of title and

⁶¹ Zuo Songchao, *Shuoyuan jizheng*, 2:522-24.

name, *sicheng Zihan* 司城子罕 in the “Zunxian” is replaced by a third person pronoun, *jun* 君, which means Lord or His Honor. Also, as in the first line of Zihan’s unnamed subordinate in the “Zunxian,” Zihan is called consistently “you” by the same graph *jun*. The graph *jun* is used only as a second person pronoun in the “Zunxian” text, whereas in the “Shuolei zashi” episode the graph works with two meanings, Lord and you, sometimes as a third person pronoun and sometimes both second (for the dialogue part) and third person pronoun. By changing the first *jun* graph to *sicheng Zihan* in the first sentence, the “Zunxian” chapter removes this confusion and ambiguity in name and title.

The same clarification happens four graphs after the *jun* in the “Shuolei zashi”; the “Shuolei zashi” episode omits the personal pronoun and directly writes a verb, *lai* 來 (to come), and so in this text, who is coming is not clear. However, “Zunxian” removes such confusion by clarifying the following subject as Zihan. This clarification also appears in the fifth fragment, where the “Shuolei zashi” episode is not clear about whom you 君 (Zihan) summoned (*zhao* 召). However, the “Zunxian” chapter clarifies it by having the name of the object “Ziwei,” which means that you Zihan summoned Ziwei again. The eighth fragment also shows that the “Shuolei zashi” may create another possible confusion by not specifying who is speaking (*yue* 曰). The “Zunxian” episode adds the name of Zihan and thereby clears up the ambiguity.

On the contrary, in the seventh fragment, the “Shuolei zashi” episode text gives the name of Ziwei as the subject of not following (*bucong* 不從) after Zihan’s escaping (*wang* 亡). That is, the “Shuolei zashi” episode articulates that “when you escaped, Ziwei did not follow” (*wang Ziwei bucong* 亡子韋不從) whereas the “Zunxian” chapter only says “When you escaped, [he] did not follow” (*jun wang bucong* 君亡不從) in which the subject of not following is hidden and assumed. Why then was this time the “Zunxian” briefer in designating the name of the character? It seems that this is because, as we see in the fragment no. 4 and the first sentence of the “Zunxian” episode, the fact that Ziwei did not follow [his Lord, Zihan] (司城子罕亡, 子韋不從) has already been articulated. That is, the “Zunxian” episode did not duplicate the same line. In contrast, the “Shuolei zashi” episode repeats the same line. Thus, this can be further evidence to show that the “Zunxian” reflects editing of the episode by removing the redundancy.

Second, besides the indication of the characters, the “Shuolei zashi” episode also uses some different words. The most notable one is the verb *you* 有, “to have,” which is found in the fourth and seventh fragments. In them, this verb is consistently located after the adverb *fu* 復 “again.” Considering the two fragments and the parallel content in the “Zunxian,” the “Shuolei zashi” episode seems to have had a set phrase of *fu you* 復有 which literally means “[you] had [him, i.e. Ziwei] again” or *fu you zhao* 復有召, “[you] summoned [Ziwei] again.” However, the episode of the “Zunxian” chapter simply deleted the verb *you* or *youzhao* and made each sentence clearer and more straightforward, simply saying “[you] summoned [Ziwei] again” or “valued him again” (*fu gui zhi* 復貴之).

Also, the last fragment shows that some sentences that are now missing may have been slightly different from those of the received *Shuoyuan*. The final twelfth fragment reads “何益吾毋亡哉,” meaning “What kind of benefit would [you] be for my not escaping (again)!” This means that it will not be beneficial for me not to escape from this country again in the future, probably because you have already made me escape in the past. You have flattered me but not corrected me. Running away with me does not mean that you were loyal. On the other hand, the “Zunxian” chapter episode says something different. It first adds a proposition *yu* 與 after the first two graphs “what benefit” (*xiyi* 奚益) and thereby makes the grammatical relation between the

words clearer. Then this received episode changes the meaning by deleting the *wu* 毋 in the source, saying “What benefit would [you] be to my escaping?” (奚益於吾亡哉). We can read this sentence as a critique of his former subordinates who followed him, but this time it accuses them not being helpful in his past escape or his possible future escape. That is, the last fragment is the only part where we see a possible example to show that there can be a slight meaningful difference, despite the same form and content.

The episode in the “Shuolei zashi” and the “Zunxian” of the *Shuoyuan* might be the same or at least a quite similar version. However, the meaningful differences show that the received episode in the “Zunxian” chapter may reflect that the memory and story had undergone some minor editing to remove ambiguity.

Case 3: Adding Lines

	說類雜事	新序 雜事一	淮南子 道應訓
1	趙文子問於叔彞曰晉六將軍其孰□□(正面) 棼(端) (背面)	趙文子問於叔向曰：「晉六將軍，庸先亡乎？」對曰：「其中行氏乎！」	澧水之深千仞，而不受塵垢，投金鐵針焉，則形見於外。非不深且清也，魚鱉龍蛇莫之肯歸也。是故石上不生五穀，禿山不遊麋鹿，無所陰蔽隱也。
2	叔彞合曰其中行是庫		昔趙文子問于叔向曰：「晉六將軍，其孰先亡乎？」
3	文子曰□	文子曰：「何故先亡？」	對曰：「中行、知氏。」
4	彞合曰	對曰：「中行氏之為政也，以苛為察，以欺為明，以刻為忠，以計多為善，以聚斂為良。譬之其猶蘘革者也，大則大矣，裂之道也，當先亡。」	文子曰：「何乎？」
5	為正也以苛為察		對曰：「其為政也，以苛以察，以切為明，以刻下為忠，以計多為功，譬之猶廓革者也。廓之，大則大矣，裂之道也。」
			故老子曰：「其政悶悶，其民純純，其政察察，其民缺缺。」

Summary: This episode is a dialogue between Viscount Wen of Zhao 趙文子 and Shu Xiang 叔彞 on why the General Zhongxing’s 中行 ruling at Jin is evil and will fall first. According to Shu Xiang, Zhongxing is cruel, deceptive, heartless, tricky, and extortive.

This is the first episode in Hu’s reconstructed “Shuolei zashi” text, appearing also in the two received texts; the “Zashi, One” 雜事一 chapter of the *Xinxu* and the “Daoying xun” 道應訓

chapter of the *Huainanzi*.⁶² Due to the extreme fragmentation of the slips, we cannot ascertain how similar the original episode in the “Shuolei zashi” would have been to the ones in the “Zashi One” and “Daoying xun,” particularly the second half of the episode in which Shu Xiang 叔彘 (d. c.a. 530 BCE) gives Viscount Wen of Zhao 趙文子 (d. 541 BCE) a specific reason why Zhongxing 中行, also known as Xun Yin 荀寅, Zhongxing Yin 中行寅, or Zhongxing Wenzhi 中行文子 (c.a. 519-490 BCE), will fall first among the six Generals of Jin. Nonetheless, given the surviving fragments, the overall content of the “Shuolei zashi” episode is close to those of “Zashi” and “Daoying xun.”

The first minor differences between the excavated and received texts are the graph *xiang* 彘, replaced in the received texts by a more common interchangeable one *xiang* 向, and a phrase *heyue* 合曰, which means “to respond or answer,” consistently change to a more common one, *duiyue* 對曰, which has the same meaning.

Interestingly, the phrase in the last part of the first fragment, 其孰□□, considering the corrected or glossed word *duan* 端 (the first; the beginning) at the back of the slip, is understood to mean “Who will be the first . . .,” is more similar to that of “Daoying xun” (其孰先亡乎; “Who will be the first to fall”) rather than that of “Zashi” (庸先亡乎; “Who will be first to fall?”) in wording. On the contrary, the latter half of the second fragment (其中行是摩; Wouldn’t it be the Zhongxing?) looks closer to the phrasing of “Zashi” (其中行氏乎; Wouldn’t it be the clan of Zhongxing?) than that of “Daoying xun” (中行、知氏; Zhongxing and the clan of Zhi). Here the *Xinxu*’s episode resembles the “Shuolei zashi” episode more.

In the fifth fragment, “[Zhongxing’s] ruling (or rectification) is to take mercilessness and make inspections of [his people]” (為正也以苛為察). This phrase is seen verbatim in the “Zashi, One” of the *Xinxu*. However, in the “Daoying xun,” the last verb *wei* 為 is rendered as another *yi* 以, with which the meaning becomes unclear.

These minor differences suggest that the two received episodes in the *Xinxu* and *Huainanzi* were probably close to the version of the “Shoulei zashi,” but are two slightly modified versions, probably in different transmissions.

However, there are meaningful differences. First, the episode in the “Daoying xun” of the *Huainanzi* has three more sentences in the beginning part and one more sentence in the conclusion. These added lines are presumably circulating sayings, and also the sayings found in the received *Laozi*, all of which can be interpreted as critical of the ruler’s harsh governing of the people. It tells us that the episode text of the “Daoying xun” of the received *Huainanzi* was made with a combination of one well-known, circulating episodes and various sayings. Particularly, as with other episode texts appearing in the current “Daoying xun,” this one took the episode and multiple sayings in order to expound the lines of a particular text now we call *Laozi*. This shows a cultural practice in which an episode or saying was adopted, combined, and rearranged in a specific order for commentarial or exegetical purpose.

The “Shuolei zashi” provides another vital example to support this argument.

⁶² The modern Chinese edition of the received *Xinxu* I use for this chapter is Chen Maoren 陳茂仁, *Xinxu jiaozheng* 新序校證, 3 vols., (Taipei: Huamulan wenhua chubanshe, 2007); that of the *Huainanzi* is He Ning 何寧, *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋, 3 vols., (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2006). This episode is found in the *Xinxu* on pages 60 to 61; in the *Huainanzi* on pages 2:902-903.

	說類雜事	說苑 建本	淮南子
1	趙問子以襄子	趙簡子以襄子為後，董安于	趙簡子以襄子為後，董闕於
2	為社稷忍	曰：「無恤不才，今以為	曰：「無恤賤，今以為後，何
3	□日智伯與襄	後，何也？」	也？」
4	子飲酒而□襄子□	簡子曰：「是其人能為社稷	簡子曰：「是為人也，能為社
5	我也	忍辱。」	稷忍羞。」
6	於晉陽襄子	異日，智伯與襄子飲，而灌	異日，知伯與襄子飲，而批襄
		襄子之首，大夫請殺之，	子之首。大夫請殺之。
		襄子曰：「先君之立我也，	襄子曰：「先君之立我也，
		曰能為社稷忍辱，豈曰能刺	曰：能為社稷忍羞。豈曰能刺
		人哉！」	人哉！」
		處十月，智伯圍襄子於晉	處十月，知伯圍襄子于晉陽，
		陽，襄子疏隊而擊之，大敗	襄子疏隊而擊之，大敗知伯，
		智伯，漆其首以為酒器。	破其首以為飲器。
			故老子曰：「知其雄，守其
			雌，其為天下谿。」(道應訓)

Summary: This episode is about the virtue of bearing an insult (*renru* 忍辱) for a more significant cause that Xiangzi 襄子 exemplified.

This is the fifth episode in the Hu's reconstructed "Shuolei zashi,"⁶³ the thirtieth episode in the "Jianben" of the *Shuoyuan*, and the sixth one in the received "Daoying xun" of the *Huainanzi*.⁶⁴ The parallel comparison reveals that both episodes in the received texts are similar to the "Shuolei zashi" one. A minor difference is that the "Shuolei zashi" episode has one more graph *jiu* 酒 (liquor) as the object of the verb *yin* 飲 (to drink). The only meaningful difference that "Daoying xun" episode has is the added *Laozi* conclusion, by which the episode becomes a historical example to illustrate the Laozian idea. And this pattern is virtually the same as that of the former case.

From a more general perspective, we can apply this to the formation of other episode texts in the received "Daoying xun" text and application of certain episodes for the commentarial purposes. Although several chapters of the *Huainanzi* are closely associated with their unique character as commentary on the text of the *Laozi*, the "Daoying xun" is unique in the *Huainanzi*, in the sense that it uses an episode to demonstrate the efficacy of aphorisms from the *Laozi* that it directly quotes for the conclusion of each episode. Interestingly, most of the fifty-six episodes of

⁶³ In his reconstruction, Hu Pingsheng has mistakenly regarded the fourth fragment (子飲酒而□襄子□) as the fifth, probably believing that the name Xiangzi 襄子 should match the second last Xiangzi in the parallel texts of *Shuoyuan* and *Huainanzi*. However, in this case, we cannot find the parallel phrase for 子飲酒而. When we read the parallels in the received texts, we find that there is one sentence in the early middle part of the episode where the phrase 子飲而 and the rest □襄子□ are all contained. Although this line does not have a character for *jiu* 酒, overall it matches the content of the fragment. Thus, I change the slip sequence and move it to the fourth.

⁶⁴ Zuo Songchao, *Shuoyuan jizheng*, 1:193-194; He Ning, *Huainanzi jishi*, 2:833-834.

the “Daoying xun” are found in other received texts such as *Zhuangzi*, *Lüshi Chunqiu*, *Hanshi waizhuan*, *Shiji*, *Xinxu*, *Lunheng*, *Xunzi*, *Zuozhuan*, *Zhanguo ce*, or *Han Feizi*. That is, the episode part of the “Daoying xun” seems like that of other received texts like *Zhuangzi*, *Lüshi Chunqiu* or *Hanshi waizhuan* in nature. However, by editing to move the *Laozi* aphorism to the conclusion and thereby making the episode serve as the historical case to support the utility of Laozian wisdom, the “Daoying xun” became slightly different from those received texts.

Case 4: Elaboration

	說類雜事	新序	說苑	晏子春秋	論衡
1	問於晏子曰 忠	齊侯問於晏子 曰：「忠臣之 事君，何 若？」	齊侯問於晏子 曰：「忠臣之 事其君何 若？」	景公問于晏子 曰：「忠臣之 事君也，何 若？」晏子對 曰：「有難不 死，出亡不 送。」	齊詹問於晏子 曰：「忠臣之 事其君也，若 何？」
2	事君也□如 合曰有難弗 死出	對曰：「有難 不死，出亡不 送。」	對曰：「有難 不死，出亡不 送。」	曰：「有難不 死，出亡不 送。」	對曰：「有難 不死，出亡不 送。」詹曰：
3	□□而貴之 君	君曰：「列地 而與之，疏爵 而貴之，君有 難不死，出亡 不送，可謂忠 乎？」	君曰：「裂地 而封之，疏爵 而貴之；吾有 難不死，出亡 不送，可謂忠 乎？」	公不說，曰： 「君裂地而封 之，疏爵而貴 之，君有難不 死，出亡不 送，可謂忠 乎？」	「列地而予 之，踈爵而貴 之，君有難不 死，出亡不 送，可謂忠 乎？」
4	□難弗死出 亡弗□	對曰：「言而 見用，終身無 難，臣奚死 焉？諫而見 從，終身不 亡，臣奚送 焉？若言而不 見用，有難而 死，是妄死 也；諫不見 從，出亡而 送，是詐為 也。故忠臣也 者，能盡善與 君，而不能陷 於難。」（雜事 五）	對曰：「言而 見用，終身無 難，臣何死 焉；謀而見 從，終身不 亡，臣何送 焉。若言不見 用，有難而死 之，是妄死 也；諫而不見 從，出亡而 送，是詐為 也。故忠臣者 能納善於君，而 不能與君陷難 者也。」（臣 術）	對曰：「言而 見用，終身無 難，臣奚死 焉；謀而見 從，終身不 出，臣奚送 焉。若言不 用，有難而死 之，是妄死 也；謀而不 從，出亡而 送之，是詐偽 也。故忠臣也 者，能納善于 君，不能與君 陷於難。」（內 篇問上）	對曰：「言而 見用，臣奚死 焉？諫而見 從，終身不 亡，臣奚送 焉？若言不 見用，有難而 死，是妄死 也；諫而不見 從，出亡而 送，是詐偽 也。故忠臣 者、能盡善於 君，不能與陷 於難。」（定 賢）
5	□諫而見從 冬身				
6	□言而不見 用有難而死 是□□				
7	見從出□				
8	亡而從是				
9	□能□善 君而不與君				
10					

Summary: A dialogue between Marquis of Qi 齊侯 and Yanzi 晏子 about the nature of a loyal subject. According to Yanzi, the true loyal subject is the one who helps his King to listen to good advice and prevents the King from being in trouble beforehand, but not the one who runs away with his King when the King is in trouble.

This second episode in the reconstructed “Shuolei zashi” appears in four received texts, *Xinxu*, *Shuoyuan*, *Yanzi Chunqiu*, and *Lunheng*.⁶⁵ The three cases that we have examined above all are compatible with a single shared source mainly kept intact in the received texts. From case 4, we can see that there may have been a second source albeit with minor differences. The examples of case 4 do not provide an entirely different version but keep the same main plot, setting, and message. In this sense, what case 4 shows is a transition to a multiple version of the same episode through elaborating details of an episodic narrative.

From the content, we know one of the main characters as interlocutor was Yanzi (Master Yan), but due to the fragmentariness of the “Shuolei zashi,” we do not know who the other interlocutor was in that text. According to the “Zashi Five” of the *Xinxu*, which is the closest to the “Shuolei zashi” in terms of wording, the person who Yanzi was talking to was a Marquis of Qi (*qihou* 齊侯). The “Chenshu” of the *Shuoyuan* agrees on this point. Commentators of the *Lunheng* have pointed out that the character *zhan* 詹 in the received text of “Dingxian” 定賢 chapter may have been an error of copying the original character *hou* 侯. On this point, the three received texts are all the same in that they share the two characters, Yanzi and a Marquis of Qi. This changes in the version where Yanzi becomes prominent as the protagonist throughout the entire text; the interlocutor is specified as Duke Jing of Qi 齊景公 (r. 547-490 BCE). Based on the received *Yanzi Chunqiu* text, the person who Yanzi most frequently had conversations with was Duke Jing. During his tenure as Chancellor and court advisor at Qi, he served three lords: Duke Ling 靈公 (r. 581-554 BCE), Duke Zhuang 莊公 (r. 553-548 BCE) and Duke Jing. However, in the received *Yanzi Chunqiu*, there are only a few episodes where Yanzi talks to Duke Zhuang and only one episode about Duke Ling, and in this sense, it is indeed more likely to presume that the Marquis of Qi would indicate Duke Jing. The episode in the *Xinxu*, *Shuoyuan*, and probably *Lunheng* all kept the phrase the Marquis of Qi. Only the *Yanzi Chunqiu* specifies the name in addition to the title.

Also, comparing the details in the episode of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* to the other episodes in the second fragment of the “Shoulei zashi” and other received texts, we find that *Yanzi Chunqiu* particularly makes it clear that the respondent to Duke Jing was no one else but Yanzi. These points indicate that this episode where Yanzi appears as the protagonist is made more detailed in the text of *Yanzi Chunqiu*, where all the episodes feature this man the great worthy minister of earlier days.

There is another significant change that the *Yanzi Chunqiu* made to the source material: adding one more sentence, “The Duke was not pleased” (*gong bu yue* 公不說). With this, the *Yanzi Chunqiu* provides more concreteness and solidity to the dialogue, creating a potential tension and thereby making the two characters and the event in the episode more realistic. That is, in the episode in the “Wenshang” chapter of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, the episode develops more concretely

⁶⁵ Chen Maoren, *Xinxu jiaozheng*, 2:372-373; Zuo Songchao, *Shuoyuan jizheng*, 1:122-124; Wang Gengsheng 王更生, *Xinbian Yanzi Chunqiu* 新編晏子春秋, (Taipei: Taiwan guji chuban gongsi, 2001); Huang Hui 黃暉, *Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2006), 4:1110.

in a longer and detailed form. It also shows that editors of *Yanzi Chunqiu* adapted an episode like editors of *Huainanzi* adapted an episode to different formal requirements, as in the previous case. And this can be read as a departure for a distinct version, which will be discussed more fully in the following case.⁶⁶

Case 5: Distinct Versions

	說類雜事	說苑 善說	新序 雜事 五
1	● 晉平公問於叔彘	晉平公問叔向曰：「歲饑民疫，翟人攻我，我將若何？」對曰：「歲饑來年而反矣，疾疫將止矣，翟人不足患也。」公曰：「患有大於此者乎？」對曰：「夫大臣重祿而不極諫，近臣畏罪而不敢言，左右顧寵於小官而君不知。此誠患之大者也。」 公曰：「善。」 於是令國中曰：「欲有諫者為之隱，左右言及國吏罪。」	晉平公問於叔向曰：「國家之患，庸為大？」 對曰：「大臣重祿而不極諫，近臣畏罰而不敢言，下情不上通，此患之大者也。」 公曰：「善。」 於是令國曰：「欲進善言，謁者不通，罪當死。」
2	曰民疫歲饑翟		
3	人攻我		
4	□將奈何叔		
5	□患也		
6	公曰患其孰大於此叔彘		
7	大臣重□		
8	□畏罪而		
9	不敢言		
10	其患之大者也而君弗智□		
11	乃令於國		

Summary: A dialogue between Duke Ping of Jin and Shu Xiang about what the truly worst disaster for the state is. According to Shu Xiang, it is the subject's not remonstrating their King but only flattering the King for their profit, and the King being ignorant of their intention.

⁶⁶ After archaeologists found bamboo slips that contain the episodes about Yanzi and his lords at Yinqueshan, in 1972, and scholars started to call them the bamboo slip version of *Yanzi Chunqiu*, the issue of the formation of *Yanzi Chunqiu* has revived. Due to the significant differences between the bamboo text and the received version, I do not think that the bamboo text represents the early state of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*. However, the new text does show that the episodes about Yanzi were popularly created circulating 140-130 BCE in the Western Han. For the transcriptions and detailed commentary to the bamboo text, see Pian Yuqian 駢宇騫, *Yinque Shan zhujian: Yanzi Chunqiu jiaoshi* 銀雀山竹簡簡:《晏子春秋》校釋, (Taipei: Wanjuanlou, 2000). However, Pian does not view a broader cultural context that the Yanzi episodes were not limited to those of the received *Yanzi Chunqiu* but linked to the massive production and share of episodes of historical figures, as this “Shuolei zashi” text testifies.

Also, examining the excavated parallel texts of the received *Yanzi Chunqiu*, Olivia Milburn asserts that the transmitted *Yanzi Chunqiu* is not a forged text but a genuinely ancient text. However, she underestimates a more complex cultural phenomenon that numerous Episode Texts on Yanzi were produced, shared, and edited for different purposes before their compilation. Maybe what is genuinely ancient is memories and stories of Master Yan (fl. sixth century BCE), which partly represented in excavated or received texts, rather than the received *Yanzi Chunqiu* text itself. See Olivia Milburn, *The Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Yan*, (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

This example, which is the seventh episode in the “Shuolei zashi,” the nineteenth in the “Shanshuo” chapter of the *Shuoyuan*, and the nineteenth in the “Zashi, Five” chapter of the *Xinxu*,⁶⁷ exemplifies a possibility that an episode was already circulating in at least two distinct versions at the time around 20-30 BCE when Liu Xiang was collecting, compiling, and possibly editing the source material. By “different version,” I mean that at least one, but not all, elements of an episode (such as character, event, or setting) changes, but the plot and core message remain the same. When the plot and message changes, I define it as “distinct episode,” but not “distinct version.” The previous example in the *Yanzi Chunqiu* shows additional information about a character and event and thereby opens up a possibility that another, more detailed story would be told, as we will see in the next example from *Han Feizi*. However, the *Yanzi Chunqiu*’s episode does not fully constitute another version, but remains the same with slight concretization of the given story. It does not change any essential elements of an episode narrative.

This case of the *Xinxu* and *Shuoyuan* is different from the *Yanzi Chunqiu* episode, in the sense that the early part of the story in these two episodes has changed, and because of that change, they are different versions of the same episode. In the “Shanshuo” episode, which is longer and more detailed, and much closer to the “Shuolei zashi” episode, the story begins with a question by Duke Ping of Jin (r. 557-532 BCE) to his minister Shu Xiang on his concerns about three things the Duke considers to be the most fatal disaster to his country: years of famine (*sui’e* 歲饑), an epidemic among people (*minyī* 民疫), and an attack by Di tribe. The “Shanshuo” episode develops the story by presenting a topic-shifting response by Shu Xiang, who dismisses the three disasters as only temporary and conditional and then introduces the real disaster, which is the failure of communication between a lord and his retainers. By shaping the story this way, the episode indirectly builds up and concretizes both characters, showing that the Duke is dull-minded and Shu Xiang is wise and loyal. It also demonstrates that the lord should always listen to his ministers. Due to the shift of topic through the negation and refutation by an interlocutor, the episode makes the dialogue more tense and “eventful.” Because of this intentional tension, in this version, Shu Xiang’s accusation about the communication failure between lord and retainers is more concrete (左右顧寵於小官而君不知) than that of the *Xinxu* version (下情不上通).

In the “Zashi Five” of the *Xinxu*, there is no such introduction or a tense moment. It directly begins with a question that addresses this topical issue, without a clever introductory stage-setting. Thus, this version drily narrates the Shu Xiang’s answer and the Duke’s order to enforce the advice. In this regard, this *Xinxu* version is more flat, monotonous and less elaborate whereas the *Shuoyuan* version is more skillfully developed.

Interestingly, the episode in the “Shuolei zashi,” as we see in the table, is closer to the more developed version of the episode. The “Shuolei zashi” episode is very close to that of *Shuoyuan*, with a significant exception on the tenth fragment, where the first half and latter half of the written phrase appears reversed in the received episode. Some minor word differences in the “Shuolei zashi” episode in comparison to that of the *Shuoyuan* do not seem to support the idea that the episode is another version.

A more significant thing is concerned with the Duke Ping’s questions on his concern about three disasters in the “Shuolei zashi” that existed around 140 years earlier than Liu Xiang. As mentioned above, the dialogue between Duke Ping and Shu Xiang in the “Shuolei zashi” is much closer to that of the *Shuoyuan* than that of the *Xinxu*. But as we know, the *Shuoyuan* and *Xinxu* are

⁶⁷ Zuo Songchao, *Shuoyuan jizheng*, 2:733-4; Chen Maoren, *Xinxu jiaozheng*, 2:358-360.

known to have been compiled and edited by the same person, Liu Xiang. This convincingly shows that the developed version in the *Shuoyuan* was not the one Liu Xiang developed and re-wrote based on the one that he collected for the *Xinxu*. He was not the one who edited the episode and made another similar version. The elaborated version did exist before Liu Xiang. If we follow the traditional account of *Hanshu* and the lost preface to the *Shuoyuan* in the “Bielu,” which I will introduce and discuss below, the *Xinxu* was compiled earlier than the *Shuoyuan* and was composed from records collected and collated by Liu in the transmitted records and circulating stories; the *Shuoyuan* was based on an earlier text entitled “*Shuoyuan zashi*.” This also shows that Liu had worked on two distinct versions in circulation. We do not know for now whether the *Xinxu* episode that is much simpler and plainer was the result of Liu Xiang’s editing of the *Shuoyuan* version. But we can say that *Shuoyuan* does not independently preserve elements of “*Shuolei zashi*” that are not in the *Xinxu*.

A more explicit example of different version-making is seen in the thirteenth episode of “*Shuolei zashi*,” the twenty-second of the “*Quanmou*” 權謀 of the *Shuoyuan*, and the twenty-third of “*Shuolin, Lower*” 說林下 chapter of the received *Han Feizi*.⁶⁸

	說類雜事	說苑 權謀	韓非子 說林 下
1	文子出亡至邊從者曰為	中行文子出亡至邊，從者	晉中行文子出亡，過於縣
2	□異日吾好音子遺我琴吾	曰：「為此嗇夫者，君人	邑，從者曰：「此嗇夫，
3	吾過者也	也，胡不休焉，且待後車	公之故人，公奚不休舍？
4	其以我求容也遂不入後車□	者。」	且待後車。」
5	□中尼	文子曰：「異日吾好音，	文子曰：「吾嘗好音，此
6	之曰文子	此子遺吾琴，吾好佩，又	人遺我鳴琴；吾好珮，此
7	□後得之則活其身	遺吾玉，是不非吾過者	人遺我玉環；是振我過者
		也，自容於我者也。吾恐	也。以求容於我者，吾恐
		其以我求容也。」	其以我求容於人也。」
		遂不入。後車入門，文子	乃去之。果收文子後車二
		問嗇夫之所在，執而殺	乘而獻之其君矣。
		之。	
		仲尼聞之，曰：「中行文	
		子背道失義以亡其國，然	
		後得之，猶活其身，道不	
		可遺也，若此。」	

Summary: A dialogue between Zhongxing Wenzhi and his servant about who indeed served him. A faithful servant does not try to earn his profits with flattery.

The episode in the “*Shuolei zashi*” is again much closer to that of *Shuoyuan* than that of *Han Feizi*, suggesting, more convincingly than the previous example, that the “*Shuolei zashi*” and *Shuoyuan* have shared the same version, despite the two obvious but insignificant differences in word choice. This episode narrates a dialogue between Zhongxing Wenzhi and his subordinate about the

⁶⁸ Chen Qiyou, *Han Feizi xin jiaozhu*, 1:390-391.

character of a Bailiff (*sefu* 嗇夫). It focuses on Wenzhi's judgment on the Bailiff and the following interaction between Wenzhi and the Bailiff. Despite significant differences in wording and phrasing, which exemplify that the episode had been considerably differentiated from another version in transmission, the first half of the story in the two received texts appear very close. In the first part of the two episodes in the received *Shuoyuan* and *Han Feizi*, where Wenzhi's subordinate asks Wenzhi about a Bailiff, and Wenzhi responds to him by giving an evaluation about the Bailiff's past actions in relation to him. However, in the latter half of the story, we find significant differences between these two episodes. In the *Shuoyuan*, the episode tells the reader that Wenzhi, who feared of the Bailiff's turning him over to derive benefit, asked around about the Bailiff's whereabouts, then captured and killed him to get rid of the source of possible trouble.

Interestingly, the *Shuoyuan* presents the character of Confucius in support of support Wenzhi's decision. Here Confucius appears as the authority to legitimately have final say. However, in the *Han Feizi*, the latter half of the story narrates how Wenzhi left, and, as he had expected, the Bailiff extorted the two following carts of Wenzhi's and offered them to his new lord. It does not introduce Confucius.

Because of the difference in the introduction of Confucius in the ending in the *Shuoyuan*, both the plot and the message have changed in these two versions. In both versions, through the character of the Bailiff as a sycophant, the same message that one should keep such a sycophant away from him/herself is presented. The *Han Feizi* episode builds up and delivers such a message through the Wenzhi's judgmental statement about the Bailiff's character. That is, the final scene is expected through reading Wenzhi's response to his subordinate. However, in the *Shuoyuan*, the message evolves into another. Like the *Han Feizi*'s, the *Shuoyuan*'s episode also provides the message about distancing oneself from a flatterer, through a similar answer by Wenzhi to his subordinate. However, there follows another important message: that not only should one stay away from such a sycophant, but also execute him/her promptly to preserve your life. The message is also supported by the additional incident of Wenzhi's killing the Bailiff and in Confucius's final statement in the *Shuoyuan*. In this example, we see that the episode of Zhongxing Wenzhi and a Bailiff existed in at least two different versions and was circulating by the time of Liu Xiang. What Liu Xiang collected was the version that we find in "Shuolei zashi," and that version was similar to the one that had been circulating 140 years before him.

The next example, the seventeenth episode in the "Shuolei zashi," the sixth in the "Zashi Four" chapter of the *Xinxu*, and the fourth in the "Nan, Two" of the *Han Feizi*,⁶⁹ shows another differentiation.

	說類雜事	新序 雜事 四	韓非子 難二
1	● 晉平公問於叔彞曰昔者齊桓公九合 ⁷⁰	晉平公問於叔向曰：「昔者齊桓公九合諸侯，一匡天下，不識其君之力乎？其臣之力乎？」	晉平公問叔向曰：「昔者齊桓公九合諸侯，一匡天下，不識臣之力也？君之力也？」
2	侯壹匡天下不識君之力 □		
3	序叔彞合曰管子		

⁶⁹ Chen Maoren, *Xinxu jiaozheng*, 2:240-241; Chen Qiyou, *Han Feizi xin jiaozhu*, 2:740-742.

⁷⁰ The graphs in the box in this episode is the ones that Hu presumes based on remaining graphical vestige, although now the graph itself has been erased and is no longer visible.

4	善制割習崩善削齊賓	<p>叔向對曰：「管仲善制割，隰朋善削縫，賓胥無善純緣，桓公知衣而已。亦其臣之力也。」</p> <p>師曠侍曰：「臣請譬之以五味，管仲善斷割之，隰朋善煎熬之，賓胥無善齊和之。羹以熟矣，奉而進之，而君不食，誰能強之，亦君之力也。」</p>	<p>叔向對曰：「管仲善制割，賓胥無善削縫，隰朋善純緣，衣成，君舉而服之，亦臣之力也，君何力之有？」</p> <p>師曠伏琴而笑之。</p> <p>公曰：「太師奚笑也？」</p> <p>師曠對曰：「臣笑叔向之對君也。凡為人臣者，猶炮宰和五味而進之君，君弗食，孰敢強之也。臣請譬之：君者、壤地也，臣者、草木也，必壤地美然後草木碩大，亦君之力也，臣何力之有？」</p> <p>或曰：叔向、師曠之對皆偏辭也。夫一匡天下，九合諸侯，美之大者也，非專君之力也，又非專臣之力也。昔者宮之奇在虞，僖負眾在曹，二臣之智，言中事，發中功，虞、曹俱亡者何也？此有其臣而無其君者也。且蹇叔處干而干亡，處秦而秦霸，非蹇叔愚於干而智於秦也，此有君與無臣也。向曰「臣之力也」不然矣。昔者桓公宮中二市，婦閭二百，被髮而御婦人，得管仲為五伯長，失管仲得豎刁，而身死，蟲流出尸不葬。以為非臣之力也，且不以管仲為霸；以為君之力也，且不以豎刁為亂。昔者晉文公慕於齊女而亡歸，咎犯極諫，故使反晉國。故桓公以管仲合，文公以舅犯霸，而師曠曰「君之力也」又不然矣。凡五霸所以能成功名於天下者，必君臣俱有力焉。故曰：叔向、師曠之對皆偏辭也。</p>
5	胥無善純緣□		
6	亦臣之力也		
7	□管仲善制割		
8	□崩		
9	之賓□		
10	君之力		

Summary: A dialogue between Duke Ping of Jin, Shu Xiang, and Shi Kuang about which is more crucial to achieving the status of Hegemon: the ability of lord or the ability of subjects. While Shu Xiang claims the former, Shi Kuang claims the latter. The episode of *Han Feizi* adds a lengthy critical comment on both Shu Xiang and Shi Kuang's responses and argues that both sides are necessary for achieving Hegemony.

The episode in the “Shuolei zashi” is largely similar to the *Xinxu* episode. The only notable difference between these two is that the *Xinxu* states Xi Peng 隰朋 (d. 645 BCE), who is written as Xi Beng 習崩 in the “Shuolei zashi” episode, was good at trimming down and sewing up (*xuefeng* 削縫) for Duke Huan of Qi (r. 685-643 BCE) while the “Shuolei zashi” one says he excelled at trimming down and scissoring (*xuejian* 削齊). In these episodes, Xi Peng is understood to have been good at organizing and unifying Jin society. The graph that Hu Pingsheng transcribes as 齊 is also able to be glossed as “to stitch” (pronounced as *zī*), and if this is the case, the *Xinxu* episode seems to have changed a graph that was confusing one because it had multiple possible meaning to a simpler, clearer one, *feng* 縫 (to sew). Except for minor word differences, the two episodes in the “Shuolei zashi” and *Xinxu* are virtually the same.

However, in the *Han Feizi* episode, narrative details are corrected and rearranged. Here Xi Peng is said to have been good at hemming (*chunyuan* 純緣). According to the record of *Zuozhuan*, Xi Peng was dispatched to conclude a peace treaty between the state of Jin and Rong nation (*rongren* 戎人) on behalf of his lord, Duke Huan.⁷¹ In the *Han Feizi* episode, likewise, Xi Peng's contribution is to nicely wrap up the military confusion of Jin for Duke Huan's hegemony over all feudal lords. On the other hand, it narrates that another worthy minister of Duke Huan of Qi, Bin Xu Wu 賓胥無 (685-641 B.C.E.), who was senior to Xi Peng,⁷² and nonetheless whose contribution is much less known than Xi Peng's, is said to have excelled at “trimming down and sewing up.” In both “Shuolei zashi” and *Xinxu* episodes, Bin Xu Wu is described as being good at what Xi Peng excelled at. That is, in this episode of the *Han Feizi*, the roles of Xi Peng and Bin Xu Wu are reversed. In the *Han Feizi*'s episode, this order is corrected to match the original rank of seniority in the history of Duke Huan of Qi.

In this *Han Feizi* episode, with the question of Duke Ping of Jin to Shu Xiang, the order of “capacity of the lord” (*jun zhi li* 君之力) and “capacity of retainer” (*chen zhi li* 臣之力) changes. The next narrative shows that the responses are made in the order of “retainer's capacity” (Shu Xiang) to “lord's capacity” (Shi Kuang), and so the *Han Feizi* episode seems to have corrected the order to match the order of the two phrases.

⁷¹ In the description of the winter in the twelfth year of Duke Xi 僖公 of Lu in the *Zuozhuan* (12.4), the Prince of Qi sent Xi Peng to make peace between the Rong and Jin: “冬，齊侯 … 使隰朋平戎于晉。” Stephen Durrant, Wai-ye Li, and David Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition 左傳: Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn Annals,”* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2016), 1:306-307.

⁷² In fact, the record of the thirteenth year of Duke Zhao 昭公 of Lu in the received *Zuozhuan* (13.2j) lists the names of the worthy ministers who had assisted the Duke Huan of Qi in accomplishing the feat of Hegemon (*bayu* 霸業) in order from Bao Shuya 鮑叔牙 (d. 644 B.C.E.), to Bin Xu Wu, then Xi Peng. See Stephen Durrant, Wai-ye Li, and Davide Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition: Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn Annals,”* 3:1500-1501.

A more striking divergence in the *Han Feizi* episode is Shi Kuang's response, which is nearly double in length and includes one more argument to support the "lord's power." By locating Shi Kuang as second respondent at the last part, even the *Xinxu* or "Shuolei zashi" version also structurally puts more emphasis on the Shi Kuang's position in the eventual result of the debate between Shu Xiang and Shi Kuang. However, the *Han Feizi* version shows this in a much clearer fashion. First, when he is introduced, his character is described in an especially detailed and sophisticated (師曠伏琴而笑之。公曰：太師奚笑也). That is, the way that his character is built is not the same as the way other characters are built. Second, his answer is much longer and more detailed. In Shi Kuang's answer, the *Han Feizi* episode first keeps the logic that appears in both "Shuolei zashi" and *Xinxu* episodes. Although the *Han Feizi* episode radically simplifies the original metaphorical argument that compares retainers to cooks, each of whom excels at each aspect of flavor, it maintains the original main idea that none of them can force the lord to taste it, and only the lord can determine whether to taste it or not. This idea shows that however a retainer excels, employing and giving him the opportunity to demonstrate his ability ultimately depends on the lord's discernment and executorial power.

Interestingly, the *Han Feizi* episode, the original argumentation in the *Xinxu* or "Shuolei zashi," is reduced to one plain statement and then adds another metaphoric explanation: the lord is the earth, and the retainer is grass or tree on the earth, and so the retainers cannot survive without the lord. By this additional argument, Shi Kuang's position carries more weight, and the balance of the dispute between Shu Xiang and Shi Kuang collapses to Shi Kuang's side. This way, in the *Han Feizi* episode, the standpoint represented in the arguments of Shi Kuang is buttressed.

As we have seen above, the episode in the "Nan, Two" chapter of the *Han Feizi* was another version that has differences not only in wording but also in characterizing Shi Kuang and elaborating his argument by adding lines. This suggests that the "Nan Two" chapter of the *Han Feizi* reflects a more refined version. The compiling of the "Nan Two" chapter could have been, at least, not as distant as Liu Xiang's time.

Of course, we cannot rule out the possibility that the compilers of the *Han Feizi* consciously chose this version. However, we know that, unlike the "Shuolei zashi" and the *Xinxu* episodes, the *Han Feizi* episode is followed by an extended passage that, functions as a critical comment on the episode that denies the message delivered in the presented episode. Even though it remains uncertain how or why the *Han Feizi* had a different version of the same episode, it is likely connected with the editorial criticism of the message that the lord is more important.

The following case is the ninth episode of the "Shuolei zashi."⁷³

	說類雜事	新序 雜事 四	韓非子 外儲說左 下
1	●晉平公過於九京而歎	晉平公過九原而歎曰：「嗟呼！此地之蘊吾良臣多矣，若使死者起也，吾將誰與歸乎？」 叔向對曰：「與趙武乎？」	平公問叔向曰：「群臣孰賢？」 曰：「趙武。」 公曰：「子黨於師人。」 曰：「武立如不勝衣，言如不出口，然所舉士也數
2	曰[彭+左]庫此地之□		
3	□良臣多		
4	與歸庫		
5	叔鄰合曰		

⁷³ Chen Maoren, *Xinxu jiaozheng*, 2:284-287; Chen Qiyu, *Han Feizi xin jiaozhu*, 2:629-630.

6	武庫	平公曰：「子黨於子之師也。」 對曰：「臣聽言趙武之為人也，立若不勝衣，言若不出於口，然其身舉士於白屋下者四十六人，皆得其意，而公家甚賴之。及文子之死也，四十六人皆就賓位，是以無私德也。臣故以為賢也。」 平公曰：「善。」 夫趙武賢臣也，相晉，天下無兵革者九年。 春秋曰：「晉趙武之力」盡得人也。	十人，皆得其意，而公家甚賴之，及武子之生也不利於家，死不託於孤，臣敢以為賢也。」
7	□曰子黨於□		
8	之為人□也□		

Summary: A dialogue between Duke Ping of Jin 晉平公 and Shu Xiang 叔向 about the worthiness of a late retainer named Zhao Wu 趙武.

There is the limitation that the remaining eight fragments of the “Shuolei zashi” episode show parallels only in the first half of the narrative, and so we never clearly determine how close the rest of the episode was to that of the *Xinxu*, which seems the most similar to “Shuolei zashi” among the received texts. For the same reason, the “Shuolei zashi” fragments rarely constitute close parallels with the episode of the *Han Feizi*, which focuses more on the latter half of the story. Although we cannot confirm anything about the unattested portion of episode in the “Shuolei zashi,” since the “Shuolei zashi” lines consistently match that of the received *Xinxu*, and a similar story to the *Xinxu* episode is found in the *Han Feizi*, we can compare the three episodes in the three texts and proceed with a textual analysis.

It is worth noting that in both received texts, the part of Shu Xiang lengthy comment on the character of Zhao Wu, which is the main section for message in the narrative, appears strikingly similar. Despite the aforementioned limitation of the fragmented “Shuolei zashi” text, which shows only the first portion of the story, we can think that this overlapping section in both received texts might have been regarded as an original part of the story at least in its later development. This case may show that the story evolved to develop the Shu Xiang’s comment much more in detail.

Considering the graph *jing* 京 in the “Shuolei zashi” was fairly likely a scribal error for *yuan* 原, due to the graphic similarity, the surviving contents of the “Shuolei zashi” episode text show a high degree of proximity to that of the *Xinxu* in wording. It was a story of a dialogue between Duke Ping and Shu Xiang about the character and talent of Zhao Wu, who had been Shu Xiang’s teacher and had already passed. The dialogue occurred when the two were passing an area called “Jiuyuan” 九原, which was known for its cemetery of nobility at their time. The remaining fragments show the content up to where Shu Xiang thinks it should be Zhao Wu who is to be chosen if Duke Ping can let anyone live again, not because Shu Xiang wanted to form a political faction with him, but only because of Zhao’s great character (*weiren* 為人). The rest of the episode,

which we cannot confirm in the “Shuolei zashi,” but can in the *Xinxu* or *Han Feizi*, tells readers mainly about how specifically great Zhao Wu's character was: he lived frugally and was inarticulate in speech, but recommended more than four dozen gentlemen, all of whom significantly contributed to the country. Here the *Xinxu* adds to the talent of Zhao Wu: that as the Chancellor of Jin, he had kept all under Heaven from warring for nine years, whereas the *Han Feizi* uniquely says, through Shu Xiang, that Zhao's children did not pursue profits for the family, and were not taken care of by someone else after his death. In the *Han Feizi* version, there was no response or approval at the end from Duke Ping after Shu Xiang's explanation, unlike that of the *Xinxu*.

As is evident in the table, the wording of the episodes in the *Xinxu* and *Han Feizi* is very different, although the primary characters, plot, and message are the same. The *Han Feizi* is a much more simplified and briefer version of the episode than the *Xinxu*, and probably “Shuolei zashi,” represent. The distinct characterization of Zhao Wu and the strikingly different wording in the *Xinxu* and *Han Feizi* suggests that there could have been at least two different versions of the same story.

One thing to notice in the case of the *Xinxu* episode is a possible editorial intervention by Liu Xiang. At the very end of this version is a direct quote from the text called *Chunqiu* 春秋, which says, “It was the power of Zhao Wu of Jin” 晉趙武之力, with the commentary “It was that he made all his efforts to get the capable” 盡得人也. Interestingly, in the received *Chunqiu* classic itself, or its commentaries such as *Gongyang* 公羊 or *Zuo*, we cannot find such a statement. It is only in the *Guliang commentary* tradition 穀梁傳 where we see a largely similar one, that is, “It was the power of Zhao Wu of Jin and Qu Jian of the Chu” 晉趙武，楚屈建之力也.⁷⁴ Since we do not have fragments to represent this part of the *Xinxu* episode, we cannot confirm whether this was only added as an editorial consideration by Liu Xiang. However, based on the *Han Feizi*'s episode or other similar episodes which I will discuss below, it is likely that there could have been no such authorizing quote from the *Chunqiu* in the episode. This can be explained by the fact that Liu Xiang the editor who was a renowned master of *Guliang* tradition of the *Chunqiu* of his time, directly intervened in the episode.⁷⁵ This case exemplifies that the editor could engage himself in

⁷⁴ The complete sentence reads as follows: “The Central State does not conquer nomadic tribes like Yi and Di, and they do not enter into the Central State. There has been no conquest for eight years, which is good. It was [due to] the power of Zhao Wu of Jin and Qu Jian of Chu” 中國不侵伐夷狄，夷狄不入中國，無侵伐八年，善之也。晉趙武，楚屈建之力也。 See *Chunqiu Guliang zhuan zhushu* 春秋穀梁傳注疏, in *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏, edited by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648 CE) and Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849 CE), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 2:2432.

⁷⁵ According to the biography of Liu Xiang by Ban Gu, Liu Xiang, who had deeply indulged in alchemy and had once been on the verge of receiving the death penalty in his early years, got quickly promoted at court, first because of his mastery of *Guliang* commentarial tradition (*Hanshu* 36:1928-1929). About Liu Xiang's early life in mid-Western Han cultural and political context, see Michael Loewe, “Liu Xiang” 劉向, in *A Biography of the Qin, Former Han, and Xin Periods 221 BC – AD 24*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 372.

Represented well in his memorials to the throne, his understanding of the *Chunqiu* focuses on a dogmatically moralistic, retrospective interpretation of the current events concerning the past exemplars. Such interpretation was an essential feature of the intellectual tendency of the received *Guliang zhuan*. Liu Xiang validates his position with the idea of mystical resonance of the natural world to the human politics, the idea now termed *ganying* 感應, which was universally accepted in the culture at the time, regardless of a factional position or tendency in the *Chunqiu* hermeneutics. In this regard, his compiling of *Lienü zhuan*, *Xinxu*, and *Shuoyuan* was probably somewhat related to his collection of the historical examples or illustrations to support his fundamental moralism. For a study on the Liu

the episode, like the cases of the “Daoying xun” of the received *Huainanzi*, where editors utilized the *Laozi* aphorisms extensively in combination with his interpretation of each episode.

Interestingly, we find similar episodes in the received *Guoyu* and *Liji* as well.⁷⁶

國語 晉語 八	禮記 檀弓 下
<p>趙文子與叔向游于九原，曰：「死者若可作也，吾誰與歸？」</p> <p>叔向曰：「其陽子乎！」</p> <p>文子曰：「夫陽子行廉直于晉國，不免其身，其知不足稱也。」</p> <p>叔向曰：「其舅犯乎！」</p> <p>文子曰：「夫舅犯見利而不顧其君，其仁不足稱也。其隨武子乎！納諫不忘其師，言身不失其友，事君不援而進，不阿而退。」</p>	<p>趙文子與叔譽觀乎九原。文子曰：「死者如可作也，吾誰與歸？」</p> <p>叔譽曰：「其陽處父乎？」</p> <p>文子曰：「行并植於晉國，不沒其身，其知不足稱也。」</p> <p>「其舅犯乎？」</p> <p>文子曰：「見利不顧其君，其仁不足稱也。我則隨武子乎，利其君不忘其身，謀其身不遺其友。」</p> <p>晉人謂文子知人。文子其中退然如不勝衣，其言訥訥然如不出諸其口；所舉於晉國管庫之士七十有餘家，生不交利，死不屬其子焉。</p>

Summary: Shu Xiang’s comments on the characters of two great subjects, Yang Qufu 陽處父 and Jiu Fan 舅犯 in his conversation with Viscount Wen of Zhao 趙文子.

In these examples, the interlocutor of Shu Xiang is not Duke Ping of Jin but Viscount Wen of Zhao, also named Zhao Wu, the man whose character and talent was the topic in the previous example. That is, in this episode, the main characters change from Duke Ping and Shu Xiang to Zhao Wu and Shu Xiang. As we know from above, Zhao Wu was a teacher of Shu Xiang. So, in this new episode, the relation between the protagonists also changes: Shu Xiang is no longer the answerer but the questioner, and Zhao Wu takes the previous role of Shu Xiang as a wise answerer. The plot changes considerably, too: in the previous example, the story is narrated in a repetitive structure in which the Duke Ping of Jin asks and Shu Xiang answers, focusing on the answer and explanation by Shu Xiang about, why Zhao Wu was an excellent retainer for the state of Jin. However, in this episode, the story is also told through questions and answers by Shu Xiang and his teacher Zhao Wu, but this time, it does not focus on the evaluation of the character of one person as proper retainer, but on that of three, Yang Qufu 陽處父 (d. 621 BCE), Jiu Fan 舅犯 better known as Hu Yan 狐偃 (fl. mid-seventh century BCE), and Sui Wuzi 隨武子, also better known as Viscount Wu of Fan 範武子 (c.a. 660-583 BCE) consecutively. The story ends with Zhao Wu’s recognition of the quality of Sui Wuzi’s character after rejecting those of the first two.

Xiang's compilation project in the Western intellectual context, see Wang Qimin, *Liu Xiang Xinxu Shuoyuan yanjiu*, 3-30. Also, for discussion about the intellectual and cultural relationship between the *Shuoyuan* and the Western Han three traditions of *Chunqiu* hermeneutics, see Xu Jianwei, *Shuoyuan Yanjiu*, 100-173.

⁷⁶ See Wu Guoyi 鄔國義, Hu Guowen 胡果文, and Li Xiaolu 李曉路, *Guoyu yizhu 國語譯注*, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1994); *Liji Zhengyi 禮記正義*, in *Shisan jing zhushu*, 1:1316.

Despite these considerable differences, this episode is not entirely separate from the previous one. The main character (Shu Xiang in the main narrative and Zhao Wu in the embedded narrative), the narrative structure (questioning and answering), the setting (Jiuyuan the cemetery), motif (the question: among the dead, who needs to be revived for the state of Jin), and the message (who was and is a good retainer for the lord) are the same as those of the previous episode. In this sense, this episode is derivative of the previous one.

We are not clear which episode was the original, but whatever the actual order was, this shows that one episode gave rise to another. And again, this episode in the *Guoyu* and *Liji* was made into considerably different texts, probably in different transmissions. The final message of the received *Liji*'s episode text is now no longer about the character of Viscount Wu of Fan, as in the *Guoyu*'s episode, but rather praises Viscount Wen of Zhao's discernment of people's characters, and ultimately his own character as an excellent retainer for the state of Jin. The last part of the *Liji*'s section where people of Jin comment on Viscount Wen of Zhao is partly similar to that of the *Xinxu* and *Han Feizi* where Shu Xiang provides his comment on Zhao Wu. This suggests a possibility that the shared part of the comment on a certain character existed in different versions or that was circulating as an independent text and merged into the *Liji*. In this regard, the *Liji* episode is in part derivative and in part synthetic in nature.

Case 6: Diversification into Multiple Versions and New Episode

I have defined the difference between a “distinct version” and a “new episode.” If any element of an episode narrative changes in a meaningful way, but does not change the plot and does not affect the message, I call it a distinct version. However, if the plot and the message of the episode changes, then it should be differentiated as a new episode. We now turn to three cases that correspond with this definition of a new episode. These examples show how the same episode transforms into multiple different versions or another similar episode.

The “Shuolei zashi” represents one version of an episode, and the received *Zhuangzi* shows another version of the same episode. However, the *Shiji* contains a new episode that has changed the message, based on the previous episode.

	說類雜事	莊子 外物	史記 龜策列傳
1	宋元君夜 夢丈夫依 被=(被)髮 □	宋元君夜半而夢人被髮 闕阿門，曰：「予自宰 路之淵，予為清江使河 伯之所，漁者余且得 予。」	宋元王時得龜，亦殺而用之。謹連其事於左 方，令好事者觀擇其中焉。宋元王二年，江 使神龜使於河，至於泉陽，漁者豫且舉網得 而囚之。置之籠中。夜半，龜來見夢於宋元 王曰：「我為江使於河，而幕網當吾路。泉 陽豫且得我，我不能去。身在患中，莫可告 語。王有德義，故來告訴。」元王惕然而 悟。乃召博士衛平而問之曰：「今寡人夢見 一丈夫，延頸而長頭，衣玄繡之衣而乘輜 車，來見夢於寡人曰：『我為江使於河，而 幕網當吾路。泉陽豫且得我，我不能去。身 在患中，莫可告語。王有德義，故來告
2	□之曰是 龜	元君覺，使人占之， 曰：「此神龜也。」	
3	何得曰得 龜往視□	君曰：「漁者有余且 乎？」	
4	□事七十 兆而无遺 筭(策)故 不能	左右曰：「有。」	

5	夸(剝)腸	君曰：「令余且會	訴。』是何物也？」衛平乃援式而起，仰天
6	之患	朝。」明日，余且朝。	而視月之光，觀斗所指，定日處鄉。規矩為
7	□有所不知而神有	君曰：「漁何得？」	輔，副以權衡。四維已定，八卦相望。視其
		對曰：「且之網，得白	吉凶，介蟲先見。乃對元王曰：「今昔壬
		龜焉，其圓五尺。」	子，宿在牽牛。河水大會，鬼神相謀。漢正
		君曰：「獻若之龜。」	南北，江河固期，南風新至，江使先來。白
		龜至，君再欲殺之，再	雲壅漢，萬物盡留。斗柄指日，使者當囚。
		欲活之，心疑，卜之，	玄服而乘輜車，其名為龜。王急使人問而求
		曰：「殺龜以卜，	之。」王曰：「善。」於是王乃使人馳而往
		吉。」	問泉陽令曰：「漁者幾何家？名誰為豫且？
		乃剝龜，七十二鑽而無	豫且得龜，見夢於王，王故使我求之。」泉
		遺筮。	陽令乃使吏案籍視圖，水上漁者五十五家，
		仲尼曰：「神龜能見夢	上流之廬，名為豫且。泉陽令曰：「諾。」
		於元君而不能避余且之	乃與使者馳而問豫且曰：「今昔汝漁何
		網；知能七十二鑽而無	得？」豫且曰：「夜半時舉網得龜。」使者
		遺筮，不能避剝腸之	曰：「今龜安在？」曰：「在籠中。」使者
		患。如是，則知有所	曰：「王知子得龜，故使我求之。」豫且
		困，神有所不及也。雖	曰：「諾。」即系龜而出之籠中，獻使者。
		有至知，萬人謀之。魚	使者載行，出於泉陽之門。正晝無見，風雨
		不畏網而畏鵜鶘。去小	晦冥。雲蓋其上，五采青黃；雷雨并起，風
		知而大知明，去善而自	將而行。入於端門，見於東箱。身如流水，
		善矣。」嬰兒生無石師	潤澤有光。望見元王，延頸而前，三步而
		而能言，與能言者處	止，縮頸而卻，復其故處。元王見而怪之，
		也。	問衛平曰：「龜見寡人，延頸而前，以何望
			也？縮頸而復，是何當也？」衛平對曰：
			「龜在患中，而終昔囚，王有德義，使人活
			之。今延頸而前，以當謝也，縮頸而卻，欲
			亟去也。」元王曰：「善哉！神至如此乎，
			不可久留；趣駕送龜，勿令失期。」衛平對
			曰：「龜者是天下之寶也，先得此龜者為天
			子，且十言十當，十戰十勝。生於深淵，長
			於黃土。知天之道，明於上古。游三千歲，
			不出其域。安平靜正，動不用力。壽蔽天
			地，莫知其極。與物變化，四時變色。居而
			自匿，伏而不食。春倉夏黃，秋白冬黑。明
			於陰陽，審於刑德。先知利害，察於禍福，
			以言而當，以戰而勝，王能寶之，諸侯盡
			服。王勿遣也，以安社稷。」元王曰：「龜
			甚神靈，降于上天，陷於深淵。在患難中。
			以我為賢。德厚而忠信，故來告寡人。寡人

			其力，下為不仁，上為無德。君臣無禮，何從有福？寡人不忍，柰何勿遣！」衛平對曰：「不然。臣聞盛德不報，重寄不歸；天與不受，天奪之寶。今龜周流天下，還復其所，上至蒼天，下薄泥涂。還遍九州，未嘗愧辱，無所稽留。今至泉陽，漁者辱而囚之。王雖遣之，江河必怒，務求報仇。自以為侵，因神與謀。淫雨不霽，水不可治。若為枯旱，風而揚埃，蝗蟲暴生，百姓失時。王行仁義，其罰必來。此無佗故，其祟在龜。後雖悔之，豈有及哉！王勿遣也。」…
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Summary: The episode of the received *Zhuangzi* is intended to present a message about what “Great Knowledge” (*dazhi* 大知) really is, as opposed to “Petty Knowledge” (*xiaozhi* 小知), through a story about Lord Yuan of Song, who dreamt of a divine turtle that he got from a fisherman named Yu Qie; he then killed the turtle and made a divination with it. According to the character Confucius in the story, what common people call “Great Knowledge,” such as accurate predictions of the future by divination is, in fact, Petty Knowledge; what is great is to understand imminent dangers and threats and to survive in the world.

The episode in the “Guice liezhuan” of the *Shiji* shares the basic plot of the *Zhuangzi* episode in the first part and provides many more details about the setting and characters such as what the turtle was doing and how it was caught by Yu Qie the fisherman, what Lord Yuan’s dream was like, how Lord Yuan figured out the man in the dream was actually a divine turtle, and what Lord Yuan said to Yu Qie. However, after the first part, this *Shiji* episode turns the *Zhuangzi* episode into a completely different story where the debate between Lord Yuan and his retainer Wei Ping about what is truly right to do with a celestial object such as the turtle. While Lord Yuan claims moralistically to let it go back to where it came from, Wei Ping says that they should use it to their advantage as rulers.

The “Shuolei zashi” episode text is largely similar to what we can see in the chapter of the received *Zhuangzi*. However, it also has some variations in wording, which suggests either the degree of sophistication in narrative-making and editing or a different transmission route. For example, in the Fuyang version, the person in the Lord’s dream was specified as a male adult, not just a person as in the received story, and the turtle is neither marvelous (*shen* 神) nor white (*bai* 白), as the transmitted version shows, and the Lord used it for seventy prognostications (*zhao* 兆), but he did not cut the holes for divination into the turtle seventy-two times, as the received tale says. In the “Guice liezhuan” of the *Shiji*, however, the episode is much longer and more detailed, enough to be called a different episode with its considerable changes of plot, character, and message.

The next example, listed as the ninth episode in the reconstructed “Shuolei zashi,” exemplifies more clearly the case of splitting a single episode into multiple different ones.

說類雜事	說苑	史記	韓非子	管子
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1	□桓公往問曰	管仲有疾，	四十一年，秦穆公虜晉惠公，復歸之。是歲，管仲、隰朋皆卒。管仲病，桓公問曰：「群臣誰可相者？」管仲曰：「知臣莫如君。」	管仲有病，桓公往問之，曰：「仲父病，不幸卒於大命，將奚以告寡人？」管仲曰：「微君言，臣故將謁之。願君去豎刁，除易牙，遠衛公子開方。易牙為君主味，君惟人肉未嘗，易牙烝其子首而進之；夫人情莫不愛其子，今不愛其子，安能愛君？君妒而好內，豎刁自宮以治內，人情莫不愛其身，身且不愛君？聞開方事君十五年，齊、衛之間不容數日行，棄其母久宦不歸，其母不愛，安能愛君？臣聞之：『矜偽不長，蓋虛不久。』願君去此三子者也。」管仲卒死，桓公弗行，及桓公死，蟲出尸不葬。（難一）	管仲有病，桓公往問之曰：「仲父之病病矣，若不可諱而不起此病也，仲父亦將何以詔寡人？」管仲對曰：「微君之命臣也。故臣且謁之。雖然，君猶不能行也。」公曰：「仲父命寡人東，寡人東；令寡人西，寡人西。仲父之命於寡人，寡人敢不從乎？」管仲攝衣冠起對曰：「臣願君之遠易牙、豎刁、堂巫、公子開方；夫易牙以調和事公，公曰：惟烝嬰兒之未嘗，於是烝其首子而獻之公，人情非不愛其子也，於子之不愛，將何有於公？公喜宮而妒，豎刁自刑而為公治內；人情非不愛其身也，於身之不愛，將何有於公？公子開方事公十五年，不歸視其親，齊衛之間，不容數日之行；臣聞之，務為不久，蓋虛不長。其生不長者，其死必不終。」桓公曰：「善。」管仲死，已葬，公憎四子者，廢之官。逐堂巫。而苛病起兵逐易牙，而味不至。逐豎刁，而宮中亂。逐公子開方，而朝不治。桓公曰：嗟！聖人固有悖乎？乃復四子者，處期年，四子作難。圍公一室不得出。有一婦人，遂從竇入，得至公所，公曰：吾飢而欲食，渴而欲飲，不可得，其故何也？婦人對曰：易牙、豎刁、堂巫、公子開方四
2	中父棄寡	桓公往問之，曰：			
3	豎刀	「仲父若棄寡人，豎刁可使從乎？」對曰：「不可。豎刁自刑以求入君，其將何有於君。」公然曰：「易牙解其子之忍，將何有於君，若用之必為諸侯笑。」及桓公歿，豎刁易牙乃作難。桓公死十日，蟲出於戶不收。（權謀）			
4	可使為正				
5	君其身之				
6	曰				
7	將何有於				
8	死七十日				

				<p>人分齊國，塗十日不通矣，公子開方以書社七百下衛矣。食將不得矣。公曰：嗟茲乎，聖人之言長乎哉！死者無知則已，若有知，吾何面目以見仲父於地下。乃援素幘以裹首而絕。死十一日，蟲出於戶，乃知桓公之死也。葬以楊門之扇，桓公之所以身死十一日，蟲出戶而不收者，以不終用賢也。（小稱）</p>
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Summary: The episode of the *Shuoyuan* expresses Guan Zhong's 管仲 critical comments for Duke Huan about the personal characters of the two men, Shu Diao 豎刁 and Yi Ya 易牙, both of whom the Duke Huan was considering employing for the state of Qi. This episode adds the information at the end that the two men indeed broke out in rebellion after the death of Duke Huan, and the Duke's funeral had not been conducted for sixty days due to their rebellion, and that his corpse was infested with maggots.

The episode of the *Shiji* shares the basic plot of that of the *Shuoyuan* but adds one more retainer character named Kaifang 開方 in the critical comments by Guan Zhong for Duke Huan. In this *Shiji* episode, the conclusion is different from the *Shuoyuan* one; it says that the Duke Huan did not listen to Guan Zhong's advice, and therefore the three men tyrannized authority in the state.

The *Han Feizi* episode details Guan Zhong's critical comments on the three men further and shares the ending with the *Shuoyuan* episode about the funeral and the corpse of Duke Huan.

The episode of *Guanzi*, which is a collection of Episode Texts and essays attributed to the heroic advisor, Guan Zhong, is the most detailed and specific among the four. It adds one more character named Tang Wu 堂巫 in Guan Zhong's critical comment on the men for Duke Huan. The episode provides backdrop about why Duke Huan had to employ them in the end and adds his own words of lament about the four men's arbitrary ruling. It also shares the ending with the *Shuoyuan* and *Han Feizi* episodes.

The remaining content of the "Shuolei zashi" fragments is the closest to that of the "Quanmou" chapter in the *Shuoyuan* among the received texts, except for some changes in vocabulary and more importantly, the last phrase "[the Duke Huan] did not listen to it" 弗聽 in fragment no. 7, which suggests the episode of the "Shuolei zashi" may have been another version not precisely the same as that of the *Shuoyuan*. Based on the *Shuoyuan*, the episode topicalizes the dialogue between Duke Huan and Guan Zhong on the issue of whom the Duke Huan should not employ after the death of Guan Zhong. In this brief episode, the ones who are mentioned as those whom the Duke should keep distant are Shu Diao 豎刁, who punished himself for serving the Duke nearby, and

Yi Ya 易牙 who cut his son into pieces to feed the Duke.⁷⁷ This version does not provide more detailed information about these men or reasons why Guan Zhong denied their loyalty. The “Shuolei zashi” tells readers that the Duke did not listen to Guan Zhong’s advice; this part does not appear in the *Shuoyuan*. However, after Duke Huan employed them and died, both say, these two broke out a revolt and due to this, the corpse of the Duke had not been buried for sixty (*Shuoyuan*) or seventy (“Shuolei zashi”) days, and maggots came out of the window of the room.

The *Shiji*’s “Qi Taigong shijia” adds one more retainer to the Guan Zhong’s list of unemployable men, Kai Fang 開方. The order of these men in the *Shiji* is Yi Ya, Kai Fang, to Shu Diao, unlike the *Shuoyuan*’s list of Shu Diao to Yi Ya. The *Shiji* says that these three men rose in revolt together after Duke Huan’s death. However, it does not mention the corpse of the Duke and its maggots. Overall, this *Shiji* version has more characters and more detailed, specific lines in the dialogue, although the basic plot centering around the questions and answers of the two main characters is maintained.

The version found in the “Nan, One” chapter of the *Han Feizi* simplifies the plot by reducing the exchange of questions and answers between characters to one long answer by Guan Zhong, which the original order of Shu Diao to Yi Ya and Kai Fang restores. Guan Zhong’s long answer contains more detailed information about the three men’s acts of loyalty, their purposes, and Guan Zhong’s reasons to refute their loyal acts. This version does not tell whether these men rose in revolt but does state that the Duke did not practice the Guan’s advice, and he was not buried properly until maggots came out of the window.

We find the most refined version of this episode in the text, *Guanzi*, where Guan Zhong is the main character. He is a worthy Sage of the past and a loyal minister and politician who greatly assists his lord in stabilizing as hegemon all under Heaven. This version consists of two large parts that has its message. For the first part, which is the same as with the previous version of the episode, the *Guanzi* episode maintains the *Han Feizi* episode’s plot where Guan Zhong’s solo answer is central, and then for the second part where the story mentions what happened after Guan Zhong’s death, which remains mostly very brief or almost unspoken in the previous versions. This *Guanzi* episode combines monologues by Duke Huan with his wife’s response. The message thereby moves from what the true loyalty is for the retainer to the suggestion that the lord should listen to his worthy retainer. This *Guanzi* episode adds one more person named Tang Wu 堂巫 to the list and has four names in it. However, in the Guan Zhong’s answer to the Duke Huan, his accusation of this new man is missing. We do not know whether this part had not yet fully developed or had been lost in the transmission. So, it remains unclear why Guan Zhong advises the Duke to stay away from Tang Wu. However, despite the incomplete content, this version contains the most developed story about Guan Zhong’s will to his lord on his deathbed.

These episodes found in the *Shuoyuan*, *Shiji*, *Han Feizi*, and *Guanzi* are categorizable as different versions of the same story in the sense that they share significant elements of a narrative, but with some meaningful differences. They show that Guan Zhong’s will to the Duke Huan had been popularly thematized and narrativized in several distinct ways in early society. Interestingly, the theme of Guan’s deathbed seems to have taken its form in different episodes.

We also see the examples in the three received texts, *Lüshi Chunqiu*, *Han Feizi*, and elsewhere in the *Guanzi*, two of which contain the different versions we have examined above.

⁷⁷ Not only Shu Diao and Yi Ya, but also others were to be added as unemployable retainers, including Kai Fang 開方, Bao Shuya 鮑叔兒. Specific dates are unclear, except that they all acted during the reign of Duke Huan, from the early to mid-seventh century BCE. Thus, I do not specify their dates here.

呂氏春秋	韓非子	管子
<p>管仲有病，桓公往問之，曰：「仲父之病矣，漬甚，國人弗諱，寡人將誰屬國？」管仲對曰：「昔者臣盡力竭智，猶未足以知之也，今病在於朝夕之中，臣奚能言？」桓公曰：「此大事也，願仲父之教寡人也。」管仲敬諾，曰：「公誰欲相？」公曰：「鮑叔牙可乎？」管仲對曰：「不可。夷吾善鮑叔牙，鮑叔牙之為人也：清廉潔直，視不己若者，不比於人；一聞人之過，終身不忘。」「勿已，則隰朋其可乎？」「隰朋之為人也：上志而下求，醜不若黃帝，而哀不己若者；其於國也，有不聞也；其於物也，有不知也；其於人也，有不見也。勿已乎，則隰朋可也。」夫相，大官也。處大官者，不欲小察，不欲小智，故曰：大匠不斲，大庖不豆，大勇不鬥，大兵不寇。桓公行公去私惡，用管子而為五伯長；行私阿所愛，</p>	<p>奚謂過而不聽於忠臣？昔者齊桓公九合諸侯，一匡天下，為五伯長，管仲佐之。管仲老，不能用事，休居於家，桓公從而問之曰：「仲父家居有病，即不幸而不起此病，政安遷之？」管仲曰：「臣老矣，不可問也。雖然，臣聞之，知臣莫若君，知子莫若父，君其試以心決之。」君曰：「鮑叔牙何如？」管仲曰：「不可。鮑叔牙為人，剛愎而上悍。剛則犯民以暴，愎則不得民心，悍則下不為用，其心不懼。非霸者之佐也。」公曰：「然則豎刁何如？」管仲曰：「不可。夫人之情莫不愛其身，公妒而好內，豎刁自獷以為治內，其身不愛，又安能愛君？」公曰：「然則衛公子開方何如？」管仲曰：「不可。齊、衛之間不過十日之行，開方為事君，欲適君之故，十五年不歸見其父母，此非人情也，其父母之不親也，又能親君乎？」公曰：「然則易牙何如？」管仲曰：「不可。夫易牙為君主味，君之所未嘗食唯人肉耳，易牙蒸其子首而進之，君所知也。人之情莫不愛其子，今蒸其子以為膳於君，其子弗愛，又安能愛君乎？」公曰：「然則孰</p>	<p>管仲寢疾，桓公往問之曰：「仲父之疾甚矣，若不可諱也不幸而不起此疾，彼政我將安移之？」管仲未對。桓公曰：「鮑叔之為人何如？」管子對曰：「鮑叔君子也，千乘之國，不以其道，予之，不受也。雖然，不可以為政，其為人，好善而惡惡已甚，見一惡終身不忘。」桓公曰：「然則庸可？」管仲對曰：「隰朋可，朋之為人，好上識而下問，臣聞之，以德予人者，謂之仁；以財予人者，謂之良；以善勝人者，未有能服人者也。以善養人者，未有不服人者也。於國有所不知政，於家有所不知事，則必朋乎。且朋之為人，居其家不忘公門，居公門不忘其身，事君不二其心，亦不忘其身，舉齊國之幣。握路家五十室，其人不知也，大仁也哉，其朋乎！」公又問曰：「不幸而失仲父也，二三大夫者，其猶能以國寧乎？」管仲對曰：「君請矍已乎，鮑叔牙之為人也好直，賓胥無之為人也好善，寧戚之為人也能事，孫在之為人也善言。」公曰：「此四子者，其庸能一人之上也？寡人并而臣之，則其不以國寧，何也。」對曰：「鮑叔之為人也好直，而不能以國誡，賓胥無之為人也好善，而不能以國誡。寧戚之為人也能事，而不能以足息。孫在之為人也善言，而不能以信默臣聞之，消息盈虛，與百姓誡信，然後能以國寧，勿已者，朋其可乎！朋之為人，動必量力，舉必量技。」言終，喟然而歎曰：「天之生朋，以為夷吾舌也，其身死，舌焉得生哉？」管仲曰：「夫江黃之國近於楚，為臣死乎，君必</p>

<p>用豎刀而蟲出於戶。 (貴公)</p>	<p>可？」管仲曰：「隰朋可。其為人也，堅中而廉外，少欲而多信。夫堅中則足以為表，廉外則可以大任，少欲則能臨其眾，多信則能親鄰國，此霸者之佐也，君其用之。」君曰：「諾。」居一年餘，管仲死，君遂不用隰朋而與豎刁。刁蒞事三年，桓公南遊堂阜，豎刁率易牙、衛公子開方及大臣為亂，桓公渴餒而死南門之寢、公守之室，身死三月不收，蟲出於戶。故桓公之兵橫行天下，為五伯長，卒見弑於其臣，而滅高名，為天下笑者，何也？不用管仲之過也。故曰：過而不聽於忠臣，獨行其意，則滅其高名為人笑之始也。(十過)</p>	<p>歸之楚而寄之。君不歸，楚必私之，私之而不救也，則不可，救之，則亂自此始矣。」桓公曰：「諾。」管仲又言曰：「東郭有狗啞啞，旦暮欲齧我，猥而不使也，今夫易牙，子之不能愛，將安能愛君？君必去之。」公曰：「諾。」管子又言曰：「北郭有狗啞啞，旦暮欲齧我，猥而不使也，今夫豎刁，其身之不愛，焉能愛君，君必去之。」公曰：「諾。」管子又言曰：「西郭有狗啞啞，旦暮欲齧我，猥而不使也，今夫衛公子開方，去其千乘之太子，而臣事君，是所願也得於君者，將欲過其千乘也，君必去之。」桓公曰：「諾。」管子遂卒。卒十月，隰朋亦卒。桓公去易牙豎刁衛公子開方。五味不至，於是乎復反易牙。宮中亂，復反豎刁。利言卑辭不在側，復反衛公子開方。桓公內不量力，外不量交，而力伐四鄰。公薨，六子皆求立，易牙與衛公子，內與豎刁，因共殺群吏而立公子無虧，故公死七日不斂，九月不葬，孝公奔宋，宋襄公率諸侯以伐齊，戰於廩，大敗齊師，殺公子無虧，立孝公而還。襄公立十三年，桓公立四十二年。(戒)</p>
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Summary: The *Lüshi Chunqiu* episode is about Guan Zhong's critical comments for Duke Huan on two men, Bao Shuya 鮑叔牙 and Xi Feng 隰朋, for the position of the next Chancellor after the death of Guan Zhong. Guan Zhong notes that Xi Feng is only relatively better for the position at the end.

In another episode from *Han Feizi*, the two candidates, Bao Shuya and Xi Feng, mentioned above in the *Lüshi Chunqiu* episode are commented upon along with the other three men in the *Shiji* episode, Shu Diao, Kai Fang, and Yi Ya. The *Han Feizi* episode locates Xi Feng as the last one on its list and approves of him as the right person for the position as the next Chancellor. Also, this episode of the *Han Feizi* provides a specific circumstance taking place after the death of Guan Zhong. The Duke Huan did not listen to Guan Zhong's advice and chose Shu Diao over Xi Feng, and this led to the rebellion of Shu Diao with Yi Ya and Kai Fang, and due to this, Duke Huan's funeral did not take place, and

his corpse was infested with maggots. From this, the *Han Feizi* episode concludes with the critical message about the consequences of a ruler's not listening to his loyal subjects.

The *Guanzi's* episode, like the *Han Feizi* one, combines the comments on two distinct groups by Guan Zhong into one, namely, the comments on Bao Shuya and Xi Feng and the comments on Yi Ya, Shu Diao, and Kai Fang. Unlike the *Lüshi Chunqiu* episode, Xi Feng is favored over Bao Shuya by Guan Zhong. Most strikingly, this *Guanzi* episode does not only blame the three men, Yi Ya, Shu Diao, and Kai Fang, for the rebellion and the following events concerning Duke Huan's funeral and corpse, but also the incapacity of the Duke Huan and the six sons of the Duke, who also started rebellions, which gave the three men an occasion to start another rebellion.

These long episodes keep Duke Huan and Guan Zhong as the main characters and thematize Guan Zhong's will on his deathbed. What distinguishes these from the earlier versions is the fact that in all of these, the character of Bao Shuya as the successor of Guan Zhong is first questioned and discussed. This tells readers that this episode puts more significance on the character of a man who was not a meaningful part of other traditions. But a more significant difference between these episodes and the previous episodes is the fact that in these three episodes, Guan Zhong does not only warn the Duke to keep himself away from certain retainers, but also recommends a man named Xi Peng as the one who the Duke should rely on after Guan's death. That is, these versions of episodes show readers a positive exemplar that reader should model after to be a good retainer, and not just the negative examples, stated in the previous episode. In this way, the episode gives a more definite answer to the initial question by Duke Huan.

Nonetheless, as all episodes and their versions agree, the end of Duke Huan was tragic; his dead body was not buried and was filled with maggots. According to both episodes, the tragedy occurred because he did not listen to Guan Zhong. However, more specifically, in the former episode, it was because Duke Huan got close to and employed the men Guan had warned about while in the latter episode, it was because the Duke did not employ Xi Peng.

More specifically, each version has its distinctive feature in the plot. The first version of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* is the simplest and most straightforward: it only writes of the evaluation of the characters of Bao Shuya and Xi Peng. However, in the episode of the "Shiguo" chapter of *Han Feizi*, Bao Shuya is not the only one whose character is critically assessed. On this point, this episode takes the characters and their stories from the first episode and links that of Xi Peng to them as an appropriate example. Such a hybridizing tendency develops most in the text where Guan Zhong is the sole main character throughout, namely, *Guanzi*, such as the example where the story of Yanzi developed most concretely in the *Yanzi Chunqiu*. That is, the last version that appears in the "Jie" 戒 chapter of the *Guanzi*, which is the longest among all the versions, is a synthetic episode that combined the distinct episodes into one and elaborated the story most concretely. In this regard, the relationship between these three versions of the second episode to the above versions of the first episode is the same as the *Guoyu* and *Liji* episode's relationship to that of *Xinxu* and *Han Feizi*.

Admittedly, we may not confirm that the *Guanzi's* episode of Guan Zhong's will on deathbed was surely a later composition than that of "Shuolei zashi," which is the simplest among all of them, nor may we posit a simple linear process in narrative development among the examples. So, it is still important to think that they all may have existed in the time of Liu Xiang, and he would consciously have chosen the simplest one for his editorial purposes, and that the episodes and versions we examined may have existed, circulated, and were shared at the same time. The

narrative simplicity that we find in many other cases of the “Shuolei zashi” parallels may merely be a happenstance, not indicating or suggesting its primitiveness as an early stage of narrative development. Nonetheless, it is not impossible to reasonably estimate that the *Guanzi*’s episode would have gone through multiple and more complex editorial processes to establish itself by more literary skillful hands, and it suggests the *Guanzi* episode should have taken a much longer time for completion. As a comparison, the “Shuolei zashi” episode is particularly important in this sense. As the “Quanmou” chapter of the *Shuoyuan* attests, in the Liu Xiang’s time, around 20-30 BCE, at least a similar version as simple as the “Shuolei zashi” episode was still accessible. If we regard what the “Shuolei zashi” episodes attest as historically meaningful to the general formation of received early texts, what does it eventually mean for our understanding of the received early texts? What does the “Shuolei zashi” text suggest about our appraisal of them?

Episode Texts as Building Blocks of a Collective Memory of the Past

The model I will suggest as a hypothesis to explain these examples of parallelism in early Chinese texts can be divided into several categories, depending on the extent of overlapping content as basic units for one text: 1) sentence level⁷⁸; 2) paragraph (section) level⁷⁹; 3) chapter

⁷⁸ The sentence level refers to the case that parallelism between excavated and received texts, and occurs at the level of the smallest unit of text in which we can identify intertextual parallelism that is not coincidental but intended. As I will discuss in Chapter Six, an example for the sentence level parallelism is a line in the “Qu Qie” 祛篋 and “Dao Zhi” 盜跖 chapters of the received *Zhuangzi* 莊子 and that of the “Yucong” 4 語叢 四 bamboo slip manuscript found at Guodian 郭店, Hubei 湖北 (excavated in 1993; tomb sealed ca. 300 B.C.E.). Jingmen shi Bowuguan 荊門市博物館, *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡, (Beijing: Wenwu, 1998), 217; 218n7.

⁷⁹ The paragraph level refers to the idea that the organized sentences in an excavated text constitute multiple parallels that mostly match one or more paragraphs in one or multiple received texts. In this case, the excavated text is often organized with several discreet narratives and reconstructed as one substantial text by the organizer with some objectifiable standards such as calligraphy and the physical features of a bamboo slip. Although there can be many parallels identified, sometimes across several distinct chapters in the received texts, the parallels in this level are different from those of the chapter level in the sense that they do not cover consistently and coherently the contents of one full chapter in the received ones. For example, the section parallelism appears between received texts such as *Kongzi jiyu*, *Shuoyuan*, *Xunzi*, *Hanshi waizhuan*, etc., and excavated bamboo slip texts entitled as “Rujia zhe yan” found at Dingzhou, Hebei (excavated in 1973; tomb sealed ca. 55 BCE) and another bamboo slip text identically entitled despite considerable difference in form and content, “Rujia zhe yan” found at Fuyang, Anhui (excavated in 1977; sealed ca. 165 BCE). Dingxian Hanmu zhujian zhengli zu, “‘Rujia zhe yan’ shiwen,” *Wenwu* 文物 8 (1981): 13-19; Han Ziqiang, “Fulu yi: Fuyang XiHan Ruyin Hou mu yihao mudu ‘Rujia zhe yan’ zhangti,” *Fuyang Hanjian Zhouyi yanjiu*, 149-163.

Erik W. Maeder examines overlapping paragraphs in the “Core” chapters of the received *Mozi* 墨子 and reach the conclusion that parallelism in the paragraphs of the *Mozi* “Core” chapters may indicate the documents were in the process of transmission within competing traditions. See Erik W. Maeder, “Some Observations on the Composition of the “Core Chapters” of the *Mozi*, *Early China* 17 (1992): 27-82.

level⁸⁰; and 4) book level.⁸¹ As the text unit is more extensive and the number of confirmable inter-textual parallelisms increase, we generally see that the unit had already been formed at the time of

⁸⁰ The chapter level is the idea that the content of excavated manuscript parallels that of a chapter in received text(s) consistently and coherently. In most cases, the excavated manuscript is reconstructed as one separate, independent text, sometimes bearing its title, which matches and corresponds to, as a whole, the received chapter in content. In this textual correspondence, it often appears that the content of the received chapter is longer and more specific and elaborate in wording than that of the excavated manuscript. For example, the text entitled as “Ziyi” 緇衣 found at Guodian parallels the “Ziyi” chapter of the received *Liji* 禮記. Jingmen shi Bowuguan, *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, 129-137. Another bamboo slip manuscript “Ziyi,” purchased by Shanghai Museum at Hong Kong antique market in 1994 (dated ca. 300 B.C.E.), also shows a strong parallelism. Ma Chengyuan 馬承源 ed., *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2001), 1:169-213. For a detailed study of this text, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Rewriting the *Zi Yi*: How One Chinese Classic Came to Read As It Does,” *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, (Albany, NY: The State University of New York Press, 2006), 63-130.

A bamboo slip text, given the title of “Wuwang qian zuo” 武王踐阼, in the Shanghai Museum collection can also be compared to the chapter with the same title, in the *Da Dai Li* 大戴禮. Ma Chengyuan ed., *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, 7:148-168. Another example is the Chu bamboo slip texts donated to Qinghua University in 2008 (dated 305±30 B.C.E.), entitled “Cheng wu” 程寤, “Huangmen” 皇門, and “Zhaigong zi guming” 祭公之顧命 (or Zhaigong 祭公). They correspond to each chapter with the same title in the received *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 with some differences, sometimes considerable, in wording and content. Li Xueqin 李學勤 ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡, (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2010) 1:135-140; 163-171; 173-178. Another Chu bamboo slip text in the same collection of Qinghua University vol. 1, “Zhou Wu wang you ji Zhou gong suo zi yi dai wang zhi zhi” 周武王有疾周公所自以代王之志 largely matches the “Jinteng” 金縢 chapter of the received *Shangshu* 尚書. Li Xueqin ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian*, 157-161. I will read and discuss this text in detail in comparison with the received chapter of “Jinteng” in the *Shangshu* in Chapter Five.

Due to the flexibility of content organization in text-making in the early period, some excavated texts do not correspond to a chapter of received text. An excellent example for this is the three texts found at Guodian, which are commonly known as *Laozi* A, B, and C, given that their contents match those of the received *Laozi* text.

Because of the considerable textual correspondence between excavated and received texts, this type of parallelism by chapter is often utilized by scholars to provide evidence for and substantiate the early establishment or pre-existence of the received text by the time the excavated text was created and buried. If the excavated or discovered text does not bear a title, scholars have carelessly identified and entitled it based on the title of the received chapter and text which has parallels in content. However, such a practice in today’s academia, both in China and the West, keeps researchers from viewing and treating the manuscript in its own right, and thereby hinders the consideration of other different possibilities concerning the production, consumption, and circulation of the text in the early culture, which might not have necessarily been associated with those of the received text.

⁸¹ The book level is the case that the reconstructed excavated manuscript is comprised of contents that closely parallel those of multiple chapters in a received text, despite the fragmented and partial state, and so the excavated manuscript is named after the title of the corresponding received text. For example, texts parallel to *Lunyu* 論語 and *Wenzi* 文子 were excavated at Dingzhou in 1973 (tomb sealed ca. 55 BCE), and *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法, *Sunbin bingfa* 孫臏兵法, Liu Tao 六韜, *Weiliaozhi* 尉繚子, *Guanzi* 管子, and *Yanzi Chunqiu* 晏子春秋, found at Yinqueshan 銀雀山, Shandong 山東, in 1972, (tomb sealed ca. 140 BCE or 134 BCE). See Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo Dingzhou Hanmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 河北省文物研究所定州漢墓竹簡整理小組, *Dingzhou Hanmu zhujian Lunyu* 定州漢墓竹簡《論語》, (Beijing: Wenwu, 1997); Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo Dingzhou Hanmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 河北省文物研究所定州漢墓竹簡整理小組, “*Dingzhou XiHan Zhongshan Huaiwang mu zhujian Wenzi shiwen*” 定州西漢中山懷王墓竹簡《文子》釋文, *Wenwu* 文物, 1995, 12:27-34; Yinque shan Hanmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 銀雀山漢墓竹簡整理小組, *Yinque shan Hanmu zhu jian* 銀雀山漢墓竹簡, (Beijing: Wenwu, 1975; 2001). Pian Yuqian 駢宇騫, *Yinque Shan zhujian: Yanzi chunqiu jiaoshi* 銀雀山竹簡:《晏子春秋》校釋, (Taipei: Wanjuanlou, 2000). Recently, Hu Pingsheng 胡平生 and his research team have published the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 parallels found at Fuyang in 1977. See Zhongguo Wenwu Yanjiusuo 中國文物研究所, Fuyang diqu Bowuguan 阜陽地區博物館, Fuyang Hanjian zhengli zu 阜陽漢簡整理組, “Fuyang Shuanggudui Han jian *Zhuangzi*” 阜陽雙古堆漢簡《莊子》,

the compared excavated text being created or buried, with some degree of variance in form and content, and that the chance to discover and discuss the meaningful similarities and differences in comparison between the excavated and received texts is most likely to increase.

Two methodological points concerning the level of parallelism and different units of text should be addressed here. First, the parallelism between the excavated and received texts indicates the presence of the parallel unit itself at the time of the composition of the excavated manuscript in question, but does not necessarily show anything about larger units of text. That is, one cannot substantiate, with the parallel, that an upper unit that includes the parallel existed; the parallel in the excavated manuscript does not tell us anything about the larger unit in itself. For example, even if one finds a single line that parallels that of the *Zhuangzi* in the Guodian “Yucong” 4 or even has a self-contained text bearing the same title “Dao Zhi” and also a similar story that is found in the received “Dao Zhi” chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, from the Zhangjiashan corpus of bamboo slip manuscripts, this should not be taken as evidence that the *Zhuangzi* in any early form had already existed at the time the Guodian and Zhangjiashan manuscripts were created.⁸² A parallelism analysis itself works convincingly only on the same size unit or to a smaller unit, but not to a larger one.⁸³

Second, as related to the first point, because parallels in the excavated text do not tell us about larger units of text of which it is a part naming the excavated text after the received text that

Chutu wenxian yanjiu 出土文獻研究 12 (2015): 188-201. This *Zhuangzi* parallel text will be discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis.

Although these book-level parallels are the most useful examples for research on the formation of received text at early stage, they may well be the most disputable and misleading among the four categories of parallel levels listed, because, as all the examples mentioned for the book level case above exemplify well, most of the book-level parallel excavated texts are fragmented and partial, and sometimes very different in content (e.g., *Wenzi*) from the received text, and therefore the degree to which we can set the parallelism can often be highly unstable at this level.

A rare exception to show relatively much less partiality and fragmentedness in content among excavated texts is the *Laozi*. The two Han Silk manuscripts bearing the titles of “De” 德 and “Dao” 道, excavated at Mawangdui in 1976 (tomb sealed in 168 BCE), matches each of two divisions of the received *Laozi* 老子 text with some missing portions in content due to the decay of the silk. A Western Han Bamboo Slip manuscript of “Laozi shangjing” 老子上經 (“De” of the MWD) and “Laozi xiajing” 老子下經, (“Dao” of the MWD), unprovenanced and housed at Peking University since 2009 (date unclear; some scholars have claimed a creation date as early as the reign of Han Wudi 武帝, r. 140-87 BCE), presents a highest degree of textual correspondence to the received *Laozi* 老子 (with only around 1% loss of overall text.). Qiu Xigui, ed., *Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu jianbo jicheng*, 4:1-56; 193-215; Beijing daxue chutu wenxian yanjiusuo 北京大學出土文獻研究所, *Beijing daxue cang XiHan zhushu* 北京大學藏西漢竹書 vol. 2, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2015).

⁸² I will discuss these examples in Chapter 6, where I explore the significance of the formation of the *Zhuangzi* as the compilation of Episode Texts. Concerning these argumentations, see Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Cong Guodian Yucong Si kan *Zhuangzi* Qu Qie” 從郭店簡《語叢四》看《莊子·胠篋》, *Jianbo* 簡帛 1(2006):73-76; and Liao Mingchun 廖名春, “Zhuji ben ‘Dao Zhi’ pian guankui” 竹簡本《盜跖》篇管窺, *Qinghua daxue sixiang wenhua yanjiusuo jikan* 清華大學思想文化研究所集刊 1 (1996): 90-100.

⁸³ On this point, as mentioned above, the conclusion that Liu Qiao makes in her dissertation under the strong influence of the current Chinese scholarship, that parallelism between excavated and received texts can provide supporting evidence for the pre-establishment of the texts whose authenticity and date of creation have long been doubted, is not necessarily correct but only must be treated with much circumspection, as an individual case; even if the parallelism is constituted in the book level, the reconstructed excavated manuscript, as long as it does not bear the same title explicitly, may have been read and circulating in a different social recognition in the culture.

contains the parallel unit is unjustified as long as the parallelism is found at a lower level than that of the book. The practice of naming an excavated manuscript based on the received text tends to give a false impression that the received text had already been conceived or existed at the time of the excavated text in question. The excavated manuscript itself, when without a title, does not show or suggest a convincing hint that the text was produced and consumed in a specific recognized relationship to the received text. In order to keep intact a possible context in which the excavated text was created and buried, the best option is to treat the text in its own right, without forcing a specific textual relationship to the received text. That is, even if the excavated text has one or more significant parallels, as long as it does not bear a title but does present difference in form or content, it should be entitled independently, and only on that basis, the parallelism needs to be analyzed. For example, the unearthed Guodian bamboo slip texts, commonly known as *Laozi A*, *B*, and *C*, could be re-entitled as “You zhuang hun cheng” 有狀混成, “Shangshi wen Dao” 上士聞道, and “Tai shang” 太上 in order to avoid ruling out certain possible processes of text formation.

The parallelism in the “Shuolei zashi” that the current study examines is a typical case of “paragraph-level” since each written unit that constitutes a parallel with received text in the “Shuolei zashi” is a brief passage-size episode. This means that the analysis of parallelism in the “Shuolei zashi” text, in itself, will not prove or demonstrate the pre-existence of a chapter or a book text that has the parallel in it. It shows the possibility of the existence of one small part of the current received larger text at the time of “Shuolei zashi” being buried.

However, even if a parallelism analysis, in itself, works in the same level of unit or to a smaller unit, but not to a larger one, we should consider one notable exception: when the parallel unit in question (e.g., sentence or paragraph) coincides with the basic textual unit to constitute the larger text (e.g., chapter or book), then the parallelism can be understood as for the formation of upper-level text. For example, when a received book text, such as *Shuoyuan* or *Xinxu*, is one that is comprised of numerous small passages of each different story, and the parallels are found in the passage level in excavated and received texts. In this case, the parallel analysis may not only tell us about the passage itself, but also about the possibility of a larger unit that is comprised of numerous homogenous passage units.

Excavated parallel texts have been intensively studied both in China and in Europe and North America, but using different approaches. In China, parallelism has been taken as convincing archaeological evidence to demonstrate the early establishment of received early texts and to refute the previous argumentation on the authenticity or authorship of the received texts in the scholarly traditions so-called “Discriminating Forgery” (*bianwei* 辨偽) since Qing or “Suspecting Antiquity” (*yigu* 疑古) in the early twentieth century.⁸⁴ However, due to the dominant concern that views the parallelism in excavated texts in light of defending and verifying the historicity of the contents of certain received texts under suspicion, the issue of parallelism has scarcely been examined from a broader and more general perspective of textual production in the early period.

Meanwhile, in Europe and North America, where scholars are relatively freer from the academic agenda to utilize the parallelism in excavated texts as a means of early evidence to

⁸⁴ Recent scholarship on the textual formation of received texts based on excavated parallel text in China and Taiwan is represented well in the two following major collections of papers and proceedings: Xie Weiyang 謝維揚 and Zhao Zheng 趙爭 eds., *Chutu wenxian yu gushu chengshu wenti yanjiu: gushi shiliao xue yanjiu de xin shiye yantaohui lunwenji* 出土文獻與古書成書問題研究：古史史料學研究的新視野研討會論文集, (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2015); Zhou Fengwu 周鳳五 ed., *XianQin wenben ji shixiang zhi xingcheng fazhan yu zhuanhua* 先秦文本及思想之形成發展與轉化, 2 vols. (Taiwan: Taida chuban zhongxin, 2014).

corroborate the historical authenticity of long doubted received texts, the topic of parallelism in excavated and received texts has been treated not only for the authenticity of certain texts, but also as a subject matter for the general textual formation in early China. In this sense, one of the most important ideas is the “building block” theory that William Boltz has proposed.⁸⁵ For Boltz, who first got the core insight of this theory from his meticulous examinations of textual heterogeneity, especially from the excavated manuscripts of *Laozi*, *Yijing*, and “Ziyi” of the *Liji*, and then expanded it to the evidence of parallelism among received texts such as *Mengzi* and *Zuozhuan*. These early texts are composed of small “building blocks” that are discrete and self-contained textual units, sometimes in the sentence or paragraph level, but are organized and arranged in considerably different ways. Here the parallels shown in excavated and received texts appear as concrete examples of the reconstructible building blocks for a larger text. They are a self-contained unit that corresponds in size and length to what we might call “paragraph,” which, for Boltz, is to be made up of a few bamboo slips. Seen this way, according to Boltz, the transmitted version of text is composite in nature, a reconstruction of source-text in a certain order, that does not represent the integrity of a single authorial composition; it is the final result of multiple re-interpretations and reorganizations of the text by a number of editors and readers during the long course of formation and transmission.⁸⁶

Examining the compositional structure of the received texts whose counterparts have been found in the recently excavated manuscripts, Rudolf G. Wagner finds that some received texts such as *Laozi* or “Ziyi” of *Liji* are comprised of sections, which he calls “pericope,” and they can be seen as self-contained not only in form, but also in content in the sense that they are composed in the rhetorical and stylistic structure so that each phrase and line correspond to each other and builds up to generate a message, in what he calls “interlocking parallel style.”⁸⁷ That is, a text was

⁸⁵ This theory was first articulated in William Boltz, “The Fourth-Century B. C. Guodian Manuscripts from Chou and the Composition of the *Laotzyy*,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 119.4 (1999): 590-608. In this article, as the title suggests, Boltz focuses on the nature of the Guodian manuscripts concerning the received text of *Laozi*. As he briefly mentions here, Boltz sees these “raw materials” to support with archaeological evidence a particular theoretical position of the *Laozi* formation that the text was formed in accretion of the “aphorisms,” “anecdotes,” “sayings” that were not completely associated with a certain author or school. Later he expands his insights from a specific case of the *Laozi* to a general issue of received early texts and offers a more systematic treatment of this theory in “The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts,” in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, edited by Martin Kern, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005), 50-77.

⁸⁶ Boltz’s “Building Block” theory was critically reviewed by Edward L. Shaughnessy in its incipient stage where Boltz’s insight was mainly based on the “Laozi” parallel texts found at Guodian. Shaughnessy’s main critique is that we still cannot be certain what the Guodian materials represent. Edward L. Shaughnessy, “The Guodian Manuscripts and Their Place in Twentieth-Century Historiography on the *Laozi*,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 65.2 (2005): 417-457.

⁸⁷ Rudolf G. Wagner, “The Impact of Conceptions of Rhetoric and Style upon the Formation of the Early *Laozi* Editions: Evidence from Guodian, Mawangdui, and the Wang Bi *Laozi*,” *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists (Kokusai toho gakusha kaigi kiyo 國際東方學者會議紀要)* 44 (1999): 32-56; see also his “The Importance of Context Structures on Paleography, Translation and Analysis: Notes on a Unit of the *Ziyi* in Honor of Professor Pang Pu,” in *Pang Pu jiaoshu bashi suichen jinian wenji 龐樸教授八十壽辰紀念文集*, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2008), 278-300.

Dirk Meyer applies the same methodology proposed by Wagner and examines some specific ways a philosophical message is constructed and produced in some excavated manuscripts, particularly Guodian and Shanghai Museum ones, most of which have no mark or indication for slip sequence. See Dirk Meyer, *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011). However, Meyer’s analysis has faced criticism by Scott Cook that this method tends to rely too much on a specific reconstructed sequence of the

built on the smaller units of pericope deliberately structured and composed so as to stand on its own and create a certain message. Although we are not certain about how generally the “interlocking style” can be applied to the actual excavated materials, Wagner’s insight about the smaller unit’s self-contained structure convincingly suggests that the paragraph-sized text was created and shared as a textual block with certain rhetorical and stylistic features for the generation of a message on its own.

Similarly, but from a more archaeological angle, Sarah Allan also presents a hypothesis on textual formation in early China, asserting that the early text was first made and transmitted in the form of a short, individual pericope (*duanzhang* 短章) on the most common writing media at the time, such as one stringed bamboo strip, wooden tablet, or silk text.⁸⁸ She argues that the current form of received early pre-Han texts that mostly consist of multiple chapters, often in discrete forms and contents, must not have been composed by one single hand at one single time but resulted from compiling and reorganizing many smaller texts that were created individually by different hands. Based on the example of the *Laozi* formation, Allan formalizes the general process of text formation and proposes some evolutionary steps of the process: first, that a single pericope (*zhangjie* 章節) was spread orally or in a written form; second that a small number of independent pericopes were united and became one separate text. Such a textual amalgamation would have occurred repeatedly, but how individual pericopes were united and organized in order were different; third, that from the emergence of the long text made out of uniting individual pericopes, there came a book-text (*shu* 書) that was copied in a particular order. In her view, such a textual (re-)organization of pericope sources seems to have had to do with the new politico-cultural context of the Han; fourth, that the larger book text was copied and edited in different ways, and transmitted and preserved in different places by different people with different purposes.⁸⁹

bamboo slips; the reconstructed sequence ultimately remains hypothetical and disputable. Scott Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian: A Study and Complete Translation*, (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2012).

⁸⁸ Ailan 艾蘭 [Sarah Allan], “Cong Chu jian fajue kan Zhongguo wenxian de qiyuan he zaoqi fazhan” 從楚簡發掘看中國文獻的起源和早期發展, *Jianbo, jingdian, gushi* 簡帛 經典 古史, edited by Chen Zhi 陳致, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2012), 59-66.

⁸⁹ Allan distinguishes her evolutionary hypothesis from the so-called “accretion theory” proposed by E. Bruce and Taeko Brooks, on the point that the Brooks assume that in early texts such as *Lunyu*, there was a core textual unit to which later writings were cumulatively added, reflecting their historical contexts, but Allan understands that there was no such assumed textual hierarchy in status among the source materials in the stage of pericope; for her, the different sources only reflect the different ways of uniting individual pericopes by different compilers and editors. For the accretion theory, see E. Bruce Brooks and A. Taeko Brooks, *The Original Analects: Sayings of Confucius and His Successors*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

The Brooks’ accretion theory, particularly on the *Lunyu*, seems to be in line with the traditional scholarship on textual criticism that began with Cui Shu 崔述 (1740-1816) and culminated with modern Japanese scholars such as Takeuchi Yoshio 武内義雄 (1886-1966) and, more importantly, Kimura Eiichi 木村英一 (1906-1981), in terms of methodology and spirit that each chapter or even each line of the received *Lunyu* can be chronologized or at least reasonably sequenced in a linear fashion. However, like the critical evaluation given to each theory by Takeuchi and Kimura, the Brooksian theory of textual accretion relies on the standards for chronology or sequencing that are based too much on their own pre-set conceptions about Early Chinese history and thought, the accuracy of which is another topic of dispute. Also, the accretion theory has not been confirmed by archaeological evidence. I will examine another example of accretion theory case on the *Zuozhuan*, suggested by A. Taeko Brooks, in Chapter 4. For another argument about the formation of the *Lunyu* in light of recently excavated manuscripts, see Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Tae Hyun Kim, “The Formation of the *Analects*,” in *The Analects*, A Norton Critical Edition, translated by Simon Leys and edited by Michael Nylan, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc, 2014), 152-165.

Paul van Els and Sarah A. Queen also examine the significance of the passage-sized textual unit, which they call “anecdote,” in the textual formation of early texts.⁹⁰ Although their discussions seem to be more concerned with the examples in received early texts rather than those of excavated texts, van Els and Queen also argue that anecdotes reveal the accretional nature of early texts. According to them, anecdotes of many respected figures and their memorable events played a highly significant role as historical exemplars to be utilized for argumentation and the development of its rhetorical structure. This explains why numerous individual cases of anecdote had to be popularly created and transmitted in the early Chinese cultural context. In this popular creation and circulation of anecdotes, each anecdote text was taken, modified, revised, and edited to support a particular argument and idea, and also utilized as primary source to constitute a more extended, larger text unit, or a book, such as in Liu Xiang’s case, which I will also discuss below.⁹¹

To sum up, in explaining, in a more general mode, the issue of parallelism between excavated manuscript and received text and the textual formation, text-critical scholarship has developed a concrete idea, probably best termed and conceptualized as “building block” theory from which the received early texts we have now been constructed, by now-forgotten compilers and editors, in combining, organizing, and editing numerous basic “building blocks” in a gradual, repetitive, and accumulative manner. As both Boltz and Allan estimate, the “building block” would have existed with the short length contained in the most common writing media such as a string-bound bamboo slip or wooden tablet text. It was a vital basic source material to be utilized for the later construction of a larger, longer text-unit such as a book. As Wagner shows, it had a self-contained compositional structure and stood on its own, and thus probably circulated by itself independently. In this separate creation and transmission of the pericope, it became united with other blocks and grew into a fuller text. This expanded text must have been revised, reorganized, or even re-written in its transmission, sometimes in support of certain idea or argument. As van Els and Queen note, anecdotal stories of historical figures and their events often nicely fit for the contents of this “building block.” They were regarded as self-contained, free-standing exemplars of the past, and thus stood as a written representation of a cultural norm. Thus, they were popularly (re-)created, spread, transmitted in the culture, and adopted as a rhetorical device to support a particular standpoint, and actively utilized as an essential source for a more extensive, longer text.

The building block text was thus a paragraph-level, basic textual unit. Their short length was determined by the physical limitations of the popular writing media such as bamboo slip or wooden board. They were free-standing and self-contained in form and content. They were probably independently created, shared and transmitted. They usually contained various narrative

⁹⁰ Paul van Els and Sarah A. Queen, “Anecdotes in Early China,” 1-37.

⁹¹ Christian Schwermann explores how Liu Xiang’s making of *Shuoyuan* can be examined, in this light, as an attempt to create an argumentative text by compiling and reorganizing anecdotes in support of various propositions. He also argues that Liu Xiang did not just passively compile the anecdote cases but also actively modified, revised, rearranged, and edited them to augment propositions he proposed. See Christian Schwermann, “Anecdote Collections as Argumentative Texts: The Composition of the *Shuoyuan*,” in *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, edited by Paul van Els and Sarah A. Queen, 147-192.

However, as this current study has shown above with specific cases from “Shuolei zashi” in comparison with *Shuoyuan* or *Xinxu*, Liu Xiang seems also to have passed on the circulating episode texts as they were, without significantly modifying the contents for a specifically given proposition. This suggests that Liu Xiang may not necessarily have been an active editor and composer. Schwermann does not pay careful attention to the parallelism cases between excavated manuscripts and Liu Xiang’s works.

stories of the past figures and events as well as a series of loosely connected aphorisms and sayings. They were freely united with other blocks to create a new message or augment a particular message. They were the culture's common asset and public intellectual property; they were open to access for the general literati of the cultural community and were shared, revised, and transmitted by collective anonymous hands in the community.

The building block theory is vital in the sense that it challenges and refreshes our traditional conception of early Chinese intellectual culture that can often be depicted with an image of triangular relation between text, master, and disciples, as Martin Kern has pointed out.⁹² In the theory that a transmitted book text is now seen merely as a cultural outcome produced, from a free merging of smaller textual units, by multiple hands in the broader cultural community and beyond a narrow division of school, for a more extended period of time in multiple processes of editing and revising. The links that the text has been assumed to hold firm in relation with master and disciples appear now considerably weakened or even radically broken; the sources that constitute the text are now understood as not coming from the master himself only, and the people who had been involved in the processes of making and transmitting of the source materials or text are no longer viewed as limited to one particular group who share the same intellectual vision coming directly from their master. Instead, the theory invites us to a much more complex cultural reality, where a text was an intellectual crystallization gone through the long, gradual formation processes, for which generations of unknown literati, crossing over the simplistic divisions of intellectual tendency called the school, had directly or indirectly participated in.

Can we then identify and verify such a building block text in existing excavated manuscripts? Boltz has speculated that a passage-sized textual unit of the parallel passages between the Guodian manuscripts and received texts such as the *Laozi* or "Ziyi" of the *Liji* can be the actual archaeological example for the building block. Boltz tried to delineate the substance of the building block by measuring it with the number of letters possibly contained in a few string-bounded bamboo slips.⁹³ It is an individual small text unit that constitutes one bamboo slip manuscript.

I want to add one clear example of the building block whose form and content aforementioned Western scholars have speculated about and envisioned. The examples are the Fuyang "Shuolei zashi" bamboo slip manuscript. The "Shuolei zashi" text, in my view, can be understood as a collectanea of building blocks that contain diverse stories about past figures and their events. They are self-contained, free-standing stories of the past that were produced independently and shared and transmitted in the society, functioning as a didactic exemplar in argumentation. They were probably comprised of several bamboo strips to create a passage-sized short story. And they were revised, edited, or merged into other episodes in their diverse transmission processes. In this regard, the smaller textual units that constitute the "Shuolei zashi" can be good examples to substantialize the building block text that scholars have conceptualized.

As I have pointed out multiple times above, Western scholarly tradition has treated this genre of writing as "anecdote." For example, Paul van Els and Sarah A. Queen use the traditional

⁹² Martin Kern, "Introduction," in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, edited by Martin Kern, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005).

⁹³ Boltz's efforts to substantialize the existence of a smaller common textual unit between received texts seems to have begun even earlier than the discovery of Guodian Laozi parallels. An earlier model is seen in his "Notes on the Textual Relation Between the *Kuo Yü* and the *Tso Chuan*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 53.3(1990):491-502. I will introduce and discuss his earlier insight in Chapter 3.

term “anecdote,” defining it as “short, freestanding accounts of particular events in the lives of actual persons, most of whom are of some renown.” For them, “anecdotes” are “literary constructs,” “with a didactic message or a witty punchline,” “forming part of larger narrative structure.”⁹⁴ Jack W. Chen and David Schaberg also keep the traditional term “anecdote” and extend the analysis of it to the culture of the early medieval period.⁹⁵

“Anecdote,” as a genre of narrative, is generally defined as “the unelaborated narration of a single incident.”⁹⁶ In the sense that it is concerned with story-telling of an event in a brief, less sophisticated manner, anecdote is similar to what I mean by Episode Text. However, as J. A. Cuddon observes, the term “anecdote” in the history of English literature has been used with two literary implications: 1) being contrasted to official history as “hidden” history and 2) being “unpublished” and “secretly” spread and transmitted.⁹⁷ In this, the term “anecdote” may tend to unwittingly emphasize two distinct dimensions (known/unknown) in the collective conception and its narrative of the past, which we commonly call history. What we can see in the examples from “Shuolei zashi” and received texts is however a continuity and consistency as well as a break and differentiation. In this, such strong dichotomy between hidden and revealed is much less meaningful. Furthermore, in the way how a narration of a past event was shared and transmitted, our examples were by no means “secret” or “unpublished.” They were open and well-known, making their way to official discourses of “history” in later larger texts which were made from editing and revising those open textual sources.

More importantly, as we have seen in the comparative cases above, an “anecdote” in received texts is likely to have been a cultural outcome from long and multiple editorial considerations of an earlier memory and story. That is, a small anecdote has its own historicity in the culture. It suggests that an “anecdote” itself also needs to be understood as a literary text to be approached and examined from an angle of textual formation, a text that evolved and elaborated from its own “building blocks.” This implies that “anecdote” stands as a term for a literary genre but not properly as the term that covers the story’s own historicity, formation, change, or development; the term “anecdote” does not properly work as a textual unit.

Considering these issues, I propose to term this basic textual unit as an “Episode Text” (*jishi wenxian* 記事文獻).⁹⁸ The “Episode Text” means “an intended free, brief composition or

⁹⁴ For their detailed discussion of the term “anecdote,” see Paul van Els and Sarah A. Queen, “Anecdotes in Early China,” in *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, 1-37.

⁹⁵ See Jack W. Chen and David Schaberg, eds., *Idle Talk: Gossip and Anecdote in Traditional China*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2014).

⁹⁶ M.H. Abrams and Geoffrey Galt Harpham, “Short Story,” in *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, (Boston: Wadsworth Publishing, 2008), 331.

⁹⁷ J. A. Cuddon, “Anecdote,” *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, revised by C. E. Preston, (London: Penguin Books, 1999), 39.

⁹⁸ The Chinese term, *jishi* 記事, literally means “to record an event,” the expression that is often seen in received texts, such as in the biography of Liu Xiang in the *Hanshu*, which I introduce below. Based on the actual usages, I take the Chinese notion of *shi* 事 as Episode.

As I have pointed out in the Introduction, in the Chinese scholarly tradition, the notion of *jishi* (a record of event) has been juxtaposed to that of *jiyan* 記言 (a record of speech) and matched what I conceptualize as Episode with the *jiyan* rather than *jishi*, suggesting that the text is more about of the speech of a character than of an event itself. Such a dichotomy is based on the traditional characterization of two canonical texts on the past, *Chunqiu* and

self-contained passage about the episodic story of the (historical or mythic) figure(s) and their event(s) in the memorable past.” By this definition, I put emphasis on the following characteristics of this type of writing, as opposed to those of other literary concepts such as anecdote, vignette, etc.: 1) short length consisting of a simple story; 2) literary in nature, as opposed to a recording of exact or strict historicity; 3) written in relation to orality in creation and transmission; and 4) free-standing and self-contained as independently circulatable text.

More specifically, the Episode Text is concerned with an actual historical or mythical figure and event. It is important to note that it is necessarily a literary composition that is subject to a partial or full re-creation of what happened in the human imagination, expressed in narrative form. The contents are not intended to be read as a factual description of the past. As I mentioned in the “Introduction,” the boundary between fact and fiction was not demarcated in the early Chinese conception of what is truthful and actual (*shi* 實).

Moreover, this concept implies that the stories of what happened in the society were not only orally shared or transmitted but also at times written down and shared, the composition of which must have resulted from the collective textual editing processes. So, the notion of Episode Text here assumes a written codification of a past event in that was culturally shared and transmitted. Lastly, each episode stands on its own, and the cluster of episodes does not necessarily constitute a logical or aesthetic connection, but rather the episodes are independent of one another or only loosely associated by the topic.

This thesis proposes Episode Text as an analytical category but the presence of texts like “Shuolei zashi” suggests that it might also have been a natural kind. In a historical record, there is evidence that Episode Text was a Han period genre. The following is from the “Chu yuanwang zhuan” 楚元王傳 in the *Hanshu* 漢書:

“[Liu] Xiang witnessed the social customs getting more and more extravagant and obscene, and the clique of Zhao and Wei, risen from a lowly status, transgressing the order of ritual propriety. Xiang regarded Teachings of [Sage] Kings as to begin from the inner to develop to the outer and to start from things at hand. Thus, [he] collected and selected poems and prose-writings that contained [the stories about] worthy queens and faithful wives, and [the stories about] states’ prosperity and families’ rising to fame could be exemplary models, and [the stories about] concubines and their children’s bringing about disorder and fall. He arranged the stories in order and made the *Lienü zhuan*, which was eight chapters in total, and by this, he alerted the son of Heaven. Furthermore, **he collected transmitted records and circulating episodes, and composed *Xinxu* and *Shuoyuan***, which are comprised of fifty chapters in total, and presented them to the throne. Several times he addressed them to the throne and spoke of gains and losses, and put forth exemplary warnings. He wrote to the throne dozens of times and thereby helped him [i.e., Emperor Chengdi 成帝 (r. 33-7 BCE)] look all around and supplemented what was missing. Although the Emperor did

Shangshu, assuming that the *Chunqiu* focuses on event while the *Shangshu* on speech. However, this practice is grounded on too limited understanding of the literary concept of “event,” which is hardly acceptable in today’s academic discussion. As each text of the *Shangshu* exemplifies well, recording of event and recording of speech was inseparable in the literary practice of representing the past in early culture. In this thesis, I understand that the record of speech is a part of the record of event, and thus *jiyan* is not divisible from *jishi*. When I define Episode as a literary record of past event, it includes a speech(es) by character(s).

not take full advantage of them, people of the inside nonetheless praised his words and extolled him all the time” (emphasis added).

向睹俗彌奢淫，而趙、衛之屬起微賤，踰禮制。向以為王教由內及外，自近者始。故採取詩書所載賢妃貞婦，興國顯家可法則，及孽嬖亂亡者，序次為列女傳，凡八篇，以戒天子。及采傳記行事，著新序、說苑凡五十篇奏之。數上疏言得失，陳法戒。書數十上，以助觀覽，補遺闕。上雖不能盡用，然內嘉其言，常嗟歎之。⁹⁹

In this passage, Ban Gu briefly introduces how and why Liu Xiang “made” (*wei* 為) the *Lienü zhuan* and also furthermore “composed” (*zhu* 著) the *Shuoyuan* and *Xinxu*.¹⁰⁰ According to Ban Gu, these three texts were Liu Xiang’s response to the changing social and political situation that customs and the order of royal family were corrupted by the two groups at court at Liu’s time¹⁰¹; first, the Zhao group led by Empress Zhao Feiyan 趙飛燕 (45-1 BCE) who had risen to the status of the second Empress and replaced the legitimate wife, Lady Xu the first Empress 皇后許氏, and her sister Lady Zhao 趙氏 (fl. 1st century BCE), who was installed as Lady of Bright Department (*zhaoyi* 昭儀) by Emperor’s special favor. Secondly the Wei group, centered around Wei, the Lady of Handsome Fairness (*Wei jieyu* 衛婕妤), named Li Ping 李平 (fl. 1st century BCE). Witnessing the event of deposition of Empress around 20 BCE., Liu Xiang made the three texts, *Lienü zhuan*, *Xinxu*, and *Shuoyuan*, in order to correct the social customs that he said were corrupted by these consort and concubine groups at court and alert the Emperor to the teachings of the Sage King. Therefore, the three texts, *Lienü zhuan*, *Xinxu*, and *Shuoyuan*, were all composed for the same goal, which was to reform the social customs and give warning to the throne.

Textually, this record by Ban Gu is particularly important because it most explicitly records that Liu Xiang created these texts by way of collecting “transmitted records and circulating stories” (*zhuanji xingshi* 傳記行事).¹⁰² Here the term *shi* 事 juxtaposes the other term *ji* 記 (record) and is a noun that stands for a genre, “tale,” “story,” or “episode” as in the title of “Shuolei zashi.” According to Ban Gu, Liu Xiang’s *Xinxu* and *Shuoyuan* were collections of these transmitted and circulated records and stories. And many of these transmitted, circulating stories are attested to in

⁹⁹ *Hanshu* 漢書 36:1957-1958.

¹⁰⁰ Despite the limited role of collecting, selecting, and organizing that Liu Xiang had in the creation of the three texts, *Lienü zhuan*, *Shuoyuan*, and *Xinxu*, according to Ban Gu’s description, the traditional accounts about the formation of these texts describe Liu Xiang as having written or made. The “Chu Yuanwang zhuan” 楚元王傳 of the *Hanshu* uses the character *zhu* 著 (to compose), and the “Taizong Mingyuan di ji” 太宗明元帝紀 of the *Weishu* 魏書 uses *zhuan* 撰 (to write), and the “Lu Xi zhuan” 陸喜傳 of the *Jinshu* 晉書 uses the character *zuo* 作 (to make) (54:1486). Concerning the disputable meanings of these concepts, see Xu Fuguan 徐復觀, “Liu Xiang *Xinxu Shuoyuan* de yanjiu” 劉向新序說苑的研究, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 55.2 (1977): 51–74.

¹⁰¹ For a succinct and informative explanation about Liu Xiang’s scholarly works and their political contexts, see Michael Loewe, “Liu Xiang,” in *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han, and Xin Periods (221 BC – AD 24)*, 372-375.

¹⁰² David Knechtges translates this phrase as “deeds and events from biographical records.” See his “Hsin hsü,” in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, edited by Michael Loewe, (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1993), 155.

the “Shuolei zashi” in parallel form. That is, the examples of “Shuolei zashi” provide Ban Gu’s record with actual evidence.

In fact, for Liu Xiang, collating the old records and circulating stories is possibly one of the main tasks in composing a didactic text for the throne. According to Ban Gu, when Liu Xiang made his first book, “Hongfan wuxing zhuanlun” 洪範五行傳論, to warn the newly-enthroned Emperor Chengdi about Emperor’s uncle Wang Feng’s 王鳳 (d. 22 BCE) acts of arrogance and also about the rise of the consort clan to power at court, Liu collected all the records of auspicious and disastrous events (*furui zaiyi zhi ji* 符瑞災異之記) from the earliest period to his days, and traced circulated episodes (*tuiji xingshi* 推跡行事), continuously transmitted [stories] of fortune and misfortune, and [those of] occurrences of divination signs, compared and categorized them into groups of similar ones, and entitled each of the entries, which were eleven in total.¹⁰³ This compositional procedure also exemplifies that Liu Xiang’s composition heavily relied on his collating earlier source materials a critical part of which was circulating episode texts.

Recent scholarship on the formation of these three texts by Liu Xiang also has primarily reached a similar consensus that *Lienü zhuan*, *Xinxu*, and *Shuoyuan* were, as Ban Gu pointed out, made from collecting and editing the sources materials that had been created, shared and transmitted from the Warring States period.¹⁰⁴ The traditional and contemporary research on the formation of Liu’s works is typically based on the analysis of parallel passages between these texts and other received texts, and through the examination of the parallels, around two-thirds of the contents, particularly in the *Xinxu* and *Shuoyuan*, appear in other received texts, with some degree of textual variance. These results support the Ban Gu’s record that these books were created by

¹⁰³ *Hanshu* 36:1950-1951.

