The Rise of a Manuscript Culture and the Textualization of Discourse in Early China

DPhil thesis

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To two great teachers, who left this shoddy well for the vast ocean,

this study is greatly indebted and humbly dedicated

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Abstract

The Rise of a Manuscript Culture and the Textualization of Discourse in Early China

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This thesis analyses a change in the ways people composed and engaged with texts during the Warring States (481-221 BCE) period in Early China. It examines changes in the textual sphere as a result of an emergent manuscript culture, that is to say, the increased spread and reliance on manuscript texts for the communication of ideas. This shift moved away from the predominantly oral, commemorative, and ritual use of text in earlier periods, and provided key elements that would function in the text based discourse of the early empires. It influenced the way text across a variety of genres of writing was used and understood, structured and composed, and how it was collected and combined to form new arguments.

I focus on texts from the *Documents* 書, and *Odes* 詩 genres, in addition to philosophical texts dealing with the past, and collections of sayings and arguments dealing with questions from cosmological to ethical issues. These materials form the mainstay of Warring States intellectual discourse, and exemplify the following textual developments: 1) the rise of collecting materials into compilations; 2) the emergence of genre classification; 3) the development of new authorship functions, 3) an increase in textual structuring and the integration of lore about the past, 4) the development of commentarial traditions, 5) the emergence of an explicit, self-reflexive understanding of writing and transmission, 6) advances in material structuring of manuscript-texts that interrelate form and content.

The analysis is based primarily on excavated materials not edited during the early empires, and engages with comparative and interdisciplinary theory. It argues against models solely based on transmitted sources, which explained Warring States developments as a response to socio-political contexts. Instead, it posits developments in the textual culture itself as a necessary condition to explain the changes in intellectual discourse of the period.

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Ai, my wife, you are a beautiful human being and my balance. My love and support. If I have one regret in this project, it is taking less time away from it with you.

Rens

Taipei, 25/04/16

昔前人傳寶，必授之以誦。今朕疾允病，恐弗唸終，汝以書受之。欽哉！勿淫！

In times of yore, when the early kings passed on Treasured [Instructions], these were to be received through recitation. However, because Our condition is truly severe, We fear that we will not be able to intone it to the end. You will receive it in writing instead. Revere it! Do not defile it!

*"Baoxun" 寶訓, s.3-4.

Introduction

The Problem of Text: Manuscript Culture and the Textualization of Discourse

This thesis is about the effects of the rise of a manuscript culture in Warring States China. Its argument is that during this period, the use, form, and perception of text fundamentally changed in light of an unprecedented increase in reliance on bamboo manuscripts to communicate text and ideas. This increase is reflected in the archaeological record, and in the content and physical structure of manuscript-texts of the time. This thesis traces textual developments on the basis of recently unearthed manuscripts, in addition to received texts from the period. It focuses on four types of materials that became common during the period, including materials from the Documents or *Shu* 書 genre, historiographical and master's writings, songs and verse, and finally, philosophical aphorisms and sayings. Each of these types are analyzed to highlight a set of developments common in early manuscript cultures;[1] spanning from reflections on the use of written communication;[2] the rise of authorship and

[1] The term manuscript culture was popularized by McLuhan 1962, who used it to distinguish a phase in media development prior to print culture. Currently the term is ofted used in a configuration of new approaches to pre-print materials including the new philology (Nichols 1990), scribal culture (Van der Toorn 2007), and textual anthropology (Hilgert 2010), for instance, to denote a sensitivity to difference in issues of authorship, importance of paratextual and other material features of the manuscript, the problem of critical editions, issues of intertextuality etc. For its use in early China studies see especially Meyer 2012, Richter 2013 and Nylan 2011, Galambos 2006. For early medieval China see Nugent 2011, Tian 2013, Zhang Yongquan 2013.

[2] Compare Nichols 2014: 10-13 who writes about scribal self-referentiality in medieval French manuscripts, see also Carr 2005: 73-75 and *passim*, for ancient Egyptian and Biblical examples.

genre attribution;[3] increases in intertextuality, and in the complexity and structuring of accounts on the past;[4] the formation of collections and compilations;[5] and finally, the use of material features of manuscripts and other innovations in textual formation and presentation.[6] Taken together, they represent a cluster of phenomena that tend to occur in emerging manuscript cultures and manifest a trend towards the textualization of discourse.

Assumptions and approach

In order to limit the scope of the present study, my analysis assumes a body of scholarship on the text culture before and after the Warring States. My main interest here is to examine how and why things changed in between. This body of scholarship, just as my own, relies to a great extent on the (sometimes, limited) availability of archaeologicaly excavated evidence. Where such evidence is incomplete, I base the questions foregrounding my hypotheses for these periods on previous scholarship on early China, advances made in the study of comparable and better documented manuscript cultures across the world, a body of theory on orality and literacy, and the role of manuscript materiality in habits of dealing with text. The use of this theory, I believe, resides in its ability to generate new questions to ask the material, and, in absence of evidence to the contrary, to assume a number of stable referents to start charting out a possible set of historical trends. Nevertheless, my approach in this study is first and foremost premised on the excavated (and transmitted) material itself.

[3] Compare Van der Toorn 2007: 27-50 who traces the transformations in authorship functions in the ancient world. See Nylan 2011 and Kern 2007 for authorship in the Han and Zhou respectively. On genre in ancient Egypt, see Loprieno ed. 1996: xi ff.
[4] Compare in particular Assmann's 2011 (1992) influential study on the relation between writing and cultural memory, and how intertext and debate across time are interrelated. See also Nichols 2014: 18, and Zumthor 1992 on medieval intertext as a function of manuscript cultures.
[5] See Nichols 2014, Bausi 2010, Nugent 2011, and especially Griffiths 1999 on ancient through early modern compilations and their role in organizing text and memory across the globe.
[6] Compare here especially medieval examples such as those noted by Carruthers 2008 for Europe, and Nugent 2011 on Dunhuang.

Likewise, while I believe that the absence of evidence is surely not the evidence of absence, the concurrent appearance of a number of related, yet previously absent, phenomena and trends, suggests that changes indeed occurred in the Warring States use of, and reliance on, written text. This logic becomes clearer from a short summary of the argument of the thesis as a whole.

In texts from the Warring States, whether excavated or transmitted, descriptions and reflections on the activities of reading, writing, and transmitting knowledge start to occur on an unprecedented scale. The written word for the first time becomes a trope that is used across a variety of texts to explain issues of access, veracity, and transmission of knowledge (chapter 1). I suggest this increase in reflection on these categories reflects an increase in the reliance on manuscript texts in a range of discourses.

At the same time, the physical formatting of manuscript-texts, e.g. the use of punctuation, chapter division, and the addition of meta-text, starts to change significantly in this period (chapter 4). Where most Han manuscripts come with a full-blown apparatus to physically structure and divide a text on bamboo, their Warring States counterparts contain either no such mark up, or present a number isolated instances of experimentation with several such elements. This suggests that the medium itself was being experimented with and developing at an increased pace from this point onward, one of the reasons I believe to be a gradual maturing of the manuscript culture as a result of an increased reliance on manuscripts in the period. Singular instances of relatively advanced physical text structuring, or reflections on the status of writing in earlier periods do not disprove such observations, the important question is when such features become common enough to merit an shift in the text *culture* as a whole.

In chapters 2 and 3, I deal with the structure of text in the period and suggest that the influence of the manuscript was not only felt in the physical appearance of the objects, or comments on their use, but also influenced the way text was communicated and structured. Assuming that previous scholarship is correct in asserting that myth and historiographical narratives (chapter 2), and song and verse (chapter 3), *predominately*, but not exclusively, operated in an oral culture stressing performance and memory, then, what does an increase in reliance on writing change in the writing of these types of text? Here, I argue that one of the common consequences of collecting and disseminating these materials in writing is an increase in the complexity of the structure and meta-text surrounding these materials. In absence of sources to the contrary, it is clear that Warring States historiography increased in complexity, level of structuring, and critical evaluation of its source materials. Likewise, verse is increasingly structured along genres, imbued with notions of authorship, and, commented for the meaning (metaphorical and literal) of its wording. For each of these developments, I suggest a number of trends that I link to developments in the text culture of the time. While some of these developments might have well occurred in an oral culture, and to be sure, my understanding of the influence of the written word in these areas is not one of unilateral change or categorical difference, I do believe that the written word, and the increases in intra-regional communication facilitated by it enabled such developments to manifest easier, quicker, more complex, and on a much larger scale.

Concretely, the arguments in the four chapters of this study point to a set of overarching trends. Text produced in and for particular usage contexts such as ritual performance, teaching settings, and lineage commemoration, was gradually dislodged from these – often oral and performative – contexts and turned into abstracted, textually structured, *written* entities that could be used in a variety of contexts serving a variety of functions. Songs used in liturgical settings were gradually reconceived as poems that could be

commented upon; remembered lore and anecdotes were woven together into historical narratives; and previously traveling sayings where gathered together in argumentative and topical clusters. Rather than seeing these developments as a simple shift from the oral to the written, this thesis argues for a more nuanced understanding.[7] During the Warring States period, the written word became increasingly important in a range of discourses. The total volume of text increased markedly as well. As a result, the flows of information increased, and with it, the ability to cross-reference the written with the written, the written with the oral, and both against memory. 'Oral text' such as sayings and songs were written down and 'written text' was rewritten and integrated in new compositions.

This was often not mere transcription or copying, things changed in the process of transferring text onto bamboo. As such, I refer to the process with an ugly gerund: textualization. Textualization as a term tries to bring together a number of aspects that come into play when a text is transposed from one medium to another, brought together on the same carrier, or reframed in a new context. These aspects include, but are not limited to, the addition of visual cues such as the use of a particular type of script, punctuation, and layout: in short the physical characteristics of the manuscript. Context is lost as well, a ritual text might have made sense in performance, but loses most extra-textual qualities such as tone, rhythm, gesture, and smell, to name but a few. In written composition, effort is often made to re-contextualize such aspects through the use of frame narratives for instance. These trigger memory and the imagination to provide a context in which the text is to be understood.

Moreover, a common consequence of bringing together materials in a compilation, or new composition, is the addition of titles and framing narratives to classify and explain why text is placed side by side with other materials, or the updating of text according to

[7] My understanding is informed by theorists of orality and literacy such as Finnegan 1988, Thomas 1992, Ong 1982, Rubin 1995, Olson 1994, and Goody 2000, among others.

contemporaneous conventions. These elements have a profound impact on the reception of the material, and through it, its transmission towards future contexts. As such, in the same way that every performance is slightly different, the act of textualizing is never a straightforward exercise of repetition. Even if all the material was previously extant, the selection, structuring, and framing of the material as a result of textualizing them onto a bamboo manuscript turned it into an entirely new text, that could serve new purposes, and opened up new ways of understanding.

Writing, however, never fully displaced the oral. Rather, it influenced and added to the means of communication by providing, for instance, increased textual stability, different means of grouping and structuring content, and allowing for different modes of presentation. Indeed, it often formed the basis for further oral forms of discourse, but not without first having left traces of its influence. To a large extent, many of the developments described in this study are not so much about writing *per se*, but rather about the collection, juxtaposition, structuring, and framing of text that is *fixed together* on a *single* manuscript. The manuscript, in this sense, forms the basis of a new context through which the material is understood.

This study therefore does not take written text as a preferred, or for that matter, better form of communication. It explores the different dynamic in the use of text as a result of changes in the media of communication. Advanced cultures have flourished in (relative) absence of writing for millennia. As such, at the background of every case study in this thesis lie three simple and related questions that probe the functionality of the manuscript-text: why write a text down in the first place, what changes in the process, and what functions and uses does writing enable that make it an attractive alternative?

To give but one example, the classics such as the *Documents* have been used in their written form as a basis for (oral) education from at least the Han onwards. Yet the way a

reader or listener interacts with, say, a teacher's introduction to the "Great Announcement" 大誥 as a text belonging to a genre of announcements, contained in a commentated collection of texts, each of which representative of a foundational event in history, is fundamentally different from the full sensory experience of receiving a passionately articulated speech occasioned by the king's death and the ensuing rebellion. Here, understanding the text as a *written* text as part of an emerging *genre* of writing, imbues it with notions of authorship, collection affiliation, and a range of historical and moral commentary. As such, while this study is manuscript-text centered, any serious query into the textual structure, materiality, and context of the materials has significant implications for understanding their uses, perceptions, and social functions. Hilgert has dubbed such an approach a textual anthropology.[8] Because of this close relation between text and social context, a reevaluation of the formation, movement, and usage of manuscript-texts necessitates a reevaluation of the way we conceive of the intellectual history of the period. This study makes some small steps in that direction.

The Field and the Paradigm

The use of brush written graphs and bundles of bamboo slips to represent text was far from new. Epigraphic evidence from the Anyang period (1250 – 1000 BCE) points to their use from the beginnings of Chinese history.[9] Likewise, texts cast in the bronzes of the Zhou dynasty were arguably based on compositions first drawn up on bamboo.[10] The user base of these manuscript-texts was however limited to the court. While it makes sense to assume that bamboo manuscripts were used in other areas of writing as well, the current evidence suggests that their function largely resided in providing a basis for compositions on other

[8] Hilgert 2010.
[9] Bagley 2004: 218.
[10] Von Falkenhausen 1993a.

media.[11] The fundamental change that occurred during the Warring States period is one of scale and movement, and as a result, the impact of the medium on discourse at large. The volume of written text, as evinced by the numbers of unearthed manuscripts and received texts alike, drastically increased in this period while at the same time the ritual prerogative for using bronze—and with it the volume of inscribed bronzes—declined.[12]

Crucially, the Warring States period witnessed an expansion in the user base of the manuscripts.[13] The medium moved out of the confines of the central and local courts, and as they did, were increasingly used by persuaders, thinkers, and teachers – often grouped together as the *Shi* 士 class.[14] These groups put the written word to a range of different uses and as such it entered previously untouched areas of discourse. Crucial here is the movability of the bamboo manuscript. Bamboo is light, relatively cheap, and thus easily replaced. Bound by string, the manuscript was likewise easily expanded or altered.[15] Even though bamboo was bulkier than its silk, and later, paper, counterparts, it was far more suited for travel than bronze, bone, and stone. These easily transported manuscripts enabled a rapid spread of ideas and narratives over large areas, thus allowing for the emergence of a shared debate.[16]

Moreover, the physical characteristics and textual form seen in these manuscripts reveal gradual changes over time in the way they structure and physically present arguments, and organize knowledge and genres, which allowed for new modes of interaction with the texts they carried. For one, there is a vast increase in the size of text that could be carried on bamboo. Qin dynasty manuscripts of over 700 slips have been found.[17] For the Warring

[11] Von Falkenhausen 1993a; but see the discussion by Smith 2011.
[12] For an early overview see Giele 1998-99. See also the discussion in chapter 1. See Von Falkenhausen 2006 on the ritual use and function of bronze.
[13] See Meyer 2014b.
[14] See Lewis 1999, Hsu 1965.
[15] For an early overview of Chinese writing media see Tsien 2013.
[16] As argued by Meyer 2012, 2014b, drawing in part on Farmer et al. 2002a,b.
[17] An as of yet unpublished *Book of Days* 日書 held by Beida.

States period, wieldy manuscripts have been found encompassing well over a 100 slips long.[18] This vast increase in space to write enabled very different possibilities to write and collect text. Much longer and intricate compilations of historiographical materials, verse, sayings, or divinatory materials could now be textualized on a lightweight medium.

With the emergence of the mobile *Shi* class, the medium and its new possibilities found a ready group of wielders that experimented with it and could transport it through the realm.[19] In the process, the use and structure of the texts changed. In broad terms, these changes reveal a move away from the predominantly oral, commemorative, and ritual use of text in the Western Zhou and Springs and Autumns periods,[20] towards the written, structured, and fixed use of text that we begin to see in the Qin and Han periods.[21]

Where previously, writing served predominantly ritual and administrative functions, now, songs and sayings, historical memory and old wisdom, were increasingly written down and used as aides de memoire for rhetorical and philosophical composition, persuasion and teaching. This not only changed the way in which the texts were presented, but also the structure and content of the material itself. For as I show in the chapters below, bringing together previously circulating material, or integrating them with new compositions, opens up a space to frame the materials along a new interpretive context.

Historiographical anecdotes were integrated along increasingly complex narrative and textual structures to form integrated historical narratives. For collected verse materials, metatextual functions such as genre and authorship were for the first time clearly written into the framing narratives, resulting in the rise of collections based on genre. With the

[18] Sun Peiyang 2010 notes 142 slips for his reconstruction of the Shanghai *Zhouyi* 周易, and the Qinghua *Xinian* 系年 numbers 138 slips in total. Note that these mansucripts in rolled form measure roughly 6 to 7 cms in width only, are light and easily transported and read.
[19] On travelling persuaders see Schaberg 2005.
[20] As argued by von Falkenhausen 1993, Kern 2009
[21] Nylan 2011, 2001.

juxtaposition of sayings, common lines, and lists of arguments, new argumentative potential was unlocked. In each case, the body of text reached a critical mass wherein a space opened up for intregrative strategies that transcended the individual materials with which one could group and order them along categories and structures that were more than the sums of their parts.

While the start and end points of these changes in the form and use of written text are increasingly recognized, there is a big gap in our understanding of the changes themselves and the processes that caused them. This is important for two reasons:

First, previous explanations of the period's explosion in intellectual and literary activity *as preserved in writing* have largely neglected the influence of the media of communication itself. Instead, the main approach for understanding the content of Warring States texts has been to view them through the lens of the social-political context of the time, disregarding that people started to deal with text and the knowledge it carried in fundamentally different ways. Previously, intellectual developments and debate for instance, have been glossed as responses to the breaking down of the Zhou ritual order,[22] the increased social mobility of the *Shi* 士 class,[23] or the gradual development towards an empire.[24] These developments, while important, are not sufficient to explain concrete changes within the debate. In order to explain the gradual increase in length, complexity, and intertextuality of compositions, and as a result, of the debate itself, textual developments need to be taken into account. For the teaching practices, persuasion scenes, and philosophical arguments that are seen as exemplifying these developments are all fundamentally influenced by the role and use of manuscripts.

[22] Graham 1989.
[23] Hsu 1965.
[24] Pines 2009.

This study follows earlier work in holding that it is the phenomenon of the manuscript-text that enabled the spread and exchange of ideas that fueled the debates of the period.[25] Here, I discuss the impact of these developments on the character of the debate and the structure of the texts employed in the Warring States, be they historical narratives, references to the *shi* 詩, or wise sayings attributed to masters and persuaders, and show how they were shaped by these very changes in the use and form of text. Concurrently, I argue that the changes in genre perception, commentarial frameworks, knowledge organization, and structuring of the past predicated on the new use of text altered the terms and arguments of the debate. That Mencius had an idealized past to contrast to the lamentable present was as much, if not more so, a consequence of its construction in written text as it was of the disorder of the times. Accordingly, this project shifts the focus from attitudes and philosophical programs to media and textual form. Since our understanding of the thought of the Warring States period relies predominantly on our understanding of its texts, the changes in their composition, use, and perception have to be clarified before we can begin to understand their impact and the attitudes they reveal.

Second, previous scholarship has primarily based itself on transmitted texts that have been edited, commented, or even collated together during the early empires. A historically accurate understanding of Warring States textuality therefore needs to proceed firstly from excavated and retrieved manuscripts that were not edited or constructed at a later stage. Instead of the books formed during the Han, the main form of texts during the Warring States was a single essay, not conceived of as belonging to a greater textual unit or a specific author but drawing from a shared pool of materials.[26] While this has been recognized early on,[27] the categories and text formations drawn up during the early empires are still the standard against

[25] Meyer 2012.
[26] See Li Ling 2004: 204, n.3; Boltz 2005: 63; Fischer 2009: 2, and Krijgsman 2014.
[27] Yu Jiaxi 2013 (1985).

which the readings, affiliations, and means of interpretation of Warring States texts are checked.[28] That the Han thought in fixed genres, authors, and integrated historical narratives, does not mean these were already firmly in place in the Warring States or before. My argument is that these were only gradually emerging in this period.[29] To all intents and purposes, the Warring States presents a much more varied, and less standardized textual landscape. But it is from this 'wild' landscape that the forms in which text was later understood emerged.

For example, Warring States' understandings of the past are still often read with the total framework of Sima Qian's *Shiji* in the back of one's mind. With it, we conveniently ignore that his history is as much a construction of the empire as it is predicated on Warring States developments in constructing and reconstructing the narratives and myths of the past. To understand Warring States mythology and constructions of the past through the lens of the *Shiji* is putting the cart in front of the horse. Likewise, we have to examine the ways in which text was understood in the Warring States itself, instead of relying on Han dynasty notions of genre, authorship, and school affiliation, that were often predicated on bibliographical and historiographical attempts to make sense of disparate and fragmented textual data and memory left after the burning of the Qin library.[30]

To Han librarians, Warring States texts were clear unities with subscribed lengths and roll formats. They belonged to a specific genre of writing which informed its date of composition, and supposed degree of access to the ideal of the past. And finally, they had a named author who could be easily placed in a school of thought or profession. To retroject

[28] For a methodological critique of this approach see Richter 2013.
[29] Where Kern 2015: 80 for example has argued that 'the discovery of genres and authors' only occurred in the Han, I would place this development during the mid-late Warring States (see ch. 3). The Han was different in that they took a selection of such categories, and standardized and institutionalized them.
[30] For these points see Kern 2000b, Nylan 2011. On the developments in text culture in the early empires see also Kern 2001, Nylan 2005.

these notions upon the textual landscape of the Warring States is, if not a fallacy, at least a serious misrepresentation of the evidence, as arguments against the pre-Han existence of certain schools of thought and even complete books increasingly show.[31] However, this does not mean that such categories were completely inexistent. Rather, as will become clearer in the chapters below, the textual landscape of the Warring States was much more complex than the neat divisions of the librarians allowed, and during the period many of the categories and means of understanding text that they relied on were now for the first time slowly emerging or in flux.

Authorship was only now emerging as a category worthy of reflection, but was often not inscribed in the texts themselves. Notions of school affiliation are completely absent in the materials and instead of masters debating masters we find anonymous texts that tap into a shared cultural memory to formulate arguments whose target or opponent can only be inferred by relying on the categories developed in the Han, making it a circular exercise in interpretation. Likewise, the explicit distinction of genres was only beginning to develop, and many texts were likely understood along different lines and some show clear cross-overs between genres. Nonetheless, collecting text by genre is for the first time visible in the textual landscape of the Warring States, and as I show below, this too is a development intimately related to the reliance on bamboo manuscripts.

The physical format of the texts themselves were not standardized, and instead of large 'book-like' compositions in so many scrolls, they often circulated as single essays, or mid-length compilations. The 'book-like' items in the Han library catalogue were often the product of the editing and compiling practices of the librarians themselves, and did not necessary circulate in these forms in the Warring States. However, as I show below, many of

[31] See Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan. 2003, Sivin 1978, Petersen 1995, Hunter 2012, Weingarten 2009, Klein 2010.

the characteristics that would eventually inform Han practice were indeed emerging during the Warring States, as a result of finding new means to present text on bamboo.[32]

Therefore, to circumvent the pitfalls of anachronicity and the retrojecting of strandards, I base myself on manuscript-texts entombed during the Warring States, and take recourse to transmitted sources as a secondary source of evidence only. The unearthed materials are accurately datable to the period, and their material characteristics provide an accurate understanding of textual identity, length, and compositional features. Some of the questions I pose to the material draw on comparative and interdisciplinary discussions on manuscript cultures, issues of orality and literacy, and literary developments across the ancient and medieval world. Where possible, however, I have tried to draw on contemporary, text-internal, theorization on the use of text and close readings of the materials – and the texts, themselves.

Sources and caveats

Using Warring States manuscripts, while avoiding Han and later imperial constructions, comes with a set of problems of its own. To prepare a manuscript for reading in modern orthography, scholars rely on methods from paleography, phonology, and codicology to create a text. Just as the Han librarians, modern scholars come with a set of assumptions about standards of transcription, what constitutes a valid reading of a graph, and how texts relate to the manuscript for instance. Improvements in publishing standards, an emerging

[32] Whether or not the items referred to in the Han library catalogue should be understood as books or not is a question of definition requiring more evidence. If excavated manuscripts from the early Han are anything to go by, the average manuscript had a vastly increased apparatus (as opposed to the lion's share of Warring States manuscripts) of physical layouting, use of punctuation to structure its contents, and a more developed system of titles and sub-headings to identify and discriminate individual texts and sections, see Krijgsman *in preparation*. As such, I tentatively treat them here as 'book-like' items.

methodological discussion, and most importantly access to (images of) the manuscripts themselves, however, opens these assumptions to critical appraisal and necessary revision.[33]

The question to what degree manuscript finds are representative of larger trends is significant. The majority of Warring States finds comes from tombs in the ancient Chu 楚 region, an area roughly spanning modern Hubei and Hunan provinces. This area features favorable preservation conditions in that high water levels in the soil water-locks organic materials, preventing decay through oxidation. The question is therefore to what extent the materials can represent the Warring States period at large, and not just the Chu region. The presence of 'northern' script influences in the materials,[34] seems to indicate that some of the material was copied from northern base manuscripts and that the tombs in Warring States Chu just happened to preserve the materials whereas others did not.[35]

Another explanation is that placing texts in tombs was an aspect of Chu mortuary culture, which slowly spread across early China during the early empires.[36] Some of the manuscripts, such as tomb inventories and underworld narratives, were specifically produced for the grave, and others show signs of deliberately destruction in the form of shaving of characters and breaking slips, effectively rendering them into burial artifacts.[37] While this aspect needs to be taken into account when using manuscripts as source material, the lion's share of the material does not appear to have been specifically prepared for the grave and can be considered to have had a lifetime before entombment. Moreover, examples such as the

[33] For methodological considerations see Galambos 2006, Richter 2013, and Qiu Xigui 2000.
[34] For script analyses and categorizations see Zhou Bo 2012, Li Songru 2005, and Venture 2009.
[35] Note also the massive increase in modern development in the region, resulting in a disproportionate amount of sites and finds in the region compared to the rest of China. See Von Falkenhausen 2003 who also discussed the championing of local identity in Chinese archaeology, also partly to blame for this discrepancy in excavations. See also Giele 1998-1999 for a general overview of finds. For the Qin and Han periods, manuscripts have been uncovered from modern Sichuan to the Shandong peninsula. For the widespread use of manuscripts during the Warring States period as seen in received materials see chapter 1 below.
[36] See especially von Falkenhausen 2003, Kalinowski 2003.
[37] For a discussion on the status of manuscripts as burial items see Giele 2003.

*"Kongzi Shilun" discussed in Ch.3 show that often, only short sections of existing manuscripts were manipulated post facto to turn them into burial items, suggesting that the material can still be taken as a source for broader intellectual and cultural developments at the time.

A final caveat regards the use in this study of acquired manuscripts for which the provenance is not clear. The three collections from which this study draws most of its sources each contain a selection of predominantly philosophical and historically oriented manuscripts, in addition to a number of manuscripts on verse. The first is the Guodian collection of manuscripts, which was recovered from a controlled archaeological excavation in Hubei, 1993. The tomb context suggests it is a tomb of a lower ranking official, roughly dating to 300 BCE.[38] In addition, this study draws on materials from the Shanghai and Qinghua collections.[39] The material in these collections stem from tomb robberies and were purchased on the Hong Kong antique market in 1994 and 2008 respectively.[40] As such, many vital clues from the burial context are unknown, such as the status of the tomb owner, the way in which the manuscripts were buried, and the extent to which the manuscripts within the collections are complete or miss certain slips or sections.[41] The collections were dated on the basis of characteristics of the calligraphy, and a callibrated carbon dating of unwritten slips. The Shanghai collection materials were dated to 260 BCE +- 65 years, and the Tsinghua materials to 305 BCE +- 30 years.[42] In the process, paleographers, scientists, and archaeologists from a number of competing institutions have been involved in the process of

[38] Dating of the material was performed through a combination of tomb and object stratification, and comparison to dateable tombs interred in close vicinity to tomb M1, see Jingmenshi Bowuguan 1998. For an overview of the scholarship on these archaeological and textual issues of the manuscripts see Cook 2012.
[39] Ma Chengyuan ed. 2001, Li Xueqin ed. 2010.
[40] See Zhu Yuanqing 2002, Li Xueqin 2009.
[41] For a discussion on the relevance of archaeological context see Giele 2003.
[42] For an introduction to the processes involved in buying, verifying, and ordering the slips see Zhu Yuanqing 2002, and Li Xueqin 2009 repsectively.

authenticating, organizing, and transcribing the materials. The consensus is that the materials are authentic artifacts from the mid to late Warring States period.

Some concerns have been raised on the authenticity of the materials. With famous forgeries such as the Zhejiang manuscripts in mind, some scholars have asserted that some of the manuscripts, and by extension, the whole collections, are forgeries.[43] A closer look at the arguments advanced for this doubt reveals that the main source of concern lies in a) a discrepancy between the received textual tradition and the excavated manuscripts, and b) a lack of understanding of the scribal processes that govern manuscript cultures. For example, texts from the Tsinghua manuscripts that relate narratives about the early Western Zhou are accused of containing Warring States grammatical and lexical phenomena, and as such should not be considered authentic Western Zhou texts. This position quickly fails in light of arguments that consider *texts* such as the *"Jinteng" to be Warring States products in the first place,[44] and note that it is common in manuscript cultures for texts to be slowly updated in the process of copying according to contemporary linguistic and stylistic expectations.[45] Likewise, the occurrence of scribal errors and different scribal hands within the same manuscript, rather than pointing to inept modern forgers,[46] places the manuscripts in a long tradition of scribal practice, where often multiple scribes were responsible for a single manuscript, who themselves, made mistakes as well.[47]

Criteria in the identification of forgeries have been advanced by Hu Pingsheng and Xing Wen.[48] By now, controlled excavated discoveries have confirmed supposedly suspicious graph readings in acquired manuscripts, while at the same time new phenomena

[43] For example Zhu Qixiang 2015. For the *"Baoxun" in particular see Jiang Guanghui 2009 and the rebuttal in Wang Lianlong 2009.
[44] Meyer 2014a.
[45] Galambos 2006, Richter 2013.
[46] See for example the *"Wuwang Jianzuo" manuscript discussed in ch.1
[47] For an early observation see Chen Mengjia 1980.
[48] Hu Pingsheng 2008, Xing Wen 2012.

discovered in acquired manuscripts such as the numbers and lines on the back of bamboo slips found in the Beida and Tsinghua collections have been retraced in earlier excavated collections such as Guodian.[49] In short, the arguments thus far advanced against the materials have been disproven and the manuscripts can be used fairly confidently as source materials.

One final caveat is to be made on using a modest quantity of excavated materials to reinterpret and reconstruct historical developments. The logic of this approach dictates that it is possible for new manuscript finds to alter or even invalidate some of the arguments within this study. While I have taken care to square developments I perceive on bamboo with evidence from the transmitted record, and have taken as large a sample of manuscripts as possible, the arguments advanced here are open to falsification. If anything, I believe that this possibility underscores rather than undercuts the motivations for this project, in the end, to welcome the possibility of error in light of exciting new finds is only scientific.

Outline of the study

Chapter 1: Self-reflexive Praxis: Perceptions of Writing, Orality, and Text

This chapter tests the basic claims of this study. I argue that the shift in the practice of dealing with written and oral text is explicitly reflected on in the texts themselves and not merely a modern act of theoretical abstraction. Compositions emerge marked by a self-reflexive awareness of a shift in composing, transmitting, and receiving texts in oral, memorized, and written forms.

I analyze this shift from a number of perspectives. Based on paleographic and linguistic evidence, the chapter starts with an analysis of the rise of word use related to

[49] See for example Shan Yuchen 2012, for the lines on the back of the slips see Sun Peiyang 2011.

writing and reading. This shift is borne out in texts of the period. Through comparing the differences in narrative representation and the use of keywords in different editions of a text written on the same manuscript, I show a change in the perception of text from orally transmitted wisdom towards visually consultable physical text. This notion of hidden text resurfacing is common in Warring States discussions on writing, and is presented as insulating the written from temporal and social corruption of its contents. Moreover, I examine a set of texts that justify and rationalize their appearance in the tradition by appealing to the power of the written word to provide access to ancient knowledge.

Furthermore, this chapter discusses the emergence of the concept of physical text as a narrative trope, which acts as a reflection on the new functionality of physical text use. I show how attitudes developed towards writing's reliability and authority, and its ability to preserve knowledge *vis à vis* oral testimony and cultural memory. I argue that writing was not necessarily seen as superior, and indeed had to win its place along other modes of cultural transmission. Writing, instead, was often considered a hallmark of the chaos of the age, and cartloads of texts were not necessarily an embodiment of knowledge. I conclude that with these discussions on the role and function of writing, we see a culture coming to terms with writing's increase in presence in different aspects of society, specifically in the area of knowledge (re-)production. Writing was a new *social phenomenon* worthy of comment to the Warring States cultural elite.

Chapter 2: Reconstructing Cultural Memory: Conflict and the Colonization of the Past

In this chapter, I analyze the shift in the representation of the past as a function of the increase in physical textualization and distribution of narratives about the past. These narratives developed from isolated and local accounts predominant in the Western Zhou

through the Springs and Autumns periods that relied on contextual and memorized information. From the mid-late Warring States we see the emergence of comprehensive, universally oriented, and causally structured accounts. Having juxtaposed these two ideal types of representing the past, I analyze the evolution between them on the basis of a number of excavated texts.

I argue that a central impetus is the emergence of an awareness of conflicting accounts about the same events. Enabled by the increase in exchange of physically fixed accounts, conflicts were rendered more visible. This trend is accompanied by the emergence of a vocabulary of verification and judgment. A concurrent trend is the emergence of conflict between the idealized accounts of high antiquity and the exceptions documented in anecdotal narratives of the more recent past. I argue that, as a result, the idealized foundational period of antiquity had to be pushed further back into the past, providing mythical precedent even for figures such as Yao and Shun. Accompanying this 'colonizing' of the past, forms of periodization were employed to explain how different moral rules guided different periods of the past. The combination of these trends led to a sophisticated integration and restructuring of narratives into organized wholes, smoothing out discrepancies between individual accounts.

Chapter 3: Collection and Canon: the Formation of a Genre

This chapter focusses on the changes wrought by writing on the practice of dealing with verse, and the formation of its generic classification. It traces the Warring States development in conceptualization of verse from contextually situated songs 歌 and hymns 頌, to the genre of *Odes* or poems 詩. A major impetus in this shift in the conceptualization of verse was the formation of compilations that brought single verses together. This process of collection

enabled the addition of framing narratives that tied genre affiliations to (imagined) performance and composition contexts in antiquity. In different texts of the same period, broad generic classifications such as Poetry 詩 emerged in juxtaposition with the Documents 書 and Rites 禮 among others which were described as having a particular function in understanding the past. These two ways of classifying and understanding poetic materials merged in commentarial texts, often featuring the figure of Kongzi as the editor of the increasingly fixed corpus.

Verse in the Warring States is increasingly conceptualized as belonging to a recognizable, and increasingly circumscribed genre that can be subdivided in different categories. With this development, there is an increase in linking verse to contexts of performance and composition, providing clues as to the emergence of new elements considered important in authorship construction at the time. Concurrently, the rise in commentarial texts that sought to interpret the words and metaphorical meanings of individual pieces, at the same time as discussions on the efficacy of music are increasingly relegated to separate discussions, highlights a slow transformation in the perception of verse from ritual-commemorative pieces of performance to fixed and textual phenomena that could be used to understand the past. I argue that the role of the manuscript as a means of linking commentary and collection, its use of structuring frameworks and lists, and its use as teaching material would be instrumental in channeling and reinforcing specific traditions and understandings. I conclude that while usage praxis of material remained predominantly oral and memory based, the textualization of transmission and education would provide the foundations for the processes of canonization leading up to the *Book of Odes* in the early empires.

Chapter 4: Manuscript Materiality: Compiling Knowledge and the Textualization of Discourse

This chapter examines the changing role of manuscripts in the formation of text, and the structuring and reception of knowledge. I analyze how the manuscript as a visual form interacts with textual form in the structuring of knowledge. Material features such as spacing, punctuation, and an increase in the use of visual structuring and paratextual information on the manuscripts are influenced by, and causal to, new modes of structuring texts into building blocks, and as such influences reading strategies and the reception of knowledge.

A trend occurred towards the compilation of previously circulating knowledge into structured compilations. This enabled the selection and organization of vastly increased amounts of written knowledge in circulation, and as such, could serve as the basis for memorization and education. The manuscript gained in importance in teaching practices and enabled the reproduction of proper language habits while at the same time providing a handy digest of apt phrases and arguments, to be used in persuasion or argumentative settings.