¹⁰⁴ For notable textual research on the issues of existing editions of the *Lienü zhuan* and its historical formation, see Chen Liping 陳麗平, *Liu Xiang Lienü zhuan yanjiu* 劉向《列女傳》研究, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010), 29-128; 223-262; more importantly, Shimomi Takao 下見隆雄, *Ryūkō Retsujoden no kenkyū* 劉向「列女傳」の研究, (Tōkyō: Tōkai daigaku shuppankai, 1989), 3-41; Anne Behnke Kinney briefly summarizes Shimomi’s research as well as other scholarship on the textual issues in the introduction to her English translation of the *Lienü zhuan*. See Anne Behnke Kinney, *Exemplary Women of Early China: The Lienü zhuan of Liu Xiang*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), xxxi-xxxvii.

For the textual studies on the *Xinxu* and *Shuoyuan*, see Wang Qimin 王啟敏, *Liu Xiang Xinxu Shuoyuan yanjiu* 劉向《新序》, 《說苑》研究, (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2011), 132-163; Xu Jianwei 徐建委, *Shuoyuan yanjiu: yi Zhanguo QinHan zhi jian de wenxian lei ji yu xueshushi wei zhongxin* 《說苑》研究: 以戰國秦漢之間的文獻累積與學術史為中心, (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2011), 273-291. A most thorough textual research on these texts in light of the parallelism issue is Yao Juan’s 姚娟 2009 dissertation, “*Xinxu Shuoyuan wenxian yanjiu*” 《新序》, 《說苑》文獻研究.

In English, a brief survey on each text was made by David Knechtges in his “Hsin hsü” and “Shuo yuan,” in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, 154-157; 443-445. An updated version on these two materials are found in his “Shuo yuan 說苑 (Garden of persuasions),” in *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide*, edited by David Knechtges and Taiping Chang, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 2:952-955; 3:1658-1661. This updated survey provides a very useful comprehensive bibliography that lists canonical studies as well as recent ones on these texts.

For the examination of the compilation of these texts in light of his lifetime bibliographic project in the imperial library, Deng Junjie 鄧駿捷, *Liu Xiang jiaoshu kaolun* 劉向校書考論, (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2012), 46-50; 77-84; 229-255; Li Rui 李銳, “Liu Xiang Xin fuzi zhengli gushu zhi bie chutan” 劉向歆父子整理古書之別初探, in *Xian Qin wenben ji shixiang zhi xingcheng fazhan yu zhuanhua*, 170-179.

collecting the transmitted records and circulating episode texts that had been created long before the Western Han.¹⁰⁵

Here we find some things to clarify about Liu Xiang's making of books. First, none of the creation dates of received texts that parallel the *Xinxu* or *Shuoyuan* is clear. For example, even if some episodes overlap between *Xinxu* and *Han Feizi* or between *Shuoyuan* and *Lüshi Chunqiu*, as long as we do not naively believe the traditional accounts of the formation of these texts, *Han Feizi* or *Lüshi Chunqiu*, that the former was produced by Han Fei's hand or his followers, and the latter compiled by Lü Buwei. It indicates that we still need to examine more critically the date of overlapping parts in the *Han Feizi* or *Lüshi Chunqiu*. This leads us to a more complex and fundamental question to cast doubt on the traditional dating and formation accounts of received texts that have parallels in them.

Second, the role of Liu Xiang for the non-parallel portion may be exaggerated. Scholars have often assumed that the portions in the *Xinxu* and *Shuoyuan* where no parallel is identified among received early texts may still have been from earlier sources no longer existing or not yet found. As the “Shuolei zashi” text exemplifies, even if received texts do not have a parallel with the *Xinxu* or *Shuoyuan*, there still is a possibility that an earlier source that is not found yet may nicely correspond to the portion of the two texts. Also, there are several cases where Liu Xiang did not seem to have changed the source materials very much (e.g., no. 10; 12; 15; 16; 23). These cases open up a possibility that Liu Xiang remained mainly as compiler and editor.

Concerning the issue of the source material, we also need to pay attention to the surviving fragment of the lost “Preface” to Liu's own work entitled “Xinyuan” 新苑,¹⁰⁶ which Ban Gu does

¹⁰⁵ Typically, see Yao Juan, “*Xinxu Shuoyuan wenxian yanjiu*,” 196-198; Xu Jianwei, *Shuoyuan yanjiu: yi Zhanguo QinHan zhi jian de wenxian leiji yu xueshushi wei zhongxin*, 273-291.

¹⁰⁶ As is well-known, according to the “Yiwen zhi” 藝文志 of the *Hanshu* by Ban Gu (10:1701), in the reign of Emperor Chengdi, there was an imperial order commissioned to Chen Nong 陳農 (fl. 1st century BCE) to seek all the books yet remaining in the Han society, and this served as a momentum for Liu Xiang to “collate” (*jiao* 校) all the collected classics, commentaries, master literature, and works of *shi* and *fu* poetry. In this massive collating project, he collaborated with Ren Hong 任宏 the Infantry Colonel (*bubing xiaowei* 步兵校尉) for military texts, Yin Xian 尹咸 the Senior Archivist (*taishiling* 太史令) for texts on Numerical Technique (*shushu* 數術), and Li Zhuguo 李柱國 the Physician in Attendance (*shiyi* 侍醫) for texts on Astro-medical Technique (*fangji* 方技). Ban Gu says that whenever Liu Xiang finished each of his collatings, he specifically recorded the headings of each chapter (*pianmu* 篇目), abstracted the overall message of the content, and submitted the record to Emperor Chengdi. (In fact, the two wooden tablets, entitled “Rujia zhe yan” 儒家者言 and “Chunqiu shiyu” 春秋事語, excavated along with the “Shuolei zashi” text at Fuyang in 1977, demonstrate the fact that there was a cultural practice for people to record the headings of each episode content in the text separately before Liu Xiang. These are called *zhangti* 章題 wooden tablets (*modu* 木牘). For more information and transcriptions of these tablets, see Han Ziqiang, *Fuyang Hanjian Zhouyi yanjiu*, 149-153; 155-179).

Traditionally, scholars have assumed that the Liu's records about the collated texts were “prefaces” (*xulu* 敘錄) that were probably distinguishable in form and content and separately attached to the text, and in this sense, scholars have termed these as Liu Xiang's “separate records” (*bielu* 別錄). However, considering the claimed present examples of these separate records, the form and content of Liu Xiang's prefaces are often incongruent with what Ban Gu describes in the “Yiwen zhi.” This suggests that how Liu recorded the item could have been various. These separate records became a twenty-chapter book with the title of “Bielu,” at latest in the time of “Jingdi zhi” 經籍志 of *Suishu* 隋書, and had been circulating until the time when the “Yiwen zhi” of *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 was being composed by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩 and Song Qi 宋祁 around 1060 CE.

Different from “Bielu,” the text called “Qilü” 七略 was, according to Ban Gu's records in the Lius' biographies and “Yiwen zhi,” composed by Liu Xiang's son, Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BCE – 23 CE) who took over his

not mention at all anywhere in the *Hanshu* but seems to be similar to the title of the received *Shuoyuan*,¹⁰⁷ we have a somewhat different story of how Liu Xiang composed the *Shuoyuan*. This account also presents some significant information about the circulated Episode Texts.

Your retainer, Xiang the Senior River Conservancy Commissioner and Counsellor of the Palace, I write [to Your Majesty]: In the middle of collating the book, *Shuoyuan zashi*, based on my books and books [circulating] among people, [I found those books] misleadingly corrupted and undertook to amend and revise them. Many of their episodes were often duplicated, its pericopes and phrases were confusing, and sometimes their upper and lower parts were mistakenly reversed, so it was difficult to divide and re-arrange the sequence. Removing the overlapping contents with those of *Xinxu*, I found the remaining part too shallow and superficial, and so is not harmonious with the human and cosmic principles. I separately collected them and took them to be the work of the myriad specialists. Later I came to think to create categories by matching them with each other and

father's position and project. Despite the long-held assumption that Liu Xiang should have initiated the classification of texts in the imperial library, and his son Liu Xin completed it, Ban Gu's records are unclear about whether Liu Xiang actually initiated the project of classification of his collation of texts, or if he did, how much Liu Xiang was involved in the classification project. Rather, Ban Gu's record seems to indicate that the classification was Liu Xin's achievement, and therefore the "Qilü" was also his single-authored work.

The "Qilü" text was a catalog of all the books collected and collated in the imperial library; in this text, Liu Xin had six bibliographic categories to classify the texts (*liuyi* 六藝; *zhuzi* 諸子; *shifu* 詩賦; *bingshu* 兵書; *shushu* 術數; *fangji* 方技) and one special category for general introduction (*ji* 輯) to cover the six categories. Ban Gu used this "Qilü" text as the main source for his "Yiwen zhi" (*Hanshu* 36:1967). The "Qilü" text attributed to Liu Xin was also separately made into a seven-chapter book before the "Jingdi zhi" of *Suishu* and had existed by the time of *Xin Tangshu*.

Because of the historical significance of these two texts, "Bielu" and "Qilü," there have been scholarly efforts to collect the fragments of the texts, surviving mostly as partial quotations in received texts, and to reconstruct the approximate substance of these lost texts, mainly by pioneering scholars for a century during the late Qing, such as Hong Yixuan 洪頤煊 (1765-1837) in his *Wenjing tang congshu* 問經堂叢書, Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762-1843) in *Quan Hanwen* 全漢文, Gu Guanguang 顧觀光 (1799-1862) in *Wuling shanren yigao* 武陵山人遺稿, Ma Guohan 馬國翰 (1794-1857) in *Yuhan shanfang ji yishu* 玉函山房輯佚書, Tao Junxuan 陶澐 (1846-1912) in *Jishan guan ji bushu* 稷山館輯補書, Wang Renjun 王仁俊 (1866-1913) in *Yuhan shanfang ji yishu xupian* 玉函山房輯佚書續編, Zhang Xuanqing 張選青 (fl. mid to late nineteenth century) in *Shoujing tang congshu* 受經堂叢書, Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗 (1842-1906) in *Shishi shanfang congshu* 師石山房叢書, and Zhang Taiyan 張太炎 (1869-1936) in *Qilü bielu yiwen zheng* 七略別錄佚文徵.

In this Chapter, I use Deng Junjie 鄧駿捷 ed., *Qilü bielu yiwen Qilü yiwen* 七略別錄佚文 七略佚文, reconstructed by Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009). Yao Zhenzong's reconstructed version of "Qilü" and "Bielu" texts are regarded as most comprehensive.

¹⁰⁷ Because any of the titles do not entirely match the received works known as Liu Xiang's, there has been a disagreement about to what text this preface was written. While most scholars, despite the confusion of titles in this text, take this as the preface to the received *Shuoyuan* and understand that the "Xinyuan" meant *Xin Shuoyuan* (New *Shuoyuan*), Luo Genze 羅根澤 claims that what was called "Xinyuan" must have been different from the received *Shuoyuan*. See his "Xinxu Shuoyuan Lienü zhuan bu shizuo yu Liu Xiang Kao" 《新序》《說苑》《列女傳》不作始於劉向考, in *Gushi bian* 古史辨, edited by Luo Genze, (Hainan: Hainan chubanshe, 2005), 4:153-154. Luo falsely understood that in the formulaic structure of the "xulu" composition, the title of "Xinyuan" indicates that of the received text *Shuoyuan*, but he was correct in understanding that the received *Shuoyuan* was not Liu Xiang's composition, but there had been a source material entitled "Shuoyuan zashi." Scholars have often paid less attention to this.

making the list of chapters separately one by one, and thereby created again the new text of episodes which was over a hundred thousand words, comprised of twenty chapters, 784 pericopes, and called “Xinyuan.” Your Majesty can read it all. Your retainer, Xiang, I will risk my life for it.

護左都水使者光祿大夫臣向言：所校中書《說苑雜事》及臣向書、民間書，誣校讎。其事類眾多，章句相溷，或上下謬亂，難分別次序。除去與《新序》復重者，其餘者淺薄不中義理，別集以爲百家。後按，令以類相從，一一條別篇目，更以造新事十萬言以上，凡二十篇七百八十四章，號曰新苑，皆可觀。臣向昧死。

The first phrase “in the middle of collating the book [title]” (*suojiao zhong shu* 所校中書) is a typical idiom in the “Bielu” by which Liu Xiang introduces the specifics of the text he had gotten and worked on.¹⁰⁸ This passage tells us that unlike the Ban Gu’s description of how the *Shuoyuan* was made in the biography of Liu Xiang, he might have already had an original book entitled as “Shuoyuan zashi” which he also had received from outside. The *Shuoyuan* that we know is, therefore, a new version of the received “Shuoyuan zashi” which Liu Xiang revised. Ban Gu simplistically treated this new version as the same as *Xinxu* and mistakenly described the different formation of this new text as being created in the same manner as the *Xinxu*.¹⁰⁹ Despite the error, Ban Gu was right in his view that the nature of these two texts was the same; they were both “Collectanea of Episode Texts” (*shilei* 事類), each of which also appeared in other received books at the time. Those episode texts were long and widely shared and transmitted in society. The important part occurs where Liu Xiang mentions he received the original work “Shuoyuan zashi,” which was comprised of yet-unedited, corrupted earlier Episode Texts; he worked from it to make the *Shuoyuan* by collating the original.¹¹⁰ This suggests that Liu Xiang was also only a part of the culture where many others had collected such episodes and created books out of them. In other words, what Liu Xiang did, collecting and collating Episode Texts that were transmitted and circulated, was nothing special, by no means unique to him, but the same thing that had been already practiced for book-making in the culture.

In short, these episodes that “Shuoyuan zashi” and “Shuolei zashi” contain were popular, easily found in several other received texts, some of which Liu originally had, and some of which

¹⁰⁸ For example, Liu Xiang also uses this expression when he introduces the *Yanzi* 晏子 in the following formula: 所校中書《晏子》十一篇 (Deng Junjie, *Qilüe bielu yiwén Qilüe yiwén*, 39-40). There are variants of this expression: “In the middle of collating the corruptions in the *Sunqing shu*, which was 322 chapters in total” 所校讎中《孫卿書》凡三百二十二篇 (43); or more briefly “In collating the *Shanhai jing*, which was 32 chapters in total” 所校《山海經》凡三十二篇 (76).

¹⁰⁹ Although we need to consider that the reconstructed “Bielu” text represents inevitably only some parts of the original one, the difference of the *Shuoyuan* among Liu Xiang’s own compositions may explain why the entry of *Shuoyuan* was recorded in especially long and detailed form, as opposed to those of other works by Liu, such as *Xinxu* (46) or *Lienü zhuan* (48). Also, it seems to explain why the title of the sequel to the *Xinxu* had to be “Shuoyuan” which seems to have nothing to do with the title, *Xinxu*. It was because there had been an original text named so before him, and what he did with it was mainly to collate it.

¹¹⁰ Interestingly enough, as we will see in Chapter 6 where I examine the nature and formation of the received *Zhuangzi* as a Collectanea of Episode Texts on different “history,” the primary redactor of the *Zhuangzi*, Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. 312 CE), who lived three centuries later than Liu Xiang, also complained in his “preface” about the corrupted state of the *Zhuangzi* text that he received.

can be acquired from people. Although many Episode Texts, those of the “Shuoyuan zashi,” had not been polished but left in a highly corrupted state, the individual episodes were often taken and utilized in a book-making context, like that of Liu Xiang who was facing the rise of power of the consort clan in court politics. They were essential elements that constituted the content of early books, not just the *Shuoyuan* or *Xinxu*.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I attempted to theorize what I term “Episode Text” with the example of the Han bamboo slip manuscript “Shuolei zashi.” In terms of textual formation, it can shed significant light on a possible hypothesis about the general formation of early Chinese texts that has already been voiced with the novel concept of “building block” in the text criticism. It presents many strong cases of parallelism between excavated and received texts and can explain the textual status of excavated ones as possible source material in the process of the formation of the received ones. The Episode Text thus suggests that what we have called early Chinese texts in the received tradition were compositions that had been created out of numerous independent, free-standing, anonymous, self-contained units of short text, which I term “Episode Text,” or what William Boltz calls “building block.” Many of the received early texts were produced by re-organizing and (re-)editing the numerous free-standing, non-proprietary source in a particular editorial consideration. This opposes the concept of a single “author” as the producer of text but rather expands the idea of authorship at one point of time to that of the collective editorship in a long and gradual time-frame. This new perspective invites us to another imagination of social and cultural reality, where a producer and consumer of a text is not strictly separate but coexists in one subject, in one community. The subject as producer and consumer of text exists not as individual but as collective, not at a moment of time but in a period or a more extended era.

The nature of the Fuyang “Shuolei zashi” manuscript, which is comprised of over fifty short sub-texts of the episode about historical figures and events, can be best explained from the perspective of the Episode Text. As Ban Gu describes “transmitted records and circulating stories” (*chuanji xingshi* 傳記行事) in Liu Xiang’s biography, episodes in the “Shuolei zashi” played an important role in Western Han literary culture. Comparison of parallel texts in received texts suggest the episodes co-existed in several versions, sometimes edited with additions or deletions, and often developed much further into longer versions, and occasionally even changed to new episodes. The Episode Text was not just a stable textual unit; it was transformed and adapted into new versions or episodes. The diversity of circulating episodes provided ample textual units to choose from for the text-architects in the early culture.

When pursuing this in a more radical fashion, we can reach a more general conclusion that many of the transmitted texts examined above such as *Han Feizi*, *Huainanzi*, *Lüshi Chunqiu*, *Guanzi*, *Yanzi Chunqiu*, *Liji*, etc., whose episode passages significantly parallel the episode texts of “Shuolei zashi,” were formed in the collecting, collating, and organizing of those “Episode Texts” by multiple hands, most likely over a relatively long period of time, in a gradual manner. Even if these early texts were titled based on their relation to a particular historical figure, such as Han Fei, Liu An, Lü Buwei, Guan Zhong, or Yan Ying, it does not mean these figures were the authors of these texts. The text does not necessarily reflect the historical fact or truth of the claimed time period the attributed author lived in. Instead, as we have seen above, an episode about a

historical figure was sometimes more heavily edited and elaborated in the text in which the figure is the protagonist.

The Episode Text is a cultural reservoir of the collective memories of the past. They consist of numerous fragmented testimonies of past events and figures that deserved to be remembered in the early societies. Although we can no longer know who composed and circulated them in the early cultures, they could be used as a written material for collective remembrance of the past for the better ruling and being in the current world. Thus we can take the Episode Text to demonstrate that an account of the past that has been codified and fixed in a received text is merely one of several versions of historical memory, or that the current account surviving in the transmitted text was by no means the “true” record of what actually happened in the past, but the outcome of one or multiple “negotiations” in the editorial process.

These Episode Texts represent one of many possible cultural memories about the past that were produced in the written form in early literate cultures. Although forgotten in the course of transmission, they were other possible cultural attempts to remember the past in different ways, with different written memories. In the end, what the received texts reveal to readers is ultimately the traces of what the forgotten people in the transmission and editing of those texts had desired to pursue in their remembrances of the past figures and events.

CHAPTER 2: Episode Text and Construction of a Complete Memory by Merging Texts - The Cili “Wuyu” Parallel Chu Bamboo Slip Manuscript

In the previous Chapter 1, I defined how Episode Texts function as a written container of social memory and discussed how they were used as individual textual units in the making more enlarged, refined versions of cultural memories in the form of narrative. In this chapter, I will explore another significant example of the modulation of Episode Texts in the cultural process of producing written narratives that produce social memory. The central example will be a bamboo slip manuscript, known as “Wuyu” 吳語, that parallels some parts of “Wuyu” chapter in the received *Guoyu* 國語. Due to the strong case of its textual parallelism to the received “Wuyu” of the *Guoyu*, a seminal transmitted text on the past of Early China, particularly its account of the “history” of the states of Wu and Yue, this “Wuyu” parallel manuscript provides information about how the transmitted “Wuyu” text was formed and for how the memories that the received “Wuyu” text represents were created. This examination will further describe the nature and significance of Episode Texts, and provide notable examples of the textual parallelism between Episode Texts and seminal transmitted historical texts such as *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and *Shangshu* 尚書 and suggest those received classics were in part manufactured from numerous fragmentary individual memories in Episode Texts.

The Cili “Wuyu” parallel text was excavated at the tomb M36 in the Shibian 石板 burial grounds on the outskirts of Cili 慈利 County, Hunan 湖南 Province in 1987. The manuscript bears numbers on the back of each slip. Based on other similar Chu bamboo slip manuscripts, most scholars have agreed that the numbers indicate the sequence of slips in the original order. It is worth noting that when we arrange the text according to the written numbers on the back of the slips, the content of the Cili “Wuyu” parallel text does *not* match that of the received “Wuyu.” This shows first that the sequence of the story was different from that of the transmitted text. More importantly, stories in the received “Wuyu,” now presented as unified, coherent ones, may have come originally from much shorter individual stories. The received stories were created by assembling smaller individual shorter stories into one. Then what the back number of Cili bamboo manuscript may indicate is that each shorter story, now merged into one longer story in the received “Wuyu” of the *Guoyu* text, were all free-standing, self-contained textual units about a particular past event, and, in following editorial procedures, the individual stories had been merged as one coherent story. This is significant for understanding how narrative passages that are hundreds or thousands words long that we often find in transmitted texts of “history” such as *Guoyu*, *Zuozhuan*, *Shangshu*, *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策, were created and shared in early culture.¹¹¹ Most

¹¹¹ Henry Maspero has once discussed that the dates of so-called “Vertical Alliance” (*hecong* 合從) that is told to have been suggested by Su Qin (蘇秦, d. 284 BCE) in the records of the received *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 are self-contradictory, and thus argued that the character of Su Qin and the military events centering on the “Alliance” in the *Zhanguo ce* must have been fictional. See Henry Maspero, “Le Roman de Sou Ts’in,” *Etudes Asiatiques*, 2 (1925): 127-141; also his “Le roman historique dans la littérature chinoise de l’antiquité,” *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l’histoire de la Chine*, vol. 3, (Paris: Civilisations du Sud, S.A.E.P., 1950), 52-62.

Disagreeing with Maspero’s characterizing the nature of *Zhanguo ce* as fictional vis-à-vis historical, James Crump approaches the issue of fiction-like description of figures and events in the received *Zhanguo ce* from the perspective of rhetoric, in which the division between fiction and history is weakened. James I. Crump, “The ‘*Chankuo Ts’e*’ and its Fiction,” *T’oung Pao* 48.4/5 (1960): 305-375. For the issue of rhetoric in the *Zhanguo ce*, see also Paul R. Goldin, “Miching Mallecho: The *Zhanguo ce* and Classical Rhetoric,” *Sino-Platonic Papers* 41(1993):1-26.

people still were relying on writing media that were not large enough to contain that many characters, such as bamboo slips or wooden boards. Thus, I suggest that many longer stories received as part of “historical” were made by merging of multiple texts that were originally much shorter individual units. This tells us that one complete memory represented in the received long passages was an outcome of textual manufacturing.

In this chapter, I will first introduce the Cili “Wuyu” parallel manuscript and discuss how the manuscript is related to the issue of the production of long narrative in the early culture where bamboo slip and wooden board were the main medium of writing. And then, I will review discussions about textual issues of the received *Guoyu* in the contemporary scholarship and relate them to the central question of the creation of long narratives in early culture, exemplified in the case of the Cili “Wuyu” parallel manuscript and the received “Wuyu” of the *Guoyu*.

The Cili Chu Bamboo Slip Manuscripts

Cili Chu bamboo slip manuscripts were archaeologically unearthed at tomb M36 in the Shibian burial grounds near Cili County, Hunan Province, in 1987. The excavation report has been published in two journals, first in *Wenwu* 文物 in 1990 (vol. no. 10) and then much more in detail in *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 in 1995 (vol. no. 2).¹¹² According to these reports, researchers found a total of 4,557 slip-fragments, placed in a plaited-bamboo basket. These fragments are believed to amount to around 800 - 1,000 slips in normal condition, containing about 20,000 paleographic graphs. In about 60% of the fragments, traces of writing are not legible. The calligraphic styles on the fragments are not the same, suggesting that they were not from one single hand. Nonetheless, scholars consider the overall characteristics of paleographs similar to other Chu bamboo slip manuscripts excavated at Changtaiguan 長臺關 village, Xinyang 信陽 County, Henan 河南 Province, and at the tomb 1 and 2 at Wangshan 望山, Jiangling 江陵 County, Hubei 湖北 Province. 817 pieces were identified as fragments of the top part of the slips, and it remains unclear whether another 27 end-fragments were from the top or the bottom of the slip. Like the Fuyang Han Bamboo Slip Manuscripts, one of which I examined in Chapter One, most fragments of Cili Manuscripts are severely damaged, and so it is no longer possible to recover the original binding marks or sequence.

Based on the accompanying burial goods and the tomb direction, tomb 36 is regarded as one of a pair tombs for a husband and wife with separate grave pits. Researchers estimate, considering the typical features of the excavated goods, that they were buried in the first half of the mid-Warring States period (ca. 340-300 BCE), and that the tomb occupant had the rank of Lower Grandee (*xia dafu* 下大夫).

After undergoing preliminary procedures of cleaning the dirt on the bamboo slips, researchers identified them as written documents that record many historical events, mostly

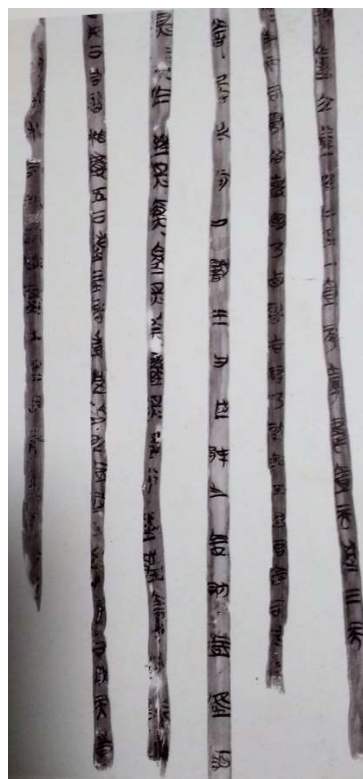
¹¹² Hunan sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 湖南省文物考古研究所 and Cili xian Wenwu Baohu Guanli Yanjiusuo 慈利縣文物保護管理研究所, “Hunan Cili Shibancun 36 hao Zhanguo mu Fajue Jianbao” 湖南慈利石板村 36 號戰國墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1990): 37-48; Hunan sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 湖南省文物考古研究所 and Cili xian Wenwu Baohu Guanli Yanjiusuo 慈利縣文物保護管理研究所, “Hunan Cili xian Shibancun Zhanguo mu” 湖南慈利石板村戰國墓, *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 2 (1995): 173-207.

between two rival countries in Southern region, namely, Wu 吳 and Yue 越. Early researchers of *Wenwu* and *Kaogu xuebao* reported that these records of the events of Wu and Yue parallel some contents of the transmitted historical texts such as *Guoyu*, *Zhanguo ce*, and *Yue zueshu* 越絕書. However, a later researcher, Zhang Chunlong 張春龍, based on a more developed transcription of the slips with the help of Qiu Xiqui 裘錫圭 and Li Jiahao 李家浩, reported that there are two calligraphically distinguishable versions of text that parallel the transmitted “Dawu” 大武 chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書, and some lost passages or chapters from such received works as the *Guanzi* 管子 and the *Ning Yuezi* 寧越子.¹¹³

However, the full texts of those excavated manuscripts with photographic images have not been made public yet. What we have now as the primary material for the study of Cili Chu bamboo slip manuscripts are the aforementioned transcriptions by Zhang Chunlong, who has been able to access the Cili manuscripts in person, and three photographic images each of which was separately released in the *Wenwu* journal (1992), *Kaogu xuebao* (1995), and a monograph entitled *Hunan Kaogu Manbu* 湖南考古漫步 (1999).¹¹⁴ Sporadic research on this manuscript in China so far has also been based on these accessible primary materials.



The photographic image of the slips in the *Wenwu*



The image in the *Hunan Kaogu Manbu*

¹¹³ Zhang Chunlong 張春龍, “Cili Chu Jian gaishu” 慈利楚簡概述, in *Xinchu jianbo yanjiu* 新出簡帛研究, (Beijing: Wenwu, 2004), 4-11.

¹¹⁴ Hunan sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 湖南省文物考古研究所 ed., *Hunan Kaogu Manbu* 湖南考古漫步, (Changsha: Hunan Meishu Chubanshe, 1999), 52-53. Xiao Yi 肖毅 provides his own transcription of the graphs on these three images in his “Cili zhushu lingshi” 慈利竹書零釋, *Guwenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究 26(2006):330-334.

Based on the transcription by Zhang and the photographic images, most Chinese researchers agree that the Cili Chu bamboo slip manuscript made public is identifiable as a Chu version of *Guoyu* and *Yi Zhoushu* text. For example, despite the significant difference in wording between Cili “Dawu” parallel text and the “Dawu” of the *Yi Zhoushu*,¹¹⁵ Zhang Chunlong regards

¹¹⁵ The “Dawu” 大武 (Great Battle), as its title indicates, is a dry, formulaic essay about military strategy or effectively engage in battle. The comparison between the Cili text and the received “Sibu congkan” 四部叢刊 version, shows that at least during the late fourth century in Chu, there was a significantly different version of this text in circulation.

	慈利楚簡 大武 Parallel Text	逸周書 大武
1	武有七制：征，攻，侵，伐，搏，戰，斗。	武有六制：政、攻、侵、伐、陳、戰。善政不
2	不搏善搏，獸不斗善斗。	攻，善攻不侵，善侵不伐，善伐不陳，善陳不
3	□□六厲五衛，斗有六庠五虞	戰。政有九因，因有四戚五和；攻有九開，開有
4	四曰同惡相助，五曰遠宅不薄，凡此九子政之因	四凶、五良；侵有七酌，酌有四聚、三斂；伐有
5	四攻：一曰攻天時，二曰攻地宜，三曰攻人德，四曰攻兵利	七機，機有四時、三興；陳有七來，來有三哀、
6	六庠：一曰明命；二曰明恥；三曰明… 六曰恒志	四赦；戰有十一振，振有六厲、五衛；鬪有十一
		客，客有六庠、五虞。四戚：一內姓，二外婚，
		三友朋，四同里。五和：一有天無惡，二有人無
		隙，三同好相固，四同惡相助，五遠宅不薄。凡
		此九者，政之因也。四凶：一攻天時，二攻地
		宜，三攻人德，四攻行利。五良：一取仁，二取
		智，三取勇，四取材，五取藝。凡此九者，攻之
		開也。四聚：一酌之以仁，二懷之以樂，三旁聚
		封人，四設圍以信。三斂：一男女比，二工次，
		三祇人死。凡此七者，侵之酌也。四時：一春違
		其農，二夏食其穀，三秋取其刈，四冬凍其葆。
		三興：一政以和時，二伐亂以治，三伐飢以飽。
		凡此七者，伐之機也。三哀：一要不贏，二喪
		人，三擯厥親。四赦：一勝人必贏，二取威信
		復，三人樂生身，四赦民所惡。凡此七者，陳之
		來也。六厲：一仁厲以行，二智厲以道，三武厲
		以勇，四師厲以士，五校正厲御，六射師厲伍。
		五衛：一明仁懷恕，二明智輔謀，三明武攝勇，
		四明材攝士，五明藝攝官。凡此十一者，戰之振
		也。六庠：一明令，二明醜，三明賞，四明罰，
		五利兵，六競竟。五虞：一鼓走疑，二備從來，
		三佐車舉旗，四采虞人謀，五後動撚之。凡此十
		一者，鬪之客也。無競惟害，有功無敗。

Summary: This essay in the “Dawu” of the *Yi Zhoushu* first lists the type of battle and the factors to make an impact on each type of battle specifically, and then discusses how to achieve victory in those battles.

Here I use the transcription offered by Wang Lianlong 王連龍, “Cili Chujian *Dawu* jiaodu liuce” 慈利楚簡<大武>校讀六則, *Kaogu* 考古 3 (2012): 70-73. For transmitted version of the “Dawu” text, I used Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, *Yi Zhoushu huijiao jizhu* 逸周書彙校集注, vol 1, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2007), 104-121.

Compared to the transmitted text that begins with the sentence, “There are six ways of controlling the battle: correction, mustering, intruding with troops, advancing without bells and drums, advancing with bells and drums, ambush attack, and staged battle,” the Cili parallel text adds one more way of control, that is *dou* 斗 (鬪, 鬪, 鬪) which may be translated as “melee.”

these slips as evidence to prove that the received *Guoyu* and *Yi Zhoushu* did exist and were already in circulation in the Chu at the time.¹¹⁶ However, there is no evidence for us to know whether the Cili manuscripts were drawn from a pre-existing *Guoyu* or *Yi Zhoushu* text in possession of copyists. As is mentioned in Chapter 1, however similar the contents are to that of the received *Guoyu* or *Yi Zhoushu*, we should not regard them as directly taken or copied from these texts unless there is evidence to establish any concrete relationship between the two texts. In the absence of such evidence, we should make an effort to understand the nature of the text in its own context, not arbitrarily assign it a place in a preconceived chronology or frame.

Even though Zhang Chunlong draws the status of Cili manuscripts directly from that of the received *Guoyu* and *Yi Zhoushu* texts, he also notices a possibility that since the texts that parallel the *Guoyu* and *Yi Zhoushu* were excavated from the same tomb, it may be evidence that the two works in earlier forms were closely connected or even that the two works were originally one unified text but were separated only by later copyists.¹¹⁷ Despite the textual difference between “Dawu” and “Wuyu” that one can find on the surface of the texts, Zhang’s opinion is worth being reflected upon, especially because these received texts are inconsistent and heterogeneous in their form and content. In terms of length, theme, style, choice of materials, and overall layout between sections, one can easily find inconsistencies. Both on the text and chapter level, one finds textual heterogeneity. The received text, *Guoyu*, which I will discuss below, also exemplifies this point. Considering this, Zhang’s point, which has not yet attracted due scholarly attention, is noteworthy.

The *Guoyu*: Nature and Origin

The Cili parallels a new perspective on the received *Guoyu*. What kind of text is the *Guoyu*? The *Guoyu*, translatable as “Dialogues of the States,” “Speeches of the States,” or “Discourses of the States,” is a transmitted text that consists of a collection of 240 to 241 speeches, in various lengths, attributed to rulers and politicians from the late Western Zhou to the Spring and Autumn period (771–476 BCE).¹¹⁸ The speeches, accompanied by brief descriptions of historical events,

It is interesting to note that the citation of “Dawu” in the earliest surviving collectanea (*leishu* 類書) *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔, which is generally regarded as to reflect the sources circulating in the Tang at earliest, is the same as the Cili parallel text (quoted from Zhang Chunlong, 2004, 8). This implies that the version that was closer to the Cili one might have still been circulating by the time of the composition of *Beitang shuchao*.

¹¹⁶ See Zhang Chunlong, “Cili Chujian gaishu,” 9-11. But not all Chinese scholars view the Cili Chu bamboo slip manuscripts as the Chu versions of *Guoyu* and *Yi Zhoushu*. For example, Zhang Zheng 張錚 argues that they are a part of a lost Chu historical text, *Duoshi Wei* 鐸氏微, recorded in the “Yiwenzhi” of the *Hanshu*. See Zhang Zheng, “Hunan Cili chutu Chujian neirong bianxi” 湖南慈利出土楚簡內容辨析, *Qiusuo* 求索, June, 2007: 212-213.

¹¹⁷ Zhang Chunlong, “Cili Chujian gaishu,” 10. Focusing more on the different traits of genre between *Yi Zhoushu* and *Guoyu*, Xia Dekao disagrees with Zhang and argues that Cili manuscript shows only the early textual state of the received *Guoyu*, and it does not support that these two received text could have belonged to the same text. See Xia Dekao 夏德靠, “Lun Cili Chujian de xingzhi” 論慈利楚簡的性質, *Kaili xueyuan xuebao* 凱里學院學報 29.2 (April 2011): 43-46.

¹¹⁸ Brief scholarly introductions of this text are found in David Knechtges, “Guoyu” in *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide*, vol. 1, edited by David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang, (Brill: Netherlands, 2010), 308-311; Chang I-jen, William G. Boltz and Michael Loewe, “Kuo yü,” in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, edited By Michael Loewe, (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and the

in most cases, fit the definition of “episodes” or “anecdotes,” that is a brief narration of a past incident. Also, each episode that is recorded is independent and complete in itself, without being necessarily linked to one and other. In this sense, the received *Guoyu* is an example of a transmitted collection of the Episode Texts with which this thesis concerns.

The entire text of the *Guoyu* consists of 21 chapters (*zhuan* 傳) divided among eight sections for the state of Zhou 周, Lu 魯, Qi 齊, Jin 晉, Zheng 鄭, Chu 楚, Wu 吳 and Yue 越, ranging from the reign of King Mu of Zhou 周穆王 (r. 956–918 BCE) to the execution of the Jin minister Zhibo 智伯 (506–453 BCE) in 453 BCE. Like the *Chunqiu* 春秋, particularly the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, literally “The transmission from [Mr.] Zuo,” that was established in the tradition as one of the most authoritative commentaries to the *Chunqiu* after the fall of the Eastern Han, the received *Guoyu* also covers the Spring and Autumn period, when new political and cultural identities were emerging out of the shadow of Western Zhou traditions, as we will see in the following chapter. For this reason, the *Guoyu* has often been coupled with the *Zuozhuan* as historical texts that represent the political and social reality after the breakdown of the Western Zhou’s Hegemony (*ba* 霸) over the Central Plain. However, while the *Zuozhuan*’s records range from the first year of Duke Yin of Lu (722 BCE) to the 27th year of Duke Ai of Lu (465 BCE), and so it covers 257 years only, the *Guoyu* covers 538 years. Despite the period being twice as long, the narratives of the *Guoyu*, unlike those of the *Zuozhuan*, mainly focus on individual events and speeches in each state for its episodic theme and are not tightly arranged and organized in a chronological manner; the extended coverage itself does not have any particular meaning in its composition as a text of the past.

More importantly, as some scholars have already noted, among the total of about 240 separate *Guoyu* speech or dialogue passages that are mainly independent textual units, at least 73 are parallel with those of *Zuozhuan* to a degree.¹¹⁹ This suggests that these two texts could have been created in similar circumstance or from a common type or set of materials. The relation is often explained by the same authorship. For example, Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661–721 CE) remarks, “Zuo Qiuming had already composed ‘The Internal Transmission of the *Chunqiu*,’ and again examining the remaining archives, he collected separate verbal sources and divided them into the histories of eight states, namely, Zhou 周, Lu 魯, Qi 齊, Jin 晉, Zheng 鄭, Chu 楚, Wu 吳 and Yue 越, that began from King Mu of Zhou and ended with Duke Dao of Lu, and composed ‘The External Transmission of the *Chunqiu*,’ that is the *Guoyu*” 左丘明既為春秋內傳 又稽逸史 纂別說 分周魯齊晉鄭楚吳越八國史, 起周穆王終魯悼公 為春秋外傳國語。¹²⁰

As Liu mentions, the coupling between the *Zuozhuan* and the *Guoyu* in the traditional conception of historiography was reinforced by the theory that both were compiled by one heroic

Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1993), 263-268. The first one offers an excellent bibliographical update for further research on this text.

¹¹⁹ Zhang Yiren 張以仁, “Lun *Guoyu* yu *Zuozhuan* de guanxi” 論國語與左傳的關係, *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 33 (1962): 233-86; William G. Boltz, “Notes on the Textual Relation Between the *Kuo Yü* and the *Tso Chuan*,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 53.3 (1990): 491-502.

¹²⁰ Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661-721 CE), *Shitong xin jiaozhu* 史通新校注, edited and commented by Zhao Lüfu 趙呂甫, (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1990).

writer, Zuo Qiuming (fl. late sixth to early fifth century BCE).¹²¹ The practice that links the *Guoyu* to Zuo Qiuming was attested in writing, commonly known as “Letter in Reply to Ren An” 報任少卿書 attributed to Sima Qian,¹²² where it says “Zuo Qiuming lost his vision and got the *Guoyu*” 左丘明失明，厥有國語. It suggests that the practice to associate Zuo with the *Guoyu* already existed by the first century CE at the latest, when Ban Gu cited the letter in the Sima Qian biography.

However, despite the traditional agreement on the authorship of Zuo Qiuming, modern scholarship has shown that these two texts have considerable differences that make it difficult to believe they were from the same hand. For example, Zhang Yiren shows that the vocabulary and grammatical elements in the received *Guoyu* are significantly different from those of the *Zuozhuan*, a difference that is hard to reconcile with single authorship.¹²³ More importantly, scholars have found ample examples in both works, that feature significant issues of inconsistent length, style, choice of materials, and overall layout between sections in the received *Guoyu*. Ultimately, the free-standing and independent nature of each episode with significant formal differences, any of which is unlikely to occur in single authorship.¹²⁴ For example, the records of the sections for Wu and Yue in the “Wuyu” chapter of the received *Guoyu* are entirely about the struggle of the two states for supremacy. However, the section for Qi in the transmitted *Guoyu* is concerned exclusively with Guan Zhong 管仲 (720-645 BCE) and the assistance that he rendered to Duke Huan 桓公 (r. 685-643 BCE), and the section for Zheng deals only with the speeches of Archivist Bo (Shi Bo 史伯; fl. seventh century BCE). In the long section on Jin, recorded speeches and historical events are uniquely interspersed one with another, and for Qi and Zheng, speech predominates, and in the sections for Wu and Yue, speech and historical events are mixed. This formal and thematic inconsistency and confusion suggests that each section assigned for each state may have originated from multiple sources rather than from a single one.¹²⁵

Under these circumstances, William G. Boltz argues that the *Guoyu* and the *Zuozhuan* may have drawn on a third textual source in common. Examining parallel wording in the two texts,

¹²¹ The authorship of the *Zuozhuan* attributed also to Zuo Qiuming will be critically examined in the next chapter, in relation to the paralleling Episode Texts.

¹²² The letter is first seen in the “Biography of Sima Qian” in the *Hanshu* 漢書. For the recent discussion about textual authenticity, authorship, date of creation of this text, see Stephen Durrant, Wai-Yee Li, Michael Nylan, and Hans van Ess, *The Letter to Ren An & Sima Qian's Legacy*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016). This book offers a critical edition of English translation of this letter. Other versions of this letter are seen in Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996); Cyril Birch, *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, (New York: Grove Press, 1965).

¹²³ See Chang Yiren 張以仁, “Cong yufa yuhui de chanyi zheng *Guoyu* *Zuozhuan* ershu fei yiren suozuo” 從文法語彙的差異證國語左傳二書非一人所作, *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 34 (1962): 333-66.

¹²⁴ Knechtges, “*Guoyu*,” 309; Chang I-jen, William G. Boltz and Michael Loewe, “*Kuo yü*,” 264.

¹²⁵ For example, in a lengthy study on the problems of date, place of origin, identity of author of the received *Guoyu* in relation to those of the *Zuozhuan*, Wei Juxian 衛聚賢 concludes that the received *Guoyu* text can be divided into six groups in authorship and date of creation that ranges from 431 BCE to after 314 BCE. Wei Juxian 衛聚賢, *Gushi yanjiu* 古史研究, vol. 1, (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1934).

such as the Episode of Zhou King of Hui 周惠王 and the usurpation by Wang Zitui 王子頹 in 675 BCE, Boltz suspects that they may have been written originally on bamboo slips, each of which has the same number of graphs, most typically a 22-graph slip, and on which a stylistic convention may have been allowed at the sentence ending. Then he shows that there should have been a number of bamboo slips that *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* copied from mostly verbatim.

Similar to the “Q source” in the modern biblical studies of New Testaments, the text of which is a hypothetical written collection of Jesus’s sayings as the common material found in the transmitted “Gospels of Matthew” and “Luke” but not in the “Gospel of Mark,”¹²⁶ the bamboo slip text for the received *Guoyu* and *Zuozhuan* parallels has not been found as a physical substance. However, due to the Cili Chu bamboo slip manuscripts, we can know at least that some stories in the received “Wuyu” of the *Guoyu*, had identical or similar wording and circulated in the early-mid Warring States Chu. The Cili manuscript does not prove yet the historical existence of the common source of *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*, as Boltz hypothesizes, but does suggest that the *Guoyu* was not from a single hand of a heroic author known as Zuo Qiuming, as several scholars have concluded, but rather from multiple different sources, and this manuscript helps us to understand that the *Zuozhuan*, which I will examine with other examples of excavated manuscript in the next Chapter, is at least a similar case.

The Cili “Wuyu” Parallel Manuscript: A Textual Comparison

Before the comparative discussion, there are three things to keep in mind, again: first, what is known as “Wuyu” parallel text in the Cili Chu bamboo manuscripts has not been confirmed to possess a title. This means that we can never be sure whether or not this text was recognized and shared as a part of the *Guoyu*, like the “Wuyu,” in the Chu literate community. As Zhang Chunlong understands, it is not impossible that the text was read and understood in combination with the text that partly parallels the “Dawu” of the received *Yi Zhoushu*. Second, in the received *Guoyu* text, the section for Wu is peculiar in terms of form and content; in content, it only features the historical struggle against Yue for supremacy. In terms of form and content, mixing the description of historical events and lengthy speeches, this text is comprised of several Episodes which are now divided into nine sub-sections in the received version of *Guoyu*. These sub-sections are loosely connected chronologically, constituting a longer narrative about the rivalry between Wu and Yue, resulting in the fall of the Wu state. In this sense, the transmitted “Wuyu” delivers a complete long narrative of the rise and fall of the Wu state, constructed with nine shorter stories. The uniqueness of the Wu section in form and content in the received *Guoyu*, effectively exemplifying the non-uniformity, inconsistency, and heterogeneity of each textual unit that constitutes the *Guoyu*, suggests that the “Wuyu” text might have been from multiple different sources. Third, despite the fact that the existence of the Cili Chu bamboo slip manuscripts was first reported in 1987 and then officially introduced through the *Wenwu* journal in 1992, the full texts accompanied by

¹²⁶ For a concise and reputed introduction to the “Q source” in biblical studies, see John S. Kloppenborg, *Q, the Earliest Gospel: An Introduction to the Original Stories and Sayings of Jesus*, (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008). For a critical edition of the reliably reconstructed Q source in an international scholarly collaboration known as “The International Q Project,” see James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Sayings Gospel Q in Greek and English with Parallels from the Gospels of Mark and Thomas*, (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002).

photographic images are still expected to be published, and because of this, information and knowledge about these significant findings are limited. Despite this fundamental limitation, what does the Cili “Wuyu” parallel text show, concerning its textual relation to the received *Guoyu*? Comparing these two texts, I will discuss the issue.¹²⁷

	慈利楚簡 吳語 Parallel	國語 吳語 The received “Wuyu” in the <i>Guoyu</i>	Current chapter
1	……諾越王句戈 (踐) 乃命者 (諸) 旨 (稽) (乙 7) ¹²⁸	越王許諾, 乃命諸稽郢行成於吳……	1
2	使淫躒于諸夏之邦	申胥諫曰: 不可許也。夫越非實忠心好吳也, 又非懾畏吾兵甲之疆也。大夫種勇而善謀, 將還玩吳國於股掌之上, 以得其志。夫固知君王之蓋威以好勝也, 故婉約其辭, 以從逸王志, 使淫樂于諸夏之國, 以自傷也。使吾甲兵鈍弊, 民人離落, 而日以憔悴, 然後安受吾燼。夫越王好信以愛民, 四方歸之, 年穀時熟, 日長炎炎。及吾猶可以戰也, 為虺弗摧, 為蛇將若何?	2
3	艾陵	王弗聽。十二年, 遂伐齊。齊人與戰於艾陵, 齊師敗績, 吳人有功。or	3
		吳王夫差既勝齊人於艾陵, 乃使行人奚斯釋言於齊, 曰: …… or	4
		……夫差不賞不忍, 被甲帶劍, 挺鉞搢鐸, 遵汶伐博, 登笠相望於艾陵。	8
4	□者鷓夷而投者江 吳王 (135-36) 簡背(on the back of the slip): (不辨 unidentifiable)	……乃使取申胥之尸, 盛以鷓鷃, 而投之于江。	5
5	入其郛率軍 (129-9)	吳王夫差既殺申胥, 不稔于歲, 乃起師北征。闕為深溝, 通于商、魯之間, 北屬之沂, 西屬之濟, 以會晉公午于黃池。 于是越王句踐乃命范蠡、舌庸, 率師沿海沂淮以絕吳路。敗王子友于姑熊夷。越王句踐乃率中軍沂江以襲吳, 入其郛, 焚其姑蘇, 徙其大舟。	6

¹²⁷ I adopted Xiao Yi’s 肖毅 transcription but made some slight revision on the sequence of slips nos. 23-27, based on the transmitted “Wuyu” text. See Xiao Yi, “Cili zhushu *Guoyu* Wuyu chutan” 慈利竹書國語吳語初探, 2005, http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=159, (accessed on September 19, 2018).

¹²⁸ The numbers in parenthesis indicate the official slip numbers that were given at the site of archaeological excavation. They appeared first in Zhang’s introductory article (2004). The numbers accompanied with characters such as *jia* 甲, *yi* 乙, and *bing* 丙, indicate the sequence of the added slips through transcription of three photographic images appearing on the *Wenwu* (1992), *Kaogu xuebao* (1995), and *Hunan Kaogu Manbu* (1999).

	簡背：X ¹²⁹		
6	吾道路悠遠吾毋會而(24-1) 簡背：十三	吳、晉爭長未成，邊遽乃至，以越亂告。吳王懼，乃合大夫而謀曰：「越為不道，背其齊盟。今吾道路修遠，無會而歸，與會而先晉，孰利？」王孫雒曰：「夫危事不齒，雒敢先對。二者莫利。無會而歸，越聞章矣，民懼而走，遠無正就。齊、宋、徐、夷曰：『吳既敗矣！』將夾溝而擊我，我無生命矣。會而先晉，晉既執諸侯之柄以臨我，將成其志以見天子。吾須之不能，去之不忍。若越聞愈章，吾民恐叛。必會而先之。」王乃步就王孫雒曰：「先之，圖之將若何？」王孫雒曰：「王其無疑，吾道路悠遠，必無有二命，焉可以濟事。」王孫雒進，顧揖諸大夫曰：「危事不可以為安，死事不可以為生，則無為貴智矣。民之惡死而欲貴富以長沒也，與我同。雖然，彼近其國，有遷；我絕慮，無遷。彼豈能與我行此危事也哉？事君勇謀，于此用之。今夕必挑戰，以廣民心。請王勵士，以奮其朋勢。勸之以高位重畜，備刑戮以辱其不勵者，令各輕其死。彼將不戰而先我，我既執諸侯之柄，以歲之不獲也，無有誅焉，而先罷之，諸侯必說。既而皆入其地，王安挺志，一日惕，一日留，以安步王志。必設以此民也，封于江、淮之間，乃能至于吳。」吳王許諾。	
7	出朋勢以返高位重畜女(52-11) 簡背：十七		
8	我著者侯止乘以(94-14) 簡背：十一		
9	大甬皆雁(應)三軍皆(乙8)	吳王昏乃戒，令秣馬食士。夜中，乃令服兵擐甲，系馬舌，出火灶，陳士卒百人，以為徹行百行。行頭皆官師，擁鐸拱稽，建肥胡，奉文犀之渠。十行一嬖大夫，建旌提鼓，挾經秉枹。十旌一將軍，載常建鼓，挾經秉枹。萬人以為方陣，皆白裳、白●、素甲、白羽之繒，望之如荼。王親秉鉞，載白旗以中陳而立。左軍亦如之，皆赤裳、赤旗、丹甲、朱羽之繒，望之如火。右軍亦如之，皆玄裳、玄旗、黑甲、烏羽之繒，望之如墨。為帶甲三萬，以勢攻，雞鳴乃定。既陳，去晉軍一里。昧明，王乃秉枹，親就鳴鐘鼓、丁寧、鐸于振鐸，勇怯盡應，三軍皆嘩鉦以振旅，其聲動天地。	7
10	卑周室既(114-13) 簡背：廿	晉師大駭不出，周軍飭壘，乃令董褐請事，曰：「兩君偃兵接好，日中為期。今大國越錄，而造于弊邑之軍壘，敢請亂故。」吳王親對之曰：「天子有命，周室卑約，貢獻莫入，上帝鬼神而不可以告。無姬姓之振也，徒遽來告。孤日夜相繼，匍匐就君，君今非王室不平安是憂，億負晉眾庶	

¹²⁹ It is unclear what the X mark stands for.

11	<p>君命長弟許諾吳 (121-14)</p> <p>簡背：五□</p>	<p>，不式諸戎、狄、楚、秦；將不長弟，以力征一二兄弟之國。孤欲守吾先君之班爵，進則不敢，退則不可。今會日薄矣，恐事之不集，以為諸侯笑。孤之事君在今日，不得事君亦在今日。為使者之無遠也，孤用親聽命于藩籬之外。」</p> <p>董褐將還，王稱左畸曰：「攝少司馬茲與王士五人，坐于王前。」乃皆進，自剴于客前以酬客。</p> <p>董褐既致命，乃告趙鞅曰：「臣觀吳王之色，類有大憂，小則嬖妾、嫡子死，不則國有大難；大則越入吳。將毒，不可與戰。主其許之先，無以待危，然而不可徒許也。」趙鞅許諾。</p> <p>晉乃命董褐復命曰：「寡君未敢觀兵身見，使褐復命曰：『曩君之言，周室既卑，諸侯失禮于天子，請貞于陽卜，收文、武之諸侯。孤以下密適于天子，無所逃罪，訊讓日至，曰：昔吳伯父不失，春秋必率諸侯以顧在余一人。今伯父有蠻、荊之虞，禮世不續，用命孤禮佐周公，以見我一二兄弟之國，以休君憂。今君掩王東海，以淫名聞于天子，君有短垣，而自踰，況蠻、荊則何有于周室？夫命圭有命，固曰吳伯，不曰吳王。諸侯是以敢辭。夫諸侯無二君，而周無二王，君若無卑天子，以干其不祥，而曰吳公，孤敢不順從君命長弟！』許諾。」</p> <p>吳王許諾，乃退就幕而會。吳公先歃，晉侯亞之。吳王既會，越聞愈章，恐齊、宋之為己害也，乃命王孫雒先與勇獲帥徒師，以為過賓于宋，以焚其北郭焉而過之。</p>	
12	<p>忍披甲帶劍挺鉞晉 (53-10)</p> <p>簡背：一</p>	<p>吳王夫差既退於黃池，乃使王孫苟告勞於周，曰：……吾先君闔廬不貫不忍，被甲帶劍，挺鉞搯鐸……夫差不貫不忍，被甲帶劍，挺鉞搯鐸……</p>	8
13	<p>吳止既服遠者彼而未 (16-6)</p> <p>簡背：十□</p>	<p>吳王夫差還自黃池，息民不戒。越大夫種乃唱謀曰：「吾謂吳王將涉吾地，今罷師而不戒以忘我，我不可以怠。日臣嘗卜于天，今吳民既罷，而大荒薦饑，市無赤米，而困鹿空虛，其民必移就莆藪于東海之濱。天占既兆，人事又見，我蔑卜筮矣。王若今起師以會，奪之利，無使夫悛。夫吳之邊鄙遠者，罷而未至，吳王將恥不戰，必不須至之會也，而以中國之師與我戰。若事幸而從我，我遂踐其地，其至者亦將不能之會也已，吾用御</p>	9

14	<p>卒伍既具亡 (5-4) 簡背：(不辨)</p>	<p>兒臨之。吳王若愠而又戰，奔遂可出。若不戰而結成，王安厚取名而去之。」 越王曰：「善哉！」乃大戒師，將伐吳。</p>	
15	<p>止中貧者吾昏止死 (48-1) 簡背：十九</p>	<p>楚申包胥使于越，越王句踐問焉，曰： 「吳國為不道，求殘我社稷宗廟，以為平原，弗使血食。吾欲與之徼天之衷，唯是車馬、兵甲、卒伍既具，無以行之。請問戰奚以而可？」 包胥辭曰：「不知。」 王固問焉，乃對曰：「夫吳，良國也，能博取于諸侯。敢問君王之所以與之戰者？」 王曰：「在孤之側者，觴酒、豆肉、簞食，未嘗敢不分也。飲食不致味，聽樂不盡聲，求以報吳，愿以此戰。」 包胥曰：「善則善矣，未可以戰也。」 王曰：「越國之中，疾者吾問之，死者吾葬之，老其老，慈其幼，長其孤，問其病，求以報吳。愿以此戰。」</p>	
16	<p>善矣未可以戰王曰國邦之中病者吾昏 (問) (丙 3)</p>	<p>包胥曰：「善則善矣，未可以戰也。」</p>	
17	<p>然而猷止可以 (5-8) 簡背：十</p>	<p>王曰：「越國之中，吾寬民以子之，忠惠以善之。吾修令寬刑，施民所欲，去民所惡，稱其善，掩其惡，求以報吳。愿以此戰。」 包胥曰：「善則善矣，未可以戰也。」 王曰：「越國之中，富者吾安之，貧者吾與之，救其不足，裁其有餘，使貧富皆利之，求以報吳。愿以此戰。」 包胥曰：「善則善矣，未可以戰也。」 王曰：「越國南則楚，西則晉，北則齊，春秋皮幣、玉帛、子女以賓服焉，未嘗敢絕，求以報吳。愿以此戰。」 包胥曰：「善哉，蔑以加焉，然猶未可以戰也。夫戰，智為始，仁次之，勇次之。不智，則不知民之極，無以銓度天下之眾寡；不仁，則不能與三軍共饑勞之殃；不勇，則不能斷疑以發大計。」</p>	
18	<p>勞止勇不勇則不能 (141-19) 簡背：十</p>	<p>越王曰：「諾。」</p>	
		<p>越王句踐乃召五大夫，曰：「吳為不道，求殘吾社稷宗廟，以為平原，不使血食。吾欲與之徼天之衷，唯是車馬、兵甲、卒伍既具，無以行之。吾問于王孫包胥，既</p>	

19	<p>□□王曰猛大夫□ 進合(140-6)</p> <p>簡背：二</p>	<p>命孤矣，敢訪諸大夫，問戰奚以而可？句踐愿諸大夫言之，皆以情告，無阿孤，孤將以舉大事。」 大夫舌庸乃進對曰：「審賞則可以戰乎？」 王曰：「聖。」 大夫苦成進對曰：「審罰則可以戰乎？」 王曰：「猛。」 大夫種進對曰：「審物則可以戰乎？」 王曰：「辯。」 大夫蠡進對曰：「審備則可以戰乎？」 王曰：「巧。」 大夫皋如進對曰：「審聲則可以戰乎？」</p>
20	<p>可以戰乎王曰巧大夫□ (5-10)</p> <p>簡背：廿二</p>	
21	<p>虎(乎)王曰可矣 王乃命有司大命(令)於 (甲24)</p>	
22	<p>句□戒者□□□□ □ (5-7)</p> <p>簡背：一</p>	<p>王曰：「可矣。」 王乃命有司大令于國曰：「苟任戒者，皆造于國門之外。」 王乃命于國曰：「國人欲告者來告，告孤不審，將為戮不利，及五日必審之，過五日，道將不行。」 王乃入命夫人。王背屏而立，夫人向屏。</p>
23	<p>是子外有辱是我 (5-3)</p> <p>簡背：三</p>	
24	<p>是子外又(有)辱 是我吾見子於此之 (止)矣王乃出□ (甲12)</p>	<p>王曰：「自今日以後，內政無出，外政無入。內有辱，是子也，外有辱，是我也。吾見子于此止矣。」</p>
25	<p>送王不出檐(檐) □盍左□實之土吳 (側)(甲21)</p>	
26	<p>出粵(屏)□盍右 □實之土吳王吳(側) (甲11)</p>	<p>王遂出，夫人送王，不出屏，乃闔左闔，填之以土，去筭側席而坐，不掃。王背檐而立，大夫向檐。</p>
27	<p>於邦是子軍士死外 有辱是我自今日止 後內政毋(11-11)</p> <p>簡背：五(書於中間)</p>	<p>王命大夫曰：「食土不均，地之不修，內有辱于國，是子也；軍士不死，外有辱，是我也。自今日以後，內政無出，外政無入，吾見子于此止矣。」</p>
28	<p>右闔實止土側席(2-8)</p> <p>簡背：(不辨)</p>	
29	<p>相昏也明日遷軍(20-11)</p>	<p>王遂出，大夫送王不出檐，乃闔左闔，填之以土，側席而坐，不掃。</p>

<p>簡背：一</p>	<p>王乃之壇列，鼓而行之，至于軍，斬有罪者以徇，曰：「莫如此以環瑱通相問也。」</p> <p>明日徙舍，斬有罪者以徇，曰：「莫如此不從其伍之令。」</p> <p>明日徙舍，斬有罪者以徇，曰：「莫如此不用王命。」</p> <p>明日徙舍，至于御兒，斬有罪者以徇，曰：「莫如此淫逸不可禁也。」</p> <p>王乃命有司大徇于軍，曰：「有父母耆老而無昆弟者，以告。」</p> <p>王親命之曰：「我有大事，子有父母耆老，而子為我死，子之父母將轉于溝壑，子為我禮已重矣。子歸，歿而父母之世。後若有事，吾與子圖之。」</p> <p>明日徇于軍，曰：「有兄弟四五人皆在此者，以告。」</p> <p>王親命之曰：「我有大事，子有昆弟四五人皆在此，事若不捷，則是盡也。擇子之所欲歸者一人。」</p> <p>明日徇于軍，曰：「有眩瞽之疾者，以告。」</p> <p>王親命之曰：「我有大事，子有眩瞽之疾，其歸若已。後若有事，吾與子圖之。」</p> <p>明日徇于軍，曰：「筋力不足以勝甲兵。志行不足以聽命者歸，莫告。」</p> <p>明日，遷軍接酥，斬有罪者以徇，曰：「莫如此志行不果。」</p> <p>于是人有致死之心。</p> <p>王乃命有司大徇于軍，曰：「謂二三子歸而不歸，處而不處，進而不進，退而不退，左而不左，右而不右，身斬，妻子鬻。」</p> <p>于是吳王起師，軍于江北，越王軍于江南。越王乃中分其師以為左右軍。以其私卒君子六千人為中軍。明日將舟戰于江，及昏，乃命左軍銜枚泝江五里以須，亦令右軍銜枚泝江五里以須。夜中，乃命左軍、右軍涉江鳴鼓中水以須。吳師聞之，大駭，曰：「越人分為二師，將以夾攻我師。」</p> <p>乃不待旦，亦中分其師，將以御越。越王乃令其中軍銜枚潛涉，不鼓不譟以襲攻之，吳師大北。越之左軍、右軍乃遂涉而從之，又大敗之于沒，又郊敗之，三戰三北，乃至于吳。越師遂入吳國，圍王臺。</p> <p>吳王懼，使人行成。曰：「昔不穀先委制于越君，君告孤請成，男女服從。孤無奈越之先君何，畏天之不祥，</p>
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		<p>不敢絕祀，許君成，以至于今。今孤不道，得罪于君王，君王以親辱于弊邑。孤敢請成，男女服為臣御。」</p> <p>越王曰：「昔天以越賜吳，而吳不受，今天以吳賜越，孤敢不聽天之命，而聽君之令乎？」乃不許成。</p> <p>因使人告于吳王曰：「天以吳賜越，孤不敢不受。以民生之不長，王其無死，民生于地上，寓也；其與幾何？寡人其達王于甬句東，夫婦三百，唯王所安，以沒王年。」</p> <p>夫差辭曰：「天既降禍于吳國，不在前後，當孤之身，實失宗廟社稷，凡吳土地人民，越既有之矣，孤何以視于天下！」</p> <p>夫差將死，使人說于子胥曰：「使死者無知，則已矣，若其有知，君何面目以見員也！」遂自殺。</p> <p>越滅吳，上征上國，宋、鄭、魯、衛、陳、蔡執玉之君皆入朝。夫唯能下其群臣，以集其謀故也。</p>	
30	<p>□越王句踐斗酉欲 □□□□乃□□ (甲 2)</p>	疑為《吳語》佚文	
31	<p>……解丌𤔪 (气) 整 (击) 龍 𤔪 白徒以視之厉士… … (乙 3)</p>	疑為《吳語》佚文	
32	<p>又吳土以毀其強以 稱 (16-14)</p>	<p>吳王夫差既許越成，乃大戒師徒，將以伐齊。申胥進諫曰：“昔天以越賜吳……今王非越是圖，而齊、魯以為憂。夫齊、魯譬諸疾，疥癬也，豈能涉江、淮而與我爭此地哉？將必越實有吳土。王其盍亦鑑於人，無鑑於水……”。</p>	3

Summary: Comprising one volume with nine chapters in the received version, the episodes in the “Wuyu” of the *Guoyu* deal with the political events occurring at the state of Wu for around 20 years, from 494 BCE to 473 BCE. The main events are Fu Chai’s conquest of the state of Yue, his conflict with Wu Zixu, and finally the fall of the Wu state by the Yue. These events are narrated in the form of a short fictional narrative, focusing on the didactic dialogues between the main characters.

The received “Wuyu” text in the *Guoyu* comprises nine distinct episodes that are loosely connected in a chronological manner. These episodes represent a complete story of the military rivalry between Fu Chai 夫差 (495-473 BCE) the King of Wu and Gou Jian 句踐 (d. 464 BCE) the King

of Yue. The received entire received narrative in the “Wuyu” of the *Guoyu* culminates with Fu Chai’s great success in making Wu compete for the status of Hegemon (*ba* 霸) against Jin 晉, around 484 BCE, and ends up with Gou Jian’s Yue taking revenge on Wu and Fu Chai’s suicide in 473 BCE. In the sense that the nine episodes are chronologically organized to create a single-themed longer narrative about revenge, this “Wuyu” can be viewed as a ‘short-story’ in the modern sense.¹³⁰

Despite the connectedness of these nine episodes for one underlying theme of Gou Jian of Yue’s revenge on Fu Chai of Wu, however, each episode, like other ones in other chapters of the received *Guoyu*, is self-contained and free-standing. If one takes one episode out of the narrative chain in the present “Wuyu,” the episode can still work as one independent narrative that has a thematic message on its own. In this regard, the episodes of “Wuyu” stand also as a separate textual unit.

It is also significant to notice that the episodes of the received “Wuyu” are considerably different in length. The episode that is traditionally identified as the fourth, where Fu Chai defeated the state of Qi and sent Xisi 奚斯 to explain the reason for their defeat to the Qi, has only 73 characters for which an early scribe would not even need four bamboo slips with, following Boltz’s assumption that a typical early bamboo slip is comprised of 22 graphs on average. On the contrary, the last episode where Gou Jian destroys Fu Chai and Fu Chai kills himself is around thirty-two times longer than the fourth one, consisting of 2,320 characters. The second longest episode, the seventh (920 characters), is also around three times longer than the second shortest one, the second (338 characters). Such inconsistency in length signals that the sections might have drawn on distinct sources and have undergone different editorial processes.

The Cili Chu bamboo slip parallel text sheds important light on this. First, comparing the Cili parallel text to the received nine episodes of the “Wuyu,” we notice that the Cili manuscript lacks the parallel content only to the last section of the ninth episode about the final war between the Wu and the Yue, which is the climax and ending of the whole story in today’s version and creates the core message of this revenge and victory story. It is noteworthy that the received episode ninth can be divided into multiple smaller units of story: 1) Gou Jian the King of Yue decides to attack the Wu after listening to a suggestion by a Grandee of Yue; 2) Gou Jian meets an envoy of Chu, named Bao Xu 包胥; 3) Gou Jian convenes a meeting with five Grandees and discusses with them the war against the Wu; 4) Gou Jian prepares for the war and moves his troops every day; and 5) Gou Jian fights against Fu Chai and wins, and the Wu falls. These five smaller episodes in the ninth episode are even distinguished in form, particularly by the use of repetitive phrase and the structural composition. For example, the first section shows the typical structure of Episode Text centering on a lengthy speech of a Yue Grandee, and the second one is structured by a set of questions and answers between Gou Jian and Bao Xu, the latter of whose answer repeatedly uses the same phrase, “It is good but not enough yet to break the war” 善則善矣，未可以戰也. The third section is a dialogue between the King of Yue and five Grandees, the main part of which repeats the same structure of question and answer, “Grandee X stepped forth and asked: “After examining X, would we then be able to break the war?” The King said, “X” 大夫 X 進對曰：「審 X 則可以戰乎？」王曰：「X」。 And the fourth one is comprised of the

¹³⁰ The memory of the rivalry between Wu and Yue was developed much more concretely in two expanded narrative works in the Eastern Han period (23-220 CE): *Yue jueshu* 越絕書 by Wu Ping 吳平 (fl. first century CE) and *Wuyue chunqiu* 吳越春秋 by Zhao Ye 趙擘 (fl. first century CE).

King's brief commands that the King gives after he moves the military base or patrols the compound every day, and the description is patterned as the following phrases “明日徙舍，XXXXX，曰：XX” or “明日徇于軍，曰：XX.” Considering that the ninth episode is unusually longer than any other episodes in the received “Wuyu,” and each of the five sections that constitute the ninth episode has its own distinct form and content, they might have been independent Episode Texts. More importantly, the absence of parallel content in the Cili suggests that the last section of the transmitted version of the story, which is about the final war and Yue's victory and the fall of the Wu, might have been separately circulated or developed later, and added to the pre-established stories, attested by the Cili manuscript.

This suggests that the celebrated memory and story of the final victory of the Yue over the Wu that the ninth episode of the received “Wuyu” represents were constructed by merging the smaller multiple memories and stories into one grand narrative that was composed for a message from the past event that exemplifies the power and efficacy of the virtue of perseverance in ruling and inter-state relation.

This point is also supported by a feature of the Cili “Wuyu” parallel manuscript that is the numbers written on the back of several slips. Since Zhang Chunlong (2004), Chinese scholars have assumed that the numbers on the back would indicate the sequence of slips. Good examples are found in several bamboo slip manuscripts in Qinghua University Collection, such as the “Xinian” 繫年 or “Jinteng” 繫年 parallel texts I will discuss in the next two chapters. These manuscripts also have a clear indication of the sequence by written number at the back of the slips.¹³¹ If these are indeed the slip sequence numbers,¹³² then a question arises: how do we organize them with the numbers? The numbers appear confusing in order, especially when they are compared to the sequence of the contents in the transmitted “Wuyu” of the *Guoyu*. For example, slips no. 52-11 and 94-14, which are presented as the seventh and eighth slips in the table above, are in the right sequence, based on the parallel contents of the *Guoyu*. This suggests that we are most likely unable to read them in the reverse order. Interestingly, however, this “right” sequence is not supported by the numbers written on the back of these slips. The numbers are 17 and 11, and if we take them in a literal sense, we should put the latter slip ahead of the first one, but then the story cannot be read coherent. Another example is slip no. 53-10, presented here as the 12th one. This is the first slip in the sequence, but we have two more slips that have “1” on their back: nos. 5-7 and 20-11. The sequence hypothesis would have it that the text the organizers have grouped as one single coherent text that closely parallels “Wuyu” of the *Guoyu*, has at least three beginnings in sequence. This is also the case with slips no. 5-8 and 141-19, both of which have the number 10 on their back. In the transmitted version of *Guoyu* text, the parallel sentences represented by these two slips are located some distance apart. They are very unlikely to be on the same slip.

This suggests that the Cili bamboo version distinguished between separate stories, not like one connected story in the transmitted version. The fact that the back numbers do not match the sequence of the contents in the current “Wuyu” can be understood to suggest that the Cili bamboo

¹³¹ Putting the number on the back of a bamboo slip was a common practice in early cultures. For more information, see Chen Wei 陳偉, *Chu jiance gailun* 楚簡冊概論, 2012.

¹³² In the current circumstances where we do not yet have full photographic images and transcriptions of Cili bamboo manuscripts, we need to admit that our efforts to explain the puzzling numbers at the back of slips ultimately remains speculation.

manuscript may have had much more detailed textual divisions than the current “Wuyu,” which means in turn that the current story found in the “Wuyu,” which are longer in form would have once existed as much smaller units, as individual blocks.¹³³

Conclusion

Each of these individual blocks certainly existed within a particular sequence, but they were not linked in succession to constitute a more extended grand narrative such as the one we can see in episode nine in the “Wuyu” of the transmitted version. Each one was an Episode Text in itself, standing on its own, not necessarily linked to the other. Thus, what we have found at Cili was a set of Episode Texts, which were likely to have been read, shared, and transmitted as a written representation of the memory of the Wu and Yue’s past in narrative form.

Viewed from this perspective, it raises the question how the current long passages of narrative in the transmitted texts such as *Guoyu* or *Zuozhuan*, typically such as the ninth episode of the “Wuyu” of the *Guoyu* that should have comprised around 110 bamboo slips that accommodate 2,320 characters, came into being. The evidence considered about suggests they were created through merging numerous much shorter and simpler stories into one.

In this process of merging, it is also possible that some memories and stories were not included into the larger one, as with the above fragments, which scholars doubt are part of the lost narratives about Wu and Yue. It suggests there has been a process of selection and exclusion, and of a re-arrangement of the selected texts to produce a fuller memory and story that the transmitted “Wuyu” chapter developed into for a more complete representation of the past of the Wu and Yue.

¹³³ He Youzu 何有祖 reaches the same conclusion. See He Youzu, “Cili zhushu yu jinben Wuyu shikan” 慈利竹書與吳語試勘, 2005, http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=149. (Last access date: September 12, 2018).

CHAPTER 3: The Emergence and Development of Episode Text - In Search of the Socio-Cultural Origin

In Chapters One and Two, I attempted to provide the definition, characteristics, and nature of what I call Episode Texts and discuss how they were possibly related to the production of collective memories through active editing of earlier textual sources. In this chapter, I will look for reasonable explanations for the political and social origin of the Episode Text. I will address the following questions: Where did they come from? Who made them? For what purpose were they made? How did they contribute to the conception of history in early culture? The hypothesis that I offer is that Episode Texts originated from the historical context of the collapse of Western Zhou's cultural hegemony after breakdown of its political authority. I will argue in this chapter that, based on the close readings of some important bronze inscriptions and bamboo slip manuscripts, a regional state's history was no longer understood as a peripheral part of the Western Zhou's royal past, but became individualizable in its own right, and due to this structural change, intellectuals in each local community began to produce texts that circulated various circulating stories of the past and recorded them. These texts were created, shared, spread, transmitted, re-written, edited, and expanded upon as a tiny reservoir of memory that provided information and wisdom for the construction of a better society after the demise of the Western Zhou cultural hegemony. Episode Texts are said to have started as small intellectual efforts for individuals, now unnamed and unknown, to cope with the new socio-political context where cultural and political power no longer was guaranteed by land possession, and each political entity had to find its own way to survive and thrive. Possible candidates for the new unifier were envisioning themselves, in the temporal frame of past Sage-Kings, as the successors of the discontinued Dao after Kings Wen and Wu. In this newly emerging phenomenon of the competition between ancient Sage-King heroes, we see a cultural project which was to create a genealogy for the new Sage-Kings and set out the specific relationship between them. Such a genealogy was linked to the idea of good governance (*shanzheng* 善政). Good ruling was not merely limited to the memories of early Western Han but imagined as reaching back to much earlier times when humans first formed a community. It then extended the scope of temporality much further back than the one that had been conceived of in the Western Zhou. Episode Texts were a critical source-material in the construction of the sacred lineage in the temporal frame that started from the earliest beginning to the present day.

Before that, however, I would like to examine in much more in detail how Zhou's cultural hegemony over the continent was established. This will help clarify why what I call Episode Texts are so important as an intellectual antidote or a tool of resistance to the cultural authority wielded by the Western Zhou.

The Social Memory of the Past in the Western Zhou

The Zhou conquest of Shang in 1045 BCE signalled the beginning of gradual but fundamental changes in the political and cultural order on the continent, changes that cannot be reduced merely to replacement of one hegemonic center by another. However, due to its different mode, it necessarily accompanied changes in the relationship between the individual and the social, and thereby it was also a transformation of the conceptual understanding of the world. Through

the colonialization of the East by continuous military campaigns and dominance in diplomatic relations dating back to King Wu's conquering Shang, to the times of Kings Kang (r. 1005/03-978 BCE) and Zhao (r. 977/75-957), the Zhou was no longer an old form of city-state, but established itself as a vast territorial state that put much of the Northern part of the continent under its political control and expanded to a most of the Yangzi river. This vast territory was effectively ruled under the central control of the Zhou Kings' system of appointing subjects to rule each part of the governed land, later identified as a *fengjian* 封建 system that scholars sometimes regarded as a mode of Chinese feudalism in the context of colonization of the Eastern regions by Zhou Gong Dan 周公旦, the interim *de facto* power-holder during the early period King Cheng's reign (1042/35-1006 BCE).¹³⁴ Although the Zhou kings granted vassals land and the right to govern the people in their bestowed territory, this resulted in the rise of regional powers that threatened the central court itself. Indeed, the Zhou completely lost *de facto* control over the regional territories only few centuries later. The installation of regional states by appointing a lord and assigning him his own land was extensively implemented, at least of the beginning state. Unlike medieval European examples of "feudalism," an outcome of negotiation in power-struggles between the center and periphery, the Western Zhou's implementation of *fengjian* system signals that the Zhou central government was able to exert considerable political and military power and authority and impose them on regional states.¹³⁵ Thus the installation of the regional states in the early Western

¹³⁴ Chinese scholarship still widely agrees on the use of this term, *fengjian*, partly because of their mainstream theoretical standpoint on early history, based on Marxian historiography, in which feudalism, the English word for *fengjian*, is proposed as a specific bridge phase to pre-capitalist society from ancient slavery (the clearest theoretical discussion of the developmental program of history, including the status, meaning and nature of feudalism, is seen Marx and Engels's *The Communist Manifesto*).

Fengjian was adopted as the notion to represent the nature of the socio-political and economic system of the Western Zhou in China in the early twentieth century when the Marxian historiography became a dominant conceptual tool. It was re-translated as feudalism in Western languages and widely used in European and American scholarship. For the typical cases of the re-Westernized usage of this term, see Marcel Granet, *La Féodalité Chinoise*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952); Herrlee Glessner Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China*, vol. 1, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Hsü Cho-yun and Katheryn M. Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988).

Li Feng gives an excellent critique of the misidentification of Western Zhou system known as *fengjian* with the medieval European feudalism. Li Feng, "Feudalism and Western Zhou China: A Criticism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63.1 (2003): 115-144. According to Li, the most important reason the Western Zhou governing system is not analogous to European feudalism is that the identification gives the wrong impression that "Western Zhou state [was] a cluster of proto-independent political entities loosely bound together by contractual obligations and portrays the Zhou king as having had little power beyond the small area of his own domain" (116). But in Li's understanding, the central government of Western Zhou clearly maintained a strong power and authority over the regional states (142). Also, even the term *fengjian* is anachronistic, since it was first seen as a compound in *Zuozhuan*, according to Li.

¹³⁵ See Li Feng, "Feudalism and Western Zhou China: A Criticism," 124. Why then did Zhou seek a new, unique political structure based on local units? Creel thinks that the Zhou founders had to share their newly acquired land with their relatives and supporters (*The Origins of Statecraft in China*, 342-46); Hsü and Linduff understand that the local leaders still had strong power and authority in their own regions and the Zhou recognized them as the regional rulers with whom they could coexist with them (*Western Chou Civilization*, 152). For Li Feng, who views the Zhou's central power in the local regions as very important, the system was an intentional decision by the Zhou to use the regional states as their "screen" or "fence" to protect the royal capital from military attacks ("Feudalism and Western Zhou China: A Criticism," 125). Shaughnessy also has pointed out that the enfeoffed regions after colonization of the East in King Cheng's reign functioned as the defensive "fence" for the Western Zhou (Edward Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilizations to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 318).

Zhou was one way the Zhou tried to establish a new type of effective hierarchical political structure to systematically organize the vast territory and govern it. Some scholars view the establishment of the Western Zhou as the first emergence of the Sinosphere (*huaxia guojia* 華夏國家), the formation of states in East Asian continent comprising the one absolute center by a dominant ethnic group and multiple subordinating peripheries by different politco-ethnic entities.¹³⁶ Although this notion undertheorizes the link between Zhou and modern China and essentializes the hegemon-centered understanding of the political reality in this period, it shows a significant change in the socio-political dimension: a new hegemonic order to rule the greatly expanded territory in a centralized and hierarchical political structure was created.

This emergence of a new socio-political order is also attested by the extended range of excavated bronze vessels with a surprisingly unified and consistent art style and casting technique, with its high degree of consistency, uniformity, and homogeneity. According to Jessica Rawson, such uniformity and homogeneity are unattested by previously excavated artifacts.¹³⁷ She argues that the people of the Western Zhou were achieving highly unified elite culture at least in the Northern part of the continent, and no later cultural entities, except Qin 秦, had reached the same degree of uniformity that the Western Zhou accomplished.¹³⁸ Depending on the regions, the high level of uniformity and homogeneity of Zhou art strongly suggests that the hegemony of Zhou culture was exercised on a more expansive and profound scale. Indeed, the establishment of the Zhou signals the rise and development of a universal, unifying cultural hegemony over the continent with the emergence of the first grand-scale centralized and hierarchical political entity.

How then was the Zhou able to maintain the position on the continent? Why did their subordinates and vassal states agree to the protection of Zhou's cultural umbrella? An effective strategy was to impose on the non-Zhou royal family and other members of the Zhou polity a system of concepts and beliefs, or an "ideology" in the sense of a "consent mechanism of consciousness" in Gramscian sense, or a related set of practices.¹³⁹ The act of making of bronze

¹³⁶ Li, Xueqin 李學勤 ed., *Zhongguo gudai wenming yu guojia xingcheng yanjiu* 中國古代文明與國家形成研究, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2007), 383-390.

¹³⁷ Jessica Rawson, "Western Zhou Archaeology," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 353.

¹³⁸ The strong uniformity of elite arts accomplished in the Western Zhou seems to have lasted even after the practical demise of its political power and control. On the continuity and development of Western Zhou art style in the Eastern Zhou period, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000-250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence*. (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, 2006); see also his "The Waning of the Bronze Age: Material Culture and Social Developments, 770-481 B.C.," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 450-544.

¹³⁹ Antonio Gramsci uses the notion of "hegemony" in developing an analysis of how the ruling bourgeoisie establishes and maintains its control in the society; the hegemonic dominance ultimately relied on "consenting" coercion: what matters in successfully controlling the ruled is, for him, the invention and propagation of the consent mechanism, which Gramsci finds in the Marxian concept of ideology. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

In this view, capitalist society maintains its dominant control not only by exercising violence or political and economic coercion, but also through ideology. The bourgeoisie develop a hegemonic culture, which propagates its

inscriptions and of regularly reciting inscribed memories of the ancestors in commemorative rituals by non-royal members of the polity were ways to share the memory of the Zhou's royal past with members at the society, inscribing it by regular practice, and turning them into an autonomous part of the Zhou community. It explains how the Zhou was able to establish themselves as the new hegemon and what the mechanism was to bring non-Zhou into the community. In Althusserian terms, such a practice of sharing and internalizing the Zhou royal memory through ancestral rituals was an "Ideological State Apparatus" for the Zhou and the rest of the Zhou world.¹⁴⁰ In this regard, some royal Western Zhou bronze inscriptions bestowed on its vassals shows us how the apparatus was working in the participants' mind.

More specifically, for the Zhou, the strategy of imposing and embodying the shared memory of the society was pursued in two complementary ways: first, maintenance and development of the received system of concepts and practices; second, the invention of a new system. By this, the Zhou inherited and changed the cultural legacy of their predecessors, the Shang, and claimed to be the new cultural power. The Zhou continued the Shang the metaphysical concept and practice system of ancestral worship, centering on the concept of the patriarchal main line of succession (*zong* 宗), and high god, *di*. Moreover, they added and developed aspects of their system into the Zhou's, such as the idea of *tian* 天 as the new concept for absolute authority in ruling, the ultimate progenitor, and the King who is the son of *tian*.¹⁴¹

Ancestors play a critical role not only in explaining one being's existence but also in legitimatizing their current status and the position of his/her being in the world. In the connection

own values and norms so that they become the "common sense" values of all. Inside of this set of shared assumption, the ruled identify their own good with the good of the ruling class and help to maintain the *status quo* rather than revolting. For this, see Perry Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci," *New Left Review* I (100): 5–78.

¹⁴⁰ Based on Gramsci's idea of hegemony and how it works in the bourgeois society, Louis Althusser proposes another new interesting concept, "Ideological State Apparatuses" (ISA; fr. *Appareils idéologiques d'État*, AIE), by which he means the state's apparatuses to reinforce the rule of the dominant class through ideology. ISA belong to private domains such as churches, schools, families, and so on. Instead of repressing and inflicting order, through repression, for which Althusser uses the term "Repressive State Apparatuses" (RSA), including Heads of State, government, police, courts, army, etc., they make people voluntarily submit to the ruler's order through education and socio-cultural practices. See Louis Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, translated by G. M. Goshgarian and preface by Etienne Balibar, (London and New York: Verso, 2014); See also his "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other essays*, translated by Ben Brewster and introduction by Frederic Jameson, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001).

¹⁴¹ Despite the fact that the Chinese term *tian* is often translated as Heaven in English, I will use the original Chinese term in this chapter in order to maintain the complexity and possible diverse meaning of the term.

In a fine discussion about how Zhou received Shang's concepts and practices of ritual, Dai Hong analyzes the Zhou's reception of Shang ritual in the following three large categories: *tian* and earth (*tiandi* 天地); forefathers and foremothers (*zubi* 祖妣); lord's teacher (*zunshi* 君師). Dai Hong 達宏, *Zhoudai Yinshang Liyue Jieshou Yanjiu* 周代殷商禮樂接受研究, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2013). Despite the interesting standpoint and detailed analysis, Dai uses the records in the received texts too indiscriminately, without paying attention to the basic problem of textual criticism of early texts, and thereby sometimes is not convincing. For example, Dai identifies the main part of the "Hongfan" a text with highly complex cosmological ideas and thus widely viewed as a late *Shangshu* composition, as initially written by the hands of Jizi 箕子 (fl. 11th century BCE), a renowned worthy of the late Shang, implying that the "Hongfan" reflects a transmission of Shang ritual to Zhou (170-71). A convincing textual study of "Hongfan" is Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center: The Original 'Great Plan' and Later Readings*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 24, (Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica; Nettetal, Germany: Steyler Verlag, 1992).

between me and my ancestors, my own self and all the people who have passed become re-enlivened at this moment, and constitute the legitimacy of my being in the world. To establish and legitimize one's authority and status, one locates oneself in the succession of the authority and status from the past. This story goes on up to the point where all the memories about the past are exhausted, finally reaching the moment identified as the beginning. Then, from this time backward, from the beginning to the present, the story begins to be retold. And this time, the re-narrated and reorganized memories become teleological. The present is re-envisioned as essentially predestined, foreordained from the beginning.

The Zhou maintained the emphasis on the ancestor found in Shang culture. It also guaranteed the authority of a newly arisen military hegemon whose status needed to be justified from the past. The authority was a product of the Zhou's shared memory about themselves in the past, and the collective autonomous consent to the memory. In the sharing and consenting to the memory, the non-royal members become a self-conscious part of the Zhou society.

For this, in the following, I will do close readings of bronze inscriptions, *Li gui* 利簋, (dated probably from King Wu's reign, 1049/45-43 BCE)¹⁴² and *He zun* 何尊 (dated from King Cheng's

¹⁴² As for the dating of this *Li gui*, scholars have disagreed on the point whether it belongs to King Wu (r. 1049/45-43 BCE) or his son, King Cheng (r. 1042/35-1006 BCE). First, Wang Shimin 王世民, Chen Gongrou 陳公柔, and Zhang Changshou 張長壽, who conducted comprehensive absolute chronological research upon all the existing Western bronze vessels for the Xia Shang Zhou Chronology Project, argue that the inscription of this vessel records King Wu's conquest of Shang on the Jiazi 甲子 (1st) day and 7 days later at the region of Guan 管 (i.e., a place northwest from modern Zhengzhou) and bestowed this bronze vessel upon Li the Right Scribe on the Xinwei 辛未 (8th) day. According to them, this vessel represents the time right after the King Wu's conquering Shang, in their calculation, in the year of 1046 BCE. By this logic, this *Li gui* is virtually the earliest one whose date we can surely determine. See their *Xi Zhou qingtongqi fenqi duandai yanjiu* 西周青銅器分期斷代研究, (Beijing: Wenwu, 1999), 73.

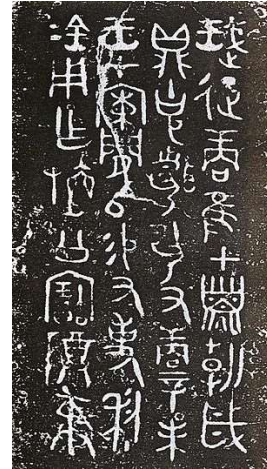
Also, Tang Lan 唐蘭 and Yu Shengwu 于省吾, both of whom first provided separately their own transcriptions of the *Li gui* inscription in 1977 upon its excavation in 1976, all believed the vessel was made at the time of King Wu's conquest. See Tang Lan, "Xizhou shidai zuizao de yijian tongqi Li gui mingwen jieshi" 西周時代最早的一件銅器利簋銘文解釋, *Wenwu* 文物 8 (1977): 8-9; Yu Shengwu, "Li gui mingwen kaoshi" 利簋銘文考釋, *Wenwu* 文物 8 (1977): 10-12. And Ma Chengyuan 馬承源 also views this one as made in King Wu's reign in his 4 volume masterpiece, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan* 商周青銅器銘文選. See Ma Chengyuan, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan* 商周青銅器銘文選, 4 vols, (Beijing: Wenwu, 1988), 3:22 (the last number is not the page number but the item number).

However, Wang Hui 王輝 pays more attention to the fact that the main character is specifically named "King Wu," and this is most likely to be a posthumous title. According to this explanation, this vessel then would commemorate the historic event whose narrative was re-written with a character with a posthumous title, from a retrospective viewpoint. See Wang Hui, *Shang Zhou jinwen* 商周金文, (Beijing: Wenwu, 2006), 31.

reign, 1042/35-1006 BCE),excavated at Xiduan village, Lindong county, Shaanxi, in 1976¹⁴³; and Jia village, city of Baoji, Shaanxi, in 1963, respectively.¹⁴⁴



Li gui 利簋



Inscription 銘文

珖(武)征商，隹(唯)甲子朝，歲鼎。克聞(昏)夙又(有)商。辛未，王才(在)管師，易(賜)又(右)事(史)利金，用乍(作)檀公寶尊彝。

King Wu conquered the Shang. At dawn on the Jiazi (1st) day, Jupiter appeared. Darkness cleared up, and daylight came, (the King) took possession of the Shang. On the Xinwei (8th) day, the King was at the post of Guan (region) and bestowed bronzes upon me, Li the Right Scribe. I make this treasurable and honorable vessel for my (deceased) father, Tan.

¹⁴³ I use the transcriptions of bronze inscriptions made in Ma's four volume work, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan* 商周青銅器銘文選, (abbreviated heretofore as MWX). Following the convention, I give the volume number and item number for each bronze vessel, but since I use Ma's work for his transcription, the volume number I give concerning Ma indicates the volume in which his transcription, not the rubbing, is found (e.g. Li gui in MWX 3:22). For the rubbing of bronze inscription, I give the volume number and the item number the inscriptions, listed in one of the most extensive and reliable collections of bronze inscriptions, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (JWJC) (e.g., Li gui in JWJC 8: 4131). Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所, ed, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成, 18 vols, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984).

English introductions and translations for most of the bronze inscriptions I examine in this chapter are seen in Constance Cook and Paul R. Goldin, eds., *A Source Book of Ancient Chinese Bronze Inscriptions*, (hereafter ACBI) (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China, 2016). However, all translations of the bronze inscriptions cited in this chapter are mine. I will only provide the page number(s) of this volume contributors' translations of bronze inscriptions in parenthesis (e.g., Li gui in ACBI 10)

¹⁴⁴ He zun in MWX 3: 32; JWJC 11: 6014; ACBI 16. The initial transcriptions of He zun inscription was made by Tang Lan (60-63) and Ma Chengyuan (64-65) separately in the same 1976 issue of *Wenwu*. Their transcriptions are basically the same, but Tang's provides more detailed commentary with the excavation report. Here I base my translation on Ma's, which reproduced in his 1988, 3: 20-22.

This Li *gui* inscription begins by narrating the historic moments of the great King Wu's final conquest of Shang. As its opening remark suggests, this vessel, which King Wu bestowed upon a man named Li, who was the Right Scribe, was cast to make Li and his current and future family remember and commemorate the great event of King Wu's conquering Shang.

The reason the significant duty of remembrance was assigned to Li is probably because he took the office, Right Scribe (*youshi* 右史). The introduction consists of the core of the memory to be passed down to the future and up to the deceased father, Tan, and other ancestors above. The memory, although it looks, at first sight, like only a dry description, is in fact constructed as a persuasion using the symbolic images of Jupiter, darkness, and daylight. In this statement, the conquest of Shang is represented as predestined to glory, as the celestial bodies such as Jupiter and Sun were already foretelling it. Thus, when Li and his family remember the event through this vessel, what is remembered is not merely the fact that King Wu conquered Shang, but actually that King Wu's victory was celestially supported and predicted, therefore that King Wu's new order was not just contingent, but pre-ordained, as signified by the natural symbols. We cannot answer yet, questions such as who predetermined it or why his victory was predetermined. We will see some answers in later inscriptions like that of Da Yu *ding* 大盂鼎. Also, the implicit idea that the Shang was pre-determined, seen in this inscription, will be crystallized in the next example of He *zun*, which uses the term "great command" (*daming* 大命).

The Zhou constructs its cultural hegemony by making a non-royal family join in commemorating the historic past of the royal house and the state, and thereby making them a co-rememberer of the past. Of course, making the non-royal elite participate in the commemoration of the past by bestowing bronze on a particular individual and his family can also be seen in the Shang bronze inscriptions, only a small number of which have the enough graphs to constitute a narrative, such as Sisi Biqu *you* 四祀邲其卣 (JWJC 10: 5413) or Xusi *ding* 戌嗣鼎 (MWX 3: 18; JWJC 5: 2708), both of which were made in the late Shang. In this regard, we may say that the concept of participating in state memory is something the Zhou received from the Shang's cultural legacy. However, even in these examples, it is difficult to say that the Shang's non-royal elite was actively allowed, like Li the Right Scribe, to join in remembering the great past by being bestowed bronze and making a vessel from it. In the Shang bronze vessel inscriptions, the status of the individual is still more marginalized and insignificant than that of Western Zhou inscriptions.¹⁴⁵ It was Zhou's cultural practice, based on the Shang's and perhaps other earlier cultural entities' legacies, to make a non-royal individual and his family take part in the remembrance and transmission of the state/royal house's past.

The concept of time and the past, seen in the Li *gui*, is maintained and developed in the vessel called He *zun*.

¹⁴⁵ Indeed, the making of bronze vessels with inscriptions on them was practiced not only by the Shang king in the late Shang period, but also by the chiefs of the clan societies, as we can see in the inscriptions such as the one made on Liusi Biqu *you* 六祀邲其卣 (MWX 3:14; JWJC 10:5413), which was made for his ancestor Gui 癸 by Biqu 邲其 the chief of the well-known Yamo clan 亞狝族, or the inscription on Zun Fu *gu* 夔婦觚, which was cast for his ancestor Yi 乙 by Zun Fu the chief of Qian (or Xian) clan 畎族 (JWJC 12:7312), who seems to have been under the political control of another figure, who was not a Shang King, but was able to bestow bronze upon the clan chiefs under his influence. It seems to signify the issue of the unified political and cultural hegemony the Shang exerted over the continent, and the kinds of political structure Shang built in the early state on the continent, both issues that support Bagley's point that the artistic styles found in the various regions, often indiscriminately assigned to the Shang, are sometimes highly heterogeneous.



He *zun* 何尊



Inscription 銘文

隹(唯)王初壘遷宅於成周,復稟珖(武)王豐(禮),福自天。才(在)四月丙戌,王誥宗小子於京室,曰:昔才(在)爾考公氏,克速(弼)文王,肆文王受茲[大令(命)]。隹(唯)珖(武)王既克大邑商,則廷告於天,曰:余其宅茲中或(國),自之乂民。烏(鳴)虘!爾有唯(雖)小子,亡識,視于公氏有爵(恪)於天,徹令(命)。苟(敬)享哉!唯王龔(恭)德谷(裕)天,順(訓)我不敏。王咸誥,何易(賜)貝卅朋,用乍(作)庾公寶尊彝。隹(唯)王五祀。

The King (i.e., King Cheng) first moved the capital to Cheng Zhou, again succeeded the King Wu's ritual precedent, and performed the *guan* ritual at Chamber of *tian*. On the Bingxu (23rd) day of the fourth moon, the King admonished the little child of the primary family (i.e., He) at Great Chamber of the capital palace and said: "In the past, your clan's forefathers assisted King Wen, and thereby King Wen received the great command. Once King Wu defeated the great city of Shang, he reverently announced to *tian*: "May I settle down in this central region,¹⁴⁶ and govern all people from here! O, you, a little child, you

¹⁴⁶ A particularly important aspect of this inscription of He *zun* is how to read the term *zhonghuo* 中或. Scholars have divided into two different groups: one group reads it as *zhongyu* 中域 while the other as *zhongguo* 中國. In the context of the inscription, it is understood as to refer first to the central region or territory that had been occupied by the preceding hegemonic state, Shang. Thus, the term *zhongguo* in the prayer of King Wu to Tian, quoted in the He *zun*, i.e. "May I settle down in this *zhonghuo* and govern all people from here!" 余其宅茲中或(域;國), 自之乂民, should be understood as to indicate the region or territory that King Wu acquired and occupied after the battle. In King Wu's understanding, the Shang was the center of the world, just as the Shang people had thought. In this regard, this term in this context should not be translated as "China." Thus, I translate this term here only as "central region" or "central territory." David W. Pankenier also reads it as *zhongyu* 中域, translating it as "central territory." See ACBI 16-18; 310-311.

Describing the royal elite of Shang a spatial conception of the world as the four quarters (*sifang* 四方), the Shang, taking their own territory as the center of the world, divided the whole world into four directions. Thus the Shang elite called them Central Shang (*zhongshang* 中商; for example, see HJ 20650, "(will) gather the harvest of

have no discernment, so you should look up to your clan's forefathers, who had venerated *tian* and thereby adhered to the (King Wen's) command.¹⁴⁷ You must reverently perform the rites for them!" The King, reverently and virtuously, performed a ritual for *tian*,¹⁴⁸ and then (again) admonished me for my lack of respect of reverence. The King completed the admonition and bestowed thirty strings of cowries upon me. I make this precious and honorable vessel for my (deceased) father, Yu. It was the King's fifth ritual cycle (i.e., 1037/1030 BCE).

This vessel, He *zun*, was made around ten to fifteen years later than the Li *gui* was cast, but it already shows some significant differences in terms of the use of several new concepts. It seems to signal that in the course of the self-establishment of the Zhou as hegemon on the continent, the Zhou had developed new ritual languages.

As the first few lines show, the Li *gui* commemorates the event of a capital move to Cheng Zhou by King Cheng. It records that the King followed the predecessor's step and performed a wine-related ritual towards *tian*. He, the narrator, is required to remember the legitimate son and more importantly, the main house. The inscription consists of two parts: the event of the capital move and the subsequent action of the King. Why was the memorialization about the King Cheng's capital move and his modeling himself on his father in ritual? Why was the duty of remembrance of the event bestowed upon He?

As its literal meaning, 'defending the city of Zhou,' implies,¹⁴⁹ the new capital Cheng Zhou (modern Luoyang), due to its geographical characteristics, is traditionally said to have been built

Central Shang" 受中商年). See David Keightley, *The Ancestral Landscape: Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China, ca. 1200-1045 B.C.*

This concept of *sifang* continues even after the fall of Shang, but was augmented, after the demise of Zhou's royal authority, by the *jiuzhou* 九州. In the inscription of the early Western Zhou bronze vessel called Bao *you* 保卣, excavated at Luoyang, Henan, in 1948, and believed to represent the similar period of He *zun* or Ke *lei*, i.e. King Cheng's reign, this concept of *sifang* is used to mean "the world." This evidence shows that the Zhou inherited the spatial concept of world from the Shang from its early period. See MWX 3: 33; JWJC 10: 5415.

Rhetorically it is possible that when King Cheng quotes the King Wu's prayer to Tian, the meaning of *zhongguo* was transferred to the space of the newly built capital, Cheng Zhou, and that the Zhou replaced the Shang's central status by settling in this new capital.

¹⁴⁷ My translation here departs from the common understanding made not only by Ma Chengyuan but also by others such as Tang Lan, all of whom take the subject of the act of 'being awakened to the command' (*cheling* 徹令) as He (i.e. little child 小子). I think that He, consistently described as ignorant child in the text, could not be the subject to "being awakened to the Command."

¹⁴⁸ The concept of *de* 德, which is seldom seen in oracle-bone inscriptions and whose graphic component was different from Shang oracle-bone inscriptions in which the heart signifier is not seen (i.e., 惇). This notion was possibly a Western Zhou conceptual invention. Although it was already being gradually understood as related to the human heart/mind (*xin* 心) in the early Western Zhou inscriptions like the He *zun*, it originally meant the power to see or be seen in relation to a way, path or to walk. This term, however, is mostly used for the King, not for the subjects in the Western Zhou inscriptions, especially early ones.

¹⁴⁹ Written as 成 or 成 in the oracle-bone inscription and later as 成 or 成 in the early Western Zhou inscription, the archaic graph for modern 'cheng' 成 originally meant "to defend, protect the city (*duyi* 都邑) by taking up arms." About the meaning and the change of graph-shape, See Ji Xusheng 季旭昇, *Shuowen xinzheng* 說文新證, (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin, 2010) (hereafter XZ for this book), 1002-1003.

at a strategic location for defensive purposes at the suggestion of the two brothers of King Wu, half-brother Shao Gong Shi 召公奭 and the regent of King Cheng and therefore the *de facto* powerholder, Zhou Gong Dan.¹⁵⁰ Extant Western Zhou inscriptions remain in “complete silence” about the Duke of Zhou. Later sources such as bamboo slip texts parallel to “Jinteng” 金滕 or “Huangmen” 皇門, (the first of which I will discuss in Chapter Five,) describe this man only as the selfless political superhero who dedicated himself to establishing the foundation of the new, as yet unsettled state. At the time, Zhou was in military and political turmoil, especially after the somewhat early death of King Wu, only two years later after the conquest of Shang. According to the accounts of the “Zhou benji” 周本紀 of *Shiji* 史記, after the death of King Wu, his younger brother, Zhou Gong Dan stepped in as regent since the eldest son of King Wu was too young to rule. King Wu’s other brothers Guanshu 管叔 and Caishu 蔡叔, who were ruling the eastern part of the polity, where the former Shang people were living, were said questioned Dan’s legitimacy. They joined forces with the nominal ruler of the defeated Shang, Wu Geng 武庚, fomenting a civil war. Zhou Gong, together with King Cheng and Shao Gong, subdued the allied eastern rebellion and pressed the attack into the areas further east, and brought various peoples living there under the new Zhou’s rule. Through this subjugation of the rebellion that questioned Zhou Gong’s legitimacy, and the successful expansive military campaign to the eastern coast, which resulted in the great expansion of the Zhou’s ruling territory, Zhou Gong’s status not only as regent but also as *de facto* hegemon became established.

Much of the detailed story about the establishment of the new city, Cheng Zhou, comes from the admonitions and dialogs with the new King in the voice of two powerful uncles, two didactically colored re-narrativizations of the event of the capital move,¹⁵¹ “Shao Gao” and “Luo Gao.” A paratext that implies King Cheng was not able to fully act as the rightful ruler, the inscription of the He *zun* is believed to have been cast in this period, probably after the civil war and the colonization of the East, the time when Zhou Gong was more powerful than virtually anyone. However, we cannot find any mention of him in the text. All the actions were described as performed at the will of King Cheng. Modeling himself on his father’s precedent, he performed a ritual towards *tian*, probably wishing, as the city name Cheng Zhou meant, that this move would make the Zhou more secure and flourishing. Thematizing this great event, He now moves on to the next scene that happened sometime later, the scene in which the King summoned and admonished him. Unlike Li, He had no official title, but kinship bond as only a little child of the

¹⁵⁰ A persuasive reconstruction of the historical narrative about the Western Zhou’s transition period by Zhou Gong Dan, based on the traditional accounts, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilizations to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 311-17. Particularly interesting in this reconstruction is his insightful reading of “Shao Gao” 召誥 and “Zun Shi” 君奭 chapters in the *Shangshu*, both of which represent, for Shaughnessy, the politico-philosophical debate between Zhou Gong Dan and Shao Gong Shi 召公奭. Shaughnessy understands that Zhou Gong argued for the idea of Tian’s mandate given not only to the king alone, but also to all Zhou people, whereas Shao Gong Shi claimed only the king and the legitimate eldest son were capable of virtue. The full version of the Shaughnessy’s reading of these two chapters in this light is seen in Edward L. Shaughnessy, “The Duke of Zhou’s Retirement in the East and the Beginnings of the Minister-Monarch Debate in Chinese Political Philosophy,” *Early China* 18 (1993): 41-72.

¹⁵¹ I will discuss the formation of the received *Shangshu* and the creation of the collective memory of the Western Zhou in Chapter Five.

main family (*zong xiaozi* 宗小子). It is not certain what family was called up, or for what specific purpose. Nonetheless, the family must have been a high aristocratic one at least at the time this vessel was made, since King Cheng describes how his forefathers assisted King Wen in receiving the command. Here the idea of “working hard to assist (the King)” (*bi* 弼), combined with the unidentifiability of the *zong*, has the rhetorical effect of highlighting the message of this inscription; that is, demanding for loyalty to *tian* and the state. It is also resonant with the political circumstance that this vessel was made near the rebellion and civil war.

This man He, who is now being admonished by the King about being loyal to his family tradition, is a legitimate son of this family; he officially inherited the status to lead and represent this family, just as the King just did when his father died. although his uncle temporarily took his role. In the later representation of the capital move and the discussion of it between Zhou Gong and King Cheng, called “Luo Gao,” the King identifies himself twice by the term “little child” before Zhou Gong. Another later source “Zhou benji” of *Shiji* also narrates King Cheng temporarily losing his position as the sole authority to his uncle Dan because he was too young. Thus, there is a similarity between the King and He, and what the King said can apply to He’s situation. The message of introduction that the King “followed King Wu’s ritual precedent, and performed the *guan* ritual at Chamber of Tian” closely corresponds to the part where the king requires He to respect his deceased forefathers by performing a ritual to them demonstrating loyalty to *tian* and the King and thereby remaining following to the King Wu’s Great Command (i.e., the conquest of Shang). In this connected narrative structure, the two main characters, King Cheng and He, both perform a ritual for the (deceased) father or ancestors. Thus, interestingly, in this structure, what He is required to model himself on is not only his forefathers, as is explicit, but also implicitly King Cheng.

The message of this inscription is related to the King’s explanation of why He pays his full homage to his ancestors and practice rituals for them; they worked hard to assist King Wen. In the context where King Wu’s feat is directly linked to the memory of He’s forefathers’ helping King Wen, they likely assisted King Wu to conquer Shang and found the new country. In these two events and memories between the He’s family and Kings Wen and Wu, what gives them the authority and the value judgment of greatness is *tian* 天 or great command (*daming* 大命).¹⁵² The King uses dramatic or even theological language to justify his point. As we have seen above in the *Li gui* case, there had already been such a conception that the conquest of Shang and the founding of a new state by King Wu was not contingent but rather predetermined, celestially foreseen and supported. However, the meaning of the event was only vaguely understood. On this point, the He

¹⁵² The term *daming* often seen in the Western bronze inscriptions and transmitted texts is closely related to the compound *tianming*. This connection derives from the view that the archaic graphs of *tian* and *da* in the oracle bone inscriptions are similar in shape, and in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions are consistent with the reading that *tian* bestowed *ming* upon the King, and that received texts therefore rendered the *daming* as *tianming*. However, since *tian* and *da* seem to have been consciously distinguished in the OBI (*tian* 天, 𠄎, 𠄏. See XZ, 37-38; *da* 大, 𠄎. See XZ, 794), the later rendering should not necessarily be prioritized and forced onto earlier texts. I will not assume *daming* meant *tianming*, nor take *daming* as already established technical term like Great Command. To me, it is, in this context at least, more of a generic term, that will somehow be related to later technical terms such as *tianming*.

Martin Kern also pays close attention to the fact that the notion of *tianming* is rarely seen in the *Shangshu*, and raises the possibility of later editorial interventions reading back later political ideas. See Martin Kern, “Bronze Inscriptions, the *Shangshu*, and the *Shijing*: The Evolution of the Ancestral Sacrifice during the Western Zhou,” in *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang Through Han (1250 BC to 220 AD)*, edited by John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2009), 143-200.

zun inscription testifies to a significant conceptual development from the Li *gui*, in terms of metaphysics, the human condition, and even time and space. In this new language, the past is schematized along with the patriarchal linear line (*zong* 宗), from Wen to Wu, and connected to the ultimate supporter of this line, that is, *tian*, a role which was played mainly by the high god called *di* 帝.¹⁵³

As Keightley suggests, for the Shang, the *di* was not yet an entirely differentiated concept of the High God, as they applied this term also to their deceased and divinized ancestors. By contrast, the new term *tian* was a supernatural, non-anthropomorphic, highly abstract entity to which one paid homage, suggesting not only a spatial but also a temporal expansion of the Zhou worldview. We do not know, based on the inscription of He *zun*, why King Wu reported his victory over Shang to *tian*, or why King Cheng demanded He revere Tian by practicing rituals for his ancestors. However, there was a significant conceptual change of the world and time in the Zhou, differentiating itself from that of the Shang, and at the core of the change was *tian* which, as Sarah Allan points out, was often “sky” in the Shang, but now becomes a broader concept. Thus, the change from Shang to Zhou was, in some sense, from the concrete to the abstract. This was a

¹⁵³ The meaning of the graph *di*, written as 帝, 𠩺 in the OBI, still remains indefinite. Wu Dazheng 吳大澂 and Wang Guowei 王國維 understand it as deriving from the shape of a peduncle or calyx, whereas Ye Yushen 葉玉森 and Zhu Fangpu 朱芳圃 take it to represent tied up firewood that was burnt for the high god. These opinions are represented in XZ, 42. In contemporary scholarship, the meaning of *di* in the Shang religious worldview is undisputedly agreed upon to mean the High God above. About this issue, recent detailed research is included in Ju Longhui 具隆會, *Jiaguwen yu Yinshang shidai shenling chongbai yanjiu* 甲骨文與殷商時代神靈崇拜研究, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2013), 117-9; see also Song Zhenhao 宋鎮豪, *Xia Shang shehui shenghuoshi* 夏商社會生活史, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 1994). In these representative works, *di* is defined as the highest celestial deity (*tianshen* 天神) in Shang’s pantheon.

Against the generally accepted understanding of *di* as high god, Robert Eno has revisited and questioned the meaning of it in the oracle-bone inscriptions and argued that the *di*’s root meaning is rather “ancestral father.” See Robert Eno, “Was There a High God Ti in Shang Religion?” *Early China* 15 (1990): 1-26.

More recently, Sarah Allan proposes that Shang Di was originally the spirit of the pole star in the oracle-bone inscriptions, and that *tian*, literally meaning sky not a god in Shang, was the location of Shang Di and came to serve as a metonym for Shang Di. See Sarah Allan, “On the Identity of Shang Di and the Origin of the Concept of a Celestial Mandate (*tianming* 天命),” *Early China* 31 (2007): 1–46. For Allan, the distinctive aspect of the Shang religious worldview was not Shang Di, but that the Shang ancestors were identified with the ten suns. She understands that the Shang’s sky became, in the Zhou, a spiritual force associated with patterns of time, which were revealed in the movements of the celestial bodies.



Paying attention to the linguistic phenomenon that many important terms in the Shang oracle bone inscriptions, such as *fang* 方, *di*, were not clearly differentiated as technical terms, David Keightley suggests that based on the several possible meanings of *di*, its meaning was fluid and vague from ancestors to high gods. Although Shang people divined only to one particular deity but not to ancestral deities, the multiple meanings and various usages of the same term in the divination are likely to indicate that the Shang did not have clear-cut conceptual views about the religious world. Thus, for Keightley, the *di* mainly meant the High God but did not exclude its usage for the deified royal ancestors. See his *The Ancestral Landscape: Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China, ca. 1200-1045 B.C.*, (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2000), particularly, Ch.8.

Keightley finds that in the oracle-bone inscriptions, the concept of *di* was not combined with the spatial term, *shang* 上, and questioned whether or not the assignment of *di* to *shang* (Upper; High), as seen in the examples of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions as *shangdi* 上帝, was originally Shang’s own. However, although the concept of *shangdi* is rarely seen in the oracle-bone inscriptions, it is indeed seen in an example of the late Shang bronze inscriptions such as the Ersi Biqi you 二祀邲其卣 (MWX 3:12).

foundational moment for the traditions of various cultural entities on the continent, when the term, *dao* 道, developed in the wake of the demise of Zhou's royal authority.¹⁵⁴

As in the cases of the received textual tradition, *tian* did not entirely replace the status of *di* in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. This also signals the cultural connectedness and continuity between the Shang and the Zhou. An example of the concept of *shangdi* being used instead of *tian* is the Tian Wang *gui* 天亡簋 inscription, which is believed to have been excavated at Qishan, Shaanxi, during the late Qing period, 1821-1850, representative of the reign period of King Wu, which is earlier than that of He *zun* (See MWX 3:23; JWJC 8:4261; ACBI 13). Another is the Xing Hou *gui* 邢侯簋 (or called Jing Hou *gui* 井侯簋, Zhou Gong *gui* 周公簋, or Ying zuo Zhou Gong *gui* 榮作周公簋), believed to have been unearthed in 1936 and now housed in the British Museum, representative of the period of King Kang's reign (1005/3-978 BCE), around 40-50 years later than that of Tian Wang *gui*.¹⁵⁵ Its inscription has not only the notion of *shangdi* but also that of *xiadi* 下帝 (MWX 3:66; JWJC 8:4241). This *xiadi* concept is particularly interesting because the Shang oracle-bone inscriptions do not have this term, and no other Western Zhou bronze inscription in earlier or later periods have this term. As Ma Chengyuan wrote,¹⁵⁶ this *xiadi* concept may refer to other celestial deities. This signals that the Western Zhou elites could have received not only the concept of the highest deity, i.e., *di*, but also other lower deities or the entire pantheon from the Shang. Alternatively, as Wang Hui suggests,¹⁵⁷ this *xiadi* may refer to the collective body of ancestors before the grandfather. If Wang is right, then, in the early Zhou period, there was a view that the dead royal ancestor became a deity called *di*, the same as the Shang had. In this regard, we see how unique it was for the King of Zhou to begin to sacrifice to *tian*. *Tian* was now no longer the mere concept of space where the deities reside; it had become the highest power in its own right.

Time in the He *zun* has a sort of linearity, based on the main father-son succession line, Wen-Wu-Cheng. The earlier ancestors (later called *xiangong* 先公 or *xianwang* 先王), such as Hou Ji 后稷, Gong Liu 公劉, or Gu Gong Danfu 古公亶父 in the received texts such as *Shiji* and *Shangshu*, had not yet appeared. The ancestral lineage was yet very simple. Zhou's glorious past, according to the early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, began only with King Wen who was commanded by *tian*. As the new state had existed for only 15-20 years and so many witnesses to the whole process of founding the state were still alive, constructing their past remained less imaginary and much simpler. The point where the early Zhou's hermeneutic imagination came into play was when King Wen became linked to *tian*. By doing so, the Zhou opened up the conceptual possibilities that time was not limited to the past that they experienced, but expanded

¹⁵⁴ In the oracle-bone inscriptions, there is no graph for *dao*. In the bronze inscriptions, in which we first find the archaic shape of this graph *dao*, written as  or , which means a way to walk on or walk through, this concept is not only rare but also yet abstracted as truth or a progenitor of the cosmos. See Rong Geng 容庚, ed., *Jinwen bian* 金文編, (Beijing: Zhonghua 1985), 105.

¹⁵⁵ A full English translation of this inscription is provided by Robert Eno in ACBI 28-29.

¹⁵⁶ MWX 3:45-46.

¹⁵⁷ Wang Hui, *Shang Zhou jinwen*, 62.

to a dimension that was beyond their experience; likewise, a possibility of space that was not limited to their physical territory but expanded to the entire cosmos centering around themselves.

The expansion of time did not only hold for the King and his family; it was also the experience of He. When He followed King Cheng's command as in the inscription, i.e., to reverently perform a ritual for the memories of the ancestors and their service to Kings Wen and Wu, he brought the memories of the Wen-Wu past to his family and the local community; requiring them to embody the memories as their own. The state memories of the Zhou are now being inscribed on him, his family, and community. It is not the memory of the ancestors themselves, but the memory of their great service to the state and to Kings Wen and Wu. What needs to be remembered is not simply the ancestors, or He's family history, but that He's family worked for the glory of the Zhou. Thus, by remembering the past and practicing a ritual to revitalize the past in the present, he acknowledges his duty to his country in his familial history, and projects this forward to the present King Cheng and not betray him like the Eastern rebels.

Another new concept that appears in the He *zun* is "command" (*ming* 命) or "great command" (*daming* 大命). The inscription of He *zun* does not define exactly what the command was, who or what commanded King Wen, or why King Wen received the command. The only thing that we know from the He *zun* is that King Wen received the command, and, since He's ancestors venerated *tian*, they believed in that the King Wen got a command. In this, a significant connection was made between *tian* and command; if one venerates *tian*, she/he would adhere to the command as well. The inscription says, "you should look up to your clan's forefathers, who had venerated *tian* and thereby adhered to the (King Wen's) command" 視于公氏有爵(恪)於天, 徹令(命). This does not necessarily mean that *tian* gave him/her a command, but that his/her venerating *tian* would lead him/her to adherence to the command. As the *di*'s is in the oracle-bone inscriptions, the *tian*-related future, whether one receives the command or not, is unknown. To know it, one has to revere *tian* and, as the He *zun* inscription indicates, practice rituals for it. As in the oracle-bone inscriptions, one has a responsibility to hold rituals and serve the supernatural respectfully. But as the Shang King had no moral duty, such as good governance, to receive an auspicious result, it is unclear whether He should be moral or not in order to follow the great command, as in later texts such as *Shangshu* or *Lunyu*. Certainly, He needs to perform the ritual for his ancestors reverently and ultimately serve his King reverently, as his ancestors did for their kings. The use of the term *de* in this inscription is, in this sense, only secondary.¹⁵⁸ In the bronze

¹⁵⁸ A moral consciousness concerning the *tian* is not yet established, but based on other evidence gradually emerge in this period as supported by the other evidence. In 1986, two bronze vessels, called Ke *lei* 克罍, and Ke *he* 克盃, were excavated from Tomb 1193, Liulihe 琉璃河, Beijing, and the vessels have identical inscriptions. According to the description of the person upon whom these vessels were bestowed, they are likely to represent a period close to the He *zun*, that is, the reign of King Cheng. For the initial archaeological report of the excavation, see Liulihe kaogu dui 琉璃河考古隊, "Beijing Liulihe 1193 hao fajue jianbao" 北京琉璃河 1193 號大墓發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 考古 1 (1990): 20-31. For an English translation of Ke *lei*, see ACBI 19-20.








This short inscription starts with the following sentence:

inscriptions made in this period or sometime earlier, a good deed does not appear as a topic of the king's admonition or proclamation. Morality was not yet a topic for a discourse on ruling. It was surely emerging in the culture, with the new concepts such as *de* 德, *ming* 明, *xin* 心, *xiao* 孝, all of whose meanings were not significant in the oracle-bone inscriptions, but gradually appear more frequently and are concretely used from the time of early Western Zhou on.¹⁵⁹ Based on extant early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, these notions, which constituted the core of the later philosophical and religious traditions, seem to have begun to be conceptualized only in the Western Zhou.



王曰：“大(太)保， 隹(唯)乃明乃心，
享于乃辟， 余大對乃享。令(命)克侯
于匱(燕)。…”

The King said: “Taibao, brighten your mind and perform a ritual for your [past] king(s), and I will greatly respond to it and perform a ritual. I command Ke Hou (to go to) Yan. …”

The initial excavation report of Liulihe kaogudui, jointly authored by the Zhongguo Shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所 and Beijing shi Wenwu yanjiusuo 北京市文物研究所, provides a transcription of the inscription. It reads the crucial graph  as *chang* 鬯, which means a cup for fragrant wine. In this reading, the first sentence becomes *naiming naichang* 乃明乃鬯 means “You, cleanse your wine cup” (*nai* 乃 is often understood as the second person pronoun, *you*, in the bronze inscriptions and early texts such as *Shangshu*). But the archaic graph for *chang* seems somewhat different in shape in other oracle-bone or bronze inscriptions. In oracle bone inscriptions, it is written like  or , and in the early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, it is  or . For the graphical changes, see XZ, 443. I read the graph in question as mind (*xin* 心), whose archaic shape seems closer to the graph in question:  in OBI;  in a middle period BI. See XZ 819. Wang Hui understands this graph also as *xin* rather than *chang*. See Wang Hui 2006, 48. Yan Sun in ACBI basically follows the first reading and glosses it as just ‘wine.’ See ACBI 20.

In this inscription, the King Cheng orders Taibao, who is Shao Gong Shi, a half-brother of King Wu and Zhou Gong, to clarify his mind (*mingxin* 明心) and perform the ritual for the deceased kings, probably Wen and Wu. As we see in the King's following statement, the king requires Taibao to reverently perform ritual; the focus is not on *mingxin* but *xiang* 享. But we also can see that although the *mingxin* is preparatory to the performance of ritual, it becomes more precise and emerge as more significant.