The chapter discusses how sound based (rhyme) and visual based (layout, punctuation) means of structuring the manuscript-texts emerged. In a number of cases, sound based structures are augmented by visual amplification, a trend that would increase further over time. As such, a gradual shift towards more visual habits of reading is revealed, translating into a trend towards increased readability and visual structuring of manuscripts at large. This physical shift in manuscript materiality is accompanied by an increase in textual structuring of arguments, and a marked increase in the embedding of free-floating oral forms such as sayings, anecdotes, and poems, into argumentative structures. The recombination of

existing materials additionally allowed the formation of new arguments and aided the explication and organization of "the already said". I conclude that this use of compilations marks them as intertextual hubs within the textual landscape of the Warring States, and show how compilations are a common (by-) product of an emerging manuscript culture. The resulting forms of organization are fundamental to the way knowledge itself is structured, which influences the means in which philosophical debate is conducted and shapes its contents.

孟子謂萬章曰：「…」以友天下之善士為未足，
又尚論古之人。頌其詩，讀其書，不知其人，可乎？
是以論其世也。是尚友也。」

Mencius said to Wan Zhang: "[…] When a scholar feels that his friendship with all the virtuous scholars of the kingdom is not sufficient to satisfy him, he proceeds to ascend to evaluate the men of antiquity. He recites their poems, and reads their writings, how could he not know their person? That is why he evaluates their times. This is ascending and making friends with the men of antiquity.'

Mengzi 孟子, "Wanzhang" 萬章 II

Chapter 1: Self-reflexive Praxis: Perceptions of Writing, Orality, and Text

This chapter tests the basic claims of this study. I argue that the shift in the practice of dealing with written and oral text is explicitly reflected on in the texts themselves and not merely a modern act of theoretical abstraction. That is to say, the increased and broader reliance on bamboo and silk manuscripts for the transmission of knowledge and authority left traces in the written record itself. I argue in this chapter that in texts from the Warring States period, whether excavated or transmitted, an unprecedented increase occurred in the attention to the phenomenon of text and its materiality, and the reliability of written knowledge, as well as reflections on how written knowledge was used and how it differs from oral and ritual modes of discourse.

The use of writing itself – even on bamboo – was of course not new to the Warring States – people had been writing with brush and inscribing with chisel from the Shang onwards. Rather, I contend in this chapter that the use of written text as a basis for discourse significantly increased and broadened starting from the Warring States period.[50] Instead of small numbers of scribes residing in the limited court circles of the Shang and early Zhou, we

[50] See for example Lewis 1999: 89, hinting at this shift: "The *Mencius* also offers the first theory on the reading of poetry… These uses of quotation and a theory of reading indicate the increasing importance of written documents in the educational practices of the day."

now find reference to the use of writing by groups and individuals belonging to the lower ranks of the aristocracy.[51] Likewise, the use of writing expanded beyond recording divination, administration, property transactions and ancestor worship, and increasingly spread into the realm of literary, moral, and gnostic discourse. For these classes and specializations, the use of writing as a means of transferring knowledge beyond the limits of human memory, verifying claims about the supernatural and the past, or as a repository of (correct) judgements, morals, intentions, wisdom and practice, had a newness to it that triggered unprecedented reflections on its forms, modes, and status. In other words, it is in this period that we start seeing the first explicit references to the functionality of writing and the notion that writing was qualitatively different from other modes of transmission.

The emergence of such reflections on the status of writing tend to emerge in manuscript cultures in a transition from a predominantly oral and ritual culture towards a (written) text based culture. As the classicists Thomas and Havelock have shown for 6th to 4th century Greece, discussions on writing's authority, use, and how it compares to other modes of discourse emerge at the same time as the culture started to increasingly rely on the written word in communication.[52] Likewise, the medievalist Clanchy has argued that writing only slowly replaced oral and memory based forms of discourse in medieval English, citing contemporary critiques of written testimony versus oral witness accounts stored in memory.[53] As Ong and Goody have argued, the written word often opens up a space of reflection on received wisdom,[54] and as I show below, these reflections are often directed towards the media of communication itself. A budding self-awareness shown through reflection on the

[51] Lewis 1999: 5, ch.2.
[52] Thomas 1992, Havelock 1963.
[53] Clanchy 2012: 255ff, and 295ff, see also Vansina 1985 and Finnegan 1988.
[54] Ong 1982, Goody 2000.

scribal practice has been noted particularly for the ancient Middle East, coinciding with large increases in the presence and status of writing in society.[55]

In this chapter, I argue that some of the developments noted for other early manuscript cultures listed above likewise started to emerge in Warring States period China. Taking this comparative lens as a means to locate phenomena common to manuscript cultures suggests that the increased number of manuscripts retrieved from the Warring States period, in addition to an increase of the aforementioned concerns in contemporaneous texts are not simply the result of a preservation bias. Instead, I take these phenomena to reflect actual increases in the presence of, and reliance on, writing. Moreover, to underscore that these increases are not just an accident of entombment, this chapter draws on a large number of transmitted materials as well. These materials, while not datable to the degree of accuracy of excavated materials, work as secondary evidence to support the representational value of the excavated evidence.[56] As with the following chapters, I start with a short characterization suggesting the absence of a developed manuscript culture before the Warring States period, and note that the developments in written culture that I sketch in this chapter point to a trend that only fully matures in the early empires.[57]

Words on reading, writing, and document

One of the means that has been used for tracking developments in the perception on reading and writing is to look for developments in the lexicon, i.e. the presence and, importantly, the use of word fields relating to reading and writing. In this section, I draw on work by Behr and Fuehrer, augmented by arguments from Kern and myself to suggest that the lexicon used to

[55] Carr 2005, van der Toorn 2007.
[56] Both in terms of the wideshared nature of the reflection on these issues as well as showing that these developments did not just occur in the Chu region.
[57] For this period see specific studies by Nylan 2011, Makeham 1996, Kern ed. 2005 among others.

describe the activities of reading and writing underwent a number of changes, predominantly occurring during the Warring States period. But before I do so, two caveats are in order. Firstly, developments in the lexicon such as an increase and diversification of the word field "reading" does not have a direct correspondence to the existence of the activities they describe. It is obvious that people have been engaged in various forms of writing and reading (broadly defined) from the Shang onwards and that words to describe these activities and implements were in existence. The question of whether or not these words were put in writing is rather a function of the demands of the genres of writing, and, the degree in which these activities were considered worthy of reflection in writing. The reason I include the data below, therefore, is merely to suggest that reading and writing as *activities* were increasingly considered worthy of reflection *in written form*. As such, my interest is in what an increase in presence of reflection on these activities in the written record (since we have few other sources that could inform us) can suggest about developments in the perceptions on reading and writing.

Second, developments in the lexicon alone cannot by any standard be satisfactory to probe such developments. After this section, I suggest that the written record of the Warring States not merely reflects an increase in the number and diversity of means to describe reading and writing, but that the descriptions in these texts also change in character. Reading and writing as activities are increasingly probed for their specific functions. For example, the degree and means by which they influence transmission, enable storage and communication of ideas, and can be considered thrustworthy.

Behr and Fuehrer's seminal study on the development of the word field "reading" illustrates the developments in the lexicon. In short, they show that in ancient and early Chinese there are six words that eventually came to mean "to read" (the corresponding graphs he lists are 讀, 誦, 籀, 念, 閱 and 詠 - 咏), all of which seldom or never appear in

palaeographical materials dating before the early empires.[58] They summarize that in the oldest material, there is no dominant term for "reading" and that the word field only slowly crystalizes from the late Warring States period onwards, and liken this development to intermediary stages between orality and literary observed in other cultures.[59] Kern's study on the perception of writing in the Western Zhou slightly augments this picture. He argues that, besides meaning "document", the word *ce* 冊 refers to the act of *pronouncing* a written document rather than designating the verbal "to write".[60] He further argues that other than their title, there is nothing that indicates that the Secretaries 史 performing these pronouncements were responsible for the act of writing themselves,[61] and suggests they might rather have been involved in the verbal composition of the documents.[62]

Kern argues that as a phenomenon, writing was secondary to the ritual pronouncements, the king's presence, and the physical presence of the bronze vessels and its functions should not be overstated for the Western Zhou.[63] The same could be said of the less commonly used 書, which predominantly appears as a noun in the meaning of "document" or in compounds meaning "mandate in writing" (as in 受王命書).[64] Singular exceptions such as the *Shiqi* Ding 師旂鼎[65] exist where *shu* can be understood in the verbal meaning "to write".

Other words that indicate textual engagement in the broad sense before the Warring States period are rare and appear limited to ritual and contractual speech acts such as "invoke, announce, report" 告 - 誥, "make a covenant" 盟, "oath, solemn declamation" 誓, "prayer,

[58] Behr and Fuehrer 2005: 14, with the only exception of 念 in the meaning of "remembering."
[59] Behr and Fuehrer 2005: 13.
[60] Kern 2007: 152-157. Kern's arguments build on earlier positions by Cheng Mengjia 1985: 149-160 among others and is positioned against common readings of *ce* as 'to write', for example in Schuessler 1987: 55-56.
[61] As illustrated by different scribal hands occurring for the same text inscribed on sets of bronzes.
[62] Kern 2007: 133, 136
[63] Kern 2007: 150-151, *pace* Shaughnessy 1997.
[64] This usage is confirmed in the oldest transmitted classics, *Shanghsu, Shijing, Yijing.*
[65] Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1984: # 02809, see also Schuessler 1987: 562.

invoker" 祝. Writing and announcing text is thus described as a restricted phenomenon. It was the privilege of a specific class considered worthy of participation in the abovementioned acitivities, and likely only witnessed by a small substratum of society. The texts that record it were written down within the ritual and contractual sphere that generated it.[66]

As reflected in the Western Zhou bronzes, the written word was a springboard for the oral. Oral charges and pronouncements were made on the basis of text and even the written contracts featuring prominently in Li Feng's analysis of the Western Zhou use of writing explicitly reflect on the need for witnesses to be present so as to give credence to the contract. There is no indication that the parties involved, except the Secretary reading it out loud, were literate or that they specifically relied on the text of the document rather than the ritual contractual act and the physical (as opposed to textual) presence of the bronze as validation and token of the deal.[67] The use of words in the early classics confirm the picture from the palaeographic record. References to writing are sparse, 書 is used nominally, and no mention of reading or reciting a written text is made, other than in the sense of speaking or singing out aloud.[68]

In short, while the written word is definitely present in ritual and legal proceedings in the Western Zhou, it is by no means an activity that is reflected upon, questioned, or indeed a focal point of the inscriptions. This distinction is important because it implies that the absence of such reflections is not a preservation bias of the genre or the medium, which indeed preserves many traces of the activity itself, but rather that the activity as such was not

[66] See for example Smith 2011 on reading and writing in the Shang, and Li Feng 2012 for the Western Zhou.
[67] *Pace* Li Feng 2012: 285.
[68] For example the song "Qiang you Ci", *Mao* 46 features 讀 in the sense of "drawing out" and is consistently paired with "to say" 言, "to speak" 道, and "to relate" 詳.

deemed worthy of reflection and did not trigger meaningful shifts in perceptions on its values or functionality.[69]

In the sparse materials from the Springs and Autumns period there is nothing to indicate substantial changes.[70] It is only in the mid to late Warring States period that a *reflection* on writing and written text emerges, such that it becomes a social phenomenon. In this section, I show how this is reflected in the differentiation of vocabulary to talk about these activities as preserved in the palaeographic record. The word *shu* 書 for example, is still commonly used nominally to designate "writings" in the Warring States period, appearing in common names, or meaning "writing-document" and often designating the tradition of the Documents *Shu*. However, in this period, the verbal use "to write" increasingly appears in the palaeographic record across a variety of genres of text.[71] By the early empires, the verbal usage is gaining in currency.[72] To be sure, the massive increase in the representation of the act of writing in the excavated materials from the late Warring States period to early empires can be correlated to the concurrent increase in administrative documents from these periods. It does, however, not change the fact that this increase is also shown in a variety of other

[69] See here also Kern 2007: 164-165 who notes this lack of reflection for the Western Zhou.
[70] The only substantial caches of materials are the finds in Houma and Wenxian, for descriptions see Weld 1997. Note that I do not subscribe to the view that understands the various commentaries to the *Chunqiu* to accurately reflect attitudes and perceptions from the period its materials purport to describe. See the discussion in the appendix to Schaberg 2001 for an extensive discussion of this issue.
[71] Data for the following is drawn from the Academia Sinica database *Lexicon of Pre-Qin Oracle, Bronze Inscriptions and Bamboo Scripts* 先秦甲骨金文簡牘詞彙庫 (Chen Zhaorong et al.) which is composed of the following collections:《甲骨文摹釋總集》（甲骨文合集 1-13、小屯南地甲骨、英國所藏甲骨、花園莊東地甲骨）；《殷周金文集成》、《新收殷周青銅器銘文暨器影彙編》《楚帛書甲乙丙本》、《曾侯乙墓竹簡》、《包山楚墓竹簡》、《望山楚墓竹簡》、《江陵九店東周墓竹簡》、《郭店楚墓竹簡》、《新蔡葛陵楚墓竹簡》《睡虎地秦墓竹簡》、《雲夢龍岡秦簡》、《上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書》1-7, I have supplemented these collections with data from volumes 8 and 9 of the Shanghai manuscripts, and 1 -4 of the Tsinghua manuscripts. The word usage divides as follows in the manuscripts, *Shu* 書 total 22; of which:verb 5; the "Documents tradition" 7, "writing(s)" 4; name 4; and 2 ambiguous cases. Note that the explicit description of the *Shu* and *Shi* as traditions occuring in *writing* for the first time emerges in the Warring States as well, see the Ma Chengyuan 2005: 2011-212 for the *"Jikangzi Wenyu Kongzi" *季康子問於孔子，s.6-7 "孔子曰："丘聞之孟者餘曰：夫書者以著君子之德也。夫詩也者以誌君子之志。夫義者，以斤（謹？）君子之行也。"
[72] Compare for example the numbers from the Shuihudi and Yunmengang Qin documents, 書: total 77; as verb 24; as "writing(s)" 63.

genres of text in ways that suggest the reflection on the activity was a new social phenomenon worthy of comment. Writing and reading as such were not new; the massive increase in description of these activities, and the emergence of reflections on their uses and qualities, however, were.

Indeed, the rare occurrence of words meaning reading for the pre-Qin period, as noted earlier by Behr and Fuehrer, is not challenged by new palaeographic finds. The earliest use of *du* 讀 in the sense of "reading" occurs in a find from Yunmeng, dated to the early Qin or late Warring States, and the earliest usage of *song* 誦 and *nian* 念 in the sense of reading out loud appear in the mid Warring States *"Baoxun", as will be discussed extensively below. The transmitted record corroborates these finds. The mid to late Warring States *Zuozhuan* 左傳, for all its size and display of literacy and poetic performance, contains only three occurrences of *du* 讀.[73] The mention of reading and writing in the *Lunyu* 論語 too is sparse, and even if one were to dispute the early Han date of the formation of the collection, and argue that it contains faithful representations of early material (the accretion model), the passages reflecting on reading and writing still occur only in sections traditionally viewed as belonging to the mid to late Warring States period.[74]

It therefore seems that words related to writing and reading were firmly locked within specific politico-religious contexts before the Warring States. It is only in the Warring States period that the palaeographic record starts to contain words pertaining to a non-religious or divinatory use of textual engagement, including singing, reciting, writing, and reading. This tallies well with Lewis' observations on the broadening textual sphere witnessed in the

[73] In *Shaogong* years 1, 2, and 12 where they are variously glossed as "to draw out" 抽 or "to count" 數.
[74] See Hunter 2012, Weingarten 2009, and Makeham 1996 who present overwhelming evidence for the compilation, (re-)writing, and redaction of *kongzi* sayings in the mid Former Han to form the *Lunyu* collection. Compare however accretional models as presented in Brooks and Brooks 1998, appendix 2, who notes an increase in references to written materials over time.

Warring States. In this period, we find a substantial increase in genres of text, going well beyond the confines of traditional ritual and legal spheres. And while Lewis is right to stress that the former left substantial traces in the internal logic of these new writings,[75] the function and use of these materials underwent a radical change. This shift will be the subject of chapters 2 and 3.

I hypothesize that this shift was not just the result of the emergence of a class of increasingly text based and literate communities as Lewis, Hsu, and others have argued.[76] Rather, my focus is on the increase in the volume and reliance on, written text in the mid to late Warring States.[77] I argue that the growth in text based group formation and the broadening of literacy beyond the court sphere, converges with the above noted growth in diversity and use of vocabulary to talk about writing and reading, and finally, as I show below, that both go hand in hand with an increase in reflection in texts of this period on the use, function, qualities, and problems of the written word. The convergence of these elements, I believe, is not coincidental, and points to an actual increase in the users, uses, volume and mobility of written text in this period.

In what follows, I show that in texts from the Warring States, the written word and its transmission and production are for the first time contrasted with other modes of discourse. This act of reflection on the role, and pros and cons of the media of knowledge production is characteristic of cultures that encounter a vast increase in the *presence* of the written word in the transition from the oral to the written.[78] In the following, I present a number of case studies that embody, quite literally, this transition in their form and content.

[75] Lewis 1999: *passim*.
[76] Lewis 1999: 5, ch. 2 Hsu 1965: *passim*.
[77] Meyer 2012.
[78] See notably Havelock 1964 and Thomas 1992 for classical Greece, and Clanchy 2012 for medieval England.

On the brink: the mode of transmitting wisdom in the *"Wuwang Jianzuo"

The "Wuwang Jianzuo" 武王踐祚 (King Wu Ascends the Throne) combines many of the themes of this chapter. The text occurs in four different instantiations, two different versions appear on the same bamboo manuscript from the Shanghai collection and can be dated to the Warring States period, there is also a transmitted version preserved in the Western Han *Dadai Liji*, and an extensive quote of the text by Zheng Xuan in his Eastern Han commentary to the *Liji* "Xueji".[79]

The story of the "Wuwang Jianzuo" revolves around the transmission of ancient knowledge to King Wu by his teacher, variously named Prince Taigong or Shi Shangfu. The various renditions of the story diverge most in how much length they devote to particular episodes, and especially in the use of key words used to describe the act of transmission. Accordingly, it provides an excellent case to track historical shifts in conceptualizations of and perceptions on knowledge transmission, and provides an envoy into issues such as reliability, modes of transmission, and the materiality of writing that will be addressed further below.

Manuscript and text

[79] An analysis of the later editions lies outside the scope of this study, it is noteworthy that these seem to combine elements from the two *"Wuwang Jianzuo" texts studied here, and feature a further increase in the emphasis on the written word.

The two unearthed renditions of the texts are untitled and were named *“Wuwang Jianzuo” A and B by the editor, Chen Peifen. Because of overlap in scribal hand and similar material characteristics of the bamboo, Chen considers them to stem from the same manuscript. Li Songru has argued on the basis of similar script and manuscript materiality that this manuscript roll could have contained other texts such as the oft discussed *“Min Zhi Fumu” 民之父母 as well. He further argues that one of its scribes possibly also wrote the “Yan Yuan wen yu Kongzi” 顏淵聞于孔子.[80]

The broken slips that make up the two *“Wuwang Jianzuo” texts range from roughly 41.6 to 43.7 cm in length.[81] Because the slips are fully written, roughly one graph per slip is conjectured to be missing, and on some of the slips residual strokes of the missing graphs can still be discerned. In the case of the longest slip, no graphs seem to be missing and as such it is likely that the original length of the slips did not exceed 43.7 cm by very much. The manuscript was bound by three threads secured to the slips by small notches on the right hand side of the slip. Besides the missing top ends, the slips are intact.[82] Judging from the mid-sentence break of the narrative on slip 10, the manuscript is not complete and a number of slips are likely missing, perhaps as many as three to four.[83]

Script and texts

[80] See Li Songru 2012: 235- 242, and Liu Hongtao 2009. Note that the fact that each of the 15 slips of the *“Wuwang Jianzuo”is broken at the top makes it difficult to assert manuscript affiliation, the overlap in script and the same position for the binding ropes make it highly likely.
[81] Ma Chengyuan ed. 2008: 149-168 (transcriptions).
[82] Individual measurements of the slip sections range as follows: Mid notch to ‘top end’ of slip 18.1-20.3 cm; mid-lower notch 20.4-21.3 cm; lower notch to bottom end 2.5-2.7 cm.
[83] If the graph-count on the transmitted text is considered to be a useful indication. In this state, the manuscript comprises of 491 graphs, including eight reduplicatives *chongwen* 重文 and contains a minimum of 28 and a maximum of 38 graphs per slip.

Li Songru's analysis of the different script styles and hands on this manuscript confirms my view that the manuscript was written by at least two different hands and a possible third.[84] According to Li Songru, the first text is written by hand A and contains room for variation in the style of calligraphy (A'), possibly due to using different writing materials. The final three graphs on s.10 stand out and do not confirm to this hand, Li argues that possibly they come from a third hand C or that they were written by hand B. The first one and a half slips of the second text (s.11, s.12: graph 1-19) are also executed by hand A, and the rest of the text (s.12: 20-end; s.13-15) in hand B. The differences between hands A and B are not merely stylistic, but come down to a different structure of the graphs and thus indicate fundamentally different writing habits.[85]

It is noteworthy that Li Songru suggests that the bamboo bearing the three differently structured graphs at the end of s.10 show signs of shaving of the top layer to accommodate rewriting. The graphs that possibly replaced earlier writing seem to accord to the structure of hand B, as well as the *er* 而 that appears to have been added later on in-between two graphs near the end of slip 1. Because these are isolated cases, Li is not willing to draw strong conclusions regarding their affiliation, but the possibility that both instances were later corrections by either Scribe B or a different Scribe C is highly interesting because it could suggest 'proof-reading'.[86] In terms of textual division, the *"Wuwang Jianzuo" A ranges from s.1 to s.10 and at least one or more slips at the end are missing. *"Wuwang Jianzuo" B starts on s.11 and is concluded by a text terminator mark on s.15, after which the slip is left blank signaling the end of the text. Because of the missing slip(s) after s.10, there is a

[84] Li Songru 2009.
[85] The differences noticed by Li Songru in hand A and A' are not structural but merely stylistic (a flourish here and there) and are likely from the same hand.
[86] See Krijgsman *in preparation* for this phenomena in the Zhangjiashan *Yinshu*. That the manuscript was corrected suggests that it was not specifically produced for the grave.

possibility that some slips containing a secondary framing formula to *“Wuwang Jianzuo” B are missing too.[87]

The story in *“Wuwang Jianzuo” A

The first rendition of the story opens with King Wu asking whether or not the knowledge (way) of the ancients is still preserved. Presumably, this desire for ancient knowledge in the story is related to the new establishment of the Zhou, which needed older ways of rule to legitimate itself as opposed to the Shang.[88] Interestingly, the question assumes this knowledge to be lost and no longer be *visible*. Shi Shangfu responds that the way is indeed preserved, in the *Cinnabar Document* 丹書, and that the king has to fast if he wishes to see the writing.

> (1)[武][89]王問於師尚父，曰：“不知黃帝、顓頊、堯、舜之道才（存）[90] 乎？意幾[91]（豈）喪不可得而[92] 睹乎？”
> 師尚父曰：(2)[“在]丹書[93]。王如欲觀之，盍  （齋[94]）乎？將以書見。”
> King Wu asked Shishang Fu saying: “I do not know whether the way of the Yellow Emperor, Duan Xu, Yao and Shun is still preserved? I assume it is lost and it can no longer be obtained and looked at?” Shishang Fu answered: [it is preserved in] the

[87] The *Dadai Liji* rendition of the story is indeed furnished with such a double frame. Space left for a missing graph on the first slip of *“Wuwang Jianzuo” B before the opening “King Wu” further suggests that this might have been the case.
[88] See chapter 2 below on the need for more ancient knowledge in light of legitimacy and a surplus of “tainted” narratives of preceding eras.
[89] This edition is based on Ma Chengyuan ed. 2008: 149-168 and directly transcribes the text in modern orthography except where my reading differs from that of the editors.
[90] I follow Fudan Daxue Chutu Wenxian yu Guwenzi Yanjiu Zhongxin Yanjiusheng Dushuhui (hereafter: FDDSH) 2008b: n.1and read as 存 instead of 才. They are common variants.
[91] FDDSH 2008b transcribes as 幾 and reads as 豈.
[92] The 而 is wedged in between the graphs and a later addition. I follow Li Songru 2009 who suggests that it is also of a different style but because of space considerations cannot be sure it was another hand. I would argue that it is highly likely that another scribe later checked the ms. Note here also that Li further observes that the three final graphs on s10, are in a different hand C and might have been added later after shaving off the bamboo (he points to residual marks).
[93] According to FDDSH 2008b: n.3 points to other early sources mentioning Cinnabar documents.
[94] I follow Liu Hongtao 2009 who argues that this graph is a variant for 齋.

Cinnabar document. If the king desires to see it, why don't you fast? Then I will give you the document to see."

The frame of the story presents ancient knowledge as something that is generally lost over time, but can be preserved through the use of writing. Knowledge is vulnerable, and the physical medium of writing is seen as protecting it in its original state. The passage also suggests that written knowledge does not come lightly, and that even the king has to fast and purify himself before he is allowed to see it. The story continues with the king dressing up in formal attire, after which he is admonished by his teacher that (even) the king has to face to the east, in the position of a guest facing a host, before he can be given the writings.[95] This dynamic highlights the ritualized nature of knowledge transmission:

武王齋三日，端服、[illegible]（帽）[96]，[illegible]（逾[97]）堂幾（階）[98]，南面而立。
師尚父(3)[曰]："夫先王之書，不與北面。"
武王西面而行，曲[99]折而南，東面而立。
師尚父奉書，道書言曰：
"怠(4)勝義則喪（*s-mˁaŋ），義勝怠則長（*Cə-N-traŋ）。義勝欲則從（*dzoŋ），欲勝義則兇（**qʰoŋ）。仁以得之，仁以守之，其運百(5) [世]；不仁以得之，仁以守之，其運十世；不仁以得之，不仁以守之，及於身。"武王聞之恐懼。為(6) [戒[100]]銘於席之四端，
曰："安樂必戒（*kˁrək-s）。"右端曰："毋行可悔（*m̥ˁəʔ）。"席後左端曰：

[95] The *Liji* 禮記 "Xueji" 學記 writes: "大學之禮，雖詔於天子，無北面，所以尊師也。Quoted from Wang Pinzhen 1963: 104. But the commentary also notes that this places the king in the guest, and Shishangfu in the host position, rather than in a student-teacher configuration.
[96] I follow FDDSH 2008b which provides 帽 'cap' as a possible reading.
[97] FDDSH 2008b: n.6 reads as 逾'stride' and interprets as 'descend'.
[98] Following FDDSH 2008b: n.6 who transcribes as 幾（階）.
[99] This graph has puzzled paleographers and none have advanced a satisfactory solution, as such, I follow the original reading as 曲 as a stopgap solution, even though it is written differently in the current corpus of Chu materials. Compare Hou Naifeng 2009, Zhang Chongli 2009, and Xu Wenxian 2009 who mistakenly identify components of the graph, for now I transcribe as 木+匚+人.
[100] Fukuda 2009 argues that there is a graph missing here, and he suggests to supplement 箸（書） 'to write' on the basis of possible parallelism with the DDLJ version. While I agree that a graph is missing here, a choice of 戒 "to admonish" works better in this context as it avoids the awkard collocation of two instrumental verbs. The DDLJ version indeed splits this line into two sentences: "退而為戒書，於席之四端為銘焉".

> “民之反[redacted]（側）（*tsrək）[101]，亦不可志（*tə-s）。” […] continues with list of other sayings inscribed on various objects.
>
> King Wu fasted for three days, donned his clothes and his cap, he ascended the steps of the hall, and stood faced south and positioned himself.
> Shishang Fu [said]: “The writings of the former kings cannot be given facing north!”
> King Wu faced west and walked, turned and (faced to) the south, he faced east and positioned himself.
> Shishang Fu presented the document, and intoned the sayings of the document:
> “When laxity surpasses propriety there is loss, when propriety surpasses laxity there is growth. When propriety surpasses desire there is adherence, when desire surpasses propriety there is misfortune. If you are humane in obtaining it, and humane in preserving it, your fortune will last a hundred generations; if you are inhumane in obtaining it, but humane in preserving it, your fortune will last ten generations; if you are inhumane in obtaining it, and inhumane in preserving it, it will only reach unto your person.”
> Upon hearing this, king Wu became terrified, and made [admonishing] inscriptions upon the four extremities of his seat, reading:
> “Be restrained in ease and pleasure.” On the right side it read: “Don’t do anything you could regret.” On the rear left side it read: “The restlessness of the people, should also not be aimed for.” [102] On the rear right side it read: ［…］

After the king has properly positioned himself, Shishang Fu reads the sayings of the document out to the king. The message of the text is highly oral and formulaic: the first saying is rhymed, tightly structured, and occurs across the transmitted literature in a variety of forms. Likely, it was a commonly known saying that ‘travelled’ from debater to debater because it contained a memorable formulation on the problem of controlling one’s desires and laxity.[103] Accordingly, we can either read with the logic of the text and suppose this saying became widely shared in early China by virtue of this text (and thus, the *Cinnabar Document*), or, the insistence on preservation in the text should rather be seen as a dramatic attempt to imbue oldness and authenticity to this common saying by linking it to the sages of

[101] I follow FDDSH 2008b: n.11 in transcribing as 宀+人+匕. While it is not clear what graph it refers to, the rhyme in the passage suggests this should be a *zhi* rhyme 職部字 such as 側 ‘side’ in the DDLJ version.
[102] Note the discussion in FDDSH 2008b: n12 on this problematic sentence. 志 is ‘corrected’ to 忘 in later versions but rhyme and paleography exclude this reading. Fudan adds a 不 which they suspect might have been lost in transmission. Despite these problems, my translation follows the bamboo.
[103] See my analysis of these sayings in Krijgsman 2014.

old. In any case, the written nature of the document is presented as instrumental to, and indeed the very embodiment of, the authority and transmission of the message.

In the saying that follows, the theme of preservation from the frame is amplified, linking the attainment and preservation of knowledge with humaneness and the endurance of one's heritage.[104] The wise admonishment by Shishang Fu has its proposed effect, and king Wu writes an array of admonishing sayings on the various items of his furniture. These sayings too find many intertextual counterparts across the early literature. Many of them are rhymed or are phrased in terms of simple juxtapositions of values and employ a rhebus like punning effect in that the messages of the sayings embody the function of the object upon which they are supposedly inscribed. [105] The wise sayings are thus lifted from their supposed oral contexts and textualized in a narrative about their transcription. While the teaching scene thus provides a narrative on the text based transmission of the wisdom of yore, the second half of the text presents a dramatic account of the king in the act of textual production. In a sense the text is thus literally performing the transition from the oral to the written.

The logic of the story is that wisdom can be preserved over the ages through the use of writing. Proper apprehension and preservation of this knowledge is instrumental in the education of kings, to the point that they write more wise sayings for the betterment of future generations. In this version of the story, knowledge is stored in written form, and brought out for the king to *see* in its material manifestation. The actual transmission, however, requires an oral act wherein the teacher reads out the sayings for the king to hear. As such, the immediate reason for the document's importance is it's visually verifiable presence, a physical token

[104] Note that the crucial term repeated in this saying is *shou* 守, 'preservation'. I thank Yuan Ai and Michael Schapers for pointing this out to me.
[105] For example: admonishments on the need to look back when thinking ahead are written on a mirror, a warning not to drown in the affairs of the world are written on a washbasin etc.

proving and verifying the origins of the material.[106] While on its own, this stress on the visibility of the document could be easily overlooked, but it becomes all the more pointed in light of the relative focus on 'hearing' a text in the other rendition of the story on the same manuscript.

***"Wuwang Jianzuo" B**

In the second rendition of the story on this manuscript the framing and the act of transmission are presented in a different light:

> (11)[…][107]武王問[108]於太公望曰："亦有不盈於十言，而百世不失之道，有之乎？"
> 太公望答曰："有"。武王曰："其道可得(12)[以]聞乎？"
> 太公望答曰："身則君之臣，道則聖人之道，君齋將道之，君不齋，則弗道。"
> 武王齋七日，太 13[公] 望奉丹書以朝–太公南面，武王北面而復問。
> 太公答曰："丹書之言有之曰：
> "志勝欲則(14)[昌（*thaŋ）] [109]，欲勝志–則喪（*s-mˤaŋ ）–志勝欲則從（*dzoŋ）– 欲勝志則兇（凶**qʰoŋ）。敬勝怠則吉（*C.qit ）–怠勝敬–則滅（*met ）–。不敬（*kreŋ-s）則不定（*N-tˤeŋ-s ）–，弗(15)[强（*m-kaŋʔ）][110]則枉（*qʷaŋʔ），枉者敗（*N-pˤrat-s）–，而敬者萬世（*lhats）–。使民不逆而順成（*deŋ），百姓（*seŋ-s）之為聽。(**lreŋ）
> 丹書之言有之。"■
>
> King Wu asked Taigong Wang, saying: "Is there also a way that does not fill ten words but is not lost for a hundred generations? Is there such a way?"
> Taigong Wang replied: "There is such a way". King Wu asked: "Can I get to hear this way?"
> Taigong Wang replied: "Your body is the subject of its lord, my way is the way of the sages. If you fast than I will teach you, if you don't fast, than I will not teach.

[106] The materiality of knowledge is preserved in the transmitted text as well, in addition to amplifying the scene wherein king Wu inscribes his furniture. The transmitted text also incorporates elements from the frame and the saying from text B.
[107] Fukuda 2009 notes that possibly, judging from the images, this measurement is wrong, especially in light of the 武. Rather, the text might not be complete and the missing graph could be a result of a missing slip or two containing a framing narrative.
[108] FDDSH 2008b: n.2.1 argues this graph too must read as 問 in light of s1.
[109] Shen Pei 2009 provides a very convincing case that this should be 昌.
[110] FDDSH 2008b reads 強 instead of 力, based on the rhyme pattern.

> King Wu fasted for seven days, Taigong Wang presented the *Cinnabar document* to the court. Taigong faced south, King Wu faced north and asked again.
> Taigong replied, saying: "In the sayings of the *Cinnabar document* it is said that: "If your will surpasses desire then you will prosper; if your desires surpass your will, then you will mourn; if your will surpasses your desire you will adhere, if your desires surpass your will you will meet disaster. If your respect surpasses your laxity, that will be fortunate; but if your laxity surpasses despair you will be ruined. When you are not respectful you will not be stable, if you do not strengthen [your respect] you will waver, those who waver lose, but the respectful last for ten thousand generations. Ensure that the people do not turn against you, but rather obediently support you, and the hundred surnames will listen." "The sayings in the *Cinnabar document* state it thus."

The core of the message is again the preservation of one's rule. Here however, it is presented with stressed rhyming couplets and an explicit marking of the rhyme breaks using punctuation marks on the bamboo, represented here with -. As a manuscript-text, the *"Wuwang Jianzuo" B is better prepared for oral delivery of its message. The accent of the frame and the description of transmission is also remarkably different. The frame likewise questions the preservation of knowledge, but the focus lies instead on the length of the message. In the first description of the transmission, Taigong Wang (another name for Shishang Fu), replies without referring to the written nature of this knowledge, and the king on his part desires to *hear*, rather than see, the message. While Taigong likewise brings in the *Cinnabar document* as carrier of the sayings, less space is devoted to its written and physical nature, and similarly, the changing of position as a ritualized act to gain access to the written document is largely glossed over.[111] Finally, the episode wherein king Wu writes his own sayings in response to receiving the lesson is completely elided and instead a summary reference to the *Cinnabar document* is presented as conclusion of the text.

[111] In this text, the shift in position is merely stated, with the king and Taigong Wang switching positions. I would argue that while this presents the basic kernel of the story, it does not develop this dynamic to the extent that the *"Wuwang Jianzuo" does, which by emphasizing the shift into host-guest positions highlights the ritualized dynamic of the presenting of a material object as opposed to a mere shift in authority.

This marked difference between the narrative representations embodies a transition from the oral to the written. To text B, the specific mode of transmission is not a problem worthy of reflection. For this text, it is enough to note that the authority figure Taigong Wang gave the king access to ancient knowledge, its written nature is an afterthought. To text A however, the mode of transmission becomes instrumental to the authority and pedigree of the message.[112] The *Cinnabar Document* is the very embodiment of the wisdom of the ancient kings, and the king has to switch his position so that he may be *given* this document. That this version also states that the king needs to *see* the document, rather than the much more common hearing of wisdom, again stresses the importance of the physical presence of the document to the argument. In text A, written text itself has become worthy of comment and operates as an argument to underscore the notion of preservation. This is amplified further by the king's response in writing upon receiving the knowledge from the document. The king himself becomes productive and inscribes knowledge on physical media that embody the admonitions of the texts they convey.