¹⁵⁹ In the inscription of Shi Xun *gui* 師詢簋, a lost vessel, we see a similar statement to that of the *Ke lei*, saying “Respectfully clarify your mind!” (*jingming naixin* 敬明乃心) but also several concrete new terms such as *tianming* and *daming* in combination with old terms such as *shangdi*. For the full text, based on the existing rubbing, and its transcription, see MWX 3: 245, 147; JWJC 8: 4342. For an English translation, see ACBI 112-114. Ma Chengyuan understands, in his MWX, this vessel belonging to the reign of King Yi (r. 899/97-873 BCE), which is conventionally categorized as the middle period of the Western Zhou. However, it seems that since the vessel itself has been lost, we now cannot reliably date it.

In this regard, the message of He *zun* is to require a non-royal elite to submit himself, his family, and his local community to this new state of Zhou by remembering and embodying, through the practice of ritual, familial service to the past Kings. Moreover, such a particular command to remember and practice the past was expressed in newly emerging cultural ideas and discourses over the next decades.

Based on the Shang's cultural legacy, the Zhou developed new concepts, new ideas of time and space that corresponded with its new political status as the hegemonic center of the continent. As the new order of Zhou became stabilized, a two-way cultural reformation rapidly unfolded. In the late stages of the early Western Zhou, royal elite culture already attained command of new concepts in good concert with the old ones.

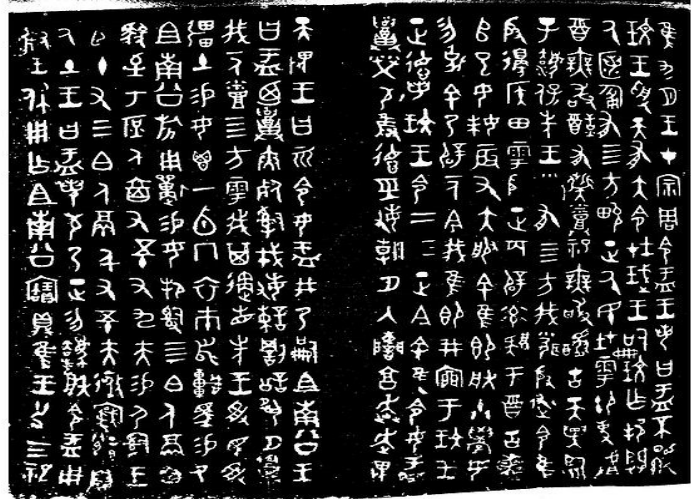
In the inscription of the Da Yu *ding* 大盂鼎, which is believed to have been cast in the reign of King Kang (1005/3-978 BCE), we see another mode of conceptual synthesis around fifty years after the He *zun* was made.¹⁶⁰ The Da Yu *ding* is an exceptional bronze vessel among the early vessels of the Western Zhou; its most notable feature is its strikingly long inscription, consisting of 19 lines, 291 graphs. An inscription this long has not been seen in any other bronze inscription from this period or earlier, although we find inscriptions of this length on vessels made seven or six decades later. As we will see more in detail below, the Qiang *pan*, believed to have been created in the reign of King Gong (917/15-900 BCE), still has a relatively longer inscription than other vessels produced in the same period. But even the Qiang *pan*'s inscription is shorter than that of Da Yu *ding*; it has 18 lines, 284 graphs. Generally speaking, the average number of graphs in one inscription rapidly rose from the early to middle Western Zhou period. The exceptional length of Da Yu *ding* inscription is a forerunner of the trend. The inscription's calligraphy is beautiful, and its characters are geometrically placed each character in exact row and column. In contents, this inscription shows a great transitional phase of conceptual development in the early-mid Western Zhou culture.

The content of the inscription consists of two parts. The first is King Kang's admonition to Yu. The second records how the king dispatched Yu to the frontier, probably as part of a military expansion, and bestowing upon him personnel and slaves as well as many other items, both necessities and luxuries. Here I translate the first part only:

¹⁶⁰ This vessel's provenance is unclear; information about the date and site of its discovery, excavation, or the course of its private transmissions has not been clearly identified. For the full transcription and rubbing of this vessel, see MWX 3: 62; JWJC 5: 2837. A full English translation is provided by Constance A. Cook in ACBI 30-35.



Da Yu ding 大盂鼎



Inscription 大盂鼎 銘文

佳(唯)九月，王才(在)宗周，令(命)孟。王若曰：“孟，不(丕)顯玟王受天有(佑)大令(命)。在玟王嗣玟乍(作)邦，闢卒(厥)匿(慝)，匍(敷)有四方，峻正卒(厥)民。在于御事，[盧+又]酉(酒)無敢酖；有柴烝祀，無敢擾。古(故)天異(翼)臨子，廢保先王，…有四方。我聞殷述(墜)令(命)，佳(唯)殷邊侯，田(甸)，與殷正百辟，率肆(肆)於酉(酒)，古(故)喪師已。女(汝)妹(昧)辰又(有)大服，余佳(唯)即朕，小學(教)，女(汝)。勿蔽余乃辟一人。今余佳(唯)即井(型)稟于玟王正德，若玟王令(命)二三正。今余佳(唯)令(命)女(汝)，孟召榮苟(敬)雖德烝(經)，敏朝夕入調(諫)，享奔走，畏天畏(威)。” ……

In the ninth lunar month, the King stayed at the Zong Zhou [i.e., old capital by King Wu, Hao 鎬 or Hao Jing 鎬京, modern Chang'an county, Shaanxi] and commanded Yu. The King said as follows: “Yu, the grand, splendid King Wen received the great command from *tian*. In his time, King Wu succeeded King Wen and founded this state. He executed the evildoers [i.e., the Shang], occupied four quarters far and wide, and governed his people well. While at state affairs, he drank wine but dared not be drunk; having firewood (burnt) and performing Zheng ritual (for *tian*), he dared not be perturbed. Therefore, *tian* guarded and attended to his son,¹⁶¹ and mightily protected (the spirits of) the former kings, (and so his son) occupied the four quarters. I heard Yin violated the command; it was because the lords and officials at the Yin's frontiers as well as the myriad bureaucrats at the Yin's interior completely indulged in wine and so they ended up losing their military. You are yet unenlightened but have greatly served me,¹⁶² so I will give you a little lesson in

¹⁶¹ Wang Hui follows Yu Shengwu's idea and reads the character *zi* 子 as *ci* 慈, and reads it as an adverb, “benignly.” See Wang Hui 2006, 68. However, I think it seems more natural to understand it as an accusative noun, meaning “son,” by which Da Yu ding would match its contemporary companion the Xing Hou gui 邢侯簋, seen above, on the conceptual linkage of the parent-son relationship between Tian and Kang. For an English translation of this inscription, see ACBI 28-29.

¹⁶² Ma Chengyuan reads 妹(昧)辰 as *meishuang* 昧爽, which means “at dawn,” and understands that it indicates the time when this admonition was being made to Yu (MWX 3:39). I take it analogically, comparing the time of dawn to

person¹⁶³: Never blind me, the One Man. Now I am modeling myself on and succeeding the upright *de* of King Wen. This is the same as what King Wen commanded of the two or three upright (subjects). Now I command you, Yu, call bright men together and respectfully harmonize yourself with them and virtuously [*de*] (help) rule, and promptly, in the morning and at night, attend the court and remonstrate with me; hasten during rituals; and stand in awe of *tian*'s authority.”

This inscription includes critical concepts such as *ming*, *tian*, the son of *tian*, and *de*, all of which reflect the intellectual changes or developments of the Zhou from the earlier periods, represented by the *Li gui*, *He zun*, and others. This inscription on the *Da Yu ding* shows an important moment in the development of the conceptual model of Western Zhou culture. This development coincides with the period that, according to the traditional accounts in received texts such as the *Shiji* or *Shangshu*, the Western Zhou reached peak peace and stability. As Shaughnessy explains, this was the period during which Zhou rule became consolidated in its political and social dimensions.¹⁶⁴ Its consolidation in the cultural dimension is exemplified in the *Da Yu ding*.

This inscription of *Da Yu ding* begins with a brief introductory remark in which readers seem to get information only about the setting of the memory. We do not know why exactly the King was staying at the old capital in the ninth month, but when the narrator, King Kang, recalls the memories of Kings Wen and Wu and their feats, we understand that the location of the “Ancestral Shrine of the Zhou” (*zongzhou* 宗周) was an ideal setting for the King to admonish his subject Yu by identifying himself with the Wen-Wu exemplars.¹⁶⁵ As King Kang says, “Now I am modeling myself on and succeeding the upright virtue of King Wen; this is the same as what King Wen commanded of the two or three upright (subjects)” 今余隹(唯)即井(型)稟于玟王正德, 若玟王令(命)二三正. The king's admonition to Yu is reenacting the past of Kings Wen and Wu in the present by repeating the King's admonition to the subject. The parallelism between the main characters, between the past and the present, by which the past revives at the moment of the present, becomes more effective in the meaning of the Zong Zhou. It results in the intensification of King Kang's message to Yu: what the king admonishes Yu is an extension of the sacred tradition.

Here the character of the vessel owner, Yu, is noteworthy. Most of the information about this man appears in the second part of this vessel, which is not translated above. According to the

the state of his intellect. As is also seen in the inscription of *He zun*, this type of analogical statement legitimizes the King's admonition and symbolically establishes an unbridgeable gap of status between the King and the subject.

¹⁶³ Both Ma Chengyuan (MWX 3:39) and Wang Hui (2006, 69) understand the word 小學(教) as to indicate the royal preliminary school, based on the traditional accounts of *xiaoxue* 小學 as a part of Western Zhou school system such as the “Bao Fu” 保傅 chapter of *Da Dai Li* 大戴禮. But I take this more literally as meaning “little lesson,” indicating a signaling statement that the King will begin his main admonition to Yu.

¹⁶⁴ In presenting a reconstructed history of this period based on the traditional sources and some bronze inscriptions, Shaughnessy points out that *Zhushu jinian* shows no evidence of any military campaign from the midpoint of King Cheng's reign to the end of King Kang's. See Edward Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” 1999, 318.

¹⁶⁵ Representing the image of spirit-tablet (*shenzhu* 神主) in the middle of shrine, like 𡇗 or 𡇘 in oracle bone inscriptions and bronze inscriptions, the archaic graph *zong* originally means the ancestral shrine, as Xu Shen 許慎 (58-147 CE) points out in his *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字. Xu Shen 許慎 (58-147 CE), *Shuowen jiezi (zhuyin pan)* 說文解字 (注音版), (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2015), 148b.

description, Yu had a grandfather named Nan Gong 南公, for whom Yu made the vessel. King Kang was conscious of Yu's grandfather when he commanded Yu to model himself on his grandfather. King Kang conceived of a family line that is drawn from the past, from Nan Gong down to Yu, a lineage that corresponds to his own from Wen and Wu to King Kang himself. In this way, the past of two different families paralleled and overlapped.¹⁶⁶

According to the second part of the inscription, the vessel was made not just for remembering the King Kang's admonition to Yu; it was also for the king's appointing Yu as a general who was going to be sent to the frontier. Based on the parallel between the families, the Da Yu *ding* inscription represents a memory made on the historic day of Yu's appointment as Captain for the new military expansion of the Zhou at the old capital named "Ancestral Shrine of the Zhou." Now we can get a more precisely framed structure of this narrative: 1) the two main characters correspond to each other through their familial history: Kings Wen and Wu to King Kang and Nan Gong to Yu; 2) the space to which the memory is assigned applies to both families; they were here and are here, too. In this structure, the two main characters reenact the glorious past in the present, through the appointment.



In the admonition, King Kang uses the concept of *ming* in a new way. The concept of *ming* was already shown in the Li *gui*, although the meaning and usage was still generic. It was in the He *zun* that the meaning of *ming* become more concretized in relation to another emerging concept of *tian*. However, even in the He *zun*, some core issues such as how *tian* is related to *ming*, and what the content and nature of the *ming* is, remain unclarified. The Da Yu *ding* inscription is significant in the sense that these two issues of the relationship between *ming* and *tian* become clearer.

According to the inscription, *tian* is described as assisting King Wen to receive the command. While the He *zun* inscription says that one's great service to *tian* leads a ruler to adhere to the command, the Da Yu *ding* inscription clarifies how *tian* leads the ruler to assist. Using the Yin (Shang) example,¹⁶⁷ it relates the sense of morality not only to the concept of *ming* but also to that of *tian*. The Yin abandoned its command by indulging in wine and did not make an effort to govern well. The inscription says that they were evil 匪 (慝), and so were destined to be executed 闕 by King Wu whom *tian* commanded. Here King Wu is portrayed as different from the Yin royals. He drank wine too but was always mindful about being drunk in any circumstance, even when he was performing the Zheng ritual for *tian*, where he was expected to have an ecstatic communion with the spirit(s) just as the Shang Kings did. This suggests that *tian* for the Zhou ruler was not the object of shamanistic pursuit but rather of sober, moralistic pursuit, at least in a nominal sense. *Tian* has a moral dimension.

¹⁶⁶ Nangong Kuo's name is also seen in the "Zun Shi" 君奭 of *Shangshu*. Shaughnessy identifies Nan Gong as Nangong Kuo 南宮括, who was honorably remembered by Duke of Zhou as a high minister who served Kings Wen and Wu, and helped them found the new state. See Edward Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilizations to 221 B.C.*, 320.

¹⁶⁷ As Keightley points out, in the oracle-bone inscriptions, the royal Shang elites called themselves mainly *da yi shang* 大邑商, which means "the great city (settlement) Shang," but made no reference to any settlement or region named Yin 殷, which appears only in the later records such as bronze inscriptions, *Shangshu*, or *Shiji*, where we see the two terms Shang and Yin being used interchangeably. David Keightley, "The Shang: China's First Historical Dynasty," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999). This suggests that the Yin was Zhou's term for the preceding central state they replaced.


King Wu did not go against *tian*'s will and only desired to be a moral ruler, and so *tian* guarded and attended him, according to the inscription. This shows how the Zhou invested *tian* with a moral quality and consequently paved the way for the later theological debates whether *tian* is indifferent to humans, whether it speaks through indirect means, and whether *ming* is knowable or not -- debates which arose in the later philosophical texts such as *Lunyu*, *Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Mengzi*, *Xunzi*, some of which I will discuss in Chapter Six. *Tian* in this inscription is depicted as the ultimate guardian and protector of the moral ruler, no longer a commander but a supporter. It is now working with its worldly surrogate to realize the goal of morality in the earthly world. The conceptual model of *tian* in relation to the Zhou ruler is two-way. It shows that *tian* was understood by the Zhou as more predictable than *di*, whose intentions were always remained murky and difficult to known.

The shift in connotations of *tian* explains another cultural transition in the Zhou: the increasing significance and development of the concept of *de* 德. It was no longer a power to monitor what is happening from every direction (graphed  in a Shang oracle-bone inscription; *Heji* 合集 20547). The Zhou thought that power necessarily comes from the moral heart/mind of the ruler (seen as  in the *Da Yu ding* inscription).¹⁶⁸ Such an emphasis on the concept of *de* shows how the fall of Shang was interpreted in moralistic terms by the Zhou. It signals that they were able to legitimize their establishment of the state as the new hegemon with a new framework based on moral governance by a ruler supported by *tian*.

In this, the concept of *ming* comes to have solid content: it is not to be distracted but to make every effort to rule the state morally. Although sources do not describe the content of *ming* relative to the factors like the welfare or response of the population, as with later concepts like benevolent governance (*renzheng* 仁政), Kingly Dao (*wangdao* 王道), or people-centeredness (*minben* 民本) in the received *Mengzi*, this *ming* in the *Da Yu ding* inscription shows that the Zhou reached a clear understanding and began to define *ming* more concretely.¹⁶⁹

These concepts of *ming* or *daming* imbued with moral content became established at this stage. This establishment, as we see in the inscription, of the idea of morality as key to governing was not only applied to the ruler but also to the non-royal elites of the Zhou. The inscription says, "Now I command you, (Yu,) call bright men together and respectfully harmonize yourself with them and virtuously [*de*] (help) rule" 今余侏(唯)令(命)女(汝), 孟召榮苟(敬)雖德至(經). The command is no longer a remembrance of a certain past or solely assisting the king loyally, but a moral mission that helps his ruler to be upright and rule his country as *tian* wishes.

Furthermore, in this inscription, we see another significant conceptual change concerning *tian*: the moral ruler is identified as *tian*'s son. The inscription says, "(Because he did not indulge in drinking wine), *tian* guarded and attended to its son, and mightily protected (the spirits of) the former kings, [and so the son] occupied the four quarters 古(故)天異(翼)臨子, 廢保先王, …有四方." Although the *Da Yu ding* inscription does not use the compound noun *tianzi*, it is





¹⁶⁸ In fact, the *Da Yu ding* inscription even uses a compound "upright *de*" (*zhengde* 正德) .

¹⁶⁹ This idea of *ming* is best exemplified by the inscription of *Mao Gong ding* 毛公鼎 (MWX 3:447; JWJC 5:2841), dating from the reign of King Xuan (827/25-781 BCE). An English translation of the *Mao Gong ding* inscription is provided by Constance A. Cook in ACBI 204-209.

clear that the virtuous ruler is described as the son of *tian*. In the inscription of the Xing Hou *gui* 邢侯簋, which was made in the same period of King Kang's reign (1005/3-978 BCE), we see the same term *tianzi* used. In the inscription of the Mai Fang *zun* 麥方尊 or simply Mai *zun* 麥尊 (MWX 3: 67), which was also cast in the reign of King Kang, the term *tianzi* is also being used in line with another term *wang*. These cases suggest that the concept of *tianzi* already had wide currency during King Kang's reign and was interchangeably used with *wang*. Based on the bronze inscriptions, the Western Zhou elites maintained the concept of *wang* until the end of the state. The Shang conceptual legacy was not easily abandoned, and the Zhou's invention did not easily replace the older one. However, the new equation of *wang*, originally meaning "punisher," with the son of *tian* indicates how the view of the ruler was transforming into a moral one.¹⁷⁰

The Da Yu *ding* inscription shows that the Zhou reached the point that previous concepts and ideas of the Shang developed into and were replaced by their own to accommodate the new political setting. By this significant change in culture, the Zhou became the hegemon, not only of politics, military, or international relations but also of culture in the northern continent. By concepts and ideas to interpret the world on its terms and making the non-Zhou accept the new ideas, the Zhou provided the members with a practical tool to locate themselves in the Zhou's world.¹⁷¹

The conceptual development of the Zhou reached a defining moment with the Da Yu *ding* inscription. However, it does not mean that the memory and story of the past in the Zhou worked only in the centripetal manner, for the commemoration of the state. There was another way of working the memory and story that was centrifugal, resisting a merger with the state and remaining independent. This tendency, which became stronger when the central force of the Zhou weakened, prepared memory and story after the hegemony finally collapsed. I will examine the change, using the inscription of the Qiang *pan* 牆盤 (or Shi Qiang *pan* 史牆盤), dating from the King Gong's reign, 917/15-900 BCE. The vessel was excavated at Zhuangbai 莊白 village, Fufeng 扶風 County, Shaanxi 陝西 in 1976.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ The archaic graph *wang* graphically represents the image of an axe blade struck down to the earth (e.g., the graphs , ,  in the oracle bone inscriptions; or more clearly,  in the late Shang bronze inscription; for the graphic variations and the changes of graph shape, see XZ, 48. This suggests that the concept of *wang* in the Shang culture meant the principal punisher, who controls and executes the armed forces. In this sense, *wang* does not presume any metaphysical worldview. His nominal task, represented in the graphs above, was execution. The Shang conception of the ruler as executioner changed to one in which the ruler was understood as the sole political agent and filial son of *tian* who governed the world morally, and also performed the ritual for *tian*, as filial sons hold ritual ceremonies regularly for their fathers. Thus, in this conceptual change, the ruler is envisioned as having transcendental and more absolute authority.

¹⁷¹ Interestingly, such a conceptual development largely coincides with the process of bronze vessel evolution that Jessica Rawson proposes. See her "Western Zhou Archaeology," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, 1999, 359-60. According to Rawson's formulation of the Western Zhou bronze vessel's stylistic development, the vessels from the reign of King Wu (r. 1049/45-43 BCE) to the beginning period of King Zhao (r. 977/75-957 BCE) were stylized with Zhou variations on Shang prototypes, and then became progressively conventional. Rawson here sees a dramatic change in bronze vessel style after the reign of King Gong (917/15-900 BCE), in which old motifs suddenly disappear and new motifs became popular. She suspects this sudden stylistic change is related to the change of the form of ritual performance in which the vessels were being used, and calls this a "Ritual Revolution" (1999, 360).

¹⁷² Qiang *pan* in MWX 3:225; JWJC 16:10175. For the report of the excavation related to the Qiang *pan*, see Shaanxi Zhouyuan kaogudui 陝西周原考古隊, "Shaanxi Fufeng Zhuangbai yihao Xizhou qingtongqi jiaocang fajue jianbao"



Shi Qiang pan 史牆盤

Inscription 史牆盤 銘文

曰，古文王，初盤蘇於政，上帝降懿德大粵(屏)，匍(敷)有上下，合受萬邦。迅围武王，適征(正)四方，達殷峻民，永不鞏(恐)狄盧，懲伐尸(夷)童。憲聖成王，左右綏會剛絲(漁)，用肇徹周邦。肅哲康王，遂尹億疆。宏魯邵(昭)王，廣能支楚荆，佳(唯)煥南行。祇顯穆王，井(型)帥字誨。申寧天子，天子紹鑽(鑽)文武長刺，天子眉無白。撰祁上下，亟熙宣慕(謨)，昊照亡(無)敦。上帝后夔，允保受(授)天子綰令厚福豐年，方蠻亡(無)不朝見。

Saying: In the past, King Wen first brought harmony to the government, and then Shang *di* sent down the uncommon virtue and excellent protection. Widely occupying the high and low territories, King Wen merged the ten thousand states. Rapid and defensive was King

陝西扶風莊白一號西周青銅器窖藏發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物 3 (1978): 1-18. Tang Lan writes an article about the historical significance of this bronze vessel. Tang Lan 唐蘭, “Lüelun Xizhou Weishi jiazou jiaocang tongqi de zhongyao yiyi” 略論西周微史家族窖藏銅器的重要意義, *Wenwu* 文物 3 (1978): 19-25. Qiu Xigui gives an excellent transcription of this vessel. See Qiu Xigui “Shi Qiang pan ming jieshi” 《史牆盤》銘解釋, *Wenwu* 文物 3 (1978): 25-32. A fine English translation of Qiang pan and its detailed commentary has been made in Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). Shaughnessy’s Qian pan translation is based on Qiu Xigui’s transcription. Constance A. Cook also offers her fine translation in ACBI 93-100. However, like the other ones in this chapter, I provide my own English translation for it.

Wu; he followed and conquered the four quarters. He defeated Yin and corrected its people. Eternally not fearing the Di nations, he subjugated the Yi minions. Exemplary and sagely was King Cheng; casting and hauling the net to the left and right, he clearly understood (all affairs) and corrected the Zhou state. Solemn and wise was King Kang; he finally pacified the various lands of the border. Marvelous and cautious was King Zhao; he competently subjugated the Chu and made a connection to the Southern route. Reverent and radiant was King Mu; (he) patterned (himself) on and followed great counsel. Continually tranquil was the Son of *tian* [i.e., King Gong]; the Son of *tian* has striven to carry on the valor of Wen and Wu. The Son of *tian* is diligent and without flaw; he faithfully makes offering to (the spirits) above and below, and reverently seeks the great plan(s). He is august, radiant and incorruptible. May Shang *di* and Hou Ji save and protect the Son of *tian*, and give him extended command, great blessings, and abundant harvests! May the borderland tribes not be seen at court.

青(精)幽高祖，才(在)微需(靈)處。雱武王既傷殷，微史(使)刺(烈)祖迺來見武王，武王則令(命)周公舍宇于周，卑(俾)處。甬(通)惠乙祖，仇匹卒(厥)辟，遠猷復心，子汲葬明。亞祖祖辛，甄毓子孫，繁祓多釐，櫛(齊)角熾光，義其禋祀。舒遲文考乙公，遽(競)爽得屯(純)無練，農嗇(穡)戊(越)歷。

Numinous and tranquil is the High Ancestor; residing at Wei the ethereal place. When King Wu defeated Yin, the valorous ancestors of the Wei family came to see King Wu. King Wu then commanded the Duke of Zhou to let them live in a low place of Zhou. Penetrating and wise Ancestor Yi; in assisting and serving his (King), his profundity was to make the King's heart return, and to lead him to clear understanding. Grandfather Xin of a collateral family; greatly nurturing sons and grandsons, he performed exorcisms and had many blessings. (His sacrifices were) even-horned and had red gleaming eyes; only when appropriate he burnt them for the ritual. Leisurely and free was my father, Yi Gong; being upright, strong, and cheerful, he obtained purity but did not rush. Seeding and harvesting were how he passed the time.

佳(唯)辟孝友，史墻夙夜不墜，其日蔑歷，墻弗敢沮。對揚天子不(丕)顯休令(命)，用乍(作)寶尊彝。刺(烈)且(祖)文考弋(翼)休，受墻爾魯福懷祓祿，黃耇彌生，勤事卒(厥)辟，其萬年永寶用。

Filial and convivial is Scribe Qiang (i.e., narrator himself). Every morning and night, not being corrupted, and encouraging myself every day, I, Qiang, dare not stop. Extolling the Son of *tian*'s great bright command, here I make this treasurable vessel. May my valorous ancestors and deceased-father support and protect me, and let me Qiang receive great fortune and abundant wealth; even if I am aging and weakened, may I be worthy to serve my King. May (my sons and grandsons), for ten thousand years, eternally treasure and use this vessel.

A striking feature of this inscription is its parallel structure. This vessel was not made for social memory but primarily for the Qiang's familial memory, in line with the memory of the glorious royal past. This inscription was not made for an occasion when the king bestowed bronze upon his

subject or the subject had to commemorate a specific event.¹⁷³ Instead, this *pan* vessel was cast for the Qiang's ancestral ritual or his desire to record his familial past. Qiang was a scribe for King Gong. However, nowhere in the inscription can we find the clue that he made this vessel to commemorate mainly the royal past, or any special event of the state. Instead, Qiang wanted to make the vessel and inscription for himself, wishing his descendants would remember him forever as a figure to represent the family. In this regard, the Qiang *pan* signifies a critical moment in Western Zhou culture, a moment in which a non-royal individual speaks for himself through bronze materials. He is no longer an object subjugated to the king's or state's memory, but a subject who speaks for his own and his family's past. This was a moment when individualized personality emerged over the state, through self-writing. In this sense, the Qiang *pan* differentiates itself from the other Western Zhou bronze inscriptions we have seen above.

The advent of the individual and his voice narrating himself in memory signals a significant change in how individuals see and understand themselves in the world, and the change is related to the boundary between individual and state. The equation, the identification between individuals and their larger collective entity began to be ruptured. One's own past is no longer represented through the state's past. Qiang's record of himself and his ancestors on the *pan* vessel thus meaningfully reveals a break between the individual self and the collective self in the mid-Western Zhou.

However, Qiang's individuality remains incomplete. His memory of the familial past is still constructed according to the past of the state. His desire for wealth, fortune, and health are also raised only in the context of his wish to serve the King longer. Qiang's self is not yet entirely separate from the state. This lack of differentiation was a feature of the concept of self in pre-modern culture, which lasted long after the Zhou.

The Shi Qiang *pan* describes two competing modes of memory and stories of the past. One is state-based memory and story, represented by the royal lineage and the historic events of the state. The other is individualized, revealed through Qiang's narration of his family and himself. In Qiang's monologue, the royal past works only as a temporal correspondence, and its significance is subordinated to the individualized past. The Qiang *pan* reveals a subtle tension between two desires: one desires to tie the individual to the realm of the royal and the state whereas the other desires to break from the limitation and confinement of the realm of the state.

In this tension in the Qiang *pan* inscription, the temporal linearity, constructed by the succession of former Kings, was a development from earlier examples. The inscription says, "May Shang *di* and Hou Ji save and protect the Son of *tian*, and give him the extended command, great blessings, and abundant harvests!" 上帝后稷，允保受(授)天子綰令厚福豐年。Here the name of Hou Ji 后稷 is noteworthy. Later textual traditions such as *Shijing* or *Shiji* describes a figure named Hou Ji as a founder of the Zhou line. In this received account, Hou Ji is a mythical, god-like figure. However, his name does not appear in early Western Zhou inscriptions. The Zhou's royal lineage was simpler. It often began with King Wen, as this Qiang *pan* does. The Qiang *pan* inscription has no explicit link between Hou Ji and Kings Wen and Wu. In earlier inscriptions,

¹⁷³ Li Feng examines various cases where Western Zhou bronze inscriptions were extensively made and used for "non-religious" and "practical" purpose as well, such as land tenure or law enforcement in the Western Zhou society. See his "Literacy and the Social Context of Writing in the Western Zhou," in *Writing and Literacy in Early China*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 271-300. The popularity of the bronze inscription reflects the way that bronze no longer worked as a symbolic material for commemorating exclusive political authority and status after the controlling power of the center became weakened, especially during mid and late Western Zhou periods.

Hou Ji did not appear as a high god. However, the Qiang *pan* inscription signals that the name of Hou Ji had already entered into the Zhou social memory as a legitimate part of construction of the past. The inscription of the Qiang *pan* then shows the initial moment in which the theological quest for the people's origin was conceived in mid-Zhou society. Then what the Qiang *pan* inscription represents is the beginning phase of how one individual was constructed in the early culture.¹⁷⁴ As I will show in next section, after the hegemony of the Western Zhou ended, local entities constructed memories and stories of their past in diverse ways, most of which sought to extend their own past to the imaginary sphere of deities. In this course, someone in the deity level like Hou Ji became justified and concretized with notions of *xiangong* 先公 and *xianwang* 先王 and finally merged into the historical lineage.

What brought about these significant changes? The emergence of the individual subject, the break between self and state, and the increased significance of the question of origins, what changes in mid-Zhou society did they reflect? Shaughnessy points out that middle Western Zhou society, starting from the reign of King Mu (956-918 BCE), nearly 100 years after the King Wu's

¹⁷⁴ Concerning this issue, one important bronze inscription that we should not miss is the Ban *gui* 班簋 inscription (MWX 3:168; JWJC 8:4341). This inscription represents a royal memory of King Mu's reign (956-918 BCE), particularly one related to Ban's being praised and promoted after King Mu's historic military campaign to Xu Rong 徐戎. For this event, see Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," 323-25. What makes this vessel inscription significant, despite its nature as a means of commemorating the state memory, is that it unusually records Ban's own response to the King. Comparing it with other inscriptions made at the same time or earlier, this inscription, although it does not constitute a *historical* dialogue between the King and Ban the subject, represents the subject's own voice to the king as he is promoted by the King Mu. Admittedly, what Ban says to the King merely exalts the honor and authority of the king, and thus his voice is still somewhat generic, because its audience is the King. This shows that an individual like Ban was able to insert his own voice into the bronze vessel inscription even while the inscription commemorates the state's historic past. This Ban *gui* inscription shows the important transitional moment from earlier inscriptions to the Shi Qiang *pan* inscription, in which an individual voice became significant. This signals an important social and cultural change in the middle Western Zhou period.



Ban *gui* 班簋



Inscription 班簋 銘文

The Ban *gui* vessel is believed to have been possessed by Qing court, but now is lost. In 1972, the Bureau of Cultural Relics of Beijing 北京市文物局 reports having collected a vessel whose inscription was identical with that of the lost Ban *gui*, but the vessel itself is believed to be different from the lost one. Their report is found in the ninth volume of *Wenwu* 文物 journal, published in 1972. A full English translation of the inscription is in ACBI 60-63.

conquest of Shang, was facing the significant socio-political issue of the gradual fragmentation of the Zhou by region, due to natural demographic dynamics.¹⁷⁵ The Eastern territories, where the Shang people and the members of other ethnic and cultural entities had been residing, colonized after the civil war by Zhou Gong with Shao Gong and young King Cheng, were now ruled by the cousins twice or three times removed, and the families of the founding contributors of the Zhou in the old capital were gradually diminishing and weakened. The social and political ties of Zhou society, effectively bound together by military force, enfeoffment of land, and cultural hegemony, was loosened. According to Shaughnessy, the laxity of political ties was an important cause for the Zhou court's initiation of several important institutional reforms in areas such as the military court offices that led the Zhou to bureaucratize the royal government, land tenure and ownership, signaling the establishment of a legal system. Zhou society was no longer able to be ruled based on personal ties, but needed a more elaborate ruling system such as a bureaucracy, implying that the strongly centralized state controls exerted successfully in the early period were now no longer effective, and individuals were escaping the grip of the central state.¹⁷⁶

Zhou's cultural response to this statewide change was ritual reform, which Jessica Rawson calls a "Ritual Revolution."¹⁷⁷ According to Rawson's analysis based on art historical concerns, there was a profound stylistic change in which earlier vessel shapes and motifs were abandoned, and new ones suddenly appeared. She argues that the Western Zhou bronze vessel stylistic evolution occurred after the reign of King Gong (917/15-900 BCE), which happens to be when the Qiang *pan* was cast. The Revolution that was already seen in King Mu's reign (956-918 BCE) led to the replacement of small sets of ritual vessels in the earlier period by huge sets, and reached the highest degree of elaboration in the ninth century BCE. Shaughnessy also notes that this dramatic change occurred one generation earlier, that is, during the reign of King Mu, and argues that this significant change reflects how the vessels were being used in the ritual context, and thus posits a change in the ritual itself: while rituals in the early Western Zhou were relatively private, familial matters on a small scale, participated in mainly by family members, those after the middle period might have been of much larger scale, entailing performance of the rituals in front of a large audience.

As is the case in Qiang's long and elaborate inscription, cast for his ancestor and himself, the individual's ritual performance for his familial tradition became grandiose and large-scale in this period. This reflects that not only the political and social status of the individual, but also the cultural status, was changing. Although the individual past was yet incomplete, only half-baked, it signals a conceptual transition when individualized time was a significant mode of remembering and narrating the past after the central authority and power of Western Zhou waned.

The Change in Social Memory during the Spring and Autumn Period

¹⁷⁵ Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," 323.

¹⁷⁶ Examining the degree of literacy in the Western Zhou society, Li Feng reads some interesting bronze inscriptions, one of which concerns legal issues, such as land tenure between individuals. See Li Feng, 2011. These examples suggest that the bronze inscriptions were no longer exclusively for royal memory, but also for private matters, signaling the changing status of individual in the society.

¹⁷⁷ Rawson, 1999, 360.

As “The Principal Annals of the Zhou” (*zhoubenji* 周本紀) of *Shiji* suggests,¹⁷⁸ the decline and fall of the Western Zhou overseen by King Li 厲王 (r. 857/53-842/28 BCE) and King You 幽王 (r. 781-771 BCE) was not simply a singular historic event of the fall of state capitals at the hands of a joint force led by the regional state Shen 申 and its ally, a Western nomadic nation, Quan Rong 犬戎 or Xianyun 獫狁, and the eastward movement of those capitals. Instead, it was a process of various political, economic, military and social phenomena, and their accumulated effects on the state’s power and authority, a process that lasted over a century. As Shaughnessy points out, the absolute date of the year 771 BCE when the capital was moved by the attack of Xianyun was an artificial divide, and signs of the weakness already had appeared a century earlier. For example, the royal court lost its control over the regional states, and thereby the regional states were growing away from control and moving toward independence, and the status and influential power of individuals in the bureaucracy was replacing the monopolized authority of King.¹⁷⁹

Li Feng provides a more comprehensive analysis of the various factors that led the Western Zhou to fail.¹⁸⁰ Li explains that the crisis of the Western Zhou state can be understood as both a structural and a spatial one. The Western Zhou state was challenged in space by two forces: an internal force that moved its constituent parts away from its political core; and an external force that attacked the frontier of Western Zhou with ever-increasing power. For the internal force, Li Feng argues that first, the land-granting policy maintained by the Zhou king contributed substantially to weakening the economic foundation of the Zhou court. The attempt made by King Li to restore the economic strength of the Zhou royal court was aborted in the face of resistance by aristocratic power, forcing the king into exile. Secondly, the high degree of civil and military autonomy granted to the regional rulers under the land-grant system underpinned a significant tension in the political structure of the Western Zhou that, from the mid-Western Zhou, began to develop into a significant problem, fragmenting the political unity of Zhou into competing regional parts.¹⁸¹

The fall of the Western Zhou signals the collapse of the political system in which the central royal court exercised control over extensive territory through the authority of administratively independent regional rulers. Thus the fall of the Western Zhou capital in 771 BCE and the Eastern move of the Zhou court and the aristocratic lineages were the outcome of a century-long process of decline, indicating not merely the end of a dynastic period but also symbolizing the emergence of an unprecedented political structure in which the local powerholders of each region were freely competing without any authoritative control from the center. As we will see below, the death of the Central State catalyzed a change in the symbolic system that had supported its authority through culture.

¹⁷⁸ *Shiji* “Zhou benji’s” description of this period reveals its stereotypical narrative and thematic pattern of the fin-de-siècle unrest of the one declining state: attributing change to the evil king’s misrule and maladministration of the people.

¹⁷⁹ Edward Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” 1999, 350-351.

¹⁸⁰ Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045-771 BC*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁸¹ Li Feng, 2006, 297-98.

The migration from the West to the East in the eighth century BCE implied a change in social structure. Cho-yun Hsü summarizes the structural changes that followed the demise of Zhou royal authority into five categories¹⁸²: first, the transition of the power structure from that of a single hegemonic core with multiple peripheries to a multistate system; second the geographical expansion through the military competition between regional states, the expansion that covers the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers and the highlands in the north and the west; third, the socio-economic change to a market economy; fourth, the restructuring of family-based societies into those of great social mobility; and fifth, the rise of individual intellectuals.

In this structural change on the East Asian continent, the main issue of a new cultural notion of the past with which individuals and states had to cope, was how to find and establish their own identities by constructing new memories and stories of the past. Under Western Zhou hegemony, individuals did not claim their own identities independently, but instead constructed their identities only within the parameters of state memories of the past. After the collapse of this cultural hegemony, however, the local ruling elites no longer found and understood their own stories within the prescribed royal memories bestowed on them; they began to pursue the memory and story to tell who they were in their own right. In the mid- to the late Warring States period, which is partially knowable through excavated bamboo manuscripts produced mostly in Chu region, we see these new attempts to separate from Zhou become more radical and intense. Now the separation strategy was sought by replacing the previous Zhou's terms, ideas, and frames with newly invented ones such as *dao* 道.

In these new attempts, how the past was perceived and narrated also significantly changed. The memories of Zhou's royal family that Western Zhou had promoted, one that began with Hou Ji and culminated with Kings Wen and Wu, were now replaced with the memories of each regional rulers' ancestors, and gradually with more ancient, more mythic, more ethnic and culturally diverse Sage-Kings.¹⁸³ These new temporal imaginations were innovative in the sense that the temporality

¹⁸² Cho-yun Hsü, "The Spring and Autumn Period," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 545.

¹⁸³ A counterexample to my argument is the Bin Gong xu 幽公盨, which was purchased at an antique market in 2002 by Beijing Baoli Art Museum. But no more specific information has been publicized yet. The English translation of the inscription is provided in Constance Cook, "Sage King Yu 禹 and the Bin Gong XU 幽公盨," *Early China* 35 (2013): 69-103; also Constance A. Cook in ACBI 197-200.



Bin Gong xu 幽公盨



天命禹敷土，隨山浚川，迺差地設征，降民監德，
迺自作配鄉（享）民，成父母。生我王作臣，厥

Tian charged Yu to spread over the earth, collapsing
mountains and deepening rivers,

became even more extended to the earliest point of ruling the society, far beyond the historical frame of a certain powerful political entity. Now the Zhou's temporality, shaped by Zhou's royal heroes, was no longer the only legitimate way of perceiving the past. However, it was now one of many other ways of approaching the past at the time. Many new names of ancient Sage-Kings or ancient heroes such as the Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun, began to be popularized.

The close readings of the following three bronze inscriptions produced after the demise of Zhou royal power and authority vividly exemplify these significant changes, and further suggest how conceptions of the past and the stories were changing and becoming diversified in the competing regional states during this period. The three bronze inscriptions, representing the eighth to seventh century BCE cultural realities of the continent, are: first, the Qin Gong *bo* 秦公罇 inscription, also known as Qin Gong ji Wang Ji *bo* 秦公及王姬罇 inscription, dated from the period of Wu Gong 武公 (d. 678 BCE) of Qin and excavated at Tai Gong Miao village, Baoji county, Shaanxi, in 1978¹⁸⁴; the second, the inscription of Qi Hou *bo* 齊侯罇, dated around the

沫（貴）唯德，民好明德，寡（顧）在天下。用厥邵（紹）好，益幹（？）懿德，康亡不懋。孝友，訃明經齊，好祀無[貝鬼]（廢）。心好德，婚媾亦唯協。天厘用考，神復用祓祿，永樂于甯。遂公曰：民唯克用茲德，亡誨（悔）。”

So he distinguished the regions and set up the governing structures, descended among the people and examined their *de*.

So, based on this, Yu created the sacrificial feast matching [his sacrifices for *tian*'s mandate], and the people became parents, giving birth to Our King and acting as his servants,

What they made manifest was *de*.

The people cared for the King's and Yu's luminous *de* and provided food for All under *Tian*.

Employing it to glorify and care for the King's and Yu's way of *de* and to pay abundant respect to their refined *de*,

Contentedly, they all worked hard and behaved filially and collegially, enlarging and illuminating the King's and Yu's way of *de*,

Practicing purification, they took care with the annual sacrificial performance, performing it endlessly; the people held in their hearts the care of *de*.

Relations are likewise all harmonious, and *tian*'s gift is used for Deceased-father spirits,

May the spirits repeatedly expel bad fortune, provide wealth, and eternally guide the people towards tranquility.

Bin Gong said, "The people have been able to employ this *de* without harm."

Inscription 幽公罇 銘文

Translation

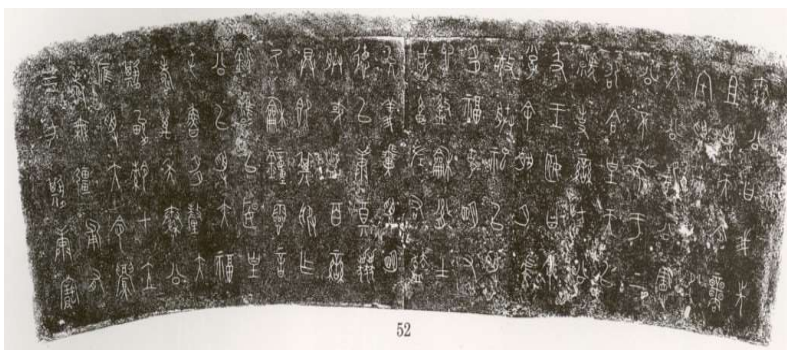
What makes this vessel significant is that this is virtually the only case in which Western Zhou King's authority is justified by his ancestral connection to the Sage-King Yu, but not to Hou Ji. It thus suggests a possibility that the mythic understanding of the past may have been possible during the Western Zhou, but it is an extremely rare case.

¹⁸⁴ For the excavation report and the initial transcription of the bell inscription, see Lu Liancheng 盧蓮成 and Yang Mancang 楊滿倉, "Shaanxi Baoji Taigong miao cun Faxian Qin Gong Zhong, Qin Gong Bo" 陝西寶雞縣太公廟村發現秦公鐘, 秦公罇. *Wenwu* 文物 11 (1978): 1-5. Ma Chengyuan also provides a fine transcription of the inscription. See MWX 4:918; for rubbing JWJC 1: 267. Wang Hui also transcribes the inscription in his *Shang Zhou jinwen*, 272-275. For an English translation of the inscription, see ACBI 243-248.

periods of Zhao Gong 昭公 of Qi 齊 (r. 632-613 BCE) or Yi Gong 懿公 (r. 613-609 BCE), believed to have been excavated near Houtu Temple 后土寺, Ronghe 榮河 county, Shanxi 山西 province, in 1870;¹⁸⁵ third, the inscription of Wang Ziwu *ding* 王子午鼎, dated from the reign of King Kang of Chu 楚康王 (r. 559-545 BCE), more specifically ca. 558-552 BCE, and excavated at the Chu tomb no. 2, Xiasi 下寺, Xichuan 淅川 county, Henan, in 1976.¹⁸⁶



秦公罇



秦公罇 銘文

秦公曰：“我先且(祖)受天命，商(賞)宅受或(國)。刺(烈)刺(烈)邵(紹)文公、靜公、憲公不墜於上，邵(昭)合皇天，以號事蠻方。”公及王姬曰：“余小子，余夙夕虔敬朕祀，以受多福，克明卒(厥)心。整飭胤士，咸畜左右，謦謦允義，翼受明德。以康奠協朕或(國)，盜百蠻，具即其服，乍(作)卒(厥)餼鐘，靈音鏘鏘雍雍，以匡(宴)皇公，以受大福，屯(純)魯多釐，大壽萬年。”秦公其峻令才(在)立(位)，膺受大令(命)，眉壽無彊(疆)，匍有四方，其康寶。

Qin Gong says: “Our ancestors received *tian*’s command, were rewarded with the site, and received the territory. Nobly and solemnly having succeeded (the command), may glorious Wen Gong, Jing Gong, and Xuan Gong not lose [their status] high above, and brilliantly

¹⁸⁵ MWX 4:842; JWJC 1:271. The image of the rubbing is reproduced from MWX 2:843, 568-69. This Qi Hou *bo* has not been translated in English yet.

¹⁸⁶ MWX 4:644; JWJC5: 2811; Wang Hui 2006, 287-89. The report was made in Henan sheng danjiang kuqu wenwu fajuedui 河南省丹江庫區文物發掘隊, “Henan sheng Xichuan xian Xiasi Chunqiu Chumu” 河南省淅川縣下寺春秋楚墓, *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1980): 13-20. Zhang Jian 張劍 provides an article about the historical context and significance of this excavation. See Zhang Jian, “Cong Henan Xichuan Chunqiu Chumiao de fajue tan dui Chu wenhua de renshi” 從河南淅川春秋楚墓的發掘談對楚文化的認識, *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1980): 21-26. Zhao Shigang 趙世綱 and Liu Xiaochun 劉笑春 transcribe the inscription, see Zhao Shigang and Liu Xiaochun, “Wang Ziwu ding Mingwen Shishi” 王子午鼎銘文試釋, *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1980): 27-30. An English translation is found in ACBI 272-274.

All the English translations provided here are mine.

match august *tian*, and thereby induce awe as they rule the barbarian's quarter!" Gong and Wang Ji say: "I, little child, at dawn and in the evening, reverently performed a ritual and thereby received many blessings, and clarified my heart/mind. Harmonizing with descendants and worthies, completely supporting the people around me, and diligently pursuing the original righteousness, I respectfully received the bright virtue. Thereby I stabilized the people of my country and worked together with them, and attacked the myriad barbarians and subdued all of them to make them obedient. I make this bell of harmony. Its numinous sound is dignified and gentle; it pleases the august ancestors. May we (i.e., our country) receive the great blessing, the pure, big and many fortunes, and have a long life of ten thousand years!" May I, Qing Gong, long stay on the throne, receive the great command deep in my heart, live my life without limit, occupy all the four corners, and treasure the peace!

Consisting of three main parts, namely, a prayer for ancestors, for country, and for Qin Gong himself, this inscription has distinctive features in form and content. First, compared to the formal narrative structure of Western Zhou inscriptions that typically begin with remarks about the specific memories of the King on an exact date, followed by the more directly related, concrete records of the interaction between the King and bell owner, and ending with the typical closing prayer for the owner himself, his future descendants, and his state and king, the structure of this Qing Gong *bo* inscription is comprised only of sequencing prayers, offered by the bell owner, Qin Gong, whom most scholars believe to be Wu Gong 武公 (r. 697-678 BCE) based on the fact that he only mentions three deceased ancestors, Wen Gong, Jing Gong, and Xuan Gong, in the inscription. This inscription, a structurally top-down arrangement of prayers from ancestors to state, and to the King himself, and directly beginning with the Qin ruler's own words, exemplifies a new aesthetic attempt to write and organize the bronze inscription in Qin's own way.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ This new style of writing is also seen in Qin's other bronze inscriptions with some minor variations. In form and content, one of the most closely comparable Qin inscriptions to this Qin Gong *bo* inscription is that of the Qin Gong *gui* 秦公簋 (MWX 4: 920; JWJC 8: 4315), dated from the reign of Jing Gong 景公 (d. 538 BCE), and excavated at Xinan, Tianshui county, Gansu, in 1923. This important vessel inscription shows how the unique Qin inscription style became established 100 years later, inheriting elements of the former Qin's bronze inscription style. As the Qin Gong *bo* inscription shows, the style of the inscription commences with the King's own prayer for ancestors and ends with a prayer for King himself and the state. However, while the Qin Gong *bo*'s prayers for ancestor was simple, the Qin Gong *gui* elaborates the ancestral prayers in much more detail. This reflects a new social context in which the Qin has already had enough ancestral history and needs to commemorate themselves and their past in a more nuanced way as a cultural means of political self-justification as a legitimate heir. Thus, the narrative of the Qin Gong *gui* inscription shows a hybridization of Qin and Zhou style writing.

The most striking innovation is the absence of the Zhou-related content at the heart of Western Zhou inscriptions. As we see in the inscription, this bell was cast not for the Zhou's royal memory, but only for Qin Gong's ancestors, his state, and himself. In this, Zhou is cut off from the Qin's current present. Qin's historicity is now independent of the authority of the Zhou. Qin no longer needs Zhou; they no longer identify and understand themselves to be in a relationship with the Zhou. Qin's identity stands by itself, in its own right. This inscription shows an aspect of the political reality at the time, in which the collapsed hegemony of the Western Zhou became so meaningless even to the smallest, most insignificant regional state of the Western part of the continent, i.e., Qin.

In the complete vacuum left by the waning of Zhou royal authority, Qin found a new way to construct its identity in time and space. The Qin first follows Shang and Zhou precedents, that is, to establish a succession lineage from earliest to the latest, a lineage which we call *zong* 宗. Qin Gong identifies Wen Gong as the earliest remembered progenitor of the Qin, a special status which explains why he was posthumously entitled "Wen" 文, as was Zhou's King Wen; he was the founder of that Qin political community.

Wen Gong appears elsewhere only in much later reinventions of Qin royal lineages such as the "Principal Annals of Qin" 秦本紀 of the *Shiji*. The lineage appearing in this Qin bronze inscription is much simpler and cruder than in later reconstructed narratives of the past seen in the *Shiji*. This suggests that the Qin had not yet fully developed their stories to illustrate their past and legitimize their present in the scheme of the past. They had not yet come up with a complete invention of their past. 100 years later, however, when the Qin Gong *gui* was cast, Wen Gong became the 13th name in the ancestral order, and the twelve earlier ancestors were newly added. In the Qin Gong *gui* inscription, then, the receiver of *tian*'s command is no longer identified as Wen Gong but as the unnamed twelve ancestors who are now up in the heaven.¹⁸⁸ In this narrative, the Qin's state-foundation and flourishing were foreseen and predetermined already in their times. In this structure, the past is extended back twelve earlier generations. However, in the Qin Gong *bo*, we see the past represented by only three deceased ancestors (great-grandfather, grandfather, and father), a much simpler scheme.



Qin Gong *gui* 秦公簋



Inscription 秦公簋 銘文

¹⁸⁸ We will see a similar case of a different lineage construction between an excavated text and *Shiji* in the example of the Chu bamboo slip manuscript titled "Chuju" 楚居, which I will discuss in Chapter Five.

The most striking feature of this inscription is how Qin Gong used critical technical terms such as *tianming*, to construct his narrative. He claims that his ancestors received *tian*'s command, and Qin spirits match the authority of *tian*. Qin Gong appropriates the high deity of the Zhou as his own to support his ancestral lineage and thereby create a flow of time going from his father to *tian*. Here Qin Gong imitates and reiterates the former Zhou king's authority as the Son of *tian*. In borrowing language and the ritual gesture of making prayers for his country and himself, he envisions himself as another legitimate Son of *tian* within his territory.

It is thus natural that the language that Qin Gong used in this inscription sounds similar to that of the Zhou kings. Even if the state of Qin had no power, influence, or hegemony over other neighboring competitors yet, Qin Gong claimed that he had conquered all the barbarians near the Qin and would occupy the four quarters of the world and thereby bring peace to the world. In this imagination, in which he no longer needs any other authority and power, the beginning and end are solely his.

Therefore, this inscription shows how the past was being individualized after the Western Zhou. The unity of time that was made by controlling the state memory given to individuals had collapsed, as the Western Zhou court did, into individual fragments that no longer needed to identify themselves with the hegemonic state. A half-century later, another interesting individualization of memory emerges. I will examine this through the example of the inscription of the Qi Hou *bo* 齊侯罇.





Qi Hou *bo* inscription 齊侯罇 銘文

佳(唯)王五月初吉丁亥,齊辟鮑弔(叔)之孫,[亼+齊]中(仲)之子[素+命]乍(作)子中(仲)姜寶罇,用祈侯氏永命萬年。[素+命]保其身,用享用孝于皇祖聖弔(叔),皇妣聖姜,于(與)皇祖又成惠叔,皇妣又成惠,姜皇丂(考)[亼+齊]中(仲)皇母,用祈壽老(考)母(毋)死,保吾兄弟,用求丂(考)彌生,肅肅義(儀)政,保吾子姓。鮑弔(叔)又成勞于齊邦,侯氏易(賜)之邑二百又九十又九邑,與鄆之民人都畷(鄙)。侯氏從告之曰:“業萬至於辟(以)孫子,勿或兪(渝)改。”鮑子[素+命]曰:“余彌心畏詆(忌),余四事是台(以),余爲大攻(工)厄(軛)大吏(使)大微大宰,是辟(以)可事(使)。”子子孫永保用享。

In the King's first month, in "first auspiciousness," on the *dinghai* (24th) day, (I), Ying (?), the grandson of Qi's (former) minister Bao Shu and the son of Qi Zhong, make this treasured *bo*-cup for Zi Zhong Jiang and pray for the Marquis of Qin's eternal life for ten thousand years. (I), Ying protect my body, and perform the ritual and fulfill filial piety for great-grandfather Sheng Shu and great-grandmother Sheng Jiang, and grandfather Youcheng Hui Shu and grandmother Youcheng Hui, father Qi Zhong, and mother, Zhong. I pray for the (parents') longevity and their continued life, for the protection of my brothers, and wish them long life. Solemnly and dignifiedly performing rituals and ruling, I protect my sons and clans. Bao Shu Youcheng worked hard for the state of Qi, and the Marquis bestowed (upon him) 299 villages, the people of Xun, and farmland. The Marquis gracefully told him, "For ten thousand generations' grandsons of yours, may you never be confused nor change!" (I), the grandson of Bao, Ying, say: "I fulfill my heart and abstain in awe; I regard (myself) as (the one) to serve for the four duties, I work as grand charioteer,

grand magistrate, Da Wei, and grand minister, therefore, I am at your disposal.” May my sons and grandsons be protected and practice the ritual!

Based on the information that the bell owner Ying’s grandfather was Bao Shu 鮑叔 or Bao Shuya 鮑叔牙 (723/716-644 BCE), famously known for his friendship with Guan Zhong 管仲 (ca. 723-645 BCE) in later cultural memory, this ritual bell is believed to have been cast during the periods of Zhao Gong 昭公 of Qi 齊 (r. 632-613 BCE) or Yi Gong 懿公 (r. 613-609 BCE). This information is important to understand as the paratext of this inscription: this bell was made 20-30 years after the state of Qi had its day as the *de facto* post-Zhou hegemon (*ba* 霸) status among other competing regional states during the reign of Huan Gong (r. 685-643 BCE) and then lost the *ba* leadership to Wen Gong 文公 of Jin 晉 (r. 636-628 BCE) in the reigns of Huan Gong’s own sons, Xiao Gong 孝公 (r. 642-633 BCE) and Song Xiang Gong 宋襄公 (r. 650-637 BCE).¹⁸⁹ In this circumstance, the bell owner Ying’s commitment of loyalty to the Marquis of Qi, expressed in the second part of this inscription, is signified as his wish to re-build the post-Zhou *ba* leadership that their grandfathers, Huan Gong and Bao Shu, had achieved. Ying explicitly calling out the name of Bao Shu three times in the inscription, and introduced his identity as the grandfather’s grandson revealing his position or office. It also shows Ying himself in his relationship with the Marquis, is read in light of the fact that he had Bao Shu as his grandfather, and without the grandfather, what Ying promised and wished in the inscription would have been meaningless; Ying can exist only in the shade of his grandfather in this context.

The narrator Ying’s calling out his grandfather’s name repeatedly, and identifying himself as the grandfather’s legitimate successor, assumes that the character of Bao Shu was established as a signifier of the loyal minister who would help Qi rise to hegemon status. That minister was emerging as an individual paragon for such a character in the society. We know that in the late Shang oracle-bone inscription, Shang royal elites also commemorated and worshipped great individuals such as Nao 夔, Wang Hai 王亥, or Yi Yin 伊尹, who were the early progenitors of the Shang elite.¹⁹⁰ However, unlike the Shang former nobles (*xiangong* 先公), the Bao Shu character is not represented as an object of worship, but as a historical exemplar for Ying. Thus, the character of Bao Shu is a typified individual character, who, no longer a king or royal elite but a worthy vassal, has become increasingly significant in the construction of memory of the past.

This story-telling in which one constructs character as the extended self of ancestors and relates oneself to heroic retainers is structurally similar to that of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. This Qi bronze inscription, unlike the Qin Gong *bo*, preserves the terms and thematic concepts of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions as far as the terms of the characters and the ways they relate are concerned.

Ying the narrator in the inscription follows the Zhou calendar, demonstrating he still resides in Zhou time and under its nominal authority,¹⁹¹ as in the received chronicle text *Spring*

¹⁸⁹ Cho-yun Hsü provides a reconstruction of these periods. See his “The Spring and Autumn Period,” 1999, 553-560.

¹⁹⁰ Keightley, 1999, 253-5.

¹⁹¹ Considering that Ying lived in the reign of Zhao Gong (r. 632-613 BCE) or Yi Gong (r. 613-609 BCE), the vessel was probably cast in the reign of one of the following three Zhou Kings: King Xiang 襄王 (r. 651-619 BCE), King Qing 頃王 (r. 618-613 BCE) or King Kuang 匡王 (r. 612-607 BCE).

and *Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋). Although following the Zhou calendar was not something uniquely seen only in this Qi inscription during this period, its nominal acceptance of Zhou's calendrical authority resonates with the context, the character-building structure, and the message of the inscription. It suggests that the Qi in the inscription acts as the legitimate succeeding hegemon to the nominal Zhou world. It creates parallelism between Zhou and Qi, and between Zhou king vassal and Qi marquis Ying. In other words, this bell inscription reproduces the same power relationship between Ying and the Marquis as between the Zhou King and his vassals, similar to the He *zun*'s He, and thereby it represents the Qi agenda to recover its power and hegemony as the *ba* 霸 in their time. The harmonic sound of the bell symbolically represents the echoing power of Qi as the revived hegemon in the Central Plain.

However, the Qi inscription does not just copy and imitate the Zhou royal model but also pursues differentiation from the Zhou model. The differentiation is found in the unique narrative structure of the inscription. The contents of the inscription may be divided into two main parts: the first is about Ying praying for his parents' and deceased ancestors' well-being, and his blessing on his descendants; the second part, which structurally corresponds to the main text part of the Western Zhou inscription tradition, describes the purpose for making this bell and the memorable historic events between the Marquis and his grandfather. It is noteworthy that the normal sequence of inscription content is reversed. The typical ending of the Western Zhou bronze inscription is here the beginning part of this bell inscription, and the typical body part of the Zhou bronze inscription is now placed after that in the inscription, making its importance only secondary. The reversal of the typical compositional structure suggests that the priority of remembrance between the family and the state is reversed: the state memory is downplayed, while the narrator's own family is more important in this Qi inscription. This transposed relationship can be read as a literary symptom of the breakdown of state authority into the multifaceted power-game of competing households over the following centuries.

As the inscription reads, the bell was not cast for the marquis, but ultimately for his parents, ancestors, and descendants. The second part, where Ying promises his loyalty to the Marquis and to the state of Qi, reveals another layer of signification, the greatness of his own family, based on the memorable dedication of his grandfather, Bao Shu, to the state, and consequently, the status of the bell owner, Ying, the legitimate heir of the grandfather. The inscription says, "For ten thousand generations' grandsons of yours, may you never be confused nor change!" 葉萬至於緝(以)孫子, 勿或渝(渝)改." It is unclear who the marquis was talking to, when he was speaking, and thus whether or not the bell owner, Ying himself, actually met the marquis and was told this. Despite this ambiguity, Ying presents his own character as the legitimate heir of the familial tradition and a grand official of the state that he desires to make great again. In this construction, the character of the Marquis of Qi virtually becomes the optimal choice for Ying. It shows a trend that was becoming more dominant on the continent, narration of the individual memory and story; the creation of a past for an individual.

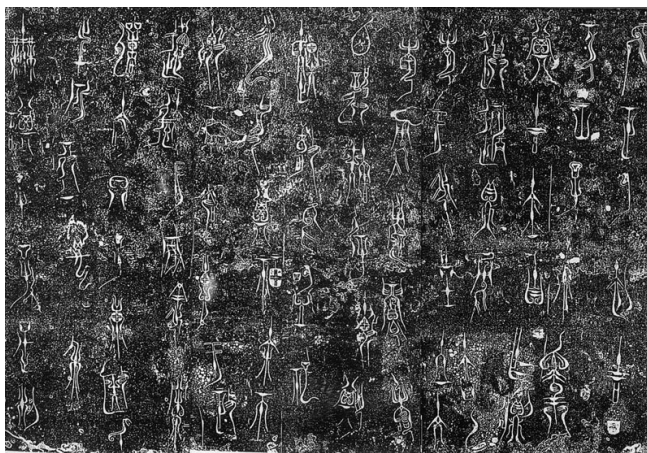
The confusing fusion of two models, the Zhou and its inverse the anti-Zhou, reveals another version of conception of the past and its narrativization: a hybridity of two tracks of time, the time of the former authority and the time of an individual's own. This "superposed time," in which two different dimensions of time overlap with one another, is not only found on this bell inscription but has been found in other important inscriptions at this time. This superposition is an example of memory and story over this transitional period.

I now turn to the last example to discuss changes in the memory and story of the past in this transitional period. The next example is the "Wang Ziwu ding" 王子午鼎 inscription that

represents an aspect of Chu culture during the reign of King Kang of Chu 楚康王 (r. 559-545 BCE), and more specifically from 558-552 BCE, the period that is often regarded as the beginning of the last phase of the Spring and Autumn.



Wang Ziwu *ding* 王子午鼎



Inscription 王子午鼎 銘文

佳(唯)正月初吉丁亥，王子午擇其吉金，自乍(作)[將+鼎]彝歷鼎，用享以孝于我皇且(祖)文考。用祈眉壽。弘彝(恭)猷(舒)犀(遲)，畏忌趨趨，敬卒(厥)盟祀，永受其福。余不畏不差，惠于政德，淑于威義(儀)，闌闌獸獸。命(令)尹子庚，毆(繫)民之所亟(極)，萬年無謀(期)，子孫是制。

In the first lunar month, in the “first auspiciousness,” on the day of *dinghai* (24th day), (I), Wang Ziwu, selected finest metal and made this cauldron and displayed it, and then used it for a ritual to show my filial piety to our august ancestors and deceased fathers, and to pray for our longevity. Greatly respectful, elegant, and solemn, reverent, careful, I devoutly practice the promised ritual; may I receive blessings forever! I, when not showing my dignity, do not commit an error but give to (my people) the virtue of good governance. I am temperate in a dignified ceremony, free and comfortable, and peaceful. May I, Prime Minister, Zi Geng, be the one that my people regard as supreme, live for ten thousand years, without limit! For sons and grandsons, this (cauldron) is cast.

This relatively shorter inscription is about the personal wishes of one man named Wang Ziwu or Zi Geng 子庚, who was appointed as the Prime Minister (*lingyin* 令尹) in the 15th year of Duke Xiang of Lu (566 BCE) and died six years later, according to the *Zuozhuan* and later records about this period.¹⁹² The significance of this inscription lies in the incongruity between Wang Ziwu’s position and his wish described in the inscription. Like Shi Qiang in the mid-Western Zhou bronze inscription of Shi Qiang *pan*, Wang Ziwu is a non-royal individual. In this inscription, he is portrayed as Prime Minister. But, contrary to Ying in the Qi Hou *bo* inscription, who was also in a high position but was clearly promising his loyalty to the state and the marquis or with Qiang in the Shi Qiang *pan*, whose own family history only appears in tandem with that of the state, Wang Ziwu keeps utterly silent about King Kang, whom he is currently serving, and about the royal

¹⁹² His appointment is recorded in the fifteenth year of Xiang Gong 襄公 十五年 of the *Zuozhuan*. For his death, see the twenty-first year of Xiang Gong. These records do not appear in the *Chunqiu* itself but only in the *Zuozhuan*.

ancestors of Chu. He only prays for his parents, ancestors, and himself. If we divide the content of inscription into two parts, the first part speaks of his performing rituals for parents and ancestors and thereby wishing to receive a blessing, and the second one is entirely about what kind of man he wants to be and how he wished to be viewed and judged by his people. In this structure, the focus is only on Wang Ziwu himself. He is entirely separate from the Chu royal past and only related to his ancestral one. In this sense, Ziwu typifies an absolute individual separate from the state. It is similar to the individual past of Wu Gong of the Qin in the Qin Gong *bo* inscription, where he stands independent from Zhou's royal past, free from the royal memory. However, he was still the ruler of the Qin state. He is not entirely separate from his state. He himself is a state, and his existence as state is no longer attached to the memory of the Zhou. His freedom is signified only in the context of its relation to Zhou. Unlike Wu Gong, Wang Ziwu is not a ruler but a Prime Minister. Thus, unlike Wu Gong, he can recognize a distance between himself and the Chu state or the Chu Kings. The inscription speaks of Wang, but not of Chu, creating a personal individualized past in the most radical manner yet.

The nature of the self that Ziwu shows in the inscription is also noteworthy. He does not require King Kang or the king's ancestors to signify him as Prime Minister. He exists as the filial, morally correct politician on his own terms. Thus, this inscription exemplifies a case where the subject of kingship is eclipsed by the increasingly empowered individual minister. This literary empowerment of individuals over the central authority is a key characteristic of the Eastern Zhou inscriptions.

These three cases of excavated bronze inscriptions represent changes in the concepts of time and man in three different regions and times. In the Qin Gong *bo* inscription, which represents an aspect of Qin culture in the early seventh century BCE, we see that the emergence of a new character who proclaims that he and his ancestor had received *tian*'s command, simply forgetting or deleting the lore of Zhou as the legitimate command-receiver and hegemon from their memory, and thereby established himself as the new Son of *tian* to rule the four quarters of the world, despite the fact that the state of Qin was still an insignificant but rising local polity. In this inscription, Qin Gong is portrayed as a cultural symptom of the advent of decentralizing, individualizing time against the hegemonic unified time that the royal elites of the Western Zhou internalized in their inscriptions. The inscription of Qi Hou *bo*, cast in the Qi state during the late seventh century, shows another break from the memory of early Zhou. It reveals two distinct dimensions of time, centripetal and centrifugal, centralizing and decentralizing, core and peripheral, or state and individual, coexisting simultaneously and in mutual contradiction. However, such a hybridized time is in many ways no different from that of Qin Gong *bo*, which expresses the same desire to become the new central hegemon. Lastly, the inscription on the Wang Ziwu *ding* exemplifies that desire but in a different way. Wang Ziwu as Prime Minister erases even his own state's royal memory and the current ruler of the state, King Kang, and puts Ziwu in the place of the ruler. Qin Gong deleted the previous hegemon from his memory of the past, while Ziwu eliminated the royal past of his own state. Thus, the Wang Ziwu *ding* inscription showcases an extreme version of individualized time. In effect, this individual is not against the state itself, but rather against the royal family, who have been monopolizing and centralizing the past under the authority of a single ruler.

These three cases of bronze inscriptions show a cultural and intellectual tendency concerning the conception of time. After the fall of the one definite, hegemonic authority, a tendency arises to diversify time in service of the legitimization of individuals competing to

establish a new hegemonic core. This change and the fragmentation resulting from the pursuit of another hegemony corresponds with the emergence of multiple novel social formations.

Formation and Spread of New Types of Social Memory in the Warring States Period

Changes in the way that memories were constructed and stories narrated became more radical when the cultural authority of the Western Zhou broke down. Mark Lewis describes this important transitional period as characterized by local polities' pursuit of autonomous authority for themselves, and of another centralized monarchical state.¹⁹³ So the mode of state is a new style of polity, which was based on the old Zhou model, but sought political and cultural autonomy from the old Zhou authority. Lewis argues that the new polities were emerging at the beginning of the nearly two and a half century period of the later Eastern Zhou, commonly known as the Warring States period (481-221 BCE).

It was a hybrid polity in the sense that it was oriented to concentrated power in the hand of the single monarch, like the Western Zhou, but it also sought a centralized large territorial state in place of a system of coexistence with multiple city-based regional states based on land-grants. What is new in the creation of the polity was, according to Lewis, the incapacity of the hereditary nobility and its replacement with a single ruler along with recruitment of talented officials who emerged from the bureaucracy of the mid-Western Zhou. Most of the latter arose from the Western Zhou nobility, and thus the new model never completely replaced the hereditary nobles. Thus, while the earlier governmental systems were created within the framework of the old ruling class and supporting non-royal lineages, the new model of ruler's centralized power swept aside many of these hereditary nobles in this new era. Accordingly, the economic basis on which they supported earlier societies also changed. Fief-holders in this period played no administrative or judicial role but were granted the right to tax income, and more importantly the fiefs were mostly no longer hereditary, so that fief-holders had to convert the wealth extracted from their fief into a more permanent form by purchasing private estates or lending money. Government agents received the payment of their salaries in grain or accepted gifts of metal. These changes in economic policy reflecting changes in governing structure liberated the agricultural labor force that had been subordinated to the manor-based economy, and in so doing activated an early form of market economy.¹⁹⁴

The destruction of older social formations and their replacement by new ones led profound social transformation in the early polities. Upward mobility allowed people to transcend the

¹⁹³ Mark Edward Lewis, "Political History of the Warring States," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, (New York: Cambridge University Press), 597.

Although I follow the date of this period that is given in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, it is noteworthy that the ways to demarcate the beginning of this period can vary. 481 BCE is the year the *Chunqiu* chronicle ends with. Sima Qian uses the inaugural year of King Yuan of Zhou 周元王, that is 476/75 BCE for the division. Many Chinese scholars such as Yang Kuan 楊寬 take the beginning year of the hegemonic state of Jin's 晉 tripartition into Han 韓, Zhao 趙 and Wei 魏, which represents the dissolution/destruction of key state of the earlier period, that is 453 BCE.

¹⁹⁴ Mark Edward Lewis, "Political History of the Warring States," 607-608. Mark Lewis's interesting analysis of this period is developed in more in detail in chapters 1 and 2 of his *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990).

traditional boundaries that had limited them. In particular, the new bureaucratic system is said to have ended the patrimonial office system that sustained the governments of earlier periods, replacing them with new more diverse groups of people from non-hereditary clans and families, promoted on the basis of their talents and worthiness by the standards of the new system. These new officials served the central government under regional rulers.¹⁹⁵ These new bureaucrats were individuals whose office was not based on family background, and they were responsible for creating, circulating, and preserving official documents. They spread literacy widely, beyond the previously rigid class limitations, and it is this group of officials who are most closely associated with the creation of the extensive record of written bamboo slip texts discovered in this period.¹⁹⁶

Based on the received textual tradition, scholars regard this new group of people as not only the regional administrative bureaucrats but also somehow related to the creation and rise of the tradition of individual intellectuals, most of whom were subordinated to or affiliated with a particular regional state government. In this account, a significant number of the bamboo slip texts made mainly in the Chu during the middle and late phases of this period, ca. 300 BCE, exemplify the documentary and intellectual activities of newly rising literati in their societies.¹⁹⁷

The atmosphere of this new social and cultural change is expressed in the material features of the new medium of bamboo slips: economical and easy to make, easily transportable, perishable, and anonymous. These material features, in contrast to those of bronze, helped the new group of intellectuals to create, disseminate, and transmit new concepts and ideas, the new thinking that was being demanded by the new cultural and socio-political realities.

In the following section, I will use some representative Chu bamboo manuscripts to explain how memories and stories of the past were changing during this period. For this topic, first of all,

¹⁹⁵ Lewis finds the evidence of the new bureaucratic system established in this period in two texts of the Qin bamboo slip manuscripts excavated at the tomb 11, Shuihudi 睡虎地, Yunmeng 雲夢 county, Hubei, in 1975, the texts later entitled by modern editors, “Eighteen Statues” (*qinlü shiba zhong* 秦律十八种) and “On the Way of Being an Official” (*weili zhi dao* 為吏之道). See Mark Lewis, “Political History of the Warring States,” 1999, 610. His reading of these texts is also found more in detail in his Chapter 2, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press), 1999.

For the photographic images of these text themselves, see Shuihudi Qinmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 睡虎地秦墓竹簡整理小組, *Shuihudi Qinmu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡, (Beijing: Wenwu, 1990), 13-32; 79-86. A modern transcription for these texts may be found in the second part of the same volume, 17-66; 165-176.

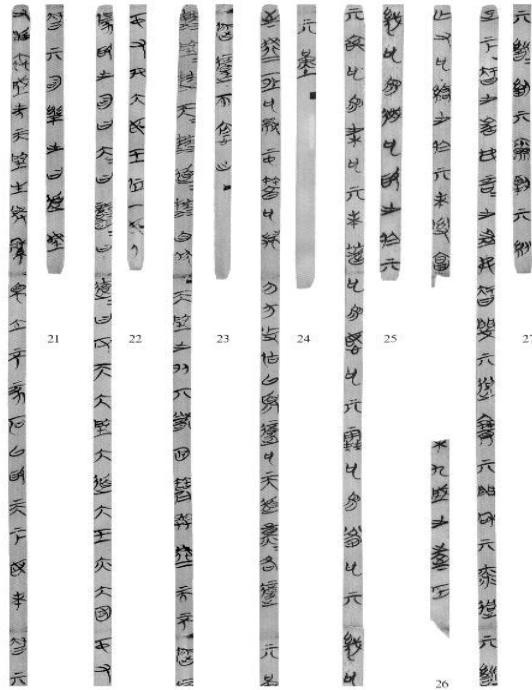
Based on research on this Qin bamboo text over the last twenty-five years after its original publication, , Chen Wei and his collaborators recently provide a new transcription for and comprehensive commentaries on the Shuihudi Qin bamboo manuscripts. See Chen Wei 陳偉, ed., *Qin jian du heji* 秦簡牘合集, 3 vols., (Wuhan: Wuhan University Press, 2014), 1:41-152; 1:320-348.

¹⁹⁶ A recent collection of Euro-American and Japanese scholars’ papers on this issue of early literacy provides a comprehensive survey of such issues. See Li Feng and David Branner, eds., *Writing & Literacy in Early China: Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011).

More archaeological evidence is needed to definitively answer questions of who this new group of people exactly was, what types of social roles they played, and what was their involvement in the spread of literacy in early society.

¹⁹⁷ Li Zunming 李均明, Liu Guozhong 劉國忠, Wu Wenling 鄔文玲, and Liu Guangsheng 劉光勝 list, in great detail, all the 20th and 21st centuries excavations and discoveries of bamboo slip texts made in the fourth century BCE. See Li Zunming, Liu Guozhong, Wu Wenling, and Liu Guangsheng, *Dangdai Zhongguo jianboxue yanjiu* 當代中國簡帛學研究, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2011).

I begin by examining the texts that show an unprecedented expansion in the notion of time, and the emergence of new concepts to represent this significant expansion of the past. The first one is a part of one of the *Laozi* parallel texts, excavated at Guodian village, Jingmen city, Hubei, in 1993.¹⁹⁸



¹⁹⁸ For modern transcriptions and all the photographic images of Guodian Chu bamboo slip manuscripts, I use Chen Wei's work, *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance heji* 楚地出土戰國簡冊合集 (hereafter JCHJ), which covers most of the important findings and arguments by notable Chinese scholars and a handful of Japanese scholars in their readings of the Guodian manuscripts over the thirteen years since the first official publication of Guodian texts in 1998 by Wenwu publishing. Chen Wei's work is extraordinary not only because of its comprehensiveness but also of originality and accuracy. Chen Wei, ed., *Chudi chutu zhanguo jiance heji* 楚地出土戰國簡冊合集, 2 vols., (Beijing: Wenwu, 2011). For the transcription and image of the *Laozi* parallel texts, I used JCHJ 1:1-13.

For the official publication on the Guodian finds, see Jingmen shi bowuguan 荊門市博物館, ed., *Guodian chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡, (Beijing: Wenwu, 1998).

Also, all the English translations of Chu bamboo slip manuscripts presented in this chapter, as are the cases of bronze inscriptions, are mine if the source is not specified. There have been many English translations of each individual Guodian text. Notable examples are Sarah Allan, *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-Slip Manuscripts*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2015); Matthias Richter, *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts*, (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2013); Dirk Meyer, *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China*, (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2011); Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006); Paul R. Goldin, *After Confucius: Studies in Early Chinese Philosophy*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005); Mark Csikszentmihalyi, *Material Value: Ethics and the Body in Early China*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004). The Guodian manuscripts have finally been translated in their entirety in Scott W. Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian: A Study & Complete Translation*, 2 vols., (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2012), which provides greatly detailed and helpful notes, introduction, and updated bibliographic information.

A Guodian text that parallels the received *Laozi*

有狀混成，先天地生。寂穆(寂寥)，獨立不改，可以為天下母。未知其名，字之曰道，吾[21]斲(強)為之名曰大。大曰逝，逝曰遠，遠曰返。天大，地大，道大，王亦大。國中有四大焉，王處一焉。人[22]法地，地法天，天法道，道法自然。天地之間，其猶橐籥歟？虛而不屈，動而愈出。[23]至虛，恒也。守中，篤也。萬物並作，居以寡(顧)復也。天道圓圓，各復其根。[24]

When it appears as image, (it) creates (itself) in chaos, (it) engenders (itself) before *tian* and Earth. Silent and empty, (it) stands alone and does not change, so it may be regarded as the mother of *tian* and the (earthly) world. (It) does not know its own name yet, but is graphed as 道 and pronounced as “dao.” If forced to conceptualize it, I call it great. Great means to leave, to leave means to recede, to recede means to return. *Tian* is great, the world is great, *dao* is great, and the king also great. Within the ruled territory are four greats, and King occupies one (place) among them. Man takes the world as law; the world takes *tian* as law; *tian* takes *dao* as law; *dao* takes its being so in itself as law.¹⁹⁹ Between *tian* and the world, wouldn't it be like a bagpipe? It is empty but does not have a limit; it is moving but yielding more and more. Immensely empty, it is constant. Keeping (itself) central, it is sincere. When myriad things are all made, it resides in them and considers returning. When *tian* and *dao* become whole and complete, everything returns to its root.

This small section comprises only four strips, but despite its short length, displays ideas not seen in earlier bronze inscriptions. First of all, the text displays an ontological hierarchy of being, the (earthly) world (*di* 地),²⁰⁰ *tian*, and the ultimate origin and principle that governs the three. The new concept of *dao* is not seen in the oracle bone inscriptions, and rarely used to mean “the way to walk on” in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, but suddenly, in this text, it is conceived of as a predecessor and the mother of *tian* and the world. We do not know exactly where, when, why, or how this term took on this connotation. Relying only on the provenance of excavated materials, we can probably say this Guodian text shows one of the earliest examples found so far.

What this radical concept of *dao* aims at is clear: it aims to subvert the old conceptual system centering on *tian* and propose an alternative one. As Western Zhou elites did by giving another name and establishing the moral character of their own High God, i.e., *tian*, proposing a new concept that matched the Shang's *di*, the concept of *dao* relativizes and marginalizes the authority of *tian* and gains an independent conceptual autonomy and legitimacy.

As in the *Da Yu ding*, this text also attempts to mystify *dao* as a means of asserting superior authority. It argues that the *dao* may not be captured or grasped through our senses or intellect; it is beyond them. *Tian* is not so; it is already named; it is conceivable and characterized as moral. However, this “it,” which itself has no name and so may only expressed pronominally and indefinitely, resists capture within cultural or natural systems. The signifier *dao* is an empty sign, which has no content. It transcends our system of language and concepts that have never been

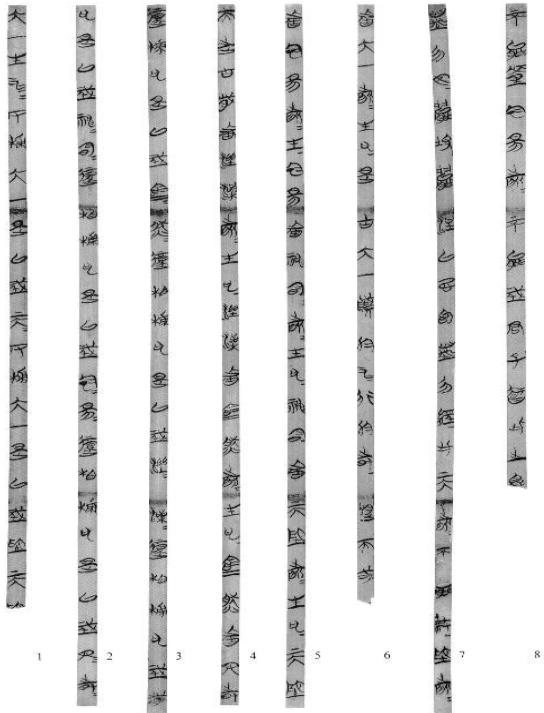
¹⁹⁹ While later commentators such as He Shang Gong 河上公 or Wang Bi 王弼 takes this character *fa* 法 as “to model oneself on,” it also meant “criminal law,” “penal code,” or “punishment” (*xing* 刑), as Xu Shen says in his *Shuowen jiezi*. See Xu Shen 2015, 201B. For the graphic variations in paleography, see XZ 771.

²⁰⁰ This earthly world is a metonym for the King's territory, where *tian*'s command is executed.

questioned before. Here it attains superiority over *tian*: as long as we can speak of *tian* with concepts, its nature and characteristics may be understood and explained through our conceptual system. But *dao* is beyond concept and sense. Since one cannot know it through our pre-existing language, it is non-experiential and trans-historical. Here the text puts forward a new conception of time, that is, a past that we can neither speak of nor have a concrete experience of. It is in this moment that the past may be extended infinitely, to the earliest beginning of which one can neither remember nor speak. Here it is justified to imagine an unexperienced past and link the present to such an earliest moment.

The “it” is not knowable. But the text does propose that readers know about “it.” So, paradoxically, it also talks about the cultural compulsion to label “it” as “dao” and conceptualize it. The text places the *dao* in line with humans (the “king”), the world, and *tian*. The “dao” here ironically leads to accommodate the issue of historicity, an issue that is denied and rejected by the transcendent nature of “it.” Therefore, what this text represents is a new desire to make a breakthrough to a new concept of “it” that replaces the old conceptual model that has sustained a Zhou-centered political and cultural order, which is now meaningless.

Such an attempt to provide a new conceptualization and a new model of time and past for a new era appears in another Guodian bamboo slip text entitled “Taiyi sheng shui” 太一生水.²⁰¹



Taiyi sheng shui 太一生水

太一生水。水反輔太一，是以成天。天反輔太一，是以成地。天[地復相輔][1]也，是以成神明。神明復相輔也，是以成陰陽。陰陽復相輔也，是以成四時。四時[2]復相輔也，是以成滄熱。滄熱復相輔也，是以成濕燥。濕燥復相輔也，成歲[3]而止。故歲者，濕燥之所生也。濕燥者，滄熱之所生也。滄熱者，四時之所生也。四時

²⁰¹ For the transcription and images of “Taiyi sheng shui” JCHJ 1:21-26.

[4]者，陰陽之所生也。陰陽者，神明之所生也。神明者，天地之所生也。天地[5]者，太一之所生也。是故太一藏於水，行於時。周而又□，□□□[6]萬物母；一缺一盈，以己為萬物經。此天之所不能殺，地之所[7]不能釐，陰陽之所不能成。君子知此之謂□[8]。

Taiyi engenders water. Water returns to and has intercourse with Taiyi,²⁰² and by doing so, creates *tian*. *Tian* returns to and has intercourse with Taiyi, and by doing so, creates Earth. *Tian* and Earth, again, have intercourse with each other, and by doing so, create Numinosity and Illumination. Numinosity and Illumination, again, have intercourse with each other, and by doing so, create Yin and Yang. Yin and Yang, again, have intercourse with each other, and by doing so, create four seasons. Four seasons, again, have intercourse with one another, and by doing so, create cold and heat. Cold and heat, again, have intercourse with each other, and by doing so, create moistness and dryness. Moistness and dryness, again, have intercourse with each other, and by doing so, create a year and stops. Therefore, a year is what moistness and dryness engender. Moistness and dryness are what cold and heat engender. Cold and heat are what the four seasons engender. The four seasons are what Yin and Yang engender. Yin and Yang are what Numinosity and Illumination engender. Numinosity and Illumination are what *Tian* and Earth engender. *Tian* and Earth are what Taiyi engender. Because of this, Taiyi hides (itself) in the water, and operates in time. Doing a lap and again [starting (the cycle), it regards itself as] the mother of myriad things.²⁰³ Once lacking and once fulfilling, it regards itself as the weft. This is what *Tian* cannot kill, what Earth cannot rule,²⁰⁴ and what Yin and Yang cannot create. The *junzi* knows it is called ...²⁰⁵

This patterned and formulaic text explicitly speaks of the first progenitor of the world and all phenomena in the world. Unlike the previous text, this text does have a problem using conventional language and concepts to refer to each entity and delineate a process of world creation. And we

²⁰² Here I follow Chen Wei's original and convincing reading of the graph *fu* 輔, literally meaning "to assist," as *bo* 薄, which means, for Chen, "to come close to and have intercourse with" (*pojìn jiāojiē* 迫近交接). See Chen Wei 2009, 23, note 2. This rendering helps us to more clearly understand the concrete procedure of how one "assists" the other.

²⁰³ As we see in the photograph image of slip number 6, because the slip is broken, it is impossible to identify the missing graphs. Presuming it has a parallel structure to the following sentence, Qiu Xigui hypothetically infers the approximately four missing graphs are 始以己為 and completes the line as: 周而又[始, 以己為]萬物母. Chen Wei 2009, 24, note 12.

²⁰⁴ Chen Wei agrees with scholars who take the graph 釐 as 埋. 2009, 24, note 16. But, taking the Earth in this context as meaning the King's governing and living territory, here I stick to the graph's original meaning, "to rule," rather than replacing it.

²⁰⁵ The concept of *junzi* 君子 was newly coined and circulated at this period, an allusion to the earlier concept of *tianzi* 天子, which was no longer a meaningful. Often translated as "gentleman" or "noble man" in English, it originally meant the person in a future generation who becomes a new type of political leader resonating with social transitions at this time. Literally it is translated as "the son of the venerable ruler."

are free to call the entity at the beginning moment “Taiyi” 太一.²⁰⁶ This text invites us to call its name, agree with its name, and accept it.²⁰⁷

This text is concerned mainly with how the world was created, the way the world became the world as it is, and what or who was present at the primal moment in this creation. “Taiyi sheng shui” gives a straightforward answer by presenting a surprisingly well-structured, patterned scheme and formula of the process of the world’s genesis. In this way, this text is more a doctrinal document of cosmology, rather than a philosophical essay about the origin of the universe.

The status of *tian* in this text is noteworthy. Here *tian* is not even the second, but only the third term, following Taiyi and water. It is a merely a product, powerless, with no recognition of its former status. This *tian* in the text is just sky, a physical space and natural phenomenon, not a High God. This *tian* is passive (“be engendered”) rather than active, with negative potential (“cannot kill”) rather than positive. This *tian* is not even “great,” unlike the previous section of the Guodian text. On this point, “Taiyi sheng shui” more radically demystifies the status of *tian* than the *Laozi* parallel text does.

In this readjustment of the status of *tian*, this text reveals another dimension of the new language and concepts, a dimension which appears repeatedly in contemporary and later writings. It is the concretization of cosmological origins and genesis, a topic and related discussions not been seen in earlier excavated written materials such as oracle-bone inscriptions or bronze inscriptions. This text has little difficulty delineating and clarifying this cosmological process. The “Taiyi sheng shui” no longer resorts to the idea of ancestors to explain where in the world an individual comes.²⁰⁸ In the view of this text, this world was not generated by family, nor by the ancestors, but by something much earlier than ancestors, a temporal point that we can only imagine. Thus, the scope of temporality in this text is more expansive than that of the Western Zhou; it is

²⁰⁶ The notion of Taiyi or Dayi 大一 occasionally appears in the received texts such as the “Tianguan shu” 天官書 chapter of the *Shiji* 史記 or the “Liyun” 禮運 chapter of the *Liji* 禮記. Representative discussions about what it means are as follows: Li Xueqin views it as the Deity of the Big Dipper; Chen Wei understands it as a symbol for the earliest state of cosmos before the creation of *Tian* and Earth like a modern physicists’ Big Bang theory; or Chen Guying’s take on it as the archetype of the later Daoist tradition’s highest divine state of being and the world, Primordial Qi (*yuanshi* 元氣). See JCHJ 1:22-23, note 1.

Before the excavation of this bamboo slip manuscript in 1995, based on the newly excavated texts such as Baoshan text, Li Ling 李零 has argued that the concept of Taiyi that was not just a philosophical one but also closely related to early spirit cults and religious observances as well as various technical arts such as astronomy, astrology, astrological divination, or hemerology, was widely known in the pre-Qin period, and the idea about Dao and Taiyi “emerged from a common source and differently named.” See Li Ling, “An Archaeological Study of Taiyi 太一 (Grand One) Worship,” translated by Donald Harper, *Early Medieval China* 2 (1995-1996): 1-39.

²⁰⁷ In terms of the bamboo slip’s own physical state or calligraphic state, there was no definite rationale to separate this text from the *Laozi* parallel text C and give another title to it, making it an independent text. See JCHJ 1:21. This issue is also addressed in Sarah Allan and Crispin Williams, eds., *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*, (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2000). The text separation was made only on the basis of conventional assumption that the *Laozi* must have been a recognizably distinct text, even at this time of ca. 300 BCE. This issue also suggests how problematic it is for us to call this bamboo text simply “Laozi,” as well as how our uncritical acceptance of traditional assumptions comes into play in our interpretation of archaeological materials that were created before such assumptions were made.

²⁰⁸ Of course, it does not mean that the ancestral world and the past became utterly meaningless in this period. As various excavated texts illustrate, ancestral worship was widely practiced in this period, too.

no longer ancestral time, but cosmological time, that is, time before the first human being was born, even before *Tian* was created. Locating the origin at the very first moment of this entire universe was a conceptual challenge to the previous system, effectively a “de-ancestralization of the world.” It envisions a much earlier time before the great ancestors, and thus is incomparably more fundamental than the ancestors, effectively destroying the once unchallengeable authority of ancestors.

This issue of “de-ancestralization of the world” is discussed, from a different angle, in another bamboo slip manuscript, “Guishen zhi ming” 鬼神之明, which was purchased and collected by Shanghai Museum.²⁰⁹



Gui Shen zhi ming 鬼神之明

今夫鬼神又（有）所明，又（有）所不明，則以斤（其）賞善罰暴也。昔者堯、舜、禹、湯，仁義聖智，天下灋（法）之。此以貴為天子[1]，福（富）又（有）天下，

²⁰⁹ For the transcription and images of “Guishen zhi ming,” See Ma Chengyuan’s *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhan’guo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書 (hereafter SB) 5:307-321.

He Feiyan also examines this text in her discussion about changes in ancestral worship in this period. See He Feiyan 2013, 156-163. However, her understanding of this text relies too much on later reconstructions of imaginary scholarly lineages called *Rujia* 儒家 or *Mojia* 墨家, as many commentators on this text have done.

On the issue of the taxonomy of the so-called schools (*xuepai* 學派), whose existence is by no means attested in any excavated or discovered materials, see Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan, “Constructing Lineages and Inventing Traditions,” *T’oung Pao* 89.1 (2003): 59-99, in which the authors focus mainly on the received texts’ records and Han cultural contexts. Kidder Smith Jr. also pays attention to this question in relation to the issue of *Shiji*’s own categorization of the past. See Kidder Smith Jr., “Sima Tan and the Invention of Daoism, ‘Legalism’, et cetera,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 62.1(2003):129-156. Sarah Queen also examines this issue in her study of *Huainanzi*. See Sarah Queen, “Inventories of the Past: Rethinking the ‘School’ Affiliation of the *Huainanzi*,” *Asian Major* 14.1(2001):51-72. Nathan Sivin tackles the problem of the notion of Daoism in his article written in his “On the Word ‘Taoist’ as a Source of Perplexity: With Special Reference to the Relations of Science and Religion in Traditional China,” *History of Religions* 17.3-4(1978):303-30. Creel has also written on the ambiguity of the term “Daoism” in the early context. Herrlee Glessner Creel, *What is Taoism?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970). Using excavated manuscripts, Li Rui 李銳 also examines this question. See Li Rui, *Zhangguo Qin Han shiqi de xuepai wenti yanjiu* 戰國秦漢時期的學派問題研究, (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue, 2011).

長年又（有）舉（譽），後世遂（述）之。則鬼神之賞此，明矣。及桀、受、幽、萬（厲），焚聖人，殺訐（諫）者，惻（賊）百眚（姓），亂邦家。■〔此以桀折於鬲（歷）山，而受首（從之聲，鋤）於只（岐）社，〕身不沒為天下笑。則鬼[2]神之罰此，明矣。及五（伍）子疋（胥）者，天下之聖人也，鴟夷而死。榮夷公（終）者，天下之亂人也，長年而沒。女（如）以此詰之，則善者或不賞，而暴[3]者或不罰，故吾因加鬼神不明，則必又（有）古（故）。亓（其）力能至安（焉）而弗為嘯（乎）？吾弗智（知）也。意（抑）亓（其）力古（固）不能至安（焉）嘯（乎）？吾或（又）弗智（知）也。此兩者枳（歧），吾古（故）[4]曰：“鬼神又，有所明，又（有）所不明。此之胃（謂）嘯（乎）。”■




Now, (I say) Ghost and Spirit have both what they are perspicacious about and what they are not perspicacious about. Thus (I speak of) this (issue) with the case of their rewarding good (rulers) and punishing tyrannical rulers.

In the past, Yao, Shun, Yu, and Tang, they were benevolent, righteous, well-listening,²¹⁰ and wise, and all under *tian* took them as law. This was why they were valued as the Son of *Tian*. (At that time) the wealth belonged to all under *tian*; longevity belonged to the honored ones, and later generations recorded it. Thus, when the ghosts and spirits reward the good, they are perspicacious.

However, Jie, Shou (i.e., Zhou 紂), You and Li, burnt those who were sagely, killed the remonstrators, stole from the commoners, and ensnarled their countries and families. This is why Jie was distressed at Mount Li, and why Shou bowed down to the clique of (Mount) Qi. Even if they themselves were not murdered, they were scorned by all under *tian*. Thus, when the ghosts and spirits punish the tyrannical, they are perspicacious.

However, Wu Zixu was a man who was sagely among all under *tian*, but he was murdered and (his body was) used as a wineskin. Rong Yi Gong was a man who was a rebel among all under *tian*, but he lived long and died (naturally). These being so, I may raise questions about these cases, which imply that good men may not be rewarded, and tyrannical ones may not be punished. Therefore, my argument that ghosts and spirits are not perspicacious, due to the cases, will then necessarily have a rationale. Was it the case that even though their strength could reach the people, (the ghosts and spirits) maybe just did not act? I don't know. Or was it the case that their strength indeed could not reach the people? I still don't know. These are two branching possibilities. Therefore, when I say, “the ghosts and spirits have both what they are perspicacious about, and what they are not perspicacious about,” I mean this.

In the Shang oracle-bone inscription, even if the Shang king's interpretation of a crack was proven wrong, the Shang king and his vassals would not have thought that *di* or ancestors were powerless. In the cultural system where the connection between the past and the present, between the ancestor or High God and the royal elites, was a means of legitimation of the present political power, it was hardly imaginable that the foundation of the legitimation, i.e., ancestors, were doubted or questioned about their might.

²¹⁰ Written as  in oracle-bone inscription,  in the Western Zhou bronze inscription, and  in the Chu bamboo manuscripts, the graph “sheng” 聖 originally meant “(the capacity) to listen well or carefully to someone's speech.” It is the sensitivity of human listening.

Although this text does not clearly identify its concept of ghosts and spirits with that of the ancestors, *tian* or *di*, the ghosts and spirits in the text are virtually no different from what the Western Zhou elites believed about a moral *tian*, and about what their ancestors were supposed to do for the good ruler or good vassals. The text appears to target the old system in which ancestors and High Gods had the central role in controlling the state and its people.

This text attempts to logically demonstrate, with four well-known examples, that there are some things that the ghosts and spirits do and other things they cannot do, and thus they are not as omnipotent as earlier people thought. The text neither denies the actual existence of ghosts and spirits nor does it say that they are entirely powerless. It argues that the ghosts and spirits do not consistently reward the good and punish the evil. By doubting the consistent power and authority of the ghosts and spirits, this text attempts to challenge the previous system that relied on the idea of “reward and punishment” by *tian* and the ancestors. The world does not operate on such moralistic principles, according to this text. This marks a significant break with previous beliefs that, centered on the notion of *tian* and the ancestors, and opens up a room for others.²¹¹

On the issue of the demise of a moral *tian* and the ancestors, “Guishen zhi ming” signals a major conceptual shift from the ancestral world to a new human character, that is, the Sage-King. The text also features archetypal characters in the narrative of the past, such as Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, and so on. These characters, stereotypical heroic or villainous individuals, provide a model for narratives of the past that no longer relies on the ancestral past, but now on an older moralistic code to interpret the past through a newly personified time. “Guishen zhi ming” exemplifies a new style of writing about the past by adopting these newly typified characters. What we can see here is the re-establishment of a connection to the past, no longer through ancestors, but through heroic stereotyped characters. In this re-connected past, time becomes mythical and legendary; and turns paradigmatic and moralistic in that it is intended to be reenacted in the present.²¹²

This way of reorganizing the past relied on a linear time frame. It included both old and new, a hybrid model of narrative-making about the past but *for* the present, reviving a temporal

²¹¹ Skepticism about former belief systems that I suspect has been already widely circulated in Chu is also well-represented in another text, entitled “Fanwu liuxing” 凡物流形, literally meaning “All things are fluid in form,” the text which is now collected as one in the seventh volume of Shanghai Museum collection. Like the later literarization in the “Questioning about Tian” (*tianwen* 天問) section of *Chuci* 楚辭, this text enumerates various questions, some of which can be read as to attack on earlier conceptual systems, and interestingly relates the answers to the issue of self-cultivation to forget and remove all the existing linguistic concepts in mind and unite oneself with the One (*yi* 一). This issue is also seen in much later textual reconstructions such as *Laozi*, *Guanzi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Huainanzi*, and was also a practice method in later religious traditions, which are so often inattentively aggregated in the name of Daoism. The text of “Fanwu liuxing” has been collected by the Shanghai Museum in two versions having the same contents, and it possibly suggests that this text would have gained wide cultural currency in the Chu region. For the transcription and images of this bamboo text, see SB 7: 220-272.

²¹² Narrating the past through constructing an iconic figure is also a feature of the creation of the character of the cultural heroes such as Kongzi 孔子 and the emergence of the notion of classic (*jing* 經), both as a rising critical core of reconstructing the past in the new paradigmatic interpretation and narrativization of the past.

On May 14 to 15, 2016, Anhui University 安徽大學 officially disseminated to the scholars in China a new collection of Chu bamboo slip manuscript texts on 1167 slips in total, including fragmented ones. A great portion of them are reported to be parallel to the by far earliest *Shijing* 詩經 (101 slips) and the earliest collection of sayings of Kongzi. The source of their acquisition has not been identified. This new corpus of Chu bamboo slip texts is reported to be dated from 400-350 BCE, the date which is minimum a half century earlier than any existing Chu bamboo texts. See http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_news.php?id=688 (Last access date: February 23, 2019).

connection to the times of the Shang and Zhou represented by ancient kings, vassals, and exemplary people. However, this new model did not limit its scope to one state or one family but rather spanned periods, across states. It expanded the linearity to the realm of the distant past, the time people no longer are able to experience, thus the mythical past.

Chronologically lining up the great sages representing not only each period but also archetypal paragons of humanity in politics, this new model of memory and story creates one complete story about the past, starting from the earliest beginnings up to the early period of the Western Zhou. There, through the symbols of exemplary men of the past, it constructed a long-lasting ideal time and space. It told the stories about what the peoples of early states did for their states. Thus, the narrative was structured by building these main stereotypical characters. It creates a character by locating him in a particular episode representing a historical moment of the past or memorably significant event, then making the character behave or speak in a certain way. What he speaks, what he does in the story determines the significance of this man, what this person means in society. The key here is to produce memorable episodes as convincingly and as frequently as possible, writing an episode into which the characters are placed,²¹³ and also to create lines or speeches for the characters, lines and speeches which are assigned to each character or interchangeably used for another character.²¹⁴ The narrative constructed from the episodes was

²¹³ The creation of Episode Texts is evidenced by the bamboo slip texts of short stories thematizing a particular memory of a concrete event, like those of the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions I have examined above. For example, in Guodian, “Lu Mu Gong wen Zi Si” 魯穆公問子思; in Shanghai Museum collection, “Rong Cheng shi” 容成氏 (2: this number indicates the volume of the collection); “Lubang dahan” 魯邦大旱 (2); “Min zhi fumu” 民之父母 (2); “Zigao” 子羔 (2); “Zhong Gong” 仲弓 (3); “Pengzu” 彭祖 (3); “Cao Mo zhi chen” 曹沫之陳 (4); “Xiangbang zhi dao” 相邦之道 (4); “Zhao Wang hui shi” 昭王毀室 (4); Zhao Wang yu Gong zhi shui 昭王與龔之雎 (4); “Zunzi wei li” 君子為禮 (5); “Dizi wen” 弟子問 (5); “Ji Geng Zi wen yu Kongzi” 季庚子問於孔子 (5); “Kongzi jian Ji Huan Zi” 孔子見季桓子 (6); “Wu Wang jianzuo” 武王踐作 (7); “Zheng Zi jia shang” 鄭子家喪 (7); “Zunzi zhe hebi an zai” 君子者何必安哉 (7); “Yan Yuan wen yu Kongzi” 顏淵問於孔子 (8); “Cheng Wang weicheng pu zhi xing” 成王為城濮之行 (9); “Ling Wang sui Shen” 靈王遂申 (9); “Chen Gong zhibing” 陳公治兵 (9); “Juzhi Wang tianxia” 舉治王天下 (9); Bangren bu cheng 邦人不稱 (9); “Shi Liu wen yu Fuzi” 史嚱問於夫子 (9); in Qinghua University collection, “Yin zhi” 尹至 (1); “Yin gao” 尹誥 (1); “Cheng Wu” 程寤 (1); “Bao xun” 保訓 (1); Qiye 耆夜 (1); Jinteng 金縢 (1); “Huangmen” 皇門 (1); “Zhai Gong zhi guming” 祭公之顧命 (1); “Xinian” 系年 (2); “Yueming” 說命 (3); “Zhou Gong zhi qinwu” 周公之琴舞 (3); “Rui Liang Fu bi” 芮良夫毖 (3); “Liangchen” 良臣 (3); “Hou Fu” 厚父 (5); “Mingxun” 命訓 (5); “Tang chu yu Tang Qiu” 湯處於湯丘; “Tang zai dimen” 湯在帝門; “Yin Gao Zhong wen yu sansui” 殷高宗問於三壽 (5).

²¹⁴ For example, the aphorisms attributed to Kongzi seem to have been still being made not only after the end of Zhou, but even after the fall of Han. In the book, *Kongzi jiyu* 孔子集語, first compiled and edited by Xue Ji 薛據 (fl. 13th century) in the Southern Song period, and later expanded and re-edited by Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753-1818) of the Qing period, all the sayings attributed to Kongzi are collected and categorized into nine chapters, according to the topic. See Sun Xingyan, *Kongzi Jiyu Jiaobu* 孔子集語校補, edited by Guo Yi 郭沂, (Jinan: Qilu shushe 1998). The book suggests that even some texts, believed to have been made in the Tang period (618-907 CE), contain the sayings of Kongzi that had not been attested by any earlier texts. This suggests that there had been so many new aphorisms created in the name of Kongzi much later than the time later people have believed he actually lived.

Mark Csikszentmihalyi and I have pointed out that some lines attributed to the character of Kongzi in the *Lunyu* are seen in the recently excavated manuscripts, as anonymous or as assigned to a different character, sometimes by slightly changing wording and sometimes verbatim. This signals that the lines or aphorisms now believed to be those of Kongzi in the *Lunyu* might not have been Kongzi the historical man’s own, but later only attributed to his character. See Mark Csikszentmihalyi, and Tae Hyun Kim, “Textual Formation of the *Analects*,” in *The Analects* (Norton Critical Editions), translated by Simon Leys and edited by Michael Nylan, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014).

about one particular state on the surface, but was underneath a story of a universal cultural project in which any cultural or political group of people could take part. This universal story of the world was then expanded on a cosmic scale of time and space, the underlying goal of the masterpiece the *Shiji* now solely attributed to one author named Sima Qian 司馬遷.

The production of episodes and aphorisms was an extensive and very popular practice, based on numerous cases of excavated bamboo slip manuscripts containing the memory of specific past events or numerous anonymous aphorisms that had not been incorporated into the surviving received texts. Thus, the reconstruction of the narrative of the past in a complete version was a grand scale cultural phenomenon joined by numerous individual intellectuals from the diverse intellectual, cultural, political, social, economic status and interests.

The bamboo slip manuscript entitled “Rong Cheng shi” 容成氏, which was also purchased and collected by Shanghai Museum in 1993, represents one of the most comprehensive narratives of the past, by the time of ca. 300 BCE.²¹⁵ This manuscript presents a previously unknown version

Especially, in the late Western Han through Eastern Han, the character of Kongzi and his teachings were produced in the idea of books that allegedly contain his authentic teachings, later called apocrypha (*weishu* 緯書). For a brief introduction of *weishu* and its socio-cultural context, see Yasui Kōzan 安居香山, *Isho* 緯書, (Tōkyō, Meitoku Shuppansha, 1969).

Recently, Ren Milin 任蜜林 gives a fuller explanation of the genesis and development of *weishu* culture in the Han. See Ren Milin, *Handai bijing: Weishu sixiang fenlun* 漢代秘經：緯書思想分論, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue), 2015; also *Handai neixue: Weishu sixiang tonglun* 漢代內學：緯書思想通論, (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2011).

Such a cultural phenomenon of *weishu* is structurally very similar to what happened about two centuries later after the death of Jesus in the early Christian communities of near Eastern cultures. The ancient Coptic materials, called Nag Hammadi Codices, discovered near the Upper Egyptian town of Nag Hammadi in 1945, vividly attest that various religious beliefs and interpretations of Jesus and his own communities that have never been known before this discovery were being created and practiced in the 2nd to 3rd century BCE before they were suppressed by the authority of one unified church which legitimized itself as the church descended from the apostolic tradition. For these materials, see Marvin W. Meyer ed., *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures: The Revised and Updated Translation of Sacred Gnostic Texts Complete in One Volume*, (New York: Harper One, 2009); also his *The Gnostic Discoveries: the Impact of the Nag Hammadi Library*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2005).

Also, hypothesizing on the basis of common material found in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke but not in the Gospel of Mark, the earliest sources of Jesus’s sayings orally transmitted to the Christian communities, scholars of New Testament have attempted to reconstruct a lost source called the Q source or Q gospel. The research has shown that what the historical Jesus would have actually said mostly belongs to the traditional genre of wisdom literature. It argues that Jesus did not speak of man’s resurrection after death which constitutes a key aspect of traditional Christian belief. According to such research, what we see in the texts entitled “Gospel” are people’s religious reflections upon the personality of Jesus and his life and death. This reflective re-narrativization has been the core of the orthodox belief representing the Christian doctrine, under the authority of the established church. See John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel*, (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2000). This process of making “Gospel” resembles the formation of *Lunyu* and its legitimatization in the Western Han in which the authority of Kongzi as the transmitter of lost Dao was valued as a means to legitimize political and cultural lineages by being selection as the state canon.

For the cases of imaginary reconstruction of patriarchal lineage by creating new narratives and new sayings in the Chan Buddhist tradition in Tang, studied after the discovery of manuscripts at Dunhuang in the early 20th century, see Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch: The Text of the Tun-huang Manuscript with Translation, Introduction, and Notes*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).; Cole Alan, *Fathering Your Father: The Zen of Fabrication in Tang Buddhism*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

²¹⁵ As I indicated above, “Rong Cheng shi” was collected in the second volume of the Shanghai Museum bamboo slip texts. For the images and transcription of this text, see SB 2:247-293.

of China's early history from the time of legendary rulers Yao, Shun, Yu and their predecessors to the establishment of the Zhou.



Rong Cheng shi 容成氏

The primary thematic issue of this exceptionally long narrative focuses on how rulers departed from the rule of abdication of the throne in favor of the worthy, and thereby when and how evil and villains eroded the standards for governing of the world. In the beginning of human society, the worthy ruled the world as a utopia, but that paradise was lost when the procedure of abdication changed to that of hereditary succession. The text says this began with Yu and his son Qi, the time that *Shiji* takes as beginning of the Xia 夏, as officially the first dynasty on the continent. Structurally, it consists of a set of binary oppositions such as good vs. evil; abdicated worthy vs. hereditary monarch; Son of *tian* vs. king; peace vs. confusion; paradise vs. struggle and war.²¹⁶ By narrating the long history to trace it back to how humans had lost paradise and later got into so much trouble, “Rong Cheng shi” treats issues such as how the world should be governed, what the right and just way of ruling is, who deserves to be ruler, and who does not. In this sense, the goal of “Rong Cheng shi” is not to speak of the past, but rather provide an allegory to explain how when the hereditary Kings and regional rulers govern the world and where the evil comes from, and why

This important text has been rendered in English at least twice, in Sarah Allan, “Abdication and Utopian Vision in the Bamboo Slip Manuscript, ‘Rongchengshi,’” *Chinese Philosophy in Excavated Early Texts, Supplement to Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 37 (2010): 67–85; Yuri Pines, “Political Mythology and Dynastic Legitimacy in the Rong Cheng shi Manuscript,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 73.3 (2010): 503-529.

The bamboo slip sequencing of “Rong Cheng shi” has been an important issue in understanding this text. I will follow the sequence suggested in Chen Jian 陳劍, “Shangbo Chujian Rong Cheng shi yu gushi chuanshuo” 上博楚簡《容成氏》與古史傳說, 2009, <http://www.jianbo.org/Wssf/2003/chenjian02.htm> (last accessed: May 21, 2018). Recently, Sun Feiyan 孫飛燕 nicely summarizes all the major issue of sequence and transcription of “Rong Cheng shi” and proposes a critical edition of her own. Sun Feiyan, *Shangbo jian Rongchengshi wenben zhengli ji yanjiu* 上博簡《容成氏》文本整理及研究, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2014).

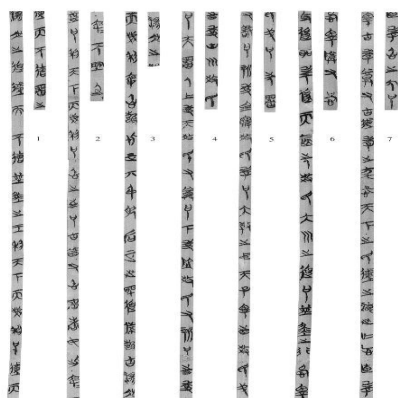
²¹⁶ Sarah Allan demonstrates this structural issue in the political legend seen in the early texts. See her *The Heir and the Sage: Dynastic Legend in Early China*. (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1981).

we suffer from it. Then, “Rong Cheng shi” aims to change the hereditary political system, and thereby change the world by recovering the ideal past. Its message was a call for a fundamental change in the human political system: neutralizing hereditary monarchy and (re-)establishing a government based on rule my moral exemplars.²¹⁷

The “Rong Cheng shi” persuades its readers of its new political vision, of the value of abdication to worthies over hereditary succession, by reconstructing the temporal sequence of episodes of early Sage-Kings already widely known in the society. Here the “Rong Cheng shi” repeats and appropriates the older ways of constructing ancestral time in its own context. However, the past in the “Rong Cheng shi” no longer links the cases of ancestors with blood ties, rather the past is “fictionally” reconstructed in a linear fashion based on older stories of Sage-Kings who lived in an un-experiential and unrecorded time. The “Rong Cheng shi” creates a full lineage of ideal rulership from the beginning of the world and humanity up to King Wu of the Western Zhou.²¹⁸ For the “Rong Cheng shi,” time and the past is not physical, natural, or objective, but is

²¹⁷ The main concern of “Rong Cheng shi” reveals is also seen in other excavated Chu bamboo slip texts such as, “Tang Yu zhi dao” 唐虞之道 and “Zigao” 子羔. For the transcription of “Tang Yu zhi dao” 唐虞之道 text, see JCHJ 1: 60-69.

For images and the original transcription of the “Zigao” 子羔, see SB 2:181-200. Because of its fragmented state, the sequence and transcription of the “Zigao” has been considerably amended after its first publication by Ma Chengyuan. For a reliable critical version, see Xia Shihua’s 夏世華 fine commentary (2009), “Shanghai Bowuguan can Zhanguo Chu zhushu er Zigao jishi” 《上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書（二）·子羔》集釋, which is accessible at http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=857. The “Zigao” text has been translated into English by Sarah Allan in “Not the *Lunyu*: The Chu Script Bamboo Slip Manuscript, Zigao, and the Nature of Early Confucianism,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 72.1 (2009): 115-151.



Tang Yu zhi dao 唐虞之道



Zigao 子羔

²¹⁸ Unfortunately, since we have lost the first slip, so we do not know how “Rong Cheng shi” concretely begins its story of genesis. What we know is that, based on the three-graph title “Rong Cheng shi,” on the back of the 53rd slip, the text probably took this figure as the progenitor of the human world.

In the received text tradition, the name “Rong Cheng shi” is rarely seen, once in the “Qu Qie” 祛箴, and once in the “Ze Yang” 則陽, both now collected in the *Zhuangzi*. Interestingly enough, the sequence of earliest rulers in the paragraph of the “Qu Qie” text is somewhat similar to that of “Rong Cheng shi,” and more importantly, the paragraph of “Qu Qie” also represents the same issue of abandoned worthies in today’s world, but it does not relate to the issue of abdication vs. hereditary succession, as “Rong Cheng shi” does, but to how to attain greater knowledge, that is, knowing the *dao* rather than knowing only the hypocritical petty knowledge. This subtle incongruity represents

a construct that both signifies and is signified for the present. This signals a new way of viewing and conceiving of the memory of the past. The new memory and story of the past was a succession of the great rulers across political and cultural entities.²¹⁹ It was a universal history of the past of all humanity and the world.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explained where the composition of Episode Texts came from: it was related to changes in the ways that people dealt with the past after the political and cultural

an interesting and important textual resemblance in which the same topic and a similar example are used to construct a different didactic episode. The lineage of the earliest worthies and their sequence varied.

<p>……[尊]盧氏、赫胥氏、喬結氏、倉頡氏、軒轅氏、神農氏、棗乙氏、壚畢氏</p>	<p>容成氏、大庭氏、伯皇氏、中央氏、栗陸氏、驪畜氏、軒轅氏、赫胥氏、尊盧氏、祝融氏、伏羲氏、神農氏</p>
<p>容成氏</p>	<p>莊子 胙篋</p>

²¹⁹ It is interesting to note that “Rong Cheng shi” does not identify the beginning of humanity with the most common legendary figure in the later period, Huang Di (Yellow Emperor). “Rong Cheng shi” lists the Huang Di fifth in its list under the name of Xuan Yuan 軒轅. This signals that in this text, the character of Huang Di is not particularly prioritized yet. However, the Chu bamboo slip text “Liang Chen” 良臣 (Qinghua 3: 156-162) lists Huang Di’s name as the first of human history (Qinghua 3: 157), and “Wu Wang jianzuo” 武王踐作 (SB 7: 149-168) also names Huang Di first before Yao and Shun (SB 7: 151). “Juzhi Wang tianxia” 舉治王天下 (SB 9: 189-236) uses the term “Four Thearchs” (*sidi* 四帝; SB 9: 211) and lists Huang Di as the first among them (SB 9: 212-15). These three examples clearly show the spread of the idea that Huang Di was the first God-like ruler of the human world, which already circulated in the Chu region around 300 BCE.

As is well-known, the “Principal Annals of Five Thearchs” (*wudi benji* 五帝本紀) of *Shiji* lists five earliest rulers as Huang Di 黃帝, Zhuan Xu 顓頊, Di Ku 帝嚳, Yao 堯, and Shun 舜. Also, the “Virtue of Five Thearchs” (*wudi de* 五帝德) of *Da Dai Li* 大戴禮 provides basically the same list of names, Huang Di 黃帝, Zhuan Xu 顓頊, Di Ku 帝嚳, Yao 堯, Shun 舜, and Yu 禹. This gives the impression that the main lineage of earliest progenitors has been agreed upon by the time of Western Han. However, even if the main line was set up, the details about each character and their families, the information which helps to construct their historicity, were still being produced. A notable example is “Di Xi” 帝繫, now found as the chapter next to “Wudi De” in the *Da Dai Li*. Structurally, the narrative of “Di Xi” connects many major early progenitors from different clans and communities into one unified family line, resembles that of the first chapter of the Gospel of the Book of Matthew, in which all the past mythical and historical heroes and heroines in the Judaic tradition were depicted as members of a single familial line. This legitimates the birth of Jesus as Christ as the son of God.

Li Xueqin 李學勤 reads the “Wudi benji” as the document that represents historical truth in symbolic language, interpreting the records from anthropological and archaeological perspectives. This record is then about how early Chinese society arose from a large chiefdom to an early centralized state. Li Xueqin, *Shiji Wudi benji jianggao* 史記五帝本紀講稿, (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2012).

Guo Yongbing 郭永秉 offers a fine study on the comparison of the three Chu bamboo manuscripts, “Rong Cheng shi,” “Zigao” 子羔, and “Tang Yu zhi dao” 唐虞之道, from which he reconstructs the early imagination of the lineage system of *diwang* 帝王. Guo Yongbing, *Dixi xinyan: chudi chutu zhanguo wenxian zhong de chuanshuo shidai gudiwang xitong yanjiu* 帝系新研：楚地出土戰國文獻中的傳說時代古帝王系統研究, (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2008).

collapse of the Western Zhou. The cultural system of the Western Zhou functioned on the premise of a sole unified ancestral past that served not only the royal elites but also non-royal elites in their performance of commemorative rituals memorializing the state's past. After the Zhou weakened politically, it no longer functioned, and each local state pursued their own story about the past. This was the beginning of the production of the Episode Text.

Reading three examples of early Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions, each representing a different period and a different region, I saw that the conceptions of time in individual regional states were being released from their conceptual constraints imposed by Western Zhou hegemony and pursuing their individualized pasts in order to establish their own identities, each employing distinct narrative forms of their own. This represents a significant sign that the ways to remember and narrate the past were gradually being diversified, and so an individualized conceptual system of time was being established in the political and cultural vacuum in the wake of the prior hegemony.

Examining several Chu bamboo slip manuscripts, I have argued that in the later Eastern Zhou period, when political and military conflict and competition between regional states intensified, a new political system under the authority of one absolute monarch was emerging, and conceptions of time and the past became more diversified. At the same time, the establishment of a new conceptual system denied and replaced the older Western Zhou one. New concepts to explain time and the world were invented, circulated, and changed, as the imperative to set up another social order was more active than ever. In this new cultural movement, time was explained without ancestral engagement; sometimes the ancestors' and the Zhou High God's authority and power were questioned or denied. No longer limited by the ancestors, time expanded to include the very beginning of the world. An origin without a High God or ancestors was conceived with the new concept of *dao*, and with the denial of the older Zhou cultural model. The past was considered no longer self-evident, and no longer guaranteed by the ancestors or High Gods.

This new movement constructed and wrote a "universal history," based on the numerous Episode Texts that were records of individual memories of the past in each region; it was universal because it pursued time across the different states, different people, different cultures, and their different memories. It even included a no longer attestable past. In place of an ancestor, participants in this movement created the new and old characters constructed as archetypal paragons of human morality in governing. People arranged these new characters in ordered sequences and created a complete narrative of the past from the earliest beginning of humanity. It is important to note that this movement to create new temporal and spatial horizons was deeply related to certain agendas; it was to change and replace the old with the new. As "Rong Cheng shi" attests, the concern of this new creation of memory and story of the past was the quest to change the old political and cultural system. And the new memories and stories that substituted for the old universal history were constructed using resourced from numerous Episode Texts based on individual memory and story.