Both stories present a Warring States imagination of an idealized transmission of knowledge between a teacher figure and his king. I suggest to read their different approaches to presenting the same basic story as representing a different perspective on the role of writing in transmitting knowledge. For A it is crucial, for B it was an afterthought. The two texts on the manuscripts could thus be said to embody the shift that was underway in the mid late Warring States period. Together with texts such as the *"Baoxun" and *"Jinteng" that I will discuss below, they are part of a group of texts that talk about themselves. These texts are both the medium and the message,[113] they present both the circumstance and act of

[112] It is interesting to note here that the core message on proper, enduring rule is articulated differently in both texts. Where text B focusses on the need for respect 敬 in its development of the rhymed saying, text A highlights instead the need for preservation 守, a quality embodied by the *Cinnabar Document*.
[113] As coined by McLuhan 1962.

transmission of a supposedly ancient text while at the same time including the text's core message. By framing their message in a narrative about its ancient pedigree and the circumstances of production and transmission, these texts provide a rationale – and in a sense, an apology – for their own existence, and thus legitimize their presence to a contemporaneous audience.[114] In doing so, these texts highlight their written nature, often naming the specific written document that proves the heritage of its message.

A passage from the *Mozi* illustrates a similar conviction in the use of written text as a means to preserve and approach what happened in the past:

> 何知先聖六王之親行之也？
> 子墨子曰：「吾非與之並世同時，親聞其聲，見其色也。以其所書於竹帛，鏤於金石，琢於槃盂，傳遺後世子孫者知之。」
> How does one know that the ancient sages and the six kings practiced it personally? Master Mozi says: "I am not of the same generation or times as them, and I did not personally hear their voices or see their countenance. I know it through what they passed on to their sons and grandsons by writing on bamboo and silk, carving on bronze and stone, and chiselling on plates and beakers.[115]

In this passage, the physical nature of written text is used to make an argument on its capability of storing, hiding, and preserving knowledge. These qualities of the written provided a means to explain a text's linkage to the past.[116] This ability of written text was not

[114] Krijgsman *Forthcoming*.

[115] Mozi, "Jian'ai Xia" 兼愛下. Note that sayings containing 著於竹帛 "written on bamboo and silk" occur across the *Mozi* and is a standard trope for the collection to talk about wisdom and folleys transmitted from the past. What makes the saying interesting is that it is encapsulated in different comments revealing the perceived functionality of written documents, such as the ability to approximate the ancient kings through space and time, as in this passage, or the ability to preserve material about the past such as in *Mozi* "Feigong Xia" 非攻下: "[...] 是以書之竹帛，鏤之金石，琢之盤盂，傳遺後世子孫。**曰何書焉存**？禹之總德有之曰：『...』？仲虺之告曰：[...]." "This is why they wrote it on bamboo and silk, carved it in bronze and stone, and chiselled it on plates and beakers, passing it on to their sons and grandsons. What writings are preserved thereon, you say? There is "Yu's Comprehensive *De*", which reads […] There is the "Announcement of Zhonghui", which reads […]. On this, and other recurring sayings in the Mozi text as evidence of stratified transcription see Defoort and Standaert eds. 2013, and Maeder 1992. On the use of writing and transmitted accounts as a means of authority and verification in *Mozi* regarding ghosts and spirits see in particular the discussion in Sterckx 2013: 101-103.

[116] Note that for example in "Feiming Xia": 非命下 the same formula is used in order to present a narrative about how the sages preserved in writing the faults of rulers of the past. See here also "Minggui Xia" 明鬼下

universally acknowledged however, prime examples are the following passages from the *Zhuangzi* “Tianyun” 天運 chapter:

> 世之所貴道者，書也，書不過語，語有貴也。語之所貴者，意也，意有所隨。意之所隨者，不可以言傳也，而世因貴言傳書。世雖貴之，我猶不足貴也，為其貴非其貴也。故視而可見者，形與色也；聽而可聞者，名與聲也。悲夫！世人以形色名聲為足以得彼之情！夫形色名聲果不足以得彼之情，則知者不言，言者不知，而世豈識之哉！
>
> Men of the world who value the Way all turn to writings. But writings are nothing more than words. Words have value; what is of value in words is meaning. Meaning has something it is pursuing, but the thing that it is pursuing cannot be transmitted in words. The world values words and transmits writings but, though the world values them, I do not think them worth valuing. What the world takes to be value is not real value. What you can look at and see are forms and colors; what you can listen to and hear are names and sounds. What a pity! - that the men of the world should suppose that form and color, name and sound are sufficient to convey the truth of a thing. It is because in the end they are not sufficient to convey truth that "those who know do not speak, those who speak do not know." But how can the world understand this![117]

This passage frames a discussion on the limits of language in terms of writing, and its inability to transmit the thing that is referred to by language. As is show in the following passage as well, language, and especially when confined in writing, is presented as not able to transmit knowledge fully:

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which contains a form of the saying that presents an awareness that bamboo manuscripts tend to rot and decay as opposed to other media: “故書之竹帛，傳遺後世子孫；**咸恐其腐蠹絕滅**，後世子孫不得而記，故琢之盤盂，鏤之金石，以重之；有恐後世子孫不能敬著以取羊，故先王之書，聖人一尺之帛，一篇之書，語數鬼神之有也，重有重之。” “Thus when they wrote it on bamboo and silk, to pass it on to their sons and grandsons, they all feared that the [manuscripts] would rot, decayed, and destroyed, so that their sons and grandsons would not obtain and remember them. Thus they also chiselled it on plates and beakers, and carved it into bronze and stone, to double (copy) it. They also feared that their sons and grandsons would not be able to respect in awe so as to gain favour [of the spirits]. Thus all writings of the former kings, and even a foot of silk and a bundle of writings of the sages whose words related the existence of ghosts and spirits, they doubled it and doubled it again.”

[117] Translation modified from Watson 1968.

桓公讀書於堂上，輪扁斲輪於堂下，釋椎鑿而上，問桓公曰：「敢問公之所讀者何言邪？」公曰：「聖人之言也。」曰：「聖人在乎？」公曰：「已死矣。」曰：「然則君之所讀者，古人之糟魄已夫！」桓公曰：「寡人讀書，輪人安得議乎！有說則可，無說則死。」輪扁曰：「臣也，以臣之事觀之。斲輪，徐則甘而不固，疾則苦而不入。不徐不疾，得之於手而應於心，口不能言，有數存焉於其間。臣不能以喻臣之子，臣之子亦不能受之於臣，是以行年七十而老斲輪。古之人與其不可傳也死矣，然則君之所讀者，古人之糟魄已夫。」

Duke Huan was in his hall reading some writings. The wheelwright Bian, who was in the yard below chiseling a wheel, laid down his mallet and chisel, stepped up into the hall, and said to Duke Huan, "These writings Your Grace is reading - may I venture to ask whose words are in it?" "The words of the sages," said the duke. "Are the sages still alive?" "Dead long ago," said the duke. "In that case, what you are reading there is nothing but the chaff and dregs of the men of old!" "Since when does a wheelwright have permission to comment on the writings I read?" said Duke Huan. "If you have some explanation, well and good. If not, it's your life!" Wheelwright Bian said, "I look at it from the point of view of my own work. When I chisel a wheel, if the blows of the mallet are too gentle, the chisel slides and won't take hold. But if they're too hard, it bites in and won't budge. Not too gentle, not too hard - you can get it in your hand and feel it in your mind. You can't put it into words, and yet there's a knack to it somehow. I can't teach it to my son, and he can't learn it from me. So I've gone along for seventy years and at my age I'm still chiseling wheels. When the men of old died, they took with them the things that couldn't be handed down. So what you are reading there must be nothing but the chaff and dregs of the men of old." [118]

These passages from the *Zhuangzi* likewise acknowledge the ability of written material to transmit the *words* of the ancients across the ages. What these passages dispute is that a record of words gives access to the nature of things *qing* 情, a skill or knack 數, and the ways 道 of the sages and people in general. This can only be achieved by long *practice*. The *Zhuangzi* thus targets language as a means of transmitting (skill) knowledge. For my argument it is telling that this argument about language as such is here specifically articulated against book knowledge.[119] According to these passages, there is more to transmitting

[118] Translation modified from Watson 1968. See for example the discussions of these passages by Schwitzgebel and by Yearly in Kjellberg and Ivanhoe eds. 1996: 74-76, and 165. Note the discussions in Owen 1996: 35, who sees it as a counterstatement to the Mencian view on contextualized understanding presented below. I would rather argue that this passage expands the notion of context to include the context of transmission and the non-verbal aspects of meaning.

[119] These considerations respond to a very real problem in the Warring States: how should knowledge be transmitted and how should the role of the spoken and written word be conceived of in this dynamic? The problem of (ancient) knowledge and its transmission emerges in discussions of the mid-late Warring States, it is especially telling in such passages from the *Zhuangzi* as quoted above, but is also present throughout the *Xunzi* in its discussion on learning, and in the various comments on learning and knowledge in the *Laozi* and the

knowledge than words, and since books are only able to preserve words, full transmission cannot be entrusted to writing. The irony of these passages is that they themselves try to elicit understanding through words. The Duke Huan passage does so with extensive reference to the context of articulation.

In a pattern not dissimilar to the *"Wuwang Jianzuo" analysed above, the story shows wheelwright Bian attempting to describe the knack required to fashion a wheel. Bian's argument is turned into a teaching setting itself. He is presented as fashioning a wheel in front of the king. And thus while the king has the perfect example of non-transmittability right in front of him to see, the reader is faced with a textual digest only. This text is performing in written form the very thing that cannot be transmitted in writing and convincingly illustrates the problem of the medium.[120] As such, while the overt argument is that one has to perform acts in order to arrive at skill, the subtext underlines that important elements of the teaching setting cannot be included but only referred to by writing.

A similar problem is presented in the oft quoted passage from *Mengzi*, commonly understood as presenting the first theory of reading:[121]

Hanfeizi and should thus be understood as part of a much larger discussion. See here Zhang Longxi 1992 and Wagner 2003. For my argument it is telling that in its many articulations the issue of writing is brought up as exemplifying the problem, and could be seen as providing one of the imputes for reflecting on the issue.

[120] See here the discussion by the linguist Olson 1994: 115 – 142 writing on the massive increase in verbs in English describing types of speech act which he understands as an attempt to describe extratextual data in textual form, pointing to the inherent limitations of the medium. Olsen's main thesis is that writing can only provide limited transcription or approach to oral communication, in that it elides a number of crucial features including sound, (speech) rhythm and pause, gesture and expression, all of which can only be partially approached, but never fully replicated in writing. As a result, the written language has to come up with new words and means to convey these aspects of pragmatic meaning to a reader.

[121] *Mengzi* "Wanzhang Shang". Translation modified from Legge 1970. E.g. by Lewis 1999: 89. Note that this passage does not need to say anything about reading in the narrow sense, and could easily be understood as a general reflection on how to interpret on the basis of the *letter* of the text, be that in memorized or written form. However, the very notion of a stable text underlying such a critical approach assumes developments in the text culture related to writing. Care is needed not to project modern understandings of reading, writing, and authorial intent in passages such as these. Compare for example Gu Mingdong 2005: 17-44 who reads a broadshared and timelong concern with reading in this passage (17) and argues that the "theory of reading" advanced in this passage revolves around correctly constructing authorial intent (18-21), see his translation of 以意逆志，是為得之。如以辭而已矣 from the above passage as "to trace the intention of the poet with the understanding of a reader-only this can be said to have grasped what is expressed in a poem." I would argue that here, Gu engages in just the fallacy that Mencius warned against, reading stable readers and poets into a discussion on

咸丘蒙曰：「舜之不臣堯，則吾既得聞命矣。《詩》云：『普天之下，莫非王土；率土之濱，莫非王臣。』而舜既為天子矣，敢問瞽瞍之非臣，如何？」曰：「是詩也，非是之謂也；勞於王事，而不得養父母也。曰：『此莫非王事，我獨賢勞也。』故說《詩》者，不以文害辭，不以辭害志。以意逆志，是為得之。如以辭而已矣，《雲漢》之詩曰：『周餘黎民，靡有孑遺。』信斯言也，是周無遺民也。[…]

Xian Qiumeng said: "On Shun's not treating Yao as a minister, I have received your instructions. But it is said in the *Odes*: "Under the whole of heaven, Every spot is the sovereign's ground; To the borders of the land, Every individual is the sovereign's minister." - and Shun had become sovereign. I venture to ask how it was that Gu Sou was not one of his ministers."

Mencius answered: "That *Ode* is not to be understood in that way - it speaks of being laboriously engaged in the sovereign's business, so as not to be able to nourish one's parents, it means: "This is all the sovereign's business, and how is it that I alone am supposed to have ability, and am made to toil in it?" Therefore, those who explain the *Odes*, may not insist on one term so as to do violence to a sentence, nor on a sentence so as to do violence to the general scope. They must try with their thoughts to meet that scope, and then we shall apprehend it. If we simply take single sentences, there is that in the *Ode* called "The Milky Way," - "Of the black-haired people of the remnant of Zhou, There is not half a one left." If it had been really as thus expressed, then not an individual of the people of Zhou would have been left."

Here, the reader (or listener) of the 'lines of text' is supposed to engage in a form of the principle of charity and make an effort to arrive at a contextualized understanding of the meaning of words and lines. In other words, the inherent limitation of fixed text is questioned. The passage addresses this problem through a call on the input of the reader, who through a contextualized interpretation, is supposed to supplement the areas left blank in the text. This understanding shows that the written as written was not necessarily taken for

interpretation that might equally have been based on other concerns entirely. For example, *zhi* in this case need not refer to an author's intent but can equally refer to an assumed tradition of explication (see my discussion in ch. 3 on how the two are related) as is also expressed in the Mencius passage quoted below on understanding the *Shu*. While Gu, correctly in my opinion, underscores the need for contextualization expressed in this passage, I would argue that this rather than authorial intent is exactly a notion of perceiving poetry as wholesome units rather than piecemeal abstractable lines. In other words, it indicates a preoccupation with a shift from openness and malleability of text and (therefore) meaning as reflected in the common use of *shi* lines to underscore diverging arguments (斷章取義) towards an understanding of poetry as understandable in individual and delineated units that form interpretative totalities, and thus having a fixed guideline of interpretation *as constructed by a system of meaning*. This understanding of verse, and this shift in understanding is a trend that emerges in this period as I argue in chapter 3.

granted. Knowledge of cultural memory and its traditions of understanding had to inform the reception of any given text, and to the *Mengzi* at least, the text as such could not completely stand on its own. A famous passage from the *Xici* 繫辭 brings out this dynamic even further and notes that the words of the sages are incompletely transmitted in writing without further visualization and explanation:

> 子曰：「書不盡言，言不盡意。然則聖人之意，其不可見乎。」子曰：「聖人立象以盡意，設卦以盡情偽，繫辭以盡其言，變而通之以盡利，鼓之舞之以盡神。」
>
> The Master said: "Writing does not fully express speech, and speech does not fully express meaning. How invisible then, is the meaning of the sages?" The Master said: the Sages established the images in order to express meaning, they set up the hexagrams to express what is so and what is distorted, and strung together sayings to express their statements. They penetrated the transformations in order to express their benefits, drummed and danced it to express the spirits." [122]

As has long been understood, these passages as reflecting a keen understanding of the limitations of language.[123] I would take this one step further and stress that this limitation is framed specifically against the written word, and can thus be understood as a reaction towards an increase in the reliance on the written word in transmitting knowledge. Indeed, cross-culturally, bookish knowledge has been questioned for its inability to transmit gesture, tone, and practical skills. As such, for the *Zhuangzi*, and other texts such as the *Hanfeizi* something was to be preferred in the old dynamic of teaching and this could not be replicated in the use of the written word.

Other texts, such as the *"Wuwang Jianzuo"A and the *Mozi*, explored not the limitations but rather the new possibilities of access enabled by written text. The fact that this

[122] *Xici* "Shang".
[123] Compare Wagner 2003, Zhang Longxi 1992.

becomes a topic of discussion in the mid to late Warring States period, is, I believe, significant and points to an increase in the presence of and the reliance on writing in the transmission of knowledge. To Warring States authors, the difference between the oral to the written was not simply a question of transcription, it involved a great deal of extra-textual information, pooled from cultural memory and the context of articulation that was considered crucial in understanding but could not easily be represented in writing. Writing as a means of transmitting knowledge was a relative newcomer (that is to say, beyond the administrative and religious spheres), and its merits had to be evaluated and contrasted with former teaching practices in order to arrive at its proper place and use.

A similar juxtaposition between intimate, oral transmission and the passing on of a written document forms the core in the story of the *"Baoxun" discussed below. The text takes great pains to argue why its transmission in writing had to be chosen over the more conventional, and it seems, more desirable oral transmission. The attention to the difference between these modes of transmission reveals, I argue, an awareness on account of the authors of a shift in practice. Moreover, in their apology for the use of writing, they betray a keen awareness of the new functionality of writing in introducing new material into the stream of tradition.

The oral and the written in the *"Baoxun" 寶訓[124]

The *"Baoxun" is a short text (11 slips) in the genre of *Shu* texts from the Tsinghua collection, dating to the mid to late Warring States period.[125] Its title was given by the editors

[124] The edition and analysis in this section draws on work published in Krijgsman *Forthcoming*.
[125] Li Xueqin ed. 2010. For an analysis of the genre markers in this text identifying as belonging in the broad sphere of *Shu* type texts see Krijgsman *Forthcoming* and Allan 2012. The slips measure 28.5 cm in length and were bound by two threads, it is unclear if this happened before or after writing toke place. The slips are written from the very top, and at the end of each strip a space with the size of roughly one graph is left blank. Other than

on the basis of the recurring reference to the "treasured instructions" *baoxun* in the text. [126] Only the second slip is broken at the top and around 11 to 13 graphs are missing.

In my analysis, the *"Baoxun" can be divided into three main parts. A historical frame, a narrative frame, and the body consisting of two anecdotes. These anecdotes are themselves framed similar to the main text in an effort to harmonize the different sections of the text by thoroughly encapsulating them within the language of the *Shu*.[127] The historical frame is similar to other *Shu* type texts and places the text at a moment just before King Wen's impending death.[128] It states that the king is afraid that he would die too soon to transmit the "treasured instructions" and hence King Wen hastens to prepare for this ritual act of transmission. Just as in the *"Wuwang Jianzuo" discussed above, ritual purification had to take place before transmission.[129] While a section of the text is missing here, it is clear that the king has to prepare himself before starting the transmission proper:

> (1)惟王五十年，不豫，王念日之多歷，恐墜寶訓。戊子，自醷水。己丑，昧
> (2)[爽]□□□□□□□□□□□[130] [王]若曰："發，朕疾漸[131]甚，恐不汝及(3)訓。

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the usual repetition marks, the manuscript does not come with any punctuation and its ending is marked by leaving the remainder of the last bamboo strip blank. The manuscript is written in a uniform calligraphy likely from a single hand, the style of which is markedly different from the other texts in the collection.

[126] Li Xueqin ed. 2010: 142.

[127] See Krijgsman *Forthcoming*.

[128] For a different analysis of the structure of the *"Baoxun" in light of the Gu Ming, see Meyer *Forthcoming*.

[129] Note that these elements too can only be refered to in the text yet they assume extratextual practice required before the transmission of the physical item, see Harper 1987: 563–564 for ritualized transmission in medical texts.

[130] Except where my edition differs from the source publication, I transcribe the text directly into modern script. For an extensive overview of the different graph readings and reconstructions up to 20-06-2011, see Chen Minzhen ed. 2011.

[131] I follow Chen Minzhen 2011b: 29-30 and Meng Pengshen 2009 who read this graph as a loan for *jian* *dzamʔ 漸.

昔前人傳寶，必授之以詷（誦）[132]。今朕疾允病，恐弗念（唸）[133]終，汝以書(4)受之。欽哉！勿淫！ […]

It was the fiftieth year of our king (Wen) and he was not well. Our king thought about the many years that had passed, and feared that the "Treasured Instructions" would be lost. On *wuzi*, he washed his face. On *jichou*, at the break of day, […]
Our king thus said: "Fa, Our condition quickly deteriorates, and We fear We shall not have time to instruct you.

In times of yore, when the early kings passed on the "Treasured" [Instructions], these were to be received through recitation. However, because Our condition is truly severe, We fear that we will not be able to intone it to the end. You will receive it in writing [instead]. Revere it! Do not defile it! […]

Of interest here is the way in which transmission is presented. It juxtaposes the way of the early kings with the unfortunate circumstances of the present. Instead of following in their footsteps, king Wen is forced by his illness and he has to pass on the instructions in writing. The text conveys a sense of haste surrounding the transmission of the instructions, and this time pressure does not combine well with an oral mode of transmission. King Wen laments that when using the preferred method of recitation *song* 誦, he would not be able to finish intoning *nian* 唸 the message, suggesting that oral transmission is a lengthy process. Two short anecdotes follow on the attainment of *zhong* 中 as a means to rule, they make up the core of the "treasured instructions" referred to in the frame. The *"Baoxun", like the

[132] The two main readings of the graph *tong* *doŋʔ 詷 revolve around different strategies presented in Li Xueqin ed. 2010: 144–5. The first, advanced by Li Shoukui 2010: 81 argues for reading this graph in light of *Shangshu* 'Guming' and its commentaries that suggest reception of *tong* 侗/僮 by an heir in a ritual ceremony, *tong* is then variously interpreted as a wine vessel, a young boy (akin to a pupil) or a set of instructions, compare the various explanations in Chen Minzhen ed. 2011: 34–6. The other suggestion is to read as *song* *sə-loŋ-s 誦 'to recite', because it presents a contrast to 'writing' mentioned on strip 3. Both options are phonologically sound and common loans. The previous interpretation however has the disadvanatage of reading the *"Baoxun" through a structurally different segment of the 'Gu Ming'. The *Baoxun juxtaposes this word with *shu* 書 and does not place a young heir 侗 in juxtaposition to the ancients as in the Guming. As such I follow Li Ling 2009 and Chen Wei 2010: 60 among others who argue that in light of the parallel *song* 誦 is the better option.

[133] Two solutions are regularly advanced for the reading of *nian* *nˤim-s 念 here. One option, as suggested in Li Xueqin ed. 2010: 145 and Zhao Ping'an 2009, read the graph as a loan for *kan* *kʰˤəm 堪 'to endure', which suggest it operating as a co-verb to the main verb *zhong* 終 "end", this is gramatically unconvincing; *kan* is used as a full verb in pre-Qin writings. The more straightforward solution is to read 念 as 唸 *təms "recite", as argued by Lin Zhipeng 2010.

*“Wuwang Jianzuo”, thus operates as a narrative discussing the transmission of a message and is simultaneously the embodiment of that very message.

The irony here is that the anecdotes that make up the message are only a few lines each and should be easily and quickly memorable. One possible explanation is that the act of transmission includes more than just a transmission of the words of the message. This echoes the sentiments presented in the *Zhuangzi* passages above. The dynamic of transmission transforms a common message into a method of rule. This dynamic could include gesture, ritual prescription, a particular way of intoning or explaining the message, or simply the ability to tailor a message to its recipient.[134] In this case a possible reason for the duration of transmission lies in the relative vagueness of the message: the key concept of rule in the anecdotes is presented as *zhong* but it is never concretely defined or explained in the text:[135]

> (4)[…]昔舜久作小人，親耕于鬲茅[136]，恭求中。自稽厥志，(5)不違于庶萬姓之多欲，厥有施于上下遠邇。乃易位設稽，測(6)陰陽之物，咸順不逆。舜既得中。言不易實變名，身茲服惟(7)允，翼翼不懈，用作三降之德。帝堯 嘉之，用授厥緒。嗚呼！ 祗之(8)哉！
>
> In times of yore, Shun was for a long time in the position of a petty man, he personally plowed (the slopes of) mount Li and the uncultivated plains, and reverently sought *zhong*. He examined his own intent, and did not abandon the needs of the myriad people. He implemented this from the highest to the lowest, and from the nearest to the farthest. Thereupon, he ordered the entitlements and arranged the records, gave measure to the things of Yin and Yang, all followed and none opposed. Shun accordingly attained *zhong*. When speaking, he did not alter the substance nor change the name of things, and in his person, he was faithful in following it, and

[134] I am indebted to Joachim Gentz and the participants of the Edinburgh reading group for valuable feedback on an earlier version of the argument here.

[135] For a discussion, see Allan 2016 and Chen Minzhen 2011b.

[136] Li Xueqin ed. 2010: 145 chooses to read *limao* 鬲茅 as *liqiu* 歷丘 citing many parallels for this story, which use this name for the mountain. However, there are many similar excavated anecdotes, such as in the recent *Qiong da yi shi* 窮達以時 (“Success and failure come at their respective times”) manuscript from Guodian and the *Rongchengshi* 容成氏 in the Shanghai collection describing Shun as working in the *caomao* 草茅 (“grasslands”). Likely, as Zhao Ping’an 2009 and Chen Minzhen 2011: 50 point out, this anecdote rather combines two references to different locations where Shun worked the land.

> reverent without laxity, and used it to make the 'Three descended virtues'.[137] Emperor Yao lauded it, and therefore bestowed his charge on him. Oh! Revere it!

This first of two anecdotes describes Shun's rise from obscurity, a common story in Warring States texts. His attainment of *zhong* 中 is presented as the crucial element triggering his recognition by Yao. While in this and the following anecdote *zhong* is presented as an essential element, it is unclear what it exactly entails. Possibly, the reasons for the duration envisioned for the transmission of this short anecdote included room for explanation and contextualization of its message. In any case, the recitation of even two short passages could be reasonably presented as a lengthy process to a Warring States audience. Despite critiques of the efficacy of writing in texts such as the *Zhuangzi*, here it is presented as a valid, and importantly, quicker alternative to oral transmission.

Moreover, I would argue that the text's expression of haste and apologetic presentation of transmission in writing reveals yet another perceived quality of written text. The urgency of the frame can be read as a foil to justify the text's existence in writing. In order for oral transmission to take place, the king has to be alive and present. The king is the only carrier of the instructions, which are passed on from king to future king, and therefore not accessible to the general public. The selling point of the *"Baoxun" is thus that it makes its readers witness to these supposedly secret instructions, from an age far gone. It is the written nature of the message that provides the means to circumvent the privacy and temporal distance of the transmission and open it up to a larger public. Written text can be hidden or

[137] For different suggestions on how to interpret the 'Three Descended Virtues' 三德, as a text or doctrine for example, see Chen Minzhen 2011: 76–79.

lost, and resurface at any time to miraculously provide access to hidden knowledge about the past.[138]

Writing, from the perception of a Warring States audience is presented as a means of granting access to knowledge far removed in time, geographical location, and privilege. It allows knowledge to travel beyond the context and control of its transmission and composition, and to attribute interpretations or stories not previously attested to figures in the past. But in order for these new texts to be considered trustworthy, the texts under review suggest that a narrative describing the context of their composition, transmission, and reception had to be provided within the texts themselves. This ability of writing to grant access, and the inclusion of narratives of textual origins are articulated even stronger in the *"Jinteng", which will be discussed now.

The "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 (*"Jinteng" 金縢)

The story of the Duke of Zhou's regency during the youth of King Cheng is widely known and referred to across early Chinese literature.[139] This foundational event forms one of the focal points for the cultural memory of the early Zhou, and because it hints at the tension between usurpation and regency, has been open to speculations about the actual course of events from Warring States times onwards.[140] The most famous articulation of the story is found in the "Jinteng" chapter of the new text *Shangshu*. It has been referred to as China's

[138] My argument here has benefitted from discussions with Yegor Grebnev. Compare the use of this trope in later times to justify new textual traditions, for example the range of (in certain cases, putative) discoveries of old script texts during the Han which presented a way for Wang Mang to justify his rule, or the rediscovey of written text in the story of the ascension of the sixth patriarch of Chan Buddhism among others.
[139] See discussions in Shaughnessy 1997: 101-136, Meyer 2014a.
[140] On the historicity of the narrative see Unger 1976 and Shaughnessy 1997: 137–164.

first short story, and as recently discussed by Meyer, both the acquired "Zhou Wuwang you Ji" and the transmitted "Jinteng" capitalize on the tension in transfers of rule to form both a powerful argument and an enticing narrative.[141] Here, I focus on the instrumentality of writing in this story.

The structure of the narrative in the "Zhou Wuwang you Ji" revolves around the denouncement and subsequent rehabilitation of the Duke of Zhou. I argue that within this basic plot, an instrumental role is given to the written word. It is the Duke of Zhou's prayer, put into writing and hidden away in the metal bound coffer, which eventually absolves him. This element is the crux of the narrative, and is consecutively paired and contrasted with ritual propriety, slander, a poem, and finally, witness testimony. As such, reading the narrative through a focus on the role of writing shows how its qualities are offset against oral and ritual forms of discourse. This reveals contemporaneous perspectives on the role and status of the written word, and features a combination of both praise as well as challenges to its role in transmission and testimony.

> (1)武王既克殷三年，王不豫有遲。二公告周公曰「我其爲王穆卜。」周公曰：「未可以(2)慼吾先王。」周公乃爲三壇同墠，爲一壇於南方▃。周公立焉，秉璧，戴珪。史乃册(3)祝告先王曰：「爾元孫發也，▃遘害虐疾。爾毋乃有丕子之責在上？▃惟爾元孫發也，▃(4)不若旦也。▃是佞若巧能，多才，▃多藝，▃能事鬼神。命于帝廷，敷有四方，以定爾子(5)孫于下地。▃爾之許我，我則進[142]璧與珪。爾不我許，我乃以璧與珪歸。▃」周公乃納其(6)所為貢自以代王之說▃于金縢之匱，▃乃命執事人曰：「勿敢言▃。」
>
> It was three years since king Wu had defeated the Yin, and he was ill for some time. The two dukes addressed the Duke of Zhou saying: "We should perform a Mu divination for the king." The Duke of Zhou replied: "This is not enough to move our former kings." The Duke of Zhou then set up three altars on the same platform, and set up one on its southern side. The Duke of Zhou positioned himself on it, held a Bi disk and carried a Gui tablet. The court Scribe then read out a prayer addressed to the former kings: "Your oldest grandson Fa has met with harm and is suffering from a

[141] Meyer 2014a.

[142] This edition and translation is slightly changed from Meyer 2014a, which has 厭. I read 進 as a loan for 晉.

> serious disease. Is it the case that you need him to serve up above? But actually your oldest grandson Fa is not the equal of Dan (me). [Dan] is clever and capable, has many talents and many skills, he is capable of serving the ghosts and spirits. You have received the mandate in the court of the supreme ancestor, and spread it out over the four directions, so that your sons and grandsons are settled on the earth below. If you permit me, I will present you with the Bi and Gui; if you do not permit me, I will return them." The Duke of Zhou then placed the speech in which he presented himself as a replacement to the king in the Metal bound Coffer. He then ordered the ritual assistants: "Do not dare speak [about this]!"

The frame of the story, similar to the *"Baoxun" above, presents the reader with king Wu's impending death. Instead of a divination to determine his faith, the Duke of Zhou presents himself as a replacement for the king to the ancestors. The Duke has the court scribe read a prayer to the ancestors extolling his virtue, arguing that they should take the life of the duke as sacrifice instead. He then has the prayer stored in the metal bound coffer and warns the ritual aides not to speak of it. This move proves to be the crux of the story. By storing his written prayer in the metal bound coffer, the Duke removes it from circulation. The only witnesses present at the scene are silenced by the Duke and accordingly, the testimony of the Duke's intent to die instead of the king is hidden in a container for none to see.

This section is presented as a frame for the audience to interpret all later events, which include the future king Cheng's suspicion of the Duke's intent as regent. As in the *"Wuwang Jianzuo" and the *"Baoxun", the *"Zhou Wuwang Youji" relates both a narrative of how the text in the metal bound coffer was produced, in addition to including the text of the prayer itself. This self-reflexive move of dramatic irony grants the audience access to this hidden prayer while at the same time providing a narrative why the people within the story did not have access. In the following half of the story, the fixed and hidden prayer is contrasted with freer modes of discourse.

即後武王陟▬，成王猶(7)幼在位，管叔及其羣兄弟，乃流言于邦曰：「公將不利於孺子▬。」周公乃告二公曰：「我之(8)□□□□ 無以復見於先王。」周公宅東三年，禍人乃斯得。於後▬，周公乃遺王詩(9)曰雕鴞。王亦未迎公。是歲也▬，秋大熟▬，未穫，天疾風以雷，禾斯偃，大木斯拔。邦人(10)□□□□ 弁▬，大夫端▬，以啟金縢之匱▬。王得周公之所自以爲貣，以代武王之說▬。王問執(11)事人，曰：「信。噫。公命我勿敢言▬。」王捕書以泣，曰：「昔公勤勞王家▬，惟余沖人亦弗及(12)知▬。今皇天動威，以彰公德▬。惟余沖人其親逆公，我邦家禮宜之▬。王乃出逆公(13)至郊。是夕，天反風，禾斯起▬。凡大木之所拔，二公命邦人盡復築之▬。歲大有年，秋(14)則大穫└。

(14B)周武王有疾周公所自以代王之志。

When afterwards king Wu had died, king Cheng was still young when he took up the throne. Guanshu and all his younger and older brothers then spread a rumour throughout the country, saying: “The Duke [of Zhou] will not be beneficial to the young heir.” The Duke of Zhou then addressed the two Dukes and said: “If I […] cannot appear before the former kings again.” The Duke of Zhou resided in the east for three years, and the culprits where then obtained. Afterwards, the Duke of Zhou presented the king with the poem “Eagle Owl.” The king still did not receive the Duke. That year, the autumn was very ripe and had not yet been harvested when Heaven send a fierce wind and lightning. It flattened all the grain and uprooted all the big trees. The people in the country […] put on the ceremonial cap and the grandees put on ceremonial clothes, in order to open up the Metal bound Coffer. The king obtained the Duke of Zhou’s speech in which he presented himself as a replacement for king Wu. The king asked the ritual assistants, and they said: “Verily, it is so. The Duke ordered us not to speak of it.” The king held the document in tears, and said: “Formerly, the Duke laboured for our house, but I the young one did not get to know this. Now August Heaven moves its might in order to manifest the Duke’s virtue. That I the young one should personally meet him is considered proper by the ritual of our house and country. The king then went out to meet the Duke at the outskirts. That evening, Heaven turned the winds, and all the grain rose again. The two dukes ordered the people of the country to replant all of the big trees that had been uprooted. That year had a great crop, and in the autumn there was a great harvest.

In this section, the Duke’s good intents are countermanded by Guanshu et al. who spread rumours through the state. In other words, the hidden and fixed message of the prayer is directly contrasted with the moveable and variable nature of rumour. The Duke, in an attempt to absolve himself of these accusations sends the poem “Eagle Owl” to King Cheng. This moveable form (we are not told whether the Duke send it in writing or dictation), supposedly capable of encapsulating the intent of its composer, is not able to persuade the king. Heaven intervenes and punishes the Zhou by flattening its crops, triggering the opening of the metal

bound coffer. The king obtains the written prayer and confirms its origins with the ritual specialists. Only after oral witness confirmation, does the king dramatically take up the document, burst into tears, and absolve the Duke. The crops and the Duke's good name are restored.

The recognition of the Duke's intent on the basis of the writings make turns the document into a witness itself. It is presented as the prime form for revealing his original intent and this is possible because writing a text down and hiding it away makes it relatively difficult to change the wording. The unchanged wording preserved in this document is thus presented as displaying the Duke's *original* intent. Whomever appended the summary style title to the manuscript text picked up this aspect and made a point that it was the "intent" *zhi* 志 of the Duke to take the king's unfortunate place that is key to this story.