CHAPTER 4: Episode Text and the Production of “History” (I) - In Light of the Textual Formation of *Zuozhuan*

In Chapter Two, I examined the Cili Chu bamboo slip manuscript parallel to the “Wuyu” of the *Guoyu*, and suggested how a long, complete memory of a particular past event may have been produced. This examination explored the possibility that there were numerous self-contained, smaller textual units in existence, and they were put together in a specific sequence, often chronological or thematic. This re-organization of individual memories may have excluded some texts to make a grander, fuller, and more complete narrative more consistent and coherent. However, mainly due to the fragmented nature of the Cili “Wuyu” parallel text, it is difficult to identify individual source memories before they were merged. For example, it is difficult to know what the original form of each textual unit was like, what their contents were, how they were different from the later narrative codified in transmitted texts such as *Guoyu* or *Zuozhuan*, or what materials were deleted and forgotten.

In this chapter and the following one, I will trace and discuss concrete individual memories in the form of Episode Text by examining some more complete and more readable excavated or discovered manuscripts in relation to two seminal transmitted texts of “history,” namely, *Zuozhuan*, and *Shangshu*, both of which contain representations of the past that were foundational to the understanding of “Early China” in the East Asian tradition. First, in Chapter Four, I focus on the issue of the formation of the social memory codified in the received *Zuozhuan* text. For this, I use two excavated manuscripts both of which are collections of dozens of Episode Texts: a silk manuscript, now entitled “Chunqiu Shiyu” 春秋事語 (Episodes of Spring and Autumn Period),²²⁰ and a bamboo slip manuscript, known as “Xinian” 繫年 (Chronicles). A number of episodes in these two excavated manuscripts overlaps those of the received *Zuozhuan*, and constitute meaningful parallels. In terms of textual parallelism, these two manuscripts are the most significant texts in exploring the issue of early composition of the received *Zuozhuan*.²²¹

²²⁰ Currently, there are two excavated texts entitled “Chunqiu shiyu.” One, as a silk manuscript, was excavated at Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan in 1973, and the other, a bamboo and wooden board manuscript, was unearthed at Shuanggudui, Fuyang, Anhui, in 1977. I examine the first, not the latter. Despite having the same title, these two texts, Fuyang and Mawangdui, are significantly different in content. The Fuyang text, which is much more fragmented than the Mawangdui text, appears to have little meaningful parallel contents to the current *Zuozhuan*. It is thus more useful to compare the Fuyang text to the *Xinxu* and the *Shuoyuan*, texts I have discussed in Chapter One.

The Fuyang “Chunqiu shiyu” consists largely of two parts that are physically distinguished by the writing media: first, two wooden tablets on which only chapter titles are found, and second, hundreds of extremely damaged and fragmented bamboo slips where the main content was written. In the bamboo slips, 28 chapter titles and 25 sets of content have been identified. 53 chapters in total are believed to have been originally recorded on both the wooden boards and the bamboo slips. For more information and useful transcription of these materials, see Han Ziqiang 韓自強, “Fulu er Fuyang XiHan Ruyin hou mu erhao mudu *Chunqiu shiyu* zhangtie ji xiangguan zhujian” 附錄二 阜陽西漢汝陰侯墓二號木牘春秋事語章題及相關竹簡, *Fuyang Han jian Zhouyi yanjiu* 阜陽漢簡《周易》研究, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004), 165-181.

²²¹ Here I exclude the case of the manuscript, commonly known as Zhejiang University *Zuozhuan* Chu bamboo slip manuscript, which is widely accepted as a forged text. This is one of the unprovenanced mid-Warring States Chu bamboo slip manuscripts donated to the University by a donor named Ms. Zhu Guoying, in summer 2009. The Zhejiang *Zuozhuan* parallel manuscript comprises around 3,100 graphs on 124 slips, mostly in a fragmentary state, with 13 slip fragments that duplicate the same contents. It covers only the ninth year up to the sixth month of the tenth year of Duke Xiang in the received *Zuozhuan*. In this overlap, the contents are largely similar to those of the received *Zuozhuan*. The most notable difference is that the Zhejiang parallel slips display some unique, enigmatic phrases in

the text, such as “yi de yi” 一得一, “yi zhi yi” 一之一, or “yi yu yi” 一於一, none of which appears in the received *Zuozhuan* at all. The Zhejiang organizers understand that these phrases were textual vestiges to show the signaling markers for oral recitation or chanting of the text in transmission.

However, the Zhejiang *Zuozhuan* parallel text has been embroiled in controversy about its textual authenticity since its official publication. Here I briefly summarize the most well-known controversy, which was begun with public questioning by Xing Wen 邢文 and followed by the chief editor of the Zhejiang bamboo manuscripts, Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎. Xing Wen first finds several examples of errors in content and callowness and mistakes in calligraphy on the Zhejiang University manuscripts, examples that suggest that the scribe or forger had limited knowledge and training about paleographic writing. For Xing Wen, it is not normal that sections of text often end coincidentally right where the breaks occur, and the writing of individual characters or the spacing between them is also often unaffected by splits. Also, the strips appear quite uneven in length and width and lack any notches or binding marks. These physical features are not found in other genuinely excavated bamboo-strip manuscripts. See Xing Wen 邢文, “Zheda cang jian bianwei shang - Chu jian Zuo zhuan” 浙大藏簡辨偽上 - 楚簡左傳, *Guangming ribao*, May 28, 2012 (http://epaper.gmw.cn/gmrb/html/2012-05/28/nw.D110000gmrb_20120528_1-15.htm, last access date: October 3, 2018); “Zheda cang jian bianwei xia—Zhanguo shufa” 浙大藏簡辨偽下 - 戰國書法, *Guangming ribao*, June 4, 2012 (http://epaper.gmw.cn/gmrb/html/2012-06/04/nw.D110000gmrb_20120604_1-15.htm?div=-1, last access date: October 3, 2018); “Zheda cang jian zai bianwei—wenben fuyuan de guanlianxing yu Zheda weijian zai pipan” 浙大藏簡再辨偽 - 文本復原的關聯性與浙大偽簡再批判, *Guangming ribao*, June 25, 2012 (http://epaper.gmw.cn/gmrb/html/2012-06/25/nw.D110000gmrb_20120625_2-15.htm?div=-1, last access date: October 3, 2018).

Cao Jinyan immediately responded to Xing Wen’s public questioning. He maintains that the Carbon-14 dating and ink tests which were conducted on the Zhejiang slips by several different institutions are undeniable proof of their authenticity. And he also asserts that among genuinely excavated bamboo slips, scholars have found several other examples of slips’ uneven dimensions and slips without notches or binding marks. See Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎, “Zheda Chu jian wuyong zhiyi—cong wenben jiaodu lun Zheda Chu jian de zhenshixing” 浙大楚簡毋庸置疑 - 從文本角度論浙大楚簡的真實性, *Guangming ribao*, June 18, 2012 (http://epaper.gmw.cn/gmrb/html/2012-06/18/nw.D110000gmrb_20120618_1-15.htm?div=-1, last access date: October 3, 2018); “Zai lun Zheda jian de zhenwei—da Xing Wen xiansheng” 再論浙大簡的真偽 - 答邢文先生, *Nanfang zhoumo* 南方周末, July 22, 2012 (<http://www.infzm.com/content/78639>, last access date: October 3, 2018).

According to Cao’s explanations provided in the official publication of the Zhejiang University Bamboo slip manuscripts, the bamboo slips have been tested scientifically three times: First, Carbon-14 testing was conducted by a laboratory of archaeological research at Peking University in mid-November 2009, and the test found that the bamboo manuscripts probably date to around 340 BCE. This date is said to correspond to the historical date of the style of calligraphy and that of the type of the lacquered painted case containing the manuscripts. Also, the bamboo slips had a microscopic analysis by Fudan University in October 2010, upon request by the Shanghai Museum. It showed that the structure of the ink traces are completely different from that of the fragment of the Han bamboo slip manuscripts found at Xinfang 新傲, but identical with that of Shanghai Museum Chu bamboo slip manuscripts. Also, in the measurement of bamboo disintegration and the analysis of ink-trace conducted in the Department of Materials at Zhejiang University in March 2011, the test also proved that these bamboo manuscripts are not counterfeit. For these results, see Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎, ed., *Zhejiang daxue cang zhanguo chujian* 浙江大學藏戰國楚簡, (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2011), 191-196.

For other scholars’ positions on this issue, see Liu Shaogang 劉紹剛, “Cong wenzi xingtí he shufa kan Zheda jian” 從文字形體和書法看浙大簡, *Guangming ribao*, July 2, 2012 (http://epaper.gmw.cn/gmrb/html/2012-07/02/nw.D110000gmrb_20120702_1-15.htm?div=-1, last access date: October 3, 2018); Wu Jiabi 武家璧, “Lun Zheda Chu jian Sirizhi de tianwen lifa neihan ji qi yi yi shang” 論浙大楚簡四日至的天文歷法內涵及其意義上, Fudan Daxue chutu wenxian yu guwenzi yanjiu zhongxin 復旦大學出土文獻與古文字研究中心, September 11, 2012 (http://www.gwz.fudan.edu.cn/SrcShow.asp?Src_ID=1928, last access date: October 3, 2018).

Along with the public debate on the authenticity of Zhejiang University bamboo slip manuscripts, some scholars also have raised authenticity questions about other purchased materials such as the Peking University Western Han Bamboo Slip “Laozi” manuscript, the Qinghua University Chu bamboo slip “Baoxun” manuscript. For more information on this, see Christopher J. Foster, “Introduction to the Peking University Han Bamboo Strips: On the Authentication and Study of Purchased Manuscripts,” *Early China* 40 (2017): 167-239.

By comparing the episodes in these two texts with those of the transmitted *Zuozhuan*, I will discuss how historical memories and discourses in the late Warring States and early Western Han were made into the narratives preserved in the *Zuozhuan*. I argue that the memories in the *Zuozhuan* Episode narratives were the intellectual outcomes that had been formed in the editing of competing memories and their representations of past events.

The *Zuozhuan*: Nature and Origin

Before examining the two excavated manuscripts and how they are related to the formation of the *Zuozhuan*, I first discuss how scholars have viewed and approached the compilation of the *Zuozhuan*, briefly summarizing important findings. After that, I will relate these ideas to the excavated parallel manuscripts.

The *Zuozhuan*, commonly translated as *the Zuo Tradition or The Commentary of Zuo*, is a lengthy early Chinese narrative history that has been regarded as one of the major commentaries or commentarial traditions on the canonical annals of the State of Lu, entitled the “Spring and Autumn Annals” (*Chunqiu* 春秋).²²² The received text comprises 30 chapters covering a period from 722 to 468 BCE and focuses mainly on political, diplomatic, and military affairs during this period. However, unlike the two other commentaries, *Gongyang* 公羊 and *Guling* 穀梁, which are in form of the exegesis that emphasizes glossing and explicating the meanings of certain words or phrases and the hidden authorial intention behind those choices, the *Zuozhuan* provides a concrete episodic stories connected to the historical events recorded in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, providing readers with more vivid stories. Formally, the *Zuozhuan* is strikingly different from the other two.

Also, unlike the *Gongyang* and the *Guliang*, the *Zuozhuan* was not originally laid out in conjunction with the *Spring and Autumn Annals* year by year. Such a compositional layout was devised first by Du Yu 杜預 (222–85) who was one of the intellectuals avidly promoting the *Zuozhuan* as orthodox, replacing the *Gongyang* in the 3rd century CE after the fall of Eastern Han.²²³

Moreover, in the received literature, most texts do not directly refer to the *Zuozhuan* itself by title as a source. We have numerous cases in which the *Spring and Autumn Annals* as a generic

After the debate between Xing Wen and Cao Jinyan, most scholars have agreed that the Zhejiang *Zuozhuan* parallel manuscript is not authentic. A rare exception to this trend is found in Asano Yūichi 浅野裕一 and Ozawa Kenji 小沢健二, *Sekkodai Saden shingi kō* 浙江大左伝真偽考, (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2013). Asano and Ozawa view the Zhejiang “*Zuozhuan*” parallel text as historically reliable.

Due to the highly contested nature of the Zhejiang *Zuozhuan* parallel text, I will exclude it in this Chapter.

²²² The original context of production of the *Annals* is unknown. There have been two possibilities proposed: first, it might have been a presentation to ancestral ghosts in the ancestral temple; second, it might have been for later readers. See Stephen Durrant, Wai-ye Li, and David Schaberg, trans., “Introduction,” *Zuo Tradition, Zuozhuan: Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn Annals,”* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2016), XLI-XLII.

²²³ An interesting analysis of Du Yu is found in Pauli Wai, “Chapter 5,” *Merging Horizons: Authority, Hermeneutics, and the Zuo Tradition from Western Han to Western Jin* (2nd c. BCE – 3rd c. CE), Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2013, 111-154.

term for historical annals or the annals of Lu state are explicitly mentioned,²²⁴ but they do not have a convincing relationship to the text we can call the *Zuozhuan*. Nonetheless, we find many parallel episodes found in both the *Zuozhuan* and other received texts. But the other texts not attribute the episode to the *Zuozhuan*. It suggests that those parallel episodes may not have been known as the *Zuozhuan* compositions, and the specific title of *Zuozhuan* was not originally associated with the episodes.

Also, the period covered by the *Zuozhuan* differs from that of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The *Zuozhuan*'s episodes range from 722 to 468 BCE, while the *Annals* covers only 722 to 481 BCE. That is, the *Zuozhuan* contains another thirteen years, after the capture of the mythical animal called *lin* 麟 ends the other two commentaries.²²⁵ Moreover, in a given year, it is common that the *Zuozhuan* provides episode narrative passages to the event entries that are not recorded at all in the *Annals* itself.

Because of such significant discrepancies and differences, scholars have long suspected the *Zuozhuan* was not originally composed as a commentary to the *Annals*. The Han scholar Liu Xin's comment in his letter to the Taichang academicians about their rejection of Old Scripts Texts is in this sense suggestive: "[they, i.e., Gongyang and Guliang scholars] claimed that what the family-tradition of Zuo did does not transmit the *Spring and Autumn Annals*" 謂左氏爲不傳春秋.²²⁶ This suggests that the *Zuozhuan* had been compiled for a purpose different from the exegetical studies of the *Chunqiu*. This has led scholars to a consensus that the exegetical affiliation of the *Zuozhuan* to the *Annals* was produced as a result of politico-cultural negotiations in the Han and the post-Han, mostly from the 1st century CE to 3rd century CE.²²⁷

If the *Zuozhuan* was originally not composed as a commentary on the *Annals*, then for what purpose was this text first compiled and shared? When was it first created as a complete text? Even in Qing evidentiary scholarship, the issue of the formation of the *Zuozhuan* was rarely put under scholarly scrutiny. As Liu Jiahe 劉家和 points out, most of the studies on the *Zuozhuan* in Qing scholarship focus on the historical research on the Spring and Autumn period using the *Zuozhuan*, or on exegetical studies focused on errors in the transmitted text, rather than on the text itself.²²⁸ For example, Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682 CE) notices that the statements of prophecy

²²⁴ For the cases, see Wai-ye Li, *The Readability of the Past in Early Chinese Historiography*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 29-31.

²²⁵ This point is often credited to Qing philologist Liu Fenglu 劉逢祿 (1776-1824). See his *Chunqiu Gongyang jing Heshi shili* 春秋公羊經何氏釋例; *Chunqiu Gongyang shili houlu* 春秋公羊釋例後錄, edited by Zeng Yi 曾亦, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2013). Also see Shih Hsiang-lin, "Zuo zhuan 左傳," in *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide, Part Four*, edited by David R. Knechtges and Chang Taiping (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 2394-99; Anne Cheng, "Chun ch'iu 春秋, Kung yang 公羊, Ku liang 穀梁, and Tso chuan 左傳," in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, edited by Michael Loewe, (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China; Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California Berkeley, 1993), 67-76.

²²⁶ *Hanshu* 36:1970.

²²⁷ Pauli Wai's dissertation makes this point. Pauli Wai, *Merging Horizons: Authority, Hermeneutics, and the Zuo Tradition from Western Han to Western Jin* (2nd c. BCE – 3rd c. CE), 2013.

²²⁸ Liu Jiahe 劉家和, "Lun Qingdai de Zuozhuan yanjiu," in *Che o hoe tongyang kukche haksul hoeüi nonmunjip* 第5回 東洋國際學術會議論文集, (Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University Press, 1995), 1. See also Luo Junfeng 羅軍風,

in the *Zuozhuan* could help determine the date of compilation, but his study on the *Zuozhuan* centers mainly on historical studies of early states and hermeneutical studies on ways to interpret the *Annals*.²²⁹

Concerning the issue of textual formation of the *Zuozhuan*, a controversial theory was proposed by Kang Youwei 康有為 (1857-1927), who took up and expanded Liu Fenglu's observation that there is a significant discrepancy in the time period covered by the *Chunqiu* and the *Zuozhuan*. According to Kang, it was Liu Xin who first accessed the imperial archives and “forged” the Zuo text as a commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Liu Xin attempted the forgery to lend credibility to the policies of his master Wang Mang.²³⁰

Kang's argument was controversial throughout the 20th century. Critical responses to Kang's argument were first made in Europe, not in China. Henri Maspero shows examples in which the Zuo text had been cited by title before Liu Xin,²³¹ and more importantly, Bernhard Karlgren carried out linguistic and philological analysis and concluded that the received *Zuozhuan* was neither the work of Zuo Qiuming nor that of Liu Xin, but must be dated between 468 and 300 BCE.²³²

In the Chinese scholarship of the early 20th century, Kang's argument garnered extensive support. For example, Qian Xuantong 錢玄同 (1887-1939), a core participant in the scholarly movement called Doubting Antiquity (*yigu* 疑古), contends that there was an original version of *Guoyu*, and the Spring and Autumn period part of the text was taken to create the *Zuozhuan* by Liu Xin.²³³ Qian believes that the *Zuozhuan* was the same kind of narrative text as the *Guoyu*, a position that is still shared by many scholars.

This critical position was supported in China until the late 20th century. Xu Renfu 徐仁甫 was a stout defender of the position. He argued that narratives of the *Zuozhuan* were sophisticated, detailed, and often lengthy in comparison with parallel ones found in several received early texts, proving that the *Zuozhuan* was created even later than early Western Han writings such as *Shiji*,

Qingdai Chunqiu Zuozhuan xue yanjiu 清代春秋左傳學研究, (Beijing: Renmin, 2010); Zhang Suqing 張素卿, *Qingdai Hanxue yu Zuozhuan xue: chong “guyi” dao “xinshu” de mailuo* 清代漢學與左傳學: 從「古義」到「新疏」的脈絡, (Taipei: Liren shuju, 2007); Wen Tinghai 文廷海, *Qingdai qianqi Chunqiu xue yanjiu* 清代前期春秋學研究, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2012).

²²⁹ For Gu's scholarship on the *Zuozhuan*, see Gu Weiyong 古偉瀛, “Gu Yanwu dui *Chunqiu* ji *Zuozhuan* de chuanshi” 顧炎武對《春秋》及《左傳》的詮釋, *Taida lishi xuebao* 臺大歷史學報 28 (2001.12): 69-91. Also, see Cai Miaozhen 蔡妙真, “Gu Yanwu *Luzhili* Zhong zhi *Zuozhuan*” 顧炎武《日知錄》中之《左傳》, *Xingda zhongwen xuebao* 興大中文學報 17 (2005): 157-193.

²³⁰ Kang Youwei 康有為, *Xinxue weijing kao* 新學偽經考, reprinted of the original 1891 edition, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1988).

²³¹ Henri Maspero, “La composition et la date du *Tso-chuan*,” in *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine*, vol. 1, (Paris: Civilisations du Sud, S.A.E.P., 1950), 137-215.

²³² Bernhard Karlgren, *On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso chuan*, (Göteborg: Elanders boktryckeri aktiebolag, 1926).

²³³ Qian Xuantong 錢玄同, “Lun huolin hou Xujing ji *Chunqiu* lieshu” 論獲麟後續經及春秋列書, in *Gushi bian* 古史辨, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1981), 1: 278-280.

Xinxu, *Shuoyuan*, and *Lienu zhuan*. Xu also wrote that the religious and cosmological ideas, and the reverence for Kongzi, represented in the *Zuozhuan*, may be dated to the Han but not an earlier period.²³⁴

Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 did not believe that the received *Zuozhuan* was made by Liu Xin, but that Liu transformed the text into exegesis of the *Chunqiu* in the changing political and intellectual context of the late Western Han. In this regard, Yang also reiterated Kang's point. He argued that *Zuozhuan* began to be compiled in the Warring States period, and during this time, the text was not a commentary on the *Chunqiu*, but merely a collection of local narratives of the past like *Shuoyuan* or *Xinxu*. But Liu Xin changed its status by turning it into a commentary. This was possible only within a cultural context in which competing commentaries to the *Annals* were being installed as state-sponsored studies (*guanxue* 官學). Liu Xiang and Liu Xin played a crucial role in this change, Yang argues.²³⁵

Probably the most systematic textual criticism on the *Zuozhuan* in the mid to late 20th century China was made by Zhao Guangxian 趙光賢 (1910-2003). Zhao divides the received *Zuozhuan* text into three distinct textual layers, “Comments on the *Annals* Classic” (*jiejing yu* 解經語), “Comments on the Commentaries” (*jiezhuanyu* 解傳語), and “Episodes” (*jishi* 記事). He concludes that the *Zuozhuan* was not created as a commentary on the *Annals* but was originally an independent collection of episodes, to which comments related to the *Annals* were gradually added.²³⁶ Zhao's student, Wang He 王和, develops Zhao's accretionist position into a more concretely articulated theory that the *Zuozhuan* text underwent three developmental stages: the first stage, where the original text of the *Zuozhuan* was formed as historical records in an “episode-based style” (*jishi benmo ti* 紀事本末體) during the early Warring States period; the second stage, where the original records were reformatted in a “chronology-based style” (*biannian ti* 編年體) and began to be used as a commentary to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* during the mid to late Warring States period; and the third stage, where Du Yu changed the layout of the *Zuozhuan* to create today's format.²³⁷

Meanwhile, two astronomical studies were attempted to date the *Zuozhuan*. First, Shinjō Shinzō 新城新藏 (1873-1938), an astrophysicist who applied the modern astronomical methodology to early East Asian records of the movement of celestial bodies, concluded that the episodes on Jupiter in the *Zuozhuan* started to be written down from around 365 BCE, and, considering the possible time difference between observation and recording, those Jupiter-related

²³⁴ Xu Renfu 徐仁甫, “*Zuozhuan de chengshu shidai ji qi zuozhe*” 左傳的成書時代及其作者, *Sichuan shifan xueyuan xuebao* 四川師範大學學報 3 (1978): 44-55.

²³⁵ Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, “*Zuozhuan chengshu niandai lunshu*” 《左傳》成書年代論述, *Wenshi* 文史 1979.6; “*Zuozhuan*” 左傳, *Wenshi zhishi* 文史知識 6 (1982): 62-67.

²³⁶ Zhao Guangxian 趙光賢, “*Zuozhuan bianzhuan kao, shang, xia*” 《左傳》編撰考(上); (下), in *Gushi kaobian* 古史考辨, (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue, 1987), 136-164; 165-187.

²³⁷ Wang He 王和, “*Zuozhuan de chengshu niandai yu bianzhuan guocheng*” 《左傳》的成書年代與編纂過程, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究 3 (2003): 33-48.

episodes were likely to have been composed slightly later than the year 365 BCE.²³⁸ Iijima Tadao 飯島忠夫 (1875-1954), who was a historian of ancient East Asian astronomy, entirely disproved Shinjō's conclusion. Instead, based on historical records about the close textual relationship between *Guoyu* and *Zuozhuan*, Iijima attempted to demonstrate that the *Guoyu* and *Zuozhuan*'s records of the movement of Jupiter and calendar events such as the first day of the month, solstices, and intercalary months, coincide with those of the late Western Han, not with those of the mid or late Warring States.²³⁹

From the perspective of historical and textual criticism, Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉 (1873-1961), who was influenced by Kang Youwei's argument, claims that the received *Zuozhuan* text was forged during the late Western Han by textual specialists from Yin Han 尹咸 and Zhai Fangjin 翟方進 to Liu Xin, who wanted to establish the *Zuo* as a separate commentarial tradition of the *Annals*.²⁴⁰ The current *Zuozhuan* text was not the same as the one that Sima Qian was looking at, it was a much-revised version, according to Tsuda. Comparing parallel passages from the *Zuozhuan* and transmitted texts dating to Warring States and Western Han such as *Mengzi*, *Xunzi*, *Han Feizi*, *Lüshi Chunqiu*, *Huainanzi*, *Guanzi*, *Shiji*, *Hanshi waizhuan*, *Shuoyuan*, *Xinxu*, *Gongyang commentary*, or *Guliang commentary*, Tsuda showed how the narratives of the *Zuozhuan* develop the ideas presented in the parallel passages in the earlier texts.

Kamada Tadashi 鎌田正 embraces part of the astronomical evidence proposed both by Shinjō and Iijima, and also part of textual evidence by Tsuda, and reconciles them in his textual study of the *Zuozhuan*.²⁴¹ He concludes that the *Zuozhuan* in its original form must have been formed around 320 BCE, and this text developed in the Western Han by a scholar in the camp who desired to promote it as a state-sponsored commentary to the *Annals*. He identified the author of the *Zuozhuan* as a scribe surnamed Zuo in the state of Wei 魏 who was deeply influenced by the *Annals* studies in the Zixia 子夏 tradition.²⁴²

Recently, Yoshimoto Michimasa 吉本道雅 reaches a similar conclusion to that of Kamada's.²⁴³ Understanding prophecies of the fall of a state, war, and change of capital in the *Zuozhuan* as *ex-post facto* records, and analyzing the prophecies in comparison with written records of other historical texts that confirm whether or not the prophecies were realized,

²³⁸ Shinjō Shinzō 新城新藏, "Saisei no kiji ni yorite *Saden Kokugo* no seisaku nendai to kanshi kinenhō no hattatsu to wo ronzu" 歳星の記事によりて左伝国語の製作年代と干支紀年法の発達とを論ず, *Tōyō tenmongakushi kenkyū* 東洋天文學史研究, (Kyōto: Kōbundō, 1928).

²³⁹ Iijima Tadao 飯島忠夫, *Saden shakugi* 左伝釈義, (Tōkyō: Kōdōkan, 1934).

²⁴⁰ Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉, *Saden no shisōshiteki kenkyū* 左伝の思想史的研究, (Tōkyō: Tōyō Bunko, 1935).

²⁴¹ Kamada Tadashi 鎌田正, *Saden no seiritsu to sono tenkai* 左伝の成立と其の展開, (Tōkyō: Taishūkan Shoten, 1963).

²⁴² Kamada Tadashi, *Saden no seiritsu to sono tenkai*, 342.

²⁴³ Yoshimoto Michimasa 吉本道雅, "Saden seisho kō" 左伝成書考, *Ritsumekan tōyō shigaku* 立命館東洋史學 25 (2002): 1-21.

Yoshimoto argues that the first edition of the *Zuozhuan* was made around 364 BCE and later revised to a minor degree until 330 BCE. However, as for the author, Yoshimoto agrees with past researchers who had attributed authorship of the transmitted text to a particular historical figure. Yoshimoto applies his date of creation to the scholarly lineage in Liu Xiang's *Bielu* and identifies Wu Qi 吳起 as the author of the *Zuozhuan*. He thinks that the *Zuozhuan* began to be composed by Wu Qi in the state of Chu in 378 BCE, and this first version was completed by his son Wu Qi 吳期 in 330 BCE.

Another recent Japanese researcher, Hirase Takao 平勢隆郎, approaches the *Zuozhuan* from a different angle. He contrasts, from the perspective of early Chinese institutional history, the practice of “ensuing year as the first year (ch. *yunian cheng yuan*; jp. *yunen shō moto* 踰年称元) in which the next year of the former ruler's death is installed as the first year, with the practice of crowned year as the first year (ch. *linian cheng yuan*; jp. *ryūnen shō moto* 立年称元) in which the very year the new ruler takes up the throne upon the death of the former ruler is taken as the first year.²⁴⁴ Hirase finds that the “ensuing year” system was first attested in the *Chunqiu*, and historically began to be practiced in the regime of Tian clan 田氏 in the state of Qi 齊 during the mid-Warring States. Thus, for him, the *Chunqiu* was composed to legitimize the Tian regime with the authority of Kongzi. In support of Tian legitimacy through the *Annals*, they also produced Gongyang commentary. He argues that the *Zuozhuan* was composed in the legitimacy struggle against Tian clan of the Qi in the Han 韓. Hirase suggests that the *Zuozhuan* was created by chronologically organizing the orally circulating episodes (ch. *shuohua cailiao*; jp. *setsuwa zairyō* 說話材料) in conscious comparison to the *Annals* and Gongyang commentary by the historians of the Han.

In Western scholarship, relatively less attention was paid to the issue of the compilation of the *Zuozhuan*. Scholars in the US and Europe began to approach the issue mainly from the angle of literary analysis of “narrative.” It was partly a result of the influence of Henry Maspero's studies on early Chinese historical texts such as *Guoyu* or *Zuozhuan* in the early twentieth century.²⁴⁵ First, in the US, noting that written history is not merely a record of what happens but also a well-structured narrative account of the events, Ronald Egan analyzes the literary techniques and independent or interruptive elements in some of the well-known long narratives in the *Zuozhuan* and argues that the *Zuozhuan*'s narratives are often composed with the authorial or more exactly editorial motivation to fit the didactic anecdote and rhetoric into a broader context and thereby to illustrate familiar ethical maxims.²⁴⁶ For Egan, such an emphasis in the *Zuozhuan* is different from

²⁴⁴ Hirase Takao 平勢隆郎, *Saden no shiryō hihan teki kenkyū* 左伝の史料批判的研究, (Tōkyō, Kyūko shuin, 1998); see also “*Shunjū*” to “*Saden*”: *Sengoku no shisho ga kataru “shijitsu,” “seitō,” kokka ryōkikan* 「春秋」と「左伝」: 戦国の史書が語る「史実」, 「正統」, 国家領域観, (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2003).

²⁴⁵ Henry Maspero, “Le Roman de Sou Ts'in,” *Etudes Asiatiques*, 2 (1925): 127-141; also his “Le roman historique dans la littérature chinoise de l'antiquité,” in *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine*, vol. 3, (Paris: Civilisations du Sud, S.A.E.P., 1950), 52-62; “La composition et la date du *Tso-chuan*,” in *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine*, vol. 1, 137-215.

²⁴⁶ Ronald C. Egan, “Narratives in *Tso Chuan*,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 37.2 (1977): 323-352; see also “Selections from *Tso Chuan*: Translation and Analysis,” PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1976.

Nonetheless, this does not mean that Egan takes the Whitean position that historical accounts are fictional narratives in nature. When he refutes Henri Maspero's argument that much of the *Zuozhuan* must have come from a

the *Guoyu*, which he claims did not have a primarily philosophical and rhetorical motivation. Agreeing that the presence of the independent units in the long narratives of the *Zuozhuan* suggests that it is a multilayered work which draws upon a host of sources and combines them into a chronological framework, Egan concludes that the *Zuozhuan* may have developed from a tradition of didactic historical “anecdote.” Rather than suggesting a specific date and place of creation, the issues that have governed most studies of the aforementioned Chinese and Japanese scholarship, Egan shows that the *Zuozhuan* was a literary outcome that had undergone even more meticulous and complex editorial processes occupied by the concern of didactic telling of history, the processes that probably multiple authors and editors had participated in for a much longer time. Egan points out that *Guoyu* had not undergone the complex editorial processes that had made the *Zuozhuan*’s narrative much more philosophical and rhetorical.

David Schaberg develops Egan’s concern with narrative techniques employed in the *Zuozhuan*. Theoretically more influenced by recent critical reflections upon the issue of a hard division between history and fiction, Schaberg engages more in the issues of what the *Zuozhuan*’s narratives were meant to achieve in the context of early China.²⁴⁷ Seeing more similarities than differences between the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* in form and content, unlike Egan, Schaberg understands these works to reflect the early practices of historiography around and after the fourth century BCE. As a part of long-held historical writing practice, they were not from a single authorial consciousness but from a continuity that was maintained in the transmission of storytelling in the Spring and Autumn period from generation to generation.²⁴⁸ Locating them as the texts in the context of a set of scholarly practices, by the group of people often called Confucians, the practices through which scholars had formulated and developed their ideas, positions, concepts, frameworks about the past, which he epitomizes as the “patterned past,” Schaberg examines how early Chinese intellectual history evolved around the historiographical practices crystallized in the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* texts.

Wai-ye Li takes a more literary analysis-centered approach to the *Zuozhuan* narratives, aiming to discuss how the *Zuozhuan* text reveals an “emergent” sense of history that is to be found, comprehended, discussed, and transmitted through reading the text.²⁴⁹ In this emergent sense, the *Zuozhuan* does not promote intellectual propaganda or tendencies termed as Confucianism or Legalism, to which Schaberg links the *Zuozhuan*, but to engage in a deeper cultural consciousness of the past for the people living in an earlier time. Thus, what is sought in the *Zuozhuan*, for Li, is not the recording of the past in narrative form but the interpretations and meanings of the past that

rich corpus of historical romance fiction, Egan maintains the dichotomy between history and fiction, which I do not agree with in this thesis. See his 1977, 352.

²⁴⁷ David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001).

²⁴⁸ For his brief discussion about the textual formation of the *Zuozhuan*, see “Appendix: Orality and the Origins of the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*,” in *A Patterned Past*, 315-325. Schaberg basically follows the argument, proposed by major Chinese and Japanese scholarship, that the contents of the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* were complete by the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the second century BCE respectively. He says that this is the “prevailing opinion” (p. 17), but as I have shown above and will show below with examples from excavated manuscripts, I do not think that there has been a consensus on this issue yet.

²⁴⁹ Wai-ye Li, *The Readability of the Past in Early Chinese Historiography*, (Cambridge, MA and London, UK: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007).

were suggested in the narrative languages, and these were what were put forth by numerous anonymous scribes, compilers, transmitters, and commentators, according to Li.

Schaberg and Li, along with Stephen Durrant, recently confirmed their position that the *Zuozhuan* text was mostly complete by the end of the fourth century BCE. In the “Introduction” to their English translation of the *Zuozhuan*,²⁵⁰ Schaberg, Li, and Durrant argue that the transmitted *Zuozhuan* text is comprised of distinct layers that accreted over time, layers that show the practices of record keeping, teaching, speaking, compiling and transmitting, in early Chinese societies, all of which are somehow overlapped and interlocked with one another, and in the course of complex practices, a nearly complete version of *Zuozhuan* was being read and transmitted by the end of the Warring States period, circa end of the fourth century BCE.

A historical approach to the *Zuozhuan* was attempted by Yuri Pines. Tracing the earlier formation of the intellectual trends later called “Confucianism,” Pines identifies the *Zuozhuan* as an indispensable work about the Spring and Autumn period.²⁵¹ For Pines, the *Zuozhuan* contains hundreds of speeches attributed to various personalities during the Spring and Autumn period. These speeches represent political, ethical, and religious views of the protagonists and may serve as excellent sources for investigating the world of thought during this time. Understanding that most of the speeches in the *Zuozhuan* are derived from written sources, namely short narrative histories prepared by scribes in the Spring and Autumn period, Pines claims that the intellectual changes throughout the narratives of the *Zuozhuan*, as well as significant synchronic divergence among the main characters of the narratives, can disprove that the speeches were invented or significantly polished by later editors or transmitters.²⁵² Thus, for Pines, the *Zuozhuan* provides us with a reliable window to examine the intellectual history of Spring and Autumn period, although history seen from the *Zuozhuan* is aristocratic-centered and thus represents only a narrow segment of the society.²⁵³ Nonetheless, for Pines, the *Zuozhuan* offers a map of intellectual life that is geographically broad and contextualizable within its historical backdrop.

Another research work that effectively counters the arguments of Schaberg and Pines is made by Barry B. Blakeley. In the meticulous and comprehensive textual study of the *Zuozhuan*, Blakeley examines how linguistically, historically, and textually homogeneous and reliable Schaberg’s or Pines’s evidence is in proving the *Zuozhuan*’s date of creation as the 4th century BCE (Schaberg) or as genuinely reflecting the Spring and Autumn period (Pines).²⁵⁴ His

²⁵⁰ Stephen Durrant, Wai-ye Li, and David Schaberg trans., “Introduction,” *Zuo Tradition, Zuozhuan: Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn Annals,”* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2016), XVII-XCV, particularly see the “Part II: The Early History of *Zuozhuan*,” XXXIIX-LIX. This part is a useful overview of the early history of writing in early Chinese culture, discussed especially in the recent Western scholarship.

²⁵¹ Yuri Pines, *Foundations of Confucian Thought: Intellectual Life in the Chunqiu Period, 722-464 B.C.E.*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002).

²⁵² Pines discusses the textual issues of the *Zuozhuan* in his Chapter One. See also his “Intellectual Change in the Chunqiu Period: The Reliability of the Speeches in the *Zuozhuan* as Sources of Chunqiu Intellectual History,” *Early China* 22 (1997): 77-132.

²⁵³ Pines believes the transmitted *Guoyu* represents a much later period. See Yuri Pines, “Rethinking the Origins of Chinese Historiography: The *Zuo Zhuan* Revisited,” *The Journal of Chinese Studies* 49 (2009): 441n21. However, Pines himself does not provide an explanation about the lateness of the received *Guoyu*. I think that it is certainly possible to discuss the textual relations between the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* and the extent to which they are different, but is not possible to determine which one reflects an earlier stratum of the past.

²⁵⁴ Barry B. Blakeley, “On the Authenticity and Nature of the *Zuo zhuan*” Revisited, *Early China* 29 (2004): 217-267.

examination suggests that the transmitted *Zuozhuan* is variegated and multifaceted in both form and content, a fact that implies that the compilation and editing of the text were not univocal enough to show consistently expressed intellectual concerns in the text.²⁵⁵ Thus, Blakeley concludes, much more cautiously than the others, there may have been several partial, possibly regional, collections of official and narrative materials, and the *Zuozhuan* was compiled from these various sources in a gradual process over a longer period than recent scholars like Schaberg and Pines have suggested.²⁵⁶

A. Taeko Brooks attempts to delineate more concretely the accretional process in the formation of the *Zuozhuan*.²⁵⁷ She claims that the *Zuozhuan* passages reveal some distinct conceptions of two primary notions or ideas, i.e., Heaven (sacrificial Heaven → passive Heaven → active Heaven → transitional phase → de-moralizing, natural Heaven) and *Li* 禮 (spirit Li → human Li → governmental Li → disputed Li → cosmic Li). Then she tests the divisions with some other internal textual evidence such as the occurrence of certain words or citations from *Yi* 易 text. She believes that one can distinguish differences between passages and reconstruct their intellectual development in an evolutionary scheme, and thereby demonstrate the accretional process in the text-formation of the *Zuozhuan*.²⁵⁸ In this examination, she asserts that the earliest layer of the *Zuozhuan* are the short text units where the *Spring and Autumn Annals* is referred to with the term *shu* 書, and where the ideas of Sacrificial Heaven and Spirit Li are present. The final layer is the text units that have certain traits that legitimize the Qi and the ruler as the hegemon and the ones in which the ideas of natural Heaven and Cosmic Li appears. According to Brooks, such a textual development finished and resulted in a compilation of all the segments into one text, within the socio-political context of the fourth century BCE. However it should be noted that these layers depend fundamentally on the pre-set, pre-established perspectives and frames about early intellectual history, including the intellectual development from Sacrificial Heaven to Passive Heaven to Active Heaven to Natural Non-moral Heaven, in the *Zuozhuan*'s case, and the pre-set perspective is another matter of discussion and criticism.

Inspired by Egan and Schaberg's studies on the *Zuozhuan* in the lens of narrative analysis, Kai Vogelsang notes that the text units that he terms as "analeptic anecdotes," that are "interjected scenes that take the narrative back in time from the current point the story has reached."²⁵⁹ Like other types of anecdotes such as proleptic anecdotes, amplifying anecdotes, or culmination, all of which Schaberg uses to categorize the anecdotes in the *Zuozhuan*, the analeptic

²⁵⁵ Durrant and his collaborators, in their Introduction to the *Zuozhuan* translation, view what Blakeley treats in his discussion of the *Zuozhuan* formation as mostly supplementary accounts of what they call "archival materials" preserved in individual noble houses. See Stephen Durrant, Wai-ye Li, and David Schaberg trans., "Introduction," XLIn98.

²⁵⁶ See Blakeley, 266.

²⁵⁷ A. Taeko Brooks, "Heaven, Li and the Formation of the *Zuozhuan*," *Oriens Extremus* 44 (2003-4): 51-100.

²⁵⁸ A similar method was also adopted in her previous work of dating the *Lunyu*. Bruce Brooks and A. Taeko Brooks, *The Original Analects: Sayings of Confucius and His Successors*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

²⁵⁹ Kai Vogelsang, "From Anecdote to History: Observations on the Composition of the *Zuozhuan*," *Oriens Extremus* 50 (2011): 105.

anecdotes were independent units grafted onto other textual layers of the *Zuozhuan*, Vogelsang argues. Exemplifying the accretional characteristic in the formation, they seem to derive from oral sources, transmitted among the people at the time, often in connection with songs.²⁶⁰

I have summarized many important discussions on the formation of the *Zuozhuan*, mostly in the 20th century. What many scholars examined above would agree upon is as follows: first, the received *Zuozhuan* is comprised of multiple textual layers and also of textual units that are not necessarily consistent and heterogenous in form or content; second, these compositional elements suggest the *Zuozhuan* was neither from a single source nor by a single authorial hand, but rather it is very likely to have come from multiple sources, oral and written, and undergone multiple editorial processes, through which the contents became expanded, longer, more sophisticated, and variegated. It is also true that many scholars have pointed out the fourth century BCE, the late Warring State period, as the time when the *Zuozhuan* took its current shape. But one thing to mention here is that this scholarly consensus does not thoroughly engage research on excavated manuscripts, which has quickly become more and more significant in the critical reappraisal of many traditional assertions and assumptions about early China. That is, the “late Warring States” dating argument is mostly based on the evidence found in other transmitted texts whose textual formation is equally subject to critical examination. Do textual studies on excavated manuscripts that shed light on *Zuozhuan* formation also imply the fourth century BCE as its date of creation? Some scholars still argue that excavated manuscripts support such a date, but some do find significant new evidence to make us re-think the traditional ideas about textual formation. Examining two manuscripts, I will argue that the 4th century BCE date is unlikely. This by no means implies Kang Youwei’s position that Liu Xin forged the *Zuozhuan*. Instead, this says that the *Zuozhuan* was highly likely to have been in the process of text-making even in the time we commonly call early Western Han. Combined with other examples I examine in this thesis, this suggests that our received early texts more likely remained in the formation process longer than typically thought.

As several scholars have already noted, the *Zuozhuan* shares numerous episodes with other transmitted early texts. The shared episodes are often understood as representing the later textual layers in *Zuozhuan* formation. Although we cannot establish, even with the evidence from excavated manuscripts, an absolute chronological sequence of the layers of the text, the episodes shared between the *Zuozhuan* and other received early texts suggest there were common sources they drew upon.²⁶¹ The following examination of two excavated manuscripts sheds light on the possible common sources that the *Zuozhuan* or the other received early texts relied on. Where did the common episodes come from? How did they become a part of the current *Zuozhuan* text? More importantly, what does the existence of these widely shared episodes tell us about early textual culture and society? Pursuing a possible answer to these questions, I will compare common episodes found in excavated manuscripts and the *Zuozhuan* in the following section.

²⁶⁰ Kai Vogelsang, 2011, 120-121.

²⁶¹ As I have mentioned in the previous Chapter Two, this possibility was explicitly argued by Chang Yiren and William G. Boltz. See Chang Yiren 張以仁, “Cong yufa yuhui de chayi zheng *Guoyu Zuozhuan* ershu fei yiren suozuo” 從文法語彙的差異證《國語》《左傳》二書非一人所作, *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 34 (1962): 333-66; Chang Yiren 張以仁, “Lun *Guoyu* yu *Zuozhuan* de guanxi” 論《國語》與《左傳》的關係, *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 33 (1962): 233-86; William G. Boltz, “Notes on the Textual Relation Between the *Kuo Yü* and the *Tso Chuan*,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 53.3 (1990): 491-502.

The Western Han Mawangdui “Chunqiu Shiyu” Silk Manuscript

One of the most critical excavated texts that parallels the received *Zuozhuan* is “Chunqiu shiyu” 春秋事語, whose title can be rendered as “Episodes of Spring and Autumn Period.” It is a silk manuscript found in the Han tomb No. 3, at Mawangdui 馬王堆, Changsha 長沙, Hunan 湖南 in 1973. In Tomb 3, there was a large cache of manuscripts, more than twenty texts, whose topics and genres are diverse, including philosophical discussion, historical anecdote, calendrics, astrology, divination, and technical arts. The occupant of the tomb is believed to have been a member of the locally prominent Li 利 family. Based on the skeletal remains, the occupant was about thirty years old when he died, and a wooden table placed in the tomb gives a burial date corresponding to 168 BCE. This date is regarded as a firm *terminus ante quem* for the texts excavated in this tomb. Li Cang 利蒼, who was buried in tomb 2, right next to the tomb 3, was very briefly mentioned in the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* as a Chancellor (*chengxiang* 丞相) of a small local state named Changsha 長沙國 in the time of Emperor Hui 惠帝 (r. 195-188 BCE). Neither the exact identity of the occupant nor the reason why he was buried with so many manuscripts remains unknown. What we know is that the text “Chunqiu shiyu” was one of several ones circulating locally in Changsha.

The first official report of the excavation describes the “Chunqiu shiyu” as “a book of the lost text that resembles the *Zuozhuan*, untitled” (*yu Zuozhuan leisi de yishu yizhong wu pian* 與左傳類似的佚書 一種 無篇題).²⁶² Comprised of around 2,000 characters, this text deals mainly with historical events during the Spring and Autumn period, like the *Zuozhuan*. Although it originally had no clear marks signifying chapter divisions, scholars have divided the contents into sixteen separate episodes, following Zhang Zhenglang 張政烺.

Concerning the date of the copy, there have been two criteria proposed: use of tabooed characters and a calligraphic style. First, both Zhang Zhenglang and Li Yumin 李裕民 point out that a character sometimes avoided is used in the “Shiyu” text.²⁶³ Since the copyist or creator of the text “Chunqiu shiyu” did not avoid (*hui* 諱) the tabooed character for the personal name of the founding Emperor of Western Han, Gaozu 高祖, that is, *bang* 邦, the “Shiyu” text was copied before Liu Bang proclaimed himself as the Emperor, at latest the very early period of this new Empire, circa 200 BCE. More specifically, Xu Renfu argues that from the fact that the “Shiyu” avoids the character “Chu” 楚 which he thinks was the personal name of King Zhuangxiang 莊襄王 of Qin (r. 250-247 BCE) the father of the First Emperor of Qin, this “Shiyu” text was copied after the unification in 221 BCE.²⁶⁴ However, since the personal name of the First Emperor,

²⁶² Xiao Han 曉菡 [Han Zhongmin 韓仲民], “Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu Gaishu” 長沙馬王堆漢墓帛書概述, *Wenwu* 文物 9 (1974): 40.

²⁶³ Zhang Zhenglang 張政烺, “Chunqiu shiyu jieti” 《春秋事語》解題, *Wenwu* 文物 1 (1977): 36-38; Li Yumin 李裕民, “Mawangdui Hanmu boshu chaoxie niandai kao” 馬王堆漢墓帛書抄寫年代考, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 4 (1981).

²⁶⁴ Xu Renfu 徐仁甫, “Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu Chunqiu shiyu he Zuozhuan de shi yu duibi yanjiu” 馬王堆漢墓帛書《春秋事語》和《左傳》的事語對比研究, *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線, 4 (1978): 209-212.

Zheng 政, is not avoided, and it is not established how rigorously the practice of avoiding the tabooed character was observed before the Qin unification, the reliability of dating of “Shiyu” copy by the taboo character is limited.

Zhang Zhenglang points out that the calligraphic style in the “Shiyu” shows the typical characteristics of the transition from the Seal Style (*zhuanshu* 篆書) to Clerical Style (*lishu* 隸書) in the early Western Han period.²⁶⁵ Li also sees that the calligraphy, based Warring States Chu’s original style, shows the transition to the Clerical Style, and so concludes that the text was copied probably between the Second Emperor of Qin (r. 210-207 BCE) and the early years of Gaozu of Han (r. 202-195 BCE).²⁶⁶

Based on Kamada Tadashi’s 鎌田正 idea that there are some regular patterns of lexicographic change in parallel passages between *Zuozhuan* and *Shiji*, and that the changes may reflect the differences in the intellectual tendency of the two works, Yoshimoto Michimasa 吉本道雅 finds the similar lexicographic changes between the *Zuozhuan* and “Shiyu,” such as *chufen* 出奔 to *chuwang* 出亡, *wei* 僞 to *yang* 佯, and as a result contends that the “Shiyu” also was composed in the changing intellectual environment from the late Warring States to Qin, circa 250 BCE.²⁶⁷ In terms of theme of political realism, Yoshimoto understands the “Shiyu” to be similar to other Qin compilations such as *Han Feizi* 韓非子 or *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋.

Mukai Tetsuo 向井哲夫 argues more specifically that many of the didactic messages in the “Shiyu” are based on the contents of the four silk manuscripts found at Mawangdui Tomb no. 2, “Jingfa” 經法, “Shiliu jing” 十六經, “Cheng” 稱, and “Daoyuan” 道原, and each of its stories also correspond to the contents of the four silk manuscripts.²⁶⁸ In this sense, the “Shiyu” text must have been composed in relation to those silk manuscripts, he concludes. However, the textual correspondence between “Shiyu” and the four manuscripts that Mukai attempts to establish remains highly speculative.²⁶⁹

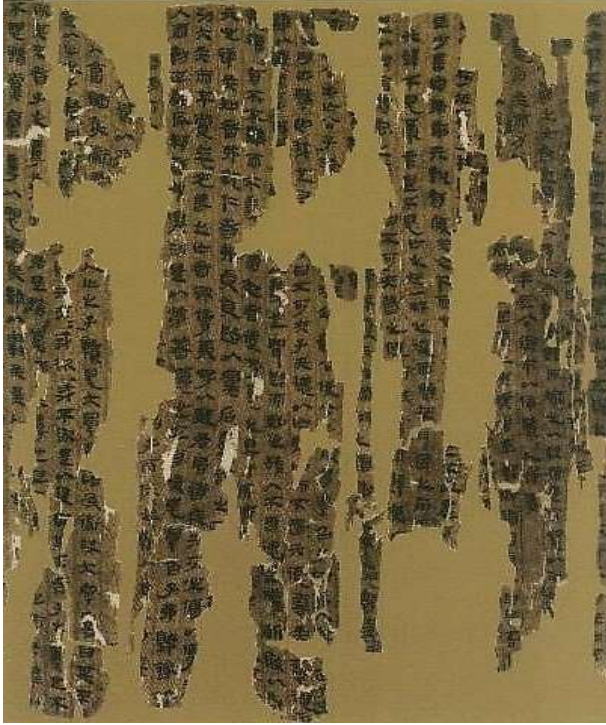
²⁶⁵ Zhang Zhenglang, “*Chunqiu shiyu jieti*,” 36-38.

²⁶⁶ Li Yumin, “Mawangdui Hanmu boshu chaoxie niandai kao.”

²⁶⁷ Yoshimoto Michimasa 吉本道雅, “*Shunjū jigo kō*” 春秋事語考, *Senoku hakkokan kiyō* 泉屋博古館紀要, 6(1990).

²⁶⁸ Mukai Tetsuo 向井哲夫, “*Shunjū jigo to kyōhō nado shihen*” 《春秋事語》と《經法》等四篇, *Tōhōgaku* 東洋学 84 (1992).

²⁶⁹ However, the four manuscripts, often called *Huangdi sijing* 黃帝四經, are highly heterogenous in form, style, and content. Virtually the only commonality across the four texts are the appearance of Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi* 黃帝) as a main character and the similar intellectual interest in the issue of Law (*fa* 法) based on the permanent natural Dao, that constitutes a core of the ideas currently termed “Huanglao dao” 黃老道, literally “The Teaching of Yellow Emperor and Master Lao.” However, recent scholarly practices to treat these four manuscripts as one, merely based on the fact that they are four manuscripts, and may match the entry of *Huangdi sijing* in the “Yiwenzhi” of the *Hanshu*, is baseless. These manuscripts and “Chunqiu shiyu” were not even found in the same tomb.



An Image of Mawangdui “Chunqiu Shiyu” Manuscript²⁷⁰

Scholars at first did have different understandings about this entirely new text. For example, Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 first identified this text as the *Duoshi wei* 鐸氏微 that is listed as one of the early commentaries of the *Annals* in the “Preface of the Chronological Table of the Twelve Feudal Lords” 十二諸侯年表序 in the *Shiji*. Also, Tang Lan 唐蘭 understood it as the *Gongsun Gu* 公孫固 text that is listed in the “Yiwenzhi” of the *Hanshu*.²⁷¹ However, the *Shiji* clearly states that the *Duoshi wei* text consisted of 40 chapters. For now, there is not enough convincing evidence to match this newly found work with any text mentioned or listed in the received literature.

It was Zhang Zhenglang who titled this text “Chunqiu shiyu.” In the first volume of *Wenwu* in 1977, the team for the Mawangdui Silk Manuscript Collating Project 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組 published the first transcription of this text,²⁷² and Zhang Zhenglang provided the first official introduction to this new text, calling it “Chunqiu shiyu” and dividing the text into sixteen distinct episodes.²⁷³ Concerning the title Zhang provided for this new text, as

²⁷⁰ The image is taken from Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 ed., “Chunqiu shiyu” 春秋事語, *Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu jianbo jicheng* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成, vol. 3, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2014).

²⁷¹ Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, Tang Lan 唐蘭, et al., “Zuotan Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu” 座談長沙馬王堆漢墓帛書, *Wenwu* 文物 9 (1974): 45-57.

²⁷² Mawangdui Hanmu boshu zhenglin xiaozu 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組, Mawangdui Hanmu chutu boshu *Chunqiu shiyu shiwen* 馬王堆漢墓出土帛書《春秋事語》釋文, *Wenwu* 文物 1(1977):32-35.

²⁷³ Zhang Zhenglang, “Chunqiu shiyu jieti,” 36-38.

“Chunqiu shiyu,” Zhang first used a new term for the genre, *shiyu* 事語. He explains that although the text records past events that occurred mostly in the Spring and Autumn period, the purpose of this text was apparently not to record past events, but to comment and provide didactic lessons, like the transmitted *Guoyu*.²⁷⁴ Because of this, he suspects this text might have been used as instructional material for beginning students at the time. However, considering the fact that didacticism on the basis of past events was so frequently a theme in early texts, both received and excavated, almost every early didactic text could serve as educational material, and therefore such an argument risks overgeneralization.²⁷⁵ The “Shiyu’s” concern for the past should be understood as an early example of how people sought to explain the meaning of their lives in close relation to the past, in the form of narrative, and thereby established their own identity and legitimize their status in the present.

Qiu Xigui, Tang Lang, and Zhang Zhenglang approached the issue of how to characterize the new text, based on its relation to the transmitted *Zuozhuan*, a precedent followed by later scholars. Among the identified sixteen distinct episodes, only one episode (episode two) has no counterpart in transmitted texts, and the remaining fifteen are all found in the received *Zuozhuan*. Considering that the three episodes are mostly illegible because of decay of the silk, the remaining twelve are comparable to those of the *Zuozhuan* in contents.

The earliest event depicted in the “Shiyu” is the enthronement of Duke Yin of Lu state in 722 BCE, which is found in the eleventh episode. Interestingly, the *Annals* and the major commentaries, including the *Zuozhuan*, all start with this event. Similarly, the latest historical event in the “Shiyu” is that the three households of Han 韓, Wei 魏, Zhao 趙 of the state of Jin 晉 state rose in revolt against Zhibo’s 知伯 (d. 453 BCE) and demanded to cede their lands to the Zhi clan, an event that occurred in 457 BCE and is one of the major events that scholars view as the starting point of Warring States period. Considering the *Zuozhuan*’s coverage stretches thirteen more years into the period that we normally call the Warring States and ends with the year 468 BCE,²⁷⁶ the “Shiyu” stretches eleven more years past the *Zuozhuan*. But despite the eleven-year difference, scholars have speculated that the coverage of “Shiyu” suggests that the “Shiyu” was written with awareness of a certain period, that memory of the politics and society about which is represented in the episodic narratives. The “Shiyu” text was likely to be intended as another written representation of the historical memory about the same period.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Zhang Zhenglang, “*Chunqiu shiyu jieti*.” Zhang also points out that another Mawangdui silk manuscript text, “*Zhanguo zongheng jia shu*” 戰國縱橫家書, meaning “The Book of the Specialists in Strategy in Warring States,” has a similar structure and content except that the events it dealt with occurred mostly in the Warring States period.

²⁷⁵ Approaching the “Shiyu” as a religious guide to the afterlife, Yuri Pines critically examines Zhang Zhenglang’s school-text hypothesis. Yuri Pines, “History as a Guide to the Netherworld: Rethinking the *Chunqiu shiyu*,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 31.1 (2003): 101-126. However, Pines’s efforts to dissociate the “Shiyu” from a historical text and instead to link it to religious ones is also equally problematic. He asserts that the “Shiyu” was not intended to be historical writing because of its historical inaccuracy, poor organization, and general lack of sophistication. However, I think that these issues, which we can often find in other excavated manuscripts or even received texts, does not constitute a convincing reason to deny that the text of “Shiyu” mainly deals with the historical or pseudohistorical events, most of which are closely concerned with those of the *Zuozhuan*.

²⁷⁶ The *Zuozhuan* ranges from 722 to 468 BCE while the *Annals* covers 722 to 481 BCE.

²⁷⁷ Yoshimoto Michimasa finds two pieces of lexicographic evidence to suggest that the “Shiyu” was composed by a writer aware of its textual relation with the *Annals*. First, the word “hong” 薨 is rarely seen in received early materials, but is frequently in the *Annals* and the major three commentaries. He claims that the scribes of Lu differentiated

However, it is noteworthy that, in terms of form, the “Shiyu” text is not organized chronologically. Despite the considerable damage to the manuscript because of decay, this silk manuscript shows more reliably the sequence of the content, which is virtually impossible to recover in the aforementioned cases of Fuyang “Shuolei zashi,” or Cili “Wuyu” parallel text. And this “Shiyu” manuscript is not laid out chronologically. This suggests that this text was not made for the purpose of rigorous record-keeping. Combined with the other important formal feature that, in most episodes, the description of the event is relatively shorter, and commenting on the event through the mouth of a character in the episode seems to weigh more, the purpose of the “Shiyu” silk manuscript is to find and share a lesson in the narrativized memory of the past event, which is also the focus in the *Guoyu* and arguably in the *Zuozhuan*.²⁷⁸

In terms of formal features, most episodes in the “Shiyu” have a consistent compositional structure in their narratives. The following is an example:²⁷⁹

A:

齊桓（桓）公與蔡夫人乘周（舟），夫人湯（蕩）周（舟），禁之，不可，怒而歸之，未之絕，蔡人嫁之。

B:

士說曰：「蔡其亡乎 42。夫女制不逆夫，天之道也。事大不報怒，小之利也。說之□小邦失大邦之□亡將□□43□則□□□□是故養之以□好，申之以子□，重以□□□□□□

themselves from people in other states by using the word. In the “Shiyu,” the word appears twice in the 15th and 16th episodes. Second, in the 14th episode of the “Shiyu,” the feudal lords of Chu and Wu are called “Zi,” translatable as Viscount, and Yoshimoto argues that the title designation in the “Shiyu” follows the practice of five ranks of nobility title (*wudeng juewei* 五等爵位), commonly seen in the *Annals* and the commentaries. This feature also appears in the Chu bamboo slip manuscript “Xinian,” which will be examined in relation to the transmitted *Zuozhuan* text, in the next part of this chapter. Therefore, considering the evidence, the “Shiyu” was likely to be created in the tradition of the *Annals* study, Yoshimoto contends. See Yoshimoto Michimasa, “*Shunjū jigo kō*.”

²⁷⁸ The *Zuozhuan*’s story-telling and its pursuit of didactic message from historical events are discussed in Ronald Egan, “Narratives in *Tso chuan*.”

Also, even in content, we find a noticeable difference that the “Shiyu” has, among sixteen episodes, only one episode related to the state of Chu. However, as Wei Juxian 衛聚賢 (1898-1990) has shown, in the received *Zuozhuan*, the episodes of Jin state take the largest portion in content (26%), and those of Chu (17%), of Lu (16%), of Qi (9%) follow. Wei Juxian 衛聚賢, *Gushi yanjiu* 古史研究, vol. 1, (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1934).

Why the “Shiyu” has few episodes on Chu and what it means in our understanding of this text remain unclear yet. Noma Fumichika 野間文史 suspects that it might be related to the fact that this silk manuscript was copied and buried in the region traditionally regarded as Chu. See his *Shunjū jigo* 春秋事語, (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 2007), XV.

²⁷⁹ The transcription of “Chunqiu shiyu” in this thesis is adopted from Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 ed., “*Chunqiu shiyu*” 春秋事語, *Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu jianbo jicheng* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成, vol. 3, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2014), 167-199. However, I also referred to other scholarly works for my translation of the “Shiyu” as follows: Noma Fumichika, *Shunjū jigo*; Zheng Liangshu 鄭良樹, “*Chunqiu shiyu jiaoshi*” 春秋事語校釋, *Zhujian boshu lunwenji* 竹簡帛書論文集, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1982); Wang Li 王莉, “*Chunqiu shiyu jiaozhu*” 春秋事語校注, MA thesis, Dongbei shifan daxue, 2004.

□□□□□44□□今蔡之女齊也，為□以為此，今聽女辭而嫁之，以絕齊，是□窻（怨）以□也。□□□□□45□惡角矣。而力□□□□乎。」

C: 亘（桓）公率市（師）以侵蔡，蔡人遂潰 46。

A: When Duke Huan of Qi and the Lady from Cai got on a boat, the lady swayed the boat. The Duke kept her from doing so. When she was not allowed to do it, she became angry and returned (to her homeland), but she had not broken off from him yet. The people of Cai had given her away in marriage.

B: A *shi* persuaded (the Duke) by saying: “Won’t the state of Cai collapse soon? That a woman restrains herself so as not to go against her husband is the Dao of Heaven. In serving the greater, not paying her back for her anger is the benefit of the smaller. It is said when a smaller country loses a larger country’s ... it will collapse, about to ... then... Therefore, one takes pleasure in it, by nourishing it; ... by extending it; by weighing it, ... Now the woman of Cai is the Qi’s. You should consider this. Now listening to what she says and getting her married, this is to break off from Qi. This ... by resentment ... Wouldn’t it be that... hate the force but make an effort...”

C: Duke Huan, leading troops, invaded Cai, and the people of Cai were subsequently destroyed.

This episode, the seventh one in the “Shiyu” text, narrates how the state of Cai was destroyed by Duke Huan of Qi, a narrative also found in the third year of Duke Xi in the *Zuozhuan*. Manuscript with little less damage, this text helps us to understand the content and structure more easily. For a more systematic understanding, I divided this episode into three parts. Part A provides a basic description of the event, sometimes with a little more explanation about the context, as we see in episode seven. Thus, Part A serves as an introduction. Through this part, readers can notice the topic and setting. Part B is where one character, who may not be directly related to the event itself but only a bystander, appears and comments on the event. Sometimes this commentator is like a prophet and makes a prognostication, such as about a defeat in battle, a murder, or the collapse of a state. This part is the longest and most focused part of the episodes of the “Shiyu,” delivering mostly didactic message about what one can learn from this event. Part B has two variations: first, as in the cases of episodes four, five, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, twelve, and fifteen, comments are made not in a single character’s monolog, but in a dialog between two characters. Second, as we see in the 16th episode, which is the last episode, Part B can appear to have two distinct commentators. Part C is the end of the episode. Like the “verification” in Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, this part shows how the commentator’s comments came true in reality. Thus, Part C notes that the didactic lesson provided in Part B must be understood and observed. Part C, however, does not seem to exist in the first episode.²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ In fact, this is unclear because of the extreme damage on the part of the silk manuscript of the first episode. Nonetheless, most scholars view the last characters of the first episode as a part of the commentator’s speech. However, we have no definite evidence that these last characters were spoken by the character. It is also possible that the first episode would have had a Part C.

Li Xueqin suspects that the surviving and reconstructed first episode of the “Shiyu” shows only a part of this original story and there could have been at least four more lines on the original manuscript before the current

As such, the “Shiyu” text centers on the reflective comment on the historical event by a character, the portion that is displayed in Part B. Because of the emphasized comment portion in Part B, the “Shiyu” reveals a more obvious hybridity between history and fiction. The most striking evidence for this is the Part B commenting that explains explicitly the implications of the event, and how to better cope with and handle the situation. Among the sixteen episodes of the “Shiyu,” we identify a commentator character in thirteen episodes, including one whose name is only partially identifiable (e.g., 3rd episode). We cannot find such a character in three episodes, due to the decay of the silk. Among the thirteen identified commentators, only one whose name is transcribed as Min Zixin 閔子辛 appears three times in three different episodes (6th; 11th; and 15th episodes). These three episodes feature three different historical events that span 168 or 169 years, from 712 BCE (11th episode) to 662 to 660 BCE (15th episode) and then to 544 or 543 BCE (6th episode), a period during which, in the state of Lu, there have been eight lords on the throne, from Duke Huan to Duke Xiang. Then, in at least one or two episodes, Min the commentator must be understood as playing a role based on what he heard from former generations, not what he was actually involved in. This aspect suggests the possibility of a temporal gap between event and comment, and what is described as the past event in one episode is temporally layered and is told in a retrospective manner.²⁸¹ Alternatively, we could say that the comment was inserted as a later interpolation, and the resulting verification of the comment was added. Whatever the case, the narratives of the past events are a didactic recounting of what happened.²⁸²

Such a formal feature of the “Shiyu” as a concise episodic didactic narrative appears close to that of the *Guoyu*.²⁸³ It may mean that the “Shiyu” did not have the authorial or editorial features of the *Zuozhuan*’s narratives, which were composed to fit a didactic anecdote into a broader context and thereby to illustrate familiar ethical maxims via historical events.²⁸⁴ The “Shiyu” does not even have a chronological arrangement, possibly an additional dimension of editorial intervention.

reconstructed one. See Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Boshu *Chunqiu shiyu* yu *Zuozhuan* de zhuanlin” 帛書《春秋事語》與《左傳》的傳流, *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究學刊, 4 (1989): 1.

²⁸¹ Suspecting the transcribed character to be a scribal error for another character which sounds like *qian* 愆, and therefore was interchangeable with *qian* 騫, Zhang Zhenglang attempts to identify this Min Zixin as Min Ziqian 閔子騫, who was a faithful follower of Kongzi. See Zhang Zhenglang, “*Chunqiu shiyu* jieti,” 36-38.

Wu Rongzeng 吳榮曾, agreeing with the Zhang’s identification of Min Zixin as Min Ziqian, claims that the “Shiyu” demonstrates that the loyal student of Kongzi also had a place in the early transmission of the *Chunqiu*, that which has never been attested to in any existing materials. Wu Rongzeng, “Du Boshu ben *Chunqiu shiyu*” 讀帛書本《春秋事語》, *Wenwu* 文物 2 (1998): 35-38.

²⁸² This suggests that the “Shiyu” is close to the *Guoyu* in terms of form; some *Guoyu* episodes also assume a temporal gap between the event and comment and thus can be understood as a retrospective account of the past. But in the *Guoyu*, examples of a possible temporal difference are rare. This is a significant distinctive feature of the “Chunqiu Shiyu” narrative.

²⁸³ Because of the formal similarity between the “Shiyu” and received *Guoyu*, Liu Wei argues that the “Shiyu” needs to be studied as the older version of the *Guoyu*, rather than in its relation to the *Zuozhuan*. I will briefly discuss his position below. Liu Wei 劉偉, “Mawangdui Boshu Chunqiu shiyu xingzhi lunlüe” 馬王堆帛書《春秋事語》性質論略, *Gudai wenming* 古代文明, 4.2 (2010): 56-60.

²⁸⁴ This is resonant with Ronald Egan’s aforementioned insight about the significance and uniqueness of the *Zuozhuan* vis-à-vis those of the *Guoyu*.

Compared to how the *Zuozhuan* generates didactic messages from a historical event in the episode, where the narrator does not disclose his or her identity, the “Shiyu” is more straightforward; the lesson comes directly from the mouth of the commenting character. In this regard, the “Shiyu” seems not to have gone through all the same editing processes that *Zuozhuan* is believed to have undergone, processes that concerned with the didactic telling of past events in which multiple authors and editors participated in over time. That is to say, the “Shiyu” which scholars normally understand as produced and copied from the late Warring States period at the earliest to after Qin unification in 221 BCE, still retains a high degree of simplicity as a written text (simple repeated compositional structure; fragmented and brief narrative units; no underlying principle in structure), and this also suggests that the *Zuozhuan* is not just physically hundreds of times longer but also a much more polished, developed, and complete text.

This reflection leads to consideration of the textual relationship between the *Zuozhuan* and the “Shiyu.” In one of the earliest and highly influential studies on the “Shiyu,” published in 1978, Xu Renfu finds much evidence to lead him to conclude that the author or editor of the “Shiyu” must not have seen the *Zuozhuan* since “Shiyu” was certainly made earlier than the *Zuozhuan*.²⁸⁵ Comparing several parallel episodes in the “Shiyu” and the *Zuozhuan*, Xu finds that the *Zuozhuan*’s editors consistently replaced certain words, added more information to remove ambiguity, or chose different words to correct perceived errors in the “Shiyu.”²⁸⁶ Although we cannot confirm whether or not such changes in the *Zuozhuan* were really made intentionally by the editors and thus reflect editorial amendments in the “Shiyu,” we see simple stories and messages in the “Shiyu” often become much more elaborate, complex, and longer. This suggests that the *Zuozhuan* episodes might be a literary outcome of synthesizing several sources like those of the “Shiyu.”

In a lengthier and more comprehensive examination of the lexicon and narrative in the “Shiyu” and the *Zuozhuan*, Wang Xiaocen 王曉岑 reaches the same conclusion. Comparing the two texts at three levels of word, phrase (or sentence), and passage, Wang also argues that it is reasonable to estimate that the “Shiyu” reflects features of earlier writing and therefore is likely to have served as a possible source for *Zuozhuan* formation.²⁸⁷ From taking the opposite stance and arguing that the “Shiyu” was made from a pre-existing *Zuozhuan*, Li Xueqin points out that the “Shiyu” is not entirely the same in the *Zuozhuan*, and some descriptions of the same events are different, or some do not even exist in the *Zuozhuan*.²⁸⁸ Li Xueqin understands such significant

²⁸⁵ Xu Renfu, “Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu *Chunqiu shiyu* he *Zuozhuan* de shi yu duibi yanjiu,” 209-212.

²⁸⁶ Xu Renfu, an authority of the *Zuozhuan*, maintains the position that the *Zuozhuan* was a forged text by Liu Xin. Such a position was an understandable intellectual tendency in his generation, and is reflected in his view on the textual relation between the “Shiyu” and the *Zuozhuan*. As a critical response to Xu’s article, Song Min 宋敏 points out some assumptions that Song does not agree with, including whether or not the usage of the graph Jing instead of Chu was a reflection of “Shiyu” writer’s avoidance of a tabooed character for the father of the First Emperor of Qin. See Song Min, “*Zuozhuan* de zuozhe he chengshu niandai de shangque” 《左傳》的作者和成書年代的商榷, *Jilin shida xuebao* 吉林師大學報 3 (1979): 84-85.

²⁸⁷ Wang Xiaocen, “*Chunqiu shiyu* yu *Zuozhuan* de duibi yanjiu” 《春秋事語》與《左傳》的對比研究, MA thesis, Liaoning shifan daxue, 2011.

²⁸⁸ For example, the second episode does not appear in the *Zuozhuan* at all. Li Xueqin, “Boshu *Chunqiu shiyu* yu *Zuozhuan* de zhuanlin,” 1-6.

textual discrepancies not as the sign of the existence of multiple editorial processes and multiple sources but merely as the result of a “Shiyu” composer’s appropriation of *Zuozhuan* episodes.

Rather than establishing a direct textual relationship between the two and determining which one came first, some scholars have focused on the textual heterogeneity. Luo Xinhui 羅新慧, noting more explicit pragmatic concerns in the “Shiyu” episodes, asserts that the “Shiyu” reflects the intellectual tendency of “Legalism,” and that such a Legalist propensity differs from the “Confucian” one that the *Zuozhuan* displays.²⁸⁹ However, putting aside the issue of scholastic taxonomy, which is not well suited to in early materials, especially excavated manuscripts, it is also difficult to reduce the ideas or intellectual tendencies of the *Zuozhuan* to Confucian moralism.²⁹⁰

Liu Wei approaches the “Shiyu” in relation not to the *Zuozhuan*, but to the *Guoyu*, and claims that “Shiyu” is not an edited selection from the pre-existing complete *Guoyu* in the late Warring States, but probably a selection from an older version of the *Guoyu*, due to the formal similarities between the “Shiyu” and the *Guoyu*.²⁹¹ However, it is difficult to agree with two of his main points. First, despite the formal differences between the *Guoyu* and the *Zuozhuan*, it is too extreme and unreasonable to essentialize the differences as an irreconcilable textual distinction between the two and to surmise that the “Shiyu” is impossible to be related to the *Zuozhuan*. Second, despite the formal similarities, the received *Guoyu* does not have parallel passages to the “Shiyu,” while the *Zuozhuan* has fifteen parallel episodes in it. Moreover, the coverage of the period in the “Shiyu” is much closer to that of the *Zuozhuan* than that of the *Guoyu*. Therefore, it is reasonable that the “Shiyu” text is comparable to the *Zuozhuan*, rather than to the *Guoyu*.

Liu Wei’s argument raises the issue of the relation between the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*. As Ronald Egan has pointed out, there are formal differences. These differences do not demonstrate that these two texts were originally or essentially of different genres since the *Zuozhuan* has undergone more complex and multiple formation processes. As Chang Yiren and William Boltz have shown, dozens of parallel passages between the *Guoyu* and the *Zuozhuan* convincingly suggest that their formations were closely related.²⁹² The key to explaining their heterogeneity in form and homogeneity in content is identify the *Guoyu*, the *Zuozhuan*, and the “Shiyu” as deriving from the same set of episode texts that were freely circulating narrative texts in the early culture.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ Luo Xinhui 羅新慧, “Mawangdui Hanmu Boshu *Chunqiu shiyu yu Zuozhuan*” 馬王堆漢墓簡帛《春秋事語》與《左傳》, *Shixue shi yanjiu* 史學史研究, 136.4 (2009): 10-17.

²⁹⁰ Wai-ye Li’s discussion is an excellent treatment of this issue. See her *The Readability of the Past in Early Chinese Historiography*.

²⁹¹ Liu Wei, “Mawangdui Boshu *Chunqiu shiyu xingzhi lunlüe*,” 56-60.

²⁹² Chang Yiren, “Lun *Guoyu yu Zuozhuan de guanxi*,” 233-86; William G. Boltz, “Notes on the Textual Relation Between the *Kuo Yü* and the *Tso Chuan*,” 491-502.

²⁹³ Zhao Zheng 趙爭 reaches a similar conclusion in his critical response to Liu Wei. See his “Mawangdui boshu *Chunqiu shiyu xingzhi zaiyi*” 馬王堆帛書《春秋事語》性質再議, *Gudai wenming* 古代文明, 5.1 (2010): 56-61. Zhao uses the term “Speech-type” (*yulei* 語類) to define the nature of the “Shiyu,” also pointing out that the evidence linking “Shiyu” to the *Guoyu* is scarce.

Kondō Noriyuki 近藤則之 approaches each episode in the “Shiyu” as a folktale based on events in the Spring and Autumn period that circulated in literate society from the Warring States to early Western Han. Assuming that the *Guoyu* or *Zuozhuan* was already established in the early phase of the Warring States, Kondō identifies the episodes in the “Shiyu” as a reaction from a different intellectual standpoint relative to the *Zuozhuan* and the *Guoyu*. See Kondō

In the following, I will closely examine several passages for textual differences that have implications for our understanding of the texts, especially pertaining to the “Shiyu” and the *Zuozhuan*, and more importantly to the development of early memories of past events.

Textual Comparisons between the “Shiyu,” *Zuozhuan*, and other received texts

In this section, I will examine the “Shiyu” text mainly in comparison to the *Zuozhuan* text. I will treat four main cases that demonstrate the textual relationship between the “Shiyu” and the *Zuozhuan*. First, to show that the episodes in the “Shiyu” is related to the *Zuozhuan*, I introduce the “Shiyu” parallel most similar to the *Zuozhuan*, the tenth one in the “Shiyu.”

Case 1: Elaboration - Detailing the Story

春秋事語	左傳 魯 哀公 12 年
<p>【●吳】人會諸侯，□〈衛〉君【後】，吳人止之。子贛(貢)見大(太)寧〈宰〉喜，語及□〈衛〉故。大(太)寧〈宰〉喜曰：「其來後 62，是以止之。」</p> <p>子贛(貢)曰：「□〈衛〉君【之來】，必謀其大夫，或欲，或不欲，是以後。欲其來者子之黨也，不 63 欲其來者子之壽(讎)也。今止【衛】君，是隨(墮)黨而崇壽(讎)也。且會諸【侯】而止□〈衛〉君，誰則 64 不□(懼)，隨(墮)黨崇壽(讎)，以□(懼)諸侯，難以霸矣。」吳人乃□之 65。</p> <p>The man [of Wu] assembled feudal lords; the Lord of Wei [came later.] The man of Wu detained him. Zigong met the Grand Minister (of Wu), Xi.²⁹⁴ The conversation turned to [explaining?] the reason for (detaining the Lord of) Wei. The</p>	<p>秋，衛侯會吳于鄆，公及衛侯，宋皇瑗盟，而卒辭吳盟，吳人藩衛侯之舍，子服景伯謂子貢曰，夫諸侯之會，事既畢矣，侯伯致禮地主歸餼，以相辭也。今吳不行禮於衛，而藩其君舍以難之。子盍見大宰，乃請束錦以行，語及衛故，大宰誥曰，寡君願事衛君，衛君之來也緩，寡君懼，故將止之，</p> <p>子貢曰，衛君之來，必謀於其眾，其眾或欲或否，是以緩來，其欲來者，子之黨也，其不欲來者，子之讎也，若執衛君，是墮黨而崇讎也，夫墮子者，得其志矣，且合諸侯而執衛君，誰敢不懼，墮黨崇讎，而懼諸侯，或者難以霸乎，</p> <p>大宰誥說，乃舍衛侯，衛侯歸，效夷言，子之尚幼，曰，君必不免，其死於夷乎，執焉，而又說其言，從之固矣。</p>

Noriyuki, “Dengoku yori kansho ni itaru Shunjū setsuwa denshō no sokumen” 戰國より漢初に至る春秋説話伝承の一側面, *Chūgoku tetsugaku ronshū* 中国哲学論集 10 (1984): 1-22.

²⁹⁴ The character of Zigong in this passage, as in the *Zuozhuan*, may be the same one who is also portrayed as one of the most loyal disciples of Confucius in the *Analects*.

Grand Minister, Xi, said: “He came late, and because of this, we detained him.”

Zi Gong said: “The Lord of Wei’s coming late must have resulted from his discussion with his Senior Officials, some of whom desired (him to attend) and some of whom did not desire him to attend. He must have been late because of this. Those who desired him to come belong to your party, and those who did not desire him to come are your enemy. Now if you detain the Lord of Wei, this will destroy your own party and honor your enemy. If you assembled the feudal lords and detained the Lord of Wei, who would not be afraid? This will destroy your party and honor your enemy, and so make the feudal lords afraid, and then it will be difficult for you to be the hegemon.” The man of Wu thereupon (released) him.

In autumn, the Prince of Wei met with Wu at Yun. Our lord made a covenant with the Prince of Wei and Huang Yuan of Song but to the end declined a covenant with Wu. The men of Wu built a palisade around the lodging of the Prince of Wei. Zifu Jingbo said to Zigong, “In a meeting of the princes, once the proceedings have been completed, the presiding lord presents ritual gifts, while the local host furnishes a feast, and only with this do they take their leave of one another. Now Wu has not carried out the ritual with Wei but has instead made trouble for them by building a palisade around their ruler’s lodging. Why do you not visit the Wu grand steward?” So, after asking for bolts of brocade, Zigong set out.

When in their conversation they came to the matter of Wei, the grand steward Pi said, “Our humble ruler is eager to serve the Lord of Wei, but the Lord of Wei was slow in coming. Our lord was afraid, and we have therefore kept him here.” Zigong said, “In coming here, the Lord of Wei no doubt strategized with his multitude, and among his multitude there were some who wanted him to come to Wu and some who did not. That is why he was slow to come. Those who wanted him to come are of your party, while those who did not want him to come are your enemies. If you seize the Lord of Wei, this will be toppling your party and raising up your enemies, and those who would topple you will achieve their aims. What is more, if you gather the princes only to seize the Lord of Wei, then who will dare to have no fear? You would topple your party, raise up your enemies, and frighten the princes: it is perhaps difficult in this way to act as overlord.”

The grand steward Pi was pleased and therefore released the Prince of Wei. When the Prince of Wei returned home, he imitated the barbaric way of speaking. Gongsun Mimou, who was still a young man, said, “The lord is certain not to escape trouble but will die among the barbarians. He was seized by them, and yet he takes pleasure in their way of speaking: that he is following them is confirmed.” Confucius comments authoritatively on calendrical matters and the winter dormancy of insects. (3: 1909; 1911)²⁹⁵

Summary: The “Shiyu” episode narrates the detaining of the Lord of Wei by the Duke of Wu. In it, Zigong counsels the Duke of Wu to be lenient with other rulers of neighboring states, in order to achieve hegemony.

The *Zuozhuan* version provides further background on his detention, saying that the Lord of Wei formed an alliance with the states of Lu and Song but refused to ally with the state of Wu, isolating Wu in the military alliance. It also adds an inauspicious prediction made about the Lord of Wei by a high official of Wei, that he will die in the Wu.

²⁹⁵ In this thesis, I use Stephen Durrant, Wai-ye Li, and David Schaberg’s translation of the *Zuozhuan* for English translation and put the volume number and page number in parenthesis. See their *Zuo Tradition, Zuozhuan: Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn Annals,”* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2016).

This tenth episode in the “Shiyu” also has a *Zuozhuan* parallel, recounting the Lord of Wu detaining the Lord of Wei for his lateness to the assembly, which occurred in the twelfth year of Duke Ai of Lu, 542 BCE. It may be significant that, in the *Annals*, there is no record of this event, but nonetheless, the “Shiyu” and the *Zuozhuan* deal with this event in a similar fashion. This indicates that the episode of the “Shiyu” was neither composed nor copied as a narrative exposition or exegesis to the surviving *Annals*.

This “Shiyu” episode is composed in a typical structure with a slight modification: A (Introduction) – B (Comment) – C (Result). A modification occurs in the B and C section: The B is presented as a developed dialogue between Xi the Grand Minister of Wu and Zigong the commentator, not a typical monologue from the commentator, and the C, instead of providing a verification, merely describes what happened after Zigong’s comment: the Lord of Wei was released.

The story narrated in the “Shiyu” is very simple and easy to understand: The Lord of Wu assembled the feudal lords, but the Lord of Wei was late and detained by the Lord of Wu. Zigong persuaded the Lord of Wu to release the Lord of Wei. But in this “Shiyu” episode, we are not informed of specific information such as why the Lord of Wu wanted to assemble the feudal lords, why some of Wei people did not let their Lord go meeting the Lord of Wu, or more importantly, whether the Lord of Wu detained the Lord of Wei because of his being late or whether there was another reason.

In the *Zuozhuan* episode, the same story becomes much more vibrant, more elaborate and complex. The *Zuozhuan* version, which takes the perspective of the state of Wei, states that there was a backstory between the states of Wu and Wei before the detainment event occurred. That is, because the state of Wu became hegemonic enough to call for assembly of the feudal lords, so the neighboring states such as Lu and Wei were more concerned about the growth of the southern states and refused to form an alliance with them. In this circumstance, there also was an incident with a man of Wei murdering a man of Wu named Qie Yao 且姚, an incident which could be a good reason for the Wu to launch a military attack on the Wei. In the *Zuozhuan* episode, the detention of the Lord of Wei occurs in this situation in which the Wu had to punish Lu and Wei for making an alliance, without Wu, which ignored the hegemonic status of Wu and also may be a potential threat to Wu. Thus, in the detailed backstory that the *Zuozhuan* provides, the Lord of Wei’s lateness appears superficial. Here the *Zuozhuan* seems to serve as a commentary to the simple narrative that the “Shiyu” offers, by providing greater detail. However, despite detailing the basic story in the *Zuozhuan*, the main message delivered by the character Zigong is preserved, that immediately suppressing the enemy will not benefit the Wu and make it difficult to achieve hegemony. Instead, it will help the enemy to fight more fiercely against Wu and prevent other states from cooperating with Wu.

This case is an example of how an episode develops into a much longer, more complex one by adding details the original one. But despite this detail, the main message does not change. In the following example, we will see that a “Shiyu” episode and the *Zuozhuan* episode have different concerns about the same event.

Case 2: Diversification - Different Messages from the Same Story

馬王堆 春秋事語	春秋 左傳 文公 13 年
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●晉獻公欲得隨會也，魏州餘請召之。乃令君羊（佯）囚己，斬桎瑜（逾）□□□□□□28。曉朝曰：「魏州餘來也，台（殆）□□隨會也」君弗□也。（魏）【州】餘果與隋會出，曉朝贈〈贈〉之以【策】29，曰：「□□吾贈（贈）子，子毋以秦□□人，吾謀實不用□。」□□與吏□□聞之【曰】：「□□30□□□□亡人以□□□□□□□□□□魏州餘□□□□□□□□□□31□□□□□□□□□□矣果□不欺□是以二【子】弗知畏難而□□□□晉邦□□32□□謀而曉朝得之，惇其心也。二子畏其後事，必謀危之。」□□會果使（謀）（讒）之曰33：「是知餘事，將因我于晉。」秦大夫信之，君殺曉朝34。

When the Duke Xian of Jin desired to get Suihui [i.e., Shehui 士會 in the *Zuozhuan*], he asked Zhouyu [i.e., Shouyu 壽餘] of Wei to summon him. Thereupon he [Zhouyu; Shouyu] made his Lord [i.e., Duke Xian of Jin] feign imprisoning him [Zhouyu; Shouyu], and he [feigned] cutting off the fetters and ran off... Xiaochao [i.e., Raochao 繞朝 in the *Zuozhuan*; a high official of Qin] said: "Zhouyu of Wei's coming will endanger ... Suihui." But the Lord [of Qin] did not (listen). Zhouyu of Wei indeed escaped with Suihui. Xiaochao, presenting him [Zhouyu] a whip, said: "... [Just because] I give you this, you should not (think), by that, Qin (does not have talented) men ... My plan has in fact not been used ..." ... with an official, heard that and said: "... by failing a person ... Zhouyu of Wei ... Indeed, ... not deceiving, ... by this, both of them (i.e., Zhouyu and Suihui) did not know fear and difficulty, and ... the state of Jin ... plot but Xiaochao saw through the plan, because he (i.e., Xiaochao) understood their (i.e., Zhouyu and Suihui) minds. Both of them are afraid of upcoming events and now must plot and put Xiaochao at risk." ... (Sui)hui indeed devised a scheme and slandered him (i.e., Xiaochao), [Xiaochao] said, "This is because I know what events are left (for me). I am going to base myself in Jin." The high officials of Qin trusted these words, and the lord killed Xiaochao.

十三年，春，晉侯使詹嘉處瑕，以守桃林之塞，晉人患秦之用士會也，夏，六卿相見於諸浮，趙宣子曰，隨會在秦，賈季在狄，難日至矣，若之何，中行桓子曰，請復賈季，能外事，且由舊勳，卻成子曰，賈季亂，且罪大，不如隨會，能賤而有恥，柔而不犯，其知足使也，且無罪，乃使魏壽餘偽以魏叛者，以誘士會，執其帑於晉，使夜逸，請自歸于秦，秦伯許之，履士會之足於朝，秦伯師于河西，魏人在東，壽餘曰，請東人之能與夫二三有司言者，吾與之，先使士會，士會辭曰，晉人虎狼也，若背其言，臣死，妻子為戮，無益於君，不可悔也，秦伯曰，若背其言，所不歸爾帑者，有如河，乃行，繞朝贈之以策，曰子無謂秦無人，吾謀適不用也，既濟，魏人諫而還，秦人歸其帑，其處者為劉氏。

In the thirteenth year, in spring, the Prince of Jin sent Zhan Jia to dwell in Xia in order to defend the strategic border post of Taolin. The Jin leaders were worried that Qin would employ Fan Hui. In summer, the six ministers met with one another at Zhufu. Zhao Dun said, "With Fan Hui residing in Qin, and Hu Yigu residing among the Di, difficult days are close at hand! What are we to do?" Xun Linfu said, "I request that we bring back Hu Yigu. He is capable in external affairs, and he also comes from a family of long-standing merit." Xi Que said, "Hu Yigu fomented unrest, and his offense was great. He is not the equal of Fan Hui. Fan Hui is able to humble himself and has a sense of shame. He is conciliatory and not aggressive. His wisdom makes him worthy to serve, and he also is not guilty of any offense." So, in order to entice Fan Hui to Jin, they had Wei Shouyu feign that he was using Wei as a base for rebellion. They arrested Shouyu's wife and children in Jin and had him slip away during the night. Shouyu requested to turn himself and his land over to Qin, and the Liege of Qin agreed to this. Shouyu stepped on Fan Hui's foot in court as a signal. The Liege of Qin deployed troops to the west bank of the Yellow River and the men of Wei were on the east bank. Shouyu said, "I request an easterner who is able to speak with their several officials, and I will go on ahead with him." They were about to send Fan Hui, but Fan Hui refused, saying, "The Jin leaders are wolves and tigers. If they go against their word, I will die and my wife and children will be executed here in Qin. This will be of no benefit to you, my lord, and it will be too late for regrets." The Liege of Qin said, "If they go against their word, and I do not return your wife and children, may the Yellow River bear witness against me!" So Fan Hui departed. Rao Zhao gave him a whip as a present and said, "You should not say that Qin has no men! It is just that my plans have not been used." After they crossed the Yellow River, the men of Wei made a clamor and then turned back. The Qin

Summary: The episode of “Shiyu” begins by explaining how Duke Xian of Jin 晉獻公 wanted to employ a capable man Suihui 隨會, who was serving the Qin at the time. He requested Zhouyu of Wei 魏州餘 to make Suihui come with him to the Jin state. Xiaochao 曉朝, a high official of Jin, warned that their coming to Jin would jeopardize the state, but this warning was ignored. Suihui and Zhouyu devised a plot against Xiaochao and made a high official of Qin kill him.

The *Zuozhuan* version provides a much more detailed background about why Suihui was wanted, why Zhouyu, named Shouyu 壽餘 in the *Zuozhuan* narrative, was requested, and more importantly Suihui was indeed loyal to the Qin but had to go to Jin for the Qin. However, in this *Zuozhuan* episode, Xiaochao, named Raochao 繞朝 here, was not described as having been killed by the plot of Suihui and Zhouyu.

The episode, which is the fifth section of the “Shiyu” and in the 13th year of Duke Wen in the *Zuozhuan*, exemplifies that the same story is narrated with a different focus for different messages. The basic story that the “Shiyu” narrates is as follows: the Duke Xian of Jin wanted to employ Suihui and commanded Zhouyu to bring him to Jin, and so Zhouyu devised a plot to take Suihui back to Jin. In Zhou’s execution of the plot, a high official of Qin named Xiaochao noticed the Zhouyu’s plan and reported it to his Lord, but he did not listen, and they both successfully escaped from Qin and returned to Jin. After returning, Suihui plotted to slander Xiaochao who already knew Suihui and Zhouyu tricked the Lord of Qin to escape from Qin. Suihui spread the rumor that Xiaochao would leave for Jin. The high officials of the Qin believed the rumor, and so the Lord of Qin killed Xiaochao. As a commentator whose name is no longer identifiable says, the main message in this “Shiyu” episode focuses on the character of Xiaochao, who knew what would happen but could not prevent it and eventually got killed by his own lord.

Interestingly, in the narrative of the *Zuozhuan*’s episode, which also does not correspond an entry in the *Chunqiu* record, the character Raochao is marginalized, appearing only at the end of the story. In the *Zuozhuan*, we do not even know that Raochao faced a tragic ending and got killed by his Lord. The *Zuozhuan*’s focus is the cleverness of Shouyu (Zhouyu in the “Shiyu”) and Shehui (Suihui in the “Shiyu”) in their plotting escape for Jin. The *Zuozhuan* gives detailed information about how cleverly Shouyu had schemed to fool the lord of Qin, and also how such a scheme worked, information that is completely missing in the “Shiyu.” The *Zuozhuan* writer makes the character of Shehui more lively and solid to emphasize the clever plot for them to return to Jin. In the “Shiyu,” the character of Suihui is not fleshed out. The only moment that the readers notice his cleverness is when he plots to remove Xiaochao after his return to Jin. However, even in his case, the readers remain uninformed of what he concretely did for the plot. He does not come forward and speak nor take any action. The nature of his character is, to the end, veiled. On the contrary, in the *Zuozhuan*, we hear his voice clearly when he deceptively persuades the Lord of Qin. In his speech, Shehui claims Jin as vicious like a tiger and wolf, so readers face the cleverness of the plot by Shehui and Shouyu to trick the Qin Lord and return to Jin. The character of Shehui who was mostly veiled in the “Shiyu” episode becomes more concrete and visible.

In focusing on the characters of Shouyu and Shehui rather than that of Raochao in the *Zuozhuan*, considerable new information is added to the story. This suggests that the *Zuozhuan* was probably referring to another source in narrating the story. The source[s] explains why Duke

Xian of Jin wanted Shehui, describes the plot by Shouyu, and how Shehui's own family, which remained in Qin after Shehui's return were able to get safely back to Jin.

In terms of message, the “Shiyu” thematizes the issue of the misunderstood and murdered loyal subject while the *Zuozhuan* emphasizes the cleverness of Jin. This shows that the same story was re-written to emphasize different messages. Some of the *Zuozhuan* episodes were created in a process of re-focusing and thereby re-writing the existing story.

What made the *Zuozhuan* re-write an existing story? The next case can at least partially answer that question.

Case 3: Different Versions (1) - Re-writing

春秋事語	左傳 喜公 2 年
<p>●晉獻公欲襲郭（虢），□叔□【曰】：「君胡【不以】屈產之乘與垂革璧假道於虞？」公曰：「是吾保（寶）【也】47，且宮之柯在焉，何益。」對曰：□□□□□□□□□□宮之柯卑□□□□□□□□48且長於君前，其執（勢）有（又）庠（卑）。夫立（位）下而心需（懦）□□□也。不敢盡而□□□□□□□□49□其達不見薦，言是不見[聽]，亡之在一邦之後，而卷（眷）在耳目之前，夫□□□□□□□□50果以假道焉。宮之柯□曰：「不可。夫晉之使者敝（幣）重而辭庠（卑），□□□□□□□□51□□□□有□□□□。」【弗】聽，遂受其□而假之道。獻公之□（師）襲郭（虢）環（還），遂□【虞】52。</p> <p>Duke Xian of Jin wanted to raid Guo. ... (Xun)shu... said: "My lord, why don't you use (horses) to ride from Qu and the jade from Chuige, travel via Yu?" The Duke said: "They are our treasures. Also, Gong Zhike is there (i.e., in the state of Yu). How beneficial could it be (to us)?" He responded by saying: "... Gong Zhike is humble ... and also in terms of age he is younger than you, my lord. His situation is not advantageous. His position is lowly, and his mind cowardly... He does not dare completely... what he has mastered is not to be recommended; his speech although correct, is not to be listened to. He [will] die once his country ends, but he is taking care of his country before [people's] ears and eyes. ... indeed, thereby travel via [Yu]. Gong Zhike ... said: "It is not appropriate. The envoy of Jin, although their gifts are great, their words are lowly. ... He (i.e. the Lord of Yu) did not listen (to Gong Zhike). Subsequently, he received the [money] and went via the road. Duke Xian's troops raided on Guo and returned, and finally (defeated) Yu.</p>	<p>晉荀息請以屈產之乘，與垂棘之璧，假道於虞以伐虢，公曰，是吾寶也，對曰，若得道於虞，猶外府也，公曰，宮之奇存焉，對曰，宮之奇之為人也，懦而不能強諫，且少長於君，君暱之，雖諫，將不聽，乃使荀息假道於虞，曰，冀為不道，入自顛軫，伐郟三門，冀之既病，則亦唯君故，今虢為不道，保於逆旅，以侵敝邑之南鄙，敢請假道以請罪于虢，虞公許之，且請先伐虢，宮之奇諫，不聽，遂起師，夏，晉里克，荀息，帥師會虞師伐虢，滅下陽，先書虞，賄故也。</p> <p>Xun Xi of Jin asked to use a team of horses raised in Qu and a jade from Chuiji to gain permission to pass through Yu in order to attack Guo. The lord said, "These are my treasures!" Xun Xi responded, "If we are allowed to pass through Yu, then Yu will be like an extension of our own storehouses outside the domain." The lord said, "But Gong Zhiqi dwells there." He responded, "As a person, Gong Zhiqi is weak and unable to remonstrate with any insistence. Moreover, he was raised since childhood alongside his ruler, and his ruler is on close terms with him. Even if he does remonstrate, he will not be heeded." So he sent Xun Xi to gain passage through Yu, saying, "The domain of Ji, acting in an unprincipled way, entered your domain from Dianling and attacked the three gates of Ming. That Ji is already distressed is solely because we acted on your behalf, my lord. Now Guo, acting in an unprincipled way, has made strongholds of the travelers' lodges in order to invade our humble settlement's southern marches. I presume to request permission to pass through your domain in order to make Guo acknowledge its crimes." The Duke of Yu agreed and also asked permission to attack Guo first. Gong Zhiqi remonstrated, but paying no heed to this, the lord went ahead and mobilized the troops. In summer, Li Ke and Xun Xi of Jin led troops and met up with Yu troops. They attacked Guo and extinguished Xiayang.</p>

	That Yu is recorded first is because of the bribes. (1: 257; 259)
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Summary: The episode of “Shiyu” narrates the story of Duke of Yu 虞 who did not listen to the advice of his loyal subject, Gong Zhike 宮之柯, and lent their roads to Duke Xian of Jin 晉獻公, who wanted to conquer the Huo 虢 by giving their national treasures to the Yu and borrowing the Yu’s roads. The Duke of Yu finally lost his country to Jin after lending their roads to Jin.

The *Zuozhuan*’s episode shares the basic plot but in different wording. Unlike the episode of “Shiyu,” it does not have a speech of Gong Zhike for the Duke of Yu, either. While the “Shiyu” episode emphasizes Gong Zhike and the Duke of Yu, the *Zuozhuan* one focuses more on the discussion between the Duke Xian of Jin and his retainer Xun Xi 荀息 and about how to make Yu lend roads to them. Additionally, the episode of *Zuozhuan* adds another story where Xun Xi goes to Yu and asks in person to use the roads. This part is not seen in any other parallel texts.

This episode is the eighth in the “Shiyu,” and is also found in the second-year record of Duke Xi in the *Zuozhuan*. It resembles the previous fifth episode of the “Shiyu” in terms of theme and message: facing the scheme of the neighboring country, Jin, a humble but wise and loyal subject named Gong Zhike remonstrates for his country, Yu, but is ignored by his unenlightened lord, and the country eventually collapsed from the neighbor’s attack. In this “Shiyu” story, the focus is the comment on the personhood of the Wu subject, Gong Zhike, by a Jin official a part of whose name is Shu and, based on the *Zuozhuan*, whose full name is Xun Shu, more known as Xun Xi 荀息. The comment focuses on the ending, where the Duke of Yu will not listen to Gong Zhike’s remonstrations, and thereby Jin will eventually be able to defeat Yu and occupy their land. Thus, the main concern of the “Shiyu” episode is the tragedy of Gong Zhike and his country Yu. However, unlike the previous episode of the “Shiyu,” in this, Gong’s speech is delivered, and through it, readers can get a clearer sense of the character of Gong as an insightful, loyal vassal of Yu.

In the *Zuozhuan*, however, the character of Gong Zhiqi (i.e., Gong Zhike) is not the main concern. The comment on Gong by Xun is noticeably shorter, and the explanation of why the Duke of Yu did not listen to Gong is only that Gong did not remonstrate and has a too intimate relationship with the Duke, but not that his status was humble; he was younger than the Duke; he does not have enough power at court, as we see in the “Shiyu.” As in the previous case, the *Zuozhuan*’s episode focuses on the clever scheme of Xun Xi to defeat Huo.

In this retelling of the story, the editor of the *Zuozhuan* deleted the information about the fall of the state of Yu after Jin defeated Huo, which was a significant change. As we will see in the examples in other received texts where the same story is presented with some major or minor textual differences, what makes the well-known Gong Zhiqi so tragic is that he already noticed that they would lose their country when the Lord does the favor for Jin. Thus, the ending that despite the insightful remonstrations by Gong Zhiqi, Yu lost the country makes the story memorable. Nonetheless, the *Zuozhuan* omits the ending, and thereby the evilness of Jin is concealed.

The *Zuozhuan*’s editorial decisions were intentional. When we compare the same story that appears in the other two major commentaries.

穀梁傳 喜公 2 年	公羊傳 喜公 2 年
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虞師、晉師滅夏陽。非國而曰滅，重夏陽也。虞無師，其曰師，何也？以其先晉，不可以不言師也。其先晉，何也？為主乎滅夏陽也。夏陽者，虞、虢之塞邑也，滅夏陽而虞、虢舉矣；虞之為主乎滅夏陽，何也？晉獻公欲伐虢。荀息曰：「君何不以屈產之乘，垂棘之璧，而借道乎虞也？」公曰：「此晉國之寶也。如受吾幣而不借吾道，則如之何？」荀息曰：「此小國之所以事大國也。彼不借吾道，必不敢受吾幣。如受吾幣而借吾道，則是我取之中府，而藏之外府；取之中廢，而置之外廢也。」公曰：「宮之奇存焉，必不使受之也。」荀息曰：「宮之奇之為人也，達心而懦，又少長於君。達心則其言略，懦則不能強諫，少長于君，則君輕之。且夫玩好在耳目之前，而患在一國之後，此中知以上，乃能慮之。臣料虞君，中知以下也。」公遂借道而伐虢。宮之奇諫曰：「晉國之使者，其辭卑而幣重，必不便於虞。」虞公弗聽，遂受其幣而借之道。宮之奇諫曰：「語曰：『唇亡則齒寒』，其斯之謂與！」挈其妻子以奔曹。獻公亡虢，五年而後舉虞，荀息牽馬操璧而前曰：「璧則猶是也，而馬齒加長矣。」

虞師、晉師滅夏陽。虞，微國也，曷為序乎大國之上？使虞首惡也。曷為使虞首惡？虞受賂，假滅國者道，以取亡焉。其受賂奈何？獻公朝諸大夫而問焉，曰：「寡人夜者寢而不寐，其意也何？」諸大夫有進對者曰：「寢不安與？其諸侍御有不在側者與？」獻公不應。荀息進曰：「虞郭見與？」獻公揖而進之，遂與之入而謀曰：「吾欲攻郭，則虞救之；攻虞，則郭救之，如之何？愿與子慮之。」荀息對曰：「君若用臣之謀，則今日取郭，而明日取虞爾，君何憂焉？」獻公曰：「然則奈何？」荀息曰：「請以屈產之乘與垂棘之白璧，往必可得也。則寶出之內藏，藏之外府；馬出之內廢，系之外廢爾，君何喪焉？」獻公曰：「諾。雖然，宮之奇存焉，如之何？」荀息曰：「宮之奇知則知矣！雖然，虞公貪而好寶，見寶必不從其言，請終以往。」於是終以往，虞公見寶許諾。宮之奇果諫：「記曰：『唇亡則齒寒。』虞、郭之相救，非相為賜，則晉今日取郭，而明日虞從而亡爾。君請勿許也。」虞公不從其言，終假之道以取郭。還，四年，反取虞。虞公抱寶牽馬而至。荀息見曰：「臣之謀何如？」獻公曰：「子之謀則已行矣，寶則吾寶也，雖然，吾馬之齒亦已長矣！」蓋戲之也。夏陽者何？郭之邑也。曷為不系于郭？國之也。曷為國之？君存焉爾。

Summary: The episodes in the Guliang and Gongyang commentarial traditions share a basic plot with the episodes of “Shiyu” and the *Zuozhuan* but make it much fuller by adding many more lines, detailing the speech between characters, and balancing the two sub-plots of Jin and the Yu. While the Guliang emphasizes the shortcomings of Gong Zhike’s character, the Gongyang focuses on the weakness of the character of Duke of Yu.

In these two Han commentaries to the *Annals*, where word-by-word exegetical practice is dominant, the use of episodes in narrative form for exegesis of the *Annals* is rare. Interestingly, in their commentaries to the second year of Duke Xi, both commentaries adopt this story in their exegesis. The story that they adopt appears significantly more detailed, more extended and therefore probably more developed than what the “Shiyu” presents to its readers.

Interestingly, the version in the *Guliang* is the closest to the “Shiyu” among the three commentaries to the *Annals*.²⁹⁶ Despite some more added details and information, Xun Xi’s persuasion of Duke Xian and his comment on the personhood of Gong Zhiqi in the *Guliang* is strikingly similar to that of the “Shiyu” in terms of wording, and the remonstrance of Gong Zhiqi in the *Guliang* is also very close to that of “Shiyu.” This suggests that the “Shiyu’s” version might not have been minor in the culture. The *Guliang* editor[s] seem to have developed the same or a similar version to the one found in the “Shiyu,” not just in wording, but also in structure. This is especially true of the ending, where the *Guliang* explicitly states that five years after Jin’s attack on Huo, Jin also defeated Yu, information that is not present in the *Zuozhuan*. Thus, in the message, the *Guliang*’s story focuses relatively more on the tragic ending of Gong Zhiqi and the state of Yu. However, in its developing story, the *Guliang* also describes the role of Xun Xi, and thus we can see in the *Guliang* version that Xun Xi’s speech significantly increases when he persuades the Duke Xian of Jin to borrow a road from Yu at the expense of their national treasures. Although the ultimate main message still comes from the Gong Zhiqi character, the composition of the narrative itself is nearly evenly divided between the two characters, Xun and Gong.

Compared to the *Guliang* version, the episode in the *Gongyang* collapses much to the side of the Duke of Jin and Xun Xi. The imbalance between Gong Zhiqi and Xun Xi is much more pronounced in the *Gongyang* version than in the *Guliang*, and is pretty much similar to the *Zuozhuan*. Interestingly, *Gongyang*’s episode is much longer and even more detailed than the *Zuozhuan* one. In terms of message, the *Gongyang* is strikingly similar to the *Zuozhuan*. In both, the clever stratagem by Xun Xi is a lesson that the editors present for their readers. In the *Gongyang* version, such a stratagem by Xun Xi is even praised as “our national treasure,” the wording that matches with horses from Qu and white jade from Chuiji that Lord Xian cherished as “the treasure of the state of Jin.”

Considering this, the *Zuozhuan*’s retelling the story was likely a conscious decision made in response to the two rival positions, the *Gongyang* in favor of Xunxi and the *Guliang* in favor of Gong Zhiqi. It aligns with the *Gongyang* but diminishes its one-sided support of Xun Xi over Gong Zhiqi and *Guliang*.

My argument that the *Zuozhuan* remakes this story in support of its position in light of other examples. The story of Xun Xi and Gong Zhiqi is seen in other received texts such as *Guoyu*, *Han Feizi*, *Lüshi Chunqiu* and *Shiji*, in none of which it is identical.

國語 晉語 2	韓非子 十過
伐虢之役，師出于虞。宮之奇諫而不聽，出，謂其子曰：「虞將亡矣！唯忠信者能留外寇而不害。除閻以應外謂之忠，定身以行事謂之信。今君施其所惡于人，閻不除矣；以賄滅親，身不定矣。夫國非忠不立，非信不固。既不忠信，而留外寇，寇知其釁而歸圖焉。已自拔其本矣，何以能久？吾不去，懼及焉。」以其孥適西山，三月，虞乃亡。	奚謂顧小利？昔者晉獻公欲假道於虞以伐虢。荀息曰：「君其以垂棘之璧、與屈產之乘，賂虞公，求假道焉，必假我道。」君曰：「垂棘之璧，吾先君之寶也；屈產之乘，寡人之駿馬也。若受吾幣不假之道將奈何？」荀息曰：「彼不假我道，必不敢受我幣。若受我幣而假我道，則是寶猶取之內府而藏之外府也，馬猶取之內廄而著之外廄也。君勿憂。」君曰：「諾。」

²⁹⁶ In the next case, we will see another example that shows that the “Shiyu” episode supports *Guliang* exegetical position.

	<p>乃使荀息以垂棘之璧、與屈產之乘，賂虞公而求假道焉。虞公貪利其璧與馬而欲許之。宮之奇諫曰：「不可許。夫虞之有虢也，如車之有輔，輔依車，車亦依輔，虞、虢之勢正是也。若假之道，則虢朝亡而虞夕從之矣。不可，願勿許。」虞公弗聽，遂假之道。荀息伐虢之，還反處三年，興兵伐虞，又剋之。荀息牽馬操璧而報獻公，獻公說曰：「璧則猶是也。雖然，馬齒亦益長矣。」故虞公之兵殆而地削者何也？愛小利而不慮其害。故曰：顧小利則大利之殘也。</p>
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<p>呂氏春秋 權勳</p>	<p>史記 晉世家</p>
<p>昔者晉獻公使荀息假道於虞以伐虢，荀息曰：「請以垂棘之璧與屈產之乘，以賂虞公，而求假道焉，必可得也。」獻公曰：「夫垂棘之璧，吾先君之寶也；屈產之乘，寡人之駿也。若受吾幣而不吾假道，將奈何？」荀息曰：「不然。彼若不吾假道，必不吾受也。若受我而假我道，是猶取之內府而藏之外府也，猶取之內阜而著之外阜也。君奚患焉？」獻公許之。乃使荀息以屈產之乘為庭實，而加以垂棘之璧，以假道於虞而伐虢。虞公濫於寶與馬而欲許之。宮之奇諫曰：「不可許也。虞之與虢也，若車之有輔也，車依輔，輔亦依車，虞、虢之勢是也。先人有言曰：『脣竭而齒寒。』夫虢之不亡也恃虞，虞之不亡也亦恃虢也。若假之道，則虢朝亡而虞夕從之矣。奈何其假之道也？」虞公弗聽，而假之道。荀息伐虢，克之。還反伐虞，又克之。荀息操璧牽馬而報。獻公喜曰：「璧則猶是也，馬齒亦薄長矣。」故曰小利，大利之殘也。</p>	<p>是歲也，晉復假道於虞以伐虢。虞之大夫宮之奇諫虞君曰：「晉不可假道也，是且滅虞。」虞君曰：「晉我同姓，不宜伐我。」宮之奇曰：「太伯、虞仲，太王之子也，太伯亡去，是以不嗣。虢仲、虢叔，王季之子也，為文王卿士，其記勳在王室，藏於盟府。將虢是滅，何愛于虞？且虞之親能親於桓、莊之族乎？桓、莊之族何罪，盡滅之。虞之與虢，脣之與齒，脣亡則齒寒。」虞公不聽，遂許晉。宮之奇以其族去虞。其冬，晉滅虢，虢公丑奔周。還，襲滅虞，虜虞公及其大夫井伯百里奚以媵秦穆姬，而修虞祀。荀息牽曩所遺虞屈產之乘馬奉之獻公，獻公笑曰：「馬則吾馬，齒亦老矣！」</p>

Summary: The *Guoyu* episode only features Gong Zhike, who laments at length the impending fall of his own country due to his Lord's failure to heed counsel.

On the other hand, with an unusually long remonstrance by Gong Zhike, here named Gong Zhiqi, the *Han Feizi* episode combines two distinct explicit concluding didactic messages following the original story.

The *Shiji* episode rewrites the story only with respect to the Yu state. In this version, Gong Zhiqi's remonstrance is unique among other parallel versions of the episode; he lists several comparable historical examples from Western Zhou and the Qi.

The four received texts present the same story of Gong Zhiqi with remarkable differences. The *Guoyu* is mainly concerned with Gong's lamentation about the fate of his own country. Because of the simplified compositional structure, the didactic message from Gong becomes much more pronounced, so that the episodes in the *Guoyu* generate the didactic message. The "Household of Jin" in the *Shiji* virtually eliminates the parts of Xun Xi and the Duke Xian and provides a story only about Gong and his Lord, and so the Lord became responsible for the consequence. The version that appears in the *Lüshi Chunqiu* is slightly different from what we have seen so far. The difference is principally a matter of the presentation of the character of Xun Xi. He does not comment on the personhood of Gong Zhiqi, but instead, he appears more rationally to explain and persuade why the Yu would accept the bribe from Jin and lend them the road. Because of this change in Xun Xi's character, the unethical side of the Xun Xi's plot is effectively concealed, and the central message of the episode in the *Lüshi Chunqiu* is no longer from Gong Zhiqi's perspective but from Xun Xi's as the wise worthy. The version found in the *Han Feizi* follows the *Lüshi Chunqiu*'s version where Xun Xi appears as not immoral but as a rational strategist. The Xun Xi-centered message is also retained in the *Han Feizi* version.

We cannot definitely say that the "Shiyu" version was first and the rest followed, modifying the "Shiyu's" original according to their priorities. What we can say from the examples is that the same stories were circulated, adopted, and changed and were re-written in support of a certain position of the adapters. The comparison of the Gong Zhike story between the "Shiyu" and the *Gongyang* or the *Guoyu* and the *Han Feizi* illustrates this point clearly. The *Zuozhuan*'s story was produced by a similar cultural practice. It was in line with the *Gongyang*, *Lüshi Chunqiu*, and *Han Feizi*, and at the same time accommodated the issues that the "Shiyu," *Guoyu*, or *Guliang* address by foregrounding the character of Gong Zhiqi.

Case 4: Different Versions (2) - Resignifying the Forgotten or Excluded Memory

Finally, I will examine how the *Zuozhuan* was composed by rediscovering shared written memories of the past that had been forgotten or excluded in other literate traditions. The following is the eleventh episode in the "Shiyu," set in winter of the eleventh year of Duke Yin in the *Zuozhuan*.

春秋事語	左傳 隱公 11 年
<p>●魯□（桓）公少，隱公立以奉孤，公子翬胃（謂）隱公曰：「胡不代之？」隱公弗聽，亦弗罪。閔 66 子辛聞之，曰：「□□隱公。夫奉孤以君令者，百圖之召（招）也。長將畏其威，次職其□67。其□有</p>	<p>羽父請殺桓公，將以求大宰，公曰，為其少故也，吾將授之矣，使營菟裘，吾將老焉，羽父懼，反譖公于桓公，而請弑之，公之為公子也，與鄭人戰于狐壤，止焉，鄭人囚諸尹氏，賂尹氏，而禱於其主鍾巫，遂與尹氏</p>

夫奉孤者素以暴(曝)忠伐以(懼) 68有奸心而正也，

害君耳聞心不怒志也。事疾69而素不匡，非備也。之，其能久作人命，卒必(詐)之。」(桓)公長，公【子翬】果以其70言(詐)之。公使人(攻)隱公71。

When Duke Huan of Lu was young, Duke Yin installed himself and served the orphaned (i.e. Duke Huan). A noble man Hui, said to Duke Yin, “Why don’t you replace him?” Duke Yin did not listen [to him] and so did not commit a crime. Min Zixin heard that and said: “... Duke Yin. To command as Lord by serving the orphaned is to attract myriad intriguers. As he gets older, he will fear for his authority, and then work his... He ... has ... The man who serves the orphaned, ... originally by deep-rooted loyalty, ... conquer by ... fear... have a treacherous mind... to correct it. (害君耳聞 is untranslatable) the mind does not get upset, ... intention. ... but does not purely assist, because it is not something to prepare for. ... He will be able to handle people’s lives for long, and eventually must deceive them.” As Duke Huan grew older, the noble man Hui indeed deceived Duke Huan with his words, and sent a man ... and attacked Duke Yin. ...

歸，而立其主，十一月，公祭鍾巫，齊于社圃，館于寫氏，壬辰，羽父使賊弑公于寫氏，立桓公，而討寫氏，有死者，不書葬，不成喪也。

Gongzi Hui a requested that Lord Huan be put to death and aimed in this way to seek for himself the position of grand steward. Our lord said, “It was because of his youth that I have ruled. I am going to hand rule over to him! Let Tuqiu be built up and I will retire there.” Frightened, Gongzi Huia turned around and slandered Lord Yin to Lord Huan and requested that the former be assassinated. When our lord was still a young prince, he had done battle with the Zheng men at Hurang and had been detained there. The Zheng men had imprisoned him among the Yin lineage. He had bribed the Yin lineage head and offered a prayer to Zhongwu, the god of the Yin lineage. Subsequently, he had returned to Lu along with the Yin lineage head, and they had established an altar to Zhongwu in Lu. In the eleventh month, our lord was going to perform a sacrifice to Zhongwu. He had been fasting in the She Garden and was lodging with the Wei lineage head. On the *renchen* day (15), Gongzi Hui sent brigands to assassinate our lord in the Wei lineage head’s house. After establishing Lord Huan as ruler, they chastised the Wei lineage and some died. That the text does not record the burial is because they did not complete the proper mourning ritual. (1: 67)

Summary: The “Shiyu” episode features a prediction by Min Zixin 閔子辛 about Duke Yin 隱公 and Duke Huan 桓公 and mischief-making retainers around them. It was made when Min Zixin overheard that Hui the nobleman 公子翬 instigated Duke Yin to remove his young nephew Duke Huan, and Duke Huan rejected it. Because of severe damage to the manuscript, it is impossible to precisely know the overall message of the prediction by Min Zixin. This episode describes at the end how, as Duke Huan grew up, Hui the nobleman who once instigated Duke Yin to kill Duke Huan indeed deceived Duke Huan and sent people to attack Duke Yin. This specific story about Hui or Min Zixin is unknown in any received text.

The *Zuozhuan*’s episode claims that it was Yufu, a high official of Lu, who inspired Duke Yin to kill Duke Huan. It adds that Yufu was afraid of Duke Huan’s revenge, and abetted Duke Huan in the murder of Duke Yin, and in the eleventh month of the eleventh year of Duke Yin, Yufu sent “traitors” to the house of Wei clan (*weishi* 寫氏) to kill Duke Yin. However, this *Zuozhuan* episode is much less specific and much briefer than the “Shiyu” one in telling this story.

This episode tells us about the assassination of Duke Yin and the ascendance of Duke Huan to the throne. This story contains the simple facts that Duke Yin installed himself as the Duke on behalf of Duke Huan, who was too young at the time. In his eleventh year, Duke Yin was murdered by traitors (*zei* 賊), but the traitors were not liquidated, and so the life and death of the Duke was not justified in the *Annal* record, facts which were clear in the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* traditions, as we will see below. However, the two major Han commentaries do not provide more specific

information about this event. Despite the symbolic re-enactment of the Duke of Zhou by Duke Yin in the land of Lu, where the Duke of Zhou himself was first enfeoffed by King Wu and established as the cultural icon of the virtue of loyalty, why the Han commentaries did not contain more information is unknown. They focus on their assessment of Duke Yin, both commentaries sympathizing with the assassination of Duke Yin. Despite their shared understanding about Duke Yin's ascending the throne first, each of the commentarial traditions takes different positions about the necessity of Duke Yin's becoming the ruler before the Duke Huan. The *Gongyang* blames Duke Yin for breaking the principle of royal succession by the legitimate son, and the *Guliang* criticizes Duke Yin for his brutality in killing his step-brother, who had helped him to maintain the kingship in the lineage. However, what happened exactly? How much is the Duke Huan involved in this assassination scandal? The *Guliang*, much more explicitly, says in the Duke Yin year one record that it was the Duke Huan who murdered Duke Yin, while the *Gongyang* says only that it was by a traitor, making the Duke Huan's involvement less direct and significant. This event of Duke Yin's assassination is one of the most explicit examples that shows a profound difference between the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* in how they demonstrate the subtle meaning of the *Annals*.

公羊傳 隱公 1 年; 11 年	穀梁傳 隱公 1 年; 11 年
<p>元年春，王正月。元年者何？君之始年也。春者何？歲之始也。王者孰謂？謂文王也。曷為先言王而後言正月？王正月也。何言乎王正月？大一統也。公何以不言即位？成公意也。何成乎公之意？公將平國而反之桓。曷為反之桓？桓幼而貴，隱長而卑，其為尊卑也微，國人莫知。隱長又賢，諸大夫扳隱而立之。隱於是焉而辭立，則未知桓之將必得立也。且如桓立，則恐諸大夫之不能相幼君也，故凡隱之立為桓立也。隱長又賢，何以不宜立？立適以長不以賢，立子以貴不以長。桓何以貴？母貴也。母貴則子何以貴？子以母貴，母以子貴。</p> <p>十有八年...</p> <p>冬，十有一月壬辰，公薨。何以不書葬？隱之也。何隱爾？弑也。弑則何以不書葬？《春秋》君弑，賊不討，不書葬，以為無臣子也。子沈子曰：「君弑，臣不討賊，非臣也。子不復讎，非子也。葬，生者之事也。《春秋》君弑，賊不討，不書葬，以為不系乎臣子也。」公薨何以不地？不忍言也。隱何以無正月？隱將讓乎桓，故不有其正月也。</p>	<p>元年春，王正月。雖無事，必舉正月，謹始也。公何以不言即位？成公志也。焉成之？言君之不取為公也。君之不取為公，何也？將以讓桓也。讓桓正乎？曰：不正。《春秋》成人之美，不成人之惡。隱不正而成之，何也？將以惡桓也。其惡桓，何也？隱將讓而桓弑之，則桓惡矣；桓弑而隱讓，則隱善矣。善則其不正焉，何也？《春秋》貴義而不貴惠，信道而不信邪。孝子揚父之美，不揚父之惡。先君之欲與桓，非正也，邪也；雖然，既勝其邪心以與隱矣。已探先君之邪志，而遂以與桓，則是成父之惡也。兄弟，天倫也。為子受之父，為諸侯受之君。已廢天倫，而忘君父，以行小惠，曰小道也。若隱者，可謂輕千乘之國。蹈道，則未也。</p> <p>十有一年 ...</p> <p>冬，十有一月壬辰，公薨。公薨不地，故也。隱之，不忍地也。其不言葬，何也？君弑賊不討，不書葬，以罪下也。隱十年無正，隱不自正也；元年有正，所以正隱也。</p>

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Summary: The *Gongyang Commentary* writes, in the record of the first year of Duke Yin, that Duke Yin's enthronement was not recorded to express the Duke's intention that he was only a regent and wanted to give the throne back to Duke Huan, who was too young to be ruler at the time. According to the *Gongyang*, Duke Yin was humble in status but worthy and grown up, so the nobles of Lu state set him up as the ruler. If Duke Yin had never been installed, the nobles must not have assisted him. Nonetheless, for the *Gongyang* commentator, installing Duke Yin as the ruler at the time was not appropriate in theory, because his mother was not noble, and so Duke Yin was common, too. The *Gongyang* also writes that Duke Yin's funeral was not recorded because he was murdered, and the murderer who was backed by Duke Huan had not been punished.

The *Guliang Commentary*, on the other hand, writes that Duke Yin did not want to take the throne, and so wanted to quickly yield it to Duke Huan. The *Guliang* says that Duke Huan's yielding of the throne was not right because Duke Huan murdered Duke Yin to take the throne back from Duke Yin, not knowing Duke Yin's true intention. Thus, Duke Huan was evil while Duke Yin was right, according to the *Guliang*. The *Guliang* also writes that the reason for Duke Yin's funeral and the placement of his tomb were not recorded because the murderer was not punished.

More specific information about this event is provided in the *Zuozhuan*. In this account, the *Zuozhuan* makes room to save Duke Huan from his moral responsibility. It refers to a man named Yu Fu 羽父, who does not appear at all in other received texts. Based on the content, he is likely to have been a powerful aristocrat of the Lu in the times of Duke Yin and Huan. According to the *Zuozhuan*, this man was responsible for the assassination of Duke Yin. After Duke Yin rejected the proposal to kill Duke Huan, he approached the Duke Huan and plotted to kill Duke Yin, installing Duke Huan as the next ruler of Lu.

As mentioned above, the agency of a traitor, not of Duke Huan himself, in the assassination is also clearly stated in both the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries. However, whomever the traitor was, Duke Huan was not entirely exempt from ethical responsibility in these commentarial traditions. On the contrary, in the *Zuozhuan*, the man Yu Fu takes the blame for initiating and executing the plan. In the *Zuozhuan*'s description, Yu Fu is a strongman who persuaded the ruler at his will, and the Duke Huan was not directly involved in Yu Fu's plotting. Duke Huan, who was still young, was merely a puppet. Here the *Zuozhuan* creates more room for Duke Huan to be exempt from moral responsibility in the assassination event.

Then where did the editors of the *Zuozhuan* get this story?

春秋事語	左傳	史記 魯周公世家
●魯□(桓)公少，隱公立以奉孤，公子翬胃(謂)隱公曰：「胡不代之？」隱公弗聽，亦弗罪。閔 66 子辛聞之，曰：「□□隱公。夫奉孤以君令者，百圖之召(招)也。長將畏其威	羽父請殺桓公，將以求大宰，公曰，為其少故也，吾將授之矣，使營菟裘，吾將老焉，羽父懼，反譖公于桓公，而請弑之，公之為公子也，與鄭人戰于狐壤，止焉，鄭人囚諸尹氏，賂尹氏，而	公子揮諂謂隱公曰：「百姓便君，君其遂立。吾請為君殺子允，君以我為相。」隱公曰：「有先君命。吾為允少，故攝代。今允長矣，吾方營菟裘之地而老焉，以授子允政。」揮懼子允聞而反

<p>，次職其□67。其□有□□□ □□□□夫奉孤者□素以暴(曝)忠□伐以□□□□(懼)□ 68□□有奸心而□□□□正也， 害君耳聞□□心不怒□志也。 事□□疾□69□□而素不匡，非備也。□□□之，其能久作人命，卒必□(詐)之。」□(桓)公長，公【子翬】果以其 70 言□(詐)之。公使人□(攻)隱公□□□71。</p>	<p>禱於其主鍾巫，遂與尹氏歸，而立其主，十一月，公祭鍾巫，齊于社圃，館于寫氏，壬辰，羽父使賊弑公于寫氏，立桓公，而討寫氏，有死者，不書葬，不成喪也。</p>	<p>誅之，乃反譖隱公於子允曰：「隱公欲遂立，去子，子其圖之。請為子殺隱公。」子允許諾。十一月，隱公祭鍾巫，齊于社圃，館于寫氏。揮使人殺隱公于寫氏，而立子允為君，是為桓公。</p>
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Summary: The episode of *Shiji* shares the basic plot with the “Shiyu” episode in that a nobleman named Hui cajoled Duke Yin into killing Duke Huan, here named Ziyun 子允. However, Duke Yin refused, and Hui became afraid of Duke Huan’s revenge, and so incited Duke Huan to kill Duke Yin. The *Shiji* episode gives more details about Hui’s people killing Duke Yin at the place of the Wei clan in the eleventh month. Duke Yin was resting in Wei after performing a ritual. This *Shiji* episode is uniquely explicit among the parallel episodes in that Duke Huan approved the plan to kill Duke Yin.

First, we can see that when the “Lu Zhougong shijia” 魯周公世家 chapter of the *Shiji* was being composed, commonly thought to be as circa 100 BCE, an episode that is surprisingly similar to the “Shiyu.” The episode in the “Lu Zhougong shijia” is striking in the sense that it also names the traitor Hui, which was specified as Yu Fu in the *Zuozhuan*. The *Shiji* version of the episode is more developed than the “Shiyu’s” in that it provides many more details about Hui’s rationale for Duke Huan to kill Duke Yin, Duke Yin’s rejection, and Hui’s fear that he would be killed after Duke Yin’s rejection. Unlike the “Shiyu’s” silence about why Hui wanted to replace Duke Huan with Duke Yin, the “Shijia” version explicitly explains that people supported Duke Yin, and that Hui also wanted to become a Chancellor. Moreover, the “Shijia” added that Duke Huan permitted Hui to execute his plot. In the “Shiyu,” Duke Huan was deceived by Hui’s speech. This suggests that multiple versions or differentiating variations of the same story existed around 100 BCE.

The “Shijia” version is significant in the sense that it resembles the “Shiyu’s” in wording and structure, especially in its first part, and at the same time, in its latter part, it looks like the *Zuozhuan*. This is especially true, in the part that it narrates, from the eleventh month, how Hui came to assassinate Duke Yin. This part is entirely missing in the “Shiyu,” and the accounts of the “Shijia” and the *Zuozhuan* seems to be based on a common source that is no longer identifiable. However, it is probably not accurate to say that the “Shijia” took the episode from the *Zuozhuan* because the first part of the episode contains considerable difference. Even the name of the assassin is not the same, and his given rationale for assassination also differs. If the “Shijia” took the episode from the *Zuozhuan* directly, there would be no such discrepancies. The best way to explain discrepancies between the versions is that the editors of the *Zuozhuan* rediscovered the episode that had already been forgotten or excluded by the mainstream, reviving a position that saves Duke

Huan from his moral accusations in conscious opposition to or clarification of the *Gongyang* and *Guliang*.

The “Shiyu” shows the episode did exist in the literate culture of Changsha, at latest, in 168 BCE when the tomb was closed. The “Lu Zhougong shijia” also suggests that a similar version of the episode was circulating circa 100 BCE. However, neither of these versions were adopted by two commentarial traditions, *Gongyang* and *Guliang*, which were influential in the second and first century BCE. The *Zuozhuan*’s editors were likely to have rediscovered this story from the forgotten or excluded written memories and resignified it as a truthful representation of the Duke Huan’s past in the context of hermeneutic controversy about the Yin-Huan relationship. Of course, what the *Zuozhuan* editor found was not the same version as that of the “Shiyu” or the that of “Shijia,” both of which are somehow closely related one another.

What does the “Chunqiu Shiyu” tell us about the episode text and the formation of the *Zuozhuan*? First, the episodes that “Shiyu” exemplifies have no particular intellectual affiliation but were most likely free-standing textual units, self-contained and well-structured in composition. The “Shiyu” was a collection of these episodes with a consistent tripartite structure, introducing the event, commenting on or making predictions, and ending so as to show that the comment or prophecy was effective. The episode texts we find in the “Shiyu” were, like other Episode Texts, reflective writings on past events, particularly in the time period we call the Spring and Autumn period, to generate a certain didactic message. The episode texts in the “Shiyu” were composed to flesh out the memories of the Spring and Autumn period. The episode text of the “Shiyu” then implies that there was a cultural need to look back on the events through writing that occurred during specific periods, to share the lesson drawn from them with others.

What we call the *Zuozhuan* was likely formed in a similar socio-cultural context. However, the “Shiyu” was not composed in a chronological scheme but created as a collection of independent units that are much shorter and simpler in composition. The *Zuozhuan* presents a high degree of editorial efforts to re-arrange and organize free-flowing written memories into a tightly set chronological time-frame centering around the temporality of the Lu state, and to edit or re-write pre-existing written memories into a detailed, re-focalized, and resignified manner. Thus, the *Zuozhuan* ultimately exemplifies a socio-cultural demand to collect, edit, and re-organize the existing memories of the so-called “Chunqiu” past in a particular fashion. It was a crystallization of this social need.

I now move on to another example to open up another discussion about the formation of the *Zuozhuan* and the re-creation of the systematically organized memory of the past based upon pre-existing individual memories.

The Qinghua “Xinian” Chu Bamboo Slip Manuscript

The manuscript I will examine in this section is entitled “Xinian” (繫年, Chronicles). Like the “Chunqiu Shiyu,” the “Xinian” is often regarded as a critical archaeological manuscript that can help us to reappraise the issue of formation of “history” texts such as *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*, due to its considerable parallel contents. However, unlike the “Shiyu,” this manuscript was not an excavated one but only a part of the collection of bamboo slip manuscripts that were acquired and donated to Qinghua University by an alumnus in 2008, commonly called the Qinghua University bamboo slip manuscripts (*Qinghua jian* 清華簡). They were reported to have been purchased at an auction, but neither the name of the auction house nor the location or sum involved in the

transaction were recorded. Based on the calligraphic style identifiable as “Chu script” and the style of ornament on the accompanying box, scholars believe that they were obtained by illegal excavation of a tomb probably in the area of Hubei or Hunan province.²⁹⁷ The radiocarbon dating of a slip conducted by Qinghua University team suggests it was probably made in 305±30BCE, and the calligraphic style appears mostly contemporaneous with Guodian or Shanghai Museum Collection bamboo slip manuscripts, both of which also date to around 300 BCE.

As for the “Xinian” manuscript itself, it comprises 3,875 characters on 138 slips in a relatively well-preserved condition. In terms of content, it is divided into 23 sections. This text covers historical events from the beginning of the Western Zhou (mid-eleventh century BCE) through the early Warring States period (mid-fifth century BCE), and many of them are not attested to in received texts.²⁹⁸ In fact, only the first few sections are concerned with the Western Zhou, probably as an introduction to the text, and then the text moves on to the historical events starting from the rise of regional states after the fall of the Western Zhou. So, most of the sections focus on historical events in the states of Jin and Chu,²⁹⁹ particularly during the late seventh to mid-sixth centuries BCE. In terms of period, this text largely overlaps the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and more importantly the *Zuozhuan*. It tells us that the “Xinian” seems mainly concerned with the social memories of regional states centering around the rivalry between Jin and Chu after the decline of Western Zhou.

²⁹⁷ A detailed introduction and examination of the Qinghua University Bamboo Slip Manuscripts is provided in Sarah Allan, *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-Slip Manuscripts*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2015).

The historical significance of Qinghua bamboo slip manuscripts in the study of Early China is explained well in Li Xueqin, “The Qinghua Bamboo Strips and Ancient Chinese Civilization,” translated by Liu Guozhong, *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 37 (2010): 6–15.

²⁹⁸ For an introduction to the Xinian text, see Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Qinghua jian *Xinian* ji youguan gushi wenti” 清華簡《繫年》及有關古史問題, *Wenwu* 文物 3 (2011): 70-74. See also his “*Xinian* chuban de zhongyao yiyi” 《繫年》出版的重要意義, *Handan xueyuan xuebao* 邯鄲學院學報 23 (2013.6): 15-16.

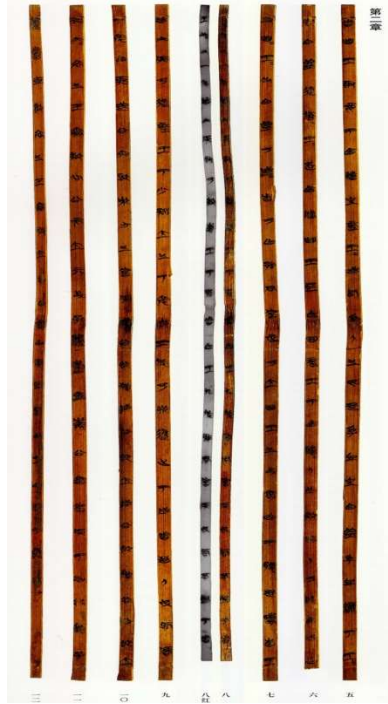
²⁹⁹ Because the “Xinian” is mostly concerned with the Jin and Chu histories as well as the language used in the text, Yuri Pines argues that the “Xinian” was based on historical sources from the states of Chu and Jin along with the remaining Western Zhou sources. Yuri Pines, “Zhou History and Historiography: Introducing the Bamboo manuscript *Xinian*,” *T'oung Pao* 100.4-5 (2014): 287-324.

Olivia Milburn understands more specifically that the “Xinian” is a compilation of sources possibly drawn from five distinct sources. See Olivia Milburn, “The *Xinian*: An Ancient Historical Text from the Qinghua University Collection of Bamboo Books,” *Early China* 2016, 1-57.

They both provide their own English translations for this manuscript. In this chapter, all translations of this text are mine.



Slips of section 1³⁰⁰



Slips of section 2



Slips of sections 3 and 4

Concerning the issue of the nature and purpose of the manuscript, what makes the “Xinian” text so intriguing is first its written form. As title given by modern collators “Chronicle” (*xinian* 繫年),³⁰¹ more literally “Succeeding Years,” it appears that the text as a whole tends to be arranged largely in a chronological manner, from the period of Western Zhou to that of the early Warring States, despite some counter-example cases (e.g., sections 15 and 20). Since the “Xinian” bamboo slips have numbers on their backs, most likely for bamboo slip sequencing, the recovery of its original sequence is not subject to debate. In this recovered sequence, the way in which each section is linked to each other appears largely based on the sequence in which each event had occurred. We do have some cases where the chronological sequence is violated, but we cannot say that the degree to which the “Xinian” violates its sequence is not as serious as that of Mawangdui “Shiyu” that we examined above.

A problem arises however when we notice that the time gaps between events are not so even, and the selected events and their times are also highly biased regarding the two main regional states, Jin and Chu, and their military and diplomatic events, particularly during the seventh to sixth centuries. Each entry does not write the year when the event occurred. Also, sometimes some sections span hundreds and decades of years while other sections focus on one-time events that

³⁰⁰ The photographic images are taken from Li Xueqin 李學勤 ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡, vol. 2, (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2011), 2-4.

³⁰¹ The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the noun “chronicle” in its first meaning as follows: “A detailed and continuous register of events in order of time; a historical record, esp. one in which the facts are narrated without philosophic treatment, or any attempt at literary style” (last online access date: October 21st, 2018).

occurred in a specific year only. These suggest that the “Xinian” was not meant to be a chronological or annalistic record of the past in a strict sense or that the authors or editors did not place a greater weight on an exact chronological sequence.³⁰² It was most likely not intended to be presentations of past event year by year, as were the *Spring and Autumn Annals* or its commentaries.

More importantly, the “Xinian” text presents the past event differently from section to section in terms of literary genre. It features hybridity, oscillating between two different styles of writing, from a lively episodic narrative to a dry essay-type prose. In this sense, some part of the current “Xinian” text do not exactly match the definition of Episode Text. In some sections, “Xinian” does resemble the transmitted *Zuozhuan* or *Guoyu*, but in some other sections, it does not. What then does this unique form tell us about the “Xinian” text? Many scholars have tried to answer this question.

The characterization of the “Xinian” by Li Xueqin has been particularly influential because he coordinated the organization and publishing of the Qinghua University Bamboo slip Manuscripts, including “Xinian.” In the year following the publication of the “Xinian” text, 2012, Li wrote an article in which he compared the textual arrangement of the “Xinian” to that of the *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (“Bamboo Annals”). He argued that both “Xinian” and *Jinian* are “comprehensive style annalistic histories” (*tongshi shi biannian shi* 通史式編年史) while the *Spring and Autumn Annals* is “excerpt centered annalistic history” (*duandai biannian shi* 斷代編年史).³⁰³ For Li, the “comprehensive style annalistic history” is different from the “Chunqiu” type annalistic history in the sense that the former employs various ways of sequencing temporal order such as the year of ruler’s enthronement, of a royal succession lineage, or of the causal relation of events, examples he finds in the surviving fragmented phrases and passages now attributed to the older version (*guben* 古本) of the *Jinian*. Li argues that the current surviving version (*jinben* 今本) of the *Jinian* arranges events mainly by year and period like the *Annals*, but its earlier version 古本 was more like the “Xinian” in displaying diverse ways of denoting the temporal order and chronology.

In light of responses to Li, his descriptions of annalistic style appear oversimplified. Li was also aware of the difference of style between the *Jinian* and “Shiyu,” and of the complex ways of marking the date in the “Xinian.” The central problem is that we cannot clearly confirm whether the examples Li finds in the fragments were indeed meant to specifically denote the chronology in the older *Jinian* or are merely signifiers from which we can estimate the period the event occurred. Putting aside the issues that we do not know what the older *Jinian* looked like or how much it differed from the current version, we also are not sure whether the similar phrases or words in the “Xinian” worked as intended time-signifiers for establishing chronology.

Xu Zhaochang 許兆昌 and Qi Dandan 齊丹丹 propose a very different view, which also has had an impact on scholars who disagree with Li Xueqin. Denying that the “Xinian” was composed in an annalistic style (*biannian ti* 編年體) like the *Zhushu Jinian*, they argue that the

³⁰² Citing a line by William Stubbs in his *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis* (*The chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. A.D. 1169-1192*) published in 1867, the *Oxford English Dictionary* sees that the difference between the chronicle and annals is that the former has a continuity of subject and style while the latter contains only jotted down notes of unconnected events (last access date: October 21st, 2018).

³⁰³ Li Xueqin 李學勤, “You Qinghua jian Xinian lun Jinian de tilie” 由清華簡《繫年》論紀年的體例, *Shenzhen daxue xuebao* 深圳大學學報 29.2(2012):42-43.

“Xinian” is based more on historical events than on chronology, defining its style as “Episode-centered style” (*jishi benmo ti* 紀事本末體).³⁰⁴ For them, the “Xinian” is a historical text consciously written on the theme of the rise and development of two local states, Jin and Chu, growing out of the fierce competition against neighboring states after the fall of the Western Zhou. They believe that this theme is well-presented in the overall composition: the first section briefly sketches the rise and fall of the Western Zhou as an introduction. Then, from sections two to five, the text narrates the emergence of strong regional states and their military and diplomatic competitions for dominance. Sections six to twenty-three detail the rise of Jin and Chu and their hegemony. Overemphasizing the unity and consistency of such themes in the text and paying little attention to the discrepancies or differences in form, style, and topic, Xu and Qi claim that each section features a historical event that illustrates the theme.

Chen Minzhen 陳民鎮 also disagrees with Li Xueqin’s view that the “Xinian” is an annalistic history, claiming that the “Xinian” is an event-centered narrative history text, intended to teach lessons about the rise and fall of hegemonic states from past events.³⁰⁵ Chen refers to a lost genre termed “Zhi” 志, which might be translated as “didactic historical writing.” He finds that the transmitted *Zuozhuan*, *Guoyu*, *Lüshi Chunqiu*, or *Yi Zhoushu* contain several citations from this type of “Zhi” writings and argues that the “Xinian” resembles the surviving fragments of the “Zhi” writings, and therefore suggests that the “Xinian” is a lost “Zhi.”

Chen Wei 陳偉 also discusses the issue of the style of the “Xinian” in a critical response to Li Xueqin.³⁰⁶ For Chen, the text was likely to be written by a Chu historian during the reign of the King Su of Chu 楚肅王 (r. 380-370 BCE), since his father King Dao 悼王 is believed to be the last ruler mentioned using a posthumous title in the “Xinian” text. Despite some disagreement and controversies on the origin issue,³⁰⁷ Chen identifies this text as made in the state of Chu because he thinks that it represents a version of Chu commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Chen Wei differentiates the “Xinian” from the *Jinian* based on three formal features: first, the *Jinian* is structured using the basic annalistic form the *Spring and Autumn Annals* while the “Xinian” is written based on event-centered writing of the past.³⁰⁸ Second, the *Jinian* reports the

³⁰⁴ Xu Zhaochang 許兆昌 and Qi Dandan 齊丹丹, “Shilun Qinghua jian *Xinian* de bianchuan tedian” 試論清華簡《繫年》的編纂特点, *Gudai wenming* 古代文明 6.2 (2012): 60-66.

³⁰⁵ Chen Minzhen 陳民鎮, “*Xinian* Guzhi shuo” 《繫年》故志說, *Handan xueyuan xuebao* 邯鄲學院學報 22.2 (2012.6): 57-65.

³⁰⁶ Chen Wei 陳偉, “Qinghua daxue cang zhushu *Xinian* de wenxuanxue kaocha” 清華大學藏竹書《繫年》的文獻學考察, *Shilin* 史林 1 (2013): 43-48.

³⁰⁷ The criticism of the Chu origin argument that Chen Wei promotes is mainly that the narrative perspective on the events is not singular but plural, and not necessarily from a Chu perspective, with topical concerns beyond the Chu’s limited territory. Thus, even if the text itself was written in Chu script, it only means that it was probably copied in the Chu but not first created there. For a critical position on the Chu origin argument, see Huang Ruxuan 黃儒宣, “Qinghua jian *Xinian* chengshu beijing ji xiangguan wenti kaocha” 清華簡《繫年》成書背景及相關問題考察, *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊 8 (2016): 21-29.

³⁰⁸ Here Chen Wei also points out, citing a critique by Edward Shaughnessy, that entitling this text “Xinian” which means “Chronicles,” was a wrong choice. For Chen and Shaughnessy, such a title is misleading and misrepresents the compositional structure and nature of the text. See Xia Hanyi 夏含夷 [Edward Shaughnessy], “*Jinian* xingshi yu

event only while the “Xinian” sometimes adds dialogues between characters involved in the events, making the record an episodic narrative. On this point, Chen Wei argues that the “Xinian” is a complex historical text located somewhere between the *Jinian* (or the *Annals*) and the *Zuozhuan* (or *Guoyu*) for the hybridity in historiographic style. Third, in the *Jinian* or the *Annals*, there is a consistent voice that monopolizes the perspective, but there is no such absolute narrator in the “Xinian,” and therefore the perspective is impersonal and less engaging, treating all the mentioned local states equally. In this, the “Xinian” is closer to the *Zuozhuan* and the *Guoyu*. Chen Wei thus proposes we approach the “Xinian” as a Chu version of a commentary to the *Annals*, which was called “Duoshi wei” 鐸氏微 (The subtlety [of the *Annals* explained by] a man from Duo clan) in the *Shiji* 史記, the title that Qiu Xigui once attempted to identify with the Mawangdui “Chunqiu Shiyu.” Although the “Xinian” is not written in the style of annalistic history like the *Chunqiu*, it still has form and style similar to the episode-centered history texts like the *Zuozhuan*. Chen Wei follows the *Shiji*’s account, in which the followers of Zuo Qiuming made the *Zuozhuan*, and Duo Shu the teacher of King Wei of Chu 威 (d. 329 BCE), composed the *Duoshi Wei* for his King. The *Zuozhuan* was the Lu commentary to the Kongzi’s *Annals*, and precedes the *Duoshi Wei* which was the Chu version commentary. However, Chen Wei did not examine the issues of the *Shiji* account itself, such as whether the *Zuozhuan* was Zuo Qiuming’s composition, a problem that have been critically examined and discussed for many decades.

Luo Yunhuan 羅運環 also observes that the “Xinian” is an event-based history like the *Zuozhuan*.³⁰⁹ Comparing the event-based style employed in the “Xinian” to the *Zuozhuan*, he identifies the four types of events recorded in the “Xinian”: 1) one main event; 2) two causally related events; 3) events that serially change from one simple aspect of the past to several; 4) events that initiate in one state and develop to involve two or more states. By examining these types, he argues that the “Xinian” is equipped with the typical characteristics of the “Episode-centered style.” However, the “Xinian” writer, in many cases, often did not record the year that the event happened. This shows that the concern about recording the year varies across the “Xinian.” The “Xinian” was by no means intended as a comprehensive systematic history but only a selective one based on the position of the Chu state, and thus the purpose of this text was probably to provide historical cases for the diplomatic actions of the Chu state.

Liu Quanzhi 劉全志 also sees the nature of “Xinian” as event-based historical writing, thus different from *Jinian* or *Annals*.³¹⁰ Liu however also understands that the “Xinian” is unlikely to have been drawn from the *Zuozhuan*, denying the possibility that it may be the lost *Duoshi wei*, as Chen Wei has argued. Many sections of the “Xinian” do not appear at all in the *Zuozhuan*, and some historical events in the “Xinian” do not match those of the *Zuozhuan*. For Liu, such significant discrepancies suggest that the “Xinian” was created based on the *Zuozhuan*. Furthermore, when it comes to the event-based style, the “Xinian” appears closer to “Chunqiu shiyu” or *Guoyu* in the sense that it is divided into sections (or chapters) by events, which indicates

shishu zhi qiyan” 紀年形式與史書之起源, in *Jianbo, Jingdian, Gushi* 簡帛經典古史, edited by Chen Zhi 陳致, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2013), 39-46.

³⁰⁹ Luo Yunhuan 羅運環, “Qinghua jian *Xinian* tizai ji xiangguan wenti xintan” 清華簡《繫年》體裁及相關問題新探, *Hubei shehui kexue* 湖北社會科學 3 (2015): 103-108.

³¹⁰ Liu Quanzhi 劉全志, “Lun Qinghua jian *Xinian* de xingzhi” 論清華簡《繫年》的性質, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 6 (2013): 43-50.

that it was intended as “event-based history” writing. The “Xinian” deals mainly with Jin and Chu events, which suggests that the “Xinian” might be the Jin and Chu parts of an older version of *Guoyu* that was reported to have been looted in 280 CE from the tomb of King Xiang of Wei 魏襄王 (r. 318-296 BCE) at Jizhong 汲冢.

In overcoming the bias resulting from the initial characterization of the text by Li Xueqin and the Qinghua University organizers that the “Xinian” resembles the chronology-based *Zhushu Jinian* in its formal textual arrangement, scholars have become increasingly more aware of the “Xinian’s” narrative nature as a storytelling of past events in episodic prose. The formal similarity of the “Xinian” to other received narrative historical texts such as the *Zuozhuan* and the *Guoyu* has been rediscovered and intensively re-studied.³¹¹

Among the many comparative studies between the *Zuozhuan* and the “Xinian,” in terms of form, Zhang Chongyi 張崇依 focuses on the fifteenth section in the “Xinian,” one that is also found in the *Zuozhuan*, and discusses the way in which the “Xinian” uses source material in its written representations of a past event.³¹² Conversely, Chen Hongchao 陳鴻超 discusses the features of the *Zuozhuan*’s historiography in light of the features of excavated historical texts such as “Xinian.” Chen argues that, compared to the excavated historical texts, the *Zuozhuan* shows a much more sophisticated representation of past events, as it is comprised of much longer, more complex, and more complete content along with clearer moral lessons and rationality.³¹³

More specifically, examining the case of a shared story about Xia Ji 夏姬, found in both the *Zuozhuan* and “Xinian,” Hou Wenxue 侯文學 and Song Meilin 宋美霖 find that the character of Xia Ji in the *Zuozhuan* is well-developed in the role of coquette as an “unchaste” woman who was involved in several early political events, while her portrayal lacks character development and

³¹¹ Of course, not all scholars agree with this position. For example, Yuri Pines argues that the “Xinian” exemplifies an unknown genre of “informative history,” differentiating from the chronology-based *Zuozhuan* or anecdote-collection such as *Guoyu*. The informative history, for Pines, lacks “moralizing anecdotes.” However, on the issue of how and in what form the information is delivered and transmitted through text, the informative history does not necessarily exclude moralizing anecdotes. In fact, in the “Xinian,” we can find several different genres of writing, so it resists simplification or reduction. Also, for him, informative history is less ideological than didactic anecdotes. However, modern critical theory holds that our perception and conviction that we can approach an external object and construct an objective knowledge is itself the product of ideology. “Informative history,” even if it were possible, is no less ideological, or perhaps more fundamentally ideological. See Yuri Pines, “Zhou History and Historiography: Introducing the Bamboo manuscript *Xinian*,” *T’oung Pao*, 100.4-5 (2014): 287-324; see also “History without Anecdotes: Between the *Zuozhuan* and the *Xinian* Manuscript,” in *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, edited by Paul van Els and Sarah A. Queen, (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2016), 263-299.

For the analysis of didacticism and moralizing anecdote seen in the “Xinian,” which Pines basically disproves, see Yang Bo 楊博, “Zaifan yujian: *Xinian* suojian zhanguo shishu de biancuan” 裁繁御簡: 《繫年》所見戰國史書的編纂, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 3 (2017): 4-22.

³¹² Zhang Chongyi 張崇依, “Cong *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan* kan Qinghua jian *Xinian* suoyong shiliao” 從《春秋左氏傳》看清華簡《繫年》所用史料, *Yindu xuekan* 殷都學刊 2 (2017): 54-58.

³¹³ Chen Hongchao 陳鴻超, “Cong Qinghua jian *Xinian* kan *Zuozhuan* de Zhuanshu xingzhi ji tezheng” 從清華簡《繫年》看《左傳》的傳書性質及特徵, *Chutu wenxian* 出土文獻 8 (2016): 97-107. See also his “Cong chutu wenxian kan *Zuozhuan* de shixue chengjiu” 從出土文獻看《左傳》的史學成就, *Zhejiang shehui kexue* 浙江社會科學 8 (2018): 137-146.

moral coloration in the “Xinian.”³¹⁴ Also, the “Xinian” presents a different memory about Xia Ji’s identity as wife of Zheng Xu 征舒, a high official of the Chen 陳 state, but the *Zuozhuan* describes her as Zheng Xu’s mother. In the *Zuozhuan*’s memory and story, Xia Ji is understood as a lustful woman who has a sexual relationship even with her son. It suggests that the characterization of Xia Ji evolved subject to the moral discourses that disapproved of female lust, but the “Xinian” was not dominated by such patriarchal moralistic concerns.

Li Mingli 李明麗 also argues that the narrative of “Xinian” is structured on the principle of realistic political concerns, which she labels as “power” (*li* 力), whereas the *Zuozhuan* is more concerned with on the principle of Ritual Propriety (*li* 禮).³¹⁵ She finds that although the “Xinian” seems not entirely free from the concept of Ritual Propriety, references are few, and the more dominant concern is the pursuit of hegemony. There, moralistic considerations or judgments are rarely added to the narrative.³¹⁶ However, to say that *Zuozhuan*’s central concern is solely Ritual Propriety or “Confucian” values is an overgeneralization about early culture that reduces its complexity and diversity.

From a more textual and historical perspective on the relationship between the *Zuozhuan* and the “Xinian,” some scholars also have published significant research. First, Shen Jianhua 沈建華 focused on the issue of parallelism between the two texts.³¹⁷ He claims that the “Xinian” must have been a text that was circulated in local society during the Warring States period. Although he discusses the textual simplicity of the “Xinian” in form and content, Shen limits his argument to the idea that that the *Zuozhuan* and the “Xinian” existed at the same time, not influencing one another, because he believes that the *Zuozhuan* precedes or is contemporaneous with the “Xinian.”

Chan Pui Ming 陳沛銘 reaches a similar conclusion. He assumes that the *Zuozhuan* existed in the fourth century BCE, and based on that assumption, compares the parallel passages between the *Zuozhuan* and the “Xinian,” asserting that the parallels between the two texts can be understood as to show that they were likely to be grounded on common textual sources.³¹⁸

³¹⁴ Hou Wenxue 侯文學 and Song Meilin 宋美霖, “*Zuozhuan* yu Qinghua jian *Xinian* guanyu Xia Ji de butong xushu” 《左傳》與清華簡《繫年》關於夏姬的不同敘述, *Jilin shifan daxue xuebao* 吉林師範大學學報 4 (July, 2015).

³¹⁵ Li Mingli 李明麗, “Yi li tong li – shilun Qinghua jian *Xinian* de shenceng xushi jiegou” 以力統禮 – 試論清華簡《繫年》的深層敘事結構, *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究學刊 2 (2016.3).

³¹⁶ Hou Wenxue and Li Mingli develop their ideas about the interesting differences between the *Zuozhuan* and the “Xinian” more comprehensively to cover the whole texts and in more diverse angles. But their basic argument remains the same. See Hou Wenxue 侯文學 and Li Mingli 李明麗, *Qinghua jian Xinian yu Zuozhuan xushi bijiao yanjiu* 清華簡《繫年》與《左傳》敘事比較研究, (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2015).

³¹⁷ Shen Jianhua 沈建華, “Shishuo Qinghua jian *Xinian* Chujian yu Chunqiu Zuozhuan chengshu” 試說清華簡《繫年》楚簡與《春秋左傳》成書, in *Jianbo, Jingdian, Gushi* 簡帛經典古史, edited by Chen Zhi 陳致, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2013), 165-172.

³¹⁸ Chan Pui Ming 陳沛銘, *Qinghua jian Xinian yu xiangguan wenxian duibi yanjiu* 清華簡《繫年》與相關文獻比對研究, MA thesis, Hong Kong Lingnan University, 2014, 118-123.

Zhang Chi 張馳 is more cautious about the dating of *Zuozhuan* than Shen Jianhua or Chan Pui Ming, and does not reduce the date of formation to one single point in time such as the fourth century BCE.³¹⁹ Because of such prudence, his analysis retains the complexity of textual formation, which can be divided into several distinct stages such as sourcing, compilation, editing in the long term, and repetition of the same process in various different times and places, which makes it virtually impossible to pinpoint one exact date for the text. He notes the possibility that the “Xinian” existed as a contemporaneous text that could also be a possible source affecting the formation of the *Zuozhuan*.

Recent studies on the textual relationship between the *Zuozhuan* and the “Xinian” have successfully shown that we can approach the form and content of the *Zuozhuan* and its formation through a lens offered by the “Xinian” bamboo slip manuscript. They also have demonstrated the point that in its narratives, the *Zuozhuan* appears to be a much more complex and ideologically variegated text than the “Xinian.” This indicates that it was formed by more people over more stages, based on its greater length and diversity. However, most studies follow the position that the *Zuozhuan* was already established in the fourth century BCE, and so what the “Xinian” can show in relation to the *Zuozhuan* is limited to the scope of the fourth century BCE framework.

In the following, without subscribing to this hypothesis, I will examine what the “Xinian” text can show us about the formation of the *Zuozhuan*, based on analysis of parallel passages in the two texts.

Textual Comparison between the “Xinian” and the *Zuozhuan*

Cases of Diversification and Separation of Versions

One of the most interesting examples in the comparison between the two texts is the story of Marquis Ai of Cai, which we find in the fifth section in the “Xinian” and in the 10th and 14th years of Duke Zhuang of Lu in the *Zuozhuan*.³²⁰

繫年 section 5	左傳 (Duke Zhuang of Lu, 10 th Autumn)	左傳 (Duke Zhuang of Lu, 14 th Autumn)
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³¹⁹ Zhang Chi 張馳, “Cong Qinghua jian *Xinian* kan *Zuozhuan* de biancuan” 從清華簡《繫年》看《左傳》的編纂, *Gudai wenming* 古代文明 11.4 (2017): 67-75.

³²⁰ For the transcription and English translation of the “Xinian” text, I mainly used Su Jianzhou 蘇建洲, Wu Wenwen 吳雯雯, and Lai Yixuan 賴怡璇, *Qinghua er Xinian jijie* 清華二《繫年》集解, (Taipei: Wanjuanlou, 2013). I also referred to Li Songru 李松儒, *Qinghua jian Xinian jishi* 清華簡《繫年》集釋, (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2015). To identify the related texts on the stories and events in the “Xinian,” Ma Nan’s work is helpful. Ma Nan 馬楠, *Qinghua jian Xinian jizheng* 清華簡《繫年》輯證, (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2015).

<p>蔡哀侯取妻於陳，息侯亦取妻於陳，是息媯。息媯將歸于息，過蔡，蔡哀侯命止之，【23】曰：“以同姓之故，必入。”息媯乃入于蔡，蔡哀侯妻之。息侯弗順，乃使人于楚文王【24】曰：“君來伐我，我將求救於蔡，君焉敗之。”文王起師伐息，息侯求救於蔡，蔡哀侯率師【25】以救息，文王敗之於莘，獲哀侯以歸。</p>	<p>蔡哀侯娶于陳，息侯亦娶焉，息媯將歸，過蔡，蔡侯曰，吾姨也，止而見之，弗賓，息侯聞之怒，使謂楚文王曰，伐我，吾求救於蔡而伐之，楚子從之，秋，九月，楚敗蔡師于莘，以蔡侯獻舞歸。</p> <p>Prince Ai of Cai took a wife in Chen. The Prince of Xi also took a wife there. When Gui, the wife of the Prince of Xi, was going to be married, she passed through Cai. The Prince of Cai said, "She is my sister-in-law." He detained her and met with her, but he did not treat her as a guest.⁵⁸ When the Prince of Xi heard this, he was angry and sent someone to tell King Wen of Chu, "Attack us, and when we seek help from Cai, then attack them." The Master of Chu acted accordingly. In autumn, in the ninth month, Chu defeated Cai troops at Shen. They took Xianwu, Prince of Cai, home with them. (1: 163)</p>	
<p>文王爲客於息，蔡侯與從，息侯以文【26】王飲酒，蔡侯知息侯之誘己也，亦告文王曰：“息侯之妻甚美，君必命見之。”文【27】王命見之，息侯辭，王固命見之。既見之，還。明歲，起師伐息，克之，殺息侯，取【28】息媯以歸，是生堵敖及成王。文王以北啓出方城，坂肆（？畛？）於汝，改旅於陳，焉【29】取頓以贛陳侯。【30】</p> <p>Marquis Ai of Cai took a wife from Chen. Marquis of Xi also took a wife from Chen, named Xi Gui. Xi Gui was about to get married to a man of Xi [i.e., Marquis of Xi], [but when] she passed by Cai, Marquis Ai of Cai commanded to stop her and said,</p>		<p>蔡哀侯爲莘故，繩息媯以語楚子，楚子如息，以食入享，遂滅息，以息媯歸，生堵敖，及成王焉，未言，楚子問之，對曰，吾一婦人，而事二夫，縱弗能死，其又奚言，楚子以蔡侯滅息，遂伐蔡，秋，七月，楚入蔡，君子曰，商書所謂惡之易也，如火之燎于原，不可鄉邇，其猶可撲滅者，其如蔡哀侯乎。</p> <p>Because of what happened at Shen, Lord Ai of Cai praised Xi Gui while speaking to the Master of Chu. The Master of Chu went to Xi and, on the pretext of carrying in food supplies for a formal feast with entertainments, thus extinguished Xi. He took Xi Gui back home, and she eventually gave birth to Du Ao and the future King Cheng. But she had not yet spoken a word. The Master of Chu asked her about this, and she replied, "I, one</p>

<p>“Because we have the same surname, you must come in.” Xi Gui thereupon entered Cai. Marquis Ai of Cai made her his wife. The Marquis of Xi did not acknowledge it. He thereupon sent a man to King Wen of Chu to say, “My lord, come to attack my country, and I will seek help from Cai. You will defeat them there.” King Wen raised troops and attacked Xi. The Marquis of Xi sought help from Cai, and Marquis Ai of Cai led troops to rescue Xi. King Wen defeated them at Xin, captured Marquis Ai, and returned.</p> <p>When King Wen was invited to Xi, the Marquis of Cai accompanied him. The Marquis of Xi and King Wen drank wine. The Marquis of Cai knew that the Marquis of Xi had tricked him, so he told King Wen, “Marquis of Xi’s wife is lovely. My Lord, you must give an order and see her.” King Wen gave the order to see her, but the Marquis of Xi refused. The King insisted and requested again to see her. After seeing her, the King returned. The next year, he raised troops and attacked Xi, and conquered it and killed the Marquis of Xi. He took Xi Gui and returned. She bore Du Ao and King Cheng. King Wen made his fiefdom at Ru and deployed the troops at Chen by expanding to the north and advancing into Fangcheng. By taking Dun [city], he captured the Marquis of Chen.</p>		<p>woman, have served two husbands. Even though I have not been able to kill myself, why should you expect me to speak?” The Master of Chu, having destroyed Xi on account of the Prince of Cai, then attacked Cai. In autumn, in the seventh month, Chu entered Cai. The noble man said, “It says in the Shang Documents, ‘The spread of iniquity is like the blazing of fire on grassland; since one cannot even approach it, how can one still beat it out?’ Surely this fits Prince Ai of Cai!” (1: 175)</p>
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Summary: The fifth episode in the “Xinian” tells us about the story of the Marquis Ai of Cai. The conflict is triggered by the event in which the Marquis Ai intercepted a woman named Xi Gui who was supposed to get married to Marquis of Xi. To take revenge on the Marquis of Cai, the Marquis of Xi got King Wen of the Chu involved and made him attack Xi to get Cai to join his plot. Cai joined to assist Xi and was defeated by Chu, and the Marquis Ai of Cai got captured by Chu. Later Marquis Ai of Cai realized that the Marquis of Xi fooled him in order to draw him to the revenge plot, and started to take his own revenge on the Marquis of Xi by coaxing King Wen of Chu into taking the wife of Marquis of Xi, who probably had returned to Xi from the Cai, according to the latter part of the story. King Wen of Chu attacked the Xi one year later, killed the Marquis of Xi, and took Xi Gui. Later Xi Gui gave birth to the King Wen’s successor, King Cheng. Then King Wen succeeded in a military expedition to the north and captured the Marquis of Chen. As a typical episode, this is a brief, self-contained, free-standing narrative whose structure and the message is simple and clear.

The story that the Marquis of Cai made Xi Gui stop over at Cai but did not serve her as a guest (*feibin* 非賓) is found in the narrative of the tenth year of Duke Zhuang of Lu in the *Zuozhuan*. The *Zuozhuan* episode does not inform the reader precisely what happened to Xi Gui at the hand of the Marquis Ai of Cai. However, it does say that because of this event, the Marquis of Xi took revenge on the Marquis of Cai by getting King Wen of Chu involved in his revenge plot so that

King Wen captured the Marquis of Cai. Thus, the basic plot appears the same as the episode of Duke Zhuang’s tenth year in the *Zuozhuan*.

However, this is the whole story in the *Zuozhuan*, at least in the record of the tenth year of Duke Zhuang. In the *Annals*, to which the *Zuozhuan* provides episodic comments, it is said, “In the ninth month, fall, the Jing [i.e., Chu] defeated the troops of Cai at Xin and captured Xianwu the Marquis of Cai alive and returned” 秋，九月，荊敗蔡師于莘，以蔡侯獻舞歸。 As usual, readers of the *Annals* remain uninformed about what happened between Chu and Cai, or why the Chu captured the Marquis of Cai. The *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries only treat the issue of a contemptuous barbarian Chu’s attack on Cai. Cai sympathizes with the condemnation of Chu. It is likely that these two commentaries do not assume the story of the trickery of Marquis Ai of Cai and the improper treatment of Xi Gui that the “Xinian” and the *Zuozhuan* present. In their commentaries, the state of Xi, the female character Xi Gui, and any related story, is not mentioned at all.

公羊傳 莊公 10 年	穀梁傳 莊公 10 年
秋，九月，荊敗蔡師于莘，以蔡侯獻舞歸。荊者何？州名也。州不若國，國不若氏，氏不若人，人不若名，名不若字，字不若子。蔡侯獻舞何以名？絕。曷為絕之？獲也。曷為不言其獲？不與夷狄之獲中國也。	秋，九月，荊敗蔡師于莘，以蔡侯獻武歸。荊者，楚也。何為謂之荊？狄之也。何為狄之？聖人立，必後至；天子弱，必先叛。故曰荊，狄之也。蔡侯何以名也？絕之也。何為絕之？獲也。中國不言敗，此其言敗何也？中國不言敗，蔡侯其見獲乎！其言敗何也？釋蔡侯之獲也。以歸，猶愈乎執也。

Summary: The *Gongyang* records only the event we find from the *Annals*, that in the ninth month of the tenth year of Duke Zhuang of Lu, Chu, written here as Jing, defeated Cai at Xin and captured Xian Wu the Marquis of Cai. The rest is commentarial explanation of why the *Annals* uses certain characters. In this explanation, the *Gongyang* holds a position that the *Annals* and *Gongyang* itself do not recognize Chu as a legitimate state but only as a barbarian region. The *Guliang* commentary writes basically the same thing but holds a more intense anti-Chu position.

We find the rest of the “Xinian’s” story about Marquis Ai of Cai and Xi Gui in the episode for the fourteenth year of the Duke Zhuang of Lu, collected in the received *Zuozhuan*. In that entry, the *Annals* briefly mentions the episode, saying: “In the seventh month, Fall, the Jing entered into the Cai” 秋，七月，荊入蔡。 Why did the Chu enter into Cai? The *Gongyang* and *Guliang* do not inform readers of the reason.

公羊傳	穀梁傳
n/a	秋，七月，荊入蔡。荊者，楚也，其曰荊何也？州舉之也。州不如國，國不如名，名不如字。

Neither of the two commentaries on the *Annals* inform the reader whether the conflict over Xi Gui is the reason for Chu’s entering into Cai or not. The editors of the *Zuozhuan* placed the second half of the story in order to explain why Chu entered into Cai. In other words, the two commentaries

do not explicitly support whether or not the *Annals'* entries in the two years of Duke Zhuang, as the *Zuozhuan* presents, were concerned with the Xi Gui incident.

By including the Xi Gui incident to explain events in Cai and Xi, the *Zuozhuan* modifies three things. First, it splits the story, seen as one unified story in the “Xinian,” into two stories that occurred in two distinct periods, the tenth and fourteenth years of Duke Zhuang. In the “Xinian,” the episode is not presented with temporal gaps. It includes a temporal progression when it states that “one year later” King Wen of Chu met with Xi Gui and attacked Xi to retake her. That is, the “Xinian” episode does not assume a conspicuous temporal break between Chu’s attack on Cai and the Marquis Ai of Cai’s coaxing King Wen of Chu to take Xi Gui from the Marquis of Xi. It suggests that the *Zuozhuan* contained reorganized source materials in order to fit the narrative framework of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

Second, the *Zuozhuan*’s episode changes the ending and thereby accomplished a more consistent and coherent didacticization of the episode. Unlike that of the *Zuozhuan*, the “Xinian’s” ending does not state that the Chu King attacked Cai. Instead, the Chu defeated the Chen in its northern military expedition, but not Cai. By changing the object of Chu’s final attack to Cai, the *Zuozhuan* offers a more coherent and consistent narrative structure and an intense moral message by implying that the Marquis Ai of Cai was caught in his snare. In contrast, the “Xinian” ends the story with the King Wen’s success after getting Xi Gui, implying the leaving the different message that revenge will be repaid by more revenge.

By changing the message to find fault with the Marquis Ai of Cai, the *Zuozhuan* editors adds a comment that was directly made by the gentleman (*junzi* 君子) who is usually identified as Kongzi. The authority of his critical comment on the Marquis of Cai is reinforced by his citation of the *Book of Shang* (*shangshu* 商書). This shows that the re-messaging in the *Zuozhuan* was completed by adding multiple layers of signification: Kongzi as the figure of authority and the *Book* as the reference to truth.

Third, the *Zuozhuan* adds another layer of moral commentary into the simple story of revenge between the two states and thereby sends another didactic message to the readers. This added message in the *Zuozhuan*’s episode is that woman must follow and serve only one husband until death (*yifu congshi* 一夫從事). This new message, which is not present in the “Xinian” at all, is offered through the speech of the female character Xi Gui, who exists only as a name but never becomes concrete in the “Xinian.” In this didacticization, the story offers another message that woman should serve one husband.³²¹

³²¹ Imposing moral obligations and responsibility for sexual issues only on women and thereby making women exclusively concerned with moral issues in sexual behavior is also a characteristic of another example of a female character named Xia Ji 夏姬 in the *Zuozhuan* in comparison with the “Xinian.” As I mentioned earlier, this issue is also discussed in Hou Wenxue and Song Meilin’s piece, “*Zuozhuan* yu Qinghua jian *Xinian* guanyu Xia Ji de butong xushu.”

The fifteenth episode of the “Xinian” tells a story of several men who desires a woman named Shao Kong. Some scholars believe that Shao Kong was the name of Xia Ji (Li Xueqin ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* vol.2, 171n3). This episode resembles the fifth episode about Xi Gui. In this fifteenth episode, the woman Xia Ji is nothing but a name, she is a voiceless character. She is described as an object that several men fought to take possession of. But in the text, it was unknown whether she wanted to be in relationship. In the *Zuozhuan* (from the ninth year to the eleventh year of Duke Xuan of Lu), Xia Ji is described as an unchaste woman who was secretly having sexual relations with three other men, Duke Ling of Chen 陳靈公 and two aristocrats of the Chen, Kong Ning 孔寧 and Yi Xingfu 儀行父. According to the *Zuozhuan*’s narrative, the *Annals*’s record of the tenth year of Duke Xuan of Lu, “On the day of *guisi* 癸巳, Xia Zhengshu 夏徵舒 of the Chen assassinated his lord and pacified the state” 癸巳 陳夏徵舒弑其君平國. This action is explained by the episode that Xia Zhengshu rightly punished his lord who had secret

The story of Marquis Ai of Cai, the Marquis of Xi, the King of Chu and Xi Gui is found in a different version of two other received texts, the “Chang gong” chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* and the “Household of the Guan and the Cai” of the *Shiji*.

呂氏春秋 長攻	史記 管蔡世家
<p>楚王欲取息與蔡，乃先佯善蔡侯，而與之謀曰：「吾欲得息，奈何？」蔡侯曰：「息夫人，吾妻之姨也。吾請為饗息侯與其妻者，而與王俱，因而襲之。」楚王曰：「諾。」於是與蔡侯以饗禮入於息，因與俱，遂取息。旋，舍於蔡，又取蔡。</p>	<p>哀侯十一年，初，哀侯娶陳，息侯亦娶陳。息夫人將歸，過蔡，蔡侯不敬。息侯怒，請楚文王：「來伐我，我求救於蔡，蔡必來，楚因擊之，可以有功。」楚文王從之，虜蔡哀侯以歸。哀侯留九歲，死於楚。凡立二十年卒。蔡人立其子肸，是為繆侯。</p>

Summary: The episode in the “Chang gong” chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* focuses on the King of Chu and thereby makes a new version of the story which is narrated from viewpoint of the King of Chu.

The “Hereditary Households of Guan and Cai” in the *Shiji* describes the relationship between the King of Chu and Marquis of Cai differently. After being detained in Chu, Marquis Ai of Cai is described as not attacking Xi and taking Xi Gui but dying there in the state of Chu, after nine years of detention.

Although the basic plot that the Marquis of Cai coaxed the King of Chu to take the wife of Marquis of Xi is maintained, the coaxing is described as having been initiated by the King of Chu, because he wanted to take Xi and Cai and thereby pretended to treat the Marquis of Cai well. In the sense that this version also accuses the King of the Chu of the original sin, the *Lüshi Chunqiu* takes the same critical position on Chu that the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* did. Also, Xi Gui is only mentioned in the Marquis of Cai’s speech. Unlike the *Zuozhuan*, she is not accused of disregarding the female virtue of chastity. It is suggested that she is a male sexual object, but the text does not explicitly state why she was pursued. It only hints that she is a sister of the wife of Marquis of Cai.

Here in the *Lüshi Chunqiu* episode, the message of the short-sightedness of the ruler bringing his own country to ruin, also delivered in the *Zuozhuan* version is combined with another message about the need to be aware that people may feign morality in order to defeat a competitor. Compared to the message of the “Xinian” episode or *Zuozhuan* episode, what is implied by the story is strikingly different: the *Lüshi Chunqiu* episode addresses mainly the issue of the ruler’s wisdom to look ahead in the world of competition and survival, through the two main characters the King of Chu and the Marquis of Cai. On the other hand, the “Xinian” episode highlights the issue of revenge in the succeeding events of the Marquis Ai of Cai’s sexual misconduct, and the

relations with Xia’s wife. Traditional *Zuozhuan* commentators have understood Xia Zhengshu as Xia Ji’s son but this is not based on the *Zuozhuan* text itself, which does not clarify the relationship between Xia Zhengshu and Xia Ji. According to the “Xinian,” they are certainly husband and wife, and this explains why Zhengshu had to kill his lord.

This is also a good example that shows how a female character becomes exclusively morally responsible for sexual or marital relations in the later developed narrative.

revenge of the Marquis of Xi, and Marquis of Cai's revenge on Marquis of Xi through the Chu. The *Zuozhuan* more consistently addresses the issue of revenge by putting the Marquis Ai of Cai in the position of the final victim of the last revenge.

The “Hereditary Households of Guan and Cai” in the *Shiji* presents another version of the story. A significant difference in this version is the description of relationship between the King of Chu and the Marquis of Cai. After being detained in the Chu, in the *Shiji* version, the Marquis Ai of Cai does not coax an attack upon Xi and take Xi Gui but dies in the state of Chu, after the nine years of detention. Because of this ending, it also delivers a consistent didactic message about sexual misconduct of rulers and its rightful consequences. In terms of consistent message, this *Shiji* version is somewhat closer to the *Zuozhuan* version, but in plot, the difference between the two texts is still significant enough to be called a different version: in the *Shiji*, the second part, which we find in the fourteenth year of the Duke Zhuang of Lu, virtually does not exist at all. That is, according to the *Shiji*'s story, the record of the fourteenth year of Duke Zhuang in the *Zuozhuan* is an entirely fictitious story, not compatible with the *Shiji* one.

The episodes from “Xinian,” *Lüshi Chunqiu*, and *Shiji* ask to be read as independent, free-standing stories. Different versions were made to different ends, and their plots or messages were re-written. Following a typical process in the formation of an episode text, the *Zuozhuan* adapted this story and split it into two parts, assigning each part to two different historical events recorded in the *Annals*, thereby providing detailed comments to the brief records in the *Annals*. Based on the two other commentaries to the *Annals*, however, we do not know whether or not the *Annals*' records meant to refer to the events that the *Zuozhuan* introduces in its comments. It is likely that, according to the *Gongyang* and *Guliang*, whose comments do not attest to any specific content of the story, the episode is not directly related to the events. This suggests that the *Zuozhuan* editors took an independent episode and split it to create the comments to the *Annals*.

A similar example of splitting a single story into two and assigning each to an event while changing the message, is also seen in the section nine of the “Xinian” and the text listed under the 8th month of the 6th year of the Duke Wen of Lu and the 7th year of Duke Wen of Lu in the *Zuozhuan*.

繫年 section 9	左傳 (Duke Wen of Lu, 8 th month of the 6 th year)	左傳 (Duke Wen of Lu, 7 th year)
晉襄公卒，靈公高幼，大夫聚謀曰：“君幼，未可奉承也，毋乃不能邦。猷求強君。”乃命【50】左行蔑與隨會召襄公之弟雍也于秦。	八月，乙亥，晉襄公卒，靈公少，晉人以難故，欲立長君，趙孟曰，立公子雍，好善而長，先君愛之，且近於秦，秦舊好也，置善則固，事長則順，立愛則孝，結舊則安，為難故，故欲立長君。有此四德者，難必抒矣。賈季曰，不如立公子樂，辰嬴嬖於二君，立其子，民必安之。趙孟曰，辰嬴賤，班在九人，其子何震之有，且為二嬖，淫也，為先君子，不能求大，而出在小國，辟也，母淫子辟，無威，陳小而遠	

，無援，將何安焉，杜祁以君故，讓偏姑而上之，以狄故，讓季隗而已次之，故班在四，先君是以愛其子，而仕諸秦，為亞卿焉，秦大而近，足以為援，母義子愛，足以威民，立之，不亦可乎，使先蔑，士會，如秦，逆公子雍，賈季亦使召公子樂于陳，趙孟使殺諸郕，賈季怨陽子之易其班也，而知其無援於晉也，九月，賈季使續鞠居殺陽處父，書曰，晉殺其大夫，侵官也。

In the eighth month, on the *yihai* day, Lord Xiang of Jin died. Lord Ling was young, and the leaders of Jin, because of the troubles facing Jin, wanted to establish an older son as ruler. Zhao Dunc said, "Let us establish Gongzi Yong as ruler. He is fond of good men and is older, and the former ruler cherished him. Moreover, he is close to Qin, and Qin is our old friend. If we establish the good, then we will be stable. If we serve the older, then we will follow the right order. If we set up the cherished one, then we will be filial. If we make connections with an old friend, then we will be secure. It is because of the troubles in our domain that we wish to establish an older ruler. Since he is one who possesses these four virtues, the troubles will surely ease." Hu Yigu said, "It would be better to establish Gongzi Yue as ruler. Huai Ying was the favorite of two rulers. If we set up her son, the people will surely make him secure." Zhao Dunc said, "Huai Ying is of low rank. She was the ninth woman in order. What sway could her son have? Moreover, to be the favorite of two rulers is to be lascivious. As the son of the former ruler, to be unable to seek out a great domain but to depart and dwell in a small domain is contemptible. As the contemptible son of a lascivious mother, he will have no authority. And since the domain of Chen is small and distant, he will receive no assistance from them. How will we find security in this? Du Qi, on account of the ruler, deferred to Bi Ji and honored her as superior. And on account of the Di, she deferred to Ji Wei, and she herself became secondary to her. So she became the fourth in order. Because of all this, the former ruler cherished their son and sent him as an official to Qin, where he became assistant minister. Qin, being large and close at hand, will suffice to provide him with assistance. Being the cherished son of a dutiful mother will suffice to give him authority over the people. Would it not be right to establish him as ruler?" They sent Xian Mie and Fan Huia to Qin to meet Gongzi Yong. Hu Yigu also sent someone to summon Gongzi Yue from Chen, and Zhao Dunc sent someone to kill him in Pi. Hu Yigu resented Yang Chufu for having replaced him in his position and also knew that

<p>襄夫人聞之，乃抱靈公以號于廷，曰：“死人何罪？【51】生人何辜？舍其君之子弗立，而召人于外，而焉將寘此子也？”大夫閔，乃皆背之曰：“我莫命招【52】之。”乃立靈公，焉葬襄公。【53】</p> <p>When Duke Xiang of Jin passed away, Duke Ling, Gao, was still an infant. The <i>dafu</i> gathered to plot and said, “The prince is still an infant, and cannot be elevated to succession. Since he cannot be, he should not be able to rule the state. We had better seek another strong ruler.” Thereupon they commanded the Left Line Officer, Mie, and Sui Hui, to call the younger brother of Duke Xiang from Qin.</p> <p>Lady Xiang heard about this. Holding Duke Ling, she cried out at the court and said, “What did the deceased man do? What is the crime of the living man? Abandoning the ruler’s son and not installing him, but instead calling someone from outside, are you going to put this child aside?” The ministers sympathized, and thereupon all turned back to the Lady and said, we should not give the order to invite [Duke Xiang].” Thereupon they installed Duke Ling and held the funeral of Duke Xiang.</p>	<p>Yang Chufu would receive no assistance in Jin. In the ninth month, Hu Yigu sent Hu Juju to kill Yang Chufu. The text says, “Jin put to death its high officer,” because he had usurped the authority of allotting office. (1: 493; 495)</p>	<p>秦康公送公子雍于晉，曰，文公之入也，無衛，故有呂卻之難，乃多與之徒衛，穆嬴日抱太子以啼于朝，曰，先君何罪，其嗣亦何罪，舍適嗣不立，而外求君，將焉寘此，出朝則抱以適趙氏，頓首於宣子曰，先君奉此子也，而屬諸子曰，此子也才，吾受子之賜，不才，吾唯子之怨，今君雖終，言猶在耳，而棄之，若何，宣子與諸大夫皆患穆嬴，且畏偪，乃背先蔑而立靈公，以禦秦師，箕鄭居守，趙盾將中軍，先克佐之，荀林父佐上軍，先蔑將下軍，先都佐之，步招御戎，戎津為右，及董陰，宣子曰，我若受秦，秦則賓也，不受，寇也，既不受矣，而復緩師，秦將生心，先人有奪人之心，軍之善謀也，逐寇如追逃，軍之善政也，訓卒利兵，秣馬蓐食，潛師夜起，戊子，敗秦師于令狐，至于劓首，己丑，先蔑奔秦，士會從之，先蔑之使也，荀林父止之曰，夫人大子猶在，而外求君，此必不行，子以疾辭，若何，不然，將及，攝卿以往，可也，何必子。同官為寮，吾嘗同寮，敢不盡心乎？弗聽，為賦板之三章，又弗聽，及亡，荀伯盡送其帑，及其器用財賄於秦，曰，為同寮故也，士會在秦三年，不見士伯，其人曰，能亡人於國，不能見於此，焉用之，士季曰，吾與之同罪，非義之也，將何見焉，及歸，遂不見。</p>
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		<p>Lord Kang of Qin escorted Gongzi Yong on his way to Jin, saying, “When Lord Wen entered Jin, he had no bodyguards, and that is why the rebellion of Lü Sheng and Xi Rui occurred.” So he gave him numerous foot soldiers to act as bodyguards. For days on end Mu Ying carried the heir apparent and cried out in the Jin court, “What was the crime of our former ruler? And what is the crime of his heir? If you reject the rightful heir and do not establish him as ruler, but instead seek a ruler abroad, then where will you place this one?” She left the court and carried him to the Zhao residence. Bowing before Zhao Dun until her head knocked against the ground, she said, “When the former ruler held this son in his hands and entrusted him to you, he said, ‘If this son becomes capable, I will have received a gift bestowed by you; if he does not become capable, I will have resentment for none but you!’ Although the ruler has now gone, his words still sound in our ears. What would you be doing if you should then reject those words?” Zhao Dun and the high officers all worried about Mu Ying and also feared reprisal. So they turned against Xian Mie and established Lord Ling as ruler, and with that went forth to engage the Qin troops. Ji Zhengfu remained to guard the capital. Zhao Dun commanded the central army, and Xian Ke assisted him. Xun Linfu was assistant commander for the upper army. Xian Mie led the lower army, and Xian Du assisted him. Bu Zhao drove the war chariot, and Rong Jin was the spearman on the right. When they reached Jinyin, Zhao Dun said, “If we receive Gongzi Yong from Qin, then Qin will be our guests. If we do not accept him, they will be our enemies. If on top of not receiving him, we also delay our troops, Qin is going to get ideas. ‘To preempt the enemy is to rob him of his will’ is good military strategy. ‘To pursue the enemy as if one were chasing men in flight’ is good military leadership.” They instructed the soldiers, sharpened their weapons, fed the horses, and ate in abundance. Forming the ranks of the troops in secret, they set out at night. On the <i>wuzi</i> day (1), they defeated the Qin troops at Linghu and advanced as far as Kushou. On the <i>jichou</i> day (2), Xian Mie fled to Qin, and Fan Huia accompanied him. When Xian Mie was going to Qin as an envoy, Xun Linfu stopped him, saying, “To seek a ruler from abroad while the former ruler’s wife and heir apparent are still alive is a course of action that is bound to fail. How would it be if you were to decline on the pretext of illness? If you do not do this, disaster will overtake you. It would be appropriate to appoint an acting minister and have him go. Why must it be you? Those who occupy the same office are colleagues. Since we were once together as colleagues, I would not dare do otherwise than fully exert myself on your behalf.” Xian Mie did not heed this. Xun Linfu recited for him the third stanza of the ode “Ban,” but he also did not heed this. When Xian Mie went into exile, Xun Linfu sent all of Xian Mie’s family and his implements and goods to Qin, saying, “This is because we were colleagues.” Fan Huia was in Qin for three years, but he did not meet with Xian Mie. His men said, “You could bring yourself to go into exile from the domain with this man, but you cannot bring yourself to meet him here. What is the point of this?” Fan Hui said, “I committed the same</p>
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		offense as he. I do not consider him dutiful, so why should I meet with him here?" Right up to the time of his return to Jin, Fan Hui never met with Xian Mie. (1: 501; 503)
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Summary: The ninth episode of the “Xinian” narrates a conflict over the succession in the state of Jin after Duke Xiang died. The narrative is divided into parts: first, the agreement among the *dafu* aristocrats of Jin to invite the younger brother of the former ruler from Qin because the son of Duke Xiang was too young; second, the appeal by Lady Xiang, the wife of the former ruler of Jin, and the mother of the young heir apparent, and the installation of the young heir apparent as the next ruler of Jin by the *dafu* aristocrats. In this simple story, the “Xinian” delivers the message of priority of the son’s right over the brother’s in succession.

Similar to the case of the fifth episode of the “Xinian” examined above, each of two parts in this episode also appears to belong to its own year of the *Annals* in the *Zuozhuan*. However, this time, such assignment accompanies a more complex and detailed plot and thereby provides a significantly different message.

First, the *Zuozhuan* assigns this story to the records of two years in the *Annals*, the sixth and seventh years of Duke Wen. The *Zuozhuan* asks who the dead Duke Xiang would have favored as his successor, a question not raised in the “Xinian,” and thus is directly concerned with the editorial intention of re-messaging. In the *Zuozhuan* episode, the court is described as divided into two opposing parties, which argued for the brother of the dead ruler and the son of the ruler’s concubine both of whom were not in the state of Jin. In the “Xinian,” the readers are not informed that the court was divided on the succession issue, and more importantly, there was another son for the ruler although he was not a legitimate heir. Thus, the *Zuozhuan* episode tells readers that this historical event was concerned with an intense internal political struggle over deciding the successor of Jin, information which is never provided in the simple narrative of the “Xinian.”

The *Zuozhuan*’s comment to the seventh year of the Duke Wen also provides substantial detailed information about the installation of the heir apparent of Duke Xiang of Jin who was considered to be too young. The installation was not because of the Lady Xiang’s sympathetic appeal, but because of political considerations of the aristocrats who were most likely to support the non-hereditary son who was killed by the opposite party in the preceding year upon his arrival in Jin. In this power struggle, the party supporting the brother’s side was defeated, and one of the leading figures in that party, Xian Mie, had to defect to Qin, according to the *Zuozhuan*.

As above, correspondences between the *Annals* and *Zuozhuan*’s use of this episode is not confirmed by the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries. They suggest some different stories:

	公羊傳	穀梁傳
The 6 th of Duke Wen 文公6年	<p>晉殺其大夫陽處父，晉狐射姑出奔狄。 晉殺其大夫陽處父，則狐射姑曷為出奔？射姑殺也。 射姑殺則其稱國以殺何？君漏言也。 其漏言奈何？君將使射姑將。 陽處父諫曰：「射姑民眾不說，不可使將。」於是廢將。陽處父出，射姑入。 君謂射姑曰：「陽處父言曰：『射姑民眾不說，不可使將。』」 射姑怒，出刺陽處父於朝而走。</p>	<p>晉殺其大夫陽處父。 稱國以殺，罪累上也。 襄公已葬，其以累上之辭言之，何也？君漏言也。上泄則下暗，下暗則上聾。且暗且聾，無以相通，夜姑殺者也。 夜姑之殺奈何？ 曰：晉將與狄戰，使狐夜姑為將軍，趙盾佐之， 陽處父曰：「不可！古者君之使臣也，使仁者佐賢者，不使賢者佐仁者。」</p>

		<p>今趙盾賢，夜姑仁，其不可乎？」 襄公曰：「諾。」 謂夜姑曰：「吾始使盾佐女。今女佐盾矣！」 夜姑曰：「敬諾。」 襄公死，處父主竟上事，夜姑使人殺之。 君漏言也，故士造辟而言，詭辭而出， 曰：「用我則可，不用我則無亂其德。」 晉狐夜姑出奔狄。</p>
The 7 th of Duke Wen 文 公 7年	<p>戊子，晉人及秦人戰于令狐，晉先昧以師奔秦。 。此偏戰也，何以不言師敗績？ 敵也。此晉先昧也， 其稱人何？貶。 蜀為貶？外也。 其外奈何？以師外也。何以不言出？遂在外也。 。</p>	<p>戊子，晉人及秦人戰于令狐。 晉先蔑奔秦。 不言出，在外也。 輟戰而奔秦，以是為逃軍也。</p>

These two commentaries do not present a story of conflict over the succession after the death of Duke Xiang of Jin, as the “Xinian” and *Zuozhuan* do. Their story focuses on the death of the strongman Yang Qufu 陽處父 and the defection of his rival, Hu Shigu 狐射姑 in the *Gongyang*, and Hu Yegu 狐夜姑 in the *Guliang*. The *Gongyang* and *Guliang* stories suggest that there was a power struggle between two men at the Jin court. The *Guliang* narrates the struggle as being over Duke Xiang’s desire to appoint Hu as general before his death, a plan that Yang opposed. After Duke Xiang’s death, the dominant Yang assumed the reins of government and planned to kill Hu, but the plan was leaked before it could be executed, and Yang was attacked and killed while Hu defected to the realm of Di 狄 nation.

It is interesting to note that neither the *Gongyang* nor *Guliang* relates this event to the succession issue as does the *Zuozhuan*. In the *Zuozhuan*, Yang Qufu appears as a member of the party who argued for Duke Xiang’s brother in succession. Hu Shigu (Hu Yegu) is not as identifiable as Jia Ji 賈季, who instigated the plot to kill Yang in the *Zuozhuan* account. However, whoever Hu is in the *Zuozhuan*, the *Zuozhuan* depicts a political struggle and conflict in Jin over a succession problem, whereas none of the other commentaries relate this event to Jin’s succession issue. As the “Xinian” attests, this episode has been circulating as an independent story already around the 4th century BCE, so it seems quite likely that the *Zuozhuan* took the episode, divided it into two parts, and re-wrote it to treat both the succession issue and the political struggle of Jin after the Duke Xiang’s death. The *Zuozhuan* used the developed episode as a commentary on the records of the sixth and seventh year of Duke Wen of Lu in the *Annals*. In this re-making of the story, the message of the “Xinian” about the succession priority of son over brother changed into one about negotiation after a fierce political struggle that resulted in assassination and defection.

Conclusion

I have examined the composition of the *Zuozhuan* by comparing its parallel contents to those of “Chunqiu Shiyu” and “Xinian,” and also some other received early texts. This examination suggests that the *Zuozhuan* text was composed on the basis of common cultural assets

comprised of numerous short narrative units, which I term Episode Texts. “Shiyu” and “Xinian” were copied circa 120 BCE and 300 BCE, respectively, and show that the narrative units were widely circulated and freely adopted by editors for different didactic purposes and often changed and rewritten to convey particular messages. They were brief, straightforward, and simple in form and content. As short stories, they worked to transmit single lessons derived from past events.

As the “Chunqiu shiyu” and “Xinian” cases exemplify, the narrative units were not made into larger schemes for specific kinds of textual organization such as chronological arrangements. They were probably produced as sources or annalistic records. Each of them was a self-contained, free-standing narratives about the past with a limited didactic message. Since they were made and circulated as separate units, each was easy to adapt and edit for editors’ purposes.

In terms of memory, these Episode Texts were fragmentary written testimonies of what happened and what was worth remembering. It was a way for the literati to make sense of their community at a particular moment in relation to the past. It was a free, reflective record about the past and secondarily about the people who needed to remember it. These texts were unrestricted memories in content, and therefore diverse in perspective and unorganized in structure.

The *Zuozhuan* is a second-order compilation resulting from the processing of reorganizing each memory and episodes to legitimize a particular set of editorial perspectives on the past. Thus, the *Zuozhuan* created a discourse to orient memories in a particular manner. When the *Zuozhuan* was structured as a commentary on the *Annals*, it adapted and reorganized numerous Episode Texts circulating as textual units until the time of the “Shiyu,” i.e., 120 BCE, into the chronological framework of the *Annals*. It often edited them in several ways through detailing, rewriting, merging, excluding, splitting, re-messaging, and so on. In this way, the message that the episode delivered also changed. Through this process, each of the Episode Texts was made to serve the larger themes that the *Annals* was believed to be about, as specific examples of the past. Approved as the orthodox and authentic representation of the past by the state as part of a competition for legitimating the present in the name of the past, the *Zuozhuan*’s narratives replaced the numerous anonymous sources it was based on, and claimed itself as the authorized truth.

CHAPTER 5: Episode Text and the Production of “History” (II) - In Light of the Textual Formation of *Shangshu*

In this chapter, I will discuss the formation of another canonical social memory of the past, called “Shangshu” (尚書; Old Documents). While the *Zuozhuan* deals with the events during the period of the Western Zhou’s political and cultural hegemony over multiple kinship-related small-scale states collapsed, and the polity fragmented into several competing regional states, the *Shangshu* thematizes memories of an earlier time before the Western Zhou’s collapse. Simply put, the *Zuozhuan* tells readers what happened in the post-Zhou era, whereas the *Shangshu* narrates the political reality in the Zhou and even in pre-Zhou periods. Thus, in the discourse of early peoples, the *Zuozhuan* instructed them about the conflicts, warfare, and survival competition among the states, showing the world what would happen when no absolute power was present. By contrast, the *Shangshu* presents the image of the world where the social order was undisturbed by the breakdown of the central ruling power and authority.

Although the received *Shangshu* text focuses on the times of the Western Zhou, this text has been edited to be without a temporal limitation, with coverage down to the late phase of the Western Zhou and up to the earliest times that one may think of as the beginning of civilization on the East Asian continent. In other words, it stretches from the beginning of history up to the late Western Zhou. The *Shangshu* is often received to be the first systematically edited volume that was a “comprehensive narrative” of the past (*tongshi* 通史) in one linear, chronological scheme. In this sense, the *Shangshu* resembles the *Shiji*: both works trace the moral and religious authority for ruling based on past examples, constructing a temporal scheme an originary moment, Yao or Huangdi, up to today.

In this chapter, I argue that the *Shangshu* was also a compilation of numerous Episode Texts created, shared, and transmitted *ex-post facto* in the post-Zhou world, refiguring and thereby recreating the world of the Zhou based on later priorities.³²² The traditional distinction in *Shangshu*

³²² Although I do not explore this in detail, I maintain that the received text, commonly known as “Yi Zhoushu” (逸周書; Remnants of Zhou Documents) or as *Jizhong Zhoushu* 汲冢周書 (“Zhou Documents found in the Tomb Cluster at Ji commandery”) or simply *Zhoushu* 周書 (“Zhou Documents”), which has been commonly regarded as a companion text to the *Shangshu*, had undergone the same formation procedure of compilation from Episode Texts made and shared in the Warring States and Western Han. This suggests that the text was seen as only supplementary and miscellaneous to the *Shangshu* in the tradition. In terms of origins, the materials of the *Yi Zhoushu* were not originally differentiated or distinguished from the materials that now constitute the *Shangshu*.

For basic information on the “Yi Zhoushu” text, see Edward Shaughnessy, “*I Chou shu* 逸周書 (*Chou shu*),” in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, edited by Michael Loewe, (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China; Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993), 229-233. For more detailed information and an updated study in English, see Robin McNeal, “The Body as Metaphor for the Civil and Martial Components of Empire in *Yi Zhou shu*,” Chapter 32; With an Excursion on the Composition and Structure of the *Yi Zhou shu*,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122.1 (2002): 46-60; see also his *Conquer and Govern: Early Chinese Military Texts from the Yi Zhou Shu*, (Honolulu, University of Hawai’i Press, 2012). A fuller study of the core chapters of the *Yi Zhoushu* in English is seen in Georgiy Grebnev, “The Core Chapters of the *Yi Zhou Shu*,” PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 2016. See also Yegor Grebnev [Georgiy Grebnev], “*Yi Zhoushu* and the *Shangshu*: The Case of Texts with Speeches,” in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic of Documents)*, edited by Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 249-280.

Both in Chinese and Western academia, scholarly attention given to the received *Yi Zhoushu* had been relatively less than to the *Shangshu* until the Qinghua University Collection of Warring State Bamboo Slip

studies between “Current Script” (*jinwen* 今文) and “Old Script” (*guwen* 古文) editions may be understood as reflecting a difference in the selection process during the competition for state approval to legitimize the sect that argued for a certain edition,³²³ but both were compiled from the same sources of Episode Texts produced and shared as the social memory of the past during the late Warring States and possibly the early Western Han. I will discuss this issue with examples of discovered bamboo slip manuscripts such as the ones parallel to the received “Yueming” 說命 and “Jinteng” 金滕.

The textual comparison between the Qinghua University Chu Bamboo slip manuscripts produced in around 300 BCE and the received parallel chapters of the *Shangshu* suggests that some portion of the received *Shangshu* underwent the specific re-editing processes constituting the collective memory of the Western Zhou.³²⁴ I will demonstrate this point by examining the

Manuscripts were published. The most authoritative study on the *Yi Zhoushu* in Chinese before the publication of the Qinghua bamboo slip manuscripts was Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, *Yi Zhoushu yuanliu kaobian* 《逸周書》源流考辨, (Xian: Xibei daxue chubanshe, 1992). In it, Huang points out that the titles of the book, chapters and some contents in the current version of the *Yi Zhoushu* are cited in several materials he thinks of as pre-Han and Han, and speculates that the text called *Zhoushu* existed as a fragmented 45-chapter edition at the time of Liu Xiang’s collation, of Kong Chao 孔晁 (fl. 3-4th cen.), who first made a commentary to the *Yi Zhoushu* and used this 45-chapter Han edition. Later, people added more chapters to the Han edition, based on the new version, the so-called “Jizhong” *Zhoushu* that was looted from the tomb of King Xiang of Wei 魏襄王 (r. 318-296 BCE) or King Anxi of Wei 安釐王 (276-243 BCE), both tombs in the then Ji Commandery, now in the Cities of Xinxiang 新鄉 and Weihui 衛輝 in Henan province. Therefore, according to Huang, the received edition of the *Yi Zhoushu* is a composite (*hebing ben* 合併本) between the Han and Jizhong editions (p. 61). This argument by Huang has become widely accepted as a standard. See also Luo Jiexiang 羅家湘, *Yi Zhoushu yanjiu* 《逸周書》研究, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006).

After the publication of the Qinghua University bamboo slip manuscript collection, there was a surge of new studies on the *Yi Zhoushu* text based on the information from the newly acquired bamboo slip manuscripts. Important new research monograph on the *Yi Zhoushu* are Wang Lianlong 王連龍, *Yi Zhoushu yanjiu* 《逸周書》研究, (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2010) and Zhang Huitong 張懷通, *Yi Zhoushu xinyan* 《逸周書》新研, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013). These studies also show that the materials of the *Yi Zhoushu* were not essentially different from those of the *Shangshu* in their formative stages.

The possible homogeneity of the materials that now constitute *Shangshu* and *Yi Zhoushu* in light of the Qinghua bamboo slip manuscripts was also a conclusion raised by Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Qinghua jian yu *Shangshu*, *Yi Zhoushu de yanjiu*” 清華簡與《尚書》《逸周書》的研究, *Shixueshi yanjiu* 史學史研究 142.2 (2011): 104-108. Liu Guangsheng 劉光勝 also sees those materials as belonging to the same category of “Shu” 書 that is often found in the early received texts. See Liu Guangsheng, “Qinghua jian yu XianQin *Shu* jing chuanliu” 清華簡與先秦《書》經傳流, *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊 1 (2012): 76-85.

What distinguishes my position from the current scholarly discourses on the *Yi Zhoushu* is that while many scholars agree that some *Yi Zhoushu* materials existed much earlier than scholars had thought before the publication of the Qinghua University bamboo slip manuscripts, I do not understand it to mean that we take them as records of factual information reflecting what actually happened in the Western Zhou.

³²³ For a useful discussion of the nature of Old Script texts, see Michael Nylan, “The Ku wen Documents in Han Times,” *T’oung Pao* LXXXI (1995): 25-50. Also for a reliable examination about the competition and struggle between the Old Script and Current Script Text sects in Han times, see Michael Nylan, “The Chin wen/Ku wen Controversy in Han Times,” *T’oung Pao* LXXX (1994): 83-136.

³²⁴ Surveying the research trends in the *Shangshu* scholarship during the last decade, particularly after the publication of the Qinghua University bamboo slip manuscripts, Ye Xiucheng 葉修成 finds that there have been an increasing number of studies in which the *Shangshu* is viewed as a later compilation of early source materials. Ye Xiucheng, “Jin shinian lai *Shangshu* redian yanjiu zongshu” 近十年來《尚書》熱點研究綜述, *Lishui xueyuan xuebao* 麗水學院學報 38.4 (2016): 86-92.

“Yueming” and “Jinteng” in the received *Shangshu*, and comparing them to their parallel Qinghua Chu bamboo slip manuscript collection.

First, from the comparison between the Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming” and received “Yueming,” and some other received texts, I will argue, in the Warring States and later periods, there was a sudden emergence of a cultural practice of constructing and propagating certain historical figures as representations of particular virtues and values. For example, the coupling of Wu Ding and Fu Yue represents an ideal combination of Sage King and worthy minister, which corresponds to several other exemplars such as Yao and Shun or Tang and Yi Yin, who became cultural icons for ideal government in the past. This iconization of historical figures was meant to authorize and legitimize them, as they represented the virtues that were valued in society, such as loyalty, remonstrance to the superior, listening to subjects, and so on. This was part of a discourse in which character and values were of primary importance. The iconization of these characters was accompanied by the making and sharing of specific stories about them to concretize and substantiate them. This also would augment the position of the creators and sharers of the stories, and the discourses about the past. These stories about characters and their values were not singular but plural, and, varying with the context in which they were told, the same story developed into different versions. The different versions of the same story and even different stories about the same characters were sometimes given the same title. The three different versions of the Fu Yue and Wu Ding story in the three received “Yueming” chapters, another set of three in the Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming” manuscripts, and other similar stories in the received texts all exemplify the differentiation and multiplication of stories about historical figures such as Fu Yue and Wu Ding in early culture. Thus, I will eventually point out the diversity and plurality of stories of such iconized figures, also analyzing them as examples of the differentiation and multiplication of episode.

However, the stories were not only being multiplied in diverse ways but also converging on the production of a version that better served a certain virtue. In other words, among the various, diverse, and multiple texts of the past memories, some gradually became fixed in a certain editorial direction. A value attached to the story provided a direction, an order to some texts for further literary development. That is, the proliferation of text was not disorderly but was oriented toward the goal of better memory of the past and its improved textual representation. As in the case of the comparison between received “Jinteng” chapter of the *Shangshu* and Qinghua “*Zhou Wuwang you ji Zhougong suo zi yi dai wang zhi zhi*” (周武王有疾周公所自以代王之志; “Record of the Duke of Zhou’s substitution for King Wu of Zhou when the latter was ill”) bamboo slip manuscript, more commonly known as Qinghua manuscript, parallel to the received “Jinteng” text (hereafter Qinghua “Jinteng” parallel text), the composition supported and reinforced the values represented by the character and the narrative. It was meant to rewrite and expand on the character, the events, and thereby revise the past by polishing, changing, and developing the characters and plot. The examination of the “Jinteng” and its parallel bamboo text, in particular, shows re-editing of the collective memory of the Western Zhou, centering around the memory of a historical figure, known as Duke of Zhou (*Zhougong* 周公). The textual comparison will show that the story of Duke of Zhou was not consistent, and bore the title “Metal-bound Coffin,” which metaphorically symbolizes the Duke of Zhou’s character as the personification of loyalty, even in the late Warring States period. More importantly, the degree of cultural memory of the Duke of Zhou as a loyal exemplar varied during the late Warring States and early Western Han period. Compared to the

Qinghua parallel text, the current “Jinteng” shows evidence of a certain cultural process that authorized the Duke of Zhou as the legitimate regent for the Western Zhou. This suggests that the received “Jinteng” was a re-written memory of a glorious moment in the early Western Zhou illustrating the virtue of loyalty through the description of the fleshed-out character of Duke of Zhou. The identity of the Duke of Zhou as a man of genuine loyalty became more flat, simplified, and intensified in the retold memory depicted in “Lu Zhougong shijia” (魯周公世家, The Hereditary Households of Duke of Zhou of the Lu) of the *Shiji* 史記. The comparison between these three texts based on the same story of the Duke of Zhou confirms that his character was being re-signified and refigured as a man of loyalty and a legitimate regent, and as an icon of early Western Zhou as the leader of ideal time and space.

Based on these examples, I will argue that what we know as essential parts of *Shangshu* materials were produced, shared and transmitted to meet two contradictory yet complementary cultural desires, i.e., one to produce particular memories and their literary and imaginative representations of an ideal past in diverse ways, and the other to establish a “true” memory and “authentic” representation among the multiple and diverse memories in society. The idea of truth and authenticity was pursued through development of the story of iconic characters exemplifying particular values. Multiple memories and representations of the past were reconstructed to deepen and reinforce the values that memory represents in the present.

The *Shangshu*: The Origin and Nature

The *Shangshu* has long been viewed mainly as based on genuine historical records of the Zhou and earlier states treating the issues of the rulership, politics, battle, vassalage rather than as a fictional reconstruction of the past.³²⁵ In this approach, even though most scholars agreed that quite a number of chapters in the *Shangshu* were likely created much later than they ostensibly were, the meaning and significance of the cultural practices that produced the texts have been the subject of less attention.³²⁶ For example, Cheng Yuanmin 程元敏, who provides a comprehensive

³²⁵ For a brief but comprehensive overview of *Shangshu* studies from a philological perspective in English, see Edward Shaughnessy, “*Shang shu* 尚書 (*Shu ching* 書經),” in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, edited by Michael Loewe, (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China; Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993), 376-389. More updated useful bibliography for the *Shangshu* studies is offered in Hsiang-lin Shih, “*Shang shu* 尚書 (Hallowed writings of antiquity),” in *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide*, Part Two, edited by David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chen, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 814-830.

³²⁶ There are some exceptions in this trend. Michael Nylan sees this issue in relation to the formation of the *Shangshu* in her “The Documents,” *The Five “Confucian” Classics*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 120-167. Mark Lewis views this issue as a more general characteristic of early Chinese literary culture. Mark E. Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, (Albany: The State University of New York, 1999).

After the publication of the Qinghua University Collection of Chu bamboo slip manuscripts and the boom of *Shangshu* studies, there has also been some research into the literary aspects of the *Shangshu*. For example, Yu Wenzhe 于文哲 investigates how *Shangshu*’s speech-centered compositions in prose made impact on early philosophical, religious, historical writings by shaping the principal ways of constructing main characters in narrative. But such an approach is still unusual in the *Shangshu* scholarship. For example, see Yu Wenzhe, “*Shangshu* jiyuan dui xianQin Zhuzi shanwen de wenxue yingxiang” 尚書記言對先秦諸子散文的文學影響, *Haerbin gongye daxue xuebao* 哈爾濱工業大學學報 13.4 (2011): 117-122. Chen Chunbao 陳春保 extends this argument to cover *Shangshu*, *Yi Zhoushu* and *Guoyu* in one category of “recording speech” style historical text, and speculates how the literary effect of speech-centered character building and political reasoning/debate had an impact on the political culture in

historical overview of the history of *Shangshu* studies in China, that is also a typical example of this type of scholarship. In his discussion of the origin of the *Shangshu* text, Cheng argues that the *Shangshu* sources were the “official governmental documents” on the royal mandate, recorded by the scribes.³²⁷ Liu Qiyu 劉起鈞, who worked with Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 to produce the textual criticism on the received *Shangshu* and argued for an accretional formation of core chapters of the *Shangshu*, also agreed that the core of *Shangshu* writings originated in the tradition of scribes (*shiguan* 史官) who recorded speeches and acts of the rulers at court, a tradition that started from the Xia.³²⁸ Liu understood that there had been significant differences in what early people called “Shu” 書 in the pre-Han times, but, despite these differences, the “Shu” was of the same nature as the historical records of the past, many of whose contents were pure fabrications of much later times.³²⁹

In this dominant academic tradition, scholars now have gradually come to reconsider the issue of the nature and formation of the *Shangshu* text in light of newly discovered manuscripts that contain meaningful parallels to the received text. Critical approaches to viewing the *Shangshu* as a literary composition in combination with the earlier forms of royal records have also been proposed.³³⁰ For example, Sarah Allan argues that the *shu* is “any text that claims to be a contemporaneous record of a speech of an ancient king.”³³¹ Some may be authentic scripts of speeches, but some are entirely fictional reconstructions of what ancient rulers or ministers would have said. In this light, Allan concludes that what is called *shu* is ultimately literary composition in the style of ancient documents. Cheng Hao 程浩 also finds that the Qinghua University

the Pre-Qin period. Chen Chunbao, “Jiyan shishu de duihua xiaoying yu xianQin zhengzhi wenhua: yi *Shangshu*, *Yi Zhoushu*, *Guoyu* wei zhongxin” 記言史書的對話效應與先秦政治文化: 以《尚書》《逸周書》《國語》為中心, *Yangzhou daxue xuebao* 揚州大學學報 19.4 (2015): 54-57. Pan Li 潘莉 examines various writing styles of the *Shangshu* as literary composition in a much more comprehensive manner. See Pan Li, *Shangshu wenti leixing yu chengyin yanjiu* 《尚書》文體類型與成因研究, (Beijing: Zhishi chanquan chubanshe, 2016).

³²⁷ Cheng Yuanmin 程元敏, *Shangshu xueshi shang* 尚書學史上, (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue, 2013), 1-5. Here he even argues that such recording practice existed at court during the Yellow Emperor’s reign, defending the historicity of the earliest period of the received *Shangshu* in the “Yushu” 虞書, containing the earliest records from Sage King Yao.

³²⁸ Liu Qiyu, *Shangshu xueshi* 尚書學史, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 3-11. See also his *Shangshu yuanliu ji chuanben kao* 尚書源流及傳本考, second edition, (Shenyang: Liaoning daxue chubanshe, 1997).

³²⁹ Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu, *Shangshu jiaoshi yilun* 尚書校釋譯論, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005). See also his *Shangshu yanjiu yaolun* 尚書研究要論, (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2007).

³³⁰ Of course, not all scholars agree with this approach. Some scholars understand the excavated manuscripts to accurately show the historical authenticity and reliability of the received *Shangshu* that existed in stable form and content, at latest, during the late Warring States. For this position, see Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Qinghua jian yu *Shangshu*, *Yi Zhoushu* de yanjiu” 清華簡與《尚書》《逸周書》的研究 *Shixueshi yanjiu* 史學史研究 142.2 (2011): 104-108; Liao Mingchun 廖名春, “Qinghua jian yu *Shangshu* yanjiu” 清華簡與《尚書》研究, *Wenshizhe* 文史哲 321.6 (2010): 120-125; Ding Jiandong 丁建東, “Cong chutu wenxian kan Zhou Qin Shu de yuanmao” 從出土文獻看周秦書的原貌, *Shehui kexuejia* 社會科學家 151.11 (2009): 140-143.

³³¹ Sarah Allan, “On *Shu* 書 (Documents) and the Origin of the *Shang shu* 尚書 (Ancient Documents) in Light of Recently Discovered Bamboo Slip Manuscripts,” *Bulletin of SOAS* 75.3 (2012): 547-557.

collection of Chu bamboo slip manuscripts makes us revisit the possibility that the Document-type (*shulei* 書類) texts were literary compositions independently created and circulating in earlier times, and the *Shangshu* and *Yi Zhoushu* were created from “accreted composition” (*chenglei zuocheng* 層累作成) process that continued into Han times. Most excavated document-type texts do not imply the same sequence or titles found in the received *Shangshu* text. Thus, Cheng likewise concludes that there were editorial processes in later times that imposed a specific textual order and title in one coherent textual scheme as one complete book, a process that made each text look as if it were a truthful record of the past.³³²

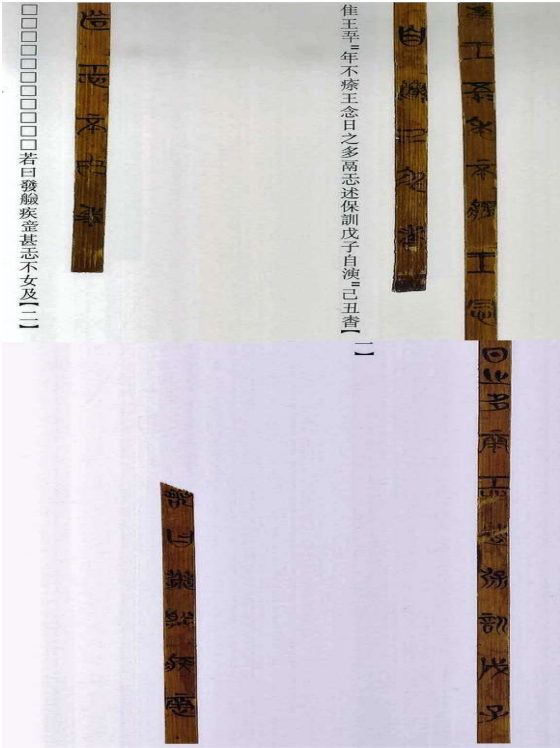
Using the notion of “Episode Texts,” I will approach some *Shangshu* materials as free, imaginative literary writings transmitting a collective memory of the Zhou. This record in a narrative form that has the compositional structure of chained events and explains the sequential relationships between the events is fundamentally a (re-)construction based on particular aesthetic and linguistic conditions. It does not represent the event itself but only represents the event as later interpreted and constructed or reconstructed. Not only that, reflective writing on the past did not remain static, but was edited and re-written to varying degrees. Changing literary representations of the past were not solely meant to deliver the facts of the event itself, but to show an interpreted version of the event that reflects social and cultural needs of the anonymous editors. The production, sharing, and transmission of the *Shangshu* as a compilation of Episode Texts was concerned with the social context of the textual production. It came from the cultural demands of the cultural memory that provides a foundation from which to (re-)constitute the identity of individual and society. That social context was associated with the breakdown of the politico-cultural hegemony of the Western Zhou and the emergence of the identity-construction on the part of individual states released from the Zhou’s cultural hegemony. As the Western Zhou was re-idealized as the morally ordered and well-governed period for all under Heaven, and so as an ideal model for the next hegemon or Central State, Episode Texts about the Western Zhou were produced and shared in diverse Warring State cultures. Thus, the Episode Texts that became *Shangshu* materials reveal the cultural efforts of early intellectuals to reconstruct the past for the present and future.

For example, a Qinghua University bamboo slip manuscript, entitled by collators as “Baouxun” (保訓; Valuable Instructions) provides a clear example of this.³³³

³³² Cheng Hao 程浩, “Gushu chengshu yanjiu zai fansi: yi Qinghua jian Shulei wenxian wei zhongxin” 古書成書研究再反思: 以清華簡書類文獻為中心, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 4 (2016): 132-143. See also his “Cong chutu wenxian kan *Shangshu* de tizai yu fenlei” 從出土文獻看《尚書》的體裁與分類, *Wenyi pinglun* 文藝評論 3 (2017): 30-34; “Cong chutu wenxian kan *Shangshu* de pianming yu xuci” 從出土文獻看《尚書》的篇名與序次, *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊 1 (2018): 113-118.

Although agreeing with Cheng that the *Shangshu* was created from multiple sources following several editorial procedures over long period of time, Xie Weiyang 謝維揚 maintains that the later-edited materials were rooted in historical facts. However, he does not discuss how those texts would have retained the historical truthfulness during those multiple editorial processes. Xie Weiyang, “Gushu chengshu de fuza qingkuang yu chuanshuo shiqi shiliao de pinzhi” 古書成書的複雜情況與傳說時期史料的品質, *Xueshu yuekan* 學術月刊 9 (2014): 127-136.

³³³ For the basic information and transcription of this text, see Li Xueqin 李學勤 ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡 vol.1, (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2011), 142-148. I followed the official transcription provided in the volume, except for the character “Zhong” 中 in the latter half of the passage, I take it as Zhong 衆, which means “many people.”



“Baoxun” slips 1 and 2



“Baoxun” slips 3 and 4

佳（惟）王五十年，不瘵（豫）。王念日之多鬲（歷/過），恐述（墜/失）保（寶）訓。戊子，自演（瀆水）。己丑，昧[爽]□□□□□□□□□□[王] 若曰：“发，朕疾捷甚，恐不女（汝）及训。昔前人連（傳）保（寶），必受之以詞（童/誦）。今朕疾允病，恐弗念（堪）冬（終），女以箸（書）受之。

欽才（哉），勿淫！昔舜舊（久）作小人，親耕于鬲（歷）茅（丘），恐（功）救（求/逯）中（衆）。自詣（稽）畢（厥）志，不諱（違）于庶万耆（姓）之多欲。畢（厥）又改（施/行）于上下遠執（邇），迺易（治）立（位）執（設）詣（稽），測含觴（陰陽）之勿（物/事），咸川（順）不誼（逆）。舜既得中（衆），言不易實寃（變）名，身茲（滋）備（備/慎），惟允（信）。翼（恭）翼不解（懈），用（以）作（興）三降之德。帝堯嘉之，用受畢（厥）緒（業）。³³⁴

In the 50th year of the King [Wen], the King was not at ease. The King realized that too many days had passed, and he feared the loss [of time for] valuable instructions. On the *wuzi* day (25th of the cycle), he washed his face, and the next day, *jichou* day, before dawn, the King said as follows: “Fa, my illness is getting severe, and I fear that you may not receive my instructions. In the past, when people transmitted valuable [instructions], they had to receive them by reciting them. Now, my illness is apparently

³³⁴ A graph-by-graph comparison of the transcriptions of this text by several renowned paleographic scholars is provided in Wang Jinfeng 王進鋒, Kam Foong 甘鳳, and Yu Jia 余佳, “Qinghua jian *Baoxun* jishi” 清華簡《保訓》集釋, 2011, http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=1441 (last access date: November, 16, 2018). The rest of the text is translated below in note 15.

getting worse. I fear that I will end up dying; so you must receive my instructions by writing them down.

“Be discreet, and do not be immoderate. In the past, Shun was a commoner for a long time. He personally ploughed at Liqiu Mountain and made efforts to seek the people with modesty. Understanding the people’s will, he tried not to act against the wishes of the myriad people. He executed [his ruling properly] to the upper and lower [classes], the distant and near, and controlled the office and established examinations. Pondering on the affairs of yin and yang, he always followed [the principle] and did not go against it. After confirming the people’s [will], Shun did not confuse the name and substance in his words, and became more discreet in his action; he was reliable all the time. He was careful enough but not indolent, and thereby the infused three virtues thrived.”

Emperor Yao was pleased with this and therefore granted Shun the task of ruling.

This text, entitled as “Baoxun,” describes the will of King Wen of Western Zhou near his deathbed.³³⁵ As we saw in Chapter Three, according to early Western bronze inscriptions, King Wen had already been re-envisioned as the founder of the Western Zhou in Zhou social memory from the very early period. Although it was King Wu who defeated and conquered the capital and central domain of Shang, i.e., Yin, and therefore made the Zhou the next central state in the northern continent, the early Zhou people believed that the feat was initiated by his father, King Wen. “Baoxun” narrates the moment when King Wen passed instructions to his son, King Wu, on the way to rule that their ancestors had transmitted down the succession of kingship. This description of the historical moment of succession between two heroic kings, King Wen and King Wu, has not been attested in any transmitted texts. Considering the historical significance of writings on the King Wen’s deathbed will to King Wu, it is an interesting question why no surviving received texts mention such an event. We cannot know why the received literature does not include it, but the “Baoxun” text shows that there must have been an intellectual and literary attempt to represent this critical moment to transmit it to the next generations around 300 BCE in the Chu region.

In terms of message, this text stresses that the Zhou was a legitimate successor to the political line of Yao and Shun the Thearchs (*di* 帝). Modeled on Shun’s precedent, Kings Wen and Wu respected and followed what the people wanted from them and, on the basis of their wishes, they founded the Zhou. Here this text reveals an interesting aspect missing from Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, that is, the direction to accept and recognize Yao and Shun as the Zhou’s

³³⁵ This text has been studied and rendered into English by several scholars. See Sarah Allan, *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-Slip Manuscripts*, 304-311; Shirley Chan, “Zhong 中 and Ideal Rulership in the Baoxun 保訓 (Instructions for Preservation) Text of the Qinghua Collection of Bamboo Slip Manuscripts,” *Dao* 11.2(2012).

Li Xueqin explains the historical meaning and significance of this text in his piece, “Lun Qinghua jian *Baoxun* de jige wenti” 論清華簡《保訓》的幾個問題, *Wenwu* 文物 06(2009):76-78. However, it also needs to be mentioned that the authenticity of this text has been questioned in Jiang Guanghui 姜廣輝, *Baoxun shiyi* 《保訓》十疑, *Guanming ribao* 光明日報, May 4th, 2009 (Archived in https://www.Qinghua.edu.cn/publish/news/4215/2011/20110225232249937910533/20110225232249937910533_.htm; last access date: November 16, 2018).

legitimate ancestors. Interestingly, no surviving early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions mention Yao and Shun as Zhou's legitimate ancestors (*qianren* 前人). Also, in another passage that is not seen above,³³⁶ the text links the Zhou to the early days of their principal enemy, the Shang. In early Shang, this instruction from Yao and Shun was observed, and so they also kept Heaven's mandate. "Baoxun" constructs a new lineage of which the Zhou was a part, which began from Yao and Shun, went on to the early Shang through Tang. The Zhou was connected to Yao and to the Shang, and they became legitimate rulers.

As I have discussed in the case of discovered texts such as "Rong Cheng shi" or "Zi Gao" in Chapter Three, Yao, Shun, and Tang represent a new type of accomplished ruler, a mythical or legendary Sage-king in the Warring States period. In this regard, the "Baoxun" text attempts to link the pre-Zhou history to the newly established Sage-king's era and thereby authenticates the history of Western Zhou as a legitimate continuation of the earliest political utopia. Western Zhou history is now renewed and rejuvenated as a legitimate part of the universal history of ideal societies for humanity.

At the same time, however, some Episode Texts were connected to a different, contradictory social desire to reveal the community's own past, releasing itself from the monopoly of the memory of the Western Zhou. The desire to become an individual disconnected from the center was shown in two ways; first in the search for the earlier past before the Zhou, and second in establishing the community's own distinctive origin; and sometimes these two ways were combined. These new, alternative ways of constructing each local community's past independently from the Western Zhou, are attested to in two Qinghua bamboo slip manuscripts, "Chuju" (楚居; "Dwellings of the Chu") and "Yin'gao" (尹誥; "Announcement of Yin").

The Qinghua bamboo slip manuscript that today's scholars entitle "Chuju" exemplifies the pursuit of establishment of the local political entities' own past in their social memory.³³⁷ This "Chuju" text goes on to narrate the origin and development of the Chu people. It specifically lists the locations of the residences of twenty-three Chu leaders and Kings from Ji Lian the progenitor to King Dao 悼王 (r. 401-381 BCE).³³⁸ Notably, the mythical origin story and the long list of royal capitals has not been attested to in any received literature. Scholars believe that this text was

³³⁶ The passage goes as follows:

昔兗(微)段(假/借)中于河，以復(復)有易，有易怀(復/伏)牟(厥)臯(罪)。兗(微)亡萬(害)，迺追(歸)中于河。兗(微)寺(志)弗忘，連(傳)賁(貽)子孙，至于成康(湯)，鬻(祗)备(服)不解(懈)，用受大命。

In the past, Wei (Shangjia Wei; 上甲微; i.e. early founder of the Shang) borrowed people from He Bo 河伯, and thereby repaid You Yi 有易 [nation] and You Yi admitted their guilt. Wei was not harmed and returned the people to He Bo.³³⁶ He remembered but did not forget [this event], and transmitted it to his descendants. From the time of Cheng Tang, they [=the descendants] were discreet and prudent, but not idle, so they received the great mandate.

³³⁷ For the transcription of this text, I follow Li Xueqin ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* vol.1, 180-192.

³³⁸ Since this text ends with the account of King Dao, most scholars view that this text was copied at earliest during the reign of the son of King Dao, King Su 肅王 (r. 380-370 BCE). For more discussion about the nature and the dating of "Chuju," see Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, "Chuju de xingzhi zuozhe ji xizuo niandai" 《楚居》的性質、作者及寫作年代, *Qinghua daxue xuebao* 清華大學學報 26.4 (2011): 29-33.

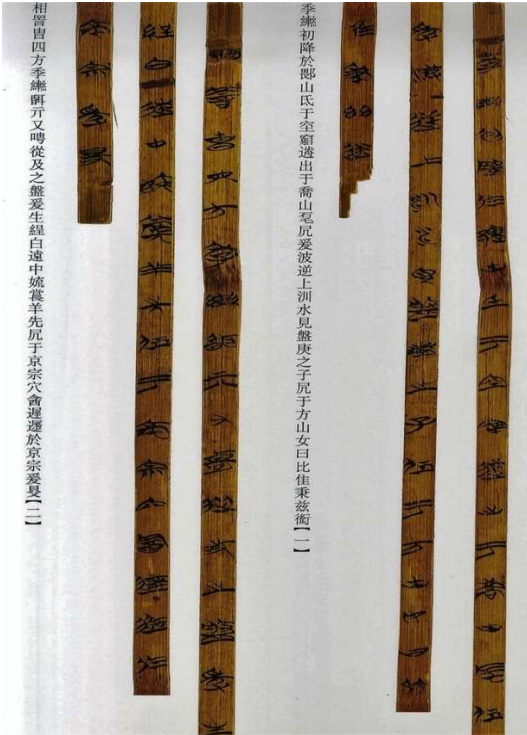
created by Chu scribes, based on Chu's own records and memories of the past, as a quasi-autobiographical writing of the Chu people. Although the narrative, particularly the latter part, focuses on the transfer of the Chu kings' residences, this text attempts to provide a general outlook of the emergence and development of Chu as a state, and in this sense, it can be read as a brief, comprehensive record of the individualized past in the late Warring States.

"Chuju" offers a detailed story about where the Chu people came from, a story unattested to in the received literature. Even the most detailed text that offers a similar royal lineage of Chu, "Chu shijia" (楚世家; "Hereditary Household of the Chu") in the *Shiji* 史記, we find no such an origin story.³³⁹

In this origin story, Chu is described as having first originated from the union of the leader named Ji Lian and a woman named Zhui. According to the "Chu shijia," a descendant of Ji Lian named Yu Xiong 鬻熊 served King Wen of Zhou, and Chu's progenitor appears to precede the heroic Zhou King. But unlike the "Chu shijia," this "Chuju" text does not relate Chu's origin to the Zhou at all but makes it completely independent and self-standing. Here Chu's past is no longer described as local land enfeoffed by Zhou King, like the "Chu shijia" account, but Chu is independent from the beginning up to King Dao.

³³⁹ Chinese scholars have approached the origin story in the "Chuju" mostly from a historical geographical perspective, with the implicit agenda of showing that the Chu, like other politico-ethnic entities, originated from the Central Plain. See Zhang Yan 張龔, "Qinghua jian Chuju yu Chuzu qiyuan" 清華簡《楚居》與楚族起源, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 2 (2014): 81-85; Tang Zhangping 湯漳平, "Yetan Qinghua jian Chuju yu Chuzu zhi yanyuan" 也談《清華簡·楚居》與楚族之淵源, *Zhongzhou xuekan* 中州學刊 6 (2014): 151-156; Xia Mailing 夏麥陵, "Chudu Qinghua jian Chuju de gushi chuanshuo – dui youguan Chuju gushi chuanshuo yanjiu de yidian sikao" 初讀清華簡《楚居》的古史傳說 — 對有關《楚居》古史傳說研究的一點思考, *Zhongguo goujia bowuguan guankan* 中國國家博物館館刊 11 (2013): 48-55.

Li Shoukui 李守奎 understands that this "Chuju" text describe a Chu past that may be divided into three distinct periods: a Pre-Chu (*Chuxian* 楚先) Legendary period; a Chu Ancestral (*Chu xiangong* 楚先公) period; and a Chu Kingdom (*Chuwang* 楚王) period. See Li Shoukui, "Lun Chuju zhong Jilian yu Yu Xiong shiji de chuanshuo tezheng" 論《楚居》中季連與鬻熊事跡的傳說特征, *Qinghua daxue xuebao* 清華大學學報 26.4 (2011): 33-39.



“Chuju” slips 1 and 2



“Chuju” slips 3 and 4

季繚(連)初降於郢(驄)山,氏(抵)于空(穴)窮(窮)。遊(前)出于喬(驕)山,宅(宅)尻(處)爰波。逆上洲水,見盤庚之子,尻(處)于方山,女曰比(妣)佳,秉茲銜(率)【1】相,晉眚四方。季繚(連)聃(聞)元(其)又(有)聘(聘),從,及之盤(泮),爰生縉白(伯)、遠中(仲)。媯(毓)嘗(倘)羊(祥),先尻(處)于京宗。穴禽遲(遲)遷(徙)於京宗,爰旻(得)【2】妣毘(列),逆流哉(載)水,卒(厥)頡(狀)璽(聶)耳,乃妻之,生佷聶(叔)、麗季。麗不從行,渭(潰)自鬻(脅)出,妣毘(列)賓于天,晉(巫)戔(咸)賅(該)元(其)鬻(脅)以楚,氏(抵)【3】今曰楚人。

Ji Lian, at first, descended Mount Gui and arrived at an empty cave. [Then] he went to Jiao Mountain and dwelled at a place named Yuan Pi. He went upstream, met the children of Pan Geng, and settled at Fang Mountain. [There was] a woman named Madam Zhui, who had [the virtues of] graciousness and dignity, excelling [all] women of the Four Corners [i.e., the world] in beauty. Ji Lian was told that she would marry him, so he followed her. He was living at the edge of the water, and then he got Ying Bo and Yuan Zhong. They grew up well and first settled at Jing Zong. Xue Yan moved late to Jing Zong and then met Madam Lie. He went upstream and [met the Madam] who had ears long enough to stretch down to her hands. He got married to her and got Shu Shu and Li Ji. Li was not obedient. He was born out of an armpit of [woman from] Kui region. [Because of the birth,] the madam Lie was nearly invited to Heaven. A shaman sealed up her armpit with a branch of a thorny tree. This is how today's descendants become to be called “People of Thorny Tree” [i.e., Chu].

It is particularly noteworthy that the text narrates how the progenitor Ji Lian met the children of Pan Geng 盤庚 and first settled at Fang Mountain, and there found a woman named Zhui who became the ancestral mother of the Chu people. Pan Geng and his descendants constitute the origin of the maternal blood-line. The name Pan Geng appears to have been already well-known in the Chu culture at the time. Although we do not know exactly what and how much the elites of Chu knew about Pan Geng, the only past leader identified by name in the entire text, we note that the “Chuju” text associates the origin of Chu with Pan Geng’s known legacy. Later sources such as excavated oracle-bone inscriptions, or the received *Shiji*, *Shangshu*, or *Bamboo Annals*, note that Pan Geng was the eighteenth King of Shang who moved the capital to the area called Yin 殷. By contrast, no early Zhou Kings are mentioned in the history of Chu narrated in the text, and the “Chuju’s” mention of Pan Geng at the start of Chu’s origin narrative reveals an intent to link the Chu to the earlier past of the Zhou.³⁴⁰ And the earlier past the “Chuju” links to is a central state that the Zhou conquered, named “Shang,” which already had become significant as a part of early memory at this time.

The “Chuju” text shows how the conception and representation of the past changed over time. In the “Chu Shijia” of the *Shiji*, which was written around 200 years later, a similar royal lineage is offered, but the origin story that this “Chuju” text presents does not appear at all. The “Chu shijia” of the *Shiji* extends the origin of the Chu and locates it in the *Shiji*’s own temporal scheme that starts from the reigns of Five Thearchs (*wudi* 五帝) to which it adds the ancestral lineage of Ji Lian. The “Chu shijia” account starts from the Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi* 黃帝), and Ji Lian only appears in the eighth generation after the Yellow Emperor. Considering that scholars believe this text was created by Chu scribes, based on Chu records and memories of the past, as a quasi-autobiographical writing of the Chu people, the “Chu shujia” version suggests that over two hundred years the temporality of Chu’s origin had shifted to the era of Thearchs.

Thus, the “Chuju” text shows a cultural desire to construct a past that is not affiliated with the Western Zhou, but rather connects itself to an earlier past before the Zhou. This exemplifies a cultural trend related to the creation, sharing, and transmission of a new representation of the past. A related Qinghua bamboo slip manuscript entitled “Yin’gao” exemplifies a social need to concretize the past of previous Central States before the Western Zhou, providing legitimate grounds for local polities to seek their own pasts.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ On this point, Zhong Zhishun 鐘之順 examines the pre-historic relationship between the two cultures, Shang and Chu. See Zhong Zhishun, “You Qinghua jian *Chuju* zailun Chu wenhua yu Shang wenhua de guanxi – jian ji dui Churen shi judi de sikao” 由清華簡《楚居》再論楚文化與商文化的關係 - 兼及對楚人始居地的思考, *Handan xueyuan xuebao* 邯鄲學院學報 2 (2012).

³⁴¹ For the transcription, I followed Li Xueqin ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* vol.1, 132-134.



“Yingao” slips 1 and 2



“Yingao” slips 3 and 4

惟尹既及湯，咸有一德，尹念天之敗西邑夏，曰：夏自絕其有民，亦惟厥眾，非民亡與守邑，厥辟作怨于民。民復(報)之用(以)離心，我捷(疾)滅夏。今后胡不監？執(摯)告湯曰：我克協我友，今惟民遠邦歸志。湯曰：嗚呼，吾何祚(作)于民，俾我眾勿違朕言？摯曰：后其賚之，其有夏之金玉日(實)邑，舍之吉言。乃致眾于亳中邑。

(Yi) Yin and Tang, they shared a unified virtue. (One day) Yin contemplated that Heaven had defeated the Western polity, Xia. He said, “Xia forsook their own people, and they were merely a mass of people. Without a people, who would defend the polity? If a ruler harbored resentment against his people, the people repaid him by distancing their hearts/minds from him. I am worried that this destroyed the Xia. Now your Majesty, why don’t you reflect upon yourself?” Zhi [i.e., Yin] spoke to Tang [again], “I have been able to work with my allies. Now the people who were marginalized in this country have a will to return to you.” Tang said: “Alas, what should I do in order to keep my people from going against my words?” Zhi said: “Your majesty, you should reward them and let them have Xia’s gold and jade in their own polity, and give them auspicious speeches.” Thereupon, he reached out to the mass of people at the central polity of Bo.

In this text, the narrative extends further back in time to when the Shang 商, the former Central State before the Zhou, defeated and conquered the Xia 夏. Time is reimagined in the dialogue between two model figures of political leadership, the Shang founder, Tang, and his royal minister, Yin, both of whom were already established as an iconic Sage king and worthy subject,

respectively.³⁴² This text is modeled on the form and content of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions in which the early heroic Zhou Kings were commemorated for their defeat of the Shang. “Yin’gao” conforms to the literary genre that was later called Announcement (*gao* 誥) in the received *Shangshu* tradition.³⁴³

The Shang, which had been described as the powerful, evil enemy in the Western Zhou’s collective memory as represented in their bronze inscriptions is concretized here. This text recreates in time and space the earliest moment of the Shang using the literary form that the Zhou invented. In doing so, the “Yingao” text shows that the past was being extended further back to the early days of the Shang, before Zhou existed. The Shang that the early Zhou intellectuals described as wicked and untrustworthy becomes an ideal model, while Xia that was replaced by the Shang was an evil state. Following this logic, one might expect that in another story, the Xia may have been envisioned as an ideal model, and time extended further back before the Xia. Thus, the “Yin’gao” text exemplifies a cultural practice in around 300 BCE to imagine the early models of ideal government in an invented time and space.

The signature concept of Zhou political theology, Heaven’s mandate (*tianming* 天命), is put in the mouths of Tang and Yin. The idea of Heaven’s mandate was retro-projected to political events much earlier than the Zhou, no longer applying only to Zhou but serving a universal political theology transcending any specificity of the time and space in the early East Asian continent.³⁴⁴ Also, it is noteworthy that the subject of the announcement shifted from King to minister. In Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, whose form is imitated in this “Yin’gao” text, the subject of the announcement in the King-minister relationship is the King. This suggests that the power and authority of the ministers and subjects were increasingly more important than the early Western Zhou.

³⁴² Unlike Tang, Yin, who is more commonly known in the name of Yi Yin 伊尹 in the received *Shangshu*, was already established as an object of religious admiration for the Shang people. Ritual ceremonies honored him, according to the records of the oracle-bone inscriptions. For more information of the records of Yi Yin in various types of excavated texts, see Huang Tingqi 黃庭頌, *Lun guwenzi cailiao suojian zhi Yi Yin chenghao – lunjian Yinzhi, Yingao zhi Yin, Zhi*, “論古文字材料所見之「伊尹」稱號 - 兼論〈尹至〉、〈尹誥〉之「尹」、「執」(摯)”, 2013 (http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=1866). Last access date: November, 11th, 2018).

Xia Dazhao 夏大兆 and Huang Dekuan 黃德寬 notice that the roles of Yin described in the Shang oracle bone inscriptions and the Qinghua bamboo slip manuscripts are significantly different, and find that the character of Yin as a worthy minister for Tang was a cultural outcome of reinventing historical figures to meet the new social demands of the Warring States period. See Xia Dazhao and Huang Dekuan, “Guanyu Qinghua jian *Yinzhi Yingao* de xingcheng he xingzhi – Cong Yi Yin chuanshuo zai xian Qin chuanshi he chutu wenxian zhong de liubian kaocha” 關於清華簡《尹至》《尹誥》的形成和性質 - 從伊尹傳說在先秦傳世和出土文獻中的流變考察, *Wenshi* 文史 108.3 (2014): 213-224.

³⁴³ Although the genre is specifically termed as *gao*, the compositional structure is consistent with that of a typical Episode Text in the Fuyang “Shuolei zashi” or Mawangdui “Chunqiu shiyu.” This tells us *Shangshu*-type writing was formally close to that of Episode Text and suggests that their emergence and development were also involved in similar cultural projects.

³⁴⁴ Liao Mingchun 廖名春 discusses the issue of the idea of Heaven’s mandate in this “Yin’gao” text in the context of the early intellectual history centering around the *Mengzi* 孟子. See Liao Mingchun, “Qinghua jian *Yingao yanjiu*” 清華簡《尹誥》研究, *Shixueshi yanjiu* 史學史研究 142.2 (2011): 110-115.

Scholars have focused on one particular clause appearing in both the “Yin’gao” text and other excavated and received early texts. The parallel is, “Yin and Tang, they shared a unified virtue” 惟尹既及湯，咸有一德，³⁴⁵ which is the beginning sentence of the “Yingao” text.