The written prayer as the vehicle of intent is implicitly contrasted to the poem that the Duke presented to King Cheng. While contemporaneous and later discourse repeatedly stressed the paranomastic affiliation between a poem (*shi* 詩 *s.tə) and the authors intent (*zhi* 志 *tə-s),[143] and often state that poetry is the prime vehicle for manifesting intent, this understanding is subverted here. The poem does not absolve the Duke, it is a written document which presents the best representation of the Duke's intent instead. Perhaps it is the fact that it was composed after the events that made it not representative of the Duke's intent before King Wu died. Or, it was the mobile and malleable nature of an oral text which made it unsuitable in this particular case. Indeed, the concern of the text is not so much the oral nature of *composition* or *performance* of text – the prayer of the Duke was read out loud to the ancestors as well. Rather, the movability and malleable nature of oral *transmission* is

[143] Already found in the Guodian *"Yucong 1".

contrasted to the fixed and stable status accorded to writing here. The prayer is locked up, hidden, and therefore taken out of circulation and supposedly impervious to change.[144]

As a metatext, this characterization applies to the manuscript-text itself as well. The story of the hidden document provides a means for the insertion of this narrative on the Duke of Zhou in the stream of tradition, and is therefore implicitly presented as the untainted, and therefore, authentic account of his intent. By contrast, the rumors spread by the duke's brothers and the poem given to the king are both moveable and malleable forms. They traverse the country and are susceptible to manipulation in the process of transmission. The prayer was fixed in writing and did not change. This logic is echoed in a passage in the *Mozi*:

> 則夫好攻伐之君，有重不知此為不仁不義也，有書之竹帛，藏之府庫。為人後子者，必且欲順其先君之行，曰：「何不當發吾府庫，視吾先君之法美。」
>
> Well these bellicose lords, were twice ignorant in that they were being inhumane and unrighteous and had it written on bamboo and silk, and stored in the archives of their office. They made it for their descendants, who necessarily wanted to follow the deeds of their former lords, so that they would say: "Why not open up our archives, and show the splendour of the model of our former lords?"[145]

For the *Mozi*, it is the fact that the inhumane deeds of bellicose lords were written down and stored away in repositories that allows their descendants to learn in surprise of their failings rather than finding proper models. Their actions and motives are preserved untouched through the ages, allowing later commentators to judge them to new standards. Nonetheless, many sources state that for written material to be trustworthy, its conditions of composition have to be verified. In the "Zhou Wuwang Youji", the king calls on witnesses to provide oral

[144] Note that while the composition and storing of the document are contextualized in the story, the poem and the rumour are just presented as is, and are therefore not presented with a means of validating its contents.
[145] *Mozi* "Tianzhi Xia" 天志下, translation adapted from Mei 1929.

testimony proving that it was indeed the Duke who hid this prayer before the death of king Wu.

Just as in the case of the *"Baoxun" in which writing is used to present its readership with allegedly intimate knowledge, or the *"Wuwang Jianzuo" where writing is presented as a means to counter textual loss, we could argue that this need for verification of the source of written documents echoes an understanding of the use of writing to insert new narratives in the stream of tradition. An increase in the appearance – in *writing* – of narratives that were supposedly lost, is at the same time celebrated as a trope of access to textual heritage while its origins are questioned.

This tension, I argue, underlies the need for these texts to provide a convincing narrative about their circumstances of production and transmission. As noted above, the physical nature of the text bearing knowledge is stressed in these accounts, accordingly they provide a tangible and immediate link to the past seemingly impervious to the powers of hearsay and memory loss.[146] These strategies help claim authenticity for the text. This claim to authenticity becomes all the more important in light of critiques leveled against (likely older) accounts that do not meet Warring States moral criteria as the famous *Mengzi* passage quoted below shows.

The *Mengzi* passage in question deals with the veracity of *Shu* accounts. It illustrates that writing, contrary to the perception offered in the *Mozi*, does not guarantee reliability to everyone and is instead often perceived of as having to compete with received and remembered knowledge about the past:

[146] Note also that the transmitted "Jinteng" includes a large episode on a divination conducted to verify the written text.

> 孟子曰：「盡信書，則不如無書。吾於《武成》，取二三策而已矣。仁人無敵於天下。以至仁伐至不仁，而何其血之流杵也？」
>
> "Mengzi said, 'It would be better to be without the *shu* than to give entire credit to it. In the "Completion of the War", I select two or three slips only. The humane has no enemy under heaven. When the most humane battled the most inhumane, how could the blood of the people have flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars?"[147]

The problem of competing accounts of the past will be discussed in the following chapter. For now, it is enough to note that for the *Mozi*, the rulers of the past would be judged on the basis of the factual and unchanged accounts handed down from the past. To other texts, such as the *Mengzi*, the written nature of documents did not automatically guarantee its veracity and instead needed to be squared with previously held perceptions passed on in the cultural memory of the Warring States.

In order for a written account to displace accepted versions of past events, it needed to provide more than just a different narrative. The three texts analyzed above tried to argue for veracity by reflecting on specific qualities of writing and by providing accounts on the transmission of the material. These texts used this as a means to convince their audience that they provide an accurate, traceable, and explainable account of the past. On a more fundamental level, this does not just reflect a search for new strategies of argumentation. Rather, the fact that the relative merits and defects of written transmission were for the first time contrasted with other methods indicates an *actual* shift towards a broader reliance on written documents. As a consequence, the very acts of transmission, authorship, and how they related to knowledge are reflected and commented on in texts of this period. As I have argued, these reflections often commented on the character of writing by referring to its materiality and functionality, but also often pointed to its shortcomings.

[147] *Mengzi* "Jinxin Xia" 盡心下, translation adapted from Legge 1970: 479.

One of the problems with written text is exactly that it preserves, and accordingly, proliferates. The volume of different accounts and arguments as preserved in writing is in itself an indication of pluriformity and difference of opinion. To some, these accounts had to be squared in order to arrive at the true state of things. Even the *Mozi*, otherwise a staunch advocate of writing as a means to ensure access and verification of knowledge from the past notes that a standard is needed to judge among the multitude of different writings:

> 子墨子言曰：「我有天志，譬若輪人之有規，匠人之有矩，輪匠執其規矩，以度天下之方圜，曰：『中者是也，不中者非也。』今天下之士君子之書，不可勝載，言語不可盡計，上說諸侯，下說列士，其於仁義則大相遠也。何以知之？曰我得天下之明法以度之。」
>
> Master Mozi said: "My will of Heaven is like the wheelwright's compasses and the carpenter's square, which they use to measure out the square and straight in the world, saying: "The accurate is to be accepted, and the inaccurate is to be dismissed." Now the writings of the *Shi* and gentlemen in the world are too much carry, and their arguments and sayings too much to account for. Above they argue to the lords, and below to the arrayed *Shi*. But they are far removed from what is humane and what is righteous. How do I know this? Because I have obtained the clearest model in the realm to measure them against. [148]

The lack of unity in explanation is here illustrated by the volume of writings. Indeed, in other passages, such as in the "Tianxia" chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, often considered to be of later date, cartloads of writings are the object of ridicule and embody a lack of true and straightforward knowledge and critical distinction buried under sheer volume:[149]

[148] *Mozi* "Tianzhi Shang" 天志上, translation modified from Mei 1929. For a discussion of the role of Heaven in providing standards in the Mozi see Standaert 2013: 264-265.
[149] See also *Mozi* "Guiyi" 貴義 for a passage ridiculing the master for carrying cartloads of books.

惠施多方，其書五車，其道舛駁，其言也不中。[150]
Huishi had many methods, and his writings amounted to five carts. His way was disarrayed and contradictory and his sayings did not hit the mark.

In the same way that a written document embodied the way of the ancients in the *"Wuwang Jianzuo", it came to symbolize the crisis in conflicting theories and methods so often taken as the hallmark of the Warring States.[151] Possibly, this symbolic function of writing represents a later stage in the history of its perception, when writing, knowledge, and disputation were already stably associated, allowing the written word to function as a powerful symbol illustrating the disorderly state of the realm.[152] This sentiment culminates in comments illustrating idleness and absentmindedness associated with writing. A shepherd in the *Zhuangzi* loses his sheep because he was submerged in reading, notably paired with a shepherdess who is similarly lost in a game of *liubo*.[153] The above suggests that the written word was not accepted as the ideal means for transmitting knowledge straight away. Instead, its relative qualities and functionality were a concern that was reflected on and evaluated in a number of ways. It is only in the Han dynasties that 'books' and the libraries that hold and categorize them have become a fully accepted means to restore the culture of the past.[154]

[150] *Zhuangzi* "Tianxia" 天下, translation my own.
[151] By Graham 1989 for example.
[152] Lewis 1999: 80-82. See also the *Hanfeizi* which is riddled with comments deriding the reliance on (old knowledge) as preserved in books and words, e.g. in the "Yulao" 喻老 and "Liu Fan" 六反 chapters.
[153] *Zhuangzi* "Pinmu": 臧與穀，二人相與牧羊，而俱亡其羊。問臧奚事，則挾筴讀書；問穀奚事，則博塞以遊。二人者，事業不同，其於亡羊均也。"The slave boy and the slave girl were out together herding their sheep, and both of them lost their flocks. Ask the slave boy how it happened: well, he had a bundle of writing slips and was reading some writings. Ask the slave girl how it happened: well, she was playing a game of *Liu Bo*. They went about their business in different ways, but in losing their sheep they were equal." Transl. adapted from Watson 1968.
[154] Nylan 2011.

Conclusion

Previous research has persuasively argued for the emergence of a manuscript culture on the basis of an increase in the availability and spread, and the reliance on written text in this period.[155] What I have argued here, is that this development was remarked upon by contemporary authors, who evaluated the functionality and explored the role of this relatively new phenomenon in their texts. Written text was a newcomer in many fields of discourse. Before the Warring States, the written word was intimately ingrained in the ritual and legal sphere of the old aristocracy, and the purview of a select group of individuals that were responsible for its composition, dissemination, and formed its audience and witnesses. Writing's prescribed role was not reflected on and did not impinge on other forms of discourse. This picture changed drastically in the Warring States period. I suggest that writing and reading, reciting, and storing, written text became activities that were commented upon. Their relative merits and problems were addressed and texts emerged that played with writing as an argumentative function.

In the preceding analysis I have argued this in a number of ways. First of all, the period witnesses a significant increase in vocabulary used to talk about activities related to written and oral text. The word fields for reading and writing increased their presence across genres of discourse and media of communication. Not just the products or the speech acts associated with them, but the activities themselves were discussed. In texts from the period, distinctions appear between seeing and hearing documents, between reciting and receiving text in writing, and oral forms such as poetry and rumour are contrasted to written text. Manuscripts and other materials as a physical embodiment of knowledge became a trope in

[155] In particular Meyer 2012, especially chapter 7; Behr and Fuehrer 2005, Kern 2002 and Richter 2013.

the literature of the period, and their toughness, movability, and self-referential ability to be both the message and its container spoke to audiences of the period as a powerful tool in constructing the validity and reliability of its content.

Moreover, the field of associations, i.e. the qualities associated with the written word are for the first time commented upon and contrasted with other forms of discourse. The written is characterized as fixed, immutable, and lasting. It grants a text the ability to transcend its context of composition and resurface after hundreds of years. Written texts are stored, treasured, and once they emerge again provide challenging statements and text that is difficult to match with received knowledge. To some authors, this ability of writing was used as a rationale justifying a text's new emergence. By writing the context of production and transmission into the narratives of the past, they provide a text internal lineage explaining the surfacing of new material within the stream of tradition.

To others, written text, and by extension, isolated words and language in general, were considered problematic. Writing stripped discourse of its contexts of articulation, including elements such as gesture, tone, facial expression and physical and ritual activity. While for some this allowed writing to stand untainted from the malleability commonly attributed to speech, to other, the use of witnesses and oral testimony, verbal explanation and contextual interpretation of reified text were all considered necessary in order to properly situate the written word.

As such, to many it was an inferior form of knowledge production and communication, especially when contrasted to more traditional teaching settings. Writing was not a victor over speech and action. The multiplication of volumes was instead taken as a sign of the poverty or disorderly state of their owner's thinking, and by extension, of the realm at

large at the same time that thinkers used them to travel back to a better age, knowing, befriending, and seeking solace in the sages of antiquity.

昔者堯、舜讓而帝，之、噲讓而絕；湯、武爭而王，白公爭而滅。由此觀之，爭讓之禮，堯、桀之行，貴賤有時，未可以為常也。

In times of yore, Yao and Shun abdicated and became emperor, Zhi and Kuai abdicated yet were cut of; Tang and Wu fought and became king, Bo Gong fought yet was destroyed. Observing it from these examples, the propriety of fighting and abdicating and the conduct of Yao and Jie are valued or denigrated according to the times, you cannot take them as constants.

Zhuangzi 莊子 "Autumn Floods" 秋水

Chapter 2: Reconstructing Cultural Memory: Conflict and the Colonization of the Past

In the preceding chapter I have argued for the emergence of an increased reflection on writing, text, and transmission, in the Warring States period. As I have argued, such awareness is predicated on the increased availability of textual material in physical, manuscript form. This chapter analyzes how an increase in manuscript-texts dealing with the past enabled different ways of narrating, structuring, and engaging with the past. It argues that the character of remembrance of the past gradually changed in light of increased textualization. In other words, by turning memory into text, the way the past was understood gradually changed and the past turned into a resource that could be engaged and experienced in new ways.

The model that I engage with is that of cultural memory, developed by Jan Assmann from Halbwach's notion of collective memory, to address the different ways in which societies with differing degrees of literacy and textualized heritage deal with the past.[156] In short, Assmann has argued that the way in which a society engages with its heritage is closely linked to the means it uses to remember and represent it. To develop this notion, Assmann advances a scale between two ideal types. On the early end of the spectrum, societies

[156] Assmann 2011, Halbwachs 1992.

generate a body of cultural memory that frames the present in light of its foundational period. Culture heroes, myths, and cosmogonies stemming from this period provide a foundation for a society to furnish identity construction, and a shared past that can be mined and adapted to meet and explain the vicissitudes of life and cultural experience. Such a shared cultural memory, he argues, is constantly renegotiated to meet daily needs through ritual performance and reenactment, oral instruction and tradition, and is always placed in a time far away from individually experienced memory or *communicative* memory.[157] Cultural memory provides the framework for the organization of the experiences in the communicative memory of a society, and thus ensures that the structures are stable and understandable. To further dispel any doubt of discrepancy, it is mostly followed by a major break (say an apocalypse, a *fall* etc.) that enables the two periods to remain rigidly distinct and the former eminently usable.

On the other end of the scale, the theory entails the ideal type of a society that is highly textualized. Instead of ritual experts guiding interpretation of communal ritual, a selective group of textual experts such as commentators emerge who derive their cultural authority from the interpretation of a body of sacred or canonic texts. Instead of providing oral and adaptable founding myths set in antiquity, a set of fixed texts is used to describe a shared cultural heritage. Changes that need explaining are wrought on these texts by the use of commentaries, and elaborate schemes emerge that construct a unified whole of this, often divergent, textual heritage.[158]

Bearing in mind that this analysis is predicated on two ideal types, and does not exclude commemorative elements persisting in a society based on writing or vice versa,[159]

[157] Communicative memory is that which can be related orally between generations, and usually spans about 80 to a 100 years, after which there is a collective blank or amnesia, preceded by the foundational age.
[158] For the role of commentators in 'working-up' a textual tradition, see the work by Assmann 2011, but also Henderson 1991 and Farmer et al. 2002a, b.
[159] For some evaluations of Assmann's work see Gottlieb 2013 and Spalinger 2012, for general overviews of cultural memory studies see in particular Olick and Robbins 1998.

Assmann's model provides a useful lens to reveal ways in dealing with the past. If adapted to meet the specifics of early China, it can be used to frame large trends in early Chinese sources about the past, in that it organizes recent in-depth and period specific research on early Chinese textuality.[160] One of the major drawbacks of the model is its static description of the two extremes and as such it fails in describing the change from one end of the spectrum to the other. As it stands, it could be taken as a rather simplified rewording of the radical difference in character between early and later textual sources, or a rephrasing of the classic oral-written dichotomy.

In this chapter, while employing the basic framework developed by Assmann, I focus on exactly those small changes that underlay this transformation in early China. Specifically, I examine recently discovered materials from the Warring States period, and relate their modes of describing the past in terms of time, event, structure, and reflexivity, with earlier commemorative materials from the mid to late Western Zhou and early Springs and Autumns periods, which are already well described in the literature.[161] The changes in the mode of *representing* the past in writing are here taken as representative for changes in the mode of *perceiving* the past. As such, this chapter attempts to synthesize a number of trends in the textual representation of the past. In this aspect, it is predominantly a literary history of the means of textually constructing the past as well as aiming to add to the framework underlying existing intellectual histories of the Warring States.

Within early China studies, the models used to explain changes in the texts, their use of the past, and the way people dealt with them, often focus solely on the social, economic, and political changes that took place during the Warring States, which gave rise to a highly

[160] It has been used previously by Kern 2009 and Meyer 2012 among others to explain early Chinese textuality in a manuscript culture. Studies by Nylan, 2011, 2001 reveal the workings on the other end of the scale when addressing the change of character of textuality into a text culture by the early empires.
[161] See studies by Kern 2009, Pines 2002, Schaberg 2001, and von Falkenhausen 1993.

mobile and text producing class of *Shi*. Depending on the target of the study, either the Masters (zi 子), Persuaders (Youshui 遊說), or statesmen are singled out as the fulcrum of textual production, be that oral, ritual, or philosophical.[162]

While this model accounts for changes in the intellectual sphere of debate, it does not account for the changes in the type and accessibility of information that foregrounded the possibility of such rich and varied debate as it occurred during the Warring States. In addition, the model is mired in that it focuses predominantly on named and (post-facto) identified individuals and schools responsible for these debates. While obviously agreeing that texts are the product of (groups of) people and their debates, the manuscript evidence flatly denies our ability to name these proponents of ideas beyond their function as literary figures. Rather, the textual landscape as revealed in manuscripts is often anonymous, and it is perhaps more fruitful to look at the general trends of the debate – its framework, contours, and underlying questions and concerns – as opposed to a who-is-attacking-who approach since we simply do not know who is reacting to which person or what social reality.

Bearing these caveats in mind this chapter takes issue with clear cut representations of change in historiography, often phrased in terms such as 'euhemerization', 'the literate mindset',[163] or the emergence of a concept of empire in historiography.[164] The simple fact that both 6th century BCE and 2nd century AD accounts of the past across genres contain an abundance of mythological and magical elements,[165] discount a simple development from history to myth or from myth to history, to name the two conflicting understandings of euhemerization used in early China studies.[166] Nonetheless, the culturally literate of the

[162] Most recently Denecke 2011, Pines 2009, Lewis 1999, Graham 1989, and Schwartz 1985.
[163] As presented in Ong 1982 and Goody 1977, see also Lloyd 1990 who deconstructs such arguments based on 'mentalities'.
[164] As most clearly advanced in Pines 2009.
[165] Compare for instance the mythological narratives in the *Shijing* 詩經 such as "Xuanniao" 玄鳥 and "Sheng Ming" 生民, with the collection of myths in the *Shanhaijing* 山海經.
[166] See critiques by Birrel 1997, 1994, Boltz 1981, and Lewis 1992.

Warring States were confronted with conflicting accounts of past events and their protagonists, and it cannot be ignored that in the official and comprehensive historiographies the politicized, rationalized, and humanized representation of events and characters of the past became dominant.

Likewise, the shortness and fragmented nature of many early mythological accounts has vexed those authors attempting to understand Chinese mythology as a unified system that can be compared with other early cultures, even triggering a debate on the very existence of those myths.[167] Both processes, I argue, can perhaps be understood better when seen in light of the development of textual culture, especially in how it relates to other, possibly oral, ritual, and otherwise commemorative discourses that had different uses and functions foregrounding the presentation of these stories.

Finally, the trauma of the Zhou's demise and the hope for establishing an empire as *mentalities* are often overplayed as arguments explaining the differences in representing the past and the workings of the world.[168] It should not be forgotten that these concerns are as much a retroactive projection on the Warring States from especially Han historiography, as of texts that have only received their final form after a long process culminating in the early empires.[169] But this does also not mean that it was the *Shiji* and other imperial projects that *invented* a macrostructured consciousness of the past. During the Warring States, there was certainly an increase in the scale and complexity of the structuring or 'patterning' of the past and in this process more abstract, integrated, and systemized master narratives emerged.[170]

[167] Ibid. and esp. the review in Goldin 2008.
[168] A classic articulation of this position can be found in Pines 2009: 18, arguing against statements by Lewis 1999: 355.
[169] Nylan 2001, Lewis 1999.
[170] Schaberg 2001.

As I will show, these developments might also be explained in terms of developments in the textual culture sketched above.

As such, my approach in this chapter is to focus on the anonymous material that grounds the claims made in the debates of many Warring States texts. Throughout this enquiry, the immense increase in physical availability and movability of text in the form of predominantly bamboo manuscripts is taken as key. This increase in information flows and quantity,[171] its availability in decontextualized and fixed form are, I believe, crucial aspects that need to be added to our existing explanations of the intellectual developments in the Warring States period. It should however be noted that this analysis does not claim to be absolute. Like the often ignored disclaimers raised by Assmann, I stress that what this chapter charts is a set of *trends* that operate in *conjunction* with a myriad of other – and better studied – social, economic, and political factors. Because of considerations of space, I have decided not to reiterate these well-known aspects but redirect the reader to the relevant literature. In addition, while I do not claim that these trends should be understood in light of modernist teleological claims such as the supplanting of myth by history or the triumph of rationality over superstition,[172] I do claim that the change in the quantity, availability, and physicality of information was one of the crucial causes underlying the trends I sketch.

Specifically, I argue that during the Warring States period, changes in representing the past emerged, that did not supplant, but enriched the possibilities of discoursing about important events in the memory of those who were culturally literate at the time. It is crucial to note that although these changes occurred over time, and that certainly a Western Zhou bronze text about the past is structurally different from a Warring States text on bamboo, the

[171] Farmer et al. 2002b advances the notion of information flows to explain the effect on communication of lightweight writing carriers.
[172] As I show, to Warring States sources, the distinction between history and myth for instance, was not important nor was it phrased in those terms. Rather, both are presented as means for telling stories representing the past.

changes do not reflect a triumph of rationality, a qualitative change in cognitive power, or more generally, an absolute development slowly excluding other possibilities of discourse. As has been shown by many, the immense increase in use of the written word, the growth and spread of literacy, and the different ways it allowed for writing and talking about the past do *not* change the cognitive abilities of its users, their rationality or their relative ascendance on the path towards modernity.[173] But an increase in material to work with, the textualization of memory into a cultural archive that could be consulted and contrasted,[174] and the ways writing allows for, and requires, different linguistic and structural representation of memory in text fundamentally alters the *resources* with which to think and write about the past.[175] As such, when feeding back into textual production, it changes the very character and framework in narrating the past, effectively reconstructing the remembered past.

At the background of this enquiry rests the assumption that it was only during the Warring States period that such an increase in physical manuscripts, the flows of information, and an increase in the people capable of dealing with these materials beyond a select elite emerged.[176] This is a falsifiable, but not necessarily provable hypothesis. Discovered and transmitted sources for the Springs and Autumns period are extremely limited, and while manuscript finds from the mid to late Warring States period are substantial and still increasing in number, they are predominantly limited to the former Chu region with its favorable preservation conditions. In other words, at least theoretically, it is possible for a cache of Springs and Autumns bamboo manuscripts containing literary accounts (that is to say, non-chronicular in nature and narrativized) of the past to be excavated from the central

[173] See here substantial critiques by Olson 1994 and esp. Finnegan 1988 against earlier claims by Goody 1977 and to an extent Ong 1982. Goody 2000 has since reformulated, and nuanced his position. Compare also Havelock 1963 for an early discussion of this topic in early Greece.
[174] On archive as long term references of cultural memory see Assmann 2008. See also Clanchy 2012 for extensive discussion on the relation of writing and memory to the actual archive.
[175] For these crucial changes to the literacy hypothesis see studies by Meyer 2012, Assmann 2011, Olson 1994, Henderson 1991, Farmer et al. 2002a,b. See also Krijgsman 2014.
[176] As argued by Meyer 2014b.

plains region.[177] If archaeologically datable, that would cause a reappraisal of the claims made in this chapter.

As I have stressed in introduction, several factors make this unlikely. 1) While predominantly from the Chu region, peculiarities of script, content and overlap with other sources on bronzes from a variety of regions such as Qi, Wei, and Zhongshan to name but a few, suggest that the Chu materials can be taken as representative of the manuscript landscape for the Warring States at large.[178] 2) The attitudes towards text indicative of changes in the textual culture as revealed in sources both transmitted and discovered change dramatically only during the Warring States period.[179] 3) Most, if not all, accounts placing widespread physical availability of narrativized accounts about the past, if not philosophical narratives at large anywhere before the Warring States period have been or are currently being debunked.[180] 4) As I show below, the general structures of literary representation of the past in many discovered Warring States sources actually still tallies with those observed for bronzes and songs of the mid to late Western Zhou through the early Springs and Autumns and therefore suggest that the basic framework for understanding the past only slowly started to change during the mid to late Warring States period.

To chart track changes in the representation and understanding of the past, I examine a number of structural characteristics of the texts. These include, for example, the representation of time and space, the way the structural relations between subunits of time and space is presented (e.g. causal vs listing, or what perspective in space a text takes), and

[177] I here exclude the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and other transmitted accounts as they cannot be reliably dated to the Springs and Autumns period but by precarious consensus tend to be seen as Warring States through early Han narrativized representations of events from this period, see the work by Schaberg 2001, cf. Pines 2002.
[178] On regional scripts see most recently Zhou Bo 2012, Venture 2009. On northern qualities in the *Rongchengshi* among others see Guo Yongbing 2008: 11 and references therein. Note also overlaps in philosophical materials such as the *Zhongshan Wang* tripods as noted in Li Xueqin 1979 among others.
[179] See chapter 1 and overviews in Lewis 1999, Tsien 2013.
[180] On the *Shu* "Documents" see Kern and Meyer *Forthcoming*, on coherent philosophical edifices see Meyer 2012, on the Odes see Kern 2009, and on the *Zuozhuan* see Schaberg 2001.

the processes that govern the inclusion of material in a narrative. This chapter does so by examining the following questions. 1) How are time and space represented in sources describing the past? 2) Do any significant changes start to emerge in this representation and how can they be explained? 3) What are the ways in which the past is structured in textual form and to what extent is this structure rendered explicit? 4) Does this structure change and how does it relate to imperial notions of historiography? 5) How are claims about the past formulated, and, how are they challenged? 6) Why and how are certain materials selected for inclusion in texts, and, 7) does the general character of this selection change over time? 8) Finally, what are the implicit or explicit ideas about experiencing the past that are apparent from the way the past is represented in text?

On the basis of these aspects, I suggest structural and qualitative differences in the way the past was presented over time, and as such, hypothesize on changes in the way the past was perceived. To explore these questions, I first offer a close reading of several commemorative *shi* traditionally dated to the mid to late Western Zhou to early Springs and Autumns period. These are followed by an analysis of the sub-textual claims made on the narratives of the past in excavated or otherwise retrieved texts such as the *“Tang Yu zhi Dao” 唐虞之道, *“Guishen” 鬼神, *“Qiong Da Yi Shi” 窮達以時, as well as the “Rongchengshi” 容成氏. Finally, I occasionaly take recourse to transmitted material to show that the trends I sketch are not limited to the sources under review but betray wider tendencies in historiography.

A fragmented past?

One often noted challenge faced by researchers attempting to reconstruct the mythology and history of the pre-imperial period resides in the fragmented and often conflicting nature of the

source material.[181] From the mid-Western Zhou through the Springs and Autumns and Warring States periods, it is perhaps better to speak of mythographies and historiographies in the plural. In this chapter, I suspend the attempt to garner from this body of material a unified and comprehensive account of the pre-imperial past. Rather, I argue that this so-called fragmented and conflicting nature of the source material should be understood as a characteristic of early textuality. Instead of a unified narrative, it reveals the diversity that is characteristic of the modes of communication, commemoration, and representation in a culture whose heritage is not yet *fixed* in text nor *modeled* according to macronarratives. As such it provides a key for understanding what the culturally literate in this period themselves faced when recollecting and examining the past.

In the following section I discuss a number of early Zhou through Springs and Autumns lineage narratives. These narratives, containing localized and lineage-specific accounts embed the individual lineage in a larger cultural or ancestral heritage. A good set of examples can be found in the commemorative *shi* traditionally dated around the 9th to 6th centuries BCE. These *shi*, found in different sections of the Mao edition of the *Odes*, are characterized by placing a local lineage head and his territory on the footing of foundational, often mythological, figures and thereby linking the ruling house to that of the king and thus the political order. In terms of mode of commemoration, these *shi* tally well with the accurately dateable mid to late Western Zhou narratives preserved on bronzes.[182] What is the information that these *shi* elide and preserve, and for what reasons? How do they represent time and space and what does this tell us about the early body of commemorative materials?

[181] Birrel 1994.
[182] For comparisons see Kern 2009 and Behr 2007. See ch.3 below for an in-depth discussion of the changing nature in the use of *shi* for cultural memory construction.

A representative example can be found in the *shi* “Bigong” 閟宮#300 from the *Hymns* 頌 section of the *Odes*. It presents a long narrative in which the Lord of Lu is placed in a cultural genealogy that can be traced back through kings Wen and Wu up to the culture heroes Hou Ji and Yu, the former being specified as born of the mythical ancestor Jiang Yuan. The narrative is framed through a localized perspective by linking it up to a spatial landmark, defining the locality through sites of memory and placing it in a network of states that was made habitable by the labors of Yu. The local is thus defined in relation to a larger cultured space and this is further underscored by linking the locality politically to the Zhou king. In short, the local lineage is shown to be founded and continued on a shared cultural basis, defined by ritual and the mythological foundation of the land.

In the opening section, Hou Ji’s agricultural achievements resulting in the abundant growing of millet all over the country are presented as a continuation of Yu’s earlier tasks, before linking up each with the ducal house:

閟宮有侐；實實枚枚；
赫赫姜嫄，其德不回；
上帝是依；無災無害、
彌月不遲，是生后稷；
降之百福，
黍稷重穋、稙穉菽麥；
奄有下國，俾民稼穡；
有稷有黍、有稻有秬；
奄有下土，纘禹之緒。

The Closed Temple is still; it is very solid, board upon board;
majestic was Jiang Yuan, her virtue was without fault;
God on High made her fruitful; without injury, without hurt,
fulfilling her months but not late, she bore Hou Ji;
he sent down to them (the people) a hundred blessings,
the glutinous millet and the panicled millet, the slowly ripening and the quickly ripening grain, the early sown and the late sown grain, the pulse, the wheat;
he extensively possed the lands below, and caused the people to sow and reap;

> there was panicled millet and glutinous millet, there was rice and black millet;
> he extensively possed the lands below, continuing the work of Yu. […][183]

The ruling clan's mythical ancestry and its political heritage are tied up into a universal heritage space based on the labors of Yu. Local space is represented through commemoration of the lands, mountains and rivers of the *individual* polity yet is placed on the footing of a *universal* cultural space by linking it to the labors of culture heroes and sage kings.[184] While details are given in the description of local rulers, mythical figures such as Jiang Yuan and Yu are merely referred to. No mention is made of Yu's supposed flood-control or biographical information. Even the biographical data and merits imputed to Hou Ji, such as the references to his agricultural inventions and his divine conception, refer to extra-textual materials. They are not a goal in itself but are 'quoted' from cultural memory to serve as an amplification of the lineage narrative in order to provide a universal cultural-genealogical and spatial foundation for the lord's rule over his locality.

The time structure seen in pieces such as this one is typical for early lineage commemorations. Von Falkenhausen and Kern have argued that these compositions reflect an attempt at presenting cultural unity and lineage continuity.[185] While on the one hand this is manifested in a choice of words stressing a continuation of the past into the present and up to the future, it also underlies the very structure of time presented in these texts. Commonly, an idealized lineage origin set in the foundational period of Yu and Hou Ji starts the narrative and provides a heritage for the lineage to model itself upon. It is followed by a large and temporally unspecified in-between period. This timeless period, or 'floating gap' in

[183] Transl. Karlgren 1950: 259.
[184] Other possible examples include but are not limited to Wenwang Yousheng 文王有生 #244 and Hanyi 韓奕 #261 from the Major Elegantia and Xin Nan Shan 信南山 #210 from the Minor Elegantia.
[185] Kern 2009: 153-5, von Falkenhausen 1993: 155.

Vansina's terms,[186] is wedged in-between the foundational past and the present. This floating gap is a space where the ideology of continuity can manifest itself most clearly by describing a continued and idealized ritual practice and social and political order. [187] It represents the space between what is culturally remembered about the foundational period and what is communicatively and individually remembered about the present and near past. In other words, it fills in the blanks of memory with clichéd cultural representation upheld by ritualized institutions. In texts from the Warring States period, as I show below, this historically blank period is slowly colored in with narrative detail. As a result, the foundational period is pushed back further into the past.

This temporal structure of cultural memory is remarkably uniform across lineage narratives, and many of them stress a relation to mythical ancestors such as Hou Ji or culture heroes such as Yu. Where the former places the lineage in a line of temporal succession, the later spatially integrates the locality in a larger web of cultured space. These narratives structure the memory of the lineage into an understandable framework of time and space, and provide the community with a shared ancestry, ideological basis and identity. The scope and focus are however not universal but focus only on a small segment in a larger whole. Even bronze texts such as the "Shiqiang" *pan* 史墻盤, which some have argued to be the first *historical* writing, while broad in scope, should rather be seen as an amplification of this same model of commemoration and not as an attempt to present any broader 'history' other than that of the lineage itself.[188]

[186] Vansina 1985: 23f, see also Assmann 2011: 34f.
[187] As shown by von Falkenhausen 1993: 155. By ideology I refer here to sub-textual (and thus often implicit) claims that advance a certain perspective on the idealized workings of the world. They can be seen as an intellectual exercise of power over a group of people, for example seen in the focus on the correct execution of rituals, the representation of normative behavior or modes of interaction between people. Because of the more reflexive character of such ideological constructs in later periods, including an awareness of rival claims and increased argumentative modes of debate, we tend to call such ideological claims 'philosophy' from the Warring States period onwards.
[188] See Shaughnessy 1991: 3ff and the critique in von Falkenhausen 1993: 169.

This reveals itself in the focalization of these lineage narratives through the figure of the lineage head that stands metonymically for the lineage as a whole. These individuals (or their descendants) were likely the patrons for the songs and it is only through a combination of a number of these local perspectives that a grander picture and the ideological structure of the early Zhou world emerges. It is important to note therefore, that there is not a single text from this period that provides an universal perspective, manifested from the center outwards, or from an abstracted distance (either spatially or temporally) that could describe the cultural sphere as a whole.

Each instance, be it a *shi* or a bronze text, presents a local account and only *refers* to the larger cultural and mythological backing. While in the last example the figure of Hou Ji as lineage ancestor is rather well developed, it is through later sources that we learn more of the identity and labors of characters such as Yu. This knowledge is either assumed in the poems and bronzes or it was not not there. This means that if it is there, and the isolated statements in itself seem to point to such mythologies, it is not so much an *underdeveloped* mythology, but rather a *remembered* mythological heritage that was not considered necessary to be included in the text. The references only serve to cue an act of recollection for something that was widely known and commonly held, and was likely more completely articulated in a variety of other forms such as storytelling, performances, and other ways of (primarily) oral transmission. By the early Springs and Autumns period, if we ascribe to the traditional dating of *shi* such as "Xuanniao" 玄鳥, in some cases these references became longer, more explicit and more descriptive, and by the Warring States period, they abound both in number and variance.[189] In this later period, as I show below, we see a

[189] For earlier observations on the the emergence of an increasingly clear and remote foundational past see Gu Jiegang 1988: 101-108, see also Poo 2008 and the discussion in Brown 2013: 151ff who argues that the very concept of an abstract set of sage kings (sheng wang) rather than the more common former kings xianwang only emerged during the 4th century BCE with the Mozi, and insightfully ties this shift in with a change in the understanding of the foundational past and points, as I will argue below, to the ability of these figures to

macroperspective emerging. With it, new ways of structuring time and space begin to form that allow for larger ideological (or philosophical) constructs to be explicitly projected on the workings of the past. Concomitantly, the figures populating cultural memory gain in biographical detail and complexity, and are 'updated' to meet these new ideological ends. It is in the latter period that the focus shifts from the individual lineages to the characters that make up cultural memory as such. Texts emerge that single out figures such as Yao, Shun, and Yu exclusively, and in these texts they are furnished with a range of attributes and actions of more obviously ideologically motivated nature, both philosophically and mythographically.

The "Rongchengshi": Forging an all-embracing narrative about the past

Next, I analyze the "Rongchengshi" 容成氏, a mid to late Warring States narrative dealing with abdication, conflict and a range of other events in the period from pre-Yao rulers leading up to king Wu's conquest of the Shang.[190] In its representation of the past, the text could hardly be more different from the early lineage narratives. Besides from the fact that it is a completely different genre, with different functions and goals, this is particularly manifest in

"imagine a past that was more congenial to their arguments and *to bypass potential objections based on evidence from better-documented periods*." (p.167, my emphasis) and "Through this trick, they could avoid acknowledging a larger problem: the fact that the past was not univocal and that the evidence of more recent dynasties worked against them." (172). In my argument below, I focus on this accumulation of *written* evidence that spurred such considerations.

[190] See Pines 2010, Allan 2010, Guo 2008 for studies with overviews of the scholarship. Ma 2002: 91-146 (images), 249-293 (transcription).The manuscript comprises 53 slips and its length thus dwarves other philosophical descriptions about the past. Slips at roughly 44.5 cm feature between 42-45 graphs each, leading to roughly 2300 graphs for the whole manuscript. The edition used here is based on Chen Jian 2004 with changes most notably by Guo Yongbing 2008. ⍁ indicates a broken slip end, graphs in round brackets represent interpretive readings not included in Chen Jian 2004, square brackets indicate reconstructions. The translation is indebted to Allan 2010 and esp. Pines 2010. The manuscript is neither decidedly northern (pace Pines 2010: 29) nor is the text a likely product of Chu (pace Allan 2015: 204-5, other than of course, the current manuscript manifestation). Rather, the text's narrating of space and culture heroes is universalistic in scope and does not favor any particular region. Likewise, the manuscript is written in Chu script but it contains northern script influences suggesting that it might have been compiled and copied (at least in part) from earlier northern manuscripts (see Guo Yongbing 2008: 11ff.).

its representation of time and space, its depth of biographical and narrative detail, and the extent to which it structures and renders explicit causal connections between events. The reason why this text can, and indeed, should, be compared to earlier lineage narratives is because it highlights the differences in narrating the past. The point here is twofold, not only the content of texts dealing with the past has become more complex, the proliferation of new and historiographically speaking more complex genres in itself highlights a fundamental difference in historiographical writing of the period.[191] The "Rongchengshi" is characterized by an extraordinary scope of detail and textual structuring, and contains hitherto unforeseen systematic, and universalistic description of the pre-Yao past. These textual qualities, when compared to the radically different narratives discussed above, present a phenomenon in need of explanation. What developments in the representation of the past occurred during the Warring States that enabled the occurrence of a text (genre) such as this? How do we explain the immense detail and intricacy of textual structuring and how do we account for the radical differences in temporal and spatial representation? In this section, I provide a detailed analysis of these elements in the "Rongchengshi" after which I examine a number of trends in Warring States representation of the past that paved the way for its emergence.

Systematization: a shared past

First I examine the elaborate system of temporal structuring in the text, which I divide in a macro, meso, and micro level. The individual periods are explicitly marked and integrated

[191] Compare for example Allan 2015: 182 and Pines 2010 that have compared and contrasted the "Rongchengshi" to later texts such as the *Shiji* 史記. It should be noted that the text is far from a history in the modern sense of the word. While the texts attempts to tie its narrative closely together to create the illusion of continues narrative and historical development, it is actually salient in the extent to which it elides vast stretches of the past in between rulers. In that sense, the "Rongchengshi"is more properly seen as a text that combines, and to an extent, supplements, narratives about the past into a narratively, rather than historically, integrated whole. In doing so, it laid part of the ground work for the development of this style of historiography that would influence later works narrative representations of the past such as the *Shiji*.

within the narrative, and as such it presents an orderly and well-structured account of the past. The time structure of the "Rongchengshi" on the macrolevel consists of four main similarly structured and explicitly marked epochs. These can be further broken down into different periods or ages, that is to say, the individual reigns of the rulers. While missing slips in the places where Yao and Yu would have their own period markers, their presence for every other significant reign period suggests that these would have been included here as well. The structure can be broken down as follows:

1) Utopic Period
2) Pre-Yao Period
3) Yao, Shun, and Yu
4) Jie and Tang, Zhou and kings Wen and Wu

The text opens with a long list of mythical clan leaders or lineage heads which are taken together to characterize the pre-dynastic age. The list of figures, of which at least the first slip is missing, was probably headed by a generic time designator 'in times yore' 昔者 and started with "Rongchengshi"容成氏 whose name features as a, likely later supplemented, title on the back of s53.[192]

[192] Ma 2002: 249.

[昔者容成氏… 尊][193] (1)盧氏、赫胥氏、喬結氏[194]、倉頡氏、軒轅氏、神農氏、
椲丨[195]氏、壚{走+畢}氏之有天下也，皆不授其子而授賢。其德酋清，而上愛
(2)下，而一其志，而寢其兵，而官其材。

[*In days of yore, when Rongchengshi …Zun*]lushi, Hexushi, Qiaojieshi, Cangjieshi, Xianyuanshi, Shennongshi, Wei X shi, Lubishi ruled the world, they each did not pass on their rule to their sons but gave it to the worthy. Their virtue was clear and unforced, those above cared for those below, they unified their intent, rested their armies, and managed their resources.[196]

The mythical figures in this age are collectively described as *all* abdicating to the worthy. This utopic period and the following period of pre-Yao monarchs are both introduced with the formula "When clan-leader X ruled the world" X 氏之有天下也, and concluded by a summarizing formula "Thus in this period…" 故當是時也 explicitly marking a judgment on the character of the age:[197]

(3)凡民罷敝[198]者，教而誨之，飲而食之，思役百官而月請[199]之。
故當是時也，無并[200]
All the lowly and deformed among the people, they taught and instructed, nourished and fed them, they had them work the hundred offices and monthly rewarded them. This is why in this age there were no […]

[193] Ma 2002: 250 suggests that the first slip is probably missing, and tentatively suggests a longer list taking the first name in the list to be Rongchengshi 容成氏, as an explanation for the title. This arrangement finds parallels in much of the Han and post Han apocrypha and some supposedly earlier sources such as *Zhuangzi* "Quqie" 胠篋 among others, see Ma 2002: 250 and the suggestions for supplementation by Liao Mingchun 2002, tying it in with the received record.
[194] For different readings for some of the names see Liao Mingchun 2002, and Huang Ren'er 2003 among others.
[195] This graph is out of the ordinary and has puzzled the reconstructors, He Linyi 2003 reads the two as *hundun* 渾沌, Liao Mingchun 2002 transcribes as *weidun* 椲屯, reading it as *hundun* 混沌, both are phonologically and paleographically problematic and as such I leave the graph as is.
[196] Unless noted otherwise, translations are my own.
[197] The concluding formula is missing for the pre-Yao rulers due to incomplete slips but can reasonable be assumed due to parallels.
[198] I follow Bai Yulan 2005 who reads 俾  as 罷敝, who argues that this description is in line with the previous malformed people.
[199] I follow Qiu Xigui 2005 who reads that they were rewarded every month.
[200] Ma 2002: 253 believes there to be a missing slip after this one, Chen Jian supplements s35b.

The description of this age is utopian in that it presents an idealized past and functions as a normative frame against which all later ages are compared.[201] The age itself is not subdivided other than the recurrent formula "thereupon" 於是乎 which links the various age internal sections of the "Rongchengshi". The rulers are collectively grouped in a list form that by its length is universal in scope and all are represented as pre-dynastic clan leaders, including culture heroes such as Shen Nong.[202] All these rulers abdicated according to the text and that manifests itself in the utopian character of the age. Introduced with generalizing terms such as "All of this category" 凡 and "None" 無, a list of epithets describe that in this age, nobody was hungry and everybody had an occupation. By explicitly linking these generalizing and utopic descriptors to the final concluding formula that sums up the character of the age using "This is why in this period…" 故當是時也 the characterization is reified and turned into a model as if through the authoritative judgment of a commentator. This feature is typical for the "Rongchengshi"; descriptions of a particular age are explicitly linked to their judgment, or in other words, their model function within the canon of cultural memory. Where the foundational period was referred to with short epithetic descriptions in the Western Zhou and Springs and Autumns materials or slightly more expanded in the form of lineage genealogies, this account instead fleshes out a long list of characters and specifies their achievements in great detail preceding the foundational figures of the early period.

Moreover, the inclusion of fragments of at least two more pre-Yao monarchs after the utopic age, contrasts with many of the Warring States accounts that start narrating only from Yao onwards:

[201] Comp. the discussion of 'Utopia' in Allan 2010: 74-76.
[202] At least one slip is missing from this section, see Chen Jian 2004.

(32)[...]於是乎治爵而行祿，以讓於又吳迵=[203]（有虞同），又吳迵(有虞同)曰：德速衰[204] (4)□於是乎不賞不罰，不刑不殺，邦無飢人，道路無殤(5)死者。上下貴賤，各得其世。四海之外賓，四海之內定。禽獸朝，魚鼈[205]獻，有虞同匡天下之政十有九年而王天下，三十有七(6)年而歿[206]終。

Thereupon he (ruler before Youyu Tong?) set up noble titles and exercised emoluments, so as to abdicate to Youyu Tong. Youyu Tong said: "Virtue will soon decline…" ...Thereupon he did not reward or punish, he did not execute or kill, the state had not hungry people, and on the roads there were no harmed or dead. High, low, honored and lowly, each lived their allotted life span. All from outside the four seas came as guests, and those within were settled. Beasts and birds paid court, fish and turtles brought tribute. Youyu Tong exercised the government of the world for 19 years, and after 37 years he died.

The "Rongchengshi", as well as the *"Tang Yu zhi Dao" to a lesser extent as I show below, thus formulates a precedent for Yao's later actions and thus provides his actions with a pedigree that can be traced back further and further in time where these rulers also succeeded each other through abdication. In some cases such as the ruler Youyu Tong 有虞同,[207] their regnal period is specified in years and their area of governance is likewise labelled as the universal "All Under Heaven" 天下. These rulers are described individually, albeit sparsely, and they are characterized with short epithets describing their governance, for example: "In his rule he governed but did not reward, he gave people offices but no titles[…]."[208] From a text structural perspective, these rulers described with epithets serve to color in the period in-between the utopic age and the well-known abdication cycle starting with Yao.

[203] Guo Yongbing 2005a argues for reading as the ruler Youyu Tong here.
[204] Guo Yongbing 2005b appends s4 after this and suggests that possibly the two formed one single slip originally.
[205] Ma Chengyuan ed. 2002: 254 reads as *bie* 鱉.
[206] Following Chen Jian 2003.
[207] Guo 2008 makes a convincing argument based on the "Rongchengshi" and "Zi Gao" that Youyu Tong is presented as a clan leader from the same clan as Yao and Shun.
[208] s.43: "其政治而不賞，官而不爵…"

Reign lengths are specified and thus every piece of the remote past is tightly structured, connected, and brought under historiographical control.[209] The focalization of the narrative is universal, using abstract and generalized descriptions and explicit characterizations. Temporal connections between periods are unified and systemized, and the spatial focus is All Under Heaven. While reminiscent of the lineage in that every figure is connected to each other, it does so in a fundamentally different way. The text's universal outlook, in addition to its focus on abdication, that is to say a transfer of rule that is based on cultural values, turns the narrative into a *cultural* lineage, eminently suited for a *shared* cultural memory as a basis for identity formation. If these differences are merely attributed to a difference in genre, the question why new genres appeared remains unsolved. The answer to that question lies, I suggest, in the increase in sheer volume of narratives that were shared and communicated over a heretofore unseen scale. One of the effects of such accumulation of the remembered past, as I argue below, is the impetus to push foundational narratives even further into the past as a means to furnish pristine precedent for later narratives.

Colonizing the past

Besides the connection of periods, more biographical information is presented as well. Rather than the reference to cultural memory seen in lineage narratives that rely on extratextual information, biographical information is spelled out explicitly and events are presented in detail. Yao himself gains a history of his own, he is introduced by his own period marker "In times yore" 昔者, and a short epithetic account of his origins and general good rule as is common to the "Rongchenshi".

[209] See also Guo 2008: 27-42ff on this process of filling in gaps in the narrative.

What sets this narrative apart from others in the Warring States is that it provides a comprehensive description of his rise to power. The text describes how Yao showed his sagacity to the people and his early claim to rule is characterized in his ability (also known from later texts such as the Mencius) to draw people into an ever expanding territory (first the symbolic 100, then 1000 square *li*) where the people *considered* him the Son of Heaven. Yao proves his sagacity by casting a wide search for worthy successors to abdicate to, thus finally ensuring that the people *raised* him as son of heaven. This provides a narrative explaining how Yao rose to power and was in a position to lift Shun from obscurity. Rather than just mentioning Yao and Shun, their respective epithetic activities, and the sites of memory locating the narrative (such as Danling and Mt. Li.), Yao is presented in a populated world instead. He moves across the whole of the All Under Heaven and the section describes that there were other rulers besides Yao (萬邦之君), but that he was raised above all others to serve as the Son of Heaven.

From a reception point of view, the narrative provides much more information and could more easily stand on its own. Yao does not appear out of nowhere and it is shown that he had to prove his virtuosity to gain the throne. Instead of a mythological predicative, or 'take it or leave it' representation of the story, his actions are rationalized and explained and more detail is attributed to his persona.[210]

The past is colonized, and updated, to meet contemporary expectations of narrative logic. Instead of mere reference, the "Rongchengshi" spells out its claims and provides causes and reasons for the actions of its characters. Stories that might have been linked to the earlier references are now explicitly formulated and turned into written text and because of

[210] I thus do not submit to the notion that these narratives are likely traces of lost factual events, *pace* Guo 2008: 57-62. While the structure he sketches is narratively sound, and might have indeed been part of the cultural memory propagated in certain communities (as transformations of local deities for instance) that does not make it factual.

this, they become less adaptable to individual context and more formalized. I discuss below why I think Yao's narrative had to become more expansive by showing how it relates to an overall trend in narratives about the past towards an increase in complexity and sheer number overall, in addition to an increase in the specification of causal relationships within narratives about the past. I argue that this drove a move to provide narrative precedent for rulers and events even further into the foundational past, reaching all the way back to mythical-utopic times.

To an audience operating within a sphere wherein the framework of the past was increasingly colored in with a thickening textual description, questions for origins and causes become all the more prominent. It is not just a natural extension of the genealogical argument as such, but also a function of the increase in systemization and structuring of the past.[211] In the case of the "Rongchengshi" which presents a narrative of gradual and interspersed *decline* over the ages, a utopic, foundational age was needed as a foil for the rest of the argument.[212] Precedent and the proper workings of the moralized past were thus pushed back further in antiquity in order to be meaningful. Moreover, the reign of Yao and his abdication to Shun are in themselves problematized in the sources, and these accounts reveal a lack of faith in the morality of this transfer. Accordingly, rather than arguing that increasing the authority of the arguments of a specific school was the only function of presenting utopic accounts or using figures such as the Yellow Emperor,[213] I argue that another major factor is a proliferation of sources and conflicting accounts of foundational figures. In order to furnish pristine precedent, it had to be placed outside of the scope of previously textualized

[211] See also Gu Jiegang 1988: 126-127, 224-225.
[212] Allan 2010: 80.
[213] Graham 1989.

narratives, and be pushed further back in time to present an untarnished foundation that could be presented in a light favorable to the argument at hand.

In the *Hanfei Zi* 韓非子 and the *Guben Zhushu Jinian* 古本竹書紀年 for instance, the transfer of rule between Yao and Shun is described as usurpation rather than abdication, and a similar tension exists in the narrative surrounding the regency of Zhou Gong as can be seen in the strong defense against a supposed break of tradition in the *Xunzi*.[214] This tension within the descriptions of these events decreased the aptness of figures like Yao and Shun for an idealized foundation and as a result the past had to be colonized even further, and precedent projected further back to a time that was not yet riddled with conflicting written accounts. A clear allusion to this tension is present in the section of the "Rongchengshi" describing the transfer of rule between Yao and Shun. It describes Yao employing fifteen chariots to "chase" 從 Shun three times across the plains of Quanmu until Shun finally dropped his tools and sat down to listen:

> (13)昔[者]舜耕於歷丘，陶於河濱，漁於雷澤，孝養父母，以善其親，乃及邦子。堯聞之(14)而美其行。堯於是乎爲車十有五乘，以三從舜於畎畝之中。舜於是乎始免刈鬱[215]耨鎒，謁而坐之[216]。
> In times yore, Shun was ploughing at mt. Li, potting at the banks of the (yellow) river, and fishing at the Lei marsh. He filially supported his parents. By perfecting his congeniality, he became known among the sons of the states. Yao heard of it and lauded his behavior. Thereupon, Yao fashioned fifteen chariots, and with them chased Shun three times at Quanmu. Thereupon, Shun for the first time laid down his scythe and sickle, and his hoe and plough, he invited Yao and seated him. […]

[214] Allan 1981: 135, 136-139. Especially revealing here is the statement in the *Hanfeizi* 17/8b (in allan 1981:77: "Shun forced Yao; Yu forced Shun; Tang banished Jie; and Wu Wang smote Zhou. These four kings were all subjects who committed regicide on their rulers.") cf. *Xunzi* SBCK 4/2a-b, *Han Feizi* SBCK 16/3a, 17/8b; *Guben Zhushu Jinian* 1956: 9, 17-18.
[215] Following Ma 2002: 260.
[216] Chen Jian 2003 punctuates after 子 I follow Ma 2002: 260 and punctuate before 子.

This section, turning a potentially militant encounter into a teaching scene, is later in the text mirrored in King Tang's chase of Jie.[217] In this structurally strikingly similar account, King Tang *heard* 聞 of Jie's actions, pronounced a verdict and then "chased" him 從 three times in order to attack:

> (39)湯聞之，於是乎慎戒徵賢，德惠而不  (恃)[218]，  (積)[219]三十年[220]而能(耐)[221]之。如是而不可，然後從而攻之，陞自戎遂，入自北(40)門，立於中□。[222]
>
> 桀乃逃之鬲山氏，湯又從而攻之，降自鳴條之遂，以伐高神之門。
> 桀乃逃之南巢氏，湯又從而攻之，(41)遂逃去，之蒼梧之野。
>
> Tang heard of this, thereupon he became careful and restrained, and he gathered in worthies. His virtue grew and did not dissipate; he waited for over thirty years and tolerated Jie. But (even) like this it was not good, therefore he chased and attacked him. He descended upon Rongsui, entered through the middle gate and placed himself in *zhong* X, Jie then escaped him, and fled to the Lishan clan, Tang again chased and attacked him, he descended from the path of Mingtiao, in order to attack him at the gates of Gaoshen. Jie then escaped him to the Nanchao clan, Tang again chased and attacked him, after all Jie escaped, and went to the wilds of Cangwu.

While the militarized tension of the chase is only hinted at in the abdication narrative of Yao and Shun, here it is rendered explicit. In this passage, while no mention of chariots is made, the description of the chase is much more vivid and includes the key-word "attack" 攻. From a structural perspective, especially when further compared to King Wu's chariot attack of Zhou Xin, it forms a set with the account of Yao and Shun. In each case, a king hears about the other's respective virtue or lack thereof, he comments on it and then proceeds to chase the subject to be submitted. When the ambiguity of the narrative of Yao and Shun is read against this structural pattern in the rest of the "Rongchengshi", and with a knowledge of more

[217] Note also King Wu's attack on Zhou Xin, which likewise starts with him employing chariots in a similarly structured triple chase scene, s.50-52.
[218] Following Su Jianzhou 2003a: 167-169.
[219] The graphs in this line are disputed, I tentatively follow Su Jianzhou 2003a: 167-169 who reads as 積.
[220] Ma 2002: 280 transcribes as 尸+二. I follow Su Jianzhou 2003a: 167-169 who reads as 年.
[221] I follow Qiu Dexiu 2003 here.
[222] The square signals an unreconstructed graph.

explicitly violent narratives such as those in the *Hanfei zi* and the *Guben Zhushu Jinian*, it becomes clear that even Yao's behavior was open to tension and did not present an ideal case. Even a hint at the possibility that Yao as a ruler had to chase and subdue his ministers into service would arguably disqualify him as representing the moral ideal of kingship. Put differently, a figure of cultural memory that gains narrative weight and depth, so to speak, cannot be used as flexibly to serve a variety of argumentative goals. As a result, this ideal had to be projected further back in time, onto figures that were not yet colored in with biographical detail.

Systemization: structuring a new framework of the past

Within the four main periods that can be recognized in the "Rongchengshi", each distinct age has its own recurring markers for the beginning and ending. In certain sections this is further subdivided into a midlevel or meso structure. Here, the general pattern established for the age at large holds, but sub-patterns are presented as recurring elements within a distinct section of the age. Within individual reign periods, time is further defined on the level of the microstructure, where separate events in time are linked with the phrase "thereupon" *yushihu* 於是乎 and continuations within events using "then" *nai* 乃. Certain innovations, during the reign of Yu for instance, are specifically highlighted as temporal *firsts* and are presented with "after which [he] first used" *ranhou shi yi* 然後始以. The "Rongchengshi" uses this textual structure to forge a continuous chain of events. These events in turn lead up to major breaks and changes which cause a change of rulership and often the dawn of a new age.

I argue that the "Rongchengshi" takes specific and well known events from the cultural memory of the Warring States and links them up in a causal system, explaining the rise and fall of the ages and coloring in all the blanks between the utopian foundational period

and more recently remembered events resulting in the foundation of the Zhou. The four-part structure presented above can then be further refined:

1) Utopic Period
    a. Listing of rulers as abdicators, idealized description.
2) Pre-Yao Period
    a. Epithetic description of early abdicators.
    b. Break of pattern: prognostication anticipates the downfall of the ideal "virtue will soon decline" *de su shuai* 德速衰
3) Yao, Shun, and Yu
    a. Meso: Shun appointing his ministers as sub-pattern
    b. Break of pattern: usurpation
4) Jie and Tang, Zhou and kings Wen and Wu
    a. Meso variation to describe the shared completion of rule between kings Wen and Wu
    b. End of text?

After the pre-Yao period described above, the next main section of the "Rongchengshi" deals with the familiar abdication cycle of Yao, Shun and Yu which is equally rigidly structured within a macro framework:

(6)昔堯處於丹府與藿陵之間，堯賤貤[223]而時時賓，不勸而民力，不刑殺而無盜賊，甚緩而民服。

[223] Ma 2002: 254 alternatively reads as 施.

In times of yore, Yao resided between Danfu and Guanling. Yao despised amassing [riches] and offered tribute according to the season. He did not exhort the people, but they exerted their efforts; he did not employ punishments and executions, but there were no thieves and bandits; he was extremely lenient, yet the people submitted. [224]

(13)昔舜耕於歷丘，陶於河濱，漁於雷澤，孝養父母，以善其親，乃及邦子。

In times yore, Shun was ploughing at mt. Li, potting at the banks of the (yellow) river, and fishing at the Lei marsh. He filially supported his parents. By perfecting his congeniality, he became known among the sons of the states.

These descriptions are highly formulaic and follow a predictable pattern:

昔 (period marker) FIGURE 處於 PLACE + epithetic descriptions + results

These formulaic descriptions or epithets recur across a variety of Warring States texts and work like travelling sayings.[225] They are short structured phrases which are easily memorable and contain the core and structure of the, in this case biographical, argument. Here, Shun is linked to three distinct and primary activities, known signifiers of his humble background and tied in to specific physical sites of memory. Despite variation in orthographic representation, the individual locations themselves, such as mount Li, are remarkably stable across texts with only some minor variation. The descriptions of actions are more fluid and especially the end result is variable as it is tailored to the philosophical program of the individual text.

In the narratives of Tang and Yao chasing Jie and Shun respectively, they are described as having "heard" 聞 these epithetic descriptions of either bad or good behavior

[224] Translation adapted from Pines 2010: 508 and Allan 2010: 77.
[225] Krijgsman 2014.

before proceeding to take action according to the chasing scene script.[226] In both cases, the thing they heard was a textually highlighted piece of *cued* information. For Shun, it is his standard epithetic description, functioning as an introductory device cueing further knowledge, for Jie it was the explicit age description "His arrogance and self-aggrandizement was like this" 其驕泰如是狀 preceded by an anecdote. These textual nodes are thus signaled as key information that contains the kernel for further judgment, stating what the audience is supposed to remember from this event. This judgment of memory, often personified by Kongzi as in the previous discussion, is here personified by Yao: "Yao heard of it and approved his behavior" 堯聞之而美其行. These stories that are judged are also the most intertextual and thus more likely to have been part of a body of remembered lore that could be orally transmitted.

What the "Rongchengshi" does is link those pieces of common lore into a structured framework that connects this data with action responses which then lead into a new period of events. By doing so it structures the 'fragmented' accounts known from many Warring States sources and subsumes them under a unified and causally connected narrative. In doing so, however, the structure of the past, and thereby, the way the development of time and the relations between events are conceived change fundamentally. This becomes manifest on the level of textual organization wherein each age is explicitly marked and characterized, an individual age thus forming the primary unit for dividing and organizing time and events.

The narrative structuring function described previously then picks up again with the introduction of rule transfer formulae that signal the end of the reign and guide the narrative

[226] Often following the "rule of threes" in legendary narrative, where the action is repeated three times before succeeding.

into the new period. The abdication formula is used to describe the transfer of reigns, used for Yao – Shun, Shun – Yu, and finally Yu – Gao Yao:

> □[227][堯乃老，視不明，]聽不聰。堯有子九人，不以其子為後，見舜之賢也，而欲以爲後。(12)[舜乃五讓以天下之賢者，不得已，然後敢受之。][228]
>
> [Yao then grew old, his sight was no longer bright] and his hearing no longer sharp. Yao had nine sons, but he did not select them as successors. After seeing Shun's worthiness, he wanted him to be his successor. [Shun then declined five times in favor of the worthies under heaven, he had no other choice, and only after this did he dare to accept it.]

The abdication formula is highly structured and almost identical in all cases, the only difference lying in the number of sons that the ruler passes over in favor of the worthy successor. Yao had nine, Shun had seven and Yu had five, showing a gradual decline over the ages, perhaps tallied to the general notion of decline over the ages that characterizes the argument of the "Rongchengshi".

In short, by presenting such a rigidly formulaic framework for memorized and widely circulating narratives, the "Rongchengshi" subsumes all these narratives under a new master narrative. The highly systemized presentation of time in the "Ronchengshi" makes a claim of rigid textual authority on fragmented accounts. Rather than occasional anecdotes, the past is turned into a comprehensive and interlinked collection of texts, in other words: an archive.[229] It is clearly organized, rigidly and explicitly interlinked, presented in the distant voice of objective authority, and provides a clear explanation of how events leads to historiographical

[227] The slip is incomplete, as indicated by the slashed square. According to Chen Jian 2004 n.9 there are still roughly 14 graphs missing in this section.
[228] Chen Jian 2004 n.10 bases himself on intratextual parallels (formulae) to supplement the 18 missing graphs here.
[229] Compare the discussion in Meyer *Forthcoming* which focusses instead on individual events in the past operating as an archive.

judgment. In the following, I describe the linkages in the narrative on the meso and micro level that enable such a transformation of the past.

Mesostructure

During Shun's rule, a mesostructure is introduced to set it apart slightly from that of Yao. In this structure, each of the ministers Shun selects is embedded in a set formula. As such, while the previously discussed formula places the section on Shun on the macrostructural timeframe of the "Rongchengshi", the uniqueness of Shun's rule is highlighted by this particular subdivision. It pays homage to the predominant focus of many early sources that highlight Shun's worthiness in his ability to select worthy ministers. In addition, this structure enables various local narratives about culture heroes such as Yu and Gao Yao to be neatly incorporated into the main narrative.[230] The rigid structure of the narrative makes a claim to the ordered placement of these figures in the scheme of the text and places them in a timeframe. After three years of governance, Shun encounters problems with the mountains and waters, and orders Yu to control the land, followed by Gao Yao ordering produce, and Zhi arranging music. The motif of abdication is thus transformed into a search for worthy ministers. As with the succession, this section of the narrative is tightly structured according to narrative scripts[231] that recur to differing extent in the sections below.

The reign has a problem, someone is said to task following a strict formula:

investiture formula + humble/hardworking background script + works + results.

[230] On local origins of narratives on Yu as a flood controller see for example Eberhard 1968.
[231] For this term, referring to standard function phrases, to bridge in a new character or to turn the narrative over to a new scene, see Rubin 1995: 25.

After the problems are solved the era is described according to a time characterization formula similar to that of the first section and then the succession-abdication formula reenters and the story script starts all over again:

> (23)舜聽政三年，山陵不疏，水潦不潎，
> 乃立禹以爲司工。
> 禹既已(15)受命，乃卉服箬箬帽，芙蓁□足□ ⍁⍁面乾粗，脛不生之毛.[232]□[開][233]
> 遬(潰?)[234]潎流. (24)
>
> When Shun had governed for three years, the mountains and hillocks were not in their proper position, and the waters and streams did not flow properly.
> He then installed Yu as his overseer of works.
> After Yu accepted his charge, he then clothed himself with grass and a hat of bamboo, [And wore X boots on his] feet […]His face was dry and coarse, his legs did not grow any hair. [He opened and broke through the blockades] and the waters flowed again.

These individuals and their roles are well known from other sources, but the focus on their instatement by Shun and the length of description for the results it has for Shun's reign on a political level is distinct in the "Rongchengshi". Instead of being made to function as abstract foundational characters in the early lineage narratives, or described separately as mythical culture heroes, Yu, Hou Ji, Xie and Zhi are now subsumed under a political-ideological program that is reinforced in their presentation in the text. They can only function as

[232] I follow Xu Zaiguo 2003 who reads as "……面乾粗，胫不生之毛".He argues for regular loaning between graphs with the 昔 and 且 phonophores.
[233] Ma 2002: 268 transcribes left element as 豈。Su Jianzhou 2003b reads as 開*k^{hs}əj on the basis of a variant 闓*C.q^{hs}əjʔ.
[234] Ma 2002: 268 transcribes as (氵 + (亓+(丌+丌)). Su Jianzhou 2003b reads 遬 **s.mrit as a loan for 塞 *s^{s}ək-s, which is phonologically invalid. Tentatively, the graph could be understood as an elaborate form for 淇 **gə and read as 潰 *g^{ws}əj-s "break through an embankment (of water)". In any case, the phrase appears to be contrastive to 山陵不疏， 水潦不潎 above and implies Yu as an acting subject ensuring the flowing of the rivers.

ministers to the foundational rulers, and they have no obvious function outside of that system. All of their biographical details are likewise tailored to meet the specific requirements of this patterning of history. Shun is the textual node along which all these figures are smoothly integrated into the grand narrative of the past, and other than appointing ministers, Shun does not do anything and this is explicitly highlighted in the age descriptor at the end of his section:

> (16)當是時也，癘疫不至，妖祥不行，禍災去亡，禽獸肥大，草木晉[235]長。昔者天地之佐舜而(17)佑善，如是狀也。
>
> During this age, malaria did not arise, evil spirits and portents did not act, calamities and disasters left and disappeared, bird and beast were fat and large, and grass and trees grew lush.
> In times yore, such was the character of those of heaven and earth supporting Shun and assisting excellence.

The mesostructure, describing the separate clusters of events within the age now gives way to a general judgment, which brings the narrative back to the level of the macrostructure again. At the end of Yu's reign, the cycle and formulaic pattern break. Gao Yao refuses to succeed Yu until the end, and Yu's son Qi kills and supplants Yu's next-best choice, Yi. This break decidedly turns the character of the writing in the "Rongchengshi". Instead of implicit tensions, they become manifest and what follows is a series of struggles and conquests. In the following sections, Tang smites Jie, is inexplicably succeeded by Zhou, who ends up defeated by kings Wen and Wu.

It should be noted that the past is not yet fully systemized in the "Rongchengshi". The bad rulers for example, are characterized merely as "arising" 作 after the reign of the

[235] Ma 2002: 262 reads as 蓁.

previous, better ruler instead of providing a narrative for their rise. It is only with later explicit articulations of the dynastic rise and fall model in texts such as the *Shiji* 史記 that the transformation of the past into a textual archive reaches its pinnacle. In the "Rongchengshi", no causes are presented for the emergence of wicked rulers and they are still treated as anomalies and the use of 16 generations covers a major elision in the narrative. As such, what the "Rongchenshi" presents is the illusion of a unified and complete narrative:

> (35A)□[啓][236]王天下十有六<世>而桀作。桀不述其先王之道，自爲[芒為][237] □(38)不量其力之不足，起師以伐岷山氏，取其兩女琰、琬，□北去其邦，□爲桐宮，築爲璿室，飾爲瑤台，立爲玉門。其驕(39)泰如是狀。
>
> [Qi] ruled the realm. After 16 generations Jie arose. Jie did not follow the way of his former kings, he himself exercised [another way of doing]. He did not consider his lack of power, and raised an army in order to conquer the Minshan clan. He took their two ladies, Yan and Wan, [and] X discarded (tore down) their capital [and used it to], X build the Tong palace and erected the Fine jade chamber, in decoration he furnished the Nephrite terrace, and set up the Jade gate. Such was the character of his arrogance and self-aggrandizement.

Both bad rulers Jie and Zhou are explicitly described as *not* following the ways of the previous kings, they are breakers of the pattern. Their introductions are formulaic, highlighting their depravity and are followed by a set of memorable references such as the daughter stealing story above, these references are explicitly taken as judgmental characterization of the period, using the formula "the character of his depravity was like this". This formula is structurally juxtaposed to those used for the good rulers, and in addition, the bad rulers are not furnished with positive age characterizations.

Microstructure: forging a continuous chain of events

[236] Ma 2002: 277 argues that this section is about Tang 湯 instead, based on different alignment of the slips.
[237] Ma 2002: 277 supplements this on the basis of parallelism with s.42.

On the microlevel of narrative structuring, the "Rongchenshi" links events into a causal chain, the one leading to the other. In doing so it constructs a continuous narrative of the past. As opposed to many early texts that leave the connections between individual events unspecified, the "Rongchengshi" has a select and consistent vocabulary for relating events, mainly using "thereupon" 於是乎 and "then"乃 to specify causal and temporal relations respectively. A good example of this dynamic is underlined in the short narrative of king Tang's rise to power. It shows him as following the path of bad kings, but being redeemed by his raising of Yi Yin as worthy minister:

> (41)湯於是乎徵九州之師，以  (批)[238]四海之內，於是乎天下之兵大起，於是乎亡宗戮族殘群焉服。(36)當是時，強弱不治譡[239]，衆寡不聽訟，天地四時之事不修。湯乃博爲征籍，以征關市。民乃宜怨，虐疾始生，於是(37)乎有喑、聾、跛、□、癭、□、僂始起[240]。湯乃謀戒求賢，乃立伊尹以爲佐。伊尹既已受命，乃執兵禁暴，永得於民，遂迷而(42)□[241]賊盜，夫是以得衆而王天下。
>
> Tang thereupon gathered the armies of the nine states, in order to attack Jie all within the four seas. Thereupon the soldiers of the realm greatly arose. Thereupon they destroyed Jie's clan and killed his family, and the remaining groups all followed Tang. In this period, Tang did not control the outcries arising between strong and weak, nor heard the litigations of the masses and the few, he did not attend to the affairs of heaven, earth and the four seasons. Tang then extensively implemented levies and records, in order to levy the passes and markets. The people then started to resent him, disabilities and sicknesses arose for the first time. Thereupon the mute, deaf, the lame and the x, those with goiters, the x, and hunchbacks first appeared. Tang then deliberated and restrained himself and searched for worthies. He then set up Yi Yin as his left hand. When Yi Yin had accepted his duty he then took up arms and restrained the violent, and gained lasting support from the people. He finally deceived? […] villains and robbers, this is how he (Tang) attained the multitudes and ruled over the realm.

[238] Ma Chengyuan ed. 2002: 282 suggests to read as 批, I follow.
[239] Following Chen Yingjie 2005 who argues that the graphs should be read as 治譡 and to be understood as 治謹.

[240] Ma 2002: 279 points out that they are nearly all related to the disabilities on s2, 3.
[241] Slip broken at top, missing 6-8 graphs.

In this short narrative, following Tang's chasing of Jie into the wilds of Cangwu 蒼梧之野, Tang's call to arms is explicitly formulated as the *cause* for the armies of all under heaven and the clan-less to rise up. His age is characterized negatively, the strong not helping the weak, litigations going unheard and the cosmic-ritual order unmaintained. Because of his further policies of taxing households and markets, the people became angry and disease and handicaps *first arose*. In other words, his actions on the policy level are a direct cause for the emergence of social and health problems.[242]

Although there is some overlap in the use of temporal markers, the main causes for subsequent events are described using either a characterization of a certain period or they are framed with "thereupon" 於是乎. In the example above, it is the fact that the disabled *first* rose as a *problem* which places Tang's reign in direct opposition to the utopic age wherein the disabled each had their place in society. As a result of this event marked with "thereupon", Tang "then" 乃 looked for worthies and instated Yi Yin, whose positive characterization then leads to the successful reign of Tang. The "Rongchengshi" thus highlights key events and shows how they link up in the larger narrative of the demise and rise within a specific epoch. Rather than presenting isolated events or anecdotes as cues for a philosophical statement or an individual conclusion, they are brought in relation to form a smooth and continuous narrative wherein every event ties in with and causes larger events, and wherein each age is shown to be a necessary continuation or reversion of the former..