古文尚書 咸有一德	禮記 緇衣	郭店 緇衣	上博 緇衣
<p>伊尹既復政厥辟，將告歸，乃陳戒于德。</p> <p>曰：嗚呼！「天難諶」，「命靡常」。常厥德，保厥位；厥德匪常，「九有以亡」。夏王弗克庸德，慢神虐民；皇天弗保，監于萬方，啟迪有命，眷求一德，俾作神主。</p> <p>「惟尹躬暨湯，咸有一德。」克享天心；受天明命，以有九有之師，爰革夏正。</p> <p>非天私我有商，惟天佑于一德；非商求于下民，惟民歸于一德。德惟一，動罔不吉；德二三，動罔不凶。惟吉凶不僭，在人；惟天降災祥，在德。</p>	<p>子曰：「為上可望而知也，為下可述而志也，則君不疑於其臣，而臣不惑於其君矣。尹吉曰：『惟尹躬及湯，咸有壹德。』《詩》云：『淑人君子，其儀不忒。』」…</p> <p>子曰：「小人溺於水，君子溺於口，大人溺於民，皆在其所褻也。夫水近於人而溺人，德易狎而難親也，易以溺人；口費而煩，易出難悔，易以溺人；夫民閉於人，而有鄙心，可敬不可慢，易以溺人。故君子不可以不慎也。《（太）〔大〕甲》曰：『毋越厥命以自覆也。』『若虞機張，往省括于厥度則釋。』《兌命》曰：『惟口起羞，惟甲冑起兵，惟衣裳在</p>	<p>子曰：為上可望而知也，為下可類而志也，則君不疑其臣，臣不惑於君。詩云：淑人君子，其儀不忒。尹誥云：惟尹允及湯，咸有一德。</p>	<p>子曰：為上可望而知也，為下可述而志也，則君不疑其臣，臣不惑於君。詩云：淑人君子，其儀不忒。尹誥云：惟尹允及湯，咸有一德。</p>

³⁴⁵ The phrase “xian you yi de” 咸有一德 is not very clear and thus has produced several different interpretations. Yao Sujie 姚蘇杰 examines the possible meaning of the phrase “yide” in comparison with other received and excavated early texts, concluding that it needs to be understood as “building a trust between the monarch and his subject.” See Yao Sujie, “Qinghua jian Yingao yide lunxi” 清華簡《尹誥》“一德”論析, *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 110.2 (2013): 371-382.

Ding Jiandong 丁建東 argues that already in the Warring States, based on the citation of certain phrases or sentences in excavated manuscripts, there were groups of scholars who practiced glossing and explicating important phrases and sentences in the *Shangshu*-type text and producing texts on their gloss and explication. See Ding Jiandong, “Cong chutu wenxian kan Zhou Qin Shu de yuanmao” 從出土文獻看周秦書的原貌.

<p>Yi Yin, having returned the government into the hands of his sovereign, and being about to announce his retirement, set forth admonitions on the subject of virtue. He said, 'Oh! It is difficult to rely on Heaven;--its appointments are not constant. (But if the sovereign see to it that his virtue be constant, he will preserve his throne; if his virtue is not constant, the nine provinces will be lost by him. The king of Xia could not maintain the virtue (of his ancestors) unchanged, but contemned the spirits and oppressed the people. Great Heaven no (longer) extended its protection to him. It looked out among the myriad regions to give its guidance to one who should receive its favouring appointment, fondly seeking (a possessor of) pure virtue; whom it might make lord of all the spirits. Then there were I, Yin, and Tang, both possessed of pure virtue, and able to satisfy the mind of Heaven. He received (in consequence) the bright favour of Heaven, so as to become possessor of the multitudes of the nine provinces, and proceeded to change Xia's commencement of the year. It was not that Heaven had any private partiality for the lord of Shang; it simply gave its favor to pure virtue. It was not that Shang sought (the allegiance of) the lower people; the people simply turned to</p>	<p>筭，惟干戈省厥躬。』《(太) [大] 甲》曰：『天作孽，可違也；自作孽，不可以逭。』</p> <p>《尹吉》曰：『惟尹躬天，見[敗]于西邑夏，自周有終，相亦惟終。』』</p> <p>The Master said, 'When (the ruler) above can be known by men looking at him, and (his ministers) below can have their doings related and remembered, then the ruler has no occasion to doubt his ministers, and the ministers are not led astray by their ruler. The Announcement of Yin says (Shu, IV, vi, 3), "There were I, Yin, and Tang; both possessed the same pure virtue." It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 3, 3), "In soul so steadfast is that princely man, Whose course for fault or flaw we vainly scan."</p> <p>The Master said, 'A small man is drowned in the water; a superior man is drowned or ruined by his mouth; the great man suffers his ruin from the people - all suffer from what they have played and taken liberties with. Water is near to men, and yet it drowns them. Its nature makes it easy to play with, but dangerous to approach - men are easily drowned in it. The mouth is loquacious and troublesome; for words once uttered there is hardly a place of repentance - men are easily ruined by it. The people, restricted in their</p>		
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<p>pure virtue. Where (the sovereign's) virtue is pure, his enterprises are all fortunate; where his virtue is wavering and uncertain, his enterprises are all unfortunate. Good and evil do not wrongly befall men, but Heaven sends down misery or happiness according to their conduct.³⁴⁶</p>	<p>humanity, have vulgar and rude minds; they should be respected, and should not be treated with contempt - men are easily ruined by them. Therefore the superior man should by all means be careful in his dealings with them. It is said in the Tai Jia (Shu, III, v, sect. 1, 5, 7), "Do not frustrate the charge to me, and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the string, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets go." It is said in the Charge to Yue (III, viii, Sect. 2, 4), "It is the mouth which gives occasion to shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet which give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments (for reward) should not be taken (lightly from) their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself." It is said in the Tai Jia (Shu, III, v, sect. 2, 3), "Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided; but from those brought on by one's self there is no escape." It is said in the Announcement of Yin (Shu, III, v, sect. 1, 3), "I have seen it myself in Xia with its western capital, that when its sovereigns went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same."³⁴⁷</p>		
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³⁴⁶ The translation is taken from James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: with a translation, critical and exegetical notes, prolegomena, and copious indexes*, vol. 4, (Taipei: Wen shih che, 1972), 94-95.

³⁴⁷ James Legge, *The Book of Rites*, reprint, (Beijing and Washington: Intercultural Press, 2013), 276-277.

In the Chu bamboo slip manuscripts excavated at Guodian in 1993 and purchased at a Hong Kong antique market by Shanghai Museum in 1994, the same line appears. Since these texts indicate that the line is a quote from the text titled “Yin’gao,” scholars gave this purchased Qinghua bamboo slip the name of “Yin’gao.” The received counterpart of the Guodian and Shanghai Museum Chu manuscripts, which is now a chapter entitled “Ziyi,” of the *Liji*, renders the title as “Yinji,” not “Yin’gao.” “Ziyi” has another quote from the same text, which is identified as “Yinji.”³⁴⁸ Considering that the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts render it as “Yin’gao,” it is likely that the *Liji*’s citation of its title was mistaken. If it was not mistaken, then, based on the two quotes in the “Ziyi” in comparison with the “Yingao,” the “Yinji” and “Yin’gao” had similar content. It means that in the creation of the “Ziyi,” there was a text called “Yinji” widely circulating in the culture.³⁴⁹

Interestingly, this parallel line is the title of “Xian you yi de” 咸有一德 in a version of *Shangshu* that was written in ancient script, thus being called the “Ancient Script Shangshu” (*guwen shangshu* 古文尚書). This has rekindled a long-standing debated over the authenticity of *Ancient Script Shangshu*. The collators of Qinghua University bamboo slip manuscripts claim that the “Yingao” is a proof that the received “Xian you yi de” is a forged text, because the contents are completely different, except for one shared line.³⁵⁰ After the publication of the Qinghua manuscripts, many scholars have joined the discussion and examined the nature of “Yin’gao” text, particularly in relation to the transmitted “Xian you yi de.” Scholars’ positions are divided into several groups. First, as do the collators, some scholars view the “Yin’gao” as proving the inauthenticity of the “Xian you yi de” and the *Ancient Script Shangshu*. For example, Yu Wan-li 虞萬里 studies the textual relationship between “Yin’gao” and “Xian you yi de.” Assuming a direct relationship between the two, he argues that the “Xian you yi de” is a forgery or a radical re-writing of a text similar to “Yin’gao” by Kong Anguo 孔安國 (156-74 BCE) and his students.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ The other quote from the “Yinji” in the “Ziyi” of *Liji* may be compared to the line of “Yin’gao” as follows:

尹誥	禮記 緇衣
尹念天之敗西邑夏，曰：夏自絕其有民，亦惟厥眾。	《尹吉》曰：『惟尹躬天，見[敗]于西邑夏，自周有終，相亦惟終。』
Yin contemplated that Heaven had defeated the Western polity, Xia, and said, “Xia forsook their own people, and they were merely a mass of people.”	It is said in the “Announcement of Yin,” “I have seen it myself in Xia, western polity, that when its sovereigns went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same.”

Unlike the “Yin’gao” where the Xia is said to destroy itself by turning away from its own people, the “Ziyi” identifies the Zhou as the agent that ends the Western polity Xia. Such a change in the “Ziyi” links the Zhou as ideal rulers based on the will of Heaven and the people. Despite the significant difference between the two, the “Ziyi” quote shows that it was actually referring to a text that was highly similar to the “Yin’gao.”

³⁴⁹ For the close textual comparison between the received and excavated “Ziyi” parallel text, see Edward Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*, (Albany, NY: The State University of New York Press, 2006). Here Shaughnessy convincingly shows that the received “Ziyi” was an outcome of textual reconstruction from earlier manuscripts.

³⁵⁰ Li Xueqin ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* vol.1, 132.

³⁵¹ Yu Wanli 虞萬里, “You Qinghua jian Yingao lun Guwen Shangshu Xian you yi de zhi xingzhi” 由清華簡《尹誥》論《古文尚書·咸有一德》之性質, *Shilin* 史林 2 (2012): 32-45.

Du Yong 杜勇 shares the opinion that “Yin’gao” proves the “Xian you yi de” is a late forged text.³⁵² On the contrary, Huang Huaixin 黃懷信 thinks that the “Yin’gao” text convincingly shows that “Xian you yi de” text existed in the late Warring States, despite the significant difference in content.³⁵³

On the other hand, other scholars approach this issue more cautiously. For them, this is not an issue of whether the *Guwen Shangshu* is authentic or not, but only a case study to view an early stage of the formation of the *Shangshu*. For example, Zhang Bing 張兵 claims that we cannot establish a specific textual relationship between the “Yingao” and “Xian you yi de” because, except for one parallel sentence, they are completely different in content.³⁵⁴ Yang Shanqun 楊善群 also opposes the position that the “Xian you yi de” is a forged text based on the “Yingao,” suggesting that the two texts are related but show different narratives of the same event.³⁵⁵ Liu Guangsheng 劉光勝 approaches this issue from the perspective of the sources for the compilation of the received *Shangshu*. He argues that “Yin’gao” exemplifies how the writings in the *Shangshu* were taken from the same source.³⁵⁶

As the scholars in the latter group show, the “Yin’gao” text shows how the narrative reflection upon the earlier days of Shang was popularly practiced in the Warring States by reimagining the Sage Kings and their worthy ministers in early days before Western Zhou. The “Yin’gao” text was one of the numerous Episode Texts produced and shared to reconstruct the past according to these Warring States priorities. Thus, it does not necessarily disprove the authenticity of the “Xian you yi de,” which is another Episode Text that sought to recreate the past based on the characters Yin and Tang already well-established in the late Warring State period. It also suggests that the textual distinction and implicit intellectual struggle between the Modern Script version (*jinwen* 今文) *Shangshu* and Ancient Script *Shangshu* was ultimately based on the selection and exclusion of Episode Texts that were extensively produced and shared as part of the process of producing memories of the earlier days and of Zhou. Although it appeared to be an authentic representation of what early people called “shu,” the struggle was ultimately not about

³⁵² Du Yong 杜勇, “Qinghua jian *Yingao* yu wanshu *Xian you yi de* bianwei” 清華簡《尹誥》與晚書《咸有一德》辨偽, *Tianjin shifan daxue xuebao* 天津師範大學學報 222.3 (2012): 20-28.

³⁵³ Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, “You Qinghua jian *Yingao* kan *Guwen Shangshu*” 由清華簡《尹誥》看《古文尚書》, *Ludong daxue xuebao* 魯東大學學報, 29.6 (2012): 66-69.

³⁵⁴ Zhang Bing 張兵, “Qinghua jian *Yingao* yu *Xian you yi de* xiangguan wenxian shuli ji qi guanxi kaolun” 清華簡《尹誥》與《咸有一德》相關文獻梳理及其關係考論, *Jinan daxue xuebao* 濟南大學學報 26.1 (2016): 27-30.

³⁵⁵ Yang Shanqun 楊善群, “Qinghua jian *Yingao* yifa *Guwen Shangshu* zhenwei zhi zheng – *Xian you yi de* pianming, shidai yu tilie bianxi” 清華簡《尹誥》引發古文《尚書》真偽之爭 - 《咸有一德》篇名、時代與體例辨析, *Xuexi yu tansai* 學習與探索 206.9 (2012): 141-145.

³⁵⁶ Liu Guangsheng 劉光勝, “Tongyuan yitu: Qinghua jian shulei wenxian yu rujia *Shangshu* xitong de xueshu fenye” 同源異途: 清華簡《書》類文獻與儒家《尚書》系統的學術分野, *Zhongguo gaoxiao shehui kexue* 中國高校社會科學 2 (2017): 116-128.

textual authenticity, but more about the cultural efforts to brand certain texts as true representations of the past.

Therefore, the three discovered Episode Texts, “Baoxun,” “Chuju,” and “Yingao” show three different strategies to cope with the issue of how to re-write the past after the breakdown of the Western Zhou, and three approaches to the construction and legitimation of the identity of states and societies over time. The “Baoxun” chooses to link the fallen Western Zhou to the extended glorious past of the Sage-Kings that was emerging and developing in the Warring States cultural discourses on the past. In this way, it reconstructs a comprehensive universal history of the god-like ruling heroes, called Thearchs (*di* 帝), a term that only applied to the High God in the Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, and locates the Western Zhou as a legitimate successor to the place of the Center of the universe. The editors of the received *Shangshu* accepted this conception of the past, which starts from the time of Yao and Shun and extended through the Western Zhou. Along with the cultural canonization of the *Shangshu* in subsequent ones, this conception became established as an authentic representation of the early days of East Asian civilization.

The “Chuju” and “Yin’gao” both of which involve constructing an alterity to Western Zhou show different paths on this issue. “Chuju” attempts to link the community to its own earlier past without intervention by the Zhou. By linking its community to earlier ones, the “Chuju” text constructs a political legitimacy separate from that of the Zhou. “Yin’gao” also invents a past prior to the Western Zhou. This new past was not attested in the Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions, as we have seen in Chapter Three. In this new radical reimagination of the past, the Zhou no longer dominate or monopolize, opening up the possibility that a local political community could associate itself with a past unmediated by the Zhou. These examples show multiple cultural attempts to save the past from the fall of the Western Zhou and thereby authorize their own community by linking them to the differently constructed past. These cultural efforts were crystallized into the production of Episode Texts that later became the main sources for the formation of the *Shangshu*.

I will now discuss how distinct Episode Texts and their corresponding social memories existed and multiplied, based on an example of Qinghua Chu bamboo slip “Yueming” text. I will then examine how they became gradually established into a complete text, with the other example of the Qinghua Chu bamboo slip “Jinteng” parallel manuscript.

Diversification of Memory of the Past: A Case of Story and Episode Text of Fu Yue

First, I will examine how elements of cultural memory were written down in the form of Episode Texts, and discuss how this process was related to the formation of *Shangshu*. The Qinghua bamboo slip manuscript commonly called “Yueming” 說命 will provide a case study.³⁵⁷ This manuscript is not a single text but a series of three separate Episode Texts, all of which feature

³⁵⁷ For the photographic images and the transcriptions of the text, I mainly use Li Xueqin 李學勤 ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡 vol. 3, (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2013).

Zhang Yan 張岩 claims that the Qinghua “Yueming” and “Yin’gao” texts are forgeries drawn from several received texts and collated by modern scholars. See Zhang Yan, “Qinghua jian Xian you yi de Yueming zhenwei kaobian” 清華簡《咸有一德》《說命》真偽考辨, *Shandong qingnian zhengzhi xueyuan xuebao* 山東青年政治學院學報 173.31.1 (Jan.2015): 119-137.

the dialogs between King Gaozhong 高宗 of the Shang 商, Wu Ding 武丁 (r. 1250–1192 BCE), and his worthy Chancellor, Fu Yue 傅說. Neither the name nor a character similar to Fu Yue has been confirmed in Wu Ding period Shang oracle-bone inscriptions. Scholars suspect that the minister named Hou Que 侯雀 in the oracle bone inscriptions is likely to be Fu Yue.

Stories about Fu Yue and Wu Ding may be found in received texts such as “Chuyu shang” 楚語 上 of the *Guoyu*, “Shangxian zhong and xia” 尚賢 中; 下 of the *Mozi* 墨子, “Gaozi xia” 告子 下 of the *Mengzi* 孟子, “Dazhongshi” 大宗師 of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, and “Feixiang” 非相 of the *Xunzi* 荀子.³⁵⁸ However, considering that Fu Yue had not been identified in oracle bone or bronze inscriptions, why suddenly Fu Yue became an object of story in the post-Warring State texts is unclear. It may be the same cultural phenomenon seen with Tang and Yi Yin in the Qinghua “Yingao” manuscript. Here King Gao is to Fu Yue what Tang is to Yi Yin. The only difference is who advises whom; in the “Yinji” or “Yin’gao,” Yi Yin advises Tang, suggesting the importance of a worthy minister at court, whereas it is the King who advises in the “Fu Yue zhi ming” text. This Qinghua manuscript “Yueming” shows how the cultural memory of the time before Zhou was produced and shared in society.



Like the “Jinteng” parallel manuscript, which I will examine in the next section, these three serial manuscripts, commonly called Qinghua “Yueming,” bears the title on its back “Fu Yue zhi ming” (傅說之命; “Charges to Fu Yue”). It is worth noting that the contents of the three texts are entirely distinct, not having even one single parallel line. Even if the contents were different, the texts had the same title.³⁵⁹ Here we need to understand two things: first, these same titles do not show any sign that they should be read as a tripartite single text. Although the Qinghua collators rendered these texts to be read as one coherent and consistent set of texts by labeling them as Upper (*shang* 上); Middle (*zhong* 中); and Lower (*xia* 下), the three texts do not have any internal evidence to suggest that they are inter-related as one connected text. These three textual units have significant differences in form and content. This may well bring up questions about the practice of forced textual linkage.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁸ Li Xueqin argues that we can find more lost lines and stories of the “Yueming” on Fu Yue in the recently excavated and purchased bamboo slip manuscripts such as the Guodian “Chengzhi wenzhi” 成之聞之 text and the Shanghai Museum Collection “Jing jian nei zhi” 竟建內之 text. See Li Xueqin, “Shilun Chu Jian Zhong de Yueming yiwen” 試論楚簡中的《說命》佚文, *Yantai daxue xuebao* 煙臺大學學報 21.2 (2008): 89-90. These are good examples to show how widely the character of Fu Yue was narrativized and culturally reflected as an icon of the Shang rulership.

³⁵⁹ Another well-known example for this textual and cultural phenomenon in the received literature is the three tripartite core chapters of the *Mozi* 墨子. However, even in the tripartite *Mozi* core chapters, each unit of text has multiple parallels with the other two units. On this point, the Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming” is different from the *Mozi* core chapters, showing that entirely different texts can bear the same title.

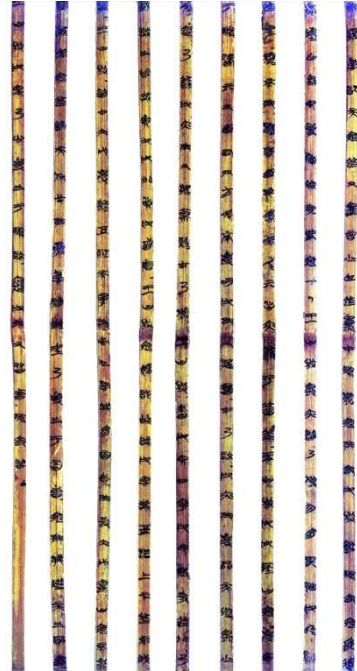
³⁶⁰ For example, Liao Mingchun 廖名春 argues that, based on the differences between of names of locations and different ways of confirming dreams, the text entitled “Yueming zhong” 說命 中, should not be read as a sequel to the “Yueming shang” 說命 上. Liao concludes that if they are not necessarily related to each other, there is no justification for relating the three texts in the traditional way as “Upper,” “Middle,” and “Lower.” See Liao Mingchun,



Fu Yue zhi ming 1



Fu Yue zhi ming 2



Fu Yue zhi ming 3

The forced textual linkage is problematic not only because it hinders us from seeing the nature of texts, their relationship, and their background in terms of socio-cultural practices of text production and sharing, but also because it may falsely legitimize connections to the received literature. The collators' decision to render this way was based on the parallel with a series of three texts featuring the figures of King Wu Ding and Fu Yue the Chancellor in one edition of the received *Shangshu*, commonly known as Mei Ze's 梅賾 (fl. 4th cent.) "Ancient Script" *Shangshu* (*guwen shangshu* 古文尚書) that Mei Ze claimed to discover and presented to the Emperor Yuan of Jin 晉元帝 (r. 318-323) as a copy of Kong Anguo's lost compilation. Scholars in Ming-Qing periods, most notably Mei Zhuo 梅鷟 (ca. 1483-1553 CE) and Yan Ruoqu 閻若璩 (1636-1704 CE), have claimed Mei Ze's "Ancient Script" *Shangshu* was forged. The Qinghua collators claim that their Qinghua "Fu Yue zhi ming" manuscript is another important piece of evidence to prove Mei Ze's "Ancient Script" *Shangshu* was forged.³⁶¹ However, the title of the relevant texts in the "Ancient

"Qinghua jian *Yueming zhong de neirong yu mingming*" 清華簡《說命中》的內容與命名, *Yangzhou daxue xuebao* 揚州大學學報 18.4 (2014): 84-86. It is possible to note that the three received texts of "Yueming" also have heterogeneity and uniqueness in form and content, which may prevent us from identifying them as a complete set of texts.

Cheng Hao 程浩 also considers several points of incongruence between the three Qinghua manuscripts. Cheng Hao, "Qinghua jian *Yueming yanjiu santi*" 清華簡《說命》研究三題, *Gudai wenming* 古代文明 8.3 (2014): 54-59. However, Cheng approves these points as significant indicators of these Qinghua texts' preserving the manuscript originality from the Yin-Shang period.

³⁶¹ Following Li Xueqin, many Chinese scholars have argued that the Qinghua "Fu Yue zhi ming" manuscripts provide good evidence to disprove the authenticity of the "Ancient Script" *Shangshu* "Yueming" chapters. For example, see Du Yong 杜勇, "Cong Qinghua jian *Yueming kan gushu de fansi*" 從清華簡《說命》看古書的反思, *Tianjin shifan daxue xuebao* 天津師範大學學報 229 (2013.4): 1-7; Cai Lili 蔡麗利 and Tan Shengli 譚生力, "Qinghua jian *Yueming xiangguan wenti chutan*" 清華簡《說命》相關問題初探, *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究學刊

Script” *Shangshu* was consistently only “Yueming,” not “Fu Yue zhi ming,” from the early period.³⁶² Also, as I will show below, other early texts that explicitly state that they were citing from the “Yueming” also consistently call the text only “Yueming,” not “Fu Yue zhi ming.”

Importantly enough, as with the popularity of the story of Fu Yue, the text entitled as “Yueming” seems to have been recognized as authoritative in early times. For example, several chapters of the *Liji* 禮記, such as “Wenwang shizi” (文王世子; “When King Wen was Crown Prince”), “Xueji” (學記; “Record of Learning”), and “Ziyi” (緇衣; “Black Robes”), have explicit citations from a text entitled “Duiming” 兑命.³⁶³

<p>文王世子</p>	<p>是故聖人之記事也，慮之以大，愛之以敬，行之以禮，修之以孝養，紀之以義，終之以仁。是故古之人一舉事而眾皆知其德之備也。古之君子，舉大事，必慎其終始，而眾安得不喻焉？《兌命》曰：「念終始典於學。」</p> <p>The above statements show how the Sage bore in mind the various steps (of this ceremony). He anxiously thought of it as its greatness deserved; his love for the aged was blended with reverence; he carried the thing through with attention to propriety; he adorned it with his filial nourishing; he connected with it the exhibition of the legitimate distinctions (of rank); and concluded it with (the manifestation of) benevolence. In this way the ancients, in the exhibition of this one ceremony, made all know how complete was their virtue. Among them, when they undertook any great affair, they were sure to carry it through carefully from</p>
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2 (2014.3): 32-35; and Wang Yong 王永, “Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo Zhujian yu Guwen Shangshu Yueming pian wenti bijiao” 《清華大學藏戰國竹簡》與《古文尚書》《說命》篇文體比較, *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究學刊 2 (2015.3): 19-21.

However, as I will discuss more in detail below, the received “Yueming” text needs to be understood in the context of similar stories and texts reproduced in different contexts for different purposes. This does not necessarily mean that they were forged or inauthentic. There is no useful role for a concept of absolute original in manuscript culture that relies on reproduced copies.

³⁶² Some scholars view the Qinghua manuscripts as of inferior quality compared to received texts like the “Yueming.” For example, Yang Shanqun 楊善群 believes that the Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming” is a Warring States version of the original “Yueming” in the “Ancient Script” *Shangshu*. By “Warring States version,” Yang means that the Qinghua manuscripts were distorted versions that contain strange and vulgar speech by Fu Yue, an unrealistic speech by the king, and with lines parallel to other received texts removed. See Yang Shanqun, “Qinghua jian *Yueming* xingzhi tantao” 清華簡《說命》性質探討, *Qinghai shifan daxue xuebao* 青海師範大學學報 39.4 (2017): 75-79; also his “Qinghua jian *Yueming* kaolun” 清華簡《說命》考論, *Huaiyin shifan daxue xuebao* 淮陰師範大學學報 36.1 (2014): 67-71. However, textual quality does not necessarily correlate to dating.

Although Xie Weiyang 謝維揚 also approaches the Qinghua manuscripts from the perspective of the authenticity of the received “Yueming,” he finds that the Qinghua parallel text is concerned with the textual practice of storytelling about the past, a practice to which he applies the label “Speech-type” (*yulei* 語類) document. See Xie Weiyang, “You Qinghua jian *Yueming* sanpian lun gushu chengshu yu wenben xingcheng ersan shi” 由清華簡《說命》三篇論古書成書與文本形成二三事, *Shanghai daxue xuebao* 上海大學學報 33.6 (2016): 24-32.

³⁶³ For a detailed examination of parallels between the received “Yueming” and other early texts, see Cheng Wei 程薇, “Chuanshi guwen *Shangshu Yueming* pian chongshen” 傳世古文尚書《說命》篇重審, *Zhongyuan wenhua yanjiu* 中原文化研究 1(2015): 122-128; Hao Sutong 郝蘇彤, “Cong Qinghua jian yu chuanshi wenxian duibi tan *Yueming* zaoqi liuzhuan” 從清華簡與傳世文獻對比談《說命》早期流傳, *Jiangnan daxue xuebao* 江南大學學報 16.5 (2017): 38-44. Examining parallels, both authors reaches the conclusion that the received “Yueming” is a forged text. For Hao, the “Yueming” appears to have accreted throughout the Eastern Han.

	beginning to end, so that it was impossible for any not to understand them. As it is said in the “Yue Ming,” “The thoughts from first to last should be fixed on (this) learning.” ³⁶⁴	
	鄭玄注 Zheng Xuan’s comment	兌當為說。《說命》，《書》篇名，殷高宗之臣傳說之所作。 “Dui” should be read as “Yue.” “Yueming” is the title of a chapter of the <i>Shu</i> . It is written by Fu Yue who was a vassal of King Gaozhong of Yin. ³⁶⁵
學記	玉不琢，不成器；人不學，不知道。是故古之王者建國君民，教學為先。《兌命》曰：「念終始典于學。」其此之謂乎！ The jade uncut will not form a vessel for use; and if men do not learn, they do not know the way (in which they should go). On this account the ancient kings, when establishing states and governing the people, made instruction and schools a primary object; as it is said in the Charge to Yue, 'The thoughts from first to last should be fixed on learning.' ³⁶⁶	
	鄭玄注 Zheng Xuan’s comment	兌當為說，字之誤也。高宗夢傳說，求而得之，作《說命》三篇，在《尚書》，今亡。 “Dui” should be read as “Yue.” It was a scribal error. King Gaozhong dreamed of Fu Yue, sought and got him, and composed three chapters of “Yueming.” It was in the <i>Shangshu</i> , but now lost.
	雖有嘉肴，弗食，不知其旨也；雖有至道，弗學，不知其善也。故學然後知不足，教然後知困。知不足，然後能自反也；知困，然後能自強也，故曰：教學相長也。《兌命》曰：「學學半。」其此之謂乎！ However fine the viands be, if one do not eat, he does not know their taste; however perfect the course may be, if one do not learn it, he does not know its goodness. Therefore when he learns, one knows his own deficiencies; when he teaches, he knows the difficulties of learning. After he knows his deficiencies, one is able to turn round and examine himself; after he knows the difficulties, he is able to stimulate himself to effort. Hence it is said, 'Teaching and learning help each other;' as it is said in the “Charge to Yue,” “Teaching is the half of learning.”	
	大學之教也時，教必有正業，退息必有居。學，不學操縵，不能安弦；不學博依，不能安《詩》；不學雜服，不能安禮；不興其藝，不能樂學。故君子之於學也，藏焉，修焉，息焉，游焉。夫然，故安其學而親其師，樂其友而信其道。是以雖離師輔而不反也。《兌命》曰：「敬孫務時敏，厥修乃來。」其此之謂乎！ In the system of teaching at the Great College, every season had its appropriate subject; and when the pupils withdrew, and gave up their lessons (for the day), they were required to continue their study at home. If a student do not learn (at college) to play in tune, he cannot quietly enjoy his lutes; if he do not learn extensively the figures of poetry, he cannot quietly enjoy the odes; if he do not learn the varieties of dress, he cannot quietly take part in the different ceremonies; if he do not acquire the various accomplishments, he cannot take delight in learning. Therefore a student of talents and virtue pursues his studies, withdrawn in college from all besides, and devoted to their cultivation, or occupied with them when retired from it, and enjoying himself. Having attained to this, he rests quietly in his studies and seeks the company of his teachers; he finds pleasure in his friends, and has all confidence in their course. Although he should be separated from his teachers and helpers, he will not act contrary to the course; as it is said in the “Charge to Yue,” “Maintain a reverent humility, and strive to be constantly earnest. In such a case the cultivation will surely come.”	
	子曰：「小人溺於水，君子溺於口，大人溺於民，皆在其所褻也。夫水近於人而溺人，德易狎而難親也，易以溺人；口費而煩，易出難悔，易以溺人；夫民聞於人，而有鄙心，可敬不可慢，易以溺人。故君子不可以不慎也。《太甲》曰：『毋越厥命以	

³⁶⁴ James Legge, *The Book of Rites*, 98.

³⁶⁵ The translations of Zheng Xuan’s comments in this table are mine.

³⁶⁶ The translations of the passages from the “Xueji” are from James Legge, *The Book of Rites*, 167-168.

<p>緇衣</p>	<p>自覆也；若虞機張，往省括于厥度則釋。』《兌命》曰：『惟口起羞，惟甲冑起兵，惟衣裳在笥，惟干戈省厥躬。』《太甲》曰：『天作孽，可違也；自作孽，不可以逭。』《尹吉》曰：『惟尹躬天，見於西邑；夏自周有終，相亦惟終。』』</p> <p>The Master said, 'A small man is drowned in the water; a superior man is drowned or ruined by his mouth; the great man suffers his ruin from the people - all suffer from what they have played and taken liberties with. Water is near to men, and yet it drowns them. Its nature makes it easy to play with, but dangerous to approach - men are easily drowned in it. The mouth is loquacious and troublesome; for words once uttered there is hardly a place of repentance - men are easily ruined by it. The people, restricted in their humanity, have vulgar and rude minds; they should be respected, and should not be treated with contempt - men are easily ruined by them. Therefore the superior man should by all means be careful in his dealings with them. It is said in the "Tai Jia" (Shu, III, v, sect. 1, 5, 7), "Do not frustrate the charge to me, and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the string, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets go." It is said in the "Charge to Yue" (III, viii, Sect. 2, 4), "It is the mouth which gives occasion to shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet which give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments (for reward) should not be taken (lightly from) their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself." It is said in the "Tai Jia" (Shu, III, v, sect. 2, 3), "Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided; but from those brought on by one's self there is no escape." It is said in the "Announcement of Yin" (Shu, III, v, sect. 1, 3), "I have seen it myself in Xia with its western capital, that when its sovereigns went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same."³⁶⁷</p>
<p>鄭玄注 Zheng Xuan's comment</p>	<p>兌當為說，殷高宗之臣傳說也。作書以命高宗，《尚書》篇名也。 “Dui” should be read as “Yue,” which is Fu Yue the vassal of King Gaozhong of Yin. He composed this writing and thereby commanded King Gaozhong. It is a chapter title of the <i>Shangshu</i>.</p>
	<p>子曰：「南人有言曰：『人而無恒，不可以為卜筮。』古之遺言與？龜筮猶不能知也，而況於人乎？《詩》云：『我龜既厭，不我告猶。』《兌命》曰：『爵無及惡德，民立而正事，純而祭祀，是為不敬；事煩則亂，事神則難。』《易》曰：『不恒其德，或承之羞。恒其德，婦人吉，夫子凶。』』</p> <p>The Master said, 'The people of the south have a saying that "A man without constancy cannot be a diviner either with the tortoise-shell or the stalks." This was probably a saying handed down from antiquity. If such a man cannot know the tortoise-shell and stalks, how much less can he know other men? It is said in the <i>Book of Poetry</i> (II, v, ode 1, 3), "Our tortoise-shells are wearied out, and will not tell us anything about the plans." The "Charge to Yue" says (Shu, IV, Viii, sect. 2, 5, 11), "Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices. (If they be), how can the people set themselves to correct their ways? If this be sought merely by sacrifices, it will be disrespectful (to the spirits). When affairs come to be troublesome, there ensues disorder; when the spirits are served so, difficulties ensue." It is said in the <i>Book of Changes</i>, "When one does not continuously maintain his virtue, some will impute it to him as a disgrace - (in the position indicated in the Hexagram.) When one does maintain his virtue continuously (in the other position indicated), this will be fortunate in a wife, but in a husband evil."</p>

In the “Xueji” and particularly “Ziyi,” the writing transcribed as “Duiming” is being cited along with other authoritative texts in the culture, such as *Shi* 詩 and *Yi* 易. Also, in these *Liji* chapters, there is no sign that the “Duiming” text is divided into several parts. In the Eastern Han commentary to those chapters in the *Liji*, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200 CE) glosses the character *dui* as *yue* 說, and understands that it is a chapter of the *Shangshu*, and claims first it was originally made of three chapters. According to the *Liji* chapters and Zheng Xuan, the “Yueming” text was already widely accepted as a text of authority in the culture before the second to third century BCE when Zheng was active. In Zheng Xuan’s time, the text of authority had been already lost. But if it had such as high a cultural status as the *Shi* and *Yi*, it is not unreasonable to suspect that many people were engaged in the study of this text, which also means that they most likely participated

³⁶⁷ The translations of the passages from the “Xueji” are from James Legge, *The Book of Rites*, 277-279.

in editing and reproducing the text in competing traditions, resulting in the dissemination of the text in different versions and editions including one of three chapters, and there should have been a cultural need to recover or remake the text after it became lost.

In a work known as “Postscript to the *Shangshu*” (*shuxu* 書序), attributed to Kong Anguo (d. first century BCE), a title is recorded as being a part of the “Ancient Script” *Shangshu*.³⁶⁸ Here the title is “Yueming,” not “Fu Yue zhi ming.” In the “Postscript,” the text of “Yueming” was recorded as comprised of three chapters. Thus, by the times of the commentary by Zheng Xuan and of “Postscript,” the “Yueming” text was known as a legitimate part of the *Shangshu* and as comprised of three distinct texts.³⁶⁹ However, another edition reconstructed in Modern Script (*jinwen* 今文) by Fu Sheng 伏生 (fl. third to second century BCE) does not contain a text by this title at all. For Fu Sheng, the “Yueming” was not a legitimate part of the *Shangshu*. This tells us that there was another view that disagrees with the composers and editors of the *Liji* chapters, of the “Postscript,” and Zheng Xuan that recognized and authorized the “Yueming.”

One of Zheng Xuan’s comments on the nature of the “Yueming” contradicts that of the Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming” text. Zheng Xuan said, “[Fu Yue] composed this writing and thereby commanded King Gaozhong” 作書以命高宗, but the Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming” only shows King Gaozhong’s command to Fu Yue, not vice versa. This comment by Zheng Xuan matches the received “Yueming” only. The table below implies that the text called “Duiming” must have been different from the “Yueming” to a certain degree.

文王世子	《兌命》曰：「念終始典於學。」	說命 下	惟數學半，念終始典于學，厥德脩罔覺。
學記	《兌命》曰：「念終始典于學。」		惟數學半，念終始典于學，厥德脩罔覺。
	《兌命》曰：「學學半。」		惟數學半，念終始典于學，厥德脩罔覺。
	《兌命》曰：「敬孫務時敏，厥修乃來。」		遜志務時敏，厥修乃來。
緇衣	《兌命》曰：『惟口起羞，惟甲冑起兵，惟衣裳在笥，惟干戈省厥躬。』	說命 中	惟口起羞，惟甲冑起戎，惟衣裳在笥，惟干戈省厥躬。
	《兌命》曰：『爵無及惡德，民立而正事，純而祭祀，是為不敬；事煩則亂，事神則難。』		爵罔及惡德，惟其賢。慮善以動，動惟厥時。有其善，喪厥善；矜其能，喪厥功。惟事事，乃其有備，有備無患。無啟寵納侮，無恥過作非。惟厥攸居，政事惟醇。黷予祭祀，時謂弗欽。禮煩則亂，事神則難。

³⁶⁸ Ruyue He and Michael Nylan argue that there was no such postface (*xu* 序) to the *Shu* during pre-Han and Han times. See Ruyue He and Michael Nylan, “On a Han-era Postface (*Xu* 序) to the Documents,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 75.2 (2015): 377-426.

³⁶⁹ The “Postscript” says: “The King Gaozhong dreamt of employing Yue. He sent all his vassals to attract and pursue him in the wilds, and got him at the field of Fuyan, and he composed three texts of ‘Yueming’” 高宗夢得說，使百工營求諸野，得諸傅巖，作說命三篇。

Besides the fact that the *Liji*'s citation of the "Duiming" does not suggest that the cited text was divided into three parts, the second set of parallels between the "Ziyi" and "Yueming zhong" shows that in the text entitled "Yueming," there were different instructions about the topic that a noble title must not be given to those who have evil virtue 爵無及惡德. This suggests that there must have been more than two distinct versions of the "Yueming" text between the time of "Ziyi" and received "Yueming."

Interestingly, among the above examples, there is no citation from "Yueming shang" (說命上; Upper Yueming). Unlike the other two received "Yueming" chapters, where Fu Yue's advice to King Gaozhong comprises most of the contents, the received "Yueming shang" is more like a self-contained short story, as in an Episode Text. It tells readers a complete story that the King was just enthroned but kept silent for fear of taking over as ruler, dreamt of a man who could assist him, found such a man named Fu Yue, appointed him as Chancellor (*xiang* 相), ordered him to cooperate with the King and other vassals, and then Fu Yue replied. The part where the King dreamt of Fu Yue, found him in the wild, and appointed him as the Chancellor, is the legend of Fu Yue and King Gaozhong that was already quite popular, and often cited in several received texts such as *Mozi* and *Mengzi*.

<p>墨子尚賢中</p>	<p>古者舜耕歷山，陶河瀕，漁雷澤，堯得之服澤之陽，舉以為天子，與接天下之政，治天下之民。伊摯，有莘氏女之私臣，親為庖人，湯得之，舉以為己相，與接天下之政，治天下之民。傳說被褐帶索。庸築乎傅巖，武丁得之，舉以為三公，與接天下之政，治天下之民。此何故始賤卒而貴，始貧卒而富？則王公大人明乎以尚賢使能為政。是以民無飢而不得食，寒而不得衣，勞而不得息，亂而不得治者。</p> <p>In ancient times, Shun farmed on Li Shan, made pottery on the banks of the [Yellow] River and fished in Lei Marsh. Yao found him on the northern side of Fu Marsh and raised him to be the Son of Heaven, transferring to him the government of the world and the administration of the world's people. Yi Zhi (Yi Yin) was the personal servant of a woman from You Xin and was himself a cook. Tang found him and raised him to be chief minister, transferring to him the government of the world and the administration of the world's people. Fu Yue, clad in coarse cloth bound with rope, was working as a common laborer at Fu Yan when Wu Ding found him and raised him to be one of the 'Three Dukes,' transferring to him the government of the world and the administration of the world of people. How was it that someone who was first a lowly servant was ennobled, who was first a poor servant was enriched? It was because kings, dukes, and great officers clearly understood the need to exalt worthiness and make use of ability in government. In this way, there were no instances of people who were hungry not obtaining food, of people who were cold not obtaining clothing, of people who were weary not obtaining rest, or of disorder that was not brought to order.³⁷⁰</p>
<p>墨子尚賢下</p>	<p>是故古之聖王之治天下也，其所富，其所貴，未必王公大人骨肉之親、無故富貴、面目美好者也。是故昔者舜耕於歷山，陶於河瀕，漁於雷澤，灰於常陽。堯得之服澤之陽，立為天子，使接天下之政，而治天下之民。昔伊尹為莘氏女師僕，使為庖人，湯得而舉之，立為三公，使接天下之政，治天下之民。昔者傳說居北海之洲，圍土之上，衣褐帶索，庸築於傅巖之城，武丁得而舉之，立為三公，使之接天下之政，而治天下之民。是故昔者堯之舉舜也，湯之舉伊尹也，武丁之舉傳說也，豈以為骨肉之親、無故富貴、面目美好者哉？惟法其言，用其謀，行其道，上可而利天，中可而利鬼，下可而利人，是故推而上之。</p> <p>For this reason, in the ancient sage king's governing of the world, those whom they enriched and ennobled were not necessarily the blood relatives of kings, dukes, and great officers, or those who were rich and noble without proper reason, or those of fine appearance. For example, in ancient times, Shun cultivated land on Li Shan, made pottery on the banks of the [Yellow] River, fished in Lei Marsh and sold his wares at Chang Yang. Yao found him on the northern side of Fu Marsh and established</p>

³⁷⁰ Ian Johnston, tr., *The Mozi: A Complete Translation*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 75.

	<p>him as the Son of Heaven, transferring to him the government of the world and the administration of the world's people. Formerly, Yi Yin was the personal servant of a daughter of the [You] Xin clan and was employed as a cook. Tang found him and raised him to be one of the 'Three Dukes,' transferring to him the government of the world and the administration of the world's people. Fu Yue of former times lived in the district of Bei Hai within the prison walls. His garments were of coarse cloth bound with rope and he was working as a common labourer in the city of Fu Yan. Wu Ding found him and raised him to be one of the 'Three Dukes,' transferring to him the government of the world and the administration of the world's people. Was the reason for Yao's promotion of Shun, or Tang's promotion of Yi Yin, or Wu Ding's promotion of Fu Yue because they were blood relatives, or rich and noble without proper cause, or of fine appearance? No, it was only because they modelled themselves on their words, used their plans and carried into practice their Way, so it was possible for them to benefit Heaven above, to benefit ghosts in the middle realm, and to benefit the people in the lower realm. This is why they put them forward and elevated them.³⁷¹</p>
孟子 告子下	<p>孟子曰：「舜發於畎畝之中，傳說舉於版築之間，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。故天將降大任於是人也，必先苦其心志，勞其筋骨，餓其體膚，空乏其身，行拂亂其所為，所以動心忍性，曾益其所不能。</p> <p>Mengzi said, "King Shun arose from the plowed fields. Prime Minister Fu Yue was raised to office from a construction site. Prime Minister Jiao Ge was raised to office from the salted fish market. Prime Minister Guan Zhong was raised to office from the custody of the jailer. Prime Minister Sunshu Ao was raised to office from the coastland. Prime Minister Boli Xi was raised to office from the marketplace. Hence, when Heaven is about to bestow a great responsibility on a particular person, it will always first subject one's heart and resolution to bitterness, belabor one's muscles and bones, starve one's body and flesh, deprive one's person, and thwart and bring chaos to what one does. By means of these things it perturbs one's heart, toughens one's nature, and provides those things of which one is incapable."³⁷²</p>
莊子 大宗師	<p>夫道，有情有信，無為無形；可傳而不可受，可得而不可見；自本自根，未有天地，自古以固存；神鬼神帝，生天生地；在太極之先而不為高，在六極之下而不為深；先天地生而不為久，長於上古而不為老。</p> <p>狶韋氏得之，以挈天地；伏犧氏得之，以襲氣母；維斗得之，終古不忒；日月得之，終古不息；堪坏得之，以襲崑崙；馮夷得之，以遊大川；肩吾得之，以處太山；黃帝得之，以登雲天；顓頊得之，以處玄宮；禺強得之，立乎北極；西王母得之，坐乎少廣，莫知其始，莫知其終；彭祖得之，上及有虞，下及五伯；傳說得之，以相武丁，奄有天下，乘東維，騎箕尾，而比於列星。</p> <p>Dao has its reality and its sign but is without action or form. You can hand it down but you cannot received it; you can get it but you cannot see it. It is its own source, its own root. Before Heaven and earth existed it was there, firm from ancient times. It gave spirituality to the spirits and to God; it gave birth to Heaven and to earth. It exists beyond the highest point, and yet you cannot call it lofty; it exists beneath the limit of the six directions, and yet you cannot call it deep. It was born before Heaven and earth and yet you cannot say it has been there for long; it is earlier than the earliest time, and yet you cannot call it old.</p> <p>Xi Wei got it and help up heaven and earth. Fu Xi got it and entered into the mother of breath. The Big Dipper got it and from ancient times has never wavered. The Sun and Moon got it and from ancient times have never rested. Kan Pi got it and entered Kunlun. Ping Yi got it and wandered in the great river. Jian Wu got it and lived in the great mountain. Yellow Emperor got it and ascended to the cloudy heavens. Zhuan Xu got it and dwelt in the Dark Palace. Yu Qiang got it and stood at the limit of the north. The Queen Mother of the West got it and took her seat on Shaokuang – nobody knows her beginning, nobody knows her end. Peng Zu got it and lived from the age of Shun to the age of the Five Dictators. Fu Yue got it and became minister to Wu Ding, who extended his rule over the whole world; then Fu Yue climbed up to the Eastern Governor, straddled the Wincrowing Basket and the Tail, and took his place among the ranks of stars.³⁷³</p>

³⁷¹ Ian Johnston, tr., *The Mozi: A Complete Translation*, 85.

³⁷² Bryan W. Van Norden, *Mengzi with Selections from Traditional Commentaries*, (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2008), 169-170.

³⁷³ Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang-Tzu*, 81-82.

<p>荀子 非相</p>	<p>長短大小，美惡形相，豈論也哉！且徐偃王之狀，目可瞻馬。仲尼之狀，面如蒙俱。周公之狀，身如斷菑。皋陶之狀，色如削瓜。閔天之狀，面無見膚。傳說之狀，身如植鰭。伊尹之狀，面無須麤。禹跳湯偏。堯舜參牟子。從者將論志意，比類文學邪？直將差長短，辨美惡，而相欺傲邪？</p> <p>How could the height, size, or beauty of a person's outer form be worth judging? Moreover, the appearance of King Yan of Xu was such that his eyes were as big as a horse's. Confucius's appearance was such that his face looked like an ugly mask. The Duke of Zhou's appearance was such that his body looked like a broken tree trunk. Gao Yao's appearance was such that his color looked like that of a peeled melon. Hong Yao's appearance was such that no skin was visible on his face. Fu Yue's appearance was such that his body looked like it had a raised fin. Yi Yin's appearance was such that his face had no beard or eyebrows. Yu hobbled about, and Tang leaned on one side. Yao and Shun were cross-eyed. Will you, my followers, judge their thoughts and intentions and compare their culture and learning? Or will you only differentiate the tall and the short, distinguish the beautiful and the ugly, and so deceive and snub one another?³⁷⁴</p>
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As the passages from the *Mozi* and *Mengzi* show clearly, the status of Fu Yue at this time was already on a par with other examples such as Yao and Shun or Tang and Yi Zhi (Yi Yin). The image of Fu Yue as a worthy minister for Wu Ding, depicted in the *Mozi* or *Mengzi*, develops into that of a character that transcends ordinary human being. For example, in the “Dazong shi” of the *Zhuangzi*, Fu Yue is described as acquiring Dao, serving Wu Ding as Chancellor, and eventually ascending to Heaven and taking his place as a star in the heavens. In the “Feixiang” of the *Xunzi*, listed along with other great cultural and political heroes such as Kongzi, Duke of Zhou, Gao Yao and Yi Yin, Fu Yue is portrayed as one who had a strange physical characteristic, which suggested his extraordinariness and exceptionality in virtue and talent. These exemplify a cultural circumstance in which Fu Yue was coupled with his lord Wu Ding and iconized as a great historical model for a Sage minister.

The character construction and cultural iconization of Wu Ding and Fu Yue as a perfect pairing of Sage King and Sage minister must have been grounded in and accompanied by the cultural phenomena of several narrativizations of these characters and the historical events between them. The narrativization must have substantiated and rationalized the characters in their time, and more importantly, authorized and legitimized the ideas and discourses of the intellectuals who produced, spread, and shared the memory of these characters. An excellent example for the narrativization of Wu Ding and Fu Yue is seen in the “Chuyu shang” (楚語 上; “Speeches in the Chu”) of the received *Guoyu*. The story of Wu Ding and Fu Yue cited in the “Chuyu shang” is remarkably similar to the received “Yueming shang” in the “Ancient Script” *Shangshu* in terms of wording and plot.

<p>國語 楚語 上</p> <p>靈王虐，白公子張驟諫。王患之，謂史老曰：「吾欲已子張之諫，若何？」對曰：「用之實難，已之易矣。若諫，君則曰：『余左執鬼中，右執殤宮，凡百箴諫，吾盡聞之矣，寧聞他言？』」</p> <p>白公又諫，王若史老之言。</p> <p>對曰：「昔殷武丁能聳其德，至于神明，以入于河，自河徂亳，于是乎三年，默以思道。卿士患之，曰：『王言以出令也，若不言，是無所稟令</p>	<p>說命 上</p> <p>王宅憂亮，陰三祀。既免喪，其惟弗言。群臣咸諫于王，曰：「嗚呼！知之曰明哲，明哲實作則。天子惟君萬邦，百官承式。」</p>
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³⁷⁴ The translation is from Eric L. Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), 33.

也。』武丁于是作書，曰：「以余正四方，余恐德之不類，茲故不言。『如是而又使以象夢旁求四方之賢，得傳說以來，升以為公，而使朝夕規諫，

曰：『若金，用女作礪。若津水，用女作舟。若天旱，用女作霖雨。啟乃心，沃朕心。若藥不暝眩，厥疾不瘳。若跣不視地，厥足用傷。』若武丁之神明也，其聖之睿廣也，其智之不疚也，猶自謂未乂，故三年默以思道。既得道，猶不敢專制，使以象旁求聖人。既得以為輔，又恐其荒失遺忘，故使朝夕規誨箴諫，曰：『必交修余，無余棄也。』今君或者未及武丁，而惡規諫者，不亦難乎！

王言惟作命，不言，臣下罔攸稟令。王庸作書以誥曰：「以臺正于四方，惟恐德弗類，茲故弗言。恭默思道，夢帝賚予良弼，其代予言。」

乃審厥象，俾以形旁求于天下。說筑傅巖之野，惟肖。爰立作相，王置諸其左右。

命之曰：「朝夕納誨，以輔臺德。若金，用汝作礪；若濟巨川，用汝作舟楫；若歲大旱，用汝作霖雨。啟乃心，沃朕心，若藥弗暝眩，厥疾弗瘳。若跣弗視地，厥足用傷。惟暨乃僚，罔不同心，以匡乃辟。俾率先王，迪我高後，以康兆民。嗚呼！欽予時命，其惟有終。」

說復于王曰：「惟木從繩則正，後從諫則聖。後克聖，臣不命其承，疇敢不祇若王之休命！」

The king passed the season of sorrow in the mourning shed for three years, and when the period of mourning was over, he (still) did not speak (to give any commands). All the ministers remonstrated with him, saying, 'Oh! he who is (the first) to apprehend we pronounce intelligent, and the intelligent man is the model for others. The Son of Heaven rules over the myriad regions, and all the officers look up to and reverence him. They are the king's words which form the commands (for them). If he do not speak, the ministers have no way to receive their orders.'

On this the king wrote, for their information, to the following effect: 'As it is mine to serve as the director for the four quarters (of the kingdom), I have been afraid that my virtue is not equal to (that of my predecessors), and therefore have not spoken. (But) while I was reverently and silently thinking of the (right) way, I dreamt that God gave me a good assistant who should speak for me.' He then minutely recalled the appearance (of the person whom he had seen), and caused search to be made for him everywhere by means of a picture. Yue, a builder in the wild country of Fuyan, was found like to it. On this the king raised and made (Yue) his prime minister, keeping him (also) at his side.

He charged him, saying, 'Morning and evening present your instructions to aid my virtue. Suppose me a weapon of steel; I will use you for a whetstone. Suppose me crossing a great stream; I will use you for a boat with its oars. Suppose me in a year of great drought; I will use you as a copious rain. Open your mind, and enrich my mind. (Be you) like medicine, which must distress the patient, in order to cure his sickness. (Think of we) as one walking barefoot, whose feet are sure to be wounded, if he do not see the ground. Do you and your companions all cherish the same mind to assist your sovereign, that I may follow my royal predecessors, and tread in the steps of my high ancestor, to give repose to the millions of the people. Oh! respect this charge of mine; so shall you bring your work to a (good) end.'

Yue replied to the king, saying, 'Wood by the use of the line is made straight, and the sovereign who follows reproof is made sage. When the sovereign can (thus) make himself sage, his ministers, without being specially commanded,

Summary: This episode of *Guoyu* narrates a story that features Bai Gong's remonstrance to King Ling of the Chu about the importance of listening to a loyal subject's advice in the ruling, based on the example of King Wu Ding of Yin.

The episode of the received "Yueming shang" writes of King Wu Ding, who had not spoken for three years after his enthronement, because of his humble recognition of his lack of virtue as a ruler. He dreamed of a worthy and looked for men to speak on his behalf, and finally found the man at Fuyan. The latter half is the King's charge to Fu Yue for assisting the King and Fu Yue's response to the King.

In *Guoyu* "Chuyu shang," the story of Wu Ding and Fu Yue is presented as a story within a story. As an illustrative example, this story shows a considerable degree of similarity in the wording of Wu Ding's command to Fu Yue and the plot of how Wu Ding found Fu Yue. The close word-for-word correspondence in the metaphorical command in the latter half of the story suggests that the "Chuyu" nested story seems to have been copied in a written form rather than an oral form, and also that the two stories were likely to share the same textual source.

Nonetheless, the "Ancient Script" *Shangshu* chapter "Yueming shang" lacks the detail that Wu Ding did not speak for three years, a detail that affirms and reinforces the extraordinariness of Wu Ding as Sage King and the significance of Fu Yue as Wu Ding's necessary loyal assistant. Also, the words that describe Wu Ding's greatness and that introduce Fu Yue in these two texts are not alike. In the "Chuyu," Wu Ding's talent and virtue are described in a more exaggerated manner, and Fu Yue's character is much less of a focus. This suggests that this story in the "Chuyu" was inserted in the narrative context where the character of Wu Ding was used to criticize King Ling of the Chu for not listening to his ministers. That is, the difference shown in the "Chuyu" suggests the story was changing. The changing story was based on the same source, shown in the "Chuyu" and "Yueming," exemplifying the point that there were different representations of the cultural memory of Wu Ding and Fu Yue in multiple contexts of narrating the story.

Stories of Fu Yue and Wu Ding in the *Mozi*, *Mengzi*, *Zhuangzi*, and *Xunzi*, and the cited Episode Texts in the "Chuyu" of the *Guoyu*, all suggest that the two figures were established as political heroes of ancient times across considerably different narrativizations. Particular stories explaining who they were were actively produced and shared, but rewritten in different contexts and to different ends.

As we saw above, along with these stories of Wu Ding and Fu Yue, some texts also circulated with the title of "Yueming" (or "Duiming"). These texts were partly similar to the received "Yueming" of the Ancient Script *Shangshu*. Their stories were also only partly similar to those stories in received Masters literature.

The three late Warring States Qinghua "Fu Yue zhi ming" Chu bamboo slip manuscripts should be located and examined in this cultural context.

In the following, focusing on two "Fu Yue zhi ming" texts in comparison with other received texts, I will discuss what the Qinghua "Fu Yue zhi ming" texts mean in relation to the formation of the received "Yueming."

³⁷⁵ The translation from James Legge, tr., *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, 112-114.

Textual Comparison between the Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming,” the *Shangshu* “Yueming,” and Other Received Texts

Comparing parallel texts, it is striking that the content of these texts is significantly different, although they partly deal with the same story. Let us look at texts from parallel to the received Ancient Script *Shangshu* “Yueming shang.”

清華 傳說之命 1	古文尚書 說命上	國語 楚語 上
<p>隹(惟)殷王賜攸(說)于天, 甬(庸)為失中(仲)使人。</p> <p>王命𠄎(厥)百攻(工)向(像), 以貨甸(徇)求攸(說)于邑人。隹(惟)弼人【一】得攸(說)于專(傳)厥(巖), 𠄎(厥)卑(俾)繡(彌)弓, 紳(引)貫(關)辟矢。</p> <p>攸(說)方笠(築)城, 滕降甬(庸)力, 𠄎(厥)攸(說)之狀, 鵠(腕)【二】肩女(如)惟(惟)。</p> <p>王迺(乃)訊攸(說)曰: “帝毆(抑)尔以畀余, 毆(抑)非?”</p> <p>攸迺(乃)曰: “隹(惟)帝以余畀尔= (尔, 尔)左執朕袂, 尔右【三】顛= (稽首)。”</p> <p>王曰: “旦(亶)狀(然)。”</p> <p>天迺(乃)命攸(說)伐失中(仲)。</p> <p>失中(仲)是生子, 生二戊(牡)豕。失中(仲)卜曰: “我𠄎(其)殺之, 我𠄎(其)【四】已, 勿殺。”勿殺是吉。失中(仲)違卜, 乃殺一豕。</p> <p>攸(說)于圍伐失中(仲)、一豕乃歡(旋)保以逝, 迺踐, 邑【五】人皆從, 一豕地(隨)中(仲)之自行, 是為赤(赦)桴(倅)之戎。</p> <p>𠄎(其)隹(惟)攸(說)邑才(在)北海之州, 是隹(惟)員(圜)土。</p>	<p>王宅憂亮, 陰三祀。既免喪, 其惟弗言。群臣咸諫于王, 曰: 「嗚呼! 知之曰明哲, 明哲實作則。天子惟君萬邦, 百官承式。」</p> <p>王言惟作命, 不言, 臣下罔攸稟令。王庸作書以誥曰: 「以臺正于四方, 惟恐德弗類, 茲故弗言。恭默思道, 夢帝賚予良弼, 其代予言。」</p> <p>乃審厥象, 俾以形旁求于天下。說筑傅巖之野, 惟肖。爰立作相, 王置諸其左右。</p> <p>命之曰: 「朝夕納誨, 以輔臺德。若金, 用汝作礪; 若濟巨川, 用汝作舟楫; 若歲大旱, 用汝作霖雨。啟乃心, 沃朕心, 若藥弗瞑眩, 厥疾弗瘳。若跣弗視地, 厥足用傷。惟暨乃僚, 罔不同心, 以匡乃辟。俾率先王, 迪我高後, 以康兆民。嗚呼! 欽予時命, 其惟有終。」</p> <p>說復于王曰: 「惟木從繩則正, 後從諫則聖。後克聖, 臣不命其承, 疇敢不祇若王之休命!」</p> <p>The king passed the season of sorrow in the mourning shed for three years, and when the period of mourning was over, he (still) did not speak (to give any commands). All the ministers remonstrated with him, saying, ‘Oh! him who is (the first) to apprehend we pronounce intelligent, and the intelligent man is the model for others. The Son of Heaven rules over the myriad regions, and all the officers look up to and reverence him.</p>	<p>對曰: 「昔殷武丁能聳其德, 至于神明, 以入于河, 自河徂亳, 于是乎三年, 默以思道。卿士患之, 曰: 『王言以出令也, 若不言, 是無所稟令也。』武丁于是作書, 曰: 「以余正四方, 余恐德之不類, 茲故不言。『如是而又使以象夢旁求四方之賢, 得傳說以來, 升以為公, 而使朝夕規諫,</p> <p>曰: 『若金, 用女作礪。若津水, 用女作舟。若天旱, 用女作霖雨。啟乃心, 沃朕心。若藥不瞑眩, 厥疾不瘳。若跣不視地, 厥足用傷。』若武丁之神明也, 其聖之睿廣也, 其智之不疚也, 猶自謂未乂, 故三年默以思道。既得道, 猶不敢專制, 使以象旁求聖人。既得以為輔, 又恐其荒失遺忘, 故使朝夕規誨箴諫, 曰: 『必交修余, 無余棄也。』今君或者未及武丁, 而惡規諫者, 不亦難乎!</p>

<p>敎（說）【六】速（來）自從，事于殷，王甬（用）命敎（說）為公。</p> <p>The King of Yin [i.e., Gaozhong Wu Ding] was given Yue by Heaven, who had been employed to manage people for Shi Zhong.</p> <p>The King ordered all of his technicians to make a portrait of him and, with money, look round for Yue among the people in town. An archer found Yue at Fuyan. He tied up a bow, drew it, and released an arrow.</p> <p>At the time, Yue was building a fortress; he was rolling up his sleeves and falling all over himself for the construction. It was Yue's state; his forearms and shoulders were like an iron bar.</p> <p>The King asked Yue: "The Thearch has given you to me, is it so or not?" Yue said: "The Thearch has given me to you. On your left, I will roll up your sleeve; on your right, I will bow down to the ground."</p> <p>The King said: "Trustworthy." Heaven thereupon ordered Yue to attack Shi Zhong. Shi Zhong had given birth to sons, and the two newborn boys had a shameful masculinity [i.e., genitalia]. Shi Zhong divined and said: "I should kill them or I should stop it and not kill them." Not killing was auspicious. But Shi Zhong went against the divination and killed one shameful son.</p> <p>Yue went to Shi Zhong, and besieged and attacked him. Another shameful son thereupon returned and thereby retreated for protection. And there was no more attack. The people of the town all followed [Yue,] and the shameful son pursued Shi Zhong who had run away and took charge of release and capture in warfare.</p> <p>It was the town of Yue, located in the province of the Northern Sea. It was a town of prison.</p> <p>Yue came from this town and served Yin. The King issued an order and made Yue a minister.³⁷⁶</p>	<p>They are the king's words which form the commands (for them). If he do not speak, the ministers have no way to receive their orders.'</p> <p>On this the king made a writing, for their information, to the following effect: 'As it is mine to serve as the director for the four quarters (of the kingdom), I have been afraid that my virtue is not equal to (that of my predecessors), and therefore have not spoken. (But) while I was reverently and silently thinking of the (right) way, I dreamt that God gave me a good assistant who should speak for me.' He then minutely recalled the appearance (of the person whom he had seen), and caused search to be made for him everywhere by means of a picture. Yue, a builder in the wild country of Fu-yan, was found like to it. On this the king raised and made (Yue) his prime minister, keeping him (also) at his side.</p> <p>He charged him, saying, 'Morning and evening present your instructions to aid my virtue. Suppose me a weapon of steel; I will use you for a whetstone. Suppose me crossing a great stream; I will use you for a boat with its oars. Suppose me in a year of great drought; I will use you as a copious rain. Open your mind, and enrich my mind. (Be you) like medicine, which must distress the patient, in order to cure his sickness. (Think of we) as one walking barefoot, whose feet are sure to be wounded, if he do not see the ground. Do you and your companions all cherish the same mind to assist your sovereign, that I may follow my royal predecessors, and tread in the steps of my high ancestor, to give repose to the millions of the people. Oh! respect this charge of mine; so shall you bring your work to a (good) end.'</p> <p>Yue replied to the king, saying, 'Wood by the use of the line is made straight, and the sovereign who follows reproof is made sage. When the sovereign can (thus) make himself sage, his ministers, without being specially commanded, anticipate his orders - who would dare not to act in</p>	
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³⁷⁶ All English translations of Qinghua "Fu Yue zhi ming" manuscripts in this section are mine.

	respectful compliance with this excellent charge of your Majesty?	
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Summary: The episode of Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming” tells about the story of a worthy named Fu Yue, how he was sought for and found by the people sent by King of Yin (Wu Ding), what he was doing when he was found, and how and why he attacked his hometown lord named Shi Zhong, thereby freeing the town from Shi Zhong’s rule; Fu Yue then went to the capital to serve the King of Yin. A similarly detailed story about the early life of Fu Yue before serving King Wu Ding is not found anywhere in the received tradition. The episodes of “Yueming shang” and *Guoyu* have summarized above.

These three texts, the Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming,” the *Shangshu* “Yueming shang,” and the *Guoyu* “Chuyu shang,” all deal with the story of how the newly enthroned Shang king Wu Ding located and appointed Fu Yue as his minister (*gong* 公), according to the “Fu Yue zhi ming” and “Chuyu shang,” or as Chancellor (*xiang* 相), according to the “Yueming shang.” Despite some minor differences between the versions, the basic story goes as follows: once enthroned, the King was concerned about the ruling. One day, he dreamt of a man who could assist him (the Qinghua version omits this part), made his painters draw a composite sketch of the man, and sent people to look for him. The man was found in a field called Fuyan, where he was building a fortress. The King brought him to the court and appointed him as a high official. This story is shared, despite different wording, as a basic unit of this Episode Text. This shared part is, as we have seen above, also found in the *Mozi*.

墨子尚賢中	傳說被褐帶索。庸築乎傅巖，武丁得之，舉以為三公，與接天下之政，治天下之民。 Fu Yue, clad in coarse cloth bound with rope, was working as a common laborer at Fu Yan when Wu Ding found him and raised him to be one of the ‘Three Dukes,’ transferring to him the government of the world and the administration of the world of people.
墨子尚賢下	昔者傳說居北海之洲，圓土之上，衣褐帶索，庸築於傅巖之城，武丁得而舉之，立為三公，使之接天下之政，而治天下之民。 Fu Yue of former times lived in the district of Bei Hai within the prison walls. His garments were of coarse cloth bound with rope and he was working as a common laborer in the city of Fu Yan. Wu Ding found him and raised him to be one of the ‘Three Dukes,’ transferring to him the government of the world and the administration of the world’s people.

Summary: These texts in the *Mozi* briefly mention the person Fu Yue and his achievement as King Wu Ding’s minister.

This shows us that despite differences in wording, the story of the dream-revelation was widely recognized and accepted. It is interesting to note that in these three texts, all the editors linked this shared story to another unit of text to produce a distinct message. The “Chuyu shang” version pays the least attention to the character of Fu Yue and emphasizes the duty of the ruler to listen to his ministers, while the received “Yueming shang” focuses on the King’s first charges or command to Fu Yue about how to better assist the King as Chancellor, and thereby recommends ways of aiding the ruler. By contrast, the “Fu Yue zhi ming” is the story of Fu Yue, particularly his origin in relation to his former lord named “Shi Zhong.” Thus, it narrates where this humble man was from, and what he did before he was located by King Wu Ding. Such a detailed origin story of Fu Yue is not found in any received literature. In this new origin story, his character appears as a righteous

and loyal military commander who punished a ruler who had gone against the result of a divination and had thereby been arrogant enough to stand against spirits and ghosts. Here respecting spirits and familial love is emphasized. This shows that Fu Yue deserved to be taken and hired by Wu Ding because of his righteousness, despite his humble origin. And such political and moral legitimacy of Fu Yue also corresponds to the description about him in the beginning that Fu Yue was given to the King by Heaven. Thus, although they deal with the same story of how Wu Ding and Fu Yue first met, all three texts have very different takes on the characters. This shows how the same story was re-written based on different editorial interests and the contexts within which the text was circulated and shared.

In this origin story, we see that the “Fu Yue zhi ming” may have developed from a brief comment about Fu Yue that we find in the *Mozi* texts. This may have been an attempt to explain in more detail the legendary figure Fu Yu, an increasingly popular icon of the worthy minister. In this sense, the Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming” reveals how the narrative was developed to elaborate a cultural icon. However, The Fu Yue origin story represented in the Qinghua manuscript did not survive. What survived was a much briefer and simpler version that retains only the part of the basic origin story seen in other received texts. We can find a version in the “Yin benji” (殷本記; Annals of Yin) of the *Shiji* as follows:

<p>史記 殷本記</p>	<p>帝小乙崩，子帝武丁立。帝武丁即位，思復興殷，而未得其佐。三年不言，政事決定於冢宰，以觀國風。武丁夜夢得聖人，名曰說。以夢所見視群臣百吏，皆非也。於是乃使百工營求之野，得說於傅險中。是時說為胥靡，筑於傅險。見於武丁，武丁曰是也。得而與之語，果聖人，舉以為相，殷國大治。故遂以傅險姓之，號曰傅說。</p> <p>Emperor Xiao Yi died, and his son Emperor Wu Ding came to the throne. When Emperor Wu Ding was on the throne, he pondered how the Yin could be revived, but as he had not obtained an assistant, he did not speak for three years; government affairs had to be conducted by the prime minister, who examined the customs of the country. Wu Ding dreamed one night that he had found a holy man named Yue, and, in order that he might secure the man he had seen in his dream, he passed under review his officers and ministers of State, but not one of them was the right man. He then made all his officers search for him in the wilds, and Yue was discovered at the crag of Fu. At this time Yue was a clerk, not a builder at the crag of Fu. He had an audience of Wu Ding, who said, ‘That is the right man.’ Having talked with him, and finding that he was indeed a holy man, Wu Ding promoted him to be his Chancellor. The kingdom of Yin was well governed in consequence, and he was named after the crag of Fu, being called Fu Yue.³⁷⁷</p>
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In this story, we do not find any mention of Shi Zhong, who was a main character in the “Fu Yue zhi ming.” The story in the “Yin Benji” retains the basic story in the first part of “Yueming shang,” “Chuyu shang,” or *Mozi*, and adds more specific information about his origin, and thereby finally completes the Fu Yue story as one self-contained textual unit.

Although there is no surviving textual evidence to prove that the basic story of Wu Ding’s dream and finding of Fu Yue existed as a separate Episode Text before “Yin Benji,” there is no doubt that the story was widely circulated in written form in combination with other textual units that constituted a complete Episode Text, as in all three texts we saw above. That is, all three texts, the “Fu Yue zhi ming,” “Yueming shang,” and “Chuyu shang,” are composed of two merged elements, the basic story about the meeting of two figures plus another that mainly delivers the

³⁷⁷ The translation is mine.

message of the text. For example, in the “Fu Yue zhi ming,” the added part is the origin story of Fu Yue; and in about the “Yueming shang” and “Chuyu shang,” it is the King’s command to Fu Yue about how to assist his King.

Interestingly, the added story of received texts “Yueming shang” and “Chuyu shang” is found in the second “Fu Yue zhi ming” text of the Qinghua University collection. This suggests that the other part in those received texts was likely drawn from a separate Episode Text. Consider the following table:

清華 傳說之命 2	古文尚書 說命 上	國語 楚語 上	古文尚書 說命 中
<p>攸（說）速（來）自專（傳）厥（巖），才（在）殷。</p> <p>武丁朝于門，內（入）才（在）宗。王遼（原）比季（厥）夢，曰：“女（汝）速（來）佳（惟）帝命。”攸（說）【一】曰：“允若寺（時）。”</p> <p>武丁曰：“來各（格）女（汝）攸（說），聖（聽）戒朕言，漸之于乃心。若金，甬（用）佳（惟）女（汝）作礪。故（古）【二】我先王滅夏，變強，捷菴（蠱）邦，佳（惟）庶相之力乘（勝），甬（用）孚（信）自欽（適）。</p> <p>敬之哉！啟乃心，日沃【三】朕心。若藥，女（如）不眠（暝）均（眩），越疾罔瘳。朕畜女（汝），佳（惟）乃復（腹），非乃身。若天旱，女（汝）作淫雨【四】；若圃（滿）水，女（汝）作舟。女（汝）佳（惟）茲攸（說），砥（底）之于</p>	<p>王宅憂亮，陰三祀。既免喪，其惟弗言。群臣咸諫于王，曰：「嗚呼！知之曰明哲，明哲實作則。天子惟君萬邦，百官承式。」</p> <p>王言惟作命，不言，臣下罔攸稟令。王庸作書以誥曰：「以臺正于四方，惟恐德弗類，茲故弗言。恭默思道，夢帝賚予良弼，其代予言。」</p> <p>乃審厥象，俾以形旁求于天下。說筑傅巖之野，惟肖。爰立作相，王置諸其左右。</p> <p>命之曰：「朝夕納誨，以輔臺德。若金，用汝作礪；若濟巨川，用汝作舟楫；若歲大旱，用汝作霖雨。啟乃心，沃朕心，若藥弗暝眩，厥疾弗瘳。若跣弗視地，厥足用傷。惟暨乃僚，罔不同心，以匡乃辟。俾率先王，迪我高後，以康兆民。嗚呼！欽予時命，其惟有終。」</p> <p>說復于王曰：「惟木從繩則正，後從諫則聖。後克聖，臣不命其承，疇敢不祇若王之休命！」</p> <p>The king passed the season of sorrow in the mourning shed for three years, and</p>	<p>對曰：「昔殷武丁能聳其德，至于神明，以入于河，自河徂亳，于是乎三年，默以思道。卿士患之，曰：『王言以出令也，若不言，是無所稟令也。』武丁于是作書，曰：「以余正四方，余恐德之不類，茲故不言。『如是而又使以象夢旁求四方之賢，得傳說以來，升以為公，而使朝夕規諫，</p> <p>曰：『若金，用女作礪。若津水，用女作舟。若天旱，用女作霖雨。啟乃心，沃朕心。若藥不暝眩，厥疾不瘳。若跣不視地，厥足用傷。』若武丁之神明也，其聖之睿廣也，其智之不疚也，猶自謂未乂，故三年默以思道。既得道，猶不敢專制，使以象旁求聖人。既得以為輔，又恐其荒失遺忘，故使朝夕規誨箴諫，曰：『必交修余，無余棄也。』今君或者未及武丁，而惡規諫者，不亦難乎！</p>	

<p>乃心。作（且）天出不恙（祥），不徂遠，才（在）卒（厥）脗（落），女（汝）克【五】見視四方，乃府（俯）見（視）地。心毀住（惟）備。敬之哉！甬（用）住（惟）多惠（德）。作（且）住（惟）口起戎出好，住（惟）戰（干）戈【六】作疾，住（惟）哀載（載）柄（病），住戰（干）戈膏卒（厥）身。若詆（抵）不見（視），甬（用）傷。吉不吉，余告女（汝）若寺（是），志之于乃心。【七】”</p> <p>Yue came from Fuyan and stayed at Yin. Wu Ding held a morning meeting at the Gate and entered into the Ancestral Shrine. The King fathomed the dream again and said: "Come, you the mandate of Di." Yue said: "Truly, it is so." Wu Ding said: Come, Yue. Listen to my words, vigilantly, and take them into your heart/mind. Like metal, you should polish them up. In the past, our former Kings destroyed Xia, [they were] fiery strong and quickly defeated the irreverent country, and all the vassals made every effort to win, because [the former Kings] trusted the ones who were close to them. Respect! Enlighten your mind, and enrich my mind every day. As medicine, you should not be blind or deluded but remove and heal the disease. I rear you, which means I rear your inner heart/mind, not your physical body. If Heaven is droughty, you should make rainy spells. If there is a</p>	<p>when the period of mourning was over, he (still) did not speak (to give any commands). All the ministers remonstrated with him, saying, 'Oh! him who is (the first) to apprehend we pronounce intelligent, and the intelligent man is the model for others. The Son of Heaven rules over the myriad regions, and all the officers look up to and reverence him. They are the king's words which form the commands (for them). If he do not speak, the ministers have no way to receive their orders.'</p> <p>On this the king made a writing, for their information, to the following effect: 'As it is mine to serve as the director for the four quarters (of the kingdom), I have been afraid that my virtue is not equal to (that of my predecessors), and therefore have not spoken. (But) while I was reverently and silently thinking of the (right) way, I dreamt that God gave me a good assistant who should speak for me.' He then minutely recalled the appearance (of the person whom he had seen), and caused search to be made for him everywhere by means of a picture. Yue, a builder in the wild country of Fu-yan, was found like to it. On this the king raised and made (Yue) his prime minister, keeping him (also) at his side.</p> <p>He charged him, saying, 'Morning and evening present your instructions to aid my virtue. Suppose me a weapon of steel; I will use you for a whetstone. Suppose me crossing a great stream; I will use you for a boat with its oars. Suppose me in a year of great drought; I will use you as a copious rain. Open your mind, and enrich my mind.</p>		<p>惟說命總百官，乃進於王，曰：「嗚呼！明王奉若天道，建邦設都，樹後王君公，承以大夫師長。不惟逸豫，惟以亂民。惟天聰明，惟聖時憲，惟臣欽若，惟民從乂；惟口起羞，惟甲冑起戎；惟衣裳在笥，惟干戈省厥躬。王惟戒茲，允茲克明，乃罔不休。</p> <p>「惟治亂在庶官；官不及私昵，惟其能。爵罔及惡德，惟其賢。慮善以動，動惟厥時。有其善，喪厥善；矜其能，喪厥功。惟事事乃其有備，有備無患。無啟寵納侮，無恥過作非。惟厥攸居，政事惟醇。黷于祭祀，時謂弗欽；禮煩則亂，事神則難。」</p> <p>王曰：「旨哉！說乃言惟服。乃不良于言，予罔聞于行。」</p> <p>說拜稽首，曰：「非知之艱，行之惟艱。王忱不艱，允協于先王成德。惟說不言，有厥咎。」</p> <p>Yue having received his charge, and taken the presidency of all the officers, he presented himself before the king, and said, 'Oh! intelligent kings act in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven. The founding of states and the setting up of capitals, the appointing of sovereign kings, of dukes and other nobles, with their great officers and heads of departments, were not designed to minister to the idleness and pleasures (of one), but for the good government of the people. It is Heaven which is all-intelligent and observing - let the sage (king) take it as his pattern. Then his ministers will reverently accord with him, and the people consequently will be well governed. 'It is the mouth that gives occasion for shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet that give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower</p>
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<p>flood, you should make a boat. When you have a [private] thought, stop it at your heart/mind. If Heaven brings something inauspicious, do not look for something far away, look for where it began to go wrong. You should be able to watch all four corners of the world; then you should lower yourself and watch your land. Your heart/mind will have defects, so be prepared. Respect! Be more virtuous. The mouth causes arguments to occur, and so fight against the problem. Grieve when you get the problem. Fight against the ruining of your body. If you reject this and do not watch (yourself), you will get hurt. Whether it will be auspicious or inauspicious, I tell you it will be like this; your will comes only from your heart/mind.</p>	<p>(Be you) like medicine, which must distress the patient, in order to cure his sickness. (Think of we) as one walking barefoot, whose feet are sure to be wounded, if he do not see the ground. Do you and your companions all cherish the same mind to assist your sovereign, that I may follow my royal predecessors, and tread in the steps of my high ancestor, to give repose to the millions of the people. Oh! respect this charge of mine; so shall you bring your work to a (good) end.'</p> <p>Yue replied to the king, saying, 'Wood by the use of the line is made straight, and the sovereign who follows reproof is made sage. When the sovereign can (thus) make himself sage, his ministers, without being specially commanded, anticipate his orders - who would dare not to act in respectful compliance with this excellent charge of your Majesty?'</p>		<p>garments (for reward should not be lightly taken from) their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself. If your Majesty will be cautious in regard to these things, and, believing this about them, attain to the intelligent use of them, (your government) will in everything be excellent. Good government and bad depend on the various officers. Offices should not be given to men because they are favourites, but only to men of ability. Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices, but only on men of worth.</p> <p>'Anxious thought about what will be best should precede your movements, which also should be taken at the time proper for them. Indulging the consciousness of being good is the way to lose that goodness; being vain of one's ability is the way to lose the merit it might produce.</p> <p>'For all affairs let there be adequate preparation; with preparation there will be no calamitous issue. Do not open the door for favourites, from whom you will receive contempt. Do not be ashamed of mistakes, and (go on to) make them crimes. Let your mind rest in its proper objects, and the affairs of your government will be pure. Officiousness in sacrificing is called irreverence; and multiplying ceremonies leads to disorder. To serve the spirits acceptably (in this way) is difficult.'</p> <p>The king said, 'Excellent! your words, O Yue, should indeed be put in practice (by me). If you were not so good in counsel, I should not have heard these rules for my conduct.' Yue did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, 'It is not the knowing that is difficult, but the doing. (But) since your Majesty truly knows this, there will not be the difficulty, and you will become really equal in complete virtue to our first king. Wherein I, Yue, refrain from speaking (what I ought to speak), the blame will rest with me.'³⁷⁸</p>
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Summary: The second “Fu Yue zhi ming” manuscript writes of Wu Ding’s order to Fu Yue in the morning meeting at Ancestral Shrine. The main message of Wu Ding’s order to Fu Yue is to cultivate and enlighten the mind all the time when assisting the King.

³⁷⁸ James Legge, tr., *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, 115-117.

As we see from the table above, the second “Fu Yue zhi ming” text contains Wu Ding’s commands found in both “Yueming shang” and “Yueming zhong.” The lines of the “Fu Yue zhi ming” that parallel “Yueming shang” and “Chuyu shang” are much more similar than those of the text that parallel “Yueming zhong.” With a brief introduction to explain the setting where the King’s command was made, this middle “Fu Yue zhi ming” is comprised of three evenly divided short commands to Fu Yue that contain commands likened to metal, medicine, and a boat, and the command to be cautious in speech, respectively. In composition, it is a perfect example of an Episode Text. Among the three commands in this text, the first two show considerable similarity to the “Yueming shang” and “Chuyu shang,” and the last to the “Yueming zhong.” Particularly, the last one looks more like a maxim developed more elaborately in the received “Yueming zhong” text. Conversely, the first two commands in the “Fu Yue zhi ming” are simplified in the received texts. This suggests one typical way that the text diversified and spread by dividing it into separate admonition and elaborating upon each admonition.

The third Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming” and the received “Yueming xia” texts show another case of a text that develops multiple versions.

清華 傳說之命 3	古文尚書 說命 下
<p>“……【一】員，經惠（德）配天，余罔又（有）罍（斲）言。少（小）臣罔竣（俊）才（在）朕備（服），余佳（惟）命女（汝）斂（說）融朕命，余腠（柔）遠【二】能逐（適），以益見（視）事，弼羹（永）隳（延），作余一人。”</p> <p>王曰：“斂（說），眾（既）亦詣乃備（服），勿易卑（俾）越。女（如）飛雀【三】罔畏矚（離），不佳（惟）鷹唯（隼），迺（乃）弗悞（虞）民，卒（厥）斤（其）禍亦羅于罍罍。”</p> <p>王曰：“斂（說），女（汝）母（毋）瘖（忘）曰：‘余克享【四】于朕辟。’斤（其）又迺（乃）司四方民不（丕）克明，女（汝）佳（惟）又（有）萬壽才（在）乃政。女（汝）亦佳（惟）克顯天，迺（恫）眾（病）少（小）【五】民，中乃罰，女（汝）亦佳（惟）又（有）萬福，業業（長長）才（在）備（服）。”</p> <p>王曰：“斂（說），晝女（如）見（視）日，夜女（如）見（視）晨（辰），寺（是）罔非乃【六】載。敬之哉！若賈，女（汝）母（毋）非貨女（如）戩（值）石。”</p> <p>王曰：“斂（說），余既訊（謬）劫訟（愆）女（汝），思（使）若玉冰，上下罔不我【七】義（儀）。”</p> <p>王曰：“斂（說），昔在大戊，克漸五祀，天章之甬（用）九惠（德），弗易百青（姓）。佳（惟）寺（時）大戊盍（謙）曰：‘余不克【八】辟萬民。余罔絀（墜）天休，弋（式）佳（惟）參（三）惠（德）賜我，吾乃專（敷）之于百青’</p>	<p>王曰：「來！汝說。臺小子舊學于甘盤，既乃遜于荒野，入宅于河。自河徂亳，暨厥終罔顯。爾惟訓于朕志。若作酒醴，爾惟餉藥；若作和羹，爾惟鹽梅。爾交修予，罔予棄，予惟克邁乃訓。」</p> <p>說曰：「王！人求多聞，時惟建事。學于古訓，乃有獲。事不師古，以克永世--匪說攸聞。惟學遜志，務時敏，厥修乃來。允懷于茲，道積于厥躬。惟教學半，念終始典于學，厥德修罔覺。監于先王成憲，其永無愆。惟說式克欽承，旁招俊乂，列于庶位。」</p> <p>王曰：「嗚呼！說！四海之內，咸仰朕德，時乃風。股肱惟人，良臣惟聖。昔先正保衡，作我先王，乃曰：『予弗克俾厥後惟堯、舜，其心愧恥，若撻于市。』一夫不獲，則曰：『時予之辜！』佑我烈祖，格于皇天。爾尚明保予，罔俾阿衡，專美有商。為後非賢不乂，惟賢非後不食。其爾克紹乃辟于先王，永綏民！」說拜稽首，曰：「敢對揚天子之休命！」</p> <p>The king said, ‘Come, O Yue. I, the little one, first learned with Gan Pan. Afterwards I lived concealed among the rude countrymen, and then I went to (the country) inside the He, and lived there. From the He I went to Bo; and the result has been that I am unenlightened. Do you teach me what should be my aims. Be to me as the yeast and the malt in making sweet spirits, as the salt and the prunes in making agreeable soup. Use various methods to cultivate me; do not cast me away - so shall I attain to practise your instructions.’</p>

(姓)。余住(惟)弗进(雍)天之段(嘏)命。”【九】

王曰：“敝(說)，蜀(獨)乃心，專(敷)之于朕政，欲女(汝)丕(其)又(有)友勅朕命哉。”【一〇】

Eternalize your virtue and pair with Heaven. I had once restrained my tongue. Petty retainers who are outstanding serve my work. I order you, Yue; you should be in accord with my mandate. I am flexible, I am far, but I can be close, and thereby I can manage the affairs [of the state] better. Assist me and make [the mandate] eternal, and set upright [the works of] I the One Man.

The King said, “Yue, come and obey, do not be changed and let yourself be lost. Like that a sparrow that fears or worries does not fall prey to a hawk or a peregrine, if you are not concerned about your people, the misfortune will fall onto you.”

The King said, “Yue, you should not forget to say, ‘I will offer it to my lord.’ Controlling all the people of the four corners is a solemn and well-illuminated [task], you should be governing for ten thousand years. You also should be able to reveal Heaven’s [will]. Be in the pains and sufferings of petty people. When you are impartial, punish them. Then you will get ten thousand fortunes and will be in the service.”

The King said: “Yue, like that, in the daytime, you see the sun, and like that, at night, you see the stars, [deciding clearly] ‘this is it’ or ‘this is not it’ will be your work. Respect! Like a merchant, you should not lose something valuable for something like stone.

The King said, “Yue, you should correct yourself and be prudent in yourself. Like a jade and ice cube, the upper and the below do not go against my rules.”

The King said, “Yue, in the past, in the reign of Da Wu (i.e., Zhongzhong 中宗 of the Shang/Yin), we were able to proceed with five rituals, the Heaven brightly revealed nine virtues, and we did not think lightly of our hundreds of families. That time, King Da Wu humbly said, “I am not able to evade ten thousand people. Then I will lose what Heaven has put on me. Three virtues have been given to me; I should extend them to hundreds of families. I should not make Heaven’s great mandate stop.”

The King said, “Yue, stay focused on your heart/mind, and extend it in my governing. I want you to get allies and implement my order.

Yue said, ‘O king, a ruler should seek to learn much (from his ministers), with a view to establish his affairs; but to learn the lessons of the ancients is the way to attain this. That the affairs of one, not making the ancients his masters, can be perpetuated for generations, is what I have not heard. In learning there should be a humble mind and the maintenance of a constant earnestness; in such a case (the learner’s) improvement will surely come. He who sincerely cherishes these things will find all truth accumulating in his person. Teaching is the half of learning; when a man’s thoughts from first to last are constantly fixed on learning, his virtuous cultivation comes unperceived. Survey the perfect pattern of our first king - so shall you for ever be preserved from error. Then shall I be able reverently to meet your views, and on every side to look out for men of eminence to place in the various offices.’

The king said, ‘Oh! Yue, that all within the four seas look up to my virtue is owing to you. As his legs and arms form the man, so does a good minister form the sage (king). Formerly, there was the first premier of our dynasty, Bao-heng, who raised up and formed its royal founder. He said, “If I cannot make my sovereign like Yao or Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart, as if I were beaten in the market-place.’ If any common man did not get (all he should desire), he said, “It is my fault.” (Thus) he assisted my meritorious ancestor, so that he became equal to great Heaven. Do you give your intelligent and preserving aid to me, and let not A-heng engross all the good service to the House of Shang. The sovereign should share his government with none but worthy officers. The worthy officer should accept his support from none but the proper sovereign. May you now succeed in making your sovereign a (true) successor of the founder of his line, and in securing the lasting happiness of the people!’

Yue did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, ‘I will venture to respond to, and display abroad, your Majesty’s excellent charge.’³⁷⁹

³⁷⁹ James Legge, tr., *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, 118-120.

Summary: The third Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming” manuscript also comprises brief passages of royal orders to Fu Yue about various virtues and values as a trustworthy and loyal minister in working for the King’s honor.

The received “Yueming xia” describes a conversation between Fu Yue and King Wu Ding about how to learn and what to learn in order to rule the state. This text has nothing in common with the Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming.”

The third “Fu Yue zhi ming” is comprised of seven distinct commands made to Fu Yue. None of the concrete commands explicitly constitutes a parallel in wording, with those of the received “Yueming xia.” We see that these two texts can be compared only in terms of form and composition, as both are primarily commands from King, indicated with the shared signal words “the King said” (*wang yue* 王曰). However, both the specific contents of the commands and the structure of a dialogue between Wu Ding and Fu Yue in the received “Yueming” are different. This suggests that there were different versions of text circulating about the King’s specific commands to Yue about how the minister should assist the King; like the Qinghua version, some listed King Wu Ding’s commands only, and like the “Yueming,” some made it a dialogue between the two figures.

What do all of these variations in the features of the “Yueming” tell us about cultural memory as it operated via the making of Episode Texts and the creation of a master-plot of the past in the formation of the *Shangshu*? The Warring States and later periods saw the emergence and spread of the cultural practice of constructing exemplary historical figures representative of certain virtues and values. This cultural iconization authorized and legitimized values and virtues through those characters, and the discourses that the characters engaged in about the past. The iconization of the characters was accompanied by making and sharing of specific stories about them to concretize and substantialize them, and thereby augment the position of the creators and sharers of the stories along with the discourses. These stories about the same characters and their values were not singular but plural, and were revised according to the context in which they were told, so the same story developed into different versions. The different versions of the story, and even different stories about the same characters were sometimes shared and transmitted with the similar titles. Several different versions of the Fu Yue and Wu Ding story in the three received “Yueming” chapters, the “Fu Yue zhi ming” in the Qinghua manuscripts, and other similar stories of Fu Yue and Wu Ding in the received texts, exemplify the differentiation of the story of these historical figures.

Legitimization and Iconization: The Example of Qinghua “Zhou Wu Wang you ji” Chu Bamboo Slip Manuscript

Diversification and multiplication of Episode Texts about iconic figures were not the only important textual processes in this period. We also see another trend whereby texts were gradually revised and edited towards a point where a specific memory of the icon became established. The multiplication of text had an orientation toward a complete memory and more sophisticated and detailed textual representation in conscious collective efforts. Truth and authenticity were held up as absolute values that the iconic character and his stories intensified and reinforced. The

diversified memories and representations of the past were reconstructed to deepen and reinforce the values and meanings of the memory and what it represented in the present. I will discuss this with the example of the Qinghua “Zhou Wu Wang you ji” 周武王有疾 manuscript and received “Jinteng” chapter of the *Shangshu*.



“Jinteng” Parallel Text Slips 1 and 2

“Jinteng” Parallel Text Slips 3 and 4

Comprised of fourteen bamboo slips, this text was originally entitled “The record of that Duke of Zhou himself substituted for the role of King when King Wu of Wen had illness” (*Zhou Wuwang you ji Zhougong suo zi yi dai wang zhi zhi* 周武王有疾周公所自以代王之志) contains a story of Duke of Zhou, who willingly sacrificed himself by substituting his body for that of his dying brother King Wu, and saved the just established state of the Zhou.³⁸⁰ More specifically, the basic

³⁸⁰ Fang Delin 房德鄰 asserts that this Qinghua bamboo text is a fake. For him, it is an adaptation by the unskilled hand of a writer with inadequate knowledge of oracle-bone divination and who only consulted Ming-Qing scholars’ annotations of the *Shiji* and *Shangshu*. The forger did not know that Western Zhou people did not use the expression “King Wu of Zhou,” and that other excavated early texts never had such a long title. For more discussion, see Fang Delin, “Qinghua jian Zhou Wuwang you zhi Zhougong suo zi yi dai wang zhi zhi (Jinteng) shi weizuo” 清華簡周武王有疾周公所自以代王之志 (金縢) 是偽作, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 6 (2013): 41-51. Despite

plot is as follows: two or three years after the conquest of the Yin Shang,³⁸¹ the conqueror and *de facto* founder of the Zhou as the Central State, King Wu, became gravely ill, but his son was too young to succeed the throne yet. Because of this, leaders of the Zhou suggested making divination using a tortoise shell. Duke of Zhou then performed a ritual to ask their ancestors for the King's recovery. In the prayer, the Duke briefly explains why the ancestors should take him rather than King Wu. According to the Duke, it is because the King, who has many talents and techniques, is still needed. The Duke negotiates with the ancestors by saying that he will take away ritual vessels if they do not take him over King Wu. After the ancestral ceremony, the Duke put his prayer tablet into a metal-bound coffer and commanded the attendees not to disclose the event to anyone. However, the King soon died, and the King's brothers held the Duke of Zhou in check by spreading a rumor that he would harm the young successor. Due to the feud with the brothers and their factions, the Duke of Zhou moved east and ruled there for two or three years. When the Duke was no longer present in the Zhou region, a natural disaster occurred and ruined the crops. Taking the event as a sign from Heaven, the young King and his senior ministers opened the Duke's coffer and realized that Duke of Zhou had offered himself in place of the King Wu. Acknowledging his uncle's attempt to sacrifice himself for his dying father, the young King shed tears of repentance and brought the Duke back to the capital of Zhou. After their reconciliation, Heaven sent a wind that revived the dying crops. As a result, the Zhou had a good harvest.

Importantly, this story is found a significantly developed plot in one of the core chapters on the Western Zhou in the received *Shangshu* text, entitled “A metal-bound coffer” (*jinteng* 金滕). In the “Jinteng” narrative, the concept of “metal-bound coffer” that the chapter is named after appears as a location where the Duke of Zhou placed the prayer tablet that records his own willingness to sacrifice himself for King Wu. The metal-bound coffer works as an effective metaphor to signify the eternal, unbreakable loyalty to the King kept in the vassal's heart. Unlike the fact that the titles of many other core chapters about the Zhou historical events incorporate genre terminology such as “announcement (*gao* 誥), “harangue” (*shi* 誓), or “command” (*ming* 命) or the main character's name or title, this title of “Metal-bound coffer” uses symbolism to represent the theme in a figurative way. As is expected from this unique title and thematic representation, this text has a much stronger literary quality as a fiction.

some important points, however, Fang seems to rely too much on his own impressions and interpretations of the internal textual evidence.

³⁸¹ In the Qinghua parallel text, King Wu became ill in the third year after his conquest of the Yin, but in the “Jinteng” of the received *Shangshu* and the “Lu Zhougong shijia” of the *Shiji*, it is written as to have occurred in the second year after the conquest. It is interesting to note that there is another case where the Qinghua parallel text writes the received counterparts' number of two as three; it is in the section three which I will present in table form, where the text contains the number of years for the Duke of Zhou to dwell in the East. Although we cannot ascertain whether such consistent misnumbering was intentional or meant something else, it seems likely that the two identical cases in one text is not just a coincidence.

Concerning the different records of the year of these events between the Qinghua parallel text and received “Jinteng,” Li Rui 李銳 argues that Qinghua manuscript's number is more likely than the received ones'. Li Rui, “You Qinghua jian *Jinteng* tan Wuwang zaiwei sinian shuo” 由清華簡《金滕》談武王在位四年說, *Xueshu jiaoliu* 學術交流 256.7 (2015): 214-218. By contrast, Lü Miaojun 呂廟軍 understands that the different dating may reflect early people's different ways of recording the same event and seeks to reconcile the difference. Lü Miaojun, “Qinghua jian *Jinteng* yu Wuwang keYin zaiwei nianshu yanjiu” 清華簡《金滕》與武王克殷在位年數研究, *Zhongyuan wenhua yanjiu* 中原文化研究 3 (2015): 91-98. See also Du Yong 杜勇, “Qinghua jian *Jinteng* youguan lishi wenti kaolun” 清華簡《金滕》有關歷史問題考論, *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究學刊 2 (2012): 61-68.

The literary quality serves the editorial purpose of persuading the readers about the highly sensitive political issue of royal succession. The story of “Jinteng” legitimizes the Duke of Zhou, who was willing to die for King Wu, and, more importantly, who later became the regent for King Cheng. Although this text does not touch on the issue of the Duke’s regency after King Wu’s illness, the “Jinteng” text seems to already reflect the legitimacy of Duke of Zhou in its editing of the pre-existing story, making it into a moral justification of the actions of the Duke of Zhou, whose virtue of loyalty was great enough not to cast doubt his actions as regent. This suggests that the “Jinteng” was created and shared in support of Duke of Zhou’s legitimacy. In this sense, it reflects a highly ideologically-charged social memory.

At the same time, it transmits a political message on the value and significance of the loyalty of vassals, particularly in a newly founded or established. The virtue of loyalty that the Duke of Zhou shows in this story is presented as worthy of pursuit. This message becomes intensified as the character of the Duke of Zhou is rendered as the personification of loyalty in the development of the story, as I will discuss in comparing between the three versions of the Qinghua parallel text, the received *Shangshu* “Jinteng,” and the *Shiji* “Lu Zhougong shijia.”

It is significant that the title that Qinghua bamboo slip manuscript bears on the back of its last slip is not “Metal-bound coffer” but “The Record of that Duke of Zhou himself substituted for the role of King when King Wu of Wen had illness.” First, it shows that some people recognized and understood this narrative with a very different title, which summarizes the event in a much more descriptive way.³⁸² It reflects particular cultural consciousness with which one might approach this story, a consciousness in which the story was not thematized by the notion of metal-bound coffer. The Qinghua manuscript may reflect a developmental stage that is more neutral and less didactic.

More importantly, in this lengthy and prosaic title, the desire to authorize the Duke of Zhou as the avatar of pure, never-ending loyalty using the metaphor of the metal-bound coffer is weakened. The title builds up the Duke of Zhou’s virtue of political loyalty. It also defends the Duke of Zhou and his legitimacy as an ideal ruler of early Zhou that succeeded from Kings Wen and Wu.³⁸³ This position disproves a common idea that the “Jinteng” was composed in the early

³⁸² This raises an issue of the date that each text was titled and sequenced, including the received *Shangshu*. The earliest evidence for the latter issue is probably seen in the *Shiji*, but the most systematic evidence and explanation is found in the text known as “Postface to the *Shu*” (*shuxu* 書序) attributed to Kong Anguo 孔安國 (fl. second to first century BCE).

³⁸³ Yang Chenhong 楊振紅 traces the change of portrayals of the Duke of Zhou in historical records and relates this issue to the circulation of the *Shangshu* text in the early period. In the study, Yang also finds that the image of the Duke of Zhou had been developing through accretion during the Warring States to Western Han period. Yang Chenhong, “Cong Qinghua jian *Jinteng* kan *Shangshu* de chuanliu ji Zhougong lishi jizai de yanbian” 從清華簡《金滕》看《尚書》的傳流及周公歷史記載的演變, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 3 (2012): 47-63.

Wang Kunpeng 王坤鵬 sees some historiographical issues arising from the comparison between the Qinghua parallel text and the received “Jinteng” text, noting that the writing about past events is fundamentally conditioned by the socio-political context of the writing, and that the writer of the historical narrative responds to his own time by looking at the past. For Wang, the Qinghua parallel text was copied in the mid-Warring States and had to adapt the narrative in its own context. This created the difference from the “Jinteng.” See Wang Kunpeng, “Cong zhushu *Jinteng* kan Zhanguo shiqi de gushi shuzuo” 從竹書《金滕》看戰國時期的古史述作, *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊 3 (2017): 86-94. See also his “Jianben *Jinteng* xueshu jiejzhi xinlun” 簡本《金滕》學術價值新論, *Gudai wenming* 古代文明 4 (2012): 23-28.

Dirk Meyer also understands the Qinghua text and received “Jinteng” to have been compiled for different audiences and different social uses in their own politico-philosophical contexts. For him, the former text was to

Western Zhou period, probably during the regency of the Duke of Zhou or right after. Even if it is true that the memory reflected in the “Jinteng” has to do with early Western Zhou politics, the way in which it is represented in the narrative was formed in the long process of literary evolution that was still going on in the early Western Han.³⁸⁴ That is, the “Jinteng” in the received *Shangshu* is a fictional narrative representation of the collective memory of the Duke of Zhou, who had been cumulatively constructed as a cultural icon of the virtue of loyalty.³⁸⁵

The “Jinteng” text is particularly important in terms of the *Shangshu* formation and the cultural memory that the text represents. It deals with the issue of legitimacy of Duke of Zhou, who became regent before the legal successor reached his majority. This raises the question about whether the Duke intended to usurp the young successor, or if he was an authentic loyal vassal who coped with the first crisis of the newly established Central State and preserved the royal family by taking the rulership as regent. Considering the cultural status of the Duke of Zhou in particular groups of intellectual orientation. During the times of late Warring States and early Western Han tied to the heroic character of Kongzi 孔子 as the genuine transmitter of the past,³⁸⁶ it is probable that there were increasingly stronger cultural demands from the group to defend and support the Duke of Zhou as a “true” loyal vassal who saved the Mandate of Heaven bestowed on the Zhou. In the following section, I will discuss the need to “invent” the Duke of Zhou as the personified representation of loyalty in the development of the narratives in three texts: the Qinghua bamboo

perform as a reenactment of the incident of disbelief while the “Jinteng” is a more of narrative of memory rather than a reenactment of it. However, as I have clarified in the Introduction and other chapters, I do not see the narrative of memory and performance as separate. See Dirk Meyer, “*Shu* Traditions and Text Recomposition: A Reevaluation of Jinteng 金縢 and Zhou Wu Wang you ji” 周武王有疾, in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu* (Classic of Documents), edited by Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 224-246. See also his “The Art of Narrative and the Rhetoric of Persuasion in the ‘*Jin Téng*’ (Metal Bound Casket) from the Qinghua Collection of Manuscripts,” *Asiatische Studien – Etudes Asiatiques* 68.4 (2014): 937-68.

³⁸⁴ Li Min 李氏 has argued that the “Jinteng” text was composed in the Warring States but revised and collated until the mid-Western Han, and this is why the *Shiji* did not mention “Jinteng,” despite using identical sentences and phrases from it. See his “*Shangshu Jinteng de zhizuo shidai ji qi shiliao jiezhi*” 尚書《金縢》的制作時代及其史料價值, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 3 (1995): 109-116.

After comparing the Qinghua parallel text to the received “Jinteng,” Xu Zili 徐子黎 confirms Li Min’s critical argument about the “Jinteng” formation. Xu Zili, “Qinghua jian *Jinteng* yu jinchuanben duidu bijiao” 清華簡《金縢》與今傳本對讀比較, *Anhui wenxue* 安徽文學, 11 (2011): 151-152.

³⁸⁵ As for the narratological approach of the “Jinteng” text in the received *Shangshu*, see Yu Wenzhe 于文哲, “*Shangshu Jinteng de xushixue jiedu*” 尚書《金縢》的敘事學解讀, *Haerbin gongye daxue xuebao* 哈爾濱工業大學學報 11.3 (2009): 116-120.

³⁸⁶ In the *Lunyu* (論語; Analects), which I believe was still undergoing textual formation in early Western Han, the Duke of Zhou is idealized as the model who Kongzi admires probably most deeply. See *Lunyu*, 7:5 and 8:11. Michael Hunter examines numerous sayings attributed to Kongzi in the received literature and reach the conclusion that the *Lunyu* was a Western Han product. See his *Confucius Beyond the Analects*, (Leiden: Brill, 2017). Mark Csikszentmihalyi has also examined the possibility of formation of the *Lunyu* in the Western Han cultural context. See Mark Csikszentmihalyi, “Confucius and the *Analects* in the Han,” in *Confucius and the Analects: New Essays*, edited by Bryan W. Van Norden. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2002). For an updated view on this issue, see Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Tae Hyun Kim, “Textual Formation of the *Analects*,” in *The Analects (Norton Critical Editions)*, translated by Simon Leys and edited by Michael Nylan, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014).

manuscript “Zhou Wu Wang you ji,” the “Jinteng” of the *Shangshu*,³⁸⁷ and the “Lu Zhougong shijia” 魯周公世家 of the *Shiji* 史記.³⁸⁸

In the first section of the narrative, which serves as the introduction of the story, we find some minor but interesting differences:

1.

清華 周武王有疾	書經 周書 金縢	史記 魯周公世家
武王既克殷三年，王不豫有遲。二公告周公曰：「我其為王穆卜。」周公曰：「未可以戚吾先王。」 周公乃為三壇同墀，為一壇於南方，周公立焉，秉璧植珪。 Three years after King Wu defeated the	既克商二年，王有疾，弗豫。二公曰：「我其為王穆卜」周公曰：「未可以戚我先王。」 公乃自以為功，為三壇同墀。為壇於南方北面，周公立焉。植璧秉珪，乃告大王、王季、文王。	武王克殷二年，天下未集，武王有疾，不豫，群臣懼，太公、召公乃繆卜。周公曰：「未可以戚我先王。」 周公於是乃自以為質，設三壇，周公北面立，戴璧秉圭，告于太王、王季、文王。

³⁸⁷ A useful English translation of the “Jinteng” is found in David Nivison tr., “Metal-Bound Coffin,” in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, second edition, compiled by Wm. Theodore De Bary and Irene Bloom; with the collaboration of Wing-tsit Chan, et al., and contributions by Joseph Adler, et al., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

³⁸⁸ Liu Guozhong 劉國忠 appreciates the value of the Qinghua “Zhou Wu Wang you ji” text in comparison with the received “Jinteng.” For him, the Qinghua parallel text helps to understand the received “Jinteng” in several aspects such as authenticity, establishment of content, later interpolation, title, omissions, etc. Liu Guozhong, “Cong Qinghua jian *Jinteng* kan chuanshi ben *Jinteng* de wenben wenti” 從清華簡《金縢》看傳世本金縢的文本題，*Qinghua daxue xuebao* 清華大學學報 26.4 (2011): 40-43.

Admitting that the Qinghua “Zhou Wu Wang you ji” manuscript is apparently an earlier version in comparison with the received one, Huang Huaixin 黃懷信 also comments on the Qinghua parallel text, that is, compared to the received counterpart, the Qinghua version has significant omissions and additions in words such as referring to just “King” instead of writing the full title of King Cheng 成王 in the received text. Such phenomena mean for Huang that this bamboo text was likely an earlier version. However, it is hard to determine how much significance to place on the phenomenon of addition or omission of characters in the early text. His view that the Qinghua “Zhou Wu Wang you ji” text must have been one of many earlier written versions does not imply that the Qinghua one is the first or earliest or original “Jinteng.” I think that it is more important to note how the omission or addition is related to the production or intensification of meaning on the syntactic or textual level. See Huang Huaixin, “Qinghua jian *Jinteng* jiaodu” 清華簡《金縢》校讀，*Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究學刊 3 (2011.5): 25-28.

Understanding that the content differences between Qinghua “Zhou Wu Wang you ji” and the received “Jinteng” are not significant enough, Cheng Hao 程浩 argues that the two versions were from the same source and simplifies the issue of textual differences between the two different versions as having been produced from the loss of the original source during circulation. Cheng Hao, “Qinghua jian *Jinteng* xingzhi yu chengpian bianzheng” 清華簡《金縢》性質與成篇辨證，*Shanghai jiaotong daxue xuebao* 上海交通大學學報 92.21.4 (2013): 88-95. A similar opinion is seen in Li Rui 李銳, “*Jinteng* chutan” 《金縢》初探，*Shixueshi yanjiu* 史學史研究 142 (2011.2): 116-123.

Peng Yushang 彭裕商 examines the Qinghua parallel text in terms of four categories in comparison with other excavated materials and received texts: posthumous titles, phrases, language used for invocation, and languages for divination. He concludes that the current Qinghua parallel text is merely a revised version of text by a scribe in the mid-Warring States and was not from the original text. However, he does not explain what the original text would have looked like if there really was the original one. Peng Yushang 彭裕商, “*Shangshu Jinteng* xinyan” 《尚書金縢》新研，*Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 06 (2012): 153-162.

<p>(state of) Yin, the King was ill for a long time. Two lords informed the lord of Zhou, “We need to make a divination for the King.” The lord of Zhou said, “We cannot grieve for our former kings yet.”</p> <p>The lord of Zhou then established three altars, leveling the ground, and set up one altar in the south. The lord of Zhou stood before it, holding a green jade and placing a jade table.³⁸⁹</p>	<p>Two years after the conquest of the Shang dynasty, the king caught a fever and was quite ill. The Two Dukes said, “Let us reverently consult the turtle concerning the king.” But the Duke of Zhou said, “You may not so distress our former kings.”</p> <p>He then took the business on himself and made three altars of earth on the same cleared space; and having made another altar on the south, facing north, he there took his own position. He placed the jade bi-discs [on the three altars], while he himself held his jade gui-mace. He then addressed King Tai, King Ji, and King Wen.</p>	
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Summary: Despite some differences, this section of the three episodes shares the following plot: in the second or third year after the conquest of Shang, King Wu was stricken with a fatal disease. For his ill brother, the Duke of Zhou set up an altar to perform a ritual.

The Qinghua parallel text does not mention that the Duke presented himself as a sacrifice for his dying brother, whereas both the received *Shangshu* “Jinteng” and *Shiji* parallel texts do. Also, unlike the Qinghua version, the two received ones specify the ritual as a prayer to great ancestors such as the Great King 太王, Wang Ji 王季, and King Wen 文王.

First, the *Shangshu* “Jinteng” emphasizes the idea that the Duke of Zhou’s decision to perform an ancestral ritual was, in fact, a self-sacrifice to save his elder brother King Wu, whereas the Qinghua parallel text does not mention that.³⁹⁰ Nivison, the translator of the “Jinteng,” renders the original

³⁸⁹ The English translation of the Qinghua manuscript is mine, as all other translations of excavated manuscripts in this thesis. The translation of the “Jinteng” is taken from David Nivison tr., “Metal-Bound Coffin,” in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*.

³⁹⁰ For Magnus Ribbing Gren, this is the essential difference between Qinghua manuscript and the received “Jinteng.” He argues that the Qinghua parallel text does not speak of Duke of Zhou’s self-sacrifice explicitly. See his “The Qinghua Jinteng 金縢 Manuscript: What it does not tell us about the Duke of Zhou,” in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu* (Classic of Documents), edited by Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 193-223.

I agree with Gren on the point that the issue of self-sacrifice is much less enunciated, and thereby the cultural iconization of the Duke of Zhou as the figure of loyalty is significantly less meaningful in the Qinghua manuscript than in the received “Jinteng.” However, this does not mean that the Qinghua manuscript is not concerned with the self-sacrifice of the Duke of Zhou. I understand that in the narrative, the significance of the character of Duke of Zhou, even in the Qinghua parallel text, is constructed through the linkage to the social affirmation and approval of a political value that was widely accepted and practiced in the culture, and the value is concretized in the moment where the Duke willingly chooses to substitute himself for King Wu in his ancestral performance. It cannot only be read to mean that he will take the role of regent or ruler but also that he will sacrifice himself. This self-sacrifice decision is the core of why the ending of King Cheng’s weeping creates a certain affective impact and produces a moralistic sensation that constitutes the essential message of this story. If there is no moment of self-sacrifice in this story, the moral impact that this narrative aims to produce will be much lessened. Thus, although this self-sacrifice moment appears not to be emphasized in the Qinghua manuscript, it is still present in the Qinghua manuscript narrative. This idea of self-sacrifice becomes more clearly emphasized in the later versions of the same story in the *Shangshu* or *Shiji*. I claim that the idea

公乃自以為功 as “the Duke then took the business on himself,” but it can more literally be translated as “the Duke thereupon regarded himself as a sacrificial offering (*gong* 功).” What the Duke of Zhou did in the ritual was to propose an exchange of the life of Duke of Zhou for King Wu. But the “Jinteng” editor desires to make it clearer from the beginning that the ancestral ritual was not just an ordinary one but a serious sacrifice in which Duke of Zhou offers himself as an object of trade for King Wu. By adding this line and stressing the nature of the ritual, the editors of “Jinteng” intended to construct the character of the Duke of Zhou as a model figure of uncompromising loyalty who enabled the continuation of Heavenly mandated Zhou.

Second, the “Jinteng” of the *Shangshu* adds the phrase “facing north” (*beimian* 北面) and attempts to make the sentence more straightforward. The phrase thus serves as clarification. In the Qinghua parallel text, we do not find such clarification. The phrase “facing north” is a metaphorical idiom to reveal one’s status as subject and vassal vis-à-vis his lord or ruler who “faces south” (*nanmian* 南面). Adding this expression is not insignificant for the “Jinteng” editor since the expression shows that the Duke recognized his status as a vassal and performed the ritual in light of that status. The Qinghua parallel text writes only that he made an altar for himself as the master of the ritual “at the Southern corner” (*yu nanfang* 於南方). This direction signifies the Duke of Zhou’s status as the vassal vis-à-vis the ancestors, but also has him “face south” vis-à-vis the other vassals and people who stand behind him. Writing “at the Southern corner” makes Duke of Zhou’s position ambiguous and obscure and renders him having a hidden agenda to claim himself the next ruler. The ritual is a self-sacrifice only for the recovery of King Wu but is by no means intended for Duke of Zhou’s self-appointment as the next ruler; the Duke of Zhou did not mean to usurp the throne in the ritual, and the ritual was an innocent act of prayer for King Wu. Adding the phrase effectively helps the Duke of Zhou character demonstrate the value of loyalty as the subject.

Third, the *Shangshu* “Jinteng” text more specifically clarifies to whom the ritual is dedicated. According to the text, the ancestors who received the ritual are the three founding fathers of Western Zhou, i.e., Great King (*taiwang* 太王 or 大王), Wang Ji 王季, and King Wen 文王. Of course, we can also guess in the Qinghua parallel manuscript, from the line where Duke of Zhou chose to perform a ritual for the former king as a reply to the two other dukes’ suggestion to make a divination by shell, and also from the invocation that appears in the second section, that the addressee is the ancestors of the Zhou who take the ill King Wu as the great-great-grandchild (*yuansun* 元孫). Even in the two moments, however, it remains completely unknown who the actual ancestor was, who took King Wu as his great-great-grandchild and so also the status of the Duke of Zhou as the master of the ancestral ritual. In this missing lineage in the Qinghua text, the status of Duke of Zhou remains obscure and unexplained. By clarifying the receiver of the invocation, the editor of “Jinteng” finds it easier to locate the Duke of Zhou in the lineage as the great-great-grandchild of the Great King, the grandson of Wang Ji, the son of King Wen, the brother of the King Wu, and now the master of the ritual. It thus constructs the identity of the Duke of Zhou as the legitimate regent of this newly Heaven-mandated state. In mentioning the ancestors, the Duke of Zhou is envisioned as equally belonging to the familial tradition that provides him with the status, authority, and legitimacy as the interim ruler of the Zhou. There is an ambivalence in his status, however. His being is justified in the lineage both as the permanent successor and regent. Because the Duke of Zhou could also be self-appointed as the next King in this ritual, the

of self-sacrifice was already present in early version of memory and became amplified in the course of restructuring the story focusing on the new character building of Duke of Zhou.

significance of the decision and the fact that he remained only as regent becomes magnified. Thus, the lineage works both to set up the character of the Duke of Zhou as the legitimate regent and to build his character as the embodiment of loyalty. This creates a message that one should serve king and country with such loyalty.

The “Lu Zhougong shijia” of the *Shiji* renders the situation more urgent and serious by adding phrases such as “All under Heaven have not gathered yet” 天下未集, “all the vassals were afraid” 群臣懼. It also clarifies the meaning of the phrase in the “Jinteng,” “the Duke then took himself as a tribute [to the ritual]” 公乃自以為功. It changes the phrase into a clearer one that says, “thereupon, the Duke regarded himself as an offering [of the ritual]” 周公於是乃自以為質. All these clarifications and added details intensify the urgency of the situation and thereby make the Duke of Zhou’s decision to be the hostage or offering of the ritual for King Wu appear as a more significant act of loyalty for the state and the King. The Duke of Zhou’s decision to perform the ancestral ritual is thus more convincingly justified.

The second section is the most critical part for us to see how the narrative developed to show the Duke of Zhou being iconized as a heroic exemplar of loyalty in order to save the Western Zhou in its first crisis. In this section, there are two strikingly differences between the Qinghua parallel text and “Jinteng”; first, Duke of Zhou’s self-identification vis-à-vis King Wu; and second, the prayer and turtle divination of the Duke of Zhou. These alterations serve two purposes: first, that the authority and legitimacy of the Duke of Zhou as the both talented and attentive to ghosts and spirits; second, that the fraternal conflict is foreshadowed through the added lines in the prayers, which can be read and interpreted in multiple ways, thereby making the story even more complex. And the “Lu Zhougong shijia” makes all these clearer and more straightforward, removing the ambiguity left in the “Jinteng.” Thus, it completes the recreation of the character of Duke of Zhou as a model of genuine loyalty.

2.

清華 周武王有疾	書經 周書 金縢	史記 魯周公世家
<p>史乃册祝告先王曰：「爾元孫發也，遭害虐疾，爾毋乃有備子之責在上，惟爾元孫發也，不若旦也，是佞若巧能，多才多藝，能事鬼神。命于帝庭，溥有四方，以定爾子孫于下地。爾之許我，我則晉璧與珪。尔不我許，我乃以璧與珪歸。」</p> <p>周公乃納其所為功，自以代王之說，于金縢之匱，乃命執事人曰：「勿敢言。」</p> <p>Then the Archivist wrote an invocation to the preceding kings on bamboo slips and said: “Your first grandson, Fa, has got a dangerous and violent disease. You cannot avoid having responsibility for your eldest grandchild, who belongs to what is above.</p>	<p>史乃册祝曰：「惟爾元孫某，遭厲虐疾。若爾三王，是有丕子之責于天，以旦代某之身。予仁若考能，多材多藝，能事鬼神。乃元孫不若旦多材多藝，不能事鬼神。乃命于帝庭，敷佑四方，用能定爾子孫（子）〔于〕下地；四方之民罔不祇畏。嗚呼！無墜天之降寶命，我先王亦永有依歸。今我即命于元龜，爾之許我，我其以璧與珪歸，俟爾命；爾不許我，我乃屏璧與珪。」</p> <p>乃卜三龜，一習吉。啟籥見書，乃并是吉。公曰：「體！王其罔害。予小子新命于三王，惟永終是圖。茲攸俟，</p>	<p>史策祝曰：「惟爾元孫王發，勤勞阻疾。若爾三王是有負子之責於天，以旦代王發之身。旦巧能，多材多藝，能事鬼神。乃王發不如旦多材多藝，不能事鬼神。乃命于帝庭，敷佑四方，用能定汝子孫于下地，四方之民罔不敬畏。無墜天之降葆命，我先王亦永有所依歸。今我其即命於元龜，爾之許我，我以其璧與圭歸，以俟爾命。爾不許我，我乃屏璧與圭。」</p> <p>周公已令史策告太王、王季、文王，欲代武王發，於是乃即三王而卜。卜人皆曰吉，發書視之，信吉。周公喜，開籥，乃見書遇吉。周</p>

<p>Your first grandson Fa is not like Dan; his eloquence is skilled, he has lots of talents and techniques, and he can serve ghosts and spirits better. He has been appointed in the hall of Di to extend his dominion to the four corners, and, thereby, he will establish your descendants in the lands under [Heaven]. If you approve me, I will present this green jade and jade table. But if you do not approve me, then I will return with green jade and the table.”</p> <p>The lord of Zhou put the words of invocation into a metal-bound coffer that he offered himself offering, and by that he made himself a substitute for King Wu, and ordered the retainers, saying “Do not dare to tell.”</p>	<p>能念予一人。」公歸，乃納冊于金滕之匱中。王翼日乃瘳。</p> <p>Then the recorder accordingly wrote [the duke’s] prayer on a tablet: “N., your chief descendent, is suffering from an epidemic disease and is violently ill. If you Three Kings are obligated to Heaven for a great son, let me Dan be a substitute for his person. I am graceful and accommodating, clever and able. I am possessed of many abilities and arts which fit me to serve spiritual beings. Your chief descendant, on the other hand, has not so many abilities and arts as I and is not so capable of serving spiritual beings. Moreover, he was appointed in the hall of Di to extend his dominion to the four quarters [of the world], so that he might establish your descendants in the lands below [Heaven] and so that none of the peoples of the four quarters would fail to be in awe and fear. Oh! Do not let that precious Heaven-conferred Mandate fall to the ground; then [all] our former kings will also ever have security and resort. Now I accordingly make this charge to the great turtle. If you grant what I request, I will take these discs and this mace and will go back and await your command [i.e., my death]. If you do not grant it, I will put the discs and mace away.”</p> <p>[The duke] then divined with three turtle [shells], all alike were favorable. He opened the tubes and read the [oracle] texts, and these too were favorable. The duke said,³⁹¹ “Let there be no harm to the King. I, a humble prince, have a renewed mandate from the three kings. What I pursue everlastingly is this place [i.e., Zhou], where I can concern for you, the One Man.”</p> <p>The duke went back and then placed the tablet [with the charge] in a metal-bound coffer. On the next day the king recovered.</p>	<p>公入賀武王曰：「王其無害。旦新受命三王，維長終是圖。茲道能念予一人。」周公藏其策金滕匱中，誠守者勿敢言。明日，武王有瘳。</p>
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In the Qinghua parallel text, the Duke describes the greatness of King Wu. King Wu, according to the Duke, is not like the Duke himself. King Wu is eloquent and has so many talents and techniques so that he can serve ghosts and spirits properly. By this logic, because the King has a lot of talents

³⁹¹ Here Nivison renders the lines as the Duke’s speaking in the King’s role. However, there is no internal textual evidence to support such way of reading by Nivison. At least, the compiler of “Lu Zhougong shijia” of the *Shiji* makes it more explicit as the Duke’s own speech to the King. I understand it for the editors of the “Lu Zhougong shijia” to have removed the ambiguity left in the “Jinteng” text that they had. Thus, I change the Nivison’s translation of the Duke’s own words.

and techniques and serves the ghosts and spirits better, he should remain in this world, and not die. He has received the mandate from Heaven. Thus, he will further play a further role for descendants of the ancestors in the just-established country. The Duke does not clarify who he is vis-à-vis King Wu, like in the “Jinteng.” The Duke’s focus is to persuade the ancestors that they should not take King Wu away and instead take him as substitute.