Accordingly, all remembered events, known from isolated or conflicting accounts are brought into a structured and understandable whole. Conflict is smoothed over by specifying how a certain event could lead to the other. What the "Rongchengshi" thus advances, as the first of its kind and scope, is a unifying and totalizing narrative about the past, an

[242] Note how this contrasts squarely with the utopic age

achievement for which we normally credit texts such as the *Shiji*. Small events are related to larger recurring structures that are in turn used to build models that describe distinctive ages. At the macrolevel, these ages interrelate in a master narrative of decline over the ages, but the "Rongchengshi" lays the foundations for this master narrative in the small steps that lead from one event to the other. In doing so, the remembered past is textualized and turned into an archive, its very structure and thus the possible modes of understanding is changed and formalized.

Warring States developments in representing the past

So far in this chapter, I have shown two radically different ways of representing the past in early China: the lineage narrative and historiography of a universalizing and unifying scope. While their differences appear a simple difference in genre and function, in what follows I propose a number of developments occurring in Warring States accounts of the past that foregrounded this shift in the character of representation so as to suggest broader developments in historiographical writing. I start my discussion with the *"Tang Yu zhi Dao" 唐虞之道, a text that in its modes of temporal representation and internal structuring does not deviate much from the commemorative accounts discussed at the beginning of the chapter. It differs in that it contains more information on the characters engrained in cultural memory, and as I argue, this increase in the availability of textualized information is one of the main imputes for the developments in representing the past.

The *"Tang Yu zhi Dao" was excavated from Jingmen Guodian in 1998 and dates to roughly 300 BCE,[243] it presents a short philosophical argument on the virtue of abdication as

[243] Images of the slips and transcriptions appeared in Jingmenshi Bowuguan 1998: 37-41, 155-160. The manuscript contains 29 slips of ~28.1-28.3 cm in length and was bound by two cords 14.3 cm apart. 7 slips are

embodied in the model rulers of the past. It describes the respective virtues and practices of these rulers, particularly Shun, and argues that because of these qualities, they were chosen to rule. The argument texts such as this one put forward for abdication, and the debate that they reveal have been comprehensively described in a range of articles by Pines, Defoort, Cook, and Allan,[244] and will not be further touched upon here. In this section, the form and the explicit nature of the argumentation are the focus. For when these texts employ exemplary rulers to shape an explicit philosophical *argument* the character of textuality itself changes.[245] Instead of merely listing epithetic qualities dealing with land and harvest, a range of other biographical details are employed to buttress the argument. This Warring States development, where politico-moral argumentation required information about the character of the character, goes beyond the Western Zhou through early Springs and Autumns requirement for basic lineage and ritual functions, and accordingly necessitates the inclusion in text of a range of other qualities that are more commonly associated with mythographies. These range from divine or common births, sagely labors, to grand achievements and personal details.[246]

In the *"Tang Yu zhi Dao" for example, it is because "In times of yore, Shun resided in the wilds but was not concerned, [that] he was not arrogant as an emperor."[247] Virtuous biographical details such as these are explicitly linked with the ultimate recognition of Shun's quality by Yao:

damaged at the ends, resulting in difficulties of reconstruction, the final slip features a stroke across the width of the slip, signaling the end of the text.

[244] See Cook 2012, Pines 2009, 2005a,b. Allan 2006, 2015, Defoort 2006 for further references.

[245] By explicit argument I refer here to a mode of discourse often including but not limited to the use of definitions, logical connectives, and other rhetorical devices aimed at persuading an audience, setting it apart from poetic, prosaic, and descriptive modes of discourse, which, while having argumentative force and ideological elements, tend not to explicitly advance them.

[246] This aspect of character development in Warring States philosophical texts has been well studied from the perspective of anecdotes. See van Els 2012 on the relation with other elements of argument construction, Queen 2008 for an analysis of character building, and Schaberg 2001 for the relation between genre, self-perception, and genre changes, on differing accounts especially Allan 1981.

[247] s.15-16: 夫古者 15 舜居于草茅之中而不憂，身為天子而不驕。[…]16

(8)古者虞舜篤事瞽叟，乃戴其孝；忠事帝堯，乃戴其臣。[248]

In times of yore, Yu Shun earnestly served Gu Sou, and thus he displayed his filial character, he committed to serving Emperor Yao, and thus he displayed his quality as a minister.

In this line, Shun displays his virtues, and it is this display that allows Yao to recognize him which is crucial to the development of the argument. It is here that extra information on the figures of cultural memory is provided. Such differences can of course not be seen separately from differences in genre, as manifested in the form and use (or function) of the texts. Largely separated from ritual functions, Warring States accounts differ in their overt programmatic approach. That is to say, its ideology is no longer silent but actively employed to shape expressive argumentation, key terms are defined, and other positions and sources are often explicitly taken up or refuted.[249] The construction and wielding of cultural memory takes concrete and labelled form. This difference is manifested in the representation of space, time, agency, and the focalization of the narrative. Sites of memory such as Shun's Mt. Li 歷山 referred to elsewhere in the *"Tang Yu zhi Dao", become fixed and highly specific nodes to which stories accrue, but they are local references to a narrative universal in scope. Yao, Shun, and Yu, are not presented for their lineage qualities, but as representatives of the "All under Heaven" 天下 as a whole.

In an increasing number of Warring States texts, time, as argued further below, is not measured through the lineage but gradually represented as a segmented, periodicized past

[248] Edition from Cook 2012: 555ff.

[249] This manifests itself in the explicit reference to sources of authority such as the *shi* for instance, or the explicit countering of positions such as seen in late Warring States philosophical texts that are overtly debating an issue, such as for example in *Xunzi's* discussion on human nature. This is to be contrasted with inexplicit, tacit reference to debates at large through redefining or reinterpreting commonly used travelling sayings, see Krijgsman 2014.

shared by this cultural sphere at large. It is noteworthy however, that despite the coloring in of the foundational period in texts such as this one, the tripartite temporal division still harkens back to the structure laid out in western Zhou and Springs and Autumns lineage narratives. On a macrolevel, many Warring States narratives thus still abide by a traditional temporal framework. But as I argue below, their increased narrative elaboration makes upholding such a temporal framework more and more difficult.

The focalization of the argument bears out the universalistic, culture focused perspective of these texts. Commonly known persona such as Kongzi emerge that take on active agency to interpret, dispute, or comment on the past. Even more common, omniscient narrators appear in the texts. They observe cultural memory as a whole from an insulated and objectivizing distance, and make authoritative claims enforced by argumentative constructions such as *gu* 故 "this is why", *nai* 乃 "thereby" as can be seen here in the *"Tang Yu zhi Dao"'s development of the argument on Yao's recognition of Shun:

> (22)古者堯之舉舜也：聞舜孝，知其能養天下(23)之老也；聞舜悌，知其能事天下之長也；聞舜慈乎弟，[知其能王天下而](24)為民主也。故其為瞽盲子也，甚孝；及其為堯臣也，甚忠；堯禪天下(25)而授之，南面而王天下而甚君。故堯之禪乎舜也，如此也。[250]
>
> In times of yore, when Yao raised Shun. He heard that Shun was filial, and this is how he knew that Shun could take care of the elderly in the realm; he heard that Shun was fraternal, and this is how he knew that Shun could serve the seniors in the realm; he heard that Shun was compassionate towards his brothers, and this is how he knew that Shun could rule the realm and be a ruler of the people. This is why, as the son of the blind drummer, he was very filial; and as to him being a servant of Yao, he was very loyal. When Yao abdicated from the realm and bestowed it on him, he sat facing south and was very lordly. This is why Yao's abdication to Shun was like this.

[250] Edition follows Cook 2012: 555-6.

Yao “heard” 聞 of Shun’s filial and brotherly nature, because it was exemplified in his behavior. Shun’s exemplary behavior ties into popular anecdotes about his character, and they are alluded to or included in the text in order to make the larger argument that abdication is justified. To turn the argument around, without the argumentative need of the *“Tang Yu zhi Dao”, this information about Shun need not have been included in the first place. From the perspective of cultural memory, every act of remembrance is an act of reconstruction. As such biographical information was often only *remembered,* in this case, textualized, when it served an argumentative purpose. Equally, other information was often *forgotten* when it no longer served a purpose and especially when it violated argumentative expectations.[251] In other words, the abundance of, often conflicting, remembered narrative detail that accrues around a character like Shun (whether written, oral, or performed) is selectively mined and fashioned (i.e. *re-membered*) in order to fit the argument.[252] From this perspective, the inclusion of data such as Yu controlling the waters, and Hou Ji controlling the earth are brought up in the *“Tang Yu zhi Dao” as references testifying to Shun’s talent acquiring skills and his successful control and rule over the world:

> (9)禹治水，益治火，后稷治土，足民養生。
>
> Yu controlled the waters, Yi controlled the flames, Hou Ji controlled the earth, providing enough so that the people could nourish their lives.

In these references, like the early commemorative narratives, it is not important what Yu or Hou Ji did, everybody knew their stories, they matter as epithets to the rule of Shun. They function as cues to recollect these figures of memory and bridge them into the text, lending

[251] Allan 1981, see also Assmann 2006.
[252] Krijgsman 2014.

their narratives in order to empower Shun as a character. During the Warring States period, character descriptions get more and more detailed and varied, and sometimes hitherto unknown narratives appear within the stream of tradition. Inevitably, with the immense increase in detail and abundance of such character descriptions, disagreement between differing accounts is bound to occur. This could be a force of doubt on the veracity of these accounts.

Doubt in Antiquity?

The characterizations of the ancient kings and ministers, while usually systematically coherent within individual texts, does contain a great deal of variations and transformations of biographical detail, sagely attributes, and the evaluation of their roles and functions. Because each character is colored in to meet a specific argument, different versions of the narratives abound.

When a recipient of a text with a degree of internal consistency encounters such narratives about the ancients there need not be reason for doubt or further reflection, as they generally fit the individual text internal argument as Allan has shown.[253] But the texts wherein such an internal consistency holds amongst essays or subsections, are mostly Han bibliographical constructs. The textual landscape of the Warring States suggests instead that such long and integrated compositions are rare and far between. Even if we were to take the three different manuscripts that make up the Guodian *Laozi fragments together as one text, and disregard for a moment that the lengthy **Zhouyi* manuscript-text belonged to a completely different genre of text and mode of textualization, it is clear that the vast majority of Warring States materials are comprised of single 'essays' or *pian*, each advancing a single,

[253] Allan 1981.

or composite argument at best.[254] On the basis of the manuscript finds as they stand, rather than internally coherent collections of essays, the Warring States recipient was confronted with a plenitude of short essayistic texts, advancing different arguments and providing differing and often contradicting biographical and narrative content on top of the varying oral accounts. As Meyer has shown, this tension underlay the formation of texts such as the *"Jinteng" 金騰,[255] and as I have shown in Ch.1, this case held even more explicitly for the *"Wuwang Jianzuo" 武王踐阼 manuscript, containing the two differing texts on the same manuscript.

Well known examples from received sources come in the form of the famous *Mengzi* passage doubting the *shu* as a whole (genre), with particular reference to the gruesome account of the battle at Mu Ye 牧野 in the Wucheng 武成 as discussed in the preceding chapter.[256] Likewise, texts such as the *Han Feizi* are explicit about anecdotal material being wantonly re-appropriated and re-interpreted to fit individual arguments by Warring States debaters.[257] From such remarks it becomes clear that the critical spirit of the debate often used to characterize the Warring States can at least to an extent be connected to the use of the past and its representation in sources.[258]

Within a predominantly oral culture, variation on a well-known theme is generally not considered problematic, but rather lauded as creative adaptation and a vital way of engaging

[254] Schwermann 2005.
[255] Meyer 2014a.
[256] Note also that the famous statement on how to read poetry （"故說《詩》者，不以文害辭，不以辭害志[…]"） in *Mengzi* "Wanzhang Shang" 萬章上 comes in response to a conflict over not just readings of the past, but entirely different versions of the events that underlay it.
[257] See Chen Qiyou 1974: 48–9 "Nan Yan" 難言. See also the discussion in Schaberg 2011: 410f.
[258] It is in this critical spirit that passages such as the *Zhuangzi* "Tianxia" 天下 and *Xunzi* "Fei shi'er Ru" 非十二儒 chapters gain in meaning, and rather than just seeing them and the critical debating spirit they manifest as the result of an emancipation of the *Shi* class and increased social mobility, heightened communication flows and increased availability of conflicting source material are factors that vastly enable such a critical spirit. Cf. for example Graham 1989: 3, 236-4.

an audience.[259] When doubt emerges in an oral or teaching context, it is often worked into the transmitted result and as such does not leave many traces.[260] But what of a culture that has grown more and more accustomed to the use of texts? In such a state of affairs, texts tend to grow more or less fixed in their form and are often divorced from an immediate mediating context that could gloss over differences and guide interpretation.[261] The recipient, who is now no longer part of an interacting audience, but increasingly becomes a critical *reader* of material has the opportunity to compare and contrast different narratives, and especially when information flows increase and more text becomes physically available and more stable will encounter more divergence and possibly start to reflect on it.[262] This last element is crucial, without frequent encounter between varying traditions the effect of writing as such on modes of dealing with text and knowledge is probably limited.[263]

It is only when narratives that were locally understood started to move around with greater frequency that they start encountering different varieties and lack of understanding. At this point, different memories of similar events need to be squared in order to arrive at a shared and mutually comprehensible cultural memory.[264] This trend, while certainly not an absolute development, inevitably leaves traces in contemporary compositions. Especially when these reflective questions become more common and pressing in light of a stabilizing body of physically accessibly and comparable textual accounts, and when written composition itself becomes more prominent, they show as explicit questions to received

[259] For this point, based on extensive anthropological fieldwork, see Finnegan 1988.
[260] As famously illustrated for sub-Saharan African king lists by Vansina 1985.
[261] On guided readings and teaching as mediating factors in interpretation see Stock 1983, Assmann 2011: 71-76, Meyer 2011: 228.
[262] Meyer 2011, Farmer et al. 2002a,b, Henderson 1991, and especially Stock 1983. See also the discussion in ch. 1.
[263] To be sure, this is a process that does not happen overnight, indeed even in cultures with a long tradition of using written text such as Medieval Europe, such a writing centered and text critical attitude manifested itself rather late, see Clanchy 2012.
[264] That is not to say that variance will therefore no longer occur, but rather that *grosso modo* narratives engage in a process of harmonization, especially when this process is enforced by powerful forces of canonization (Henderson 1991, Farmer et al. 2002,a,b) and when textual communities come into contact with each other or more powerful groups (Stock 1983).

wisdom, or as an implicit reflection of tensions between multiple dominating models of perceiving the past.

This critical spirit, combined with an awareness of the process of commemoration and the function of the archive shows in the "Zi Gao" 子羔 from Guodian, explicitly referring to multiple accounts:

> (9)子羔問於孔子曰："三王者之作也，皆人子也，而其父賤而不足稱也歟？抑亦成(誠)[265]天子也歟？孔子曰："善，爾問之也。久矣其莫[. . .]
>
> Zi Gao asked of Kongzi: "[Regarding] the emergence of the Three Kings, were they all sons of humans, and were their fathers lowly and not worthy of mention? Or were they truly sons of heaven?" Kongzi said, "Excellent! That you ask this, it has been long since anyone […]" [266]

This opening passage manifests doubt of received wisdom in several aspects. On the overt, it is the main question, challenging the status of the "three kings", specified as Yu, Hou Ji, and Xie further on in the text, as literally being sons of heaven, i.e. divinely or miraculously conceived, versus more mundane origins. The doubt generated from the juxtaposition between these two memories is highlighted by the use of "truly" *cheng* 誠, and by contrasting it with the first sub clause which makes a statement (皆人子也) rather than a question, thus rhetorically foregrounding human conception as the more likely position.

Doubt of the 'archive of the past' as such is represented by the second sub clause, framed as a rhetorical question. It expresses the assumption that because their fathers were lowly, they were not worthy of mention. It thus not only questions which of the two memories are to be

[265] Following Allan 2009: 145.
[266] The manuscript was originally published in Ma 2002: 31-48 (images), 181-199 (transcription) and features 14 slips, all damaged to varying degrees. The back of s5 features the title. The manuscript appears to be physically related to the *"Kongzi Shilun" 孔子詩論 and *"Lubang Dahan" 魯邦大旱 manuscripts.

chosen as definitive, but also the construction of cultural memory as such. Being worthy of naming, that is to say having a legacy, is explicitly recognized as a prerequisite for entering the canon of cultural memory. Being worthy of naming is exactly the accretion of narratives surrounding figures of cultural memory, be that through memory or other forms of construction and attribution.

Kongzi's solution to this question in the "Zi Gao" is a straightforward reiteration of the mythographies dealing with the divine conceptions of the three kings. The doubt on the issue of conception becomes the more interesting in light of the fact that at least for the figure of Yu for instance, there were other accounts of his conception in circulation during the Warring States period, most commonly accounts were he is described as the son of Gun.[267]

As such, I understand the question over the status of the kings as "son's of heaven" as not a mere play on words, but rather that it reflects two different mythographical understandings, or 'memories' about the ancients: a divinized and a humanized understanding about their conception. When the text expresses this doubt by delving into the supposed *truth* of the matter, this does not just stem from common sense but is due in large part to the different textual versions of received wisdom moving around. Writing down and transmitting narratives in manuscript form enabled this heightened pace of communication, interaction, and comparison between versions.[268]

It is in light of this conflicting body of referable information that questions on the unnamed or conflicting status of the fathers arise. But the contrasting of these two strands of memory in the "Zi Gao", while indicative of variance, serves an argumentative purpose. It

[267] See Allan 2009: 132-134, 137. One of the ways of dealing with this conflict of narratives was turning Gun into a failed flood controller, yet father of the successful flood controller Yu, where previously both figures probably had differing narratives.

[268] There are many more passages that could be used to illustrate this point, as reflected in the earlier quoted chapters from the *Mengzi* or the sections from the *Mozi* referred to in chapter 1.

here acts as a foil to highlight the abdication from Yao to Shun. Shun, as the son of Gu Sou the music master, was not divinely conceived, yet despite his relatively low social stature, could still become a sage because Yao recognized his virtue. In other words, as typical for abdication narratives, it claims that in the past virtuous behavior was rewarded and could raise people to office.

My reading is that the authors of this passage were aware of the often conflicting and incredulous nature of many of the mythical accounts and that they used various strategies to normalize them. The "Zi Gao" accepts the mythical claims but explicitly contrasts them with the main focus of the text, which is still thoroughly humanized. Its opening question reveals an awareness of the archival function of the past. Within the cultural memory of the Warring States, an abundance of narratives abounded that were composite and protean in nature and open to adaptation to suit different arguments. Sources from the mid to late Warring States show inklings of reflection on the way in which the archive was constructed. This reflexive awareness can be called a historio*graphical* consciousness, in that it does not question the existence of the foundational characters as such but betrays a modicum of skepticism on the all too human transmitters and wielders of their narratives. Such tendencies would culminate with the great historians, commentators, or skeptics of the early empires such as Yang Xiong and Sima Qian.

Conflict in the master narrative of the past

Within much of the narratives about the past from the Western Zhou through the early Warring States a simple set of rules recurs, which I refer to as the master narrative of the past: the worthy and virtuous ones are recognized by equally worthy rulers, peers, or people. They prevail over the bad and unjust, commonly assisted by heaven, worthy ministers, and the

people. Because of their virtuous character and deeds, they are rewarded with positions, gifts, and other signs of affection. As noted by many, this idealized memory of the past contrasts sharply with Springs and Autumns and Warring States reality.[269] This tension between the workings of the idealized past and the realities of the present is reflected in the textual record as well.

During the Warring States, a great number of texts appear containing (largely anecdotal) narrative that violates the master narrative of the past. Accordingly, the rules for the past that had been safely projected in the dim memories of the foundational period, could in their stabilized textual form no longer account for the influx of materials describing more recent events. The result is an emerging doubt about the master narrative itself. This is reflected in newly discovered texts such as the *"Guishen", *"Tang Yu zhi Dao" and *"Qiong Da Yi Shi", which restructure the past into new frameworks to mitigate these conflicts and doubts.

Overtly, the *"Guishen" 鬼神 is an argument on its eponymous "Ghosts and Spirits."[270] Previously, Sterckx, Brindley, and Ding Sixin among others have analyzed the purported relation of this material with the Mohist received texts and have rightly concluded that the text is not to be considered a previously lost part of the *Mozi* but should rather be seen as engaging in the larger debate on the perspicuity and efficacy of ghosts and spirits. [271] In this light, it is especially the first and last lines that have led to the debate as it seems to present a position of doubt towards the ability of spirits to influence human affairs. For my purposes here, I instead analyze the subtext underlying the"*Guishen", which I argue

[269] Allan 2015: 320, Pines 2009, Schaberg 2001, Lewis 1999, Graham 1989, Schwartz 1985.
[270] Named "The Clarity of Ghosts and Spirits" 鬼神之明 by the editors, Ding Sixin 2006 makes the valid point that this would suggest unwarranted affiliation with the chapter from the Mozi 墨子. The text shares an eight slip manuscript with the "Rongshi you Chengshi" 融風有成氏, divided in the middle with a bar of ink. The text comprises five slips, the original transcription can be found in Ma Chengyuan 2005: 307-20.
[271] Sterckx 2013, Brindley 2009, Ding Sixin 2006.

presents a question of fundamental doubt on the normatized workings of history. The opening section presents the first clue:

> (1)今夫鬼神有所明，有所不明，[slip scraped clear][272]則以其賞善罰暴也。昔者堯舜禹湯仁義聖智，天下法之。此以貴爲天子，(2)富有天下，長年有譽，後世遂（述）[273]之。則鬼神之賞，此明矣。[274]
>
> As to ghosts and spirits, they have that in which they are clear and that which they are not, this can [be seen] from their rewarding of the excellent and punishing of the violent. Of yore, Yao, Shun, Yu, and Tang were humane, proper, sagacious, and wise, the realm modelled itself upon them. Through this they were prized as Sons of Heaven, endowed with a prosperous realm, their fame lasted for long years and later generations followed them. Hence, here the rewarding by ghost and spirits is clear.

From the sub-clause to the first line it becomes clear that the text is not just engaged with ghosts and spirits. Rather it discusses how ghosts and spirits cast light on the hardships and fortunes of the exemplars of the past. The text continues with a line of argument describing how normally the good are rewarded and the bad are punished. The virtuous rule of sages such as Yao, Shun, and Yu is supported by the spirits and this is explicitly framed in terms of how they are remembered in the cultural memory of the community. Evidence for the praiseworthiness and thus the support of the sages by ghosts and spirits is presented on the basis that they were "honored" 貴 as emperors, that they had "renown" 譽 for many years and were "passed down" 述 by later generations.

That their name was spread and upheld through time provides the evidence for their virtuous rule. While the text attributes this to ghosts and spirits, the implicit assumption is

[272] It is unclear what happened to the manuscript, possibly, graphs have been scraped of in order to turn it into a burial item or to make a correction.
[273] Edition follows Ding Sixing 2006. Reading 遂*zjuts as 述* Ljut.
[274] What follows are the classical counterexamples, Jie 桀 and Zhou 紂, You 幽 and Li 厲 who were "laughed at by the whole world even before they had passed away" 身不没為天下笑.

that worthiness and transmission are a function of remembrance. In other words, the fact that the archive of cultural memory has preserved these figures as worthy of remembrance and transmission is the very evidence for their worthiness. While this might be selfevident, the fact that it is remarked upon in these texts suggest that there was a contemporary awareness on the functioning of the archive of cultural memory. This awareness opens up a possibility for critical reflection on the very human processes that shaped the archive, a point to which I turn now.

Conflict is introduced. Apparently, the rules that governed the ancient past do not always fit more recent events that are still present in the communicative memory of the Warring States:

> (3)… 及伍子胥者，天下之聖人也，鴟夷 而死。榮夷公者 ，天下之亂人也，長年而沒。如以此詰之，則善者或不賞，而暴(4)[者或不罰。]
> Coming to Wu Zixu, he was a sage of the realm, but he was stuffed in a skin and killed. Rong Yigong, he was a disturber of the realm, but he lived to a ripe age before dying. If one questions it using these [examples], then some of the excellent are not rewarded, and some of the violent are not punished.

There are many differing narratives surrounding the persona of Wu Zixu, some claim his virtue, others point to his failures. The *"Guishen" chooses to remember him as an exemplar of sagely virtue who however met with disfortune.[275] This unfavourable treatment does not sit well with the master narrative where every sagely person is treated according to their virtues. In addition, because the opposite also holds and some bad people were actually rewarded with long life, this leads the author(s) to conclude that the master narrative of the past does not always work as expected.

[275] See Johnson 1981. This is an example of selective remembrance, suppressing negative memory in favor of the sagely memory conducive to the argument.

This likewise reflects an awareness of conflict between the way the archive works, and the rules that ought to govern the narrative of the past. In other words, the past, instead of a set of matter of fact statements, is perceived of as a system governed by rules. When more recent memories show that those rules are no longer valid, either the memories or the system itself needs to be changed. The use of *jie* 詰 "to question",[276] indicates that conflict needs to be *rationalised* in order to keep the master narrative working. Because the first line states that the system can be observed through the actions of ghosts and spirits, the deductive steps that follow lead the text to acknowledge that the agents sometimes do not influence affairs at all.

It is in this context that the text argues that ghosts and spirits, that is, the agents enforcing the rules of the master narrative, can actually be questioned regarding their clarity of action or their powers of influence. Morality as the motor of the past may not be questioned, and so the efficacy of the agents that enforce these rules is questioned instead. But this does not diminish the fact that the origins of doubt stem from a failure of the system to account for remembered events from more recent periods. The subtext of the *"Guishen" presents an awareness and an attempt to deal with the fact that the idealized, normative conception of the past (and with it the present) can no longer account for anecdotal evidence.

One of the origins of the problem faced by the authors of this, and as I will show, other texts, is therefore that those idealized rules governing the (safely) remote past, do not neatly apply to the situation of the present and nearer past. Patches, to use a software analogy, such as the problematic agency of ghosts and spirits, had to be applied to keep the system or paradigm of the past in place. I argue that one of the main reasons for the destabilization of the paradigm is that during the Warring States period there emerged an upsurge in the textual spread of anecdotal narrative describing the details of the recent past.

[276] I.e. to explain the old with words if we follow the graphic etymological account of the *Shuowen*.

Texts within the *Shu* genre and philosophical texts began to incorporate anecdotes on a heretofore unforeseen scale,[277] collections of dry and relatively under-embellished anecdotes such as the Tsinghua "Xinian" started to circulate.[278] Moreover, collections of model anecdotes, known from collections such as the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* became current as can be seen in the many inclusions in the Shanghai manuscripts, and finds from Cili for instance.[279] This body of anecdotes filled with biographical and narrative detail were now available in relatively stable written form, and with their detail and representation challenged the model of the past as presented in the dominant narratives.[280] Attempts to patch the system by taking recourse to capricious agents such as ghosts and spirits did not turn out to be the only or most common solution.

Restructuring the past, restructuring cultural memory

The recognition that different times have different rules, culminating in the segmentation of time into separate epochs and ages provided a way to account for deviations from the norm in specific examples. The foundational past could still be seen as a model that *should* be emulated, but with the caveat that in certain times it was or *could* not be followed. This way of reasoning advanced a past that was not governed by a single set of rules governing all of time, but rather consisted of several breaks in time wherein the model was subverted. These breaks were represented by the reigns of figures like Zhou and Jie, or the occurrence of bad rulers in the Springs and Autumns period such as Duke Huan of Qi.

[277] Krijgsman *Forthcoming*.
[278] Pines *Forthcoming*.
[279] See Zhang Chunlong 2004 for preliminary information on the anecdote collection from *Cili* 慈利.
[280] See van Els 2012, following Gossman 2003: 154.

Despite what many have argued, the historiographical crisis as it plays out in Warring States textual material is emphatically *not* focused on a 'single event' such as the fall of the Zhou.[281] The fall of the Western Zhou order was at best one of many (protracted) events that gained a place alongside previous and later breaks personified by bad rulers. Rather, the problem faced by Warring States historiographers was how to square moralized narratives of the past with the growing body of textual material documenting exceptions. In other words, it seems more accurate to speak of a crisis of memory. The framework of cultural memory: the foundational period which was governed by an idealized morality and imagined continuity, was shaken by more recent events, still fresh in the memory of certain groups during the Warring States. While recent exceptions to the idealized past can be found in any period, the stabilization and wide dissemination of narratives about the past in writing formed a pool of knowledge that was less amenable to idealization while clearly showing its blank areas. As such, by the mid to late Warring States, texts emerge that reconceptualise the ways in which cultural memory was structured, and how precedent from the foundational period related to the present, in order to better accommodate the past to the needs of the present.

The tripartite structure of cultural memory as sketched for the Western Zhou period, wherein the foundational past was safely and distantly shielded from the present by a temporally unspecified floating gap therefore no longer stood up to argumentative needs and anecdotal evidence. Instead, the floating gap had to be colored in with narrative, and the foundational past itself was pushed further back in time. The tripartite structure itself thus vanished, and the past was segmented into multiple sections or epochs, each governed by slightly different rules and precedents, and each containing its unique exceptions.

[281] The preeminence accorded to this single event is a function of perceiving unity and disunity in terms of the dynastic model, a project clearly informing the agendas of the early histories such as the *Shiji*, and as has been argued, likely to suit early imperial historiographical and text compilational concerns. See the discussion in Lewis 1999: 331-2, 355, pace Pines 2009: 18f.

One of the key elements required for such a restructuring of the past is the notion that it is not just the action, virtue, or character of the figures of cultural memory that mattered, but also the fact that these figures lived in a time where these qualities could come to the fore and be recognized. The *"Tang Yu zhi Dao" and "Zi Gao", discussed above, already include a disclaimer to this effect. It is true, the texts argue, that the ancients ruled by virtue and abdicated in favor of the worthy, but there is a subtext suggesting that this process was only possible because the worthy had the timely luck to meet a worthy connoisseur of talent, the *"Tang Yu zhi Dao" thus reads:

> (14)古者堯生為天子而有天下，聖以遇命，仁以逢时。未嘗遇[命，而](15)並於大時，神明將從，天地佑之。縱仁聖可舉，時弗可及矣。[282]
>
> In times of yore, Yao was born as the Son of Heaven and possessed the world, he approached his mandate with sagacity and met his time with humaneness. Before he ever received [his mandate and] stood together with the great times, the spirits were set to favor him, and Heaven and Earth assisted him. Even if one's humanity and sagacity are worthy of elevation, the times cannot [always] be caught up with.[283]

This passage makes a claim to the importance of the right, or "great times", to the extent that even Yao came to his place not just by his merit, but also because the time was suitable to his ascension to power. This is expressed by the support of heaven and earth, and the favor bestowed on him by ghosts and spirits. Moreover, Yao's qualities of sagacity and humaneness are glossed in temporal terms. The statements that Yao was born as Son of Heaven combined with his position as 'prime mover' of the abdication cycle (no one abdicated to Yao) are sources for questions on origins.[284] The concept of timeliness thus

[282] Following Cook 2014: 559-60.
[283] Translation changed from Cook 2014: 560.
[284] Note that the "Tang Yu zhi Dao" does mention precedent for the practice of abdication on the basis of recognizing humane and righteous qualities, but does not identify them nor relate them to Yao, s.7ff: 六帝興于古，咸由此也 "The elevation of the Six Thearchs in antiquity all occurred on the basis of this (abdication)".

serves two goals in this passage. On the one hand it provides a convenient, if forced, explanation for Yao's rise to power. On the other hand, its importance even to Yao provides a solid precedent for Shun's recognition. For it is because Shun was born in the right age that he was to meet with Yao. But this act of recognition is also evidence of the quality of the times:

> (20)禪也者，上德授賢之謂也。上德則天下有君而(21)世明[285]
>
> Abdication is what is referred to by exalting virtue and bestowing (the rule) upon the worthy. When virtue is exalted than the world has a ruler and the age is bright.

This recursive logic betrays *a retroactive analysis* of timeliness and virtue. That is to say, just as the earlier comments in the "Zi Gao" and the *"Guishen" revealed an awareness of how rulers were remembered by posterity, the qualification of an age as "bright" reveals the work of a narrator looking back and judging the figures of the past for their relative achievements. This narrator, sometimes personified in figures such as Kongzi, explains to the recipient how cultural memory should be interpreted, and how the rules of the master narrative are to be understood.[286] Moreover, a text such as the "Zi Gao" is rather explicit in stating that the current age does not adhere to these idealized rules from the past:

> (8)子羔曰: "如舜在今之世則何若?" 孔子曰: "(7)亦已先王之由道，不逢明王，則亦不大使。"
>
> Zi Gao asked: "If Shun lived in our time, how would he be?" Kongzi replied: "The way of the former kings has already stopped. He would not meet a bright king and thus would not be put to great service."[287]

[285] Edition Cook 2012: 561-2.

[286] Similar statements can be found in the "Zi Gao" for instance: (6)子羔曰: "堯之得舜也，舜之德則誠善(2)與？抑堯之德則甚明與?" 孔子曰: "均也。…." Zi Gao asked: "Regarding Yao's acquiring of Shun, was Shun's virtue truly good, or because Yao's was very clear-sighted? Kongzi replied: "Equally so. …."

[287] Edition follows Pines 2005: 6.

The foundational period is used as a standard to judge the present, and the narrative of abdication is used as a vehicle to describe that the rules of the past are no longer applicable. The "Zi Gao", in the same way as early Zhou sources, contrasts the foundational age to the present without providing narrative depth in between the periods. Texts such as the *"Qiong Da Yi Shi" from Guodian develop the idea of temporal difference in the past to a more complex conclusion:

> (1)有天有人，天人有分。察天人之分，而知所行矣。
> 有其人，無其(2)世；雖賢弗行矣。苟有其世，何難之有哉？[288]
> There is heaven and there is man, heaven and man are distinct. By investigating the distinction between heaven and man, you can know how they act. If the man is right, but not the age, than even if he is a worthy he cannot act upon it. But if one has the age, what difficulties could there be?

This opening paragraph sets the basic problem of worthiness and timeliness. Only after examining the worlds of heaven and man does one know whether the age is ripe for worthy rule and service. What is different in the *"Qiong Da Yi Shi" is the very explicit nature in which the problem of temporality and service are made into the main point of enquiry.

This is reflected in the explicit use of verbs of analysis to describe the means to understand the character of the times. Similar to the use of "to question" *jie* 詰 in *"Guishen", the *"Qiong Da Yi Shi" too introduces a key verb describing an act of analytical reflection: "to investigate" *cha* 察 is introduced showing that the times, and as we will see, the past can be reflected upon. This tallies with what the *"Tang Yu zhi Dao" argued, that Shun's virtues were "known" *zhi* 知 because he displayed them in his behavior for Yao to "hear" *wen* 聞, and accordingly examine and judge his character. Likewise, the word "truly" *cheng* 誠 used

[288] Text edition from Meyer 2012: 57-66.

contrastively in the "Zi Gao" can be taken in this spirit of critical enquiry. These words describe the process of verification, analysis, and judgment on the basis of narrative and biographical information and point to a perception of cultural lore as examinable. As such, their appearance in texts discussing the past is another indicator of the emergence of a stabilizing and *referable* archive of historical lore that was perceived as being open to examination for precedent, compared for variety, and analyzed for patterns.[289]

The *"Qiong Da Yi Shi" here works as a 'corpus organizer'.[290] It makes a selection of anecdotal lore suited for its larger argument, showcasing that both in the foundational period as well as more recently remembered times there were cases where the time could be suitable or unsuitable for service. Instead of reiterating the dichotomy between the foundational past and the ever-lacking present, the *"Qiong Da Yi Shi" follows the rule of temporality to its broadest possible conclusion, subsuming both ancient and recent precedent under the same rule as a means to harmonize conflicting narratives:

> (2)舜耕於歷山，陶拍(3)於河濒。立而為天子，遇堯也。[…]
> [followed by examples of Shao Yao, Lü Wang , Guan Zhong and Sunshu Ao]
> (7)百里[奚]轉賣五羊，為伯牧牛。釋板[?]而為朝卿，遇秦穆。▬
> Shun ploughed at Mt. Li, potted at the (Yellow) River banks. That he was established as Son of Heaven, was because he met Yao. […]
> Baili [Xi] was sold for five goats and had to herd oxen for a lord. That he dropped his tablet and became court minister was because he met Mu of Qin.

[289] This use of diction is of course not limited to texts discussing the past, and also occurs in genres discussing natural phenomena, pathology, logic, and physiology to name but a few. What it suggests is a different attitude towards knowledge in general, a topic treated in more detail in chapter 4. Here Koselleck's 1988 work on *temporalization* and the emergence of concepts is extremely relevant. Note also Olson's 1994 analysis of the change in diction accompanying transitions from predominantly oral to predominantly written modes of engagement with text.

[290] Bausi 2010: 34-7, the term highlights the function of a manuscript to select and meaningfully arrange a number or circulating materials on its written carrier.

All of these well-known exemplars are introduced with key signifying elements from their biography and are thereby intertextually linked to other anecdotal accounts. These figures could only succeed because they met the right person who raised or freed them from their position. What makes the *"Qiong Da Yi Shi" different from the previous narratives is that it selects both negative and positive stories of moral exemplars, yet still manages to place them under a large historiographical rule. Rather than avoiding the problem some of the anecdotal materials offer to the workings of the past, it explicitly rephrases the rules governing the past. As the text itself states, the qualities of these people did not change, merely their opportunities for recognition, and here too the *"Qiong Da Yi Shi" is highly reflective of the ways in which cultural memory is used to judge the achievements of the past:

> (9)初韜晦，後名揚，非其德加。子胥前多功，後戮死，非其智(10)衰也。[…]
> (14)窮達以時，德行一也，譽毀在旁。[…]
> That in the beginning they were hidden and obscure, and that later their names were praised is not because they increased in virtue. That [Wu] Zixu first was considered to be highly meritorious and later disgraced and killed was not because his wisdom had decreased. […]
> Failure and success appear at their respective times. Virtue and conduct [may] be the same,[291] [and yet] fame and slander stand by their side.

In the final analysis, the use of timeliness allows the text to not only subsume well-known cases such as that of Shun under its aegis, but furthermore extent the argument to cover more recent exemplars from Springs and Autumns history. Here, the two competing areas of the past are thus merged in one smooth narrative. Rather than just presenting the foundational period of Shun and Yao as an ideal, it shows how the same process continued into the recent past and thus provides the basis for the formation of a continuous narrative. The apparent discrepancies noted earlier between the memories of these two periods are thus smoothed

[291] Changed from 'one' in Meyer 2012: 66, the rest follows Meyer's translation.

over by updating the master narrative of the past with a concept of timeliness. This use of differentiated yet continuous time culminates in manuscript-texts such as the "Rongchengshi" where the concept of ages and the changing of epochs as seen in the *"Qiong Da Yi Shi" are developed to such an extent as to present a macro overview of universal scope. Even though the "Rongchengshi" did not expand into more recent anecdotal material and rather pushed back the veils of the most ancient times, the same logic of subsuming the past under one abstract structure holds. The *"Qiong Da Yi Shi" thus provides a final key element that foregrounds the transformation towards the increasingly comprehensive and structured representation of the past towards the mid to late Warring States period.

Conclusions

To summarize, in this chapter I have argued for a set of trends emerging in Warring States representations of the past that could explain the transition from the commemorative, localized, and fragmented accounts seen in the mid to late Western Zhou and Springs and Autumns periods, towards the comprehensive, universalistic, and thoroughly structured accounts seen in the mid to late Warring States. I consider these trends to be closely related to the increase in the textualization and exchange of narratives in written form. While many accounts of the past from the Warring States period are quite similar to earlier accounts in their use of temporal structuring, during the Warring States period, isolated and fragmented narratives gradually gained in detail and depth of description. Because of argumentative needs, biographical information of foundational figures was textualised. But these descriptions, each tailored to specific argumentative needs were conflicting and gave rise to explicitly formulated questions on the veracity of the accounts. Contending accounts came into conflict. On another level, the master narrative of the past, wherein worthies always

received what they deserved and where able to rule successfully became challenged in light of the anecdotal materials that disproved these rules for periods less far removed in time.

The model function of the foundational period became endangered and the rules of the master narrative had to change. While certain texts doubted the efficacy of the agents enforcing the system, others introduced a concept of timeliness and historical contingency that allowed for different outcomes despite identical levels of sagacity. By structuring the past into distinct epochs, each characterized by different rules, conflicting accounts could be subsumed under a larger system.

These changes in temporal structuring are paired with two other developments. The first is an attempt to probe back ever further in time, coloring in all the blanks in the narrative and providing utopic antecedent for later developments. It is clear from this development that simply stating Yao's divine origins or not explaining his background at all were no longer adequate by the late Warring States. Every precedent had an antecedent. The second development is related to the former and to the concept of timeliness. An increase of description of the segmented nature of time and the colonization of the past triggered explicit structuring of time on a textual level. The "Rongchengshi" is the pinnacle of this development. Here, the master narrative of the past is presented as something containing a macrostructure that is imposed on to the individual periods. This macrostructure guides the transition between ages and provides a rationale for different practices and rules in each of these. On a lower level, meso- and microstructures allow for the emergence of a continuous and smooth narrative wherein each event leads to the other, and thus foregrounding the bigger changes in the macrostructure of time. This does not mean that the text is a full-blown history in the modern sense of the word. Rather, in its presentation of the links between events, it elides large stretches of the past. As such, while causal developments between action and result were rendered clear in this particular and still rather unique example, some

of these connections are the function of the narrative structure of the text rather than the interconnectedness of the events themselves. Accordingly, the text presents a good example of an attempt to construct a unified cultural memory from a select and limited number of memories of the past.

The textuality of these connecting structures became gradually more explicit and operative. On the basis of previously circulating materials, now subsumed under a tight structure, individual links are explicitly formulated and the fragmented accounts tied together. The past is becoming an archive that can be consulted for all its periods and for all its mechanics. This trend is accompanied by the explicit introduction of verbs that specify the examination of this archive. Instead of being a set of loosely related events, it can now be examined for patterns that can be textually explained. With this notion of the past becoming a mineable archive, judgment is more explicitly formed. Narrator figures such as Kongzi take on the role of adjudicator, having carefully analyzed the patterns of the past they make moral and causal claims describing why events lead to another. This is dovetailed in the narrative construction seen in many of the texts discussed above. The various anonymous judgments on behavior of exemplar figures presented in the texts, are explicitly marked as being "heard" or "seen" by other figures in the narrative, and it is these characterizing features upon which they base their judgment and future actions.

Different from early commemorative narratives is the scope and mode of presentation of the material. Where early Western Zhou and Springs and Autumns material features localized narratives in a tripartite time structure, later narratives such as the "Rongchengshi" have a multifaceted time structure wherein each step is explicitly made. Likewise, the spatial perspective of such later texts is universal. Instead of looking from within a lineage at a larger cultural unit, the cultural unit as a whole is taken as the guiding element and focalizer. The perspective and description of space is universal and surveys the individual areas within. The

perspective of time is likewise removed from the purview of the individual lineage (head) but rather abstractly reflected on from an indefinite and de-localized point in time. From this perspective, breaks within the past are clear and instrumental. Rather than just having one single break between foundational period and the present, the past is composed of multiple epochs that can each be characterized. This allowed for larger abstractions of philosophical extent and for the emergence of new master narratives of the past to replace the old.

或以不喪之閒，誦詩三百，弦詩三百，歌詩三百，舞詩三百。
Many spend the time when they are not busy mourning reciting the 300 *Shi*, strumming the 300 *Shi*, singing the 300 *Shi*, and dancing the 300 *Shi*.
Mozi 墨子, "Gongmeng"公孟.

Chapter 3: Collection and Canon: the Formation of a Genre

This chapter deals with the problem of written verse. I use verse as a convenient general term to encompass all forms of encompassed wholes of rhythmic and rhymed composition, as juxtaposed to prose.[292] As a term, it does not privilege either the poetic or the melodic,[293] and is not limited to connotations of a single usage context (as poem, ode, or song would be). In particular, I use it to designate all those forms that would over various periods be referred to as "Ode" *shi* 詩 (or *Ode(s) Shi* when it refers to part of the canonical collection *Shijing* 詩經), "Lyric" *ci* 辭, "Song" *ge* 歌, "Song of caution" *bi* 毖 and "Hymn (of praise)" (*zhu-*) *song* (祝) 頌 for example, many of which would later be relabeled as *Odes* 詩.[294]

The status of written verse becomes problematic from the following advances in the field: recent studies have shown that the transmission and performance of verse during the Warring States period (and long thereafter) was predominantly based on their sound rather than a fixed written form.[295] The picture of the literary landscape of the Springs and Autumns and Warring States periods as painted in the *Zuozhuan* and many philosophical texts, wherein apt lines of verse were exchanged and "quoted", suggest that a body of verse and their referents was considered a part of the cultural memory of the early Chinese elite.[296] Likewise,

[292] It should be noted that prose and narrative in early Chinese texts are often comprised of verse sections, rhymed adages, and rhythmic parallel composition. For the purpose of examining the specific genres of verse, when they operate as standalone units, or are singled out by frame or by virtue of being in the same collection, they can be subsumed as a heuristic category similar to the broadest use of the term *shi* 詩 in early Chinese poetics, which can refer to any rhymed and/or rhythmic composition from the adage to lyric. See Schaberg 1999: 307-309.
[293] See the discussion in Nagy 1990.
[294] See the discussion in the introduction.
[295] Especially Kern 2005a,b, 2002.
[296] For extensive discussion see Schaberg 2001: 72-78, 234-42, and Zhang Suqing 1991: 29-50.

the variation in the use and adoption of verse, be it as authoritative and analogical arguments integrated in prose compositions such as the *"Wuxing" 五行 from Guodian,[297] or as travelling sayings in many early philosophical texts,[298] shows that they were quoted from memory and adaptable to circumstances rather than tied to a fixed written text. Finally, a consensus on aspects of the changes in the usage and context of verse is emerging in recent scholarship which I draw together here.

In a number of studies Kern has argued that mid late western Zhou usage of verse was situated around the *performance* of the rituals of the ancestral cult, part and parcel of a multi-sensory experience including dance, visual and olfactory stimulation, in addition to speeches, and gradually becoming more and more commemorative in character.[299] Shaughnessy sketches a similar position for the early Hymns *song* 頌 and, following Fu Sinian, suggests that some of these were performed in elaborate ritual sets, arguing that in the late western Zhou a division between performers and audience emerges, a process turning ritual participation into commemorative observation.[300] Many have argued for a broadening, de-ritualization, and de-musicalization of verse usage in the eastern Zhou period. Von Falkenhausen argues—and the quote from the *Mozi* above beautifully illustrates this—music and performance remained important aspect of courtly and classical culture well into the Warring States period.[301] Van Zoeren makes the case that the increasingly institutionalized practice of teaching verse *as* verse slowly eroded the musical grounds of existence of the corpus "leaving behind the Odes as texts and texts only."[302] As a result, verse was increasingly wielded as a culturally coded *linguistic* means of exchange in court settings and

[297] Meyer 2011: 78-82.
[298] Krijgsman 2014.
[299] Kern 2009, 2000. See also von Falkenhausen1993a.
[300] Shaughnessy 1997: 186-7. Fu Sinian 2008, also Wang 1974.
[301] Von Falkenhausen 1993b also Kern 2001: 73.
[302] Van Zoeren 1991: 28-51, here 49.

formed a language with a heritage encompassing the sinosphere.[303] At the dawn of the early empires, verse, and what subsequently became known as the *Odes* in particular, was increasingly perceived as a fixed set of texts, that is, the three hundred from the quote above, that invited commentarial definition of its meanings rather than ritual actualization through performance.[304]

From this admittedly brief overview, a general trend from the ritual and performative towards the textual and commentarial emerges, a process touched upon by van Zoeren and Ou Man-jong, and noted earlier by scholars such as Gu Jiegang among others.[305] Yet as the quote from the *Mozi* illustrates, and as I will show from the examples below, this was not a one-directional, neat development. I hypothesise in this chapter that the emergence of the *Shi* as a written collection and as a recognized literary genre were gradual, and to an extent, interrelated developments. Instead of placing these developments in the late Western Zhou,[306] or as only occurring in the Western Han,[307] I suggest to understand them as gradual developments in conceptualizing verse that occurred during the Warring States period. Furthermore, I will try to show that we should not imagine a clear, unilateral development but should rather speak of a spectrum of developments providing different elements that were only brought together and differentiated in function with imperial text-collections such as the *Mao Odes* and its contemporaries.[308]

I argue in this chapter that written verse was not just the product of contingent developments, but that their written form also contributed to changes in the ways authorship and genre were conceived of for instance. Moreover, following Kern's argument that memory

[303] Beecroft 2010, Schaberg 2001, Lewis 1999.
[304] Nylan 2001, Kern 2000b, Lewis 1999.
[305] Ou Manjong 2001. Gu Jiegang 1982, for developments in early exegesis, especially during the early Han see studies by Riegel 1977, Van Zoeren 1991, and especially Saussy 1993.
[306] C.f. Chen Shi-hsiang 1974 for instance.
[307] C.f. Kern 2015: 80 who argues that notions of genre and authorship only developed during the Han.
[308] For an overview of the differences and similarities between the *Mao* and other interpretations of the *Odes* see Zhang Suqing 1991: 216-226.

and oral performance still appear to be the main mode of engagement with verse during the Warring States period,[309] it is almost surprising that among recently acquired manuscripts, many contain or even solely consist of, *written* verse. The question therefore becomes: what *does* writing do to verse? Why write an oral and memorized piece down in the first place? Did writing contribute to changes in usage praxis and transmission at all? Does the act of writing alter a group's understanding of the pieces? What was the role of written verse in transforming a predominantly performative practice into a canonical collection?

In exploring these questions, this chapter examines changes in the reception and framing of verse within a representative set of texts from the Warring States period. In particular, I focus on the rise of practices such as collecting verse in manuscript form, the development of the use of meta-text, including genre markers and framing narratives. I examine further how this use of manuscripts for verse informs changes in the form of organization of the texts, the use of commentary, and how this relates to teaching verse and early processes of canonization. I take my cue from Guillory's revisionist view on the formation of the literary canon. He argues that instead of asking what the processes are that determine inclusion or exclusion of texts from the canon, we should be investigating the means by which the access to the canon is generated. In particular, Guillory stresses the role of teaching and the syllabus in forming the categories, and reinforcing models of literature upon future readers and writers.[310] In this chapter, I examine the evidence for the teaching of verse on the basis of collections as a similar means for understanding how, and in what form, early verse could have been placed in a position to have eventually made it into the canonical collection of the *Mao Odes*.

[309] Kern 2005a,b.
[310] Guillory 1993.

I like to stress that while from a macro-perspective the processes underlying this shift appear as a neat and singular development from the ritual and oral towards the commentarial and the textual, my perception of Warring States development is decidedly messier. Genre labelling practices and perceptions of authorship do not change overnight, and if one text engages in interpreting the wording of a piece, it does not mean that another text can no longer be interested in its performative aspects. The late Warring States emergence of the figure of Kongzi as an editor, as I will argue below, says something about perceptions of verse as being included in a textual collection, but it is also true that this perception only really came to the fore over a 150 years later when compilers such as Sima Qian and Liu Xin saw their own work prefigured in that of the Sage. A selection of different developments occurring over a long span of time and place cannot (and probably should not) be easily caught in one narrative. Accordingly, I focus on the places of intersection of these particular developments. I show how they anchor and foreground, rather than necessitate, the larger picture of transformations in verse usage and perception. Now, I turn to the evidence for collecting verse in written form during the Warring States as it forms the grounding for many of my arguments in this chapter.

Collections

The first physical evidence to date for small-scale collections of verse materials appear on bamboo manuscripts from the Warring States period. The image presented in the received record tells of sections of poems and individual lines that were readily used in a variety of speech and argumentative contexts, from the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 practice of "presenting verse" *fushi* 賦詩, to the use in many Warring States texts of individual lines to cap an argument.[311] 'Verse for verse sake', that is, the textualization of individual pieces presented as *distinct*

[311] Schaberg 2001: 72-78, 234-42, Lewis 1999, Zeng Qinlang 1993.

entities seems to be extremely rare in before the Warring States. If we accept the late 6th to early 5th century B.C.E. Qin Stone Drums as an exceptional case of textualising individual verses,[312] it should also be acknowledged that the Drum's physical presentation of material in a style, language, and grammar similar to the *Odes* is not just extremely rare, but also occurs on a weighty medium that was not conducive to easy transmission.[313] In order to examine the possible influences of collections of verse as a separate phenomenon, and of a verse centered literary representation as a whole, this section examines the available physical evidence from Warring States manuscripts as opposed to taking recourse to secondary descriptions that were given definitive form only in the Han period.[314]

I understand the term 'collection' here in two ways. From a material point of view it describes the physical act of collecting similar materials on the same manuscript. This act of compilation influences engagement with the material in that, for example, items on the same manuscript can easily be perceived as somehow being related.[315] Further levels of physical organization, including paratextual functions such as marking stanzas in an individual poem, or the relation of a title to the collection as a whole, add additional meaningful layers to the collection and its individual pieces by structuring the reading experience and labelling the

[312] Dated by Mattos 1988.
[313] The same might be said for poetic materials preserved on bronzes *as textual artifacts*, see notably Behr 2007. Of course, it is reasonable to assume that the textualization of such materials in a genre recognizable form of literary production presumes at the very least a limited, and likely court centered, transmission of such material in other forms and media
[314] Here I refer to statements such as in Chen 1974 which assume that with the Jizha Guanyue 季札觀樂 description in *Zuozhuan* Xiang 28 we have datable (544 B.C.E.) evidence for the existence of a relatively stable collection of the *Odes*. The dating of the *Zuozhuan*, let alone its materials is a thorny issue. For an excellent discussion of the scholarship see the appendix in Schaberg 2001 who argues that the bulk of the material is the result of a 4th century B.C.E. practice of narrativizing in transcription the historical events recorded in the *Chunqiu*, drawing on a vast body of orally transmitted lore, a process finalized around the late third century B.C.E. Note however, that Pines, otherwise a staunch defender of the documentary and written nature of the sources underlying the *Zuo*, readily acknowledges this passage to be of a late Warring States origins, Pines 2002: 221-226.
[315] Note however that although the act of bringing together different texts on the same manuscript might bring *readers* to assume relations between the materials, it does not mean that these relations were necessarily perceived by the text's authors, the compilers and/or scribes. See Meyer 2011: 210-211 for a discussion.

text as a unit.[316] From a literary point of view, the collection often additionally contains a narrative frame embedding the material. These commentarial or narrative abstractions on the verse materials in the collection, foreground different modes of understanding, engagement, and categorization of the material. The frame often informs the particular genre association of the material constructed in the text through a description of use and composition, or explaining the origins of the pieces and thus constructing a literary *Sitz im Leben*, i.e. an imagined usage and origination context of these materials.

It should be clear that the most basic functions of collecting and ordering material are not exclusive to written material. Oral collections such as epic cycles are equally framed by performance, narrative bracketing, and audience expectations and interaction.[317] Textualization therefore rather configures modes of interaction in different ways and enables different forms of transmission. By physically extracting materials from their performative dimension, some features are lost, such as tone and gesture for instance. Other features can be added or adapted, most prominently in that the unframed material asks for reader or commentarial input in order to interpret and place the material.[318] Often this act of placing the piece takes the form of investing it with a "scene of authorship" that describes the composer and often the performance of the piece,[319] and links it to a particular historical event or place and thus placing it within the topography of cultural memory. According to Schaberg, these frames valorize the otherwise unconnected material by presenting it as occupying a

[316] Genette 1997. Other collections of rhymed materials occur in excavated materials such as the *"Yong Yue" 用曰 and *"Yucong" 4 語叢 manuscripts for which similar functions can be described, for an in-depth discussion see chapter 4. A new cache of manuscripts has recently been acquired by Anhui University, which gave public notice in May 2016. It promises to contain a collection of over 101 slips with songs similar, yet differently ordered and written, from the "Airs of the States" section from the *Book of Odes*. These materials are carbon dated around 400-350 BCE and would present an early example of verse collection. Further conclusions as to the significance of this find can only be drawn after the material has been published.
[317] Olson 1994, Finnegan 1988.
[318] On this point see Schaberg 1999: 323-324..
[319] For this term see Beecroft 2010:1, where authorship is understood as pointing to every act of transmission and compositional and performative involvement with and construction of the material, as constructed in these scenes.

significant position within the historical imagination, or as an authoritative product of famous author figures such as Kongzi or the Duke of Zhou. Frames thus replace in writing a context that would otherwise have been part of experienced performance. This practice of framing became a trope of its own, resulting for example in the prefaces *xu* 序 of many canonical collections.[320]

From the point of view of transmission, the physical act of collecting reinforces processes of grouping and selection since the manuscript acts as a corpus organizer.[321] These selections are closely related to the teaching practices associated with them and can be likened to syllabi to an extent. Through mediated acts of transmission such as teaching, the grouping of sets of text and of the individual pieces within them are reinforced every time they are (re-) memorized and (re-) valorized and thus gain in authority and rigidity.[322] A succinct re-imagination or theorization of this practice of organizing and teaching text occurs in the "Xing zi Ming Chu":

> (15)[…]詩、書、禮、樂，其始出皆生(16)於人。詩有為為之也；書有為言之也；禮樂有為舉之也。聖人比其(17)類而論會之，觀其先後而逆順之；體其義而節文之，理(18)其情而出納之。然後復以教。教所以生德於中者也。
> "Odes", "Documents", rites, and music—in every case their first appearing was brought forth by man. The actions in the "Odes" were acted out by them; the actions in the "Documents" were spoken out by them; the actions of the Rites and music were exalted by them. The sages [then] juxtaposed them according to their categories,[323] and brought them together in their discourses.[324] [They] beheld them in their sequence to arrange them in their proper order.[325] [They] shaped their meaning to regulate and pattern them.[326] [They] organized the feelings [expressed in them] and manifested and internalized

[320] Krijgsman *Forthcoming*.
[321] On the term 'corpus organizer' see Bausi 2010 who argues that every manuscript selects and orders materials from the stream of tradition to its own purposes.
[322] On this dynamic in teaching see Guillory 1993, for commentarial traditions, see Henderson 1991.
[323] I.e.: ordered them into genres.
[324] I.e.: subsuming them under metatextual comments.
[325] I.e.: Organizing the collection. Alternatively, this statement could also be read as a temporal order, and thus as talking about framing the pieces in terms of a historical narrative.
[326] I.e.: Interpretation and commentary.

them.[327] Only when this was achieved did they reinforce it through teaching. Teaching is that by which [the sage] generates moral force in the center.[328]

I read this passage as a reflection on the processes of organizing, commenting, and the teaching of genres. I take the sage as standing in for teachers and their practice as a whole. It can thus be seen as a theoretical comment on teaching practices at large, reflecting on the practice of bringing verse and other materials together to form internally coherent and meaningful bodies of knowledge. The sage groups, orders, and embodies the materials, and reinforces those groupings, orders and meanings in teaching. I argue that the collections of verse I discuss below could be used as tools in such teaching contexts, forming a textual base to instill genre affiliation, order, and interpretations of the materials in students.

I now turn to the physical evidence for singletons and collections of verse materials. Volume four of the Shanghai corpus contains two pieces classified as "Lost Odes" *Yishi* 逸詩 by their modern editor, Ma Chengyuan.[329] Based on the lines heading their stanzas, Ma Chengyuan titled the originally untitled pieces *"Jiaojiao Mingwu" 交交鳴烏 "Fluttering Cry the Crows" and *"Duoxin" 多薪 "Abundant Firewood" respectively. It is difficult to determine whether or not the pieces where originally bound on the same manuscript, or circulating separately.[330] The only two criteria that could make manuscript affiliation of the slips clearer are the rough similarities in breaking patterns of the slips, but without archaeological context it is difficult to determine whether this suggests proximity in burial

[327] I.e.: extrapolating the lessons of value for teaching.
[328] Edition and translation adapted from Meyer 2011: 314-5.
[329] Ma Chengyuan ed. 2004: 173. He argues on the basis of their repeated sentence structure with variation in keywords, the rhyme pattern and use of invocation xing 興 in the openings, that the pieces are similar to those seen in the Feng 風 and Ya 雅 sections of the *Book of Odes* 詩經. On the term "lost odes" see the discussion in Zhang Suqing 1991: 21-24, 219-221.
[330] The manuscript is heavily damaged, only four and two flat-bottomed slips remain of the pieces respectively, each damaged on the top end and hence the full slip length is difficult to determine. In light of limited overlap in graphs and elements, an objective determination of hand(s) in the manuscript(s) is difficult to determine, although the overall style of calligraphy is similar. For the distinction between hand and style see Richter 2006.

and therefore scroll position or is a result of the robbing process.[331] Secondly, features of manuscript layout such as punctuation and relative graph and binding spacing are suggestive of affiliation. Punctuation in the two pieces follows a similar pattern with clearly marked reduplication and punctuation marks at the end of individual stanzas. Only for *“Duoxin” is the end preserved, its last slip is closed by a hook shaped text terminator mark and leaves the remainder of the slip blank. As such, while it is not unlikely that the two pieces were at one point part of a single manuscript, possibly closed after *“Duoxin”, the evidence does not allow for decisive conclusions either way and Ma’s collocation of the two pieces might equally be a function of modern perceptions of affiliation. Regardless, the two pieces indicate the presence of poetic materials textualized on bamboo in a piecemeal fashion (‘verse for verse’s sake’) as opposed to partial pieces subsumed under larger textual compositions.

Clearer data emerges for the four pieces contained in volume eight of the Shanghai corpus. The first two, referred to by the editor Cao Mianyan as *“Lisong” 李頌 “Hymn on the plum” and *“Lanfu” 蘭賦 “Rhapsody on the Orchid” present somewhat of an oddity in manuscript materiality. The five slips of *“Lanfu” are written on the penultimate section of a manuscript followed by the first slip of *“Lisong”, after which the writing continues on the back of the manuscript, starting on the back of the first slip of *“Lisong” and finishing on the fifth slip of *“Lanfu”:

Back *LS2 *LS3 ----------

Slips ------ ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- → possibly more slips preceding.

Front *LS1 *LF5 *LF4 *LF3 *LF2 *LF1

[331] See the overview in Ma 2004: 4.

Cao argues on this basis that the manuscript was first bound and then written, a notion supported by the spacing of the graphs avoiding the binding cords.[332] In addition, Fudan's reading group has argued that both the physical characteristics of manuscript as well as the script of *"Lanfu" and the lion's share of *"Lisong" are congruent with the manuscript containing the *"Guishen" text, thus suggesting that these might have been part of the same manuscript.[333] Finally, they suggest that the script of the last section of the *"Lisong", discussed below, is written in a different hand. This section, possibly written by a later reader or organizer of the material, is not rhymed and contains a general commentary using a vocabulary commonly used to describe verse materials. The first line of the commentary is repeated on the middle of the back of *"Lanfu" slip 5/ *"Lisong" slip 3, and likely functioned as a summary judgement of the verse on the manuscript.[334]

(2) 是故聖人束此，和物以理人情。人因其情則樂其事，遠其情[…]
(3) 是故聖人束此。[335]
For this reason (i.e. The Guan 棺 tree mentioned in the verse which grows tall and straight and restrains its outgrowths), the sage restrains himself, he harmonizes himself in accordance with things in order to pattern human feelings.[336] When humans are in accordance with their feelings they take pleasure in their affairs, when they distantiate from their feelings […][337]
For this reason sages restrain themselves.

The limited evidence here suggests that the two pieces were collected together on the final section of a manuscript, possibly following similar pieces and/or historiographical pieces.

[332] Ma 2011: 229.
[333] FDDSH 2011a.
[334] Comp. Cao Mianyan (Ma 2011: 246) who suggests that it is a poetic critique of the receiver, and the latter need not be a title. FDDSH 2011a doubts this.
[335] Edition follows FDDSH 2011a.
[336] My tentative reading of this enigmatic comment is that the sage restrains himself in the same way that the Guan tree restrains its outgrowth, in other words, that the sage should pattern his feeling in accordance with the way the Guan tree patterns its growth.
[337] Note that this line seems to be incomplete. In addition to the repetition in the designation this suggests that possibly these lines were not executed perfectly by the scribe, and that the status of this section on the manuscript might be more complex.

The lines quoted above reinforce this perspective by imbuing the pieces with a sense of unity while also distilling a general and abstract lesson from their content. The use of such metatextual comments on the pieces as a group can be seen as a simple form of the same impulse that generated the framing narrative or commentary. The normative function of the material is highlighted by stressing the relation of verse and song with "patterning human responses" 理人情, a well-established trope in Warring States period and later texts which is often related to teaching and (moral) cultivation practices.[338] The point here is that the reader of these at first sight seemingly unrelated pieces is asked to draw a general lesson from the metaphor embodied in the verse. By virtue of physically grouping the pieces together a metatextual space is opened up, wherein a commentator felt the need to insert a reading key that would make functional (educational) sense of the pieces as a collection sharing common features.

In addition to these two pieces, volume eight contains yet two more pieces argued by Cao Mianyan to be in the Chu Lyric form, based on rhythm, rhyme, and theme: * "Youhuang Jiang Qi" 有皇將起 "The august is about to rise" and *"Liuli" 鷚鶹 "Oriole". These two originally untitled pieces share the same writing hand and the same binding positions on the slips and were likely connected as a longer whole. Because of the fragmented state of the slips, it cannot be ascertained whether or not they should be grouped as belonging to the same manuscript as the previously discussed pieces.[339]

In sum, while the fragmented and limited nature of these manuscripts does not allow for decisive statements, there appears to be evidence for the formation of small-scope acts of physical collection of individual and distinct verse materials from at least the mid Warring States period onwards. These collections have no text-internal genre labels, but seem to be

[338] See for example the *"Xing zi Ming chu" quoted previously.
[339] See the discussion between Cheng Shaoxuan and Li Rui in response to the FDDSH 2011b edition.

grouped on the basis of recognizable literary form (if only that all of them rhyme), and are sometimes commented upon in a fashion suggesting that they were given a similar function or interpretation. In what follows, I discuss a set of more complex collections from the Tsinghua slips that support such a characterization in that they provide even more elaborate metatext in the form of framing narratives describing the imagined scenes of authorship and performance as a means of structuring the collection.

The metanarrative: framing genre, authorship, and performance

In the preceding section I have argued that the act of collecting materials on the same manuscript opens up a space for imbuing the materials with a metanarrative. Metanarratives provide a mediating frame textually situating the material in a context that would otherwise be provided in the interaction of performance, or based on audience expectations such as previous knowledge of the piece. In other words, contextualization of verse is turned into a textual phenomenon. Where the ritual and courtly contexts described in *Zuozhuan* and extrapolated from pieces dated to the late Western Zhou and early Eastern Zhou would have situated the material through their use in performance, a shift towards text oriented appreciation of verse was on its way during the Warring States. This process of textualization likewise transformed the genre perception its concomitant understanding of verse into a textual phenomenon.

In this section, I discuss what the early phase of this transformation entails by examining two framed collections of early poetic materials, the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu" 周公之琴舞 "The Duke of Zhou's zither playing and dancing" and the "Qi Ye" 耆夜 "The Night

after (the Battle at) Qi" from the Tsinghua manuscripts. These collections, containing five and ten pieces respectively, provide a framing narrative explaining the origins, performance conditions, and genre affiliations of the pieces.[340] In framing narratives, the usage and performance contexts that marked the classification and understanding of early verse are turned into a textual phenomenon and this has a number of consequences:

1) Generally speaking, the textualization of any experience elides a number of aspects and focuses on a particular subset of elements which push the rest to the background.[341] For verse, the multisensory contexts of their performance, featuring song, music, and dance, were stripped off and gradually turned into a unilateral, that is to say, solely text based phenomenon. The pieces under discussion below, while paying homage to performance in their frames, focus predominantly on the *who* of the performance, in addition to spending most of the text on the *words* of the pieces.

2) As I show in the following, the focus on the *who* of the performance indicates a move away from a situation wherein authorship – in the sense of first composition and first performance – was an unspecified element of a composition.[342] Authorship gradually becomes a specific and highly personalized, and therefore historicized description of first composition and situation specific performance. Such narratives of creation could on the one hand develop into the Warring States conception of "verse bespeaking character" 詩言志 of the author, and through him, the age, making the appreciation of verse a historicized endeavor.[343] On the other hand, in examples such as the "Qi Ye", we will see that it also opens the way for a focus on the literariness of the act of creation, rather than just the historical circumstances. In the same way that editorship was often credited to Kongzi, so

[340] Here and below, I follow the genre classifications as provided in the frame, sometimes in contrast with what (modern) critics have judged to be the literary form of the pieces.
[341] For theoretical statements see Olsen 1994, for anthropological data see Finnegan 1988.
[342] For a careful analysis of early authorship in general, see Schwermann and Steineck eds. 2014. For fluidity and anonymity in early authorship see Krijgsman 2014.
[343] See van Zoeren 1991, and especially Saussy 1993.

was literary virtuosity often credited to the Duke of Zhou, turning him quite literally into a creator of culture.

3) Finally, in the collections under discussion, perceptions of genre are developed and performed. The framing narratives describe the individual pieces as songs, hymns of praise, and cautious admonitions. These pieces would in other discussion be framed as belonging to the genera of *Shi*, but here are still designated as performance-context bound functional categories of text production. From a formal perspective, a process only hinted at for the former collections is visible, verse of similar wording and structure is grouped together and harmonize and regularize each other in their collocation. In other words, the act of collecting materials on the same manuscript was an activity in which pieces of the same literary form, to the point of becoming *generic*, stood side by side, thus becoming models of the genre label. I argue that it is such collocation of the materials that expedites their shared distribution and teaching and accordingly reinforces tighter understandings of the genre and literary models for its composition such as the tetra syllabic line, rhyme patterns, and shared diction. In short, these collections thus helped enable an increase in the harmonization of verse into formally recognizable genres.

The "Zhougong zhi Qinwu"

The "Zhougong zhi Qinwu" 周公之琴舞 "The Duke of Zhou's zither playing and dancing" [344] is a titled collection of ten pieces which are similar in style, form, and content to the

[344] Li Xueqin ed. 2012: original size images pp. 8-11. Transcription pp: 132-143. The manuscript contains 17 slips, the top halve of s.15 and bottom 3/4th of s.17 are broken off. Last slip end is left blank and has a hook shaped mark. The backs of the slips are numbered. The designation of the manuscript is written on the top of s.1B. It has the same material conditions and script as the *"Ruiliang Fu Bi" 芮良夫毖; which was designated, but later scraped off as "The Duke of Zhou's Hymned Intent (or: Shi) 周公之頌志（詩?）. The manuscript features reduplication marks and has punctuation before the start of a new song. The slips are fastened with three ropes on the very top, bottom and middle, there is minimal overlap of the ropes with the writing

Hymns in the Zhou Song 周頌 section of the Book of Odes.[345] The second piece in the collection bears close similarities to the transmitted ode "Jing zhi" 敬之 from this section and could be seen as a different instantiation of the same piece.[346] The collection opens with a framing formula focusing on the Duke of Zhou performing what the text calls a "cautious admonition to the many Officers", stressing the act of performance including zither playing and dancing for nine rounds:

(1)周公作多士儆毖，琴舞九絿（遂[347]）。
The Duke of Zhou performed Cautious Admonitions to the Many Officers, and played the zither and danced nine rounds.

元納啟曰：
無悔享君，　　*kjun
罔墜其考[348]。　　*khuʔ
享惟慆帀!　　*hlu * tsup
考惟型帀!　　*geŋ * tsup
The opening of his first contribution went:
Feast your lord without laxity,
Do not let down his ancestors.
Let feasting him be your pleasure!
Let his ancestors be your model!