In the received “Jinteng” text, however, the same lines in which the Duke praises the talents and feats of King Wu now describe the Duke’s greatness compared to King Wu. That is, it is the Duke of Zhou who has talents and techniques and serves the ghosts and spirits well. King Wu does not have such talents and techniques and does not serve ghosts and spirits very well. The received “Jinteng” proceeds to say that although King Wu does not serve them well as Duke Zhou since it was King Wu who has been appointed by the Thearch, he will extend the land and establish the descendants in the lands, and so he should be here to keep Heaven’s mandate alive. In both texts, the reason King Wu should not be dead is that he has received the mandate. Being alive, King Wu must realize this mandate in this world.

This striking reverse application in the received “Jinteng” works as the justification for why the ancestors should choose the Duke instead of King Wu; the Duke is superior to King Wu in serving ghosts and spirits because of his talents and techniques. Such confidence in the character of the Duke of Zhou is not seen at all in the Qinghua parallel text. On the contrary, in the Qinghua text, he is merely a humble being who can willingly offer his life for a cause. This reflects the change of the cultural status of the Duke of Zhou.

Second, in the received “Jinteng,” we see many new lines added. These new lines are in the later part of the Duke’s prayer, and the last part of the section where the Duke performs divination by shell and another oracle divination, and the result of the divinations is confirmed.³⁹² Interestingly, these newly added two parts have in common that they are related to the Duke’s performing those divinations. This also means that in the Qinghua parallel text, the divination is completely missing. Considering that the received “Jinteng” consistently connects the divination subplot to the story found in the Qinghua version, it seems highly likely that there could have been another story source for the Duke of Zhou’s divination for the ill King Wu. That is, the “Jinteng” may have combined two different stories into one.

The received “Jinteng” text uses the added part to justify the Duke of Zhou’s decision to substitute himself for the dying King Wu as “auspicious” (*ji* 吉) and approvable.³⁹³ In the less

³⁹² Particularly in the tortoise divination, scholars generally agree that the one who responds to the prayer was understood as the ancestral spirit of the King. For this, see David Keightley, “The Shang: China’s First Historical Dynasty,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 232-91; see also his *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978). In the received “Jinteng” text and more explicitly in the “Lu Zhougong shijia” text, when the Duke gets the prognostication of “auspiciousness” in his divination, he understands that his charge was confirmed by the spirits of the three former Kings.

³⁹³ If we take the last Duke’s confirmation as to speak in the King Wu’s role, then the line will be rendered as follows, as Nivison has made, “Let there be no harm [to the duke]. I, humble prince, have a renewed mandate from the three Kings. It is a lasting future that [I] may expect. Then what [we] ‘await’ is [not the duke’s death, but] is that they will have concern for me, the One Man” 體！王其罔害。予小子新命于三王，惟永終是圖。茲攸俟，能念予一人。(My translation is as follows: The duke said, “Let there be no harm to the King. I, a humble prince, have a renewed mandate from the three kings. What I pursue ever-lastingly is this place [i.e. Zhou], where I can concern for you, the One Man.”)

developed Qinghua text, however, the readers never know whether the decision was deemed right and aligned with the will of the ancestors. By adding a new part, probably from another source, the “Jinteng” text provides justification and legitimacy to the Duke. In justifying his plan through the assumed assent of the three ancestral Kings, the character of the Duke of Zhou as an exemplar of loyalty is reinforced. His wish to act as substitute was neither insincere nor reckless, but approved as genuinely loyal and effective, since it cured the dying King.

However, the Duke did not die, and the King eventually died. Why did the Duke not die after the approval of three Kings’ spirits and King Wu’s recovery? No version of the narrative provides a concrete answer. However, the revised plots of the “Jinteng” and “Lu Zhougong shijia” suggest an indirect solution that may be read and interpreted in different ways. The clue is the phrase “xinming” (新命; being newly mandated) that is found in Duke’s speech. Using this phrase, the Duke realized the mandate was renewed by the spirits of three Kings. This phrase can be read mainly in two different ways. First, the narrative creates the expectation that a “new mandate” means that the Duke will die for his King and country. However, since the Duke did not die, death as substitute was not what the phrase “new mandate” meant. Considering that *ming* is also often a technical term in the literature on early Western Zhou as to mean “to be ordered by the highest entity like Heaven to install himself as a new sovereign,” the new mandate surely meant something else, far beyond just the death of Duke Zhou itself. In its political signification, what the three ancestral spirits wanted appears to be not just limited to the Duke of Zhou dying but expanded to him becoming a king or regent to help the young successor. Also, it implies that he will protect and establish the newly founded Zhou, as the technical term *ming* originally meant in the early Western Zhou political context. This is not regarded as less loyal or even usurping the throne because it was approved by the ancestral Kings; it is what the three Kings’ ancestors indeed mandated, according to the Duke of Zhou and the prognostication of the divination.

The “Jinteng’s” strategy is to leave the phrase “newly mandated” ambiguous. That is, in the text, the new mandate may be read in these two different ways at the same time. In the end, when King Cheng finds the prayer of the Duke in the coffer, the mandate signified in the prayer is still the duke’s self-sacrifice. However, when the fraternal feud begins in the next segment, the mandate that the Duke realized in his divination appears to be his taking the role of regent. The “Jinteng” does not explicitly mention that the Duke took the role, but it is suggested in the rumor spread by Duke’s brothers and the Duke’s response that he believes the mandate was received from the spirits of three Kings. However, in the “Lu Zhougong shijia,” the mandate indicates clearly that he should be acting as regent for King Cheng and the country.

The definition of loyalty also changes. Dying for the already gravely ill King Wu is not loyal. It may be even disloyal because then the young successor will be left behind without the

In this case of understanding the lines as being spoken in the King’s role, we can explain one more important thing, i.e., why the ancestors did not take the Duke away instead of King Wu, despite their confirmation. In the Qinghua version and in the current translation I make, readers remain largely uninformed as to why the Duke did not die instead of King Wu despite the confirmation of the three Kings about the Duke’s decision. According to this translation, the spirits of the three Kings give an order not to harm the Duke. Thus, we get the most desirable results: the Duke’s life is saved, and the King Wu recovers from illness.

Therefore, this way of understanding the text is more advantageous in making more sense of the story more. Despite the advantage of this translation, however, because there is no sign or evidence for which we can read the lines as being spoken in the King’s role in the given text and more importantly, in the *Shiji* text, which I view as another development in composition from the “Jinteng” text, the lines are clearly marked as the Duke’s own spoken to the King, rather than the Duke’s speaking in the King’s role.

protection of such a loyal vassal, and the newly founded Zhou state will undergo extreme internal conflicts which may ruin the Zhou. Such a talented man like the Duke of Zhou must help his successor and stabilize the new country. This appears as what the three Kings mandate him to do, as the Duke realizes in his divination. Even with the new mandate, the Duke remains genuinely loyal and faithful to the country. Although he does not die for the terminally ill King Wu, he still works for the young successor and his country. He is still completing a noble mission for the greater cause, maintaining his character as a hero of political loyalty.

The “Jinteng” indeed justifies and legitimizes the Duke as the regent for King Cheng. It provides a historical and religious explanation in narrative form for why the Duke of Zhou had to be a regent despite opposition from his brothers. The Qinghua Chu bamboo parallel text where the Duke of Zhou realizes the new mandate thus iconizes the Duke as willing to die for his dying King. This text is not meant to justify or legitimize the Duke’s historical role as the regent in the early Western Zhou but to create and share the image of the Duke as the personification of the virtue of loyalty.

This was an important compositional choice because this phrase also better resonates with the previous part of Duke’s prayer to the three Kings’ spirits, where he makes himself superior to King Wu. The Duke is eloquent, has more talents and more techniques, and serves spirits and ghosts well. What is wrong with his being a regent for his own country if it is what the ancestral spirits mandate?

Therefore, by adding sections that narrate the Duke’s multiple divinations and approval by ancestors as realizing the new mandate, the “Jinteng” story becomes much deeper and complex, and can explain better why the Duke did not die and why the Duke’s brothers began to oppose the Duke. The phrase “newly mandated” works well to explain the intensified conflict between the Duke of Zhou and his brothers, the event described in section three below. After the divinations, the Duke of Zhou is officially approved by the ancestors: King Wu recovered, the Duke of Zhou did not die, and achieved what the ancestral spirits wanted from him. This signifies a significant change of political status for the Duke in Zhou.

In the Qinghua parallel text, where the divination and ancestral confirmation parts are not included, readers do not know whether King Wu recovered after the Duke Zhou’s performing the ancestral ritual or whether the ancestral spirits approved the Duke’s will. It only speaks of King Wu’s death in section three. Thus, in the Qinghua text, it is not clear why the Duke of Zhou had a feud with his brothers. We only guess that the feud must be a power game to deter the Duke from becoming the next ruler after the power vacuum. However, we do not know why the Duke says “I will have nothing to see the former Kings for” again, or how this phrase is connected to the previous narrative section two. That is, we notice that the “Jinteng” has connected the missing links by adding the new lines and phrases in section two.

The most striking change in narrative occurs in the “Lu Zhougong shijia,” which develops the story at length, particularly on the part of the Duke of Zhou, and ends with this section, deleting all other remaining sections.

3.

清華 周武王有疾	書經 周書 金縢	史記 魯周公世家
就後武王力(陟), 成王猶幼在位, 管叔及其羣兄弟, 乃流言于邦曰: “公將不利于	武王既喪, 管叔及其群弟乃流言於國, 曰: 「公將不利於孺子。」周公乃告	其後武王既崩, 成王少, 在強葆之中。周公恐天下聞武王崩而畔, 周公乃踐阼代成王攝行政當國。管叔及其群弟流言於國曰: 「周公將不利於成王。」周公乃告太公望、召公奭曰:

<p>孺子。”周公乃告二公曰：“我之□□□□無以復見於先王。”</p> <p>周公宅東三年，禍人乃斯得，於後，周公乃遺王詩曰《鷓鴣》，王亦未逆公。</p> <p>After King Wu's demise, King Cheng was still a child on the throne. Guan Shu and other brothers spread the words in the state, saying: "The Duke will not be advantageous to the child." The Duke of Zhou then said to the other two lords: "If I [do not escape now], I cannot see the preceding kings again."³⁹⁴</p> <p>The lord of Zhou dwelled in the East for three years, and men fomenting disaster were taken. After that, the lord of Zhou sent the King a poem, entitled "Owl," and the king also decided that would not go against the lord yet.</p>	<p>二公曰：「我之弗辟，我無以告我先王。」</p> <p>周公居東二年，則罪人斯得。于後，公乃為詩以貽王，名之曰《鷓鴣》。王亦未敢誚公。</p> <p>After King Wu died, [other sons of King Wen], Guan Shu and his brothers spread talk around the country, saying, "The duke will do no good to the [king's] young son." The Duke of Zhou told the other two Dukes: "If I do not escape from them, I will have nothing to tell our former Kings' [spirits]. The Duke of Zhou spent two years in the east, whereupon the guilty men were apprehended. Afterward the duke made a poem and presented it to the king, calling it "The Owl." The king on his part did not dare to blame the duke [for thus punishing King Cheng's uncle].</p>	<p>「我之所以弗辟而攝行政者，恐天下畔周，無以告我先王太王、王季、文王。三王之憂勞天下久矣，於今而后成。武王蚤終，成王少，將以成周，我所以為之若此。」於是卒相成王，而使其子伯禽代就封於魯。周公戒伯禽曰：「我文王之子，武王之弟，成王之叔父，我於天下亦不賤矣。然我一沐三捉髮，一飯三吐哺，起以待士，猶恐失天下之賢人。子之魯，慎無以國驕人。」管、蔡、武庚等果率淮夷而反。周公乃奉成王命，興師東伐，作《大誥》。遂誅管叔，殺武庚，放蔡叔。收殷餘民，以封康叔於衛，封微子於宋，以奉殷祀。寧淮夷東土，二年而畢定。諸侯咸服宗周。天降祉福，唐叔得禾，異母同穎，獻之成王，成王命唐叔以餽周公於東土，作《餽禾》。周公既受命禾，嘉天子命，作《嘉禾》。東土以集，周公歸報成王，乃為詩貽王，命之曰《鷓鴣》。王亦未敢訓周公。</p>
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In this rewriting of the story in the “Lu Zhougong shijia,” readers find that this version does not have the ending where King Cheng finally realizes the Duke’s true intention and makes a touching reconciliation with him by bringing him to court again. We do not see the narrative segments where the natural disaster occurs in the Zhou when the Duke of Zhou moves to the East in order to escape from the fraternal feud. According to the “Lu Zhougong shijia,” the Duke Zhou’s moving to the East is not because he wanted to escape, but because he had to conquer the Yi tribe at Huai and get their lands to the East. After the conquest of the East, the Duke and King Cheng reunite, but the tear-jerking dialogues we see in the Qinghua parallel text and the “Jinteng” are absent.

The “Lu Zhougong shijia” attempts to explain the reason why he had to be the regent and thereby legitimize the status of Duke Zhou as the necessary historical regent of the Western Zhou in a less dramatic but more direct and straightforward manner. The affectionate ending of the Qinghua text and “Jinteng” is not needed. The “Lu Zhougong shijia” directly adds its explanation about the circumstance such as that King Cheng was yet a baby in swaddling clothes, and that the

³⁹⁴ According to the parallel text, the missing character seems to intend to say “If I do not escape now, I cannot...” The missing characters are probably not very different from “弗辟，我”，seen in the parallel text, despite the fact that there are four missing characters in the slip. The one character left could be a conjunction or function word.

Duke of Zhou feared that all under Heaven would turn their back on the Zhou after the death of King Wu. Because of that, he had to act as regent. It was the ancestors' will. This was implied in the notion of "newly mandated," but the "Jinteng" does not have these lines to explain the situation. If we read the "Jinteng" only, we have no idea whether the Duke acted as regent or not.

Contrary to the other parallel texts, the Duke of Zhou's legitimacy is finally confirmed by the authority of the kneeled and weeping young King Cheng, in the "Lu Zhougong shijia." There, the Duke of Zhou himself establishes his own legitimacy and authority as the regent by declaring it directly: "It has been so long that the three Kings have worried and worked for all under Heaven and reaching now only, it is about to be completed. But King Wu died young, and King Cheng is still too young. To completely establish the state of Zhou is why I am doing this" 三王之憂勞天下久矣，於今而后成。武王蚤終，成王少，將以成周，我所以為之若此。 That is, the "Lu Zhougong shijia" presents an image of Duke of Zhou who defends his legitimacy and authority as well as his identity and mission, without help or support from King Cheng's royal authority, as in the "Jinteng." The Duke is born as a strong and self-sustained character. He is, in his own words, a talented, loyal interim ruler and hero who does not need anyone else's defense or support. Thus, in this heroic characterization, the Duke can defeat his belligerent brothers who do not heed the ancestors and the state.

In conclusion, the story of Duke of Zhou's self-sacrifice for King Wu evolved in early culture. I have shown the narrative evolution across the three different versions, the Qinghua parallel text entitled "Zhou Wuwang you ji," the received "Jinteng," and the narrative segments in the "Lu Zhougong shijia." The development was catalyzed by the re-creation of the character of Duke of Zhou. The focus of this character's re-building was to provide the Duke of Zhou with legitimacy as regent and defend his loyalty to his own country and his young king. These narratives of the Duke of Zhou developed to resolve an issue that may be seen as contradictory, the conflict between taking the role of regent and being loyal to the country.

Of the three, the Qinghua text is the simplest in terms of the development of plot and character. The central theme is the Duke of Zhou's self-sacrifice for the dying King. Here the Duke is purely loyal to his king. It never explicitly reveals the issue of the renewed mandate for the role of regent. Thus, both the reason why he did not die after the divination, the reason for the feud between his brothers, and for the Duke's move East all remain unexplained in the Qinghua version of the story. The received "Jinteng," from the beginning, makes it clear that the Duke was willing to substitute the ill King and locates the Duke in the lineage of the three great founders of the Zhou, and thereby reinforces his loyalty and legitimacy at the same time. Adding another version of the Duke Zhou story wherein he is said to practice multiple divinations to gain approval from the three Kings, the "Jinteng" story resolves the remaining issues with the notion of a "new mandate," that preserves his loyalty and releases him from self-sacrifice. The Duke's loyalty issue is resolved by King Cheng's emotional approval. The Duke's character is successfully made into a heroic representation of loyalty by saving the Zhou through self-sacrifice and regency. Compared to the "Jinteng," the "Lu Zhougong shijia" renders the story in a much less dramatic but more straightforward and flat manner. The new mandate in this version is explained by the Duke himself, and it does not require anyone else's approval and support. It is regarded as legitimate and loyal since it was performed for King Cheng and the state. Therefore, in the "Lu Zhougong shijia," we find the completion of Duke Zhou's portrayal as a heroic, ideal ruler in the evolving memory of early Western Zhou.

The "Jinteng" reflects the memory of the early Western Zhou as it was developing through a series of diverse, changing and developing stories. This development was ultimately in accord

with the cultural signification of the value of vassal loyalty. The character of Duke Zhou was modified from story to story. Rendering more clearly his loyalty and self-sacrifice that to forge the image of the exemplary human society (or *taiping shengdai* 太平聖代), i.e., early Western Zhou.

Conclusion

What is the *Shangshu*? Why was it produced? For what did early literati use it? Like the *Zuozhuan*, it is a text meant to produce and establish memories, discourses, and representations of the society's past as authoritative. Unlike the *Zuozhuan*, however, it focuses on the earlier stage when state and society was at peace, i.e., before and during the Western Zhou. The book emphasizes how achieving an ideal society was possible, offering prescriptions for returning to the state of peace. It is a comprehensive compilation of cultural memories and discourses of those earlier days, from the Western Zhou, back to the beginnings of human society.

The *Shangshu* is based on a literary and intellectual desire to imagine the past world in the present. This desire materialized in the massive production and reproduction of memories and written representations of the earlier period in the Warring States culture. As we have seen with the example of the "Fu Yue zhi ming," the unnamed character of Fu Yue was an icon of a worthy minister who assisted his king, and the stories and texts featuring him were popular and widely circulated. Narratives about the imagined past of the Shang that Fu Yue and Wu Ding represented diversified and multiplied. This great cultural production and consumption of the past in the Warring States to Han was coincident with another cultural desire to establish the sole authentic memory among the competing multiple memories. The desire was realized in the gradual revision of the iconic character and his story, and the revision intensified and deepened the value that the character and story represent.

Therefore, the *Shangshu* is a text reflecting two opposing yet complementary cultural desires: to increase and multiply memories and their literary and imaginative representation of the ideal past and, at the same time, to establish true memories and representations among them, and thereby produce a normative discourse for the present.

CHAPTER 6: Episode Text and Another “History” - An Alternative Construction of Social Memory in the *Zhuangzi*

In preceding chapters, I examined how Episode Texts are associated with the formation of what we have regarded as major classical “historical” texts in the tradition, i.e., *Guoyu*, *Zuozhuan*, and *Shangshu*. I studied how the formation of these texts is related to the establishment of a dominant conception about the past, through the editing and re-writing of Episode Texts that represent various earlier fragments of social memory. In this chapter, I will discuss another outcome as building blocks fictional, imaginative, and reflective writing. This use of Episode Texts is related to the formation and composition of the texts we have called “Masters Literature” (*zhuzi* 諸子), often called “Philosophical Texts” today. In other words, I will explore the ways in which some Philosophical Texts were created from the compilation of Episode Texts about the past, based in part on the identification of a particular iconized cultural hero as its author or speaker. This suggests not only that, as already alluded to in Chapter One, Philosophical Texts are neither single-authored nor assume the historicity of the central figure, but also that authorship is approached as a social and cultural invention of a heroic figure, and events and records are attributed to the iconic figure. Those texts were formed through collective social and cultural efforts to collect, edit, and compile numerous freely circulating anonymous Episode Texts in a loosely consistent and coherent manner that substantialized and concretized a Master as author.

In this chapter, I will analyze these Philosophical Texts as dealing with the issue of the past in a more radically self-reflective and imaginative manner. Like the received *Zuozhuan* and *Shangshu*, which were the outcome of a long process of collective literary practices involving reflecting and didacticizing the issue of the past, what we call Philosophical Texts or Masters Texts were similar. These texts were not intended to be a record of past events with certain figures as main characters, as in the *Shangshu* or *Zuozhuan*. Instead, they featured a master and his interlocutor(s), and dramatically thematized topics in order to convey a particular didactic message. Thus, they were involved in the problem of the past, like the *Shangshu* and *Zuozhuan*, but explored the significance of aspects of the selected past in a more radically fictive, reflective manner that produced the message.

As a result of the reflection on the past, these Masters Texts or Philosophical Texts came up with their own re-construction of it. Such a different reconstruction was necessarily based on the reflective agenda they wanted to set up for their explanation of the current situation in the world, their being in the world, and to justify what to do now and in the future. Thus, in these texts, we sometimes can see time constructed differently from what we have seen in the *Zuozhuan* or *Shangshu*. I will illustrate this with examples from the received *Zhuangzi*.

Even though I categorize those Philosophical Texts as imaginative and reflective writings on the past, I do not mean to presume any strict division between historicity and fictionality, as I explained in the Introduction. Even if I characterize the *Zhuangzi* text as imaginative and reflective writing, *vis-à-vis* so-called historical texts, that does not mean that the received *Zhuangzi* text is not historical writing. Even if this text is less directly concerned with reporting and representing the past event as record, it was not free from the past. Instead, the core of its concern, as I will discuss below, lies in its focus on how people viewed and conceptualized the past. In this sense, the *Zhuangzi* contains also a historiography. It is not about individual past events in themselves, but about what the past tells us about the present. The concern of Episode Texts is to produce or evoke a particular message from the past, and, in this sense, the reflective side of the Episode Text

explains why it was produced, shared, and transmitted. Therefore, *Zhuangzi* is another type of history text, not the kind we have seen earlier, but one that pursues what the past means to us through a more imaginative reconstruction of the past.

The duality between what we now call history and philosophy is the domain of the Episode Text.³⁹⁵ It is both fictive and historical. Having seen texts that focus more on the historical as a fragmentary record of social memory in the preceding chapters, in this chapter, I approach Episode Texts from the other side, as a text that is relatively more fictive and reflective. But even in its fictionality, the ultimate concern of such writing is the past, what it tells us, what it means to us, and more critically, how we understand the meaning of the past. In this sense, the *Zhuangzi* is self-reflective and critical. That is to say, on the one hand, the *Zhuangzi* is not different from what we often categorize as “historical” such as *Zuozhuan* or *Shangshu* in the sense that it discusses the past event as its main intellectual concern, using the same literary form of narrative to discuss it. On the other hand, it differs from them only in the sense that it approaches the issue in a manner that is more reconstructive and allows imagination about and reflection on past events to be more engaging.

Thus, in this chapter, I will approach the *Zhuangzi* as a later compilation of numerous Episode Texts which reflect alternative cultural memories about historical and imagined figures and events in the past. Comparing excavated manuscripts with parallels to the received *Zhuangzi*, I will argue that the *Zhuangzi* is, like the *Zuozhuan* and *Shangshu*, also a cultural product of editing and rewriting earlier memories of the past and written representations in narrative form. It also systematized and made more coherent and consistent diverse ideas and stories in circulation into a critical reflection on the past. Through this examination of the *Zhuangzi*, I will raise the general issue of the formation of Philosophical Texts as a kind of collective reconstruction of reflective Episode Texts in early Chinese societies that demonstrates another type of reconstruction of the past as a part of a deep reflection and criticism of contemporary ideas and discourses about the past.

The *Zhuangzi* as a Collectanea of Episode Texts on an Alternate Past

The received version of *Zhuangzi* text, redacted by a third to fourth century scholar-official named Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. 312 CE), is comprised of several distinct genres of writings: aphorism, essay, biography, and historical and fictional narrative. Like all other early texts, the *Zhuangzi* went through multiple redactions prior to its first compilation as a book, and through these processes, the original form and content were altered by later hands. In the next section, I will discuss how earlier versions of the texts entitled *Zhuangzi* would have had more episodic narratives, how they came to be consolidated into one established text, leading to modern views of the nature and characteristics of the received *Zhuangzi* text. Before that, I will briefly give examples of Episode Texts as the primary source material for the historical and fictional narratives found in the received *Zhuangzi*.

³⁹⁵ An excellent discussion about this characteristic of early anecdotal writings in China is made in David Schaberg, “Chinese History and Philosophy,” in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Vol. 1: Beginnings to AD 600*, edited by Andrew Feldherr and Grant Hardy, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 394-414. See also Paul van Els and Sarah Queen, “Introduction,” *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, edited by Paul van Els and Sarah Queen, (Albany: The State University of New York, 2017).

In Chapter One, I introduced the genre of Episode Texts with the example of the Fuyang “Shuolei zashi” manuscript in comparison with several received texts. There, I defined the Episode Text as a short (in length) and simple (in compositional structure) written narrative featuring figures from the past that presents a message. I also characterized it as a self-contained, free-standing, anonymously written unit that was freely edited, revised, and shared in the culture, and so became source material for the construction of larger, longer writing. Such a textual process reflects an effort to consolidate and establish a grander narrative from their fragmented memories, a narrative that could be regarded as an authentic, orthodox, true representation of an earlier time. As an example of this definition and characterization, I compared the Fuyang “Shuolei zashi” text to a short narrative in the “Chenshu” chapter of the *Shuoyuan*, as follows:

	說類雜事	說苑 臣術
1	公乾曰□	楚令尹死，景公遇成公乾曰：「令尹將焉歸？」
2	□於□□京公怒曰國人□	成公乾曰：「殆於屈春乎！」
3	公乾	景公怒曰：「國人以為歸於我。」
4	資少屈春	成公乾曰：「子資少，屈春資多，子義獲天下之至憂也，而以
5	之至憂也而子以為	為友；鳴鶴與芻狗，其知甚少，而子玩之。鳴夷子皮日侍於屈
6	狗其智甚少而子□之鳴	春，損頗為友，二人者之智，足以為令尹，不敢專其智而委之
7	夷子皮	屈春，故曰：政其歸於屈春乎！」
8	令尹不敢=專其智而委之屈春故曰	
9	歸於屈春序	

Summary: See Chapter One.

Based on comparisons with Chu and Han bamboo and silk manuscripts, I argued that there must have been numerous Episode Texts in the late Warring States and early Western Han. They were produced, shared, reproduced, and transmitted to propagandize a message drawn from narratives about past events. In a way, that was instructional, educational, and more profoundly ideological. These written materials directed and framed the ways readers viewed their past events. They were utilized as primary texts that what came to be categorized as historical texts such as *Guoyu*, *Zuozhuan*, or *Shangshu*.

As we see in the following table, the formal compositional structure of Philosophical Texts or Masters Texts is virtually the same as that of the “Shuolei zashi” or the *Shuoyuan*.

論語 子罕	孟子 梁惠王 上	莊子 逍遙遊
<p>子畏於匡。</p> <p>曰：「文王既沒，文不在茲乎？天之將喪斯文也，後死者不得與於斯文也；天之未喪斯文也，匡人其如予何？」</p> <p>When under siege in Kuang, the Master said, “With King Wen dead, is not culture invested here in me? If Heaven intends culture to be destroyed, those who come after me will not be able to have any part</p>	<p>孟子見梁惠王。</p> <p>王曰：「叟不遠千里而來，亦將有以利吾國乎？」</p> <p>孟子對曰：「王何必曰利？亦有仁義而已矣。王曰『何以利吾國』？大夫曰『何以利吾家』？士庶人曰『何以利吾身』？上下交征利而國危矣。萬乘之國弑其君者，必千乘之家；千乘之國弑其君者，必百乘之家。萬取千焉，千取百焉，不為</p>	<p>堯讓天下於許由，</p> <p>曰：「日月出矣，而燭火不息，其於光也，不亦難乎！時雨降矣，而猶浸灌，其於澤也，不亦勞乎！夫子立而天下治，而我猶尸之，吾自視缺然，請致天下。」</p> <p>許由曰：「子治天下，天下既已治也。而我猶代子，吾將為名乎？名者，實之賓也，吾將為賓乎？鷦鷯巢於深林，不過一枝；偃鼠飲河，</p>

<p>of it. If Heaven does not intend this culture to be destroyed, then what can the men of Kuang do to me?" (96)³⁹⁶</p>	<p>不多矣。苟為後義而先利，不奪不饜。未有仁而遺其親者也，未有義而後其君者也。王亦曰仁義而已矣，何必曰利？」</p>	<p>不過滿腹。歸休乎君！予無所用天下為。庖人雖不治庖，尸祝不越樽俎而代之矣。」</p>
<p>論語 先進</p>		
<p>子畏於匡，顏淵後。 子曰：「吾以女為死矣。」 曰：「子在，回何敢死？」 When the Master was under siege in Kuang, Yan Yuan fell behind. The Master said, "I thought you had met your death." "While you, Master, are alive, how would I dare die?" (109)</p>	<p>Mengzi had an audience with King Hui of Liang. The king said, "Venerable sir, you have not regarded hundreds of leagues too far to come, so you must have a way of profiting my state." Mengzi replied, "Why must Your Majesty speak of 'profit'? Let there simply be benevolence and righteousness. If Your Majesty says, 'How can I profit my state?' the Chief Counselors will say, 'How can I profit my clan?' and the nobles and commoners will say, 'How can I profit myself?' Superiors and subordinates will seize profit from each other, and the state will be endangered. When the ruler in a state that can field a thousand chariots is assassinated, it will invariably be by a clan that can field a thousand chariots. When the ruler in a state that can field a thousand chariots is assassinated, it will invariably be by a clan that can field a hundred chariots. To have a thousand out of ten thousand or a hundred out of a thousand is plenty. But when people put profit before righteousness, they cannot be satisfied without grasping for more. Never have the benevolent left their parents behind. Never the righteous put their ruler last. Let Your Majesty speak only of benevolence and righteousness. Why must one speak of 'profit?' (1)³⁹⁷</p>	<p>Yao wanted to cede the empire to Xu You. "When the sun and moon have already come out," he said, "it's a waste of light to go on burning the torches, isn't it? When the seasonal rains are falling, it's waste of water to go on irrigating the fields. If you took the throne, the world would be well-ordered. I go on occupying it, but all I can see are my failings. I beg to turn over the world to you." Xu You said, "You govern the world and the world is already well-governed. Now if I take your place, will I be doing it for a name? But name is only the guest of reality – will I be doing it so I can play the part of a guest? When the tailor-bird builds her nest in the deep wood, she uses no more than one branch. When the mole drinks at the river, he takes no more than a bellyful. Go home and forget the matter, my lord. I have no use for the rulership of the world! Though the cook may not run his kitchen properly, the priest and the impersonator of the dead at the sacrifice do not leap over the wine casks and sacrificial stands and go take his place." (32-33)³⁹⁸</p>

These three examples are typical ones in written format in the received *Lunyu*, *Mengzi*, and *Zhuangzi* texts.³⁹⁹ They are comprised of a line of brief introduction to explain the setting or

³⁹⁶ All translations of the *Lunyu* in English in this chapter are from D. C. Lau, tr., *The Analects*, (London: Penguin, 1979).

The number in parenthesis indicates the page number of imported English translations.

³⁹⁷ All translations of the *Mengzi* in English in this chapter are from Bryan Van Norden, tr., *Mengzi with selections from Traditional Commentaries*, (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2008).

³⁹⁸ All translations of the *Zhuangzi* in English in this chapter are from Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang-tzu*, (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968).

³⁹⁹ The passage in "Xianjin" of the *Lunyu* shows that there were multiple circulating Episode Texts that thematizing the Kongzi's experience of frustration at Kuang. Two stories were accepted into the official memory of Kongzi in the received *Lunyu*.

The sayings of Kongzi that are comprised of the largest portion of the *Lunyu* are thought to be close to the example of "Zihan," wherein we find one more line in the introduction. They may be made either by attributing an

context of the event, followed by conversations between characters or a monologue by one main character, delivering the message of the text. In the written format, these examples are identical to ones in the *Shuoyuan* or to fragments in the “Shuolei zashi.” They show that passages were likely to have come from typical Episode Text.

One meaningful difference between these three examples and the *Shuoyuan* or “Shuolei zashi” is that they feature a main character in the text, whose words and actions are the main contents of the book. The message of the text is produced by this central character, and the stories substantialize and concretize this figure. This building of a main character makes the received *Zhuangzi* text different from many other Masters Texts. The character of Zhuangzi (Master Zhuang) is indirectly built through other characters who deliver similar messages of Zhuangzi. That is, the Zhuangzi character is created through the readers’ imaginative association of the characters with messages delivered through numerous non-Zhuangzi characters. In the above case, Zhuangzi is formed in part by the character of Xu You. In the received *Zhuangzi* text, which is comprised of hundreds of Episode Texts, we can find only slightly more than thirty stories where the character of Zhuangzi appears.⁴⁰⁰ The character of Zhuangzi is indirectly constructed in the reader’s mind through numerous other characters who represent the Zhuangzi. The received *Zhuangzi* text did not have to be comprised of circulating Episode Texts featuring the actual character of Zhuangzi. Instead, it was formed by collecting and merging other Episode Texts that had similar ideas, thoughts, and positions to those belonging to the constructed persona, Zhuangzi. Thus, the *Zhuangzi* text was relatively longer than other Masters Texts more rigorously centered on a figure to be substantialized. This unique characteristic in the textual formation was described as “allegory” (*yuyan* 寓言) in the *Shiji*, and explains how it grew to one-hundred-thousand words in its early edition.

Thus, the *Zhuangzi* was formed by compiling hundreds of similarly-themed Episode Texts that had been circulating in the culture. Once compiled, these Episode Texts were interpreted as allegorical representations of Zhuangzi as a historical figure, like Kongzi. Through this process,

anonymous maxim to a later iconic figure like Kongzi, or through a loss of its situational context represented by the introduction. The same sayings were, like the Episodes, diversified through revision and editing. The following saying exemplifies this point:

學而	陽貨	公冶長
子曰：「巧言令色，鮮矣仁。」 The Master said, “It is rare, indeed, for a man with cunning words and an ingratiating face to be benevolent.” (59)	子曰：「巧言令色，鮮矣仁。」 The Master said, “It is rare, indeed, for a man with cunning words and an ingratiating face to be benevolent.” (146)	子曰：「巧言、令色、足恭，左丘明恥之，丘亦恥之。匿怨而友其人，左丘明恥之，丘亦恥之。」 The Master said, “Cunning words, an ingratiating face and utter servility, these things Zuo Qiuming found shameful. I, too, find them shameful. To be friendly towards someone while concealing one’s hostility, this Zuo Qiuming found shameful. I, too, find it shameful.” (80)





⁴⁰⁰ In the entire text, the character of Zhuangzi appears 29 times with the name of Zhuangzi and four times with the name of Zhuang Zhou 莊周.

the character of Zhuangzi, which meant the Son of Grandiosity (*zhuang* 莊), just as Laozi was the Son of Antiquity (*lao* 老), were concretized and fleshed out.⁴⁰¹

Approaching the *Zhuangzi* as a compilation of similarly-themed Episode Texts, we find some interesting examples in the evolution of Episode Text that deals with a similar figure and event in the past and evokes similar ideas. Let us take the example below.

莊子 逍遙遊	<p>堯讓天下於許由， 曰：「日月出矣，而燭火不息，其於光也，不亦難乎！時雨降矣，而猶浸灌，其於澤也，不亦勞乎！夫子立而天下治，而我猶尸之，吾自視缺然，請致天下。」 許由曰：「子治天下，天下既已治也。而我猶代子，吾將為名乎？名者，實之賓也，吾將為賓乎？鷦鷯巢於深林，不過一枝；偃鼠飲河，不過滿腹。歸休乎君！予無所用天下為。庖人雖不治庖，尸祝不越樽俎而代之矣。」</p> <p>Yao wanted to cede the empire to Xu You. “When the sun and moon have already come out,” he said, “it’s a waste of light to go on burning the torches, isn’t it? When the seasonal rains are falling, it’s waste of water to go on irrigating the fields. If you took the throne, the world would be well-ordered. I go on occupying it, but all I can see are my failings. I beg to turn over the world to you.”</p> <p>Xu You said, “You govern the world and the world is already well-governed. Now if I take your place, will I be doing it for a name? But name is only the guest of reality – will I be doing it so I can play the part of a guest? When the tailor-bird builds her nest in the deep wood, she uses no more than one branch. When the mole drinks at the river, he takes no more than a bellyful. Go home and forget the matter, my lord. I have no use for the rulership of the world! Though the cook may not run his kitchen properly, the priest and the impersonator of the dead at the sacrifice do not leap over the wine casks and sacrificial stands and go take his place.” (32-33)</p>
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This Episode Text centers around a figure named Xu You who was remembered at having been given the rulership by Yao before Yao gave it to Shun. The cultural significance of the Xu You character is that he rejected the position offered by Yao. In this new cultural memory, this Episode Text critiques the idealization of the figure of Yao as a Sage King, and lowers the status of Shun, his successor, as well. According to this memory and story, Yao was not as much of a sage as Xu You, who thought critically about what it means to rule at a time of never-ending political struggle against others for fame, resources, and power, ultimately harming and ruining one’s own life. Furthermore, it delves into the question of why Xu You refused the throne; this part supports a message of withdrawal and abhorrence of politics in the text. Thus, ideals centering around Yao are being rejected, and Xu You and his ideas are elevated as the new ideal. This Episode Text then counters the ideals that the characters of two Sage Kings, Yao and Shun, represent, elsewhere popularized in the culture.

⁴⁰¹ I am aware that the Chinese character *zi* 子 is commonly translated in English as “Master,” as is the term *zhuzi* rendered as “Masters Literature.” The academic practice to render the graph *zi* as Master(s) was made not because the character originally meant that, but because figures of early master such as Kongzi were referred to with the character as suffix in the received literature. In this regard, the rendering of *zi* as Master was a result of extension of the original meaning, that is, son. As is well-known, the *zi* is a pictograph that depicts a form of an infant, such as  ,  in Shang oracle-bone inscriptions or  ,  in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.

More importantly, with the translation of the *zi* character as son, I want to emphasize a metonymic impact of the rendering that calls out the entire family and its legitimate lineage by simply pointing out the person. It creates an interesting subjectivity that a male individual’s being represents both his family and himself at the same time. This type of subjectivity is already seen in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions such as Shi Qiang *pan*, which I examined in Chapter Three. This tells us that the suffixing with the character *zi* was also inherently related to the cultural practice to construct a narrative of the past in a family and claim a legitimate identity from the past as a corporate manhood.

We see, in the received *Zhuangzi*, more related stories about this new model, Xu You, and the ideals that his character represents. We find an interesting relation between them:

天地	徐無鬼	讓王	大宗師
<p>堯之師曰許由，許由之師曰齧缺，齧缺之師曰王倪，王倪之師曰被衣。堯問於許由曰：「齧缺可以配天乎？吾藉王倪以要之。」許由曰：「殆哉！坳乎天下！齧缺之為人也，聰明叡知，給數以敏，其性過人，而又乃以人受天。彼審乎禁過，而不知過之所由生。與之配天乎？彼且乘人而無天，方且本身而異形，方且尊知而火馳，方且為緒使，方且為物絃，方且四顧而物應，方且應眾宜，方且與物化而未始有恒。夫何足以配天乎？雖然，有族有祖，可以為眾父，而不可以為眾父父。治亂之率也，北面之禍也，南面之賊也。」</p> <p>Yao's teacher was Xu You, Xu You's teacher was Nie Que, Nie Que's teacher was Wang Ni, and Wang Ni's teacher was Pi Yi. Yao asked Xu you, "Would Nie Que do as the counterpart of Heaven? I could get Wang Ni to ask him to take over the throne from me?"</p> <p>Xu You said, "Watch out! You'll put the world in danger! Nie Que is a man of keen intelligence and superb understanding, nimble-witted and sharp. His inborn nature surpasses that of other men, and he knows how to exploit what Heaven has given him through human devices. He would do his best to prevent error, but he doesn't understand the source from which error arises. Make him the counterpart of Heaven? Watch – he will start leaning</p>	<p>齧缺遇許由，曰：「子將奚之？」曰：「將逃堯。」曰：「奚謂邪？」曰：「夫堯，畜畜然仁，吾恐其為天下笑。後世其人與人相食與！夫民不難聚也，愛之則親，利之則至，譽之則勸，致其所惡則散。愛利出乎仁義，捐仁義者寡，利仁義者眾。夫仁義之行，唯且無誠，且假乎禽貪者器。是以一人之斷制利天下，譬之猶一覘也。夫堯知賢人之利天下也，而不知其賊天下也，夫唯外乎賢者知之矣。」</p> <p>Nie Que happened to meet Xu You. "Where are you going?" he asked. "I'm running away from Yao"</p> <p>"Why is that?"</p> <p>"Because Yao is so earnestly and everlastingly benevolent! I'm afraid he'll make himself the laughing stock of the world. In later ages men may even end up eating each other because of him! There is nothing difficult about attracting the people. Love them and they will feel affection for you, benefit them and they will flock to you, praise them and they will do their best, do something they dislike and they will scatter. Love and benefit are the products of benevolence and righteousness. There are few men who will renounce benevolence and righteousness, but many who will seek to benefit by them. To practice benevolence and righteousness in such a fashion is at best a form of insincerity, at worst a</p>	<p>堯以天下讓許由，許由不受。又讓於子州支父，子州支父曰：「以為我天子，猶之可也。雖然，我適有幽憂之病，方且治之，未暇治天下也。」夫天下至重也，而不以害其生，又況他物乎！唯無以天下為者，可以託天下也。</p> <p>Yao wanted to cede the empire to Xu You, but Xu You refused to accept it. Then he tried to give it to Zizhou Zhifu. Zizhou Zhifu said, "Make me the Son of Heaven? – that would be all right, I suppose. But I happen to have a deep-seated and worrisome illness which I am just now trying to put in order. So I have no time to put the empire in order." The empire is a thing of supreme importance, yet he would not allow it to harm his life. How much less, then, any other thing! Only he who has no use for the empire is fit to be entrusted with it. (309)</p>	<p>意而子見許由，許由曰：「堯何以資汝？」意而子曰：「堯謂我：『汝必躬服仁義，而明言是非。』」許由曰：「而奚為來軼？夫堯既已黥汝以仁義，而劓汝以是非矣，汝將何以避夫遙蕩、恣睢、轉徙之途乎？」意而子曰：「雖然，吾願遊於其藩。」許由曰：「不然。夫盲者無以與乎眉目顏色之好，瞽者無以與乎青黃黼黻之觀。」意而子曰：「夫無莊之失其美，據梁之失其力，黃帝之亡其知，皆在鑪錘之間耳。庸詎知夫造物者之不息我黥而補我劓，使我乘成以隨先生邪？」許由曰：「噫！未可知也。我為汝言其大略。吾師乎！吾師乎！齋萬物而不為義，澤及萬世而不為仁，長於上古而不為老，覆載天地、刻彫眾形而不為巧。此所遊已。」</p> <p>Yi Erzi went to see Xu You. Xu You said, "What kind of assistance has Yao been giving you?"</p> <p>Yi Erzi said, "Yao told me, 'You must learn to practice benevolence and righteousness and to speak clearly about right and wrong!'"</p> <p>"Then why come to see me?" said Xu You. "Yao has already tattooed you with benevolence and righteousness and cut off your nose with right and wrong. Now how do you expect to go wandering in any</p>

<p>on men and forget about Heaven. He will put himself first and relegate others to a class apart. He will worship knowledge and chase after it with the speed of fire. He will become the servant of causes, the victim of things, looking in all four directions to see how things are faring, trying to attend to all wants, changing along with things and possessing no trace of any constancy of his own. How could he possibly do as counterpart of Heaven? However, there are clans and there are clan heads. He might do as the father of one branch, though he would never do as the father of the father of the branch. His kind are the forerunners of disorder, a disaster to the ministers facing north, a peril to the sovereign facing south!" (129-130)</p>	<p>deliberate lending of weaponsto the evil and rapacious. Moreover, to have one man laying down decisions and regulations for the benefit of the world is like trying to take in everything at a single glance. Yao understands that the worthy man benefit the world, but he does not understand that he can also ruin the world. Only a man who has gotten outside the realm of 'worthiness' can understand that!" (275)</p>		<p>far-away, carefree, and as-you-like-it paths?" "That may be," said Yi Erzi. "But I would like if I may to wander in a little corner of them." "Impossible!" said Xu You. "Eyes that are blind have no way to tell the loveliness of faces and features; eyes with no pupils have no way to tell the beauty of colored and embroidered silks." Yi Erzi said, "Yes, but Wu Zhuang forgot her beauty, Ju Liang forgot his strength, and the Yellow Emperor forgot his wisdom – all were content to be recast and remolded. How do you know that the Creator will not wipe away my tattoo, stick my nose back on again, and let me ride on the process of completion and follow after you, Master?" "Ah – we can never tell," said Xu You. "I will just speak to you about the general outline. This Teacher of mine, this Teacher of mine – he passes judgment on the ten thousand things but he doesn't think himself righteous; his bounty extends to ten thousand generations but he doesn't think himself benevolent. He is older than the highest antiquity but he does not think himself long-lived; he covers heaven, bears up the earth, carves and fashions countless forms, but he doesn't think himself skilled. It is with him alone I wander." (89-90)</p>
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These stories all problematize and challenge the idea of the ideal Sage or the ideal of ruling by a Sage King, both represented by the character Yao, the central theme of the Episode in the "Xiaoyao you." However, each of them criticizes the ideal of Yao in a different way, compiling Episode Texts so as to create one facet of Zhuangzi by describing Xu You as an anti-Yao.

In the "Tiandi" Episode, the story introduces the tradition of Xu You and features a new character, Nie Que, the teacher of Xu You, as the alternative ideal of Sage. I have argued and discussed, in Chapters Two and Five, that the construction of imaginary lineages of Sage Kings before Western Zhou was being widely attempted and shared. Based on some Chu bamboo slip manuscripts such as the Shanghai Museum "Rong Cheng shi" and "Zigao," the Guodian "Tang Yu zhi dao," two prominent lineages, starting from Yao and Yellow Emperor, were increasingly vying for the dominance in the culture. This was intended to legitimize power and authority through a connection to imagined roots in the pre-Zhou only after the breakdown of the Zhou's

cultural hegemony. Considering this, this passage in the “Tiandi” may be understood as an attempt to construct a new imaginary tradition of Xu You, authenticating the ideal of Xu You in terms of historicity. Through this story, the emerging fictive character of Xu You as the first person to whom Yao desired to give his throne, appears to have had a teacher-student relationship. This story implies that the stories of Xu You gained cultural currency, creating a need to develop this character by providing it historicity in order to support the political and cultural vision that the character represents, challenging those of Yao.

The story in the “Xu Wugui” chapter takes the character of Nie Que as the main interlocutor and thereby concretizes the character of Xu You as historical being in the time of Yao. A dialogue between Xu You and Nie Que discusses the ultimate end of Yao’s political vision in the world. This can be read as an explicit, straightforward criticism of the ideals that many intellectuals pursued through the character of Yao in the early cultures. On this point, this Episode is another version of the “Xiaoyao you” episode where Xu You rejects Yao’s proposal of royal succession. However, this time, the same idea is expressed using a new character that provides Xu You with a historical authentication as imagined tradition.

In the “Rangwang” story, we see another development of the novel idea that there was another successor to whom Yao wanted to hand his throne before Shun. According to this episode, when Xu You refused to succeed him, Yao found “Zizhou Zhifu,” and this man also refused to succeed, making the noble ideal of rulership by Sage King further inferior to Xu You’s tradition. This story was surely based on the “Xiaoyao you” one, developed for intensification of the message.

The last story in the “Da zhongshi” chapter introduces another new fictive character, Yier zi, as the interlocutor with Xu You and probably another imaginary teacher of Xu You, and again challenges the values and vision of Yao. This seems to be a spin-off narrative from the one in which Xu You directly confronts Yao and the ideals he represents. This suggests another lineage of Sages before Yao, i.e., the line of Wuzhuang, Juliang, and Huangdi (Yellow Emperor). This line sought the opposite of what the Yao’s tradition pursued, and is directly concerned with phenomenal, sensory pleasures and enjoyment. In this sense of constructing earlier traditions before Yao and thereby augmenting the legitimacy and authority of the ideals of Xu You, this story is close to the one in the “Tiandi” chapter. In the sense that it sought to establish the historicity of Xu You, it is similar to the stories in “Xu Wugui” and “Rangwang.” Thus, this “Da zhongshi” story is a hybrid in the composition of narrative, starting from the original story of Xu You and Yao, and adopting a few improvements from other versions. These linked stories about Xu You and Yao in the received *Zhuangzi* are good examples that show the transmitted *Zhuangzi* as a compilation of Episode Texts that had similar themes and ideas about the politics and humanity, pursuing an alternative imaginary construction of the past.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰² It is Liu Xiaogan 劉笑敢 who shows how so much of the content of the received *Zhuangzi* text is actually closely inter-related. Of course, Liu’s discussion focuses on confirming the originality and authenticity of the Inner Chapters over the other two divisions, Outer and Miscellaneous Chapters. For Liu, the Inner represents *Zhuangzi*’s own view while the Outer and Miscellaneous show his later disciples’ interpretations of their master based on their own intellectual or political agenda. Thus, for Liu, there is an intrinsic, uncrossable textual break between the Inner and the other two divisions. Liu shows how each part of the received *Zhuangzi* text is intertwined as either the original or the commentarial. See Liu Xiaogan, *Classifying the Zhuangzi chapters*, (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1994); also his *Zhuangzi zhexue ji qi yanbian* 莊子哲學及其演變, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 1988).

As the example of “Da zhongshi” chapter above shows, however, I do not subscribe to Liu’s conclusion that the Inner is more authentic than the Outer and Miscellaneous, but will not discuss this issue in this chapter further. I accept his notion that the contents of the *Zhuangzi* are closely inter-related.

Here I want to add one more example to reveal the nature of the received *Zhuangzi* as a reconstruction of the past, reflecting an increasingly influential discourse that started with Sage King Yao. This example is concerned with Kongzi 孔子, a historical figure more tightly coupled with the Sage rulers Yao and Shun as an authoritative cultural memory. Kongzi is featured in over thirty stories in the received *Zhuangzi* text. But the treatment of this character is not always the same; frequently he appears as an anti-hero, but sometimes he is described positively as a character who supports and represents the intellectual agendas of the *Zhuangzi*.⁴⁰³ That is, portrayals of the Kongzi character were not singular but plural, and as the surviving *Zhuangzi* text shows, variegated attempts had been made in the culture. Due to the increasing significance of the Kongzi character as a cultural icon in society, there were diverse intellectual efforts to appropriate, re-interpret, and reconstruct the character in the service of each appropriator's agenda.

Among the various cultural memories of Kongzi and his episodic representations, the stories about Kongzi's teacher deserve particular attention. This may have been a strategic choice in order to create a rival cultural icon senior to Kongzi who was therefore greater than him. Making Episode Texts about Kongzi's teacher and Kongzi likely had the same intent as doing so for Yao's teacher Xu You and Yao. As the character of Xu You rendered the cultural memory of Yao and Shun as Sage Kings inferior to that of Xu You, the invention of a character for Kongzi's teacher

As Liu's conclusion exemplifies, the position on the superior authenticity of the Inner Chapters in the received *Zhuangzi* text is still the mainstream opinion in the *Zhuangzi* scholarship. For example, see Angus C. Graham, "How Much of *Chuang Tzu* Did *Chuang Tzu* Write?" in *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature*, (Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies, National University of Singapore, 1986); Harold Roth, "Who Compiled *Chuang tzu*?" In *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts: Essays Dedicated to Angus C. Graham*, edited by Henry Rosemont Jr., (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1991). A most influential modern study on this issue which also heavily affected Graham's conception of the *Zhuangzi* formation was Guan Feng 關鋒, "Zhuangzi zhexue pipan" 莊子哲學批判 and "Zhuangzi waiza pian chutan" 莊子外雜篇初探, in *Zhuangzi zhexue taolunji* 莊子哲學討論集, edited by Zhexue yanjiu pianjibu 哲學研究編輯部, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961).

Despite the consensus, an increasing number of recent studies on the *Zhuangzi* has convincingly shown why we can no longer accept the unique authenticity of the Inner Chapters. For this issue in English, see Christopher C. Rand, "Chuang Tzu: Text and Substance," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 11.1 (1983): 5-58; David McCraw, *Stratifying Zhuangzi: Rhyme and Other Quantitative Evidence*, (Taipei, Taiwan: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2010); and Esther Klein, "Were there 'Inner Chapters' in the Warring States? A New Examination of Evidence about the *Zhuangzi*," *T'oung Pao* 96.4-5(2011): 299-369. These studies show that chapter divisions were made arbitrarily, and more importantly, that the formation processes of the *Zhuangzi* were much more complex, diverse, and multiple.

In Chinese scholarship, the skepticism on the superiority of the Inner Chapters has also been well-explored since the time of Fu Sinian 傅斯年 (1896-1950). See his "Shei shi 'Qi Wu Lun' zhi zuozhe" 誰是齊物論之作者, in *Fu Sinian shixue lunzhu* 傅斯年史學論著, (Beijing: Shangwu, 2014); Feng Youran 馮友蘭, "Lun Zhuangzi" 論莊子 and "Zailun Zhuangzi" 再論莊子, in *Zhuangzi zhexue taolunji* 莊子哲學討論集, edited by Zhexue yanjiu pianjibu 哲學研究編輯部, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961); Ren Jiyu 任繼愈, "Zhuangzi tanyuan - cong weiwu zhuyi de Zhuang Zhou dao weixin zhuyi de houqi zhuangxue" 莊子探源 - 從唯物主義的莊周到唯心主義的後期莊學, in *Zhuangzi zhexue taolunji* 莊子哲學討論集, edited by Zhexue yanjiu pianjibu 哲學研究編輯部, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961); Zhang Hengshou 張恒壽, *Zhuangzi xintan* 莊子新探, (Wuhan: Hubei renmin, 1983); Cui Dahua 崔大華, *Zhuangxue yanjiu* 莊學研究. (Beijing: Renmin, 2005). All the above studies discuss how the contents of three sections are mixed and inter-related, and thus how meaningless it is to follow the conventional chapter divisions, and how futile to seek some "more authentic," "more original" since the received Guo Xiang edition was already a cultural product of multiple textual reconstructions.

⁴⁰³ This particular new appropriation of Kongzi character in the form of narrative is collected in the "Renjian shi" 人間世 chapter of the received text.

was also intended to render the Kongzi character inferior and secondary. In other words, the teacher of Kongzi was conceived in order to diminish Kongzi's cultural status, and ultimately support the proposed reconstruction of a past before Kongzi. The teacher that was invented, according to the received *Zhuangzi*, was the Son of Antiquity, more commonly known as Laozi (Old Master; 老子) or even more personified as Lao Dan 老聃.

With this new character, ideologues sought an alternative construction of time in which different political and cultural ideals for human society were conceived, valued, and praised.⁴⁰⁴ The following table shows this new social memory, preserved in two chapters of the received *Zhuangzi*, which was intended to establish an ideal past before Kongzi through the new character of Laozi.

天道	天運
<p>孔子西藏書於周室，子路謀曰：「由聞周之徵藏史有老聃者，免而歸居。夫子欲藏書，則試往因焉。」孔子曰：「善。」往見老聃，而老聃不許，於是繙十二經以說。老聃中其說，曰：「大謾，願聞其要。」孔子曰：「要在仁義。」老聃曰：「請問：仁義，人之性邪？」孔子曰：「然。君子不仁則不成，不義則不生。仁義，真人之性也，又將奚為矣？」老聃曰：「請問何謂仁義？」孔子曰：「中心物愷，兼愛無私，此仁義之情也。」老聃曰：「意！幾乎後言！夫兼愛，不亦迂乎！無私焉，乃私也。夫子若欲使天下無失其牧乎？則天地固有常矣，日月固有明矣，星辰固有列矣，禽獸固有群矣，樹木固有立矣。夫子亦放德而行，循道而趨，已至矣，又何偈偈乎揭仁義，若擊鼓而求亡子焉？意！夫子亂人之性也！」</p> <p>Confucius went west to deposit his works with the royal house of Zhou. Zi Lu advised him, saying, "I have heard that the Keeper of the Royal Archives is one Lao Dan, now retired and living at home. If you wish to deposit your works, you might try going to see him about it."</p> <p>"Excellent!" said Confucius, and went to see Lao Dan, but Lao Dan would not give permission. Thereupon Confucius unwrapped his Twelve Classics and began expounding them. Halfway through the exposition, Lao Dan said, "This will take forever! Just let me hear the gist of the thing!"</p> <p>"The gist of it," said Confucius, "is benevolence and righteousness."</p>	<p>孔子謂老聃曰：「丘治《詩》、《書》、《禮》、《樂》、《易》、《春秋》六經，自以為久矣，孰知其故矣，以奸者七十二君，論先王之道而明周、召之跡，一君無所鈞用。甚矣夫！人之難說也，道之難明邪！」</p> <p>老子曰：「幸矣，子之不遇治世之君也！夫六經，先王之陳跡也，豈其所以跡哉！今子之所言，猶迹也。夫迹，履之所出，而迹豈履哉！夫白鵝之相視，眸子不運而風化；蟲，雄鳴於上風，雌應於下風而風化。類自為雌雄，故風化。性不可易，命不可變，時不可止，道不可壅。苟得其道，無自而不可；失焉者，無自而可。」</p> <p>孔子不出三月，復見，曰：「丘得之矣。烏鵲孺，魚傅沫，細要者化，有弟而兄啼。久矣夫，丘不與化為人！不與化為人，安能化人！」老子曰：「可。丘得之矣。」</p> <p>Confucius said to Lao Dan, "I have been studying the Six Classics – the Odes, the Documents, the Ritual, the Music, the Changes, and the Spring and Autumn, for what I would call a long time, and I know their contents through and through. But I have been around to seventy-two different rulers with them, expounding the ways of the former kings and making clear the path trod by the dukes of Zhou and Shao, and yet not a single ruler has found anything to excite his interest. How difficult it is to persuade others, how difficult to make clear the Dao!"</p> <p>Laozi said, "It's lucky you didn't meet with a ruler who would try to govern the world as you say. The Six Classics</p>

⁴⁰⁴ Angus C. Graham argues that the stories of Laozi were first shared and circulated by the disciples of Kongzi who regarded the stories either as a historical reminiscence or an exemplary tale about their Master's humility in seeking learning. According to him, the stories were adopted in the *Zhuangzi* and appropriated in favor of the agendas of Master Zhuang, and then the figure of Laozi was attached to the text named after him, known as *Laozi Daode jing*. See Angus C. Graham, "The Origins of the Legend of Lao Tan," in *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature*, (Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies, National University of Singapore, 1986), 111-124.

I agree with Graham's insight that the stories of Laozi were created in a collective awareness of the character of Kongzi. However, I do not agree with the sequence of evolution of Laozi stories, mainly because, as I show repeatedly in this thesis, I do not think the *Liji* is a reliable source to represent the "Confucian" ideas during the fourth century BCE, unlike Graham.

<p>“May I ask if benevolence and righteousness belong to the inborn nature of man?” said Lao Dan.</p> <p>“Of course,” said Confucius. “If the gentleman lacks benevolence, he will get nowhere; if he lacks righteousness, he cannot even stay alive. Benevolence and righteousness are truly the inborn nature of man. What else could they be?”</p> <p>Lao Dan said, “May I ask your definition of benevolence and righteousness?”</p> <p>Confucius said, “To be glad and joyful in mind; to embrace universal love and be without partisanship – this is the true form of benevolence and righteousness.”</p> <p>Lao Dan said, “Hmm – close – except for the last part. ‘Universal love’ – that’s a rather nebulous ideal, isn’t it? And to be without partisanship is already a kind of partisanship. Do you want to keep the world from losing its simplicity? Heaven and earth hold fast to their constant ways, the sun and moon to their brightness, the stars and planets to their ranks, the birds and beasts to their flocks, the trees and shrubs to their stands. You have only to go along with Virtue in your actions, to follow the Dao in your journey, and already you will be there. Why these flags of benevolence and righteousness so bravely upraised, as though you were beating a drum and searching for a lost child? Ah, you will bring confusion to the nature of man!” (149-150)</p>	<p>are the old worn-out paths of the former kings – they are not the thing which walked the path. What you are expounding are simply these paths. Paths are made by shoes that walk them, they are by no means the shoes themselves!</p> <p>“The white fish hawk has only to stare unblinking at its mate for fertilization to occur. With insects, the male cries on the wind above, the female cries on the wind below, and there is fertilization. The creature called the lei is both male and female and so it can fertilize itself. Inborn nature cannot be changed, fate cannot be altered, time cannot be stopped, the Way cannot be obstructed. Get hold of the Dao and there’s nothing that cannot be done; lose it and there’s nothing that can be done.”</p> <p>Confucius stayed home for three months and then came to see Lao Dan once again. “I’ve got it,” he said. “The magpie hatches its young, the fist spit out their milt, the slim-waisted wasp has its stages of transformation, and when baby brother is born, big brother howls. For a long time now I have not been taking my place as a man along with the process of change. And if I do not take my own place as a man along with the process of change, how can I hope to change other men?”</p> <p>Laozi said, “Good, Qiu – now you’ve got it!” (165-166)</p>
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天運	天運
<p>孔子行年五十有一而不聞道，乃南之沛，見老聃。老聃曰：「子來乎？吾聞子北方之賢者也，子亦得道乎？」孔子曰：「未得也。」老子曰：「子惡乎求之哉？」曰：「吾求之於度數，五年而未得也。」老子曰：「子又惡乎求之哉？」曰：「吾求之於陰陽，十有二年而未得。」</p> <p>老子曰：「然。使道而可獻，則人莫不獻之於其君；使道而可進，則人莫不進之於其親；使道而可以告人，則人莫不告其兄弟；使道而可以與人，則人莫不與其子孫。然而不可者，無佗也，中無主而不止，外無正而不行。由中出者，不受於外，聖人不出；由外入者，無主於中，聖人不隱。名，公器也，不可多取。仁義，先王之蘧廬也，止可以一宿而不可以久處，觀而多責。古之至人，假道於仁，託宿於義，以遊逍遙之虛，食於苟簡之田，立於不貸之圃。逍遙，無為也；苟簡，易養也；不貸，無出也。古者謂是采真之遊。</p> <p>以富為是者，不能讓祿；以顯為是者，不能讓名；親權者，不能與人柄。操之則慄，舍之則悲，而一無所鑒，以闕其所不休者，是天之戮民也。怨、恩、取、與、諫、教、生、殺，八者，正之器也，唯循大變無所湮者，為能用之。故曰：正者，正也。其心以為不然者，天門弗開矣。」</p> <p>Confucius had gone along until he was fifty-one and had still not heard the Dao. Finally he went south to Pei and called on Lao Dan. “Ah, you have come,” said Lao Dan. “I’ve heard that you are a worthy man of the northern region. Have you</p>	<p>孔子見老聃而語仁義。老聃曰：「夫播糠眯目，則天地四方易位矣；蚊虻嚙膚，則通昔不寐矣。夫仁義憊然，乃憤吾心，亂莫大焉。吾子使天下無失其朴，吾子亦放風而動，總德而立矣，又奚傑然若負建鼓而求亡子者邪？夫鵠不日浴而白，烏不日黔而黑。黑白之朴，不足以為辯；名譽之觀，不足以為廣。泉涸，魚相與處於陸，相呴以溼，相濡以沫，不若相忘於江湖。」</p> <p>孔子見老聃歸，三日不談。弟子問曰：「夫子見老聃，亦將何歸哉？」孔子曰：「吾乃今於是乎見龍。龍合而成體，散而成章，乘乎雲氣而養乎陰陽。予口張而不能嚙，予又何規老聃哉！」子貢曰：「然則人固有尸居而龍見，雷聲而淵默，發動如天地者乎？賜亦可得而觀乎？」遂以孔子聲見老聃。</p> <p>老聃方將偃堂而應微曰：「子年運而往矣，子將何以戒我乎？」子貢曰：「夫三王、五帝之治天下不同，其係聲名一也。而先生獨以為非聖人，如何哉？」老聃曰：「小子少進！子何以謂不同？」對曰：「堯授舜，舜授禹，禹用力而湯用兵，文王順紂而不敢逆，武王逆紂而不肯順，故曰不同。」老聃曰：「小子少進！余語汝三皇、五帝之治天下。黃帝之治天下，使民心一，民有其親死不哭而民不非也。堯之治天下，使民心親，民有為其親殺其殺而民不非也。舜之治天下，使民心競，民孕婦十月生子，子生五月而能言，不至乎孩而始誰，則人始有天矣。禹之治天下，使民心變，人有心而兵</p>

found the Dao?" "Not yet," said Confucius. "Where did you look for it?" asked Lao Dan. "I looked for it in the yin and yang, but twelve years went by and I still hadn't found it." "It stands to reason!" said Lao Dan. "If the Dao could be presented, there is no man who would not present it to his ruler. If the Dao could be offered, there is no man who would not offer it to his parents. If the Dao could be reported, there is no man who would not report it to his brothers. If the Dao could be bequeathed, there is no man who would not bequeath it to his heirs. But it cannot – and for none other than the following reason. If there is no host on the inside to receive it, it will not stay; if there is no mark on the outside to guide it, it will not go. If what is brought forth from the inside is not received on the outside, then the sage will not bring it forth. If what is taken in from the outside is not received by a host on the inside, the sage will not entrust it. "Fame is a public weapon – don't reach for it too often. Benevolence and righteousness are the grass huts of the former kings; you may stop in them for one night but you mustn't tarry there for long. A lengthy stay would invite many reproaches. The Perfect Man of ancient times used benevolence as a path to be borrowed, righteousness as a lodge to take shelter in. He wandered in the free and easy wastes, ate in the plain and simple fields, and strolled in the garden of no bestowal. Free and easy, he rested in inaction; plain and simple, it was not hard for him to live; bestowing nothing, he did not have to hand things out. The men of old called this the wandering of the Truth-picker. "He who considers wealth a good thing can never bear to give up his income; he who considers eminence a good thing can never bear to give up his fame. He who has a taste for power can never bear to hand over authority to others. Holding tight to these things, such men shiver with fear; should they let them go, they would pine in sorrow. They never stop for a moment of reflection, never cease to gaze with greedy eyes – they are men punished by Heaven. Resentment and kindness, taking away and giving, reproof and instruction, life and death – these eight things are the weapons of the corrector. Only he who complies with the Great Changes and allows no blockage will be able to use them. Therefore it is said, The corrector must be correct. If the mind cannot accept this fact, then the doors of Heaven will never open!" (161-162)

有順，殺盜非殺，人自為種而天下耳，是以天下大駭，儒、墨皆起。其作始有倫，而今乎婦女，何言哉！余語汝：三皇、五帝之治天下，名曰治之，而亂莫甚焉。三皇之知，上悖日月之明，下睽山川之精，中墮四時之施。其知憊於螻蟻之尾，鮮規之獸，莫得安其性命之情者，而猶自以為聖人，不可恥乎？其無恥也！」子貢蹴蹴然立不安。

Confucius called on Lao Dan and spoke to him about benevolence and righteousness. Lao Dan said, "Chaff from the winnowing fan can so blind the eye that heaven, earth, and the four directions all seem to shift place. A mosquito or a horsefly stinging your skin can keep you awake a whole night. And when benevolence and righteousness in all their fearfulness come to muddle the mind, the confusion is unimaginable. If you want to keep the world from losing its simplicity, you must move with the freedom of the wind, stand in the perfection of Virtue. Why all this huffing and puffing, as though you were carrying a big drum and searching for a lost child! The snow goose needs no daily bath to stay white; the crow needs no daily inking to stay black. Black and white in their simplicity offer no ground for argument; fame and reputation in their clamorousness offer no ground for envy. When the springs dry up and the fish are left stranded on the ground, they spew each other with moisture and wet each other down with spit – but it would be much better if they could forget each other in the rivers and lakes!"

When Confucius returned from his visit with Lao Dan, he did not speak for three days. His disciples said, "Master, you've seen Lao Dan – what estimation would you make of him?" Confucius said, "At last I may say that I have seen a dragon – a dragon that oils to show his body at its best, that sprawls out to display his patterns at their best, riding on the breath of the clouds, feeding on the yin and yang. My mouth fell open and I couldn't close it; my tongue flew up and I couldn't even stammer. How could I possibly make any estimation of Lao Dan!"

Zi Gong said, "Then is it true that the Perfect Man can command corpse-like stillness and dragon vision, the voice of thunder and the silence of deep pools; that he breaks forth into movement like Heaven and earth? If only I too could get to see him!"

In the end he went with an introduction from Confucius and called on Lao Dan. Lao Dan was about to sit down in the hall and stretch out his legs. In a small voice he said, "I've lived to see a great many years come and go. What advice is it you have for me?"

Zi Gong said, "The Three August Ones and the Five Emperors ruled the world in ways that were not the same, though they were alike in the praise and acclaim they won. I am told, Sir, that you alone do not regard them as sages. May I ask why?"

Lao Dan said, "Young man, come a little closer! Why do you say that they ruled in ways that were not the same?"

"Yao ceded the throne to Shun, and Shun ceded it to Yu. Yu wore himself out over it, and Tang even resorted to war. King Wen obeyed Zhou and did not dare to rebel; but his son King Wu turned against Zhou and refused to remain loyal.

Therefore I say that they were not the same."

	<p>Lao Dan said, “Young man, come a little closer and I will tell you how the Three August Ones and the Five Emperors ruled the world. In ancient times the Yellow Emperor ruled the world by making the hearts of the people one. Therefore, if there were those among the people who did not wail at the death of their parents, the people saw nothing wrong in this. Yao ruled the world by making the hearts of the people affectionate. Therefore, if there were those among the people who decided to mourn for longer or shorter periods according to the degree of kinship of the deceased, the people saw nothing wrong in this. Shun ruled the world by making the hearts of the people rivalrous. Therefore the wives of the people became pregnant and gave birth in the tenth month as in the past, but their children were not five months old before they were able to talk, and their baby laughter had hardly rung out before they had begun to distinguish one person from another. It was then that premature death first appeared. Yu ruled the world by causing the hearts of the people to change. It was assumed that each man had a heart of his own, that recourse to arms was quite all right. Killing a thief is not a case of murder, they said; every man in the world should look out for his own kind. As a result, there was great consternation in the world, and the Confucians and Moists all came forward, creating for the first time the rules of ethical behavior. But what would they say of those men who nowadays make wives of their daughters?</p> <p>“I will tell you how the Three August Ones and the Five Emperors ruled the world! They called it ‘ruling,’ but in fact they were plunging it into the worst confusion. The ‘wisdom’ of the Three August Ones was such as blotted out the brightness of sun and moon above, sapped the vigor of hills and streams below, and overturned the round of the four seasons in between. Their wisdom was more fearsome than the tail of the scorpion; down to the smallest beast, not a living thing was allowed to rest in the true form of its nature and fate. And yet they considered themselves sages! Was it not shameful – their lack of shame!”</p> <p>Zi Gong, stunned and speechless, stood wondering which way to turn. (163-165)</p>
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These Episodes are very close in terms of theme. They show how the Kongzi character, unlike the one in the *Lunyu*, was conceived and represented in new narratives about him.⁴⁰⁵ Laozi in these

⁴⁰⁵ Interestingly, these stories are collected in the chapters that some scholars have argued have similar philosophical concerns. Guan Feng 關鋒, who first categorized the chapters in the Outer and Miscellaneous divisions according to their dominant philosophical concerns, and related those divided categories to different authors, understands that these chapters are concerned with the issue of cosmology represented by the concept of Heaven, the idea of *wu-wei* 無為, criticism about the values that were often associated with the Kongzi character, such as benevolence and righteousness, and the mind/heart technique (*xinshu* 心術). See Guan Feng, “*Zhuangzi waiza pian chutan*” 莊子外雜篇初探, In *Zhuangzi zhexue taolunji* 莊子哲學討論集, edited by Zhaxue yanjiu pianjibu 哲學研究編輯部, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961).

Heavily influenced by Guan Feng’s categorization, A. C. Graham and Liu Xiaogan have also attempted their own textual taxonomy in accord with each chapter’s main philosophical theme and issue. They both understand that the chapters of “Tiandi” and “Tianyun” where we find the Lao Dan stories are philosophically syncretic, largely agreeing with the Guan Feng’s characterization. Graham labels it “Syncretist,” and Liu terms it “Huang-Lao.” See A. C. Graham, *Chuang-tzu: The Inner Chapters*, (Indianapolis, ID and Cambridge, MA: Hackett Publishing, 2001); Liu Xiaogan, *Zhuangzi zhexue ji qi yanbian* 莊子哲學及其演變, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 1988).

stories explicitly rejects and criticizes the virtues such as benevolence and righteousness, which were often associated with the Kongzi character in other cultural memories, like the ones preserved in the *Lunyu*, and teaches Kongzi to pursue another ideal that transcends such human-centered moral virtues. Here, *tian*, which had been regarded as the origin of moral virtue since the Western Han turns into a signifier for the authentic, legitimate cosmic order beyond the human realm, that all human beings and societies should model themselves on. In these narratives, Kongzi is depicted as the one who is still stuck in human morality, which is only a tiny part of the universe, and who now is enlightened by his teacher and expected to abandon the values often associated with him and practice new ideals. This appropriation of the Kongzi character is brought about through the introduction of the new character of Laozi as the teacher of Kongzi.

Below is a table to show the three scholars' categorizations of chapters in the current Outer and Miscellaneous divisions.

Guan Feng (1961)	A.C. Graham (2001, 28-29)	Liu Xiaogan (1988)
駢拇, 馬蹄, 脍篋, 在宥 – Later Leftists in Laozian line; anarchistic, militant reformer group	駢拇, 馬蹄, 脍篋, and the first part of 在宥 – Primitivist (ca. 205 BCE)	駢拇, 馬蹄, 脍篋, 在宥 – Anarchists
天地, 天道, 天運 – Later scholars in Song Bing 宋鉞 and Yin Wen 尹文 line; cosmologist and absolute <i>wuwei</i> , anti-Confucian, mind/heart technique (<i>xinshu</i> 心術) group	天地, 天道, 天運 – Syncretist (ca. the second century BCE)	天地, 天道, 天運, 在宥, 刻意, 繕性 – School of Huang-Lao
刻意, 繕性 – nourishing spirit (<i>yangshen</i> 養神) group	刻意, 繕性 – the first Syncretist, but the next unrelated to anything in the book	
秋水, 至樂, 達生, 山木, 田子方, 知北遊, 庚桑楚 – the most loyal and faithful follower group of Zhuangzi.	秋水, 至樂, 達生, 山木, 田子方, 知北遊 – School of Zhuangzi	秋水, 至樂, 達生, 山木, 田子方, 知北遊, 庚桑楚, 徐無鬼, 則陽, 外物, 寓言, 列御寇 – Transmitters
徐無鬼, 則陽, 外物, 寓言, 列御寇 – the Han collection of the writing fragments by later Zhuangzian groups	庚桑楚, 徐無鬼, 則陽, 外物, 寓言, 列御寇 – ragbag chapters (heterogenous, badly fragmented, coming from broken or misplaced bamboo slips)	
盜跖, 讓王, 漁父 – Later scholars in Yang Zhu 楊朱 line; not by Zhuangzi's own followers	盜跖, 讓王, 漁父, 說劍 – Yangist miscellany (after 200 BCE)	盜跖, 讓王, 漁父 – Anarchists
說劍 – The Strategist group (<i>zonghengjia</i> 縱橫家) in the late Warring States		
天下 – loyal Zhuangzi followers	天下 – Syncretist	天下 – School of Huang-Lao

This reconstruction of the Kongzi character, the invention of the Laozi character, and the establishment of new values were sometimes associated with the issue of the ideal rulership through the replacement of Yao with Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi* 黃帝). This shows that writers invented Laozi character in pursuit of another time period before Yao that could illustrate principles for extended territory beyond the previous concerns about virtuous ruling of a limited part of the world.

We find more Kongzi/Laozi stories in the received *Zhuangzi* text, and some of them elaborate on Laozi's teaching, which was described in the "Tiandi and Tianyun" chapters above.

田子方	知北遊
<p>孔子見老聃，老聃新沐，方將被髮而乾，慙然似非人。孔子便而待之，少焉見曰：「丘也眩與？其信然與？向者先生形體掘若槁木，似遺物離人而立於獨也。」老聃曰：「吾遊心於物之初。」</p> <p>孔子曰：「何謂邪？」曰：「心困焉而不能知，口辟焉而不能言，嘗為汝議乎其將。至陰肅肅，至陽赫赫；肅肅出乎天，赫赫發乎地；兩者交通成和而物生焉，或為之紀而莫見其形。消息滿虛，一晦一明，日改月化，日有所為，而莫見其功。生有所乎萌，死有所乎歸，始終相反乎無端，而莫知其所窮。非是也，且孰為之宗！」</p> <p>孔子曰：「請問遊是。」老聃曰：「夫得是，至美至樂也。得至美而遊乎至樂，謂之至人。」孔子曰：「願聞其方。」曰：「草食之獸不疾易藪，水生之蟲不疾易水，行小變而不失其大常也，喜怒哀樂不入於胸次。夫天下也者，萬物之所一也。得其所一而同焉，則四支百體將為塵垢，而死生終始將為晝夜而莫之能滑，而況得喪禍福之所介乎！棄隸者若棄泥塗，知身貴於隸也，貴在於我而不失於變。且萬化而未始有極也，夫孰足以患心！已為道者解乎此。」</p> <p>孔子曰：「夫子德配天地，而猶假至言以修心，古之君子，孰能脫焉？」老聃曰：「不然。夫水之於汭也，無為而才自然矣。至人之於德也，不修而物不能離焉，若天之自高，地之自厚，日月之自明，夫何修焉！」</p> <p>孔子出，以告顏回曰：「丘之於道也，其猶醜難與！微夫子之發吾覆也，吾不知天地之大全也。」</p> <p>Confucius went to call on Lao Dan. Lao Dan had just finished washing his hair and had spread it over his shoulders to dry. Utterly motionless, he did not even seem to be human. Confucius, hidden from sight, stood waiting, and then after some time presented himself and exclaimed, "Did my eyes play tricks on me, or was that really true? A moment ago, Sir, your form and body seemed stiff as an old dead tree, as though you had forgotten things, taken leave of men, and were standing in solitude itself!" Lao Dan said, "I was letting my mind wander in the Beginning of things." "What does that mean?" asked Confucius.</p>	<p>孔子問於老聃曰：「今日晏閒，敢問至道。」老聃曰：「汝齊戒，疏瀹而心，澡雪而精神，掇擊而知！夫道，窅然難言哉！將為汝言其崖略。夫昭昭生於冥冥，有倫生於無形，精神生於道，形本生於精，而萬物以形相生，故九竅者胎生，八竅者卵生。其來無跡，其往無崖，無門無房，四達之皇皇也。邀於此者，四肢彊，思慮恂達，耳目聰明，其用心不勞，其應物無方。天不得不高，地不得不廣，日月不得不行，萬物不得不昌，此其道與！」</p> <p>且夫博之不必知，辯之不必慧，聖人以斷之矣。若夫益之而不加益，損之而不加損者，聖人之所保也。淵淵乎其若海，魏魏乎其終則復始也，運量萬物而不匱，則君子之道，彼其外與！萬物皆往資焉而不匱，此其道與！</p> <p>中國有人焉，非陰非陽，處於天地之間，直且為人，將反於宗。自本觀之，生者，暗醜物也。雖有壽夭，相去幾何？須臾之說也。奚足以為堯、桀之是非？</p> <p>果蓏有理，人倫雖難，所以相齒。聖人遭之而不違，過之而不守。調而應之，德也；偶而應之，道也。帝之所興，王之所起也。</p> <p>人生天地之間，若白駒之過郤，忽然而已。注然勃然，莫不出焉；油然漻然，莫不入焉。已化而生，又化而死，生物哀之，人類悲之。解其天弢，墮其天袞，紛乎宛乎，魂魄將往，乃身從之，乃大歸乎！</p> <p>不形之形，形之不形，是人之所同知也，非將至之所務也，此眾人之所同論也。彼至則不論，論則不至。明見無值，辯不若默。道不可聞，聞不若塞。此之謂大得。」</p> <p>Confucius said to Lao Dan, "Today, you seem to have a moment of leisure – may I venture to ask about the Perfect Dao?" Lao Dan said, "You must fast and practice austerities, cleanse and purge your mind, wash and purify your inner spirit, destroy and do away with your knowledge. The Dao is abstruse and difficult to describe. But I will try to give you a rough outline of it." "The bright and shining is born out of deep darkness; the ordered is born out of formlessness; pure spirit is born out of</p>

“The mind may wear itself out but can never understand it; the mouth may gape but can never describe it. Nevertheless, I will try explaining it to you in rough outline.

“Perfect Yin is stern and frigid; Perfect Yang is bright and glittering. The sternness and frigidity come forth from heaven, the brightness and glitter emerge from the earth; the two mingle, penetrate, come together, harmonize, and all things are born therefrom. Perhaps someone manipulates the cords that draw it all together, but no one has ever seen his form. Decay, growth, fullness, emptiness, now murky, now bright, the sun shifting, the moon changing phase – day after day these things proceed, yet no one has seen him bringing them about. Life has its sproutings, death its destination, end and beginning tail one another in unbroken round, and no one has ever heard of their coming to a stop. If it is not as I have described it, then who else could the Ancestor of all this be?” Confucius said, “May I ask what I means to wander in such a place?”

Lao Dan said, “It means to attain Perfect Beauty and Perfect Happiness. He who attains Perfect Beauty and wanders in Perfect Happiness may be called the Perfect Man.” Confucius said, “I would like to hear by what means this may be accomplished.”

“Beasts that feed on grass do not fret over a change of pasture; creatures that live in water do not fret over a change of stream. They accept the minor shift as long as the all-important constant is not lost. [Be like them] and joy, anger, grief, and happiness can never enter your breast. In this world, the ten thousand things come together in One, and if you can find that One and become identical with it, then your four limbs and hundred joints will become dust and sweepings; life and death beginning and end will be mere day and night, and nothing whatever can confound you – certainly not the trifles of gain or loss, good or bad fortune!

“A man will discard the servants who wait upon him as though they were so much earth or mud, for he knows that his own person is of more worth than the servants who tend it. Worth lies within yourself and no external shift will cause it to be lost. And since the ten thousand transformations continue without even the beginning of an end, how could they be enough to bring anxiety to your mind? He who practices the Dao understands all this.”

Confucius said, “Your virtue, Sir, is the very counterpart of Heaven and earth, and yet even you must employ these perfect teachings in order to cultivate your mind. Who, then, even among the fine gentlemen of the past, could have avoided such labors?”

“Not so!” said Laozi. “The murmuring of the water is its natural talent, not something that it does deliberately. The Perfect Man stands in the same relationship in Virtue. Without cultivating it, he possesses it to such an extent that things cannot draw away from him. It is as natural as the height of heaven, the depth of the earth, the brightness of sun and moon. What is there to be cultivated?”

When Confucius emerged from the interview, he reported what had passed to Yan Hui, saying, “As far as the Dao is concerned, I was a mere gnat in the vinegar jar! If the Master hadn’t taken off the lid for me, I would never have understood the Great Integrity of Heaven and earth!” (225-227)

the Dao. The body is born originally from this purity, and the ten thousand things give bodily form to one another through the process of birth. Therefore, those with nine openings in the body are born from the womb; those with eight openings are born from eggs. [In the case of the Dao] there is no trace of its coming, no limit to its going. Gateless, roomless, it is airy and open as the highways of the four directions. He who follows along with it will be strong in his four limbs, keen and penetrating in intellect, sharp-eared, bright-eyed, wielding his mind without wearying it, responding to things without prejudice. Heaven cannot help but be high, earth cannot help but be broad, the sun and moon cannot help but revolve, the ten thousand things cannot help but flourish. Is this not the Dao?

“Breadth of learning does not necessarily mean knowledge; eloquence does not necessarily mean wisdom – therefore the sage rid himself of these things. That which can be increased without showing any sign of increase; that which can be diminished without suffering any diminution – that is what the sage holds fast to. Deep, unfathomable, it is like the sea; tall and craggy, it ends only to begin again, transporting and weighing the ten thousand things without ever failing them. The ‘Dao of the gentleman’ [which you preach] is mere superficiality, is it not? But what the ten thousand things all look to for sustenance, what never fails them – is this not the real Dao?”

“Here is a man of the Middle Kingdom, neither yin nor yang, living between heaven and earth. For a brief time only, he will be a man, and then he will return to the Ancestor. Look at him from the standpoint of the Source and his life is a mere gathering together of breath. And whether he dies young or lives to a great old age, the two fates will scarcely differ – a matter of a few moments, you might say. How, then, is it worth deciding that Yao is good and Jie is bad?”

“The fruits of trees and vines have their patterns and principles. Human relationships too, difficult as they are, have their relative order and precedence. The sage, encountering them, does not go against them; passing beyond, he does not cling to them. To respond to them in a spirit of harmony – this is Virtue; to respond to them in a spirit of fellowship – this is the Dao. Thus it is that emperors have raised themselves up and kings have climbed to power. “Man’s life between heaven and earth is like the passing of a white colt glimpsed through a crack in the wall – whoosh! – and that’s the end. Overflowing, starting forth, there is nothing that does not come out; gliding away, slipping into silence, there is nothing that does not go back in. Having been transformed, things find themselves alive; another transformation and they are dead. Living things grieve over it, mankind mourns. But it is like the untying of the Heaven-lent bowbag, the unloading of the Heaven-lent satchel – a yielding, a mild mutation, and the soul and spirit are on their way, the body following after, on at last to the Great Return. “The formless moves to the realm of form; the formed moves back to the realm of formlessness. This all men alike understand. But it is not something to be reached by striving. The common run of men all alike debate how to reach it. But those who have reached it do not debate, and those who debate have not reached it. Those who peer with bright eyes will never catch sight of it. Eloquence is not as good as silence. The Dao cannot be heard; to listen for it is not as

good as plugging up your ears. This is called the Great Acquisition.” (238-240)

In the “Tian Zifang” chapter, there is a narrative where Laozi teaches Kongzi a mysterious technical practice, a lesson on how to practice the Laozian view in life. Also, in the received “Zhi bei you” chapter, Laozi lays out a much more detailed cosmological vision, particularly on the nature of *dao*. Laozi conceptualizes this *dao* in accord with the ideal of the Sage that he supported in previous narratives, further developing a critique of morality and virtuous ruling, the issues that the Kongzi character was often associated with, and his new conceptualization of the ideal ruler as an alternative to the Kongzian vision.

The invention of the Laozi character as Kongzi’s master in the received *Zhuangzi* text became an influential practice for cultural memory of the past, which was difficult for supporters of Kongzi to simply ignore. We can find other Laozi/Kongzi episodes in other received texts, most notably in the *Shiji* 史記 and *Liji* 禮記. The Laozi/Kongzi encounters in both texts are different from what we find in the *Zhuangzi*. The production and sharing of the Lao/Kong narratives were highly popular, and the received *Zhuangzi* contains only a part of this new construction of cultural memory.

First, in the *Shiji*, we still find the image of Laozi as a teacher of Kongzi. But this cultural memory changes the contents of what Kongzi asked and what Laozi answered.

史記 老子韓非列傳	孔子適周，將問禮於老子。老子曰：「子所言者，其人與骨皆已朽矣，獨其言在耳。且君子得其時則駕，不得其時則蓬累而行。吾聞之，良賈深藏若虛，君子盛德容貌若愚。去子之驕氣與多欲，態色與淫志，是皆無益於子之身。吾所以告子，若是而已。」孔子去，謂弟子曰：「鳥，吾知其能飛；魚，吾知其能游；獸，吾知其能走。走者可以為罔，游者可以為綸，飛者可以為矰。至於龍，吾不能知其乘風雲而上天。吾今日見老子，其猶龍邪！」
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Summary: This *Shiji* passage describes the event of Kongzi’s meeting with Laozi to ask about rituals. In this meeting, Laozi reproaches Kongzi for his ambitious but fruitless intent and desire to make the world a better place. Returning from the meeting, Kongzi tells his students that Laozi is great like a dragon.

Unlike the *Zhuangzi*, Kongzi asks Laozi about ritual (*li* 禮), a subject-matter which had often been more of a concern for the character of Kongzi before the invention of the Laozi character. As we will see in the cases of *Liji* where we also see the Laozi character asked about ritual by Kongzi, there seems to have been another attempt to appropriate Laozi in support of Kongzian ideals, maintaining the status of Laozi as a teacher of Kongzi. *Shiji*’s passage exemplifies this. At the same time, the *Shiji*’s narrative, particularly Laozi’s answer maintains the critique of Kongzi that dominates the Kong/Lao stories in the *Zhuangzi*. In this sense, the *Shiji* reflects two contradictory motives: first to appropriate Laozi in service of the virtues with which the Kongzi character was often associated; second to challenge and criticize the ideals and the conceptions of the past promoted using the character of Kongzi.

The following episodic representation of Laozi preserved in the received *Liji* overturns the Laozi character so that he now appears to work for Kongzian ideas.

曾子問曰：「古者師行，必以遷廟主行乎？」

<p>禮記 曾子問</p>	<p>孔子曰：「天子巡守，以遷廟主行，載于齊車，言必有尊也。今也取七廟之主以行，則失之矣。當七廟、五廟無虛主；虛主者，唯天子崩，諸侯薨與去其國，與祫祭於祖，為無主耳。吾聞諸老聃曰：天子崩，國君薨，則祝取群廟之主而藏諸祖廟，禮也。卒哭成事而後，主各反其廟。君去其國，大宰取群廟之主以從，禮也。祫祭於祖，則祝迎四廟之主。主，出廟入廟必蹕；老聃云。」</p> <p>Zeng-zi asked, ‘Anciently when an army went on an expedition, was it not first necessary to carry with it the spirit-tablets that had been removed from their shrines?’</p> <p>Confucius said, ‘When the son of Heaven went on his tours of Inspection, he took (one of) those tablets along with him, conveying it in the carriage of Reverence, thus intimating how it was felt necessary to have with him that object of honour. The practice nowadays of taking the tablets of the seven temple-shrines along with them on an expedition is an error. No shrine in all the seven (of the king), or in the five of the prince of a state, ought to be (left) empty. A shrine can only be so left without its tablet, when the son of Heaven has died, or the prince of a state deceased, or left his state, or when all the tablets are brought together at the united sacrifice, in the shrine-temple of the highest ancestor. I heard the following statement from Lao Dan: “On the death of the son of Heaven, or of the prince of a state, it is the rule that the officer of prayer should take the tablets from all the other shrines and deposit them in that of the high ancestor. When the wailing was over, and the business (of placing the tablet of the deceased in its shrine) was completed, then every other tablet was restored to its shrine. When a ruler abandoned his state, it was the rule that the Grand minister should take the tablets from all the shrines and follow him. When there was the united sacrifice in the shrine of the high ancestor, the officer of prayer met (and received) the tablets from the four shrines. When they were taken from their shrines or carried back to them all were required to keep out of the way.” So said Lao Dan.’⁴⁰⁶ (85)</p>
	<p>曾子問曰：「葬引至於壙，日有食之，則有變乎？且不乎？」</p> <p>孔子曰：「昔者吾從老聃助葬於巷黨，及壙，日有食之，老聃曰：『丘！止柩，就道右，止哭以聽變。』既明反而後行。曰：『禮也。』反葬，而丘問之曰：『夫柩不可以反者也，日有食之，不知其已之遲數，則豈如行哉？』老聃曰：『諸侯朝天子，見日而行，逮日而舍奠；大夫使，見日而行，逮日而舍。夫柩不早出，不暮宿。見星而行者，唯罪人與奔父母之喪者乎！日有食之，安知其不見星也？且君子行禮，不以人之親疢患。』吾聞諸老聃云。」</p> <p>Zeng-zi asked, ‘At a burial, when the bier has been drawn to the path (leading to the place), if there happen an eclipse of the sun, is any change made or not?’</p> <p>Confucius said, ‘Formerly, along with Lao Dan, I was assisting at a burial in the village of Xiang, and when we had got to the path, the sun was eclipsed. Lao Dan said to me, “Qiu, let the bier be stopped on the left of the road; and then let us wail and wait till the eclipse pass away. When it is light again, we will proceed.” He said that this was the rule. When we had returned and completed the burial, I said to him, “In the progress of a bier there should be no returning. When there is an eclipse of the sun, we do not know whether it will pass away quickly or not, would it not have been better to go on?” Lao Dan said, “When the prince of a state is going to the court of the son of Heaven, he travels while he can see the sun. At sun-down he halts, and presents his offerings (to the spirit of the way). When a Great officer is on a mission, he travels while he can see the sun, and at sun-down he halts. Now a bier does not set forth in the early morning, nor does it rest anywhere at night; but those who travel by star-light are only criminals and those who are hastening to the funeral rites of a parent. When there is an eclipse of the sun, how do we know that we shall not see the stars? And moreover, a superior man, in his performance of rites, will not expose his relatives to the risk of distress or evil.” This is what I heard from Lao Dan.’ (90-91)</p>
	<p>曾子問曰：「下殤：土周葬于園，遂與機而往，途適故也。今墓遠，則其葬也如之何？」</p> <p>孔子曰：「吾聞諸老聃曰：昔者史佚有子而死，下殤也。墓遠，召公謂之曰：『何以不棺斂於宮中？』史佚曰：『吾敢乎哉？』召公言於周公，周公曰：『豈不可？』史佚行之。下殤用棺衣棺，自史佚始也。」</p> <p>Zeng-zi asked, ‘Children dying prematurely, between eight and eleven, should be buried in the garden in a brick grave, and carried thither on a contrivance serving the purpose of a carriage, the place being near; but now if the grave is chosen at a distance, what do you say about their being buried there?’</p>

⁴⁰⁶ The translations of the passages from the *Liji* are from James Legge, tr., *The Book of Rites*, (Beijing and Washington: Intercultural Press, 2013). The specific page numbers are given in parenthesis of each translated passage.

	<p>Confucius said, 'I have heard this account from Lao Dan: "Formerly," he said, "the recorder Yi had a son who died thus prematurely, and the grave was distant. The duke of Shao said to him, 'Why not shroud and coffin him in your palace?' The recorder said, 'Dare I do so?' The duke of Shao spoke about it to the duke of Zhou, who said, 'Why may it not be done?' and the recorder did it. The practice of coffins for boys who have died so prematurely, and shrouding them, began with the recorder Yi.'" (91)</p> <p>子夏問曰：「三年之喪卒哭，金革之事無辟也者，禮與？初有司與？」 孔子曰：「夏后氏三年之喪，既殯而致事，殷人既葬而致事。《記》曰：『君子不奪人之親，亦不可奪親也。』此之謂乎？」 子夏曰：「金革之事無辟也者，非與？」 孔子曰：「吾聞諸老聃曰：昔者魯公伯禽有為為之也。今以三年之喪，從其利者，吾弗知也！」</p> <p>Zi-xia asked, 'There is such a thing as no longer declining military service, after the wailing in the three years I mourning has come to an end. Is this the rule? or was it at first required by the officers (of the state)?'</p> <p>Confucius said, 'Under the sovereigns of Xia, as soon as the coffining in the three year's mourning was completed, they resigned all their public duties. Under Yin they did so as soon as the interment was over. Is not this the meaning of what we find in the record, that "the ruler does not take from men their affection to their parents, nor do men take from their parents their filial duty?'</p> <p>Zi-xia asked, 'Is then not declining military service (during mourning) to be condemned?'</p> <p>Confucius said, 'I heard from Lao Dan that duke Bo-Qin engaged once in such service, when there was occasion for it; but I do, not know if I should allow it in those who seek (by it) their own advantage during the period of the three years' mourning.' (91-92)</p>
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In these passages, Lao Dan is described as a teacher of Kongzi, but his role is to teach and explain to Kongzi specific rules of ritual for rulership. Laozi no longer challenges and seeks another value or another order, as we saw in the *Zhuangzi*. The cultural memory of the figure of Laozi has been entirely reversed from that of Laozi in the *Zhuangzi* and more complete than the half-baked one in the *Shiji*. The Laozi character is finally questioned and challenged by Kongzi. In the last example in the "Zengzi wen" (曾子問; "Zengzi asked") chapter of the *Liji*, Kongzi states what he heard from his Ritual teacher Laozi but raises doubts about what Laozi said. Concerning the issue of whether to perform a public duty such as military service during the three-year mourning for deceased parents, a conflict between the public and the personal, Kongzi says that Laozi told him about the example of Bo Qin, who Laozi permitted to perform a public duty during mourning period. However, Kongzi adds that he is not sure whether Laozi's permission was right, condemning it as an act of seeking personal advantage. Based on this doubt, the status of Laozi as the teacher of ritual is called into question by Kongzi, who appears to have superior expertise on the matter. Even maintaining the Laozi character as Kongzi's teacher, Kongzi's authority and superiority as the Sage of *dao* is not diminished, but rather recovered and solidified. Kongzi has overcome Laozi, culminating a cultural strategy to create and share another memory of the Master who has successfully defeated a rival memory.

The received *Zhuangzi* text partly reflects the cultural battle of memory and its representation through the invention of Laozi character. It preserved one particular strand of memories and representations, constructing a past that competed with other memories for cultural dominance, claiming a status as a more authentic successor and transmitter of the past after the dominant cultural memory of Western Zhou was no longer regnant. It is also related to the case of Xu You as the teacher of Yao, whose narratives are well-preserved in the *Zhuangzi*. They also were a critical narrative reflection of the past and the ideal represented by the character of Yao as the first Sage ruler. These all suggest that the *Zhuangzi* was deeply concerned with the cultural practices of producing, sharing, and collecting memory and narrative representations in order to create an alternative construction of the past.

Early Evidence for the Formation and Nature of the *Zhuangzi*

The received 33-chapter version of *Zhuangzi* text is commonly believed to have been edited by a fourth-century scholar-official named Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. 312 CE). We have small but significant evidence to suggest that earlier versions of the text were very different from the received one. Earlier with the title of *Zhuangzi* seem to have had more narratives, probably on more diverse topics. Those narratives represent cultural memories that were lost in transmission or purposely deleted, edited, and reassigned in support of the editors' agenda in their making of a new edition. In order to better understand the nature of the earlier and current *Zhuangzi* text, we need to pay attention mainly to two surviving works by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145 or 135 – 86 BCE) and Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–630 CE).

First, Sima Qian describes the process in the biography of the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of Grand Scribe) as follows:

莊子者，蒙人也，名周。周嘗為蒙漆園吏，與梁惠王、齊宣王同時。其學無所不闕，然其要本歸於老子之言。故其著書十餘萬言，大抵率寓言也。作漁父、盜跖、胠篋，以詆訛孔子之徒，以明老子之術。畏累虛、亢桑子之屬，皆空語無事實。然善屬書離辭，指事類情，用剽剝儒、墨，雖當世宿學不能自解免也。其言沈洋自恣以適己，故自王公大人不能器之。⁴⁰⁷

The man, [called] the son of Zhuang [family], was from Meng [County] and named Zhou. Zhou, in his early days, served as a magistrate of Qiyuan [village]. He was contemporaneous with King Hui of Liang (r. 369-319 BCE) and King Xuan of Qi (r. 319-301 BCE). In his learning, there was nothing that he did not examine, but the essentials fundamentally boiled down to the words of Son of Antiquity. Thus, what he wrote was over one-hundred-thousand words and mostly used allegorical language. He composed “Yufu” (Fishermen), “Dao Zhi” (Thief Zhi), “Qu Qie” (Cutting Open a Bamboo Case), in all of which he slandered and spoke ill of the followers of the son of Kong and illuminated the techniques of the Son of Antiquity. All the [writings] in the category to which “Wei Lei Xu” and “Kang Sangzi” belong are made with empty language and have nothing that matches any actual affairs.⁴⁰⁸ As such, he was good at writing compositions with language

⁴⁰⁷ *Shiji* 63:2143-2145

⁴⁰⁸ In the Sima Qian's original sentence, 畏累虛、亢桑子之屬，皆空語無事實， which I translate as “All the [writings] in the category to which “Wei Lei Xu” and “the Son of Kang Sang” belong are of empty language and have nothing to match an actual event,” there is in fact no definite evidence to take the two words “Wei Lei Xu” and “the Son of Kang Sang” 畏累虛、亢桑子 as the titles of what *Zhuangzi* was believed to have written. We only have reasons to regard that they could be the titles, because these two are concerned with spoken words that have to do with human affairs in actuality. However, it is equally possible that they might simply be examples of fantastic names and places which may have been mistaken for titles by Guo Xiang or another editor.

The understanding to take these two as a title began with Sima Zhen's 司馬貞 (679-732 CE) commentary in his *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, now found in the most common Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 edition *Shiji* 63: 2144. Sima Zhen understood that the Wei Lei indicates the name of a student of Laozi, and also that the notion of Kang Sang is to refer to the name of another student, Geng Sang 庚桑, who appears as a narrated character in the miscellaneous division of the today's recension of *Zhuangzi*.

that has left [the world], pointing out affairs and categorizing situations, and disclosing the [real aspect] of Ritual Specialists and the Ink-Tattooed by wielding sword-like [language]. Even the erudites of the era were not able to evade [him]. His words are like raging waves, self-entrusting and thereby self-satisfactory. Therefore, from the King to Grandees of the Realm, none of them was unable to regard him as a vessel [for the government].

This brief biographical description by Sima Qian preserves an early conception of Zhuangzi the person and his writings, circulating in the cultural community of the early Western Han. First, he was from Meng, later believed to be part of Song state, and served in a government position which was probably not high in rank.⁴⁰⁹ According to Sima Qian, he lived in the fourth century BCE, as evidenced by his being contemporaneous with Kings Hui of Wey 魏 (or Liang) and Xuan of Qi, both of whom appear as interlocutors of Mengzi in the received text of *Mengzi*.⁴¹⁰ He was erudite and based his own intellectual position and tendencies on the words of a man named the Son of Antiquity, a mystical, increasingly significant figure in early Western Han. For Sima Qian, Zhuangzi is fundamentally associated with Laozi, and this means, in the *Shiji*'s description, that he is understood to oppose the dominant cultural order represented by the name "Kongzi." Sima Qian does not explicitly tell us why and how Zhuangzi set himself against the followers of Kongzi, but he does say that Zhuangzi sought to be carefree and unrestrained, radically refusing to be involved in politics. This refusal to make any effort to participate in the government and improve the world, marks him as antagonistic to the ideals that the Ritual Specialists (*ru* 儒) or the Ink-Tattooed (*mo* 墨) had been upholding. In Sima Qian's view, Zhuangzi was a man who pursued complete freedom from the world. For him, being employed at court was no different from being a sacrificial ox to be killed for court.⁴¹¹ In the *Shiji*'s representation, Zhuangzi's main intellectual concerns were nourishing life, the unfetteredness of one's own being, and detachment from politics. Zhuangzi wrote about his concerns in the form of allegorical language (*yuyan* 寓言). He is said to have left around one-hundred-thousand words, including the ones entitled as "Yufu," "Dao Zhi,"

⁴⁰⁹ There have been some disagreements among commentators of the *Shiji*, over what the word, Qiyuan 漆園 in this biography exactly means, whether it is a name of a place, the title of an official, or something else. It was Zhang Shoujie 張守節 (fl. late seventh century), who first understood the Qiyuan as a place name. In his 30 volume commentary to the *Shiji*, entitled *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義 in the Tang, he quotes a line from a Tang geographic treaty entitled as "Kuodi zhi" 括地志 (Comprehensive Gazetteer), and suggests that the Qiyuan is the name of a place located 17 *li*-mile (4.4 US mile; 7.1 km) north from a known town called Yuanju County 冤句縣, Cao Prefecture 曹州 in the early Tang (*Shiji* 63:2144). Based on this account, the Qiyuan was probably a small village located between modern Shandong and Henan.

⁴¹⁰ As is well-known, however, Zhuangzi is never mentioned in the transmitted *Mengzi* as well as nearly all the other received early texts whose core contents have been claimed to reflect the reality of the pre-Qin intellectual culture. Virtually the only exception is found in the "Jiebi" 解蔽 (Exposing what is veiled) chapter received *Xunzi* 荀子, where the author calls out Zhuangzi by name and criticized him for "his being veiled by Heaven and not knowing Human" (*Zhuangzi bi yu tian er buzhi ren* 莊子蔽於天而不知人).

This interesting silence might suggest that the man Zhuangzi and his work, if either ever existed, could have had only a limited reputation and influence in the community, unlike what is claimed in the *Shiji*. It also possibly reveals that the character of Zhuangzi as an erudite and critical philosopher and activist for freedom vis-à-vis the government becomes increasingly significant in the particular politico-cultural context during the early Western Han period.

⁴¹¹ *Shiji* 63:2145.

and “Qu Qie,” whose counterparts, at least by title, still survive in the received text. In these writings, he criticized the followers of Kongzi and support the ideas of Laozi, according to the record of *Shiji*.

Here we know that at the time of *Shiji*, these voluminous writings were already attributed to the authorship of Zhuangzi as a written representation of his intellectual position and character. We cannot confirm whether or not the metaphorical language described here was identical with the writings surviving in the received *Zhuangzi* text. However, as I will show below, based on some contents of the excavated manuscripts parallel to the received “Dao Zhi” and “Qu Qie,” it is likely that the concept of metaphorical language and the style of the writings characterized as “empty language not matching reality” indicates the form of historical or fictional narrative still predominant in the received *Zhuangzi* text.

Interestingly, the *Shiji*’s description of the writings attributed to the man Zhuangzi does not completely match what we find in the received text named after him. For example, the *Shiji* says that Zhuangzi wrote one-hundred-thousand words, but the extant text has less than half that number of characters. Conversely, much more of it should have been identified as empty metaphorical language.

Also, contrary to the common belief of contemporary scholars of the *Zhuangzi* that only the first seven chapters called “Inner Chapters” are more historically authentic, the *Shiji* does not explicitly mention the most conspicuous structural feature of the received *Zhuangzi*, i.e., the three divisions – Inner, Outer, and Miscellaneous. All the titles of writings that the *Shiji* mentions as Zhuangzi’s own are now found in the portion that scholars believe is less authentic. Moreover, the *Shiji* mentions only a few titles of his writings – supposedly short individual texts – but does not say that the writings constitute a compiled book-format text such as today’s *Zhuangzi*. Lastly, in content, while Sima Qian understands that Zhuangzi followed Laozi and opposed Kongzi, the character of Kongzi is not described consistently as negative throughout the transmitted text, and Laozi is also not always depicted as the supreme sage in the text.⁴¹² These suggest that, despite identifiable textual connections between the biography and the current text, what the *Shiji* was referring to must have been significantly different from the received text of *Zhuangzi*. There were many more writings attributed to the man Zhuangzi; their contents were mostly metaphorical, near to the narrative form; they were not necessarily regarded as part of one complete book; the contents focused more on the critique of Kongzian ideals and the praise of the Laozian alternative.

The allegorical narrative writings circulating under the authorship of Zhuangzi in the first century BCE were first compiled into one single text in the first century CE as attested in the catalog that was the outcome of the massive library project led by Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6 BCE) and Liu Xin 劉歆 (50 BCE – 23 CE) and their collaborators. In the bibliographic catalogue of the Han imperial library, “Treaties of Classics and Letters” (*yiwenzhi* 藝文志), based on the Lius’ *Qilue* 七略, Ban Gu 班固 (32-92 CE) listed a text named after this man, *Zhuangzi*, in the bibliographic subcategory of “Specialist in Dao” (*daojia* 道家) of the second main category, “Summary of All the Named Masters” (*zhuzi lue* 諸子略) and recorded that the text he saw in the royal library was consisting of fifty-two chapters.⁴¹³ In this record, Ban Gu did not specify whether the *Zhuangzi* he

⁴¹² The significant mismatch between the *Shiji*’s description of the man named Zhuangzi and his writings and the content of the received *Zhuangzi* text has become one of the main grounds for modern skeptics to explain why one should not simply accept the originality of aspects of the received text of *Zhuangzi* such as the tripartition of chapters, the authenticity of the Inner chapter division, etc.

⁴¹³ *Hanshu* 30:1730.

referred to had chapter divisions as he did consistently in his other listings in the “Yiwenzhi.” Ban Gu did not list any chapter titles in the catalog, either.

We cannot clearly know how different Ban Gu’s *Zhuangzi* text was from the received one.⁴¹⁴ What we do know is that the earliest version of the *Zhuangzi* existed in a fifty-two chapter text in the first century CE and that it was accepted into the library inventory. This fifty-two chapter version must be closer to what the *Shiji* meant by the phrase “one hundred thousand words,” and was more likely an authoritative version of the text in Eastern Han society, unlike the single version in the entire state.⁴¹⁵ This Eastern Han version is thought to have been created from the individual

⁴¹⁴ One short statement survives, concerning the lost fifty-two chapter edition, which is lost now. The Tang scholar Lu Deming 陸德明 (556-627 CE), referring to several earlier editions, most of which were from Western Jin, made a phonological commentary to classical works including the *Zhuangzi*, entitled “Expositions of Classical Works” (*Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文). In the comment for a section of “Qiwu Lun” 齊物論, beginning with “夫道未始有封,” Lu cites a previous scholar Cui Zhuan’s 崔譔 comment, saying “崔云齊物七章此連上章, 而班固說在外篇” (See *Jingdian shiwen* 26:75). This comment is somewhat unclear. The main issues are, first, the syntactical relationship between the three words, 七章, 此, and 上章, and second, the endpoint of Cui’s comment, and the subject of the following quotation of Ban Gu. Since Cui’s commentary is lost, we cannot know what parts of the current “Qiwu Lun” to which text Cui was referring by the *qizhang* 七章 and *shangzhang* 上章, nor even what these words were supposed to mean (the seventh vs. seven? or *zhang* as textual unit?). Here I tentatively translate this sentence as follows: “Cui said, ‘The seventh section of ‘Qi Wu,’ is to be linked to the above section, but Ban Gu’s explanation are found in the Outer chapters.’” Based on this translation, we know that the current fragmented contents in the “Qiwu Lun” were regarded and treated as *zhang*, and Cui tried to reconstruct the textual sequence and thereby suggest a new way to understand the seemingly confusing “Qi Wu” passages from the original text. Since Lu himself does not directly refer to Ban Gu’s own edition in the *Jingdian shiwen*, he probably accessed it only through the commentaries of Sima Biao and Mr. Meng, which were based on the fifty-two chapter edition.

This important information may indicate that Ban Gu already had the idea to divide the text into at least two divisions, Inner and Outer, and that, at latest before early Tang, scholars like Cui recognized chapter titles such as “Qiwu.” However, since, in the current “Yiwenzhi,” Ban Gu indicates no textual divisions, it seems difficult for now to take the Cui’s comment at face value. Although it is possible that he was able to access Ban’s version, it is plausible that what Cui referred to as “Ban Gu” was the one that had already been undergone some changes and corruptions in the transmission process. That is to say, we do not have any evidence that what Cui was looking at was what Ban Gu described, but may have already been corrupted in the name of Ban Gu or newly organized by Western Jin commentators, as we find in the Lu’s preface. Thus, although recognizing the possibility that one single text was already categorized as Inner and Outer in the Han, Cui’s brief statement may not be convincing evidence that Ban Gu’s version was already divided. More importantly, even if Ban Gu’s edition had the Inner-Outer division, it by no means tells us that the Han textual demarcations reflect the authenticity of the today’s “Inner” section. Rather, the Ban Gu quotation reveals that even the “Inner” division, particularly the “Qiwu Lun,” is not free from later interpolation.

⁴¹⁵ After much intensive research and numerous discussions on a number of important recent excavated manuscripts since the early twentieth century, scholars have understood more clearly that, in early manuscript culture, concepts of authorship, editorship, text or edition were considerably different from modern ones. Although a text may be attributed to one author, the contents of the text could have been altered, sometimes radically, through multiple editing and transmitting processes by participants in the textual communities. Thus, the concept of authorship was not meaningfully different from that of editor. Also, it was normal for a text to undergo multiple editorial interventions in this manuscript culture of Early East Asia, become diversified in form and content, resulting in several different editions of the text circulating simultaneously. Furthermore, in some cases a text whose title and author cannot be confirmed, later came to be incorporated into part of a canonical book in some cases being attributed to a new author. At the same time, a text with wide currency was forgotten by later society.

In this regard, the fifty-two chapter version that Ban Gu saw in the imperial library was more likely to have been an authoritative one accepted in the society and therefore worthy being collected for the library, rather than the only edition circulating in the entire society.

writings that the *Shiji* mentioned by title, attributed to Zhuangzi. Thus, it was the first complete collection of various short, separate works that circulated under his name or just featured Zhuangzi as the main character. These works were ultimately collected and standardized as chapters (*pian* 篇) and were finally collected into a book.⁴¹⁶ The words of Zhuangzi, probably circulating in the form of separate essays, most likely on bundles of bamboo slips, were collected and compiled into one particular book-type text. With the creation of a book named after this person, the man Zhuangzi now became concretized in the idea of his grandiose thought and writings, through many collected stories and sayings attributed to him in the society. In this process, the character Zhuangzi was established as a life-like narrative protagonist and again re-created through multiple sayings, anecdotes, or short writings ascribed to this character in the society. However, we cannot be certain whether or not there was an increase or decrease in the number of words ascribed to Zhuangzi as author since Sima Qian, or how significant the textual changes were from the Sima Qian's time to Ban Gu's time.

Although this fifty-two chapter edition was not have been the only version transmitted and circulated, it was widely recognized as authoritative in late Western Han and early Eastern Han society and was still popularly endorsed as authoritative in the late Western Jin 西晉 (265-316 CE). We know this from an important testimony of an early Tang phonologist, Lu Deming 陸德明 (556-627 CE), found in his "Preface" (*xulu* 序錄) of *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 (Expositions of Classical Works).⁴¹⁷ Lu Deming identifies Zhuangzi's family name as Zhuang and specifically notes his style-name (*zi* 字) was Zixiu 子休. This shows that for Lu Deming, the man Zhuangzi was already a concrete historical figure whose existence was no longer questioned. There were

⁴¹⁶ As I have discussed in Chapter One, it is in this context that an obvious example of the imperial task of compiling and editing early writings in the royal library by Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6 BCE) is quite synecdochical. In 26 BCE, at the command of Emperor Chengdi (r. 33-7 BCE), Liu Xiang began to engage himself in the decades-long massive bibliographic work on organizing the imperial library. In this course of bibliographic work, Liu Xiang not only cataloged all earlier and contemporary writings housed the imperial library but also compiled several works from earlier sources and made "new" books; the books are representatively *Zhan Guo Ce* 戰國策, *Xin Xu* 新序, *Shuiyuan* 說苑, and *Lienü Zhuan* 列女傳, the latter three were Xiang's own political advice to the throne (*Hanshu* 36: 1957-58). His son, Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BCE-23 CE), following his father, also worked in the imperial library, participating in the task of cataloging, revising, and compiling. In this bibliographical re-organization, as I mentioned in Chapter Four, Liu Xin found the *Chunqiu* text in the Zuo commentarial tradition (*Zuozhuan* 左傳), written in Ancient Scripts (*guwen* 古文), and began to promote it in opposition to the Guliang 穀梁 commentarial tradition. His allies were increasingly influential and powerful not only in academia but also at court.

While Liu Xiang and Liu Xin compiled and edited early and contemporaneous writings for the Han government, many more scholars likely did so in a more private, individual way, in their own intellectual and familial traditions which were later called "Learning in Specialist Tradition" (*jiaxue* 家學), as we can see in the cases of Liu An's 劉安 *Huinanzi* 淮南子, which was to go through multiple processes of writing, compiling, and editing with the participation of numerous people whose specific names are now largely forgotten in history.

⁴¹⁷ For the text of *Jingdian shiwen*, here I use the Tongzhi tang 通志堂 edition, originally housed in the Han Fen Lou 涵芬樓 in Shanghai and later accepted into the Sibū congkān 四部叢刊 collection. In this edition, Lu Deming's explanation about the authorship and different editions of the *Zhuangzi* is found in 1: 68-70, and the Lu's phonology-centered commentary to the *Zhuangzi* is from 26: 60 to 28: 66.

Lu Deming's preface to the *Zhuangzi* is also reproduced in the first volume of Guo Qingfan's 郭慶藩 (1844-1896) *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, in which Guo Qingfan collected and located all the commentaries by Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. 312 CE) and sub-commentaries by Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (fl. mid-7th century CE) into the text of *Zhuangzi*. For Lu Deming's preface, see Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961), 1: 4-6.

more abundant sources circulating concerning the Zhuangzi's character in Lu's times, i.e., early Tang, in which the text of *Zhuangzi* was regarded as already canonical or near canon, as we can tell from the title of Lu's work. Unlike the times of Sima Qian and Ban Gu, the character of Zhuangzi was envisioned as a more specific and real-life human being who had lived during a specific period in a specific place.

While Lu Deming clarified the source of information about Zhuangzi's style-name Zixiu was Sima Qian, in the biography of Zhuangzi contained in the current text of *Shiji*, there is no indication of his style-name, his surname, or the name of the state in which he was born. If Lu Deming was not mistaken, the *Shiji* biography of Zhuangzi to which Lu was referring was different from what we are looking at now. In his depiction, Lu Deming mainly follows the basic description of what we see in the received *Shiji* biography where Zhuangzi refused to be employed in government, rejected involvement in worldly affairs, basing his ideas on Laozi's thought, and writing one-hundred-thousand words. But Lu Deming also adds some critical details to concretize the personality of Zhuangzi and thereby introduces his doctrines, such as *xiaoyao* 逍遙 (free and easy wandering), *ziran* 自然 (so of itself), *wuwei* 無爲 (nothing to do), and *qiwu* 齊物 (regarding things as equal). None of these was explicitly seen in Sima Qian's description. These additions by Lu Deming show that the conception of Zhuangzi the person and his work had evolved to become clearer and more sophisticated since the times of Sima Qian and Ban Gu.

Based on Lu's preface, it appears that this critical change came with the editing of the *Zhuangzi* text by Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. 312 CE). Lu writes,

As such, Mr. Zhuang fully used his talent [in writing] and became known to the world. The style of his language was flowery and profound, and even a normal word sounded like its opposite. Thus, [his words] did not extend as far as they could reach. Later people had added to them to feel satisfied, and [his words] came to gradually lose their true meaning. Thus, Guo Zixuan, [i.e. Guo Xiang], said: "Men who had the talent in one corner had absurdly revised [his original words] and [added] bizarre stories [to his words], and they were like the beginnings of chapters, "E Yi" (Stopping chess) or "Yi Xiu" (Cultivating Intention) and like the whole chapters "Zhi Yan" (Words like Zhi-cup), "You Fu" (Mallard at Play), and "Zixu" (Zixu), all of which are tricky and trivial. These things are three out of ten." In the "Treaties of Arts and Letters" of the *Hanshu*, [Ban Gu writes], "Zhuangzi, fifty-two chapters," and it was this version that Sima Biao and Mr. Meng commented on. [But] its words, in many cases, are absurd and nonsense, sometimes like the *Canon of Mountains and Seas*, sometimes categorizable as documents on dream-divination. Therefore, commentators have adopted or rejected them, depending on their meanings. [However,] as for the Inner chapters, all the specialists have generally agreed [on their authenticity], but as for the rest, some commentators have had the Outer ones only but not the Miscellaneous chapters. Zixuan's comments captured the [true] intentions of Mr. Zhuang, and therefore was regarded as invaluable by the people in the world. When Xu Xianmin and Li Hongfan composed their phonological commentaries, they all relied on the edition by Guo. Now I [too] take Guo's as the main text.

然莊生弘才命世，辭趣華深，正言若反，故莫能暢其弘致。後人增足，漸失其真。故郭子玄云：“一曲之才，妄竄奇說，若闕弈，意脩之首，卮言，游鳧，子胥之篇，凡諸巧雜，十分有三。”漢書藝文志“莊子五十二篇，”即司馬彪，孟氏所注是也。言多詭誕，或似山海經，或類占夢書，故注者以意去取。其內篇衆家並同，

自餘或有外而無雜。惟子玄所注，特會莊生之旨，故爲世所貴。徐仙民，李弘範作音，皆依郭本。今以郭爲主。

Lu Deming claims that, since Zhuangzi's language was too extravagant and profound for ordinary scholars to understand, people began to corrupt the original text by recklessly adding new words.⁴¹⁸ In this course of the corruption, Lu states that the *Zhuangzi* lost its original message. According to Guo Xiang, three-tenths of the *Zhuangzi* text in his time was forged by later people.⁴¹⁹ Interestingly,

⁴¹⁸ Wang Shumin 王叔岷 has found and collected 176 sentences or phrases into a “lost writings of *Zhuangzi*” (*Zhuangzi yiwen* 莊子佚文) from scattered quotations attributed to the *Zhuangzi* in various early medieval texts. See Wang Shumin, *Zhuangzi jiaoquan* 莊子校詮, 3 vols., (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1988), 3: 1383-1414; *Zhuangzi guankui* 莊子管闕, (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1978), 168-170.

Wang did not deny the historicity of Zhuangzi. He believed that Zhuangzi had served Laozi as his teacher and had a close friendship with Hui Shi, and had some disciples such as Lin Qie 蘭且. However, he argued that the text named after him should be differentiated from the man. By meticulously examining early references to the *Zhuangzi* text, Wang found that even after the Guo Xiang's redaction became popular, the contents of the *Zhuangzi* text were not fixed but still freely moved across the chapter divisions in the Sui and Tang periods. Wang categorized these types of flexible textual shifts into five groups: 1) cases in which a sentence or episode in the Outer division in an earlier edition is mentioned as having been combined into the Inner division in the current edition; 2) cases in which an episode in the Outer division in another Sui edition is now found in the current Inner division; 3) cases in which a sentence in the current Outer division was attested as being in the Inner division in a Tang edition; 4) cases in which two distinct episodes or chapters in an earlier edition are now seen as one episode or one chapter; 5) cases in which one chapter in an earlier edition was divided into two different chapters in the current edition. Scrutinizing these cases to demonstrate the textual fluidity of the *Zhuangzi* by the Tang, Wang reaches the important conclusion that today's researchers should abandon the three divisions and also pay closer attention to the sentences and phrases that have been lost in the transmission of the *Zhuangzi*.

The “Biography of Guo Xiang” and “Biography of Xiang Xiu” in the *Jin Shu* suggest that there were more commentaries than listed in Lu's preface in the Western Jin. It is likely that a lot of sayings, phrases, and propositions were produced in the name of Zhuangzi or in relation to the *Zhuangzi* text as Zhuangzi became increasingly significant. For another opinion on the lost passages of the *Zhuangzi*, see Livia Knaul, “Kuo Hsiang and the *Chuang-tzu*,” *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 12.4 (1985): 429-47; “Lost *Chuang-tzu* Passages,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 10 (1982): 53-79.

Although most of these *Zhuangzi* fragments are now too decontextualized to evaluate their literary or philosophical depth, it is equally difficult to be sure that they do not match the other parts of the received *Zhuangzi* and so deserve to be deleted from the text, as Guo Xiang claimed and Lu agreed. Most of them do not look very different from the received text, showing that the commentators exercised little discretion in editing the text.

⁴¹⁹ Guo Xiang's critical comment about the addition of forged contents into the *Zhuangzi* text is not seen elsewhere, but only in the epilogue or postscript of the Guo Xiang commentary to the *Zhuangzi* that has been lost since the Tang, but surprisingly survived in a manuscript copy preserved in the Kōzan-ji 高山寺 Temple at Kyoto, Japan. Wang Shumin, after reading Takeuchi Yoshio's 武内義雄 early study on this manuscript (for this, see Takeuchi Yoshio, “Sōshi kō” 莊子攷, in *Takeuchi Yoshio zenshū* 武内義雄全集, 6: 239-257, (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1978-79), reported this invaluable manuscript to Taiwanese academia in 1950. According to Wang, it probably was made by a copyist who seems, based on his multiple errors for copying the characters into similar but wrong ones, to have been not very well-educated, and the remaining text is comprised now only of seven *juan* 卷 that includes seven chapters of the current Miscellaneous division, namely, 23, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, and 33. All of them contain contents similar to the received text. For more information about this copy, see Wang Shumin, “Ba Riben Gaoshan si jiuchao juanziben *Zhuangzi* canjuan” 跋日本高山寺舊鈔卷子本莊子殘卷, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊, 22 (1950): 161-170. The full epilogue of the Guo Xiang commentary is found in this report by Wang Shumin. Livia Knaul (Livia Kohn) has made an English translation of it and a brief introduction to this manuscript in her aforementioned 1982 article. Based on the comparison between these two passages, Lu's quotation of Guo Xiang appears quite accurate, but briefer and more selective.

Lu Deming sees the fifty-two chapter *Zhuangzi* that Ban Gu listed as the example of a corrupted text. That version was still the most popular and authoritative *Zhuangzi* text in the society at the time of Guo Xiang. It was influential to commentators on the *Zhuangzi* in the Western Jin such as Sima Biao (d. 306 CE) or Mr. Meng (dates unknown), who based on their commentaries on the fifty-two chapter edition, in Guo Xiang's view, thirty percent of the contents were unreliable but only a later forgery. Because of the textual corruption, commentators of the *Zhuangzi* had to select what to comment on, based on their view of the authenticity of each passage.⁴²⁰ In this exercise of commentarial discretion, textual divisions were also confused. While it seems the "Inner" chapters were stable, the other divisions of Outer and Miscellaneous chapters were freely reorganized. It is in this confusing circumstance that Guo Xiang's redaction, which aimed to resolutely cut out those contents, suspected to be forgeries from the fifty-two chapter version to make a shorter edition, i.e., the thirty-three chapter version. Guo's view of the true message of *Zhuangzi* the author, became rapidly dominant in *Zhuangzi* scholarship, according to Lu Deming, who supported Guo's actions and also used Guo's redaction for his *Jingdian shiwen*.

Lu Deming's testimony shows the early circumstances of text-formation and transmission of the *Zhuangzi* by the early Tang. Most importantly, he points out that the first authoritative edition of the *Zhuangzi*, although still popular in the Western Jin, had some content that was already suspect as forged. This tells us that even the very first *Zhuangzi* recension after the early Eastern Han likely failed to recompile the text in a consistent manner. Due to the corruption of the text, commentators reorganized the *Zhuangzi* text at their personal discretion. Lu Deming informs us of some influential commentaries of the *Zhuangzi* that he used in his phonological commentary to the *Zhuangzi*, and among the commentaries, Cui Zhuan 崔譔 (dates unclear) edited the *Zhuangzi* text into twenty-seven chapters, with seven Inner chapters and twenty Outer ones. Xiang Xiu 向秀

⁴²⁰ According to "Biography of Guo Xiang" in *Jin Shu* 晉書 (Book of the Jin) by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579-648 CE) and others, by the time of Guo and Xiang Xiu 向秀 (227-272 CE), there were already dozens of commentators on the *Zhuangzi* in the society, although their understandings of the text were mostly shallow and superficial (Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu* 晉書, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983), 50: 1397). The writing of commentary to *Zhuangzi* was a highly popular practice in the literate culture in the periods from the late Eastern Han to early Western Jin. If the commentators were exercising their own discretion to edit the *Zhuangzi* text, as Lu Deming suggests in the "Preface," there could have been many more diverse versions of the *Zhuangzi* circulating in the Six Dynasties and Early Tang society. What Lu Deming lists in the "Preface" includes highly selective examples among the diverse *Zhuangzi* texts in the pre-Tang context.

The charge of plagiarism of Xiang Xiu's work was made against Guo Xiang first in the "Learnings on Writing" (*wenxue* 文學) chapter of the *Shishuo Xinyu* 世說新語 by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444 CE) and then reproduced in the "Biography of Guo Xiang" of the *Jin Shu*. Scholars have paid most attention to the issue of historical reliability of the academic scandal. For a reasonable skeptical view on this issue, see Fukunaga Mitsuji 福永光司, "Kaku Shō no *Sōshi chū* to Shō Shū no *Sōshi chū*" 郭象の莊子注と向秀の莊子注, in *Gi Shin shisōshi kenkyū* 魏晉思想史研究, (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2005).

In light of text-production and commentary-making in manuscript culture, however, the charge against Guo Xiang was in fact not very special or unique; it was rather a common and ordinary act or "practice" in the culture at the time. The charge in *Shishuo Xinyu* and *Jin Shu* shows that the Guo Xiang's edition was socially and culturally prominent and important, and therefore there was a need to explicitly specify the origin of the edition. In this sense, what seems more noteworthy is that each commentator was producing a different edition by referring to other commentaries or editions. Guo Xiang's, which became the dominant and was soon the only surviving version of the *Zhuangzi* text, was also the cultural outcome of the intertextual reference and the autonomous creation of his own edition. Therefore, what the charge ultimately reveals to us, in this regard, is how a new edition under the category of commentary was created, produced, and shared in the early manuscript culture of East Asia.

(227-272 CE) made a twenty-six (or twenty-seven or even twenty-eight) chapter edition but without the Miscellaneous division, as Cui Zhuan did. Li Shen 李頤 (dates unknown) had a thirty-chapter version. Most importantly, Guo Xiang divided the text into thirty-three chapters, with seven Inner, fifteen Outer, and eleven Miscellaneous chapters. Such a free exercise of editorial discretion in the Western Jin tells us that the received *Zhuangzi*'s demarcated chapters, identical with Guo Xiang's redaction, were the outcome of open and flexible intellectual experiments intended to produce a more reliable and authoritative version of the text. This version was produced by commentators, to be circulated amongst each other. Thus, this chapter division has, from the beginning, no intrinsic authenticity. What the Western Jin commentators called chapter (*pian* 篇) for the *Zhuangzi* at least was neither definite nor fixed, but changeable and flexible. The Inner, Outer, and Miscellaneous chapter demarcations were not made by *Zhuangzi*, but by later commentators.⁴²¹ Different editions of the same text circulated at the same time, and depending on the commentators' tastes, different editions were accepted in fourth century Jin society.

According to Lu Deming's "Preface," the Inner chapters were generally identical to one another despite the commentators' editorial discretion, while the Outer and Miscellaneous chapters were more problematic. On Lu's list, some Western Jin commentaries such as Cui Zhuan's, Sima Biao's, and Guo Xiang's had seven Inner chapters. However, Lu does not specifically mention how many Inner chapters the editions by Xiang Xiu, Li Shen, or Mr. Meng had, each of whose chapter organizations were different from Guo Xiang's. Considering that Lu recorded the number of chapters of each version in three divisions, and any concrete information about the textual organization in each commentary, it is probable that the Inner chapter commentaries that Lu did not write, such as those of Xiang Xiu, Li Shen, and Mr. Meng, did not clearly demarcate the Inner, or that they had different numbers of chapters for the Inner category.⁴²² Although Lu clearly

⁴²¹ One of the interesting testimonies about pre-Tang versions of the *Zhuangzi* that Wang Shumin finds is a comment by Sui Buddhist monk Jizang 吉藏 (549-623 CE) in the first volume of *Bailu shu* 百論疏 that the story of Cook Ding 庖丁 was in the Outer chapters in the *Zhuangzi* text that Jizang owned (Wang Shumin, *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*, 3: 1435). We have no evidence to confirm that this Cook Ding story is the same as that of the current "Yangsheng Zhu" 養生主, a chapter in the received Inner division, but we can at least say that another Cook Ding story was eliminated from the later version's Outer chapter, and we cannot see the story in the transmitted text any longer. This shows that content was subjected to elimination based on editorial discretion in the early period.

Also, Wang notices that one sentence, now in the "Tian Yun" 天運 chapter of the Outer division, is quoted as having been found in the Inner division in a Tang edition to which a Buddhist monk Zhanran 湛然 (711-782 BCE) referred. See Wang Shumin, *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*, 3: 1435.

These two examples that Wang Shumin finds exemplify that, even in much later periods after Guo Xiang, the *Zhuangzi* text was not completely established in the culture but rather was still evolving through active re-editing by commentators.

⁴²² As is mentioned above, Lu Deming was not sure how many chapters Xiang Xiu's version had. This reflects that Lu would possibly have had limited information about the actual edition by Xiang Xiu, although he was actually utilizing it for his commentary on the *Zhuangzi* in the *Jingdian shiwen*. According to the "Biography of Guo Xiang" in the *Jin Shu*, Xiang Xiu died before he completed his commentary on the *Zhuangzi*, and so Guo Xiang regarded that Xiang Xiu's commentary, although great in exposition, could not have been transmitted in its own right (Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu* 50:1397). In this regard, it is quite likely that Xiang Xiu's version had already been multiplied in the society after his death and Guo Xiang's scandalous appropriation of it by the time of Lu.

Also, Lu Deming states that Xiang Xiu's redaction had no Miscellaneous division, but, according to the "Biography of Xiang Xiu" in the *Jin Shu*, the *Zhuangzi* text Xiang referred to had no Miscellaneous chapters, but dozens of Inner and Outer chapters circulating in his community (Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu* 49: 1374). This suggests that Xiang Xiu's twenty-six chapter edition did not result from his having removed the Miscellaneous chapters, but that

affirms the general stability of the Inner chapters' contents in the Western Jin commentaries, the concept and idea of "Inner" chapters seems by no means established nor fixed. Based on the extant evidence, the practice of dividing chapters into Inner, Outer, and Miscellaneous seems closely related to the rise of a certain cultural awareness about forged contents in the course of avid reading of the *Zhuangzi* text in society: the division was supposedly conceptualized and practiced, and finally increasingly inflexible in the collective effort to search for and determine the forged contents. The divisions, including the Inner one, were a subjective decision made in the Western Jin textual culture and politico-intellectual context.

The received *Zhuangzi* text, shaped by Guo Xiang, was produced in this complex, confusing process of textual formation. If we accept the critical statements by Lu Deming, the original text became hard to find, even the first authoritative edition of the *Zhuangzi* comprised of fifty-two chapters. By the fourth century CE, the *Zhuangzi* text was already highly corrupted by later editorial interventions that added new words to the original. Guo Xiang made efforts to reconstruct the text, but the principle of his reconstruction brought with it another arbitrary appropriation, based on his hermeneutic practices. Despite the confusing nature of the text, Guo Xiang's redaction enjoyed the dominant position in *Zhuangzi* scholarship, and succeeded in surviving as the sole extant version of the *Zhuangzi*. After this sole survival of Guo Xiang's edition and the demise of other editions, the *Zhuangzi* text was too simplistically identified with Guo Xiang's version, and all the complex procedures that produced the Guo Xiang version were not remembered. In the end, what we see in the transmitted *Zhuangzi*, is the long collective desire to establish one character to embody an ethos prescribed in the tradition.

The *Zhuangzi* in Light of Parallel Sentences and Episodes in Excavated Manuscripts

Now, I will turn to the issue of nature and origin of the received *Zhuangzi* in light of some newly excavated manuscripts. For the last four decades, there have been three archaeological reports of parallel texts of the *Zhuangzi* in China: First, found at Shuanggudui Village, Fuyang County in 1977; second, at Zhangjiashan, Jiangling in 1984-88; third, and one late Chu bamboo-slip manuscript, found at Guodian, Jingmen city in 1993.⁴²³ These manuscripts contain some

they were already missing from the texts that Xiang was using. This also supports the credibility of Lu's statement in the "Preface" that commentators in the Western Jin exercised their discretion and got rid of Miscellaneous chapters.

⁴²³ For more information about the excavation and reconstruction of Fuyang Shuanggudui Han bamboo slip manuscripts in English, see Chapter One in this thesis. However, in this initial report, the *Zhuangzi* parallel text was not yet identified, most likely due to its extremely fragmented condition.

An excellent introduction to the Zhangjiashan bamboo slip manuscripts in English is found in Anthony J. Barbieri-Low and Robin D. S. Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China: A Study with Critical Edition and Translation of the Legal Texts from Zhangjiashan Tomb number 247*, (Leiden, Netherlands and Boston, USA: Brill, 2016), 3-25. The official report of the excavation is made in Jingzhou diqu Bowuguan Jingzhou diqu Bowuguan 荊州地區博物館, "Jiangling Zhangjiashan Liangzuo Hanmu chutu dapi zhujian" 江陵張家山兩座漢墓出土大批竹簡, *Wenwu* 文物 9(1992):1-11.

Also, for information about the excavation and reconstruction of Guodian Chu bamboo slip manuscript in English, see Sarah Allan and Crispin Williams, *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998*. (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2000), 117-126; Edward Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*. (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), 14-19. Scott Cook provides a complete English translation

content that is meaningfully parallel to that of the received *Zhuangzi*. My argument is that none of these new bamboo texts constitute substantial material evidence to demonstrate that the received *Zhuangzi* text had already been established before those manuscripts. Instead I argue that these manuscripts raise the possibility that the sentences and episodes, which one might regard as typically *Zhuangzi*'s, widely circulated in similar form and wording in the late Warring States and early Western Han culture. This will lead to the conclusion that the received *Zhuangzi* is in fact a collective product from multiple historical attempts to compile and redact various distinct Episode Texts constructed on the basis of those common literary fragments.

Before examining each parallel, two points need to be clarified: First, that the bamboo texts scholars have identified as the *Zhuangzi* from the manuscripts are in fact of a very different textual nature. Many passages from the Fuyang manuscript are presumably Episode Texts whose contents match, to some degree, several parts of the received *Zhuangzi*. The manuscript found at Zhangjiashan is a single, concise, self-contained Episode Text whose contents are only parallel to one particular segment in a chapter of the received text. However, the Guodian find and some Fuyang parallels are not a self-contained text but only brief parallel lines among many other unrelated or loosely related sayings. It is thus inaccurate to locate these three texts as in the same category of the “manuscript.” Each of these parallel texts and lines represents the form and content of the received *Zhuangzi* to a different degree.

Even though the Guodian and Fuyang manuscripts do not provide a parallel Episode Text but only shares parallel sentences with the received *Zhuangzi*, they are significant because these lines still tell us about how those Episode Texts were produced and constructed. Particularly, the Guodian case is extremely illuminating; it shows that an anonymous saying or aphorism could be an essential literary motive for the composition of an Episode Text. The Guodian parallel sentence possibly explains how the stories in the received “Qu Qie” and “Dao Zhi” chapters were initially conceived and composed. Thus, although the fragmentary parallel lines do not constitute an Episode Text, they are still worth paying close attention to.

Second, as I have also clarified in previous chapters, we do not have evidence to prove that these parallel texts were made with awareness and recognition of being taken from a pre-existing *Zhuangzi* text in possession of copyists. It is important to understand the nature of the text and manuscript in the context in which it was produced and circulated in the cultural community. However similar the contents are to that of the received *Zhuangzi*, we should not regard them as taken or copied from the *Zhuangzi* text unless there is evidence of a strong connection between the two texts. In the absence of such evidence, we should understand the nature of the text in its own context, not arbitrarily assign it a place in a preconceived chronology or frame. Therefore, as long as these texts show no convincing signs that they were based on the *Zhuangzi* text transmitted to the present, I will treat them as no more than parallels on equal footing.

The Guodian Parallel Sentence (ca. 300 BCE)

of all the manuscripts with detailed annotations and commentary, including an excellent introduction to each text. Scott Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian: A Study and Complete Translation*, 2 vols., (Ithaca, NY: East Asian Program, Cornell University Press, 2012). In Chinese, the most official source is Jingmen shi Bowuguan 荆門市博物館. *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡, (Beijing: Wenwu, 1998).

A line that looks meaningfully parallel to one in the received *Zhuangzi* text appears in one of the four texts that scholars who were commissioned to rearrange the Guodian slips into a reasonable sequence and to transcribe them into modern Chinese language gave the title “Yucong” 語叢 (Thicket of Sayings).⁴²⁴ As the title “Yucong” suggests, the collators who (re)created the order of the text and offered guidelines for modern readers to access its contents, understood that these four texts are, by their nature, meant to represent a collection of aphoristic sayings that are not integrated into a single coherent theme or discourse.⁴²⁵

Among the four texts named “Yucong,” the last one, “Yucong 4,” which contains a line parallel to the received *Zhuangzi*, is unique in some respects. For example, in terms of the use of calligraphy, the use of indication markers. In content, the earlier three “Yucong” texts are similar to most other Guodian texts. These three texts are commonly described as “Classicist” or “Ruist” (*rujia* 儒家) with regard to technical terms and ideas, most of which are concerned with didacticism, human relationships, and moral cosmology. “Yucong 4” has much less in common with them in content and terminology, and is more focused on practical and realistic concerns about how to survive in society.⁴²⁶ Examples of these concerns include how to make a speech cautiously, how to persuade, how not to offend others through the use of language, the importance of friends with whom to engage in intrigue, warnings against narrow-mindedness, the importance of being close to worthies and planners and of being a friend with great heroes in the state who might be your enemies later, and how to handle your subordinates, how to serve your superiors well. All such practical maxims show less concern with the abstract moral discourse that appears in the first three “Yucong” texts.

Following the recent reconstruction by Chen Wei and Peng Hao, who thematically rearrange the slip order with alternative readings of graphs and parsing, based on many ongoing discussions in China, Japan, and the West,⁴²⁷ we can divide “Yucong 4” into five central textual

⁴²⁴ The corpus of bamboo slips that became reconstructed as four distinct “Yucong” texts were first identified by the shortest length of the slips among other slips. They were then divided into each distinct text by distinct length and the form of binding (“Yucong 1” 17.2-17.4 cm, triple binding; “Yucong 2” 15-15.2 cm, triple binding; “Yucong 3” 17.6-17.7 cm, triple binding; and “Yucong 4” 15.1-15.2, double binding) as well as their contents. See Jingmen shi Bowuguan, *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, 193-217.

⁴²⁵ Because of the characteristic that each maxim or saying in the “Yucong” texts is only loosely connected to the next, many scholars have attempted to reorganize the sequence of the bamboo slips and construct more coherent texts. However, not all scholars understand the nature of these texts in this way. For example, Li Ling identifies the four texts as philosophical school-affiliated collections of maxims, and provides a specific title to each text, based on the first two to four characters, such as “Yucong 1” as “Wu you wang sheng” 物由望生; “Yucong 2” as “Ming shu” 名數; “Yucong 3” as “Fumu e” 父母惡; and “Yucong 4” as “Shuo zhi Dao” 說之道. See Li Ling 李零, *Guodian Chujian jiaduji, zengding ben* 郭店楚簡校讀記 增訂本, (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2002).

⁴²⁶ Based on this distinct characteristic of the contents of the “Yucong 4,” Li Ling groups this one as a part of “Daoist” texts along with three “Laozi” parallel texts and “Taiyi sheng shui” 太一生水 all of which are found in the same tomb.

⁴²⁷ Wuhan daxue jianbo yanjiu zhongxin 武漢大學簡帛研究中心 and Jingmen shi bowuguan 荊門市博物館, eds., *Chudi chutu zhanguo jiance heji* 楚地出土戰國簡冊合集, (Beijing: Wenwu, 2011), 1:167-73.

units. Among the five, the fourth unit appears similar to what we see in the received *Zhuangzi*, as follows.⁴²⁸

Guodian Yucong 4	The Received <i>Zhuangzi</i>
<p>竊鈎者誅，竊邦者為諸侯。諸侯之門，義士[slip no.8]之所存。[9]■</p> <p>Those who steal a belt-buckle are killed, and those who steal a state are made feudal lords. The gate of the feudal lords is where the men of righteousness exist.</p>	<p>彼竊鈎者誅，竊國者為諸侯，諸侯之門，而仁義存焉，則是非竊仁義聖知邪？(10. 胠篋，2:350-51)</p> <p>Those who steal a belt-buckle are killed; those who steal a state made feudal lords. The gate of the feudal lords is where benevolence and righteousness exist. Is it not a case of stealing benevolence and righteousness and the wisdom of the sages? (110)</p>
	<p>滿苟得曰：小盜者拘，大盜者為諸侯，諸侯之門，義士存焉。(29. 盜跖，3:1003-1004)</p> <p>Man Goude said, “The petty thief is imprisoned but the big thief becomes a feudal lord. At the gates of the feudal lords are the righteous men” (332).</p>

This parallel to “Yucong 4” appears in the current *Zhuangzi* text twice, though with a slight variation in wording. It first appears in the tenth chapter “Qu Qie” 胠篋 and second in the twenty-ninth chapter “Dao Zhi” 盜跖, but the ways in which each of two phrases are similar to “Yucong 4” appear are different: while the first phrase of the Guodian parallel, “竊鈎者誅，竊邦者為諸侯,” is closer to the phrase of the “Qu Qie” than that of “Dao Zhi,” the last phrase of the Guodian parallel, “諸侯之門，義士之所存,” is strikingly different from the “Qu Qie” phrase but more similar to that of the “Dao Zhi.” That is to say, the “Yucong” parallel line is half-identical with “Qu Qie” and half-identical with “Dao Zhi.” It would be more accurate to say that these three sayings are all different articulations of similar ideas. Each of them is more likely to be distinctly phrased maxims that coexisted and were circulated, rather than all identical ones that had mistakenly been copied in wording. For this reason, we cannot say for certain that the “Qu Qie” line is identical with the “Yucong” one, nor that the “Yucong” phrases reflect the “Qu Qie,” as Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 or Li Xueqin 李學勤 argues.⁴²⁹





Moreover, it is by no means clear that the “Yucong 4” line means the same thing that the received text does. It is unclear whether or not the “Yucong” line denies the value of righteousness (*yi* 義) and men of righteousness (*yishi* 義士), like that of “Qu Qie” or “Dao Zhi.” Despite the usage and its negative connotations of the word “stealing” (*qie* 竊) in the line, because of the

⁴²⁸ For a helpful complete English translation of “Yucong 4,” see Scott Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian: A Study and Complete Translation*, 2:919-938. Cook’s sequencing as well as modern transcriptions are different from that of Chen Wei and Peng Hao. Cook groups each line based on the rhyme construction.

⁴²⁹ Jingmen shi Bowuguan, *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, 218; Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Cong Guodian Yucong Si kan *Zhuangzi* Qu Qie” 從郭店簡《語叢四》看《莊子·胠篋》, *Jianbo* 簡帛 2006, 1:73-76.

Because of the unsettling mismatch of the latter phrase between the “Yucong” and “Qu Qie,” some scholars have identified the awkwardness of the latter phrase in the “Yucong” and suggested a possible scribal mistake. For this, see Guo Yongbing 郭永秉, “Zaitan Guodian jian Yucong si ba, jiu hao jian yu *Zhuangzi* Qu Qie zhi guanxi ji xiangguan wenti” 再談郭店簡《語叢四》8, 9 號簡與《莊子 胠篋》之關係及相關問題, *Zhongguo chuantong xueshu de jintai zhuanxing* 中國傳統學術的近代轉型, edited by Chen Yong 陳勇 and Xie Weiyang 謝維揚, (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 2011), 481-82.

realistic concerns that pervade in the “Yucong 4” text, the word can also be understood not to ridicule the state of the world but rather encourage one to be practical and adapt to it. That is, without the context of the *Zhuangzi* passage, it might be that it is a pragmatic or practical assessment of the state of the world.⁴³⁰

Xu Xueren 許學仁 proposes a possibility that the graph  or , now transcribed as 竊 in the Guodian manuscript, appears also in the Baoshan 包山 legal documents, where the graph was written as  and , and these graphs could be a loan character to mean “to examine; consider; investigate; scrutinize” (*cha* 察).⁴³¹ If Xu Xueren’s argument is accepted, the parallel line would be translated as follows: “Those who scrutinize a buckle (i.e., small thing) are executed; those who scrutinize a state are made feudal lords.”⁴³²

Lastly, these commonly shared sayings are also seen in another received text, *Deng Xizi* 鄧析子, with a minor variance in wording.⁴³³ Examining more closely the two parallel paragraphs

⁴³⁰ In the “Yucong 4,” there is another line on slips no. 10-11 whose contents are similar in meaning to a celebrated idea of the *Zhuangzi*. The texts warn that knowledge is necessarily limited by the time and space of his/her life, representatively discussed in the “Qiu shui” 秋水 chapter of the received *Zhuangzi*. It writes: “The loach from the puddle of the carriage-wheel track does not see the waters of rivers and lakes; the common woman and her husband do not discriminate between the petty man and the noble man in the village; when eating scallions, how would they know to finish the season.” 車轍之鮒鯁，不見江湖之水。匹婦偶夫，不知其鄉之小人君子。食韭惡知終其世。 Although differently phrased, such a relativist idea and a realistic reminder of one’s limited knowledge was already present and circulating in Chu during the late Warring State period. For a discussion about the transcription, see Wuhan daxue jianbo yanjiu zhongxin and Jingmen shi bowuguan, eds., *Chudi chutu zhanguo jiance heji*, 1:168; 171-173). And for the related *Zhuangzi* passage, see Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 2:563-68.

⁴³¹ Xu Xueren 許學仁, “Zhanguo Chujian wenzi yanjiu de jige wenti – Du Zhanguo Chujian *Yucong si* suolu *Zhuangzi* yu ji Hanmu chutu *Zhuangzi* canjian suoji” 戰國楚簡文字研究的幾個問題 – 讀戰國楚簡《語叢四》所錄《莊子》暨漢墓出土《莊子》殘簡瑣記, *Donghua renwen xuebao* 東華人文學報 3 (2001): 27-49.

⁴³² In the “Gaozi” B chapter of the *Mengzi*, the notion of buckle (*gou* 鈎) appears to mean something small and light and is contrasted with that of carriage (*yu* 輿), which means something large and heavy. Sun Shi 孫奭 (962-1033 CE), *Mengzi zhu shu* 孟子注疏, (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 1999), 319-20.

Also, if we take the *gou* 鈎 character in the line not as a belt-buckle, but as “(military) hook-type weapon,” the first phrase of this parallel line is to speak of “those who consider the military coup against the government,” and the following phrase is to say of “those who serve the government.” In this sense, this line of the “Yucong” text is neither to encourage “to steal the state” nor to ridicule the virtue of righteousness in the brutal reality of the world, but just to advise one to serve the government well to be recognized and promoted, which is similar to what the other lines of this “Yucong 4” text overall speak of. If this were the intended meaning of the parallel line in the “Yucong” text, the other two lines in the current *Zhuangzi* and their traditional interpretations would become very different in meaning and usage.

⁴³³ The received text of *Deng Xizi* is based on the earliest or an early edition of which was made by Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6 BCE) and is now comprised of only two chapters, “Wuhou” 無厚 and “Zhuanci” 轉辭, has been regarded as forged since the Six Dynasties for two main reasons: first, the current contents of the two chapters do not match the historical circumstance of Deng Xi (d. 501 BCE), whose life is briefly described in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳; second, some content similar to the received *Deng Xizi* are found in other received texts such as *Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Xunzi*, or *Hanfeizi*. Because of this, *Deng Xizi*’s parallels to the *Zhuangzi* have often been regarded as *Deng Xizi*’s plagiarism of the *Zhuangzi*. However, the *Deng Xizi* forgery argument is based mainly on the wholesale assumption, now increasingly being challenged, that received texts are the yardstick of faithful representation of the socio-intellectual circumstance in which authors would have lived. Furthermore, as we excavate more and more *Deng Xizi*-type collectaneum texts,

in the *Deng Xizi* and the *Zhuangzi*, we notice that, in the simpler version text of the *Deng Xizi*, the parallel line in question is slightly different; it contrasts property (*cai* 財) with the state (*guo* 國) as the object of stealing, not a buckle with the state. And it is not presented as a speech from a narrative character like “Qu qie” but as self-contained essay. It is worth noting that the *Deng Xizi* might reflect an earlier version of the parallel text.

鄧析子 轉辭	莊子 胠篋
<p>夫川竭而谷虛，丘夷而淵實。聖人以死，大盜不起。天下平而故也。聖人不死，大盜不止。何以知其然？</p> <p>為之斗斛而量之，則并斗斛而均之。為之權衡以平之，則并與權衡而竊之。為之符璽以信之，則并與符璽而功之。為之仁義以教之，則并仁義而竊之。何以知其然？彼竊財誅，竊國者為諸侯。諸侯之門，仁義存焉。是非竊仁義邪？</p> <p>故遂於大盜，霸諸侯。此重利也。盜跖所不可桀者，乃聖人之罪也。⁴³⁴</p> <p>If the stream dries up, the valley will be empty; if the hills wash away, the deep pools will be filled up. If the sage is dead, then no more great thieves will arise. It is because all under Heaven will then be peaceful. But until the sage is dead, great thieves will never cease to appear. How do I know it will be so?</p> <p>If you fashion pecks and bushels for people to measure by, then distribute equally using peck and bushel. If you fashion scales and balances for people to equalize by, then cut it equal by scale and balance. If you fashion tallies and seals to insure trustworthiness, then work hard with tallies and seals. If you fashion benevolence and righteousness to teach people, then steal their [heart] with benevolence and righteousness.</p> <p>How do I know this is so? Those who steal property are executed; those who steal a state are made feudal lords. The gate of the feudal lords is where benevolence and</p>	<p>夫川竭而谷虛，丘夷而淵實。聖人已死，則大盜不起，天下平而無故矣。聖人不死，大盜不止。雖重聖人而治天下，則是重利益跖也。</p> <p>為之斗斛以量之，則並與斗斛而竊之；為之權衡以稱之，則並與權衡而竊之；為之符璽以信之，則並與符璽而竊之；為之仁義以矯之，則並與仁義而竊之。</p> <p>何以知其然邪？彼竊鈞者誅，竊國者為諸侯，諸侯之門，而仁義存焉，則是非竊仁義聖知邪？</p> <p>故遂於大盜，揭諸侯，竊仁義並斗斛、權衡、符璽之利者，雖有軒冕之賞弗能勸，斧鉞之威弗能禁。</p> <p>(2: 346-352)</p> <p>If the stream dries up, the valley will be empty; if the hills wash away, the deep pools will be filled up. If the sage is already dead, then no more great thieves will arise. All under Heaven will then be peaceful and free of fuss. But until the sage is dead, great thieves will never cease to appear, and if you pile on more sages in hopes of bringing the world to order, you will only be piling up more profit for Robber Zhi.</p> <p>Fashion pecks and bushels for people to measure by and they will steal by peck and bushel. Fashion scales and balances for people to weigh by and they will steal by scale and balance. Fashion tallies and seals to insure trustworthiness and people will steal with tallies and seals. Fashion benevolence and</p>

like “Yucong,” which inform us about another dimension of cultural reality of early texts and make us re-assess the ways in which the received texts had been formed and transmitted, it seems more important to find different ways to approach and answer these traditional issues of textual formation and authenticity. In this sense, even if the received *Deng Xizi* text does not represent the historical figures or the ideas of the period, we still need to examine how each written component of this text is connected to other excavated or received texts.

Some notable skeptical discussions about the authenticity of the received *Deng Xizi* text are found in Liang Qichao 梁啟超, “*Gushu zhenwei ji qi niandai*” 古書真偽及其年代, in *Liang Qichao quanji* 梁啟超全集, edited by Yang Gang 楊綱 and Wang Xiangyi 王相宜, (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1999), 17: 5037; Zhang Xincheng 張心澂, *Weishu tongkao* 偽書通考, reprint, (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1998), 2: 784-85; Sun Cizhu 孫次舟, “*Deng Xizi weishu kao*” 鄧析子偽書考, in *Gushi bian* 古史辨, edited by Luo Genze 羅根澤, (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2005), 6: 139-146; Qian Mu 錢穆, *Xian Qin zhuzi xianian* 先秦諸子繫年, reprint, (Beijing: Shangwu, 2005), 21-23; Qu Wanli 屈萬里, *Xian Qin wenshi ziliao kaobian* 先秦文史資料考辨, (Taipei: Lianjing chuban, 1983), 482-83.

⁴³⁴ For the Chinese text, I follow Xu Zhongliang’s 徐忠良 commentary edited by Liu Fuzeng 劉福增, *Xinyi Deng Xizi* 新譯鄧析子, (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1997), 69-74. But I do not follow their understanding of this passage, particularly the second part of the passage, because their interpretation relies on the traditional revision of this passage based on the *Zhuangzi* passage.

<p>righteousness exist. Is this not a case of stealing benevolence and righteousness?</p> <p>So men go racing in the footsteps of the great thieves, taking the leadership among feudal lords. This is to put emphasis on profit. Robber Zhi is the one who should not be heroic. This is the misdeed of Sage.</p>	<p>righteousness to reform people and they will steal with benevolence and righteousness.</p> <p>How do I know this is so? Those who steal a belt buckle are executed; those who steal a state are made feudal lords. The gate of the feudal lords is where benevolence and righteousness exist. Is this not a case of stealing benevolence and righteousness and the wisdom of the sage?</p> <p>So men go racing in the footsteps of the great thieves, aiming for the rank of feudal lord, stealing benevolence and righteousness, and taking for themselves all the profits of peck and bushel, scale and balance, tally and seal. Though you try to lure them aside with rewards of official carriages and caps of state, you cannot move them; though you threaten them with the executioner's ax, you cannot deter them. (109-110)</p>
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The cited *Zhuangzi* passage has the word *yi* 以, instead of *yi* 已, which helps to construct clearer parallelism between *yisi* 已死 and *busi* 不死 in the first two sentences. *Zhuangzi* consistently uses the phrase *bingyu* 並與 as a set phrase throughout the fifth sentence while the *Deng Xizi* passage uses two distinct words, *bing* 并 and *bingyu* 并與, in turn. Likewise, the *Zhuangzi* passage is also consistent in using the phrase, *qie zhi* 竊之, whereas the *Deng Xizi* uses different verbs like *jue* 均 or *gong* 功 as well as *qie* 竊. In this use of the different verbs, the *Deng Xizi* passage appears to make a series of suggestions for better governing. In contrast, the *Zhuangzi* passage, which consistently denounces sagehood, gives a list of accusations of the sage who acts like a thief in the name of benevolence and righteousness. Moreover, the quoted *Zhuangzi* passage has two more sentences, each of which functions to provide an explanation of the preceding contention as an “inserted comment,” and thereby to make the passage more self-contained. Such an inserted “comment” in the text seems not only to show how editors of the later version would have interpreted and appropriated the parallel in accord with their thematic concerns, but also to reveal how the parallel would have gone through different editorial processes.⁴³⁵

In this regard, the differences in the cited *Zhuangzi* passage may reflect editorial considerations of stylistic and thematic consistency, or show that the passage, unlike the *Deng Xizi* one, underwent a different route in its textual transmission. If these grounds are accepted, we may say that the passage containing the parallel line is not only *Zhuangzi*'s, but also others' in a different edition or transmission, and the parallel sentence had been circulated with minor wording differences in both Chu and Han.

Therefore, the shared line in the “Yucong 4,” “Qu Qie,” “Dao Zhi,” and “Zhuanci” of the *Deng Xizi*, suggests that the line in the *Zhuangzi* could have been made by adopting a maxim well-known in the culture at the time. The maxim, although somewhat varied in wording, may originally have been just a single line, as in “Yucong 4,” or a part of brief political essay, as the received *Deng Xizi* represents, but was likely to be actively adopted and integrated into two distinct passages with a critical literary theme of ruler as a great thief and presented as a speech of a main character of the episode.

⁴³⁵ I owe this insight to Mark Csikszentmihalyi who, in our personal communication, has used the examples of the inserted “comment” in the parallel passages between *Zhuangzi* and other early texts such as *Huainanzi* 淮南子 or *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, and explained what the phenomena could mean in the textual formation of early texts.

The Zhangjiashan Parallel Episode: “Dao Zhi” Text (ca. 173-167 BCE)

The Zhangjiashan 張家山 corpus of bamboo slip manuscripts that was found in an early Western Han tomb estimated to have been closed around 173-167 BCE. It has also been reported to have a text, comprised of 44 slips in total that closely parallels the received *Zhuangzi*. The text bears the title of “Dao Zhi” 盜[彘足] which may also be transcribed as 盜跖, and the title is found in the received *Zhuangzi* as the current twenty-ninth chapter.⁴³⁶

Although this Zhangjiashan manuscript has not been officially published yet, Liao Mingchun 廖名春, based on photographic images published in the original excavation report in the *Wenwu* journal,⁴³⁷ gives a set of transcriptions of the bamboo slip manuscript. Liao believes that the bamboo slip manuscript of “Dao Zhi” excavated at Zhangjiashan shows that the early version of “Dao Zhi” chapter of the received *Zhuangzi* was already established at least in the late Warring States period.⁴³⁸ For Liao, the problem is that the transmitted “Dao Zhi” chapter has three distinct episodes, but this Zhangjiashan manuscript has only one parallel episode, which is resolved by his own speculation that the original was made up of one episode centering around the dialogue between Robber Zhi and Confucius. The two other episodes must have been present somewhere in the early *Zhuangzi*, most likely in the following chapter “Shuo jian” 說劍 in the early redaction; they were carelessly incorporated into the “Dao Zhi” chapter in the later editing process. Combining the evidence from Fuyang manuscript that was available to him at the time, Liao also claims that since the contents of the Fuyang and Zhangjiashan manuscripts consistently parallel those of the current Miscellaneous chapters, he infers that already in the early Western Han, around 165 BCE, when the Fuyang corpus of bamboo slip manuscripts were buried, the early version of the *Zhuangzi* must have been edited in awareness with of the divisions of Inner, Outer, and Miscellaneous.

However, despite the title it shares with the received text, this excavated bamboo slip manuscript is not completely the same as the received one; first, the received “Dao Zhi” chapter contains three distinct stories, whereas the one between Kongzi and Robber Zhi seen in the bamboo slip manuscript is only one of these three stories.⁴³⁹ This suggests that a text entitled “Robber Zhi” that only contained one short episode, focusing on the event between Kongzi and Zhi, was circulated in the early Western Han, 30-40 years before Sima Qian’s birth, and around 70 years before his writing *Shiji*.⁴⁴⁰ Although we do not know the relationship between this bamboo version and the received “Dao Zhi” text, it appears that text featured that single fictional event between Kongzi and Robber Zhi. Based on the photograph of the two bamboo slips (numbers 10, 11) in the

⁴³⁶ Liao Mingchun 廖名春, “Zhu jian ben ‘Dao Zhi’ pian guankui” 竹簡本《盜跖》篇管窺, *Qinghua daxue sixiang wenhua yanjiusuo jikan* 清華大學思想文化研究所集刊 1 (1996): 90-100.

⁴³⁷ Jingzhou diqu Bowuguan, “Jiangling Zhangjiashan Liangzuo Hanmu chutu dapi zhujian,” 9 (1992): 1-12.

⁴³⁸ Liao Mingchun, “Zhu jian ben ‘Dao Zhi’ pian guankui,” 90.

⁴³⁹ Guo, Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 3: 990-1002.

⁴⁴⁰ As we have seen above, Sima Qian lists, by title, the text “Dao Zhi” as one of Zhuangzi’s own writings, along with “Yufu” 漁父 and “Qu qie” 胠篋. See *Shiji* 61: 2143-44.

official report in the *Wenwu* journal,⁴⁴¹ if each slip has 37-38 characters on it consistently as in the published image of the slips, the entire text that is reported to be comprised of 44 slips would have a maximum of 1,628 to 1,672 characters in total. Considering the number of characters in the Kongzi and Robber Zhi story in the current edition is around 2,120,⁴⁴² the bamboo text is much shorter and simpler in content.

Based on the images that are known as numbers 10 and 11 of the text, Liao Mingchun transcribes the graphs on the slips as follows.⁴⁴³

	The Zhangjiashan “Dao Zhi”	The Received “Dao Zhi” chapter in the <i>Zhuangzi</i>
Number 11	<p>則死。 孔子曰：丘聞之，凡天下有三德，生而長大好美，一無貴賤，見而皆兌之，此上德也；智經天下，辯</p> <p>... then die. Confucius said, “I have heard that in all the world there are three kinds of virtue. To grow up to be big and tall, with good looks, so that everyone, regardless of being eminent or humble, equally delights in you – this is the highest kind of virtue. To have wisdom that encompasses all under heaven, to speak eloquently ...</p>	<p>盜跖大怒，兩展其足，案劍瞋目，聲如乳虎，曰：「丘來前！若所言，順吾意則生，逆吾心則死。」孔子曰：「丘聞之，凡天下有三德：生而長大，美好無雙，少長貴賤見而皆說之，此上德也；知維天地，能辯諸物，此中德也；勇悍果敢，聚眾率兵，此下德也。... (3:993-994)</p> <p>Robber Zhi, still in a great rage, sat with both legs sprawled out, leaning on his sword, his eyes glaring. In a voice like the roar of a nursing tigress, he said, “Qiu, come forward! If what you have to say pleases my fancy, you live. If it rubs me the wrong way, you die!”</p> <p>Confucius said, “I have heard that in all the world there are three kinds of virtue. To grow up to be big and tall, with matchless good looks, so that everyone, young or old, eminent or humble, delights in you – this is the highest kind of virtue. To have wisdom that encompasses heaven and earth, to be able to speak eloquently on all subjects – this is middling virtue. To be brave and fierce, resolute and determined, gathering a band of followers around – this is the lowest kind of virtue” (325).</p>
Number 10	<p>威。且聞之，古者禽獸多而人民少，于是民毋(?)巢不上以僻之，晝日拾杼栗而莫宿其上，名曰有巢</p> <p>...wiped out. Moreover, I have heard that in ancient times the birds and beasts were many and the people few. Therefore, the people, if there was no nest on a tree, did not climb the tree and thereby escaped danger, during the day gathering bulrushes and chestnuts, at sundown</p>	<p>堯、舜有天下，子孫無置錐之地，湯、武立為天子而後世絕滅，非以其利大故邪？且吾聞之：古者禽獸多而人少，於是民皆巢居以避之，晝拾橡栗，暮栖木上，故命之曰有巢氏之民。(3:994-95)</p> <p>Though Yao and Shun possessed the empire, their heirs were left with less land than it takes to stick the point of an awl into. Tang and Wu set themselves up as Son of Heaven, yet in ages after, their dynasties were cut off and wiped out. Was this not because the gains they had acquired were so great? Moreover, I have heard that in</p>

⁴⁴¹ Jingzhou diqu Bowuguan, “Jiangling Zhangjiashan Liangzuo Hanmu chutu dapi zhujian,” 3.

⁴⁴² This number is calculated from counting each character in the first episode of the chapter “Robber Zhi.” For the calculation, I use the electronic version posted on <http://ctext.org/zhuangzi/robber-zhi> (final access date: Sept. 9, 2017).

⁴⁴³ Liao Mingchun, “Zhujian ben ‘Dao Zhi’ pian guankui,” 92-93. The Jingzhou Museum provided each slip with a number, and the slips made public are numbered 10 and 11. But since the contents do not match the modern edition, Liao Mingchun reverses the slip sequence 11→10. Assuming that this bamboo text contains the complete story of Confucius and Robber Zhi, the one that we see in the received text, he estimates that the current 11th slip supposedly corresponds to the 14th or 15th one in the entire slip sequence, and the 10th to the 24th or 25th.

	climbing back up to sleep in their trees. They were named the Nest-builder.	ancient times the birds and beasts were many and the people few. Therefore, the people all nested in the trees and thereby escaped danger, during the day gathering acorns and chestnuts, at sundown climbing back up to their trees. Hence, they were called the people of the Nest-builder (327).
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Even though the entire text image has not been made available to the public, and there have therefore been limited discussions about the correct transcriptions of these two slips, the slips largely match, in wording and meaning, what we find in the received “Dao Zhi” chapter. At the same time, we also notice that there are meaningful differences between these two versions. That is, today’s text is slightly wordier and has been edited so as to be clearer in meaning. For example, slip number 10 simply ends with the graph *mie* “威” but today’s “Dao Zhi” has one more phrase, “Was this not because the gains they had acquired were so great,” 非以其利大故邪, to explain why the later generations of the sage kings perished. Such an inserted comment is intended for rhetorical effect, to emphasize the point of the argument and thereby clarify the topic for the reader. This indicates that today’s version has likely gone through additional editorial processes to highlight a particular reading of the story in the text. We have seen similar occasions in the case of the parallel text between *Deng Xizi* and *Zhuangzi*.

Likewise, this also suggests a possibility that different transmissions made such additional contents in the parallel text. In this case, the difference in content is explained by a possible situation that multiple versions of the text coexisted and circulated but were passed down through different routes in the culture. What each text presents is the distinct versions transmitted along different paths, one written down on bamboo slip and buried, and the other being adopted in the *Zhuangzi* text.

The Fuyang Parallel Sentences and Episodes (ca. 165 BCE)

The most substantial parallel text is the one unearthed at a Han tomb, located at Shuanggudui 雙古堆, Fuyang 阜陽, Anhui 安徽 in 1977. As introduced in Chapter One, the excavated Shuanggudui tomb number one is regarded as belonging to a man named Xiahou Zao 夏侯灶, who was the second Marquis of Ruyin 汝陰侯. Scholars estimate, based on the *Shiji*’s record, that this tomb was sealed in 165 BCE during the reign of Emperor Wendi 文帝 (r. 180-157 B.C.E.), like the Zhangjiashan tomb. Shuanggudui tomb number one also contained numerous important manuscripts, most of which were written on bamboo slips, that form a counterpart to today’s *Zhou Yi*, *Shijing*, *Chuci*, *Cangjie pian* 倉頡篇. However, because these were written on perishable materials like bamboo slips and wooden boards, were both buried for a long period, and severely disturbed by the tomb robbery before official excavation, most of the texts were found in a highly fragmented and extremely poor state. A text or texts with significant parallels to the received *Zhuangzi* was among them.

In fact, a *Zhuangzi* parallel text was not identified at all in the first official report – understandably due to the extreme fragmentation of the slips – and therefore identifying individual text and parallels was challenging, according to Hu Pingsheng, the leader of the project to collate

the Fuyang manuscripts.⁴⁴⁴ The first official report about the *Zhuangzi* parallels in the cache was in an article published in the journal *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 道家文化研究 in 2000, by Han Ziqiang 韓自強 and Han Chao 韓朝, who had been working on collating the Fuyang corpus of bamboo slip manuscripts. In this brief article, which contains photographic images of about eight bamboo slip fragments, the authors introduce the eight very short fragments, which correspond to three chapters of the received *Zhuangzi*, namely, “Wai Wu” 外物, “Ze Yang” 則陽, and “Rang Wang” 讓王 in “Miscellaneous” (*za* 雜) division of the *Zhuangzi*. Han Ziqiang and Han Chao identified the following parallels in the Fuyang manuscript:

	Old Fuyang Parallels (2000, 10)	The Received <i>Zhuangzi</i> Chapters
1	有乎生莫見 ... have where they were born, yet no one sees ...	蘧伯玉行年六十而六十化，未嘗不始於是之而卒誦之以非也，未知今之所謂是之非五十九年非也。萬物 有乎生而莫見 其根，有乎出而莫見其門。(25. 則陽，3:905-906) Qu Boyu has been going along for sixty years and has changed sixty times. There was not a single instance in which what he called right in the beginning he did not in the end reject and call wrong. So now there's no telling whether what he calls right at the moment is not in fact what he called wrong during the past fifty-nine years. The ten thousand things have where they were born, yet no one sees its roots; they have where they came forth, yet no one sees the gate. (288)
2	樂與正為正樂 [He] delighted in ruling (or rectification) for the sake of ruling (rectification), [he] delighted ...	其於人也，忠信盡治而無求焉。 樂與政為政，樂與治為治 ，不以人之壞自成也，不以人之卑自高也，不以遭時自利也。(28. 讓王，3:987) In his dealing with men, he was loyal and trustworthy and observed perfect order, but he did not seek anything from them. He delighted in ruling for the sake of ruling, he delighted in bringing order for the sake of order. He did not use other men's failures to bring about his own success; he did not use other men's degradation to life himself up. Just because he happened along at a lucky time, he did not try to turn it to his own profit. (321-22)
3	宋元君夜夢丈夫依被=髮窺 Lord Yuan of Song one night dreamed a dream in which a man with disheveled hair peered...	宋元君夜半而夢人被髮闖阿門 ，曰：「予自宰路之淵，予為清江使河伯之所，漁者余且得予。」元君覺，使人占之，曰：「此神龜也。」君曰：「漁者有余且乎？」左右曰：「有。」君曰：「令余且會朝。」明日，余且朝。君曰：「漁 何得 ？」對曰：「且之網，得白龜焉，其圓五尺。」君曰：「獻若之龜。」龜至，君再欲殺之，再欲活之，心疑，卜之，曰：「殺龜以下，吉。」乃剖龜，七十二鑽而無遺筮。仲尼曰：「神龜能見夢於元君而不能避余且之網；知能七十二鑽而無遺筮，不能避 剖腸之患 。如是，則知 有所 困， 神有所 不及也。…」(26. 外物，3:933-34) Lord Yuan of Song one night dreamed a dream in which a man with disheveled hair peered in at the side door of his chamber and said, “I come from the Zailu Deeps. I was on my way as envoy from the Clear Yangzi to the court of the Lord of the Yellow River when a fisherman named Yu Ju caught me!” When Lord Yuan woke up, he ordered his men to divine the dream, and they replied, “This is a sacred turtle.” “Is there a fisherman named Yu Ju? He asked, and his attendants replied, “There is.” “Order Yu Ju to come to court!” he said. The next day Yu Ju appeared at court and the ruler said, “What have you caught by fishing?” Yu Ju replied, “I caught a white turtle in my net. It's five feet around.” “Present your turtle!” ordered the ruler. When the turtle was brought, the ruler could not decide whether to kill it or let it live and, being in doubt, he consulted his diviners, who
4	之曰是龜 ... it, and replied “This is a turtle.”	
5	何得曰得龜 往視 “What have you caught?” [He] replied, “I caught a turtle.” [He] sent it and showed it.	
6	<input type="checkbox"/> 事七十兆而無貴筮故不能 [it] served seventy times for prognostication, not one failed to yield a true answer. Therefore, it couldn't...	
7	剖腸之患 the disaster of having its belly ripped open	
8	<input type="checkbox"/> 有所不知而神有	

⁴⁴⁴ Anhui sheng Wenwu Gongzuodui 安徽省文物工作隊, Fuyang diqu Bowuguan 阜陽地區博物館, and Fuyang xian Wenhua guan 阜陽縣文化館, “Fuyang Shuanggudui Xi Han Ruyin Hou mu fajue jianbao” 阜陽雙古堆西漢汝陰侯墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物 8 (1978): 12-31.

[it] has that which it does not know, and numinosity has ...	replied, “Kill the turtle and divine with it – it will bring good luck.” Accordingly, the turtle was stripped of its shell, and of seventy-two holes drilled in it for prognostication, not one failed to yield a true answer. Confucius said, “The sacred turtle could appear to Lord Yuan in a dream but it couldn’t escape from Yu Ju’s net. It knew enough to give correct answers to seventy-two queries but it couldn’t escape the disaster of having its belly ripped open. So it is that knowledge has that which it has difficulty in, and numinosity has that which it can do nothing about. ... (298-99)
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As in the previous cases of Guodian and Zhangjiashan parallel texts, the Fuyang text is largely similar to the received *Zhuangzi*. At the same time, it has some variations in wording, which suggests either the degree of sophistication in narrative-making and editing or a different transmission route. For example, in the Fuyang version, the person in the Lord’s dream was specified as a male adult, not just a person as in the received story, and the turtle is neither marvelous (*shen* 神) nor white (*bai* 白), as the transmitted version says. The Lord used it for seventy prognostications (*zhao* 兆), but he did not cut the holes for divination into the turtle seventy-two times, as the received tale says. That is to say, there seem to have been two slightly different versions of the story about the Lord Yuan of Song and the turtle produced and circulated in the Early Western Han culture. The episode in the received text reflects that the story may have been elaborated upon in editing, and the received *Zhuangzi* adopted the elaborated version.

In 2015, the Research Institute of Chinese Cultural Relics, Fuyang Prefectural Museum, and Fuyang Han Bamboo-Slip Manuscript Reconstruction Team published an article on the more complete set of all the *Zhuangzi* parallel texts excavated at Fuyang, with the full transcriptions and photograph images of the bamboo slips, in the research journal, *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 出土文獻研究.⁴⁴⁵ This new article, which the director of this project, Hu Pingsheng 胡平生, wrote on behalf of the joint team, identifies 44 bamboo slips that contain parallels to the current *Zhuangzi* texts. Due to the extremely fragmented condition of the bamboo slips, many of them have little research value for scrutinizing parallels in comparison to the current text. Still, this new set of parallel strips is important to philological study of the received *Zhuangzi* in that it demonstrates for the first time the existence of some content from the Inner (*nei* 內) chapters in the Early Western Han period, circa 165 BCE. In total, this new set of bamboo slips is also significant in that it covers highly diverse contents that are found in five episodes in four chapters of the current Inner division, fifteen episodes in six chapters of the Outer (*wai* 外) division, and eleven episodes in the five chapter of the Miscellaneous (*za* 雜) division. This confirms that there was a Han text with contents similar in many respects to the current *Zhuangzi*. Of course, there is still no sign in the text that these slips were recognized and read as the *Zhuangzi* – the text that we now know – in early Han society. Thus, we have no convincing evidence to claim that the *Zhuangzi* text existed in the Han and was probably formed before Han. Nonetheless, it is no longer in doubt that a considerable portion of the similar contents of the received *Zhuangzi* existed and were circulated in the mid-second century B.C.E. in the Western Han society.

What is surprising about this new set of bamboo slips in relation to what has already been introduced by Han Ziqiang and Han Chao is that Hu Pingsheng and his project team virtually reject,

⁴⁴⁵ Zhongguo wenwu yanjiusuo 中國文物研究所, Fuyang diqu bowuguan 阜陽地區博物館, Fuyang Hanjian zhengli zu 阜陽漢簡整理組, “Fuyang Shuanggudui Han jian *Zhuangzi*” 阜陽雙古堆漢簡《莊子》, *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 出土文獻研究 12 (2015): 188-201.

based on the different calligraphic style appearing on the slips, six out of the eight slips the Hans identified as the *Zhuangzi* parallels in 2000, and group those six slips as a part of the separate text they entitle “Shuolei zashi” 說類雜事, which I have discussed in Chapter One. Among the eight fragments that Han Ziqiang and Han Chao claim as the Fuyang bamboo edition *Zhuangzi*, only the first slip fragment that contains the phrase, “... have where they were born, yet no one sees...” 有乎生莫見 is now recognized by Hu Pingsheng and the team as a part of the *Zhuangzi*, and one slip fragment identified as a *Zhuangzi* parallel by the Hans is not seen anywhere in the Hu’s new publication. Thus, a parallel to the narrative episode about the Lord Yuan of Song in the current “Wai Wu” chapter is found only in the “Shuilei zashi” text, and the cache of Fuyang bamboo slip manuscripts has two distinct texts that have parallel contents to the received *Zhuangzi*.

Another interesting fact in this new article in comparison with the earlier one is the change in slip organization: first, the previous slip number 2 that contained the line “[He] delighted in ruling (or rectification) for the sake of ruling (rectification), [he] delighted ...” 樂與正為正樂 is no longer seen anywhere in the new set⁴⁴⁶; second, the separated slips number 6 and number 7 in

⁴⁴⁶ Although we no longer see this parallel in the Fuyang manuscript for unknown reasons, this one could be important evidence to reveal that it could have been linked to an Episode of Bo Yi 伯夷 and Shu Qi 叔齊 and the Zhou’s conquest of Shang that was circulating with a different degree of sophistication in narrative making and editing. The two versions shown below are similar in theme but in fact remarkably different in details and wording, one seen in the “Rang Wang” of the *Zhuangzi* and the other in the “Cheng lian” 誠廉 chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋. The passage of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* is much more elaborate and detailed than that of the *Zhuangzi*.

Old Fuyang mns.	<i>Zhuangzi</i>	<i>Lüshi Chunqiu</i>
樂與正為正樂	昔周之興，有士二人，處於孤竹，曰伯夷、叔齊。二人相謂曰：「吾聞西方有人，似有道者，試往觀焉。」至於岐陽，武王聞之，使叔旦往見之，與盟曰：「加富二等，就官一列。」血牲而埋之。二人相視而笑曰：「嘻！異哉！此非吾所謂道也。昔者神農之有天下也，時祀盡敬而不祈喜；其於人也，忠信盡治而無求焉。樂與政為政，樂與治為治，不以人之壞自成也，不以人之卑自高也，不以遭時自利也。今周見殷之亂而遽為政，上謀而下行貨，阻兵而保威，割牲而盟以為信，揚行以說眾，殺伐以要利，是推亂以易暴也。吾聞古之士遭治世不避其任，遇亂世不為苟存。今天下闇，周德衰，其並乎周以塗吾身也，不如避之以絜吾行。」二子北至於首陽之山，遂餓而死焉。若伯夷、叔齊者，其於富貴也，苟可得已，則必不賴。高節戾行，獨樂其志，不事於世，此二士之節也。(28. 讓王, 3:987-89)	昔周之將興也，有士二人，處於孤竹，曰伯夷、叔齊。二人相謂曰：「吾聞西方有偏伯焉，似將有道者，今吾奚為處乎此哉？」二子西行如周，至於岐陽，則文王已歿矣。武王即位，觀周德，則王使叔旦就膠鬲於次四內，而與之盟曰：「加富三等，就官一列。」為三書同辭，血之以牲，埋一於四內，皆以一歸。又使保召公就微子聞於共頭之下，而與之盟曰：「世為長侯，守殷常祀，相奉桑林，宜私孟諸。」為三書同辭，血之以牲，埋一於共頭之下，皆以一歸。伯夷、叔齊聞之，相視而笑曰：「嘻，異乎哉！此非吾所謂道也。昔者神農氏之有天下也，時祀盡敬而不祈福也。其於人也，忠信盡治而無求焉。樂正與為正，樂治與為治，不以人之壞自成也，不以人之卑自高也。今周見殷之僻亂也，而遽為之正與治，上謀而行貨，阻丘而保威也。割牲而盟以為信，因四內與共頭以明行，揚夢以說眾，殺伐以要利，以此紹殷，是以亂易暴也。吾聞古之士，遭乎治世，不避其任，遭乎亂世，不為苟在。今天下闇，周德衰矣。與其並乎周以漫吾身也，不若避之以潔吾行。」二子北行，至首陽之下而餓焉。人之情莫不有重，莫不有輕。有所重則欲全之，有所輕則以養所重。伯夷、叔齊，此二士者，皆出身棄生以立其意，輕重先定也。(季冬紀誠廉)

The Chinese text of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* passage is found Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷, ed., *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi* 呂氏春秋新校釋, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2002), 1:640-41. For the English translations of the *Zhuangzi* passage and the

the earlier article are shown as one single slip (number 4) in the new study; third, the former slip number 8 that contained “[it] has that which it does not know, and numinousity has ...” 有所不知而神有 now appears to be divided into three smaller pieces (numbers 5, 6, 7). Hu Pingsheng, the delegate author of this article, does not explain at all why these significant changes have occurred in his current study. As for the third change, we can surmise that the previous slip could have been broken into three smaller pieces during preservation in the research laboratory. But we have no clue what catalyzed the first and second changes.

In regards to these important changes in the bamboo slip organization, Hu Pingsheng and his text-reconstruction team suggest that the new set of the bamboo slips, which they have now assigned to the separate “Shuilei zashi” text, would have been an “appendix” text to the bamboo slip version *Zhuangzi* text,⁴⁴⁷ and provide transcriptions for the newly organized slips that contain parallels to the Lord Yuan of Song story as follows⁴⁴⁸:

	New Fuyang Parallels as a part of “Shuilei zashi” 說類雜事 (2015)	The Received <i>Zhuangzi</i> chapter
1	○宋元君夜夢丈夫衣被二髮○○	宋元君夜半而夢人被髮闖阿門，曰：「予自宰路之淵，予為清江使河伯之所，漁者余且得予。」元君覺，使人占之，曰：「此神龜也。」君曰：「漁者有余且乎？」左右曰：「有。」君曰：「令余且會朝。」明日，余且朝。君曰：「漁何得？」對曰：「且之網，得白龜焉，其圓五尺。」君曰：「獻若之龜。」龜至，君再欲殺之，再欲活之，心疑，卜之，曰：「殺龜以下，吉。」乃割龜，七十二鑽而無遺筮。仲尼曰：「神龜能見夢於元君而不能避余且之網；知能七十二鑽而無遺筮，不能避割腸之患。如是，則知有所困，神有所不及也。雖有至知，萬人謀之。魚不畏網而畏鵜鶘。去小知而大知明，去善而自善矣。」嬰兒生無石師而能言，與能言者處也。(26. 外物，3:933-34)
2	之曰是龜	
3	何得曰得龜○視	
4	○事七十兆而無遺筮故○能割腸之患	
5	非有所○	
6	不知○	
7	神有	

Comparing the two transcriptions of the bamboo slips, between the earlier one (numbers 3-8) by Han Ziqiang and Han Chao and the latter (numbers 1-7) by Hu and his team, the transcription contents appear to be basically identical, except that later scholars have left untranscribed, due to the lack of clarity of the graphs, the last character in the former number 3 (current number 1); the one character after *gu* 故 in the former number 6 (current number 4); and finally, the one character

Lüshi Chunqiu passage, see the following: Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, 321-22; John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 266-68.

⁴⁴⁷ If this is the case that these slips were an appendix, then we will have another whole new issue about how the “Shuolei zashi” the text that they now assign these slips to should be viewed in the textual relationship to the claimed bamboo slip version of *Zhuangzi*.

⁴⁴⁸ As I showed in Chapter One, this episode of the dream of Lord Yuan of Song appears, in a much longer and more elaborate version with some slightly different thematic concerns, in the “Guice liezhuan” 龜策列傳 of the *Shiji*, the portion whose original version by Sima Qian had already been mostly lost in the first century BCE, except the first few pages, and then most of whose current version was re-written by Chu Shaosun 褚少孫 (fl. first century BCE). See *Shiji*, 68: 3229-3238. This suggests a possibility that already in the first century BCE, the story of Lord Yuan’s dream had significantly been altered to serve different cultural interests, such as the efficacy of turtle divination and the role of the ruler as the main performer of the divination, as the version of the story in the “Guice liezhuan” illustrates.

before *shen* 神 in the former number 8 (the last one in the current number 6). Hu Pingsheng and his team do not provide any explanation about these changes anywhere in the article, either.

The narrative about Lord Yuan of Song and the turtle that is reflected in the Fuyang bamboo slips is somewhat different in detail from the received one. This suggests that there could have been more than two slightly different versions of the story produced and circulated. If there had really been a definitive edition of the *Zhuangzi* close to what we have now as the *Zhuangzi*, and if these Fuyang bamboo slips' contents were quotations from the *Zhuangzi*, as Hu Pingsheng and his collaborators believe, then the contents of the *Zhuangzi* in Han society may have had limited popularity and cultural impact, because the Fuyang bamboo slip text shows a less sophisticated, less polished version of the story that was produced and circulated circa 165 BCE. In what follows, we will see that the story of the Lord Yuan of Song is not the only support for such a hypothesis.

A further landmark of this new study of the Fuyang Han bamboo slip manuscript by Hu Pingsheng and his research team is that they introduce a complete set of forty-four bamboo slips that parallel the received *Zhuangzi* – a set that has never previously been known in the textual study of the *Zhuangzi*. Their transcription with the parallel text in the transmitted *Zhuangzi* is as follows:

	Fuyang <i>Zhuangzi</i> Parallels (2015)	The Received <i>Zhuangzi</i> Chapters
1	□有鳥焉□ ⁴⁴⁹ ... there is also a bird there ...	窮髮之北，有冥海者，天池也。有魚焉，其廣數千里，未有知其脩者，其名為鯤。有鳥焉，其名為鵬，背若泰山，翼若垂天之雲，… (1. 逍遙遊，1:14-46) In the bald and barren north, there is a dark sea, the Lake of Heaven. In it is a fish which is several thousand <i>li</i> across, and no one knows how long. His name is Kun. There is also a bird there, named Peng, with a back like Mount Tai and wings like clouds filling the sky. (31)
2	□見櫟社□ ...[he] saw a serrate oak at the shrine...	匠石之齊，至乎曲轅，見櫟社樹。其大蔽數千牛，絜之百圍，其高臨山… (4. 人間世，1:170) Carpenter Shi went to Qi, and when he got to Crooked Shaft, he saw a serrate oak standing by the shrine. It was broad enough to shelter several thousand oxen and measured a hundred spans around, towering above the hills. (63)
3	□邪母□ ... Mother! ...	子與與子桑友，而霖雨十日。子與曰：「子桑殆病矣！」裹飯而往食之。至子桑之門，則若歌若哭，鼓琴曰：「父邪母邪！天乎人乎！」 (6. 大宗師，1:285-86) Master Yu and Master Sang were friends. Once it rained for ten days. Master Yu said to himself, “Master Sang is probably having a bad time,” and he wrapped up some rice and took it for his friend to eat. When he got to Master Sang’s gate, he heard something like singing or crying, and someone striking a lute and saying: “Father! Mother! Heaven! Man!” (91)
4	□齧缺□ Nie Que	齧缺問於王倪，四問而四不知。齧缺因躍而大喜，行以告蒲衣子。蒲衣子曰：「乃而今知之乎？有虞氏不及泰氏。有虞氏，其猶藏仁以要人，亦得人矣，而未始出於非人。泰氏，其臥徐徐，其覺于于，… (7. 應帝王，1:287)
5	□○告被【=】依=日□ ...told Yi, and Yi said ...	Nie Que was questioning Wang Ni. Four times he asked a question and four times Wang Ni said he didn’t know. Nie Que proceeded to hop around in great glee and went and told Master Pu Yi. Master Pu Yi said, “Are you just now finding that out? The clansman You-yu was no match for the clansman Tai. The clansman You-yu still held on to benevolence and worked to win men over. He won men over all right, but he never got out into [the realm of] ‘not-man.’ The clansman Tai, now – he lay down peaceful and easy; he woke up wide-eyed and blank. ... (92)
6	□○其昧也徐=其□ ...his falling into sleep is peaceful and easy, his...	

⁴⁴⁹ The symbol “□” stands for the blank space appearing on the fragmented slip. Meanwhile the symbol “○” indicates the unidentifiable graph for the broken slip. The symbol “=” is a common graph-duplication marker.

7	<input type="checkbox"/> 天壤 <input type="checkbox"/> ...Heaven and Earth...	列子入，以告壺子。壺子曰：「鄉吾示之以天壤，名實不入，而機發於踵。…(7. 應帝王，1:301) Liezi went in and reported this to Huzi. Huzi said, “Just now I appeared to him as Heaven and Earth – no name or substance to it, but still the workings, coming up from the heels. … (96)
8	<input type="checkbox"/> 五藏而 <input type="checkbox"/> ... the five vital organs, and ...	多方乎仁義而用之者，列於五藏哉！而非道德之正也。… 枝於仁者，擢德塞性以收名聲，使天下簧鼓以奉不及之法非乎？(8. 駢拇，2:311-13) Men overnice in the ways of benevolence and righteousness try to put these into practice, even to line them up with the five vital organs! And this is not the right approach to the Way and its Virtue. … He who is fork-fingered with benevolence will tear out the Virtue given him and stifle his inborn nature in order to seize fame and reputation, leading all under Heaven on with pipe and drum in the service of an unattainable ideal – am I wrong? (98-99)
9	<input type="checkbox"/> 使天下簧 <input type="checkbox"/> ... leading all under Heaven on with pipe...	
10	<input type="checkbox"/> 冥解 <input type="checkbox"/> ... boundless, undo	鴻蒙曰：「意！心養。汝徒處無為，而物自化。墮爾形體，吐爾聰明；倫與物忘，大同乎溟溟；解心釋神，莫然無魂。… (11. 在宥，2:390-91) Big concealment said, “Well, then – mind-nourishment! You have only to rest in inaction and things will transform themselves. Smash your form and body, spit out hearing and eyesight, forget you are a thing among other things, and you may join in great unity with the deep and boundless. Undo the mind, slough off spirit, be blank and soulless... (122)
11	<input type="checkbox"/> 而不可不因者民也匿 <input type="checkbox"/> ... yet must be relied on – the people. What is irksome...	賤而不可不任者，物也；卑而不可不因者，民也；匿而不可不為者，事也；… 故聖人觀於天而不助，成於德而不累，出於道而不謀，會於仁而不恃，薄於義而不積，應於禮而不諱，接於事而不辭，齊於法而不亂，恃於民而不輕，因於物而不去。(11. 在宥，2:397-400) What is lowly and yet must be used – things. What is humble and yet must be relied on – the people. What is irksome and yet must be attended to – affairs. … Therefore the sage contemplates Heaven but does not assist it. He finds completion in Virtue but piles on nothing more. He goes forth in the Way but does not scheme. He accords with benevolence but does not set great store by it. He draws close to righteousness but does not labor over it. He responds to the demands of ritual and does not shun them. He disposes of affairs and makes no excuses. He brings all to order with laws and allows no confusion. He depends upon the people and does not make light of them. He relies on things and does not throw them aside. (124)
12	<input type="checkbox"/> 於義而 <input type="checkbox"/> ... to righteousness but ...	
13	<input type="checkbox"/> 於民而 <input type="checkbox"/> ... upon the people and...	
14	<input type="checkbox"/> 通於天地 <input type="checkbox"/> ... pervading Heaven and Earth ...	故通於天地者，德也；行於萬物者，道也；上治人者，事也；能有所藝者，技也。… 故曰：「古之畜天下者，無欲而天下足，無為而萬物化，淵靜而百姓定。」(12. 天地，2:404-406)
15	<input type="checkbox"/> 而百姓定 <input type="checkbox"/> ... and the hundred clans were at rest...	Therefore, pervading Heaven and Earth: that is Virtue. Moving among the ten thousand things: that is the Way. Superiors governing the men below them: that is called administration. Ability finding trained expression: that is called skill. … Therefore, it is said, “Those who shepherded all under Heaven in ancient times were without desire and all under Heaven were satisfied, without action and the ten thousand things were transformed. They were deep and silent and the hundred clans were at rest.” (126-27)
16	<input type="checkbox"/> 蕩民 <input type="checkbox"/> ... free and far-wandering, people ...	季徹曰：「大聖之治天下也，搖蕩民心，使之成教易俗，舉滅其賊心而皆進其獨志，… (12. 天地，2:432) Ji Che said, “When a great sage rules the world, he makes the minds of his people free and far-wandering. On this basis, he fashions teachings and simplifies customs, wiping out all treason from their minds and allowing each to pursue his own will. …” (133)
17	<input type="checkbox"/> 隨而 <input type="checkbox"/> ... follow and ...	人且偃然寢於巨室，而我噉噉然隨而哭之，自以為不通乎命，故止也。(18. 至樂，2:615) Now she’s going to lie down peacefully in a vast room. If I were to follow after her and cry in a loud voice, it would show that I don’t understand anything about fate. So I stopped. (192)
18	<input type="checkbox"/> 之糸也 <input type="checkbox"/> ... the entanglements of ...	夜半，髑髏見夢曰：「子之談者似辯士。視子所言，皆生人之累也，死則無此矣。子欲聞死之說乎？」(18. 至樂，2:618) In the middle of the night, the skull came to him in a dream and said, “You chatter like a rhetorician and all your words betray the entanglements of a living man. The dead know nothing of these! Would you like to hear a lecture on the dead?” (193)

19	<input type="checkbox"/> 康有道 <input type="checkbox"/> ... there is a way ...	仲尼適楚，出於林中，見病僂者承蜩，猶掇之也。仲尼曰：「子巧乎？有道邪？」(19. 達生，2:639-40) When Confucius was on his way to Chu, he passed through a forest where he saw a hunchback catching cicadas with a sticky pole as easily as though he were grabbing them with his hand. Confucius said, “What skill you have! Is there a way to this?” (199)
20	<input type="checkbox"/> 游者 <input type="checkbox"/> ... swimmer ...	曰：『可。善游者數能。若乃夫沒人，則未嘗見舟而便操之也。』…(19. 達生，2:641-42) He replied, ‘Certainly. A good swimmer will in no time get the knack of it. And, if a man can swim under water, he may never have seen a boat before and still he’ll know how to hand it! ... (200)
21	<input type="checkbox"/> 告驚曰公 <input type="checkbox"/> ... Gao-ao said, “Your Grace, ...	齊士有皇子告敖者曰：「公則自傷，鬼惡能傷公！…(19. 達生，2:650-51) A gentleman of Qi named Huangzi Gao-ao said, “Your Grace, you are doing this injury to yourself! How could a ghost have the power to injure you! ... (203)
22	<input type="checkbox"/> 不化以 <input type="checkbox"/> ... not change it and thereby...	吾一受其成形，而不化以待盡，效物而動，日夜無隙，而不知其所終，薰然其成形，知命不能規乎其前，丘以是日徂。吾終身與汝交一臂而失之，可不哀與！女殆著乎吾所以著也。彼已盡矣，而女求之以為有，是求馬於唐肆也。(21. 田子方，2:701-710) Having once received this fixed bodily form, I will not change it and thereby wait for the end. I model on other things and move, day and night without break, but I do not know what the end will be. Mild, genial, my bodily form takes shape. I understand my fate but I cannot fathom what has gone before it. This is the way I proceed, day after day. I have gone through life linked arm in arm with you, yet now you fail [to understand me] – is this not sad? You see in me, I suppose, the part that can be seen – but that part is already over and gone. For you to look for it, regarding it still exists, is like looking for a horse in an empty stable. (224)
23	<input type="checkbox"/> 而動 <input type="checkbox"/> ... and move ...	
24	<input type="checkbox"/> 知所終 <input type="checkbox"/> ... know what the end will be...	
25	<input type="checkbox"/> 女求之以有是求 <input type="checkbox"/> ... your looking for it, taking it exists, is looking for ...	
26	<input type="checkbox"/> 而立于獨 <input type="checkbox"/> 之 <input type="checkbox"/> ... and were standing in solitude itself ...	孔子便而待之，少焉見曰：「丘也眩與？其信然與？向者先生形體掘若槁木，似遺物離人而立于獨也。」(21. 田子方，2:711) Confucius, hidden from sight, stood waiting, and then after some time present himself and exclaimed, “Did my eyes play tricks on me, or was that really true? A moment ago, Sir, your form and body seemed stiff as an old dead tree, as though you had forgotten things, taken leave of men, and were standing in solitude itself!” (224-25)
27	<input type="checkbox"/> 其序門然 <input type="checkbox"/> ... its proper place and status, as such ...	天下莫不沈浮，終身不故；陰陽四時運行，各得其序。惛然若亡而存，油然不形而神，萬物畜而不知。(22. 知北遊，2:735-37) There is nothing under Heaven that does not bob and sink, to then end of its days lacking fixity. The yin and yang, the four seasons follow one another in succession, each keeping to its proper place. Dark and Hidden, [the Way] seems not to exist and yet it is there; lush and unbounded, it possesses no form but only spirit; the ten thousand things are shepherded by it, though they do not understand it. (237)
28	<input type="checkbox"/> 相齧 <input type="checkbox"/> ... push each other around...	君子之人，若儒、墨者師，故以是非相齧也，而況今之人乎！(22. 知北遊，2:765-66) Among gentlemen there were those like the Confucians and Moists who became teachers. As a result, people began using their ‘rights’ and ‘wrongs’ to push each other around. And how much worse are the men of today! (246)
29	<input type="checkbox"/> 有器械 <input type="checkbox"/> ⁴⁵⁰ ... with tools and machines ...	農夫無草萊之事則不比，商賈無市井之事則不比。庶人有旦暮之業則勸，百工有器械之巧則壯。(24. 徐無鬼，2:834-36) The farmer is not content if he does not have his work in the fields and weed patches; the merchant is not content if he does not have his affairs at the market place and wellside. The common people work hardest when they have their sunup to sundown occupations; the hundred artisans are most vigorous when they are exercising their skills with tools and machines. (266)
30	<input type="checkbox"/> 有乎生莫見 <input type="checkbox"/> ... have where they were born, yet no one sees ...	蘧伯玉行年六十而六十化，未嘗不始於是之而卒訕之以非也，未如今之所謂是之非五十九年非也。萬物有乎生而莫見其根，有乎出而莫見其門。(25. 則陽，3:905-906)

⁴⁵⁰ A graph in the square mark indicates that a partial graph was reconstructed based on the remaining signifiers, by modern text editors.

		Qu Boyu has been going along for sixty years and has changed sixty times. There was not a single instance in which what he called right in the beginning he did not in the end reject and call wrong. So now there's no telling whether what he calls right at the moment is not in fact what he called wrong during the past fifty-nine years. The ten thousand things have where they were born, yet no one sees its roots; they have where they came forth, yet no one sees the gate. (288)
31	<input type="checkbox"/> 雖威不○ <input type="checkbox"/> ... though he arouses awe, he will fail to ...	孔子愀然曰：「請問何謂真？」客曰：「真者，精誠之至也。不精不誠，不能動人。故強哭者雖悲不衰，強怒者雖嚴不威，強親者雖笑不和。(31. 漁父，3:1032-33) Confucius looked shamefaced and said, "Please, may I ask what you mean by 'the Truth?'" The guest said, "By 'the Truth' I mean purity and sincerity in their highest degree. He who lacks purity and sincerity cannot move others. Therefore, he who forces himself to lament, though to be angry, though he may sound fierce, will arouse no awe. And he who forces himself to be affectionate, though he may smile, will create no air of harmony. ... (349)
32	<input type="checkbox"/> 夫百家往 <input type="checkbox"/> ... the hundred schools going on and on ...	悲夫！百家往而不反，必不合矣。後世之學者，不幸不見天地之純，古人之大體，道術將為天下裂。(33. 天下，3:1069-72) How sad! – the hundred schools going on and on instead of turning back, fated never to join again. The scholars of later ages have unfortunately never perceived the purity of Heaven and Earth, the great body of the ancients, and 'the art of the Way' in time comes to be rent and torn apart by the world. (364)
33	<input type="checkbox"/> 而博 <input type="checkbox"/> ... and broaden ...	墨子汎愛兼利而非鬥，其道不怒；又好學而博，不異，不與先王同，毀古之禮樂。(33. 天下，3:1072-74) Mozi boundlessly loved and universally benefitted but condemned warfare, and his teaching was not to resent. Again, he was fond of learning and broadening it. On this, he was not different from others. [However], he was not in accordance with the former kings, for he denounced the rites and music of antiquity. (365)
34	<input type="checkbox"/> 與先王 <input type="checkbox"/> ... in accordance with the former kings ...	
35	<input type="checkbox"/> 人以此自行固 <input type="checkbox"/> ... people, if he adopts such practices for his own, he surely ...	今墨子獨生不歌，死不服，桐棺三寸而無槨，以為法式。以此教人，恐不愛人；以此自行，固不愛己。... 恐其不可以為聖人之道，反天下之心，天下不堪。墨子雖能獨任，奈天下何！離於天下，其去王也遠矣。(33. 天下，3:1074-76) ... Now Mozi alone declares there is to be no singing in life, no mourning in death. A coffin of paulownia wood three inches thick, with no outer shell – this is his rule, his ideal. If he teaches men in this fashion, then I fear he has no love for people; and if he adopts such practices for his own burial, then he surely has no love for himself! ... I fear they cannot be regarded as the Way of the Sage. They are contrary to the hearts of all under Heaven, and all under Heaven cannot endure them. Though Mozi himself may be capable of such endurance, how could all under Heaven do likewise? Departing so far from all under Heaven, they must be far removed indeed from those of the true king. (365-66)
36	<input type="checkbox"/> 返天下之 <input type="checkbox"/> ... contrary to the (?) of all under Heaven ...	
37	<input type="checkbox"/> 天下何離於天下其 <input type="checkbox"/> ... how could all under Heaven do, departing so far from all under Heaven, they ...	
38	<input type="checkbox"/> 者多以 <input type="checkbox"/> ... the men of (?) mostly take ...	使後世之墨者多以裘褐為衣，以跣為服，日夜不休，以自苦為極... (33. 天下，3:1077-78) The men of Moist group in later generations mostly take skins and coarse wool and make clothes, wear wooden clogs or hempen sandals, never resting day or night, driving themselves on to the bitterest exertions. (366)
39	<input type="checkbox"/> 察不以身 <input type="checkbox"/> ... examine, and [he] does not use his own body to ...	曰：「君子不為苛察，不以身假物。」以為無益於天下者，明之不如己也。(33. 天下，3:1084-85) Said, "The gentleman does not examine others with too harsh an eye; he does not use his own body to borrow other things." If a particular line of inquiry seemed to bring no benefit to all under Heaven, they thought it better to abandon it than to seek an understanding of it. (369)
40	<input type="checkbox"/> 可不為也故曰 <input type="checkbox"/> ... acceptable and do not do it, therefore [they] said,	知萬物皆有所可，有所不可，故曰：「選則不遍，教則不至，道則無遺者矣。」(33. 天下，3:1086-87) They know that each of the ten thousand things has that which is acceptable in it and that which is not acceptable. Therefore, they said, "To choose is to forgo universality; to compare things is to fail to reach the goal. The Way has nothing that is left out of it." (369-70)
41	<input type="checkbox"/> 極關尹老聃序 <input type="checkbox"/> 	常寬容於物，不削於人，可謂至極。關尹、老聃乎！古之博大真人哉！(33. 天下，3:1095-98)

	... achievement, the Barrier Keeper Yin and Lao Dan ...	He was always generous and permissive with things and inflicted no pain on others – this may be called the highest achievement. The Barrier Keeper Yin and Lao Dan – with their breadth and stature, they indeed were the True Men of old! (372-73)
42	□ 寓言為 □ ... imputed words to impart ...	以卮言為曼衍，以重言為真，以 寓言為廣。(33. 天下，3:1098-1100) He used “goblet words” to pour out endless changes, “repeated words” to give a ring of truth, and “imputed words” to impart greater breadth. (373)
43	□ 術不治 □ ... the arts, does not look after...	孔子曰：「彼假修渾沌氏之術者也：識其一，不知其二；治其內，而不治其外。... (12. 天地，2:438) Confucius said, “He is one of those bogus practitioners of the arts of Mr. Chaos. He knows the first thing but does not understand the second. He looks after what is on the inside but does not look after what is on the outside. ... (136)
44	□ 也子雖 □ ... although you ...	盜跖大怒曰：「丘來前！夫可規以利而可諫以言者，皆愚陋恆民之謂耳。今長大美好，人見而悅之者，此吾父母之遺德也。丘雖不吾譽，吾獨不自知邪？... (29. 盜跖，3:994) Robber Zhi, furious as ever, said, “Qiu, come forward! Those who can be swayed with offers of gain or reformed by a babble of words are mere idiots, simpletons, the commonest sort of men! The fact that I am big and tall, and so handsome that everyone delights to look at me – this is a virtue inherited from my father and mother. Even without your praises, do you think I would be unaware of it? (326)

As we see from the transcriptions of the Fuyang manuscript above, there are a few crucial points that we need to keep in mind in the comparative textual examination between the Fuyang parallel lines and the Episodes in the received *Zhuangzi*. First, due to the extreme fragmentation of the slips, some of the phrases are difficult to identify with corresponding content from a single received chapter. For example, slip 4 that shows the name of a famous character in the received *Zhuangzi*, Nie Que 齧缺, is taken to represent a part which parallels that of the current chapter 7, but his name appears eleven times in five different chapters throughout the entire *Zhuangzi* text.⁴⁵¹ Hu and his team locate the “Nie Que” fragment number 4 in the story of the “Ying Di Wang,” but it is not clear that this identification is firmly grounded. The same objection can be made about the cases of slips numbers 17, 20 and 23 – the characters shown in these slips might not necessarily be the ones in the story that the organizers have found, but could belong to those of other chapters of the received *Zhuangzi* text (or conceivably be part of non-parallel passages). Unlike the Guodian and Zhangjiashan parallels, most of the Fuyang ones, despite the significant implications of the high level of diversity in content, have some obvious limitations because of the fragmented condition, in the close comparative textual study with the transmitted version of the *Zhuangzi*.

Second, like most other excavated bamboo slip manuscripts, these parallel slips were found disintegrated and out of their original sequence. Thus, we have no clue how these slips were ordered in the first place, and how they were meant to be read by their original editors. The current sequence was solely given in accord with the parallel contents in the received *Zhuangzi*, based on the assumption that this fragmented text is a partial representation of the received one. However, even if these fragments show some similarity in phrasing in this fragmentary state, the original passage each fragment belongs to would have been different from the received one, to the extent that the passage may not be have been identified as part of the current *Zhuangzi* text.

Third, as the slips show no sign of an organizing sequence, these fragmented slips do not bear any hint about the title or the division, if the divisions indeed existed at the time, to which they belonged. Most importantly, there is no evidence either that these were produced, circulated,

⁴⁵¹ In “Qi wu lun” 齊物論, twice (1: 91-96); in “Yingdi wang” 應帝王, twice (1: 287); in “Tiandi” 天地, four times (2: 415-16); in “Zhi beiyou” 知北遊, (2: 737-38), twice; “Xu wugui” 徐无鬼, (3: 860), once.

and read with a social recognition they belonged to the text of the *Zhuangzi*. Again, what makes the construction of the parallelism between the Fuyang manuscript and the received *Zhuangzi* possible is the assumption that the Fuyang text represents the *Zhuangzi*.

Based on these three points, what then does the Fuyang manuscript tell us about the formation of the *Zhuangzi* around 165 BCE? It suggests that some contents might have been meaningfully different from the received *Zhuangzi*. For example, in slip number 26, the last identifiable character *zhi* 之 suggests that this sentence structure and therefore the meaning is likely to be different from the current text. Likewise, the first part of the slip number 40's transcription, 可不為, does not nicely match the received one 有所可, 有所不可, in terms not only of the literal meaning but also of the style, and it also shows that the line of the received *Zhuangzi* may have been refined through editing. Moreover, slip fragment number 43 simply states, “術不治,” which also suggests that quite a number of other supporting words may have existed in the Fuyang text beyond those found in the received line.

A more important case that reveals the possibility that there might be a significant difference between Fuyang manuscript and the received *Zhuangzi* is found in slips number 4, 5, and 6. Hu Pingsheng and his team seem to have reconstructed their slip sequence this way and had them correspond to the received “Ying di wang” passage, for two reasons: first, given that the fourth slip contains the name of character well-known in the received *Zhuangzi*, the fragmented phrase on fifth slip, comprised of three elements, i.e. the verb *gao* 告, the name Pi Yi 被依 with two repetition markers for each character, and another verb *yue* 曰, transcribed as 告被依, 被依曰, similarly matches that of the “Ying di wang” passage, 告蒲衣子, 蒲衣子曰, in the sense of phrase structure, although the character name in the “Ying di wang” passage is not Pi Yi, but Pu Yizi. Second, the sixth slip, which reads, 其昧也徐=其, corresponds to the phrase, 其臥徐徐, 其, in the same paragraph. Thus, although the fourth slip, which contains only the character's name, Nie Que, can be assigned to other received *Zhuangzi* passages in which Nie Que is mentioned. As I have pointed out, Hu and his team located it before slips 5 and 6, and thereby make these three slips look like closer parallel to the current “Ying di wang” section.

The problem is that the character name used in the story of “Ying di wang” is Pu Yizi but not Pi Yi, as in the Fuyang manuscript. This name of Pu Yizi is seen only once in the whole text of the received *Zhuangzi* while the character name of Pi Yi, lettered as 被衣 rather than 被依, appears as the name of Nie Que's master's teacher or his own teacher, twice in the received *Zhuangzi*, first in the “Tian di” and then in the “Zhi bei you.”⁴⁵² Interestingly, the “Zhi bei you” passage also shows the similar phrase structure, namely 問道於被衣, 被衣曰. While the sentence has a different verb *wen* 問, and an object *dao* 道, and preposition *yu* 於, it keeps the character name Pi Yi and the structure of the name repetition followed by the verb *yue*. So, in this sense, the parallel phrase to slips 4 and 5 could be found not only in the “Ying di wang,” but also in the “Zhi bei you.”

	Fuyang mns.	“Ying di wang”	“Zhi bei you”
4	□ 齧缺 □ Nie Que	齧缺因躍而大喜，行以告蒲衣子。蒲衣子曰：	齧缺問道於被衣，被衣曰： Nie Que asked Pi Yi about the Way. Pi Yi said:
5	□ 告被 【=】 依 = 曰 □ ...told Pi Yi. Pi Yi said:		

⁴⁵² See *Zhuangzi jishi*, 2: 415; 2: 737.

	Nie Que proceeded to hop around in great glee and went and told Master Pu Yi. Master Pu Yi said
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There are two points worth considering here: first, if the fourth and fifth slips are to match “Ying di wang,” as Hu Pingsheng and his team believe, then the story of Nie Que in the Fuyang manuscript becomes basically a distinct one in which a different interlocutor, Pi Yi, appears. Second, if the slips are to parallel “Zhi bei you,” then they could reflect that there was a circulated Episode of Nie Que and Pi Yi. The story that features them does not appear only in the *Zhuangzi*, but also in the received *Huainanzi* with some minor changes in wording and a comment that quotes the *Laozi*.

Fuyang mns.	“Zhi bei you” of the <i>Zhuangzi</i>	“Dao ying xun” 道應訓 of the <i>Huainanzi</i>
4 <input type="checkbox"/> 齧缺 <input type="checkbox"/> Nie Que	齧缺問道乎被衣，被衣曰： 「若正汝形，一汝視，天和將至；攝汝知，一汝度，神將來舍。德將來為汝美，道將為汝居，汝瞳焉如新出之犢而無求其故。」言未卒，齧缺睡寐。 被衣大說，行歌而去之，曰：「形若槁骸，心若死灰，真其實知，不以故自持。媒媒晦晦，無心而不可與謀。彼何人哉！」(2:737-38)	齧缺問道於被衣，被衣曰： 「正女形，壹女視，天和將至。攝女知，正女度，神將來舍。德將來附若美，而道將為女居。蠢乎若新生之犢，而無求其故。」言未卒，齧缺繼以讎夷。被衣行歌而去，曰：「形若槁骸，心如死灰。真其實知，不以故自持。墨墨恢恢，無心可與謀。彼何人哉！」故老子曰：「明白四達，能無以知乎！」 ⁴⁵³
5 <input type="checkbox"/> 告被 【 = 】 依=曰 <input type="checkbox"/> ... told Pi Yi, Pi Yi said ...	Nie Que asked Pi Yi about the Way. Pi Yi said, “Straighten up your body, unify your vision, and the harmony of Heaven will come to you. Call in your knowledge, unify your bearing, and the spirits will come to dwell with you. Virtue will be your beauty, the Way will be your home, and, stupid as newborn calf, you will not try to find out the reason why.” Before he had finished speaking, Nie Que fell sound asleep. Pi Yi immensely pleased, left and walked away, singing this song: “Body like a withered corpse, mind like dead ashes, true in the realness of knowledge, not one to go searching for reasons, dim, dim, dark, dark. Mindless, you cannot consult with him: what kind of man is this! (237)	Nie Que asked Pi Yi about the Way. Pi Yi said, “Straighten up your body, unify your vision, and the harmony of Heaven will come to you. Call in your knowledge, straighten your bearing, and the spirits will come to dwell with you. Virtue will come and attach like your own beauty, and the Way will be your home, and, foolish as newborn calf, you will not try to find out the reason why.” Before he had finished speaking, Nie Que continued being [unfamiliar] like Eastern Enemy. Pi Yi left and walked away, singing this song: “Body like a withered corpse, mind like dead ashes, true in the realness of knowledge, not one to go searching for reasons, silent, silent, vast, vast. Mindless, you can consult with him: what kind of man is this! Therefore, the <i>Laozi</i> said, “In

⁴⁵³ For the Chinese text of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, I basically follow He Ning 何寧, *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2006), 2:834-35. However, following Wang Niansun’s 王念孫 suggestion, He Ning replaces the original phrase “真其實知，不以故自持” with revised one “直實不知，以故自持” but the reason for replacement is not well-grounded. I keep the original here. Liu Wendian 劉文典 also changes the phrase based on Wang’s opinion. See Liu Wendian, *Huinan honglie jijie* 淮南鴻烈集解, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1989), 1:382-383.

			clarifying and brightening all the four quarters, can you do so without knowledge?’’ ⁴⁵⁴
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The Fuyang bamboo slip text is invaluable to *Zhuangzi* textual study because it is the earliest comprehensive text with multiple parallels found throughout the received *Zhuangzi*, no matter how the text was produced, circulated and understood in early Western Han culture. An independent text whose contents could have had sections that survive in the transmitted *Zhuangzi* text did exist around mid-second century BCE. in the Han. In this respect, the value of the Fuyang manuscript indeed surpasses that of the Guodian or Zhangjiashan one.

In addition, the Fuyang parallel text also contains important language used to indicate or describe a speech or event in the allegorical fictional narrative in the current *Zhuangzi* text, and this convincingly shows that, already in the Early Western Han, this mode of argumentation and persuasion through the composition of allegorical narrative, common in the *Zhuangzi* was produced and practiced in elite culture. The Zhangjiashan parallels have already shown this, but the Fuyang text, with even more examples, demonstrates this point.

Despite the extraordinary potential value of Fuyang fragments, these fragments completely lack the context which allows us to read and understand them in relation to other slips. They are meaningful only as we find the rest of the stories that each fragment no longer represents. This practice of filling in the silence works only on the assumption that these parallel texts are somehow associated with the received text of the *Zhuangzi*. What we find from these three bamboo texts is not an early bamboo edition of the *Zhuangzi*, but at most our own projection of what we imagine as an early stage of the tradition, with the imagined teleological goal of compiling the *Zhuangzi*, onto the bamboo fragments.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have approached and viewed the received *Zhuangzi* text as a compilation of Episode Texts for constructing the alternative past from the late Warring States and early Western Han. This can be seen in many examples from the received *Zhuangzi*. For example, Xu Yao was described as the teacher of Yao who had been widely regarded as the beginning point of the optimal rule of the human world according to newly dominant social memory. Lao Dan was also depicted as the teacher of Kongzi who also was envisioned by the gradually dominant groups as a cultural hero that connected the present days to the lost glorious past of Sage-Kings and their Way, through the books he had left. The *Zhuangzi* is associated with cultural efforts to construct another collective story of the past in the late Warring States and Han societies. In this alternative story, the past is no longer represented by symbolic figures like Yao or Kongzi, and the concepts and ideas attributed to them, which were merged into the same discourse of the past by the groups

⁴⁵⁴ I translate this *Huainanzi* passage in accord with the Watson’s translation of the *Zhuangzi* passage. Another translation of this passage is John S. Major, Sarah A. Queen, Andrew Seth Meyer, and Harold D. Roth, trans. and edit., *The Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 444-445.

who compiled and promoted the texts like *Zuozhuan* and *Shangshu*.⁴⁵⁵ That is, what the received *Zhuangzi* represents as a story of the past is a critique of this increasingly significant social story. The *Zhuangzi* reveals a tension, a struggle to compose another story of the same society's past experience.

Excavated manuscripts such as Guodian, Zhangjiashan, and Fuyang convincingly suggest that the sayings and episodes constituting the *Zhuangzi* text were present already in the late Warring States period and became widely shared in the early Western Han. It supports the received *Zhuangzi* as part of a long cultural outcome of accrediting many episodes and sayings that were independently created and circulated to constitute an alternative construction of story of the past. It contradicts the "common knowledge" that the transmitted *Zhuangzi* text reflects, at least partly, the authentic thought of the historical intellectual named Zhuang Zhou, or that at least a part of the text was already created in the Warring States. Rather, it suggests that the text of *Zhuangzi* was formed through multiple editorial processes even into the Western Han, and that it was an extensive collection of the various, diverse Episode Texts selected as the basis of narrativizations of the past, countering another set of stories that were soon to be socially and culturally authorized through the canonizations by the state-power and in the tradition.

However, the excavated manuscripts also show that the *Zhuangzi* is an outcome of processing previous social memories in the culture. It is not a pristine representation of alternative thoughts and memories but a heavily edited one. More specifically, Qiu Xigui identifies the two lines in the "Yucong" 4 of Guodian Manuscripts as the same as the lines from those of "Qu qie" of the *Zhuangzi*,⁴⁵⁶ but, in fact, only the first half of those lines is the same, and the latter half is closer to another parallel in the received "Dao zhi" chapter. Moreover, the lines of "Qu qie" that Qiu views as identical with "Yucong" are also found verbatim in the "Zhuanci" chapter of the received *Deng Xizi*. The presence of the saying with different wording in three different places presumably suggests that several different versions of the saying coexisted and were circulated. The "Yucong 4" case possibly exemplifies one of these early versions. Li Xueqin develops Qiu's

⁴⁵⁵ A striking example in the received *Zhuangzi*, to show that the promoters of this alternative story of the past rejected the concepts, values, ideas supported in the increasingly dominant story of the past in the Han society is found in the following Episode Text whose parallel is unfortunately not attested in the known excavated manuscripts yet.

東郭子問於莊子曰：「所謂道，惡乎在？」莊子曰：「無所不在。」東郭子曰：「期而後可。」莊子曰：「在螻蟻。」曰：「何其下邪？」曰：「在稊稗。」曰：「何其愈下邪？」曰：「在瓦甃。」曰：「何其愈甚邪？」曰：「在屎溺。」東郭子不應。（知北遊）

Dong-guo zi asked Zhuangzi, saying, "Where is what you call the Dao to be found?" Zhuangzi replied, "Everywhere." Dong-guo zi said, "Specify an instance of it. That will be more satisfactory." "It is here in this ant." "Give a lower instance." "It is in this panic grass." "Give me a still lower instance." "It is in this earthenware tile." "Surely that is the lowest instance?" "It is in that excrement." To this, Dong-guo zi gave no reply.

This episode extols the new concept *dao* 道 (Way; Path), that I explained in the Chapter Three as having replaced or supplemented the Western Zhou's signature concept for ultimate supremacy of being and ruling, Heaven, after it began to lose its status in the Eastern Zhou. This concept was often used in relation to Kongzi or Yao to describe their superior status as Sage. The creators and transmitters of this story attempted to appropriate the concept as a common and ordinary one.

⁴⁵⁶ Jingmen shi Bowuguan, *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, 218.

finding and further claims that it is convincing evidence to prove that since the lines of the “Yucong” 4 may be taken as an excerpt from the *Zhuangzi* passage, the *Zhuangzi* text was already established in the Chu during 300 BCE.⁴⁵⁷ However, the lines are not completely the same, and even if they were similar, this is not sufficient evidence to show that they were excerpted from the *Zhuangzi*, nor that the *Zhuangzi* text existed in the late Warring States period. Considering the overall tone and topical message of the whole “Yucong 4” text, the line is more likely to have been understood as a maxim about one’s life and the world from a realistic perspective rather than a typical Zhuangzian parable that denies the values of the virtues of benevolence and righteousness. It also reveals the possibility that the famous fictional story between Robber Zhi and Confucius, seen in both the “Qu qie” and the “Dao Zhi,” would have taken up the well-known saying, circulating in several versions and developing its critical argument about moral hypocrisy during the composition and editing process.

Liao Mingchun argues the bamboo slip manuscript of “Dao Zhi” found at Zhangjiashan shows an early version of the “Dao Zhi” chapter in the received *Zhuangzi* was already established at the latest in the late Warring States period.⁴⁵⁸ However, even if the text title might be the same, we know that this bamboo slip “Dao Zhi” manuscript is different from the received *Zhuangzi* chapter in the sense that the manuscript also contains only one-third of the content in the received “Dao Zhi,” and probably in a much simpler version. Even if Sima Qian mentions the text by title as *Zhuangzi*’s own writing, we should consider that there were possibly gaps between the time the “Dao Zhi” manuscript was buried, ca. 170 BCE, and the time Sima Qian was born, ca. 140 BCE, and began to write the *Shiji*, ca. 100 BCE. Thus, the Zhangjiashan manuscript provides possible evidence of an independently circulating text that features an encounter between Robber Zhi and Confucius only, and that the text later somehow became tied to or affiliated with the collection of other Episode Texts, which we now call *Zhuangzi*.

Hu Pingsheng and his colleagues attempted to match the extremely fragmented bamboo slips, found at Fuyang, with the received *Zhuangzi*, assuming that they represent an early Han version of the *Zhuangzi*. All of fragments consistently coincide with the *Zhuangzi*, with variances in wording. Despite the similarity in wording, however, there is no evidence to show that they were indeed from the *Zhuangzi* text. The compilers failed to consider that each of the contents might have been partly related to multiple other Episode Texts, some of which survive today, such as *Huainanzi* or *Lüshi Chunqiu*, and some of which did not survive. The Fuyang manuscript demonstrates that some sayings or Episode Texts that parallel the received *Zhuangzi* text existed in 165 BCE. It also presents another possibility that those sayings and episodes were not only *Zhuangzi*’s, but rather quite common literary resources that other writers, copyists, compilers, or editors could take advantage of and join to produce new works.

These discussions prompt reflection on the formation of the *Zhuangzi*, showing the possibility that they could have been much more complicated than the typical accounts allow. Widely accepted assumptions that the core of the original text was written by Master Zhuang whose portrait was sketched already by Sima Qian; that Ban Gu listed in the fifty-two chapter version was most likely different from today’s version; and that Guo Xiang re-edited into the current thirty-three chapter edition are each problematic in some aspect. Each parallel text from Guodian, Zhangjiashan, and Fuyang suggests that the sayings and Episodes that we see now in the

⁴⁵⁷ Li Xueqin, “Cong Guodian Yucong Si kan *Zhuangzi* Qu Qie,” 73-74.

⁴⁵⁸ Liao Mingchun, “Zhuojian ben ‘Dao Zhi’ pian guankui,” 90-100.

Zhuangzi may have been in widespread circulation in the societies of Chu and Han from the late fourth to the mid-second century BCE. At least some portion of the *Zhuangzi* might not have been necessarily attributed to the historical person, Master Zhuang, and his students, but were formed gradually through collecting anonymous literary sources that were produced, shared, and circulated in the early cultures.

What does the compilation of the *Zhuangzi* in the Han mean in the end? Despite the strong and steady efforts to establish certain memories as socio-cultural norms in the imperial setting of the Han, there remained powerful intellectual attempts to diverge from the increasingly dominant memories and reconstruct “history” from different threads of social memory of earlier days in the culture. These different threads of memory were also represented in the form of short narratives and widely and intensively shared. They were often explicitly critical about figures or their concepts that were part of the increasingly dominant cultural memories, and they pursued alternative values, concepts, and ideas by employing different figures and a more fictive and imaginative tone and style. This explains the plural nature of collective memory and the socio-cultural tensions that accompanied the appropriation of the past. The received *Zhuangzi* text that was still being made in the Western Han exemplifies the intellectual conflict and struggle for the domination in remembering the past in Early China.

CONCLUSION: Memory, Story, and History in Early China

“Early Chinese History” as a Collectively Manufactured and Continually Rewritten Cultural Memory

In the chapters of this thesis, I have examined how early collective memories and stories of the past found in excavated manuscripts changed into the received ones that constitute the “early history” found in transmitted classics and canons. The change and development of early memories and stories were specifically discussed in the cases of Fuyang “Shuolei zashi” manuscript and its received counterparts in Chapter One. The discussion led to some significant observations about early memories and stories that were circulated and transmitted in “anecdotal” form, and these short writings existed in independent textual units that could then be used to compose longer narratives or create books. I labeled these short writings about past stories “Episode Texts,” defined as an anecdotal narrative and as a basic textual unit. As the “Shuolei zashi” cases show, these “Episode Texts” existed in multiple forms and featured different kinds of content, but in many cases can be shown to have undergone deliberate textual elaboration or transformation such as adding lines or characters or changing the plot or message. This suggests a path by which early memories and stories, which constituted the sources for “history,” were shared and handed down to the next generation by elaborating the forms and content of such Episode Texts, and that later editors and intellectuals utilized them to create a systematic discourse about the past, selecting and editing them based on their own socio-political and cultural priorities to form books and create discourses about the past by adopting and appropriating them.

Through a detailed examination and comparison of Episode Texts and their received counterparts, I described how the past was reconstructed by collective memories and stories. The formation of these memories and stories was less concerned with what actually happened than with how it was remembered and narrated in the society. This also suggests that the past is by no means perceived, remembered, recorded, and handed down in a single, definite way, but there are indeed different, diverse ways of seeing, constructing, and narrating the past in different socio-political and cultural contexts. The substance of the comparisons in Chapter Three was Western and early Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions and middle and late Warring States period bamboo slip manuscripts. The way Western Zhou people conceived of their past and their ancestors was not uniform but developed over time, and when the developing narratives of the past lost their political and cultural foundation after the breakdown of the Western Zhou political system, different ways of perceiving, constructing, and narrating what happened emerged in the regional states. These states had synchronized their past to that of the Zhou when they were under Zhou cultural hegemony, but afterwards individual states sought new ways of constructing their past independent of Zhou. Episode Texts furnished records and stories of memorable moments and paragons of the past that could serve as building blocks for a new fuller narrative of the past.

As a specific example of the making a more complete memory and story out of multiple individual units, I examine the case of a Cili bamboo slip manuscript and the received “Wuyu”

section of the *Guoyu* in Chapter Two. The possibility of dividing a long narrative from the received “Wuyu” text into multiple smaller segments of story and the significant differences in the narrative sequence that the permutation of the possible individual story segments may result in suggest that a complete story about the past in the transmitted “Wuyu” text is an outcome of the merging and sequencing of multiple independently circulating smaller units of memory and story of the past in a specific manner. This suggests that what we now call “early history” is a compositional product of multiple adaptations and the editing of numerous small early memories and stories, connecting and ordering them into a fuller narrative of the past that is coherent and consistent to create a plot that reinforces certain values in the culture.

Early independent memories and stories were adopted and edited into a larger, fuller, more complete narrative of the past, I did close readings and analyzed several excavated and purchased Episode Texts and their counterparts in the two seminal book-texts of the past canonized in the tradition, *Zuozhuan* and *Shangshu*, in Chapters Four and Five. These two received texts are particularly important for their status as the canon of “history” in the tradition, and they have functioned as normative for viewing and understanding past events. The comparison between excavated Episode Texts and received counterparts shows that the received texts in these canons of “history” are also a product of the processing of reorganizing each memory to legitimize the editorial perspective about the past. For example, the Qinghua “Xinian” manuscript and the Mawangdui “Chunqiu Shiyu” manuscript show how the transmitted *Zuozhuan* colored early memories and stories in a more moralistic manner to create its own complete narrative of the period and the re-edited early memories and stories (e.g., dissecting, merging) as a response to the contemporaneous appropriation of the stories in other texts such as the *Gongyang* or *Guliang* commentaries. Moreover, the Qinghua “Fu Yue zhi ming” manuscript reveals that the received *Shangshu*, which attempted to re-construct the past in the socio-cultural imagination by centering on the newly emerging idea of the transmission of *dao*, was also created from the exclusive selection and editing of multiplying and diversifying earlier Episode Texts. Also, the Qinghua “Zhou Wu Wang you ji” manuscript shows how the received *Shangshu* was reconstructing the past with the agenda and value of self-sacrificial loyalty to the throne and the state, personified by the Duke of Zhou. Thus, a cultural project for a fuller more complete narrative of the past after the fall of the Zhou unfolded in a social atmosphere in which the past was narrated through a scheme of the successive moral rule of Sage-Kings, represented by the notion of *dao*.

As collective memory diversifies and multiplies among various groups in a society, the movement to reframe the past in a linear fashion, which resulted in the compilation of the two book-texts *Zuozhuan* and *Shangshu*, caused different constructions of the memories and stories of the past in the newborn Central State of the early Western Han. There was another group that sought to construct the past in a different manner from the theme of moral Sage-Kings and their moral rule that once provided the people of *Shangshu* or *Zuozhuan* with a basic plot for the construction of past as only limited and contestable. This new challenge sought to recover an earlier moment of the past before moral ruling even began. In this vision, the previous origin personified by the names Yao and Shun was replaced by earlier figures such as the Yellow Emperor or Xu You. The last Sage who was envisioned to have re-discovered and transmitted the early Sage-Kings’ *dao* through the editing of certain books, named Kongzi, was made inferior to

another emerging character presented as his teacher, Laozi. I examined this different way constructing the past through the case of the received *Zhuangzi* and several excavated parallel manuscripts in Chapter Six. The close readings of excavated manuscripts and received parallel texts suggest that the alternative construction of the past was widely influential in early Western Han culture, and the transmitted *Zhuangzi* was a compilation of Episode Texts that supported an alternative cultural movement in the changing society.

From the discussion of this case of early China, what can we learn and speak of what we term as “history” in general? How does this early Chinese case shed a new light on our understanding of the nature of the “history” from a theoretical perspective? I conclude that this early Chinese case demonstrate that what we call history is a fictional narrative of social memory that is collectively manufactured and continually rewritten for construction of identity.

We remember ourselves and the world in time in order to make our existence and experience consistent and coherent, and by doing so render it more understandable, explainable, and communicable. We live our own story envisioned in time to know, understand, and explain who we are, where we came from, what we do and why. More generally, a society remembers the past and makes its own story in order to know, understand, and explain, in a consistent and coherent manner, the same fundamental questions: who they are, where they come from, what they are doing, and why. A society’s own memory is a collective memory constructed through the shared transmission of multiple individuals within the community. A society’s own story of the past is what I define as “history.” History is concerned with what people remember, not necessarily what actually occurred. It is what survives in the collective memory after the elements of memory are processed and then rendered as a social drama. Thus, the “past” is not the past itself, but only the past as retold as a collective story always in and for the present. What is called history is merely a story based on the selected, edited, and organized social memory of what the society has experienced in time. History causally sequenced, aesthetically organized, and signified in accord with preexisting values is thus a fiction that the society co-writes.

I have examined several important excavated or purchased bamboo manuscripts in comparison with received classics of “history” such as *Zuozhuan* and *Shangshu*, that have shaped and framed, as the legitimate authority in the East Asian cultural tradition, later peoples’ ideas and conceptions of the past. The canonized literary representation of early times that became “official” and “authentic” history (*zhengshi* 正史) in later traditions developed out of numerous individually-circulated anonymous short written texts of narrative about past events, texts that I have called Episode Texts. This process allowed me to trace how the concept and practice of “history” was neither neutral nor, strictly speaking, descriptive, but rather prescriptive and normative as it was produced and shared in the formative period of the early states of the East Asian continent.

In this thesis, history proper was represented by the two canonical texts *Zuozhuan* and *Shangshu*. By comparing parallels between Episode Texts and these two classics, I have shown that the Episode Texts were in many cases considerably re-written as part of the process of forming memory in the Classical texts. These revisions signal a social context working to change the ways of remembering the past. For example, many narratives in the *Zuozhuan* were formed by the re-making of free-floating written memories of the Spring and Autumn period into much longer, more

detailed, and more moralistic accounts. Some Episodes of *Shangshu*, now called chapters or *pian* 篇, were also composed through the heavy editing and rewriting of pre-existing Episode Texts that focused on mythical and historical figures and events. These events were increasingly signified as positive or negative models in Western Han culture. Such cases demonstrate how the truth and authenticity of the representation of the past in the state-approved and tradition-authorized classics of history were by no means truthful and authentic in themselves but only forged and constructed from the editing and rewriting of numerous, anonymous earlier written social memories of the past on various levels of society and culture.

These mechanisms underscore the way in which history is a collective fiction of the past constructed through by people's imagination of the causal relations of temporality, sequencing of events, and editing of memories. However, the collective experience of and storytelling about the past appears different from individual to individual, because each has a different understanding of the agreed upon narratives. To prevent individuals from challenging the socially agreed upon memory, society requires its members to regularly practice, perform, and thereby recognize and internalize the memory as their own. These practices occur in institutions such as schools, churches, or in collective events such as commemorative rituals and ceremonies, as we have seen in the cases of Western Zhou social memory in bronze inscriptions. For example, the Western Zhou memory and story of the past often featured the defeat of the wicked Shang by King Wen and Wu as an origin story, which was interpreted as a moral mandate from *tian* for Zhou to become the sole Central State in the world. Through voluntary acceptance and embodiment of the collective memory and its stories as their own, the Western Zhou acquired its communal identity as the brand-new, sole political Center State ruled by a morally legitimate royal lineage whose continuation was mandated and guaranteed by *tian*. This was intended to unify and homogenize a consciousness about the past, and thereby to monopolize explanations about their identity and time, who they are, where they were from, and thus what they should do now.

Although the history is associated with legitimating power relations in the current social structure, there always is different memory that persists in the society. This is more prominent when there is no dominant memory and story, as was the situation after the breakdown of Western Zhou's political and cultural hegemony. The *Zhuangzi* text represents a cultural attempt to construct another time-frame of the past, the present, and the future, through the imaginative, reflective writing of another strand of Episode Text, providing another possible historical basis for legitimate authority. In this case, the collective memory contains a stronger tension to diversify, pursuing a different basis of power and authority through the reconstruction of the past. In the cases of written memories of societies in the post-Western Zhou era, the ways in which one society remembers and conceptualizes the past change when that society's politico-economic base changes, this then alters the cognitive and conceptual frame of the dominant collective memory of the past. The moment of change and re-establishment of the concept of and discourse on the past demonstrates how what is called history is only mediated through human memory, which is conditioned by a temporary frame and structure of knowing based upon what is given in the culture at the time.

The fragmentary writings I termed as Episode Texts were collected, revised, edited, and organized into a volume of book text that had undergone formation processes in an agenda to construct a more coherent and consistent vision of the past in a new politico-social setting where the new concepts and ideas about the past were necessary to shape their own identity. This constructed the new state as the Center of the cosmos, teleologically authorizing it as the legitimate successor of all the politico-cultural authorities that had been imagined and placed them on a line whose endpoint was the new Central State. This was the birth of a new fictional narrative of what we call now “China.”

My research presented in this thesis calls into question the current positivist model of research extensively practiced in the fields of Chinese archaeology, history, textual criticism, art history and intellectual history. In the positivist model, scholars tend to take the linear temporal frame of Xia-Shang-Zhou-Qin-Han systematized in the *Shiji* as the only legitimate sequence of Early China,⁴⁵⁹ and utilize excavated or purchased manuscripts or relics as proof to substantialize and reinforce the frame as the irrefutable truth. Moreover, in this model, heroic figures such as Kongzi, Zhuangzi, Yellow Emperor, are the main characters of early Chinese “history.” Their existence is taken for granted in tandem with the received texts attributed to the figures. In this, all the unnamed people who enabled, re-discovered, created, shared, and transmitted the social memories of past figures and their events ‘behind’ extant written texts, and those who created the linear temporal frame starting from Five Emperor or Xia in their own social and cultural contexts are simply forgotten as if they had not even existed. Here what they see is only puppets in the play, but not the ones who made and controlled the puppets behind the scene.⁴⁶⁰

The ways in which early people in East Asian continent conceived of, remembered, and narrated the past were neither always definitive nor fixed, but changed over time. The social ‘imagination’ of the past as a linear succession from Five Emperors to Han that has been the

⁴⁵⁹ One of the good examples to show the scholarly practice in this model was the so-called “Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project” (*Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng* 夏商周斷代工程), commissioned by Chinese government in 1996 to determine the exact location and time frame of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou “dynasties” through modern scientific methods and technology. Directed by Li Xueqin 李學勤 of Qinghua University, more than 200 Chinese scholars in the fields of archaeology, history, and art history joined this project. For the conclusions of this project team on the chronology, see *Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng zhuanjia zu* 夏商周斷代工程專家組, *Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng 1996-2000 nian jieduan chengguo baogao: jianben* 夏商周斷代工程 1996-2000 年階段成果報告: 簡本, (Beijing: Shijie tushu chubanshe, 2000). After the publication of this final report, the methods and conclusions of the project have been intensely questioned, challenged, and debated not only in European and North American academia but also in mainland China and Taiwan. However, despite the specific critiques on and challenges to the project, the frame that comprises a linear continuity of time and numerous names of heroic figures has not been fundamentally questioned. The critiques and challenges, for most parts, share the assumptions and perspective of traditional positivist model. It reveals that literary criticism and Critical Theory have yet played little role in the task of overcoming the positivist model of “history” in the contemporary Sinology.

⁴⁶⁰ This reminds us of Benjamin’s allegorical description of the relationship between historical materialism and theology in his last essay, known as “On the Concept of History.” In this, Benjamin argues that historical materialism as science eventually lies and works in a theological realm of hope for messianic liberation. See Walter Benjamin, “On the Concept of History,” in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 4: 1938-1940*, translated by Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings, (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2006).

dominant frame of Early China in the tradition and is now even attempted to be substantiated and proven true with archaeological finds, was only one of multiple collective imaginations in the socio-cultural sphere of early East Asian continent. It was possible in the socio-political contexts starting from mid-Warring States to early Western Han, in the cultural aspiration for the linear *dao*-transmission from Huangdi to the Emperors of Han. This reminds us of the critical insight of modern Critical Theory's reflection upon the nature of what we call "history" as a fictionally emplotted narrative.⁴⁶¹ From this perspective, we are re-oriented to another hidden social structure and anonymous players that enabled all the frames and names, produced and transmitted all the memories and stories, that is deeper, larger, longer, more fundamental, and more complex, but untold and unseen in the written text. It is in this that a possibility for another study of Early China opens up and arises.

⁴⁶¹ As I discussed in Introduction, the best example of this critical insight is found in Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, (Baltimore, MD and London, UK: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 1-25.

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