The basic framing formula is immediately reminiscent of the "prefaces" *xu* 序 seen in both the *Shu*- and *Shijing* where a foundational figure is presented in an act of text-creation, often,

[345] Li Shoukui 2012a. Note that the pieces in this collection are much cleaner and evenly structured than in the *Book of Odes*, see Shen Pei 2013.
[346] Li Shoukui 2012a, Shen Pei 2013.
[347] Li Xueqin ed. 2012: 135 n.2 reads 糸 +术** drjut as 遂* zjuts, and glosses it as a "round" 終, i.e. a measure word for songs. Fang Jianjun 2014b: 3-4 reads this as dancing to the accompanyment of the instrument, and he shows other sources where other instruments like flutes are held in the hand while dancing, but he notes the problem of holding a *qin* (that ought to be placed flat on a stand) while dancing, and suggests it was likely more an accompaniment. Fang also cites *Liji* and *Xunzi* to show how Qingmiao was sung 歌 to the accompaniment of musical instruments, He argues a round 終 is a tune, or part of a tune, that is meant to be sung and played, but not danced. To promote legibility, reconstructions follow the original reconstruction and are written out directly without comment, I only add commentary where a reading is contested. Phonological reconstructions follow Baxter 1992.
[348] Here and in the next line I follow Li Shoukui 2012b: 10 in reading as 考 instead of loaning for 孝.

as here, with a rudimentary inclusion of audience and the circumstance of performance.[349] It can be seen as a generic and rudimentary frame to specify the authorship function of the text. Such a generic use of framing formulae presents a two sided phenomenon. On the one hand, these formulae are a standard means of discussing acts of composition and performance. This in itself suggests that recurring elements such as the Duke of Zhou as a figure of textual production or the key verb *zuo* 作 "to make - compose - perform" should be read as *tropes* of textual production rather than deliberate statements that can be mined for context *specific* information. That is to say, they should not be taken as hard evidence for the actual creation of a piece by the Duke of Zhou, but rather as a common means of conceptualizing performance and composition through the lens of a paradigmatic author figure. Nonetheless, a specification of the formula that amplifies the performative aspects of zither playing, dancing and that this went on for nine rounds could be read as revealing more specific concerns relevant to a particular textual community. A specific understanding of *zuo* as perform, recitation, or creation would have depended on the community interpreting this text and is not necessarily foregrounded in the word itself.

In this case, because of the selective amplification of performative aspects in the formula, I read it as "perform", bearing in mind that any performance in itself is to an extent an act of composition. This aspect is amplified by the division of the verses into an opening and ending section, pointing to a performance oriented organization of the pieces. The performative elements of the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu" should not be overplayed however. The phrase "played the zither and danced nine rounds" provides rudimentary contextualization only. Just as the specification of opening and ending, it seems that the text is placing the performance in prefigured categories supposed to be understood by the audience. As such,

[349] See my discussion on the prefaces and how they relate to framing in the *Shu* tradition, Krijgsman *Forthcoming*.

while authorship and the musical-performative are provided as a reading key, the performance itself is merely pointed to and not described in detail. As will be shown below, other texts such as the "Qi Ye" present much fuller descriptions of the performative dimensions.

Judging from the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu" as a whole, the section detailing the Duke's performance is incomplete in that it only presents the opening section of one verse, rather than the nine pieces promised in the frame. The reasons for this inconsistency are not clear and might reflect a number of scenarios of textual production and transmission and will not be discussed further.[350] The second section of the text appears to be a fully rounded composition. The same framing formula is repeated with minor variation, here it is King Cheng performing instead (possibly in response to the Duke's performance[351]) and no specification of audience is made:

> (2)成王作儆毖，琴舞九遂。
> King Cheng performed Cautious Admonitions, and played the zither and danced nine rounds.

What follows is the first full verse of the text, containing both an opening and ending section. This piece finds a transmitted counterpart in the "Jingzhi" 敬之 from the *Hymns of Zhou* 周颂 section of the *Shijing*. Accordingly, this piece, and in particular its authorship and difference from the received text have attracted most of the attention in the scholarship on

[350] Li Shoukui 2012b argues that the text 'originally' contained eight more pieces. Li Xueqin 2013 deals with this problem by arguing that the total of ten songs can be equally divided on the basis of content and his reconstruction of the addressee to reflect pieces from the Duke and the King respectively, this latter option is even harder to defend and requires a great deal of speculation in order to work. There are many possible explanations to this problem, one other possibility being a reframing of the text to foreground the Duke of Zhou so as to head a collection or to reinforce his position as a composer cum performer of verse (for which see also the *"Jinteng" and the "Qiye" for instance).
[351] Li Shoukui 2012b.

this text. Kern in earlier work has extensively discussed the patterns of variation between received and discovered odes.[352] Since the "Jingzhi" and its variations are no exception to the patterns resulting from oral transmission he describes I will not further discuss them here but merely place the two versions side by side, highlighting variations in bold:[353]

元納啟曰：
The opening of his first contribution went:

敬=之=（敬之敬之），	敬之敬之，
天惟顯帀，	天**維**顯**思**。
文[354]非易帀，	**命不**易**哉**，
毋曰高=（高高）在上，	**無**曰高高在上。
陟降其事，[355]	陟降**厥士**，
俾[356]監(3)在茲。	**日**監在茲。
Revere it revere it!	
Heaven is brightly manifest,	
and its patterns will not change.	
Do not say it is so high above,	
It ascends and descends about our duties,	
Watching us down here below.	

亂[357]曰：	
遹我夙夜不逸[358]，	**維予小子，**
儆之，	**不聰**敬**止**。
日就月將，	日就月將，
教[359]其光明。	**學有緝熙于**光明。

[352] Kern 2005a,b.
[353] It should be noted however that in any case the variation between the versions suggests that the problem of original authorship is moot, and that instead the practice of transmission shown in variation suggests a continuous re-appreciation and re-textualization of the pieces under discussion.
[354] 文*mjən compare 命* mrjeŋs.
[355] 事* tsrjəs compare 士*dzrjəʔ, note intertextuality with other Song, bronzes and Ya pieces. See Li Shoukui 2012b: 11-12.
[356] Following Shen Pei 2013. 卑*pje compare 日* njit.
[357] The ending section shows how the subject, in this case King Cheng, makes a case for him being a worthy subject and follower of the model laid out in the opening section. See also Li Shoukui 2012b: 11-12.
[358] Here I follow Li Xueqin ed. 2012: 136 n.15 and punctuate in line with 夙夜不解 on s.6. Grammatically it is a viable option and I see no reason to favor the neater, four graphs to a line arrangement in the transmitted version which might equally have been 'cleaned' up to accord to later idealization of the tetrasyllabic form of the *Shi*.
[359] Note that 爻* graw +子 is used to write both 學 *gruk and 教 *kraw. I interpret here as 斆 or 效, "to emulate and follow the teachings, to take teaching of."

弼[360]持其有肩，　　**佛時仔**肩，
視[361]告余顯德之行。　　**示我**顯德行。
The ending went:
Lo! Day and night I am not lacking,
Revere it![362]
Daily I strive and monthly I draw near,
and emulate its bright splendor.
I rely on its support,
To show and proclaim to me the conduct of bright virtue.

[…followed by eight more generic pieces, each with numbered opening and ending formula, followed by text terminator mark]

A couple of things are of interest to me here. First, as the musicologist Fang Jianjun has noted each of the pieces has a distinct rhythmic pattern leading him to argue that each were to be set to a different tune, hence the specification of 'nine rounds' should be understood as designating nine different tunes.[363] It should however also be stressed that the differentiation in rhythmic pattern between the opening and closing section is quite similar across the pieces. The division of the verses in two sections corresponds to rhythmic changes. The opening section and the ending section have distinct rhythmic patterns, and the openings predominantly lean towards a tetra or penta syllabic pattern, whereas the endings generally express more variation:

ZG1	QI 4-4-4-4	LUAN -
CW1	4-4-4-5-4-4	6/4-2/4[364]-4-4-5-7
2	5-4-5-5-4	4-3-4-4-5-2

[360]Compare 弼*brjət with 佛*bjət.
[361] Li Xueqin ed. 2012: 136 n.19 adds a final step in the reading of this graph (見* kens +旨* kjijʔ →視* djijʔ) in order to harmonize with 示*gje of the transmitted version, I do not follow.
[362] I understand the object of address here and below to be heaven.
[363] Fang Jianjun 2014b: 8-9 notes the differences in number of graphs spread out across the pieces, he argues that this is a result of differences in rhythm and tune for each of the pieces. Note that the number nine is here likely a trope as well suggesting completeness.
[364] Note that these measurements depend on the reconstruction, if following Li Shoukui op. cit. the pattern is 6-2; if harmonizing with the received text it would be 4-4 and thus 'neater'.

3	4-4-4-4-4-4-2	4-5-4-5-4-4
4	5-5-4-5-5-4	4-4-5-5-6-3
5	2-4-4-4-4-5	5-6-5-4-4
6	4-4-4-4-5	5-4-4-2-5-4-3-6
7	3-4-5-4-4	5-5-4-3-4-4-5
8	5-5-4-4-4-5	5-4-x-4-4
9	2-4-4-4-4-4	4-4-4-4-4

Figure 1: tabulation of graphs per line, corresponding to rhythmic patterns in the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu", expressions such as 嗚呼 *and* 敬之 *are counted as one line.*

Accordingly, it seems likely that a rhythmic, and thus to an extent performative, understanding of these pieces informed the division of the pieces into sections. This understanding, which only emerges in a performance of the piece, in combination with the limited contextualization of the text as a whole, seems to suggest that to the composers of the text, its performative aspects were taken for granted did not require extensive explanation in the frame. The audience was supposed to understand, possibly through performance itself, the performative aspects of the songs.

Secondly, from their linguistic properties, the pieces can be classed as belonging to the same genre. In addition to the similarity in rhythmic patterns shown above, the pieces share common lines, have a common vocabulary, and develop similar themes, all of which are reminiscent of pieces from the *Hymns of Zhou*.[365] They are generic in that they present variations on a theme, the Cautious Admonition. Despite the fact that the first (and therefore highlighted) verse of King Cheng's performance has a counterpart in the *Shijing*, it likewise shares thematic, formal, and stylistic characteristics with the other pieces and does not stand

[365] Note Shen Pei's 2013 observations on the relations of these pieces to the *Hymns*.

out in terms of its literary characteristics.[366] That is to say, from a literary perspective it would not have made much of a difference if rather than the counterpart to "Jingzhi" the third or the fourth piece would have been included in the *Shijing* instead.[367] Rather, its prime place in collections such as this might have been the very reason for its later inclusion, since pieces at the beginning of collections are generally speaking remembered, and therefore, quoted, more often.[368]

The generic nature of the pieces is reinforced by the use of similar formulae for both the Duke's and the King's pieces, and an absence of titles for the individual pieces. Instead of creative, individualized production, this text is framed as the execution of generic, and thus to a degree, interchangeable, pieces as part of a prescribed performance. As such, the designation "Cautious Admonitions" in the frame should not be understood as the title of an individual piece, but as a generic label covering all the pieces that followed, again suggestive of recognizable acts of performance rather than the creation of individually identifiable pieces that could be interpreted through their authors. Rather than *Odes*, individually titled and imbued with narratives explaining the context specifics of their creation, it seems likely that to a Warring States audience, the ten pieces in the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu" were all considered to be recognizable forms of a genre of "Cautious Admonitions." Here, the Duke's piece(s) merely differ in their specific audience designation as they are directed towards the many officers 多士. As such, *pace* claims made by Li Xueqin among others who aims to use this text as evidence for the Duke's and the King's hand in the creation of early verse, this text does not present a narrative of the creation of individual *Odes* such as "Jingzhi" in specific,[369] but should rather reflect one of those contingent acts of transmission and

[366] Shen Pei 2013.
[367] Ideological concerns or specific traditions of transmission could of course have accounted for this particular inclusion over the others.
[368] A case in point is "Guan Ju" which occupies prime position both in the *"Kongzi Shilun" and the *Maoshi*, and features more extensive commentary, and thus engagement, in both.
[369] Li Xueqin ed. 2012: 134 n.1. Compare Li Shoukui 2012b: 6-7.

collection of generic pieces, which increased the chances through which a piece such as "Jingzhi" could later be selected to become part of the canonical collection.

In sum, it thus seems that the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu" is a collection of generic verses, still understood as song that would have figured in a multisensory performance. The rudimentary contextualization through the frame appears to operate as a pretext for the act of collection, but does not yet completely subsume the pieces into a distinct narrative. The songs are not yet distinct acts of creation to be fitted in a tightly woven historical narrative, rather, they are presented as generic pieces suitable for, and representative of, the foundational kings and ministers of the past. Whether they were collected so as to provide a written selection of pieces suitable for performance, as a way of grouping similar pieces together, or for other reasons is unclear from the text. The result of collecting these similar pieces together, however, served as one of the means in which generic distinctions became increasingly articulate, and provided an additional means of access to such materials for later generations.

"Qi Ye"

The "Qi Ye"'s 耆夜 presentation of genericity and performance differs sharply from that seen in the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu".[370] This text features a much more elaborate framing narrative. It details the elements of performance, and it foregrounds the act of creating a single and individualized verse by decisively setting it apart from its more generic counterparts.

The first line of the opening frame of the "Qi Ye" resembles the commentarial lines heading *Shu* type texts.[371] The text provides an idealized representation of a ritualized

[370] Images in Li Xueqin ed. 2010: 10-13, Transcription: 149-156. The manuscript consists of 14 slips, 45 cm in length (s.9-11, s.13-14 are damaged). The slips contain 27-31 graphs each, evenly spaced over the slips in a clear hand. In addition to *Hewen* and *Chongwen* marks, there is some punctuation, most notably in the narrative sections of the text. The slips were originally bound by three strings, on the very top and bottom and in the middle and could have been bound before writing. The back of the slips are numbered 1-14 and contain black preparation lines, and s.14 contains the designation Qiye 𠂤(耆)夜 on the middle of the slip.

[371] Noteworthy here are the dating formula using the year of the King's reign, and the use of a short characterization of events that led to the text, see Grebnev *Forthcoming*.

exchange of drinks after the conquest of Qi in the 8th year of king Wu. In what follows, the whole foundational cast of the early Western Zhou is presented and each figure is fully named and titled and given a distinct role within the performance of the ritual. These range from host, guest, and assistant, to a monitor of correct procedure. This list, interspersed by punctuation marks on the manuscript, suggests an idealized image of (ritual-) completeness and order in the foundational period much like similar catalogues seen in the "Gu Ming" 顧命 for instance.[372] Together with the frame, this section takes up about a fourth of the manuscript-text as a whole:

> (1) 武王八年，征伐耆，大戡之。還，乃飲至于文太室▂。[373]
> In the eighth year of King Wu, we attacked Qi and greatly subjugated it. On return, we then conducted the Presentation of Drink (ceremony) in the Grand Chamber of (King) Wen.[374]
>
> 畢公高爲客（▂?[375]），召公保奭爲(2)介▂，周公叔旦爲主▂，辛公泉甲爲位[376]，作策逸爲東堂之客▂，呂尚父命爲(3)司正▂，監飲酒。
> Duke Gao of Bi served as Guest; the Protector Shi, Duke of Shao served as Ritual Assistant; Duke Shudan of Zhou served as Host; Duke Quanjia of Xin served as Seater; Scribe Yi served as the Guest of the Eastern Hall;[377] Lü Shangfu was mandated as the Officer of Correct (Procedure), overseeing the drinking of alcohol.

Within this frame of reference a ceremonial exchange of drink and song is presented, four songs are each introduced with a similar formula. The formula marks the orderly progression of exchange step by step and introduces the verse itself:

[372] See Meyer *Forthcoming* for a discussion on the "Guming", and Grebnev *Forthcoming* for analyses of the use of catalogues across early literature.
[373] The edition follows the emendations by FDDSH 2011c except where noted.
[374] Li Xueqin ed. 2010: 151 suggests that this is the central temple for ancestor King Wen, formally called the clear temple 清廟.
[375] Punctuation seems to be present but is not clear on the photographs.
[376] No punctuation visible but it falls at the binding rope position.
[377] There is some question whether to understand this as the eastern hall or a small annex to the main hall. See Li Xueqin ed. 2010: 152.

王夜（舉）[378]爵酬畢公，作歌一終曰: 藥= 脂= 酉= （《樂樂旨酒》：
樂樂旨酒），宴以二公；　　*koŋ
紝（任[379]）𠂤（夷[380]）兄弟，(4)庶民和同。　　*doŋ
方狀方武，穆= （穆穆）克邦；　　*proŋ
嘉爵速飲，後爵乃從。　　*tshjoŋ

The king raised his cup to toast Duke Bi, and performed one[381] song called "The Pleasures of Good Beer":
The pleasures of good beer, to feast you two Dukes;
Relying on you joyful brothers, all the people are compliant and in accordance.
Both sturdy and martial, you reverently shoulder the state.
Speedily drink this fine cup, there are more to follow up.

The overall presentation of the exchange of song and drink presents a Warring States re-imagination of a ritual act during the foundational period. The ritual is presented in a manner suggesting completeness and order. The formulae introducing every exchange are stable, the only difference being the presenter and the recipient, and unlike the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu", the individual titles of the pieces. The songs themselves, like those in the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu" are highly similar and appear as rather generic. They include repetitions of phrases such as "both sturdy and martial" and conclude with the exhortation to drink as a self-referential statement on the exchange itself. This self-referentiality, is reflected in the content and matching titles of the songs themselves, the first drawing attention to the drink exchange framing the text, while the second "Light chariot" 輶乘 and third "Strong and Powerful" 贔贔 focus on the military prowess that prompted the whole exchange. As such, the collection appears carefully crafted to "fit the occasion" that the frame presented.

The songs included are of even length, and share rhyme patterns and diction. The first two are presented by the king and the latter by the Duke of Zhou, and all songs present the

[378] I follow the consensus established by Qiu Xigui cited in FDDSH 2011c to read 夜 *ljᴀks(*[ɢ]Ak-s) as 舉* kjaʔ (*C.q(r)aʔ, *[k](r)aʔ) rather than 舍* hljᴀʔ as suggested by the editors.
[379] I follow Chen Minzhen 2011a who suggests 任 is a more likely reading in the Warring States.
[380] Chen Minzhen 2011a suggests to read as 夷 since reading as 仁 is unattested in Chu manuscripts.
[381] Fang Jianjun 2014a argues that *zhong* is a musical unit and refers to a single tune.

type of occasional poetry demanded by the ceremonial character.[382] It is in this sense that I consider them generic. But it should be noted that the frame and the songs are much more integrated than in the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu." The composition is specifically crafted to its purpose – showcasing idealized ritual exchange with thematically appropriate pieces after a battle in the heyday of the Zhou – rather than a simple act of collecting generic pieces around recognized foundational figures. It is with the contributions of the Duke of Zhou that the narrative takes a turn. The final lines of the third piece turn the exhortation to drink into a humorous *mea culpa* against the expected hangover:

> 既醉又侑，明日勿慆[383]!
> Already inebriated and yet I pressure you to drink one more, do not blame me tomorrow!

The Duke proceeds to praise the king, presumably his prerogative as host, and changes the tenor from convivial drinking songs to a more appropriately pious Hymn of Praise 祝誦 "Bright is the Lord on High" 明明上帝. In this piece the Duke of Zhou ritually recognizes and reaffirms the status of king Wu as a rightful heir of the Lord on High 上帝. The shift in genre is explicitly marked and this is reflected in the diction which is archaic and reminiscent of the *Hymns* and the Proclamations *gao* 誥.[384] It is also the first of the pieces to be set in a *-aŋ rhyme (陽部), itself often used in ritual and archaized speech.[385] This code-shifting in addition to the ritual prerogative of praising the king, sets the Duke apart both in his ritual

[382] For an excellent discussion of this generic presentation and purportedly in situ composition of situational poetry well into the Tang, see Nugent 2011.
[383] Li Xueqin ed. 2010: 154 reads in line with the *Mao* understanding of the "Xishuai" 詩·蟋蟀: "今我不樂，日月其慆。Where 慆 is understood as "transgression" 過. The exact meaning here is disputed, I read it in the background of the convivial peer-pressure expressed in the previous line.
[384] Note the second line for instance: 丕顯來格，歆厥禋盟。"Glorious in your arrival, savoring the scent of offered goods."
[385] Behr 2007: 50, 70.

and literary mastery of the whole proceedings. The showcasing of the Duke's mastery does not end there however. In the following and final piece he subverts his own ritual mastery and presents the literary apotheosis of the text as a whole, spanning the entire final third part of the text:

> 周公秉爵未飲，蟋蟀(10)趯陞[386]于［堂，周］[387]公作歌一終曰: 𧊒 ＝ 𧊒 ＝ （《蟋蟀》：
>
> 蟋蟀）在堂，（* daŋ），役車其行；(*gaŋ)
> 今夫君子，（*tsjəʔ）不喜不樂；(*ŋrawks)
> 夫日[11] □□，□□□忘[388]；(*mjaŋ)
> 毋已大樂，(*ŋrawks)，則終以康＝(康康)；(*khaŋ)
> 樂而毋荒，(*mjaŋ)，是惟良士之迈＝ [389](方方)。(方** pjaŋ)
>
> The Duke of Zhou grasped his cup but had not yet drunk when a cricket jumped up into the hall, the Duke of Zhou composed a song called "Cricket":
>
> The cricket is in the hall, the rolling of the caravan;
> Oh now my lords, you are not happy and joyous,
> For the sun …,… lost;
> If one is incessantly greatly joyous, then one ends peacefully,
> peaceful joy without indulgence; this is the straightness of good ministers.
> (Followed by two further stanza.)

Instead of following ritual prescription and finishing his toast to the King, the Duke subverts ritual propriety to demonstrate his literary talent by extemporizing a perfectly composed piece on the sudden appearance of the cricket. The shift from genericity and ritual propriety

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[386] I follow Chen Zhixiang's paleographically better matching reading to read 陞 as 陞 as opposed to 降, see his comments to FDDSH 2011c.
[387] A small section of the bamboo is missing here.
[388] In this and following sections I will not attempt to reconstruct missing sections or suggest readings for graphs that stand alone in a sentence.
[389] Li Xueqin ed. 2010: 154 notes that this use of the reduplicative is not common, and suggests that its occurrence here is to indicate repetition of the whole line, Liu Yun in response to FDDSH 2011c argues it might be a mark signaling the end of a stanza. I see no reason to amend so as to harmonize to the received version, rather, this reduplication might reflect a particular rhythmic distinction, serving the double purpose of both rhythmically and, through the punctuation, visually, dividing the verse into stanzas. For more examples of such divisions see chapter 4 below.

to inspired and individual literary creation is marked by shifts in the frame, as well as the substantial length and complexity of the piece he presents.

From frequent quotations and references in discovered and transmitted sources from the Warring States, it is clear that "Xishuai" was a commonly known piece and was likely widely in circulation at the time of this text.[390] What the "Qi Ye" provides is a narrative explaining the origins of this piece in particular. It does so in a skilled performance of the notion of "Evocation" *xing* 興 itself. It literally uses the cricket to *evoke* the piece while skillfully integrating it within the performance context. The piece features a number of admonitions to his fellow officials, a role in which the Duke is cast in other narratives as well as can be seen from the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu" and the Harangue *Duoshi* 多士 for instance.[391] Accordingly, from the perspective of reception expectations, while on the one hand the Duke is acting in character by standing out through his literary acumen and admonishing his fellows, he is presented as powerful and skilled enough to break both ritual and generic convention, on the other.

The structure of the text makes such a break readily apparent. In terms of length, over a fourth of the text sets up the idealized ritual order of the frame. This section is further amplified by the generic and occasional nature of the verses that follow. It is because the concluding third of the text is devoted to the Duke's "cricket" that the whole ritualized presentation of verse is subverted and finds its apotheosis in an individual act of creation. In other words, the other pieces and characters merely operate as a foil of convention for the Duke to break so as to further underscore his performance.

[390] See Li Rui 2014 who compares it to the transmitted version. In general, the transmitted version is more ordered and regulated in terms of its rhyme and line lengths, suggesting a process of streamlining somewhere in the transmission process. In addition, evidence of inter-rhyming practices suggest that the bamboo version accords with rhyme distinctions made during the Warring States period, if for a moment we sideline the irresolvable debate on the time of origin and first composition of the piece, this indicates that the piece was (re-) constituted, i.e. textualized at least during the Warring States.
[391] See Gentz *Forthcoming* for a study of the *Duoshi*.

This can be likened to other sources where the Duke is credited with high literary talent. In many *Shu* texts, for instance, the Duke is presented as representing the will of the king in carefully crafted and inspiring speeches.[392] His skill in text composition is presented as one of the pivotal acts preempting the narrative turn in the *"Jinteng".[393] After the Duke is slandered by his rival brothers the young king Cheng dismisses him, and then he hides away in the east for three years. When his slanderers are captured, the Duke presents the King with a verse called "Eagle Owl" but it does not yet convince the king to receive him back at his side:

> (6)[…]即後武王陟，成王猶(7) 幼在位，管叔及其羣兄弟，乃流言于邦曰：「公將不利於孺子。」周公乃告二公曰：「我之(8)□□□□ 無以復見於先王。」周公宅東三年，禍人乃斯得。於後，周公乃遺王詩(9)曰雕鴞。王亦未迎公。
>
> Thereafter, King Wu had already died and King Cheng was still young when he took position, when Guanshu and his group of siblings spread a rumor in the state by saying: 'the Duke will disadvantage the young child'. Upon this, the Duke of Zhou addressed the two dukes [who assisted in the ritual], saying: 'our □□□□ . I have no more [business] to be received again by the former kings'. After the Duke of Zhou had resided in the East for three years, the offenders were caught. Thereupon, the Duke of Zhou presented the King with an ode which he called 'Eagle Owl', but the King would still not receive him.[394]

While as I have argued in chapter 1, the hiding away of a *written* text proves to be the pivotal moment which in the end absolves the Duke, it is crucial that before this turn in the story, the Duke is presented in a typical scene of wronged authorship. His true intent was supposedly already contained in the verse "Eagle Owl" he send to the king. Verse was supposed to display an author's intent (詩言志) from the late Warring States period onwards, that the king

[392] On the literary form of *Shangshu* speeches and the way in which characters and audience are constructed see Kern *Forthcoming* and Gentz *Forthcoming*.
[393] See the analysis in chapter 1.
[394] Edition and translation from Meyer 2014a.

did not recognize the Duke's intent on the basis of the verse frames the Duke as a wronged author. This is important because the designation of the manuscript summarizes the key point of the text by referring to the Duke's display of his intent 志.[395] With this scene, the Duke thus enters a line of (later constructed) wronged author figures including Qu Yuan and Sima Qian who failed to sway their audience with their compositions.[396]

While I understand many of these figures to be authors only in their construction by later audiences, it seems apparent that to Warring States audiences there was already a notion current of the Duke as author (sometimes skillful, sometimes misunderstood) of verse that stood on the one hand for his literary merit, and on the other hand as a symbol of his intent and the character of the age. Such a budding conceptualization of authorship is qualitatively different from that seen in the *Odes*. Examples from the *Minor* 小雅 and *Major Elegantia* 大雅 are to be seen as similar to western Zhou and later practices of dedicating inscriptions.[397]

The example that the "Qi Ye" offers relates the authorship function to creativity, literary acumen, and the ability to extemporize in any situation, arguably notions that did not inform the attributions in the *Elegantiae* pieces for example. I would argue that this is not what Nylan calls "true authorship" in the modern sense of the word,[398] because the attribution here is not personal but rather to a cultural icon, and therefore notions of accountability and

[395] On the hermeneutic and processes of historicization related to the perception of the intent of foundational figures see the discussions in Saussy 1993 and van Zoeren 1993. The manuscript is titled "King Wu of Zhou was ill, the Duke of Zhou's intent to put himself in his place" 周武王有疾，周公所自以代王之志。
[396] On the trope of wronged authorship see Schaberg 1999, on the construction of authorship in the *Shiji* see Vankeerberghen 2010: 461ff, 467. See Nylan 2011: 38 on how the *Shiji* constructs Qu Yuan as an author. Of course, as I have argued in Ch.1, in the end the intent of the Duke is recognized in the *"Jinteng" on the basis of a different act of authorship, i.e., his composition of the prayer to the ancestors.
[397] That is to say, as a function of ancestral sacrifice, wherein the dedication of a piece inscribes the patron ritually as a worthy member of his lineage community, see Kern 2009. Compare for example the dedication formulae in "Jienanshan"節南山: "Father Jia made this Hymn" 家父作誦, See also the verse collection *"Ruiliang Fubi" in Li Xueqin ed. 2013.
[398] Nylan 2011: 38 relates the development of authorship to the establishment of the imperial library, and places it in the context of a self-reflexivity of reading and writing.

reliability are not projected on an individual but rather on a paragon.[399] I do however think that this literary-creative and genre defying portrayal of the Duke shows that to perceive authorship along these qualities was already emerging during the late Warring States. It is these perceptions of what it meant to be an author that would likely later inform authorship constructions during the Han.

As such, instead of evaluating such a portrayal against a universalising notion of what "true authorship" is supposed to entail, I think it makes sense to analyze the Duke's portrayal as an example of shifts in the function of authorship. From that perspective, the question does not become "is this true authorship?" but rather, how does the increased textualization of verse, and the mature practice of framing narratives, contribute to differences in the construction of authorship? I have argued above that such a shift in the construction of the notion of authorship is, at least partly, predicated on a text based understanding of verse. Further developments towards modern notions of responsibility in authorship could in turn be related to the development of libraries and increases in the market for books for instance, as Nylan suggests.

In the above discussion, I have argued that some early collections brought together verse with similar formal properties by framing them as performance pieces. The formal similarities facilitated grouping, and such groups could easily become models in teaching and reproducing particular types of verse. Yet it is the performative frame that holds together the composition as a whole and explains the pieces in functional terms. Within such a frame, genre designations denote context specific uses of verse, their functions as admonition or praise are meaningful exactly within the context generated in the frame. The difference between texts such as the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu" and the "Qiye" is that whereas the former

[399] Note here Foucault's 1977 discussion on the authorship function. From this historical perspective, the notion of "true authorship" loses its value in that it merely represents our modern construction of the concept.

merely provides such a rudimentary contextualization, and that the latter develops it into a short narrative. This narrative, combined with the structure of the text foregrounds the Duke as an author composing in the spur of the moment.

In collections of similar pieces, despite gross commonalities in the literary form of the verses, the functional genre designation does not necessarily connote a judgment on the formal properties of the text. As Schaberg has shown many of these designations shift when the pieces are framed in a different context.[400] In addition, pieces such as "Jingzhi" and "Xishuai" would later be relabeled with their inclusion in collections such as the *Mao Odes*. As such, it seems fair to say that the genre designations used in the texts under discussion were intimately related to the imagined performance contexts presented in the frame of the text. To state the obvious, the performance of verse is mimetically represented in the text. It is refered to, brought up for the audience to imagine, rather than actually there. This conceptualization of verse can therefore be seen as related to the act of collecting verse in written form. To put it simply, bringing verse together in a collection invites the addition of a context to place the pieces in a frame of reference. The specification of verse using genre designations could thus be seen as a result of their collection in written form.

I have argued that an additional result is an increased focus on the individuals responsible for verse composition. Figures such as the Duke of Zhou are represented as composers and performers of verse of high literary talent, capable of circumventing ritual and genre requirements through the craft and situational aptness of their compositions. These authorial figures and the verse ascribed to them, I argue, are closely related to the emerging understanding of 'verse speaking intent', and are thus intimately tied in to the slow historicization in the understanding of verse. The sentiments after the battle at Qi could be

[400] Schaberg 1999: 325.

read through the use of verse by its participants, and the Duke´s wronging was expressed in the piece he submitted to king Cheng in the *"Jinteng". As will become clearer in the discussion below, the wording of verse gained in importance as representative artifacts of the character of the age.[401]

Shi as a commented collection

In the remaining sections of this chapter, I discuss three phenomena related to these developments. First is the rise of classifications of verse as part of a genre based collection rather than the context bound genre designations discussed in the previous section. This perception of verse not just as a category in itself, but as a genre operating in relation to other genre traditions such as *shu* and *li*, and is by now increasingly a textualized category that would be subdivided into sub-collections such as *Hymns* and *Airs*. This shaped the basic framework that would inform the division of the transmitted *Shijing*. I argue that this development was accompanied by the understanding of music, and in particular dance, as a separate entity from verse, reinforcing the de-ritualization of verse beyond courtly circles by the late Warring States. Second, is the increase in use of verse as a means to buttress arguments in philosophical texts. This argumentative use of lines of verse turns away from an aesthetic or ritual appreciation of verse and instead increasingly focuses on the meaning of the words themselves. Finally, I discuss the combination of these two processes in the rise of the earliest commentarial frameworks and teaching materials. I argue that verse is increasingly seen as a fixed collection of *poetry* that can be commented on for its verbal meanings and is shaped by editor-teacher figures for didactic purposes.

In the small scale collections I discussed previously, verse is often labeled in terms of

[401] For a discussion on how the past was read through the wording of poetry as it reflected 'intent' and, by analogy, the character of the age, see Saussy 1993.

functional categories such as “admonitions” or “hymns of praise.” Nevertheless, many early philosophical texts that include verse generically refer to them as *shi* 詩. In many instances, the same piece may be labelled *ge* 歌 in one source, and *shi* in another, suggesting that the categories themselves were in flux and that their referent was not fixed.[402] These references to *shi* present the material as an authoritative tradition, merely providing a reference to a common line of well-known pieces, only sometimes with a specification of title. This all suggests a relatively open and unfixed corpus of authoritative verse that was part of the cultural memory of the Warring States, rather than quoting from a stable and internally differentiated collection. The predominance of references to this tradition over other possible candidates such as the *Shu* is staggering, hence reinforcing the *Shi*’s status as the prime seat of reference for authoritative statements.

By the mid to late Warring States period however, the word *Shi* starts to additionally operate in a different frame of reference. The *Shi* are increasingly presented as operating in relation to other traditions, the *Shu*, *Yi*, *Li*, and *Yue*, and less so, the *Chunqiu*. This shift, and the concomitant differentiation between the traditions regarding the specific value of their claims on the past and culture, the *Shi* becomes less a generic reference, and more a reference to a specific genre that can related to other genres of similar status. In addition, this period sees a vast increase in subdividing the *Shi* in a set of categories, most often the *Airs*, *Elegantiae*, *Hymns*, and sometimes the *Souths* 南, in addition to an increase in the use of titles in designating individual pieces.[403] I would argue that all these developments are related to seeing the *Shi* increasingly less as a culturally memorized *tradition* of verse, and more as an increasingly defined *genre* based upon the notion of a fixed collection: the *Shi* that could

[402] Schaberg 1999: 309.
[403] See overviews of quotations in Dong Zhian 1994: 35-45, 64-88 and the discussion below.

be quoted from and commented on.

The following list preserved in the Guodian *“Yucong 1” is a case in point:

(36)易所以會天道人道(37)也。– [404]
(38)詩所以會古今之志(39)也者。–
(40)春秋所以會古今之(41)事也。–
(xx)[書所以會古今之識][405](44)者也。–
(42)禮，交之行述也。–
(43)樂，或生或教者也。– [406]
The *Yi* are that which bring together the ways of heaven and men.
The *Shi* are that which bring together the intent of the past and present.
The *Chunqiu* are that which bring together the deeds of the past and present.
(The *Shu* are that which bring together the understanding of past and present.)
Ritual is an exposition of behavior in interactions.
Music is brought forth by some and taught by others.

In this list, the *Shi* are juxtaposed to other traditions that “bring together the past and present” and the “ways of heaven and men.” This suggests two things. On the one hand, these traditions, when taken as a set, are perceived of as a complete corpus of knowledge spanning the foundations of culture. Whether it be the “affairs”, “intents”, or “ways”, taken together they represent the interrelated elements that make up both the historical consciousness, guidelines for conduct, and social interaction and education. This notion of totality is in itself a fundamentally important claim in traditions with potential canonical aspirations.[407] It however also implies that the *Shi* are no longer the primary form of reference. Instead, its claims on the totality of culture are specified as “the *intent* of past and present.” Verse is no

[404] The Guodian corpus contains similar lists such as in the *“Xing zi Ming chu”: s.12-18 and the *“Liu De”: s.24-5; Li Ling 2007: 217-9 discusses the ordering of this list. Goldin 2000: 121-3 argues that the lists represents written traditions already, the evidence as it stands is not enough for such a conclusion. For similar lists see: *Liji* 禮記 “Jingjie” 經解 and *Zhuangzi* 莊子“Tianxia”天下 for instance.
[405] It is very likely that there is a slip missing here before 者 detailing the 書 tradition, cf. Jingmenshi Bowuguan 1998: 200. I tentatively follow Tu and Liu 2001: 269 in their interpretation of how this lacuna should be filled. Though the first part of the construction seems stable enough (書所以會古今之), their choice for the penultimate graph (識) ‘understanding’ is more problematic.
[406] Edition adapted from Jingmenshi Bowuguan 1998: 200, translation my own.
[407] Henderson 1991.

longer a form of privileged access to culture for Warring States authors, rather, it only elucidates part of the whole picture. Nevertheless, some overarching concerns were conceived to be part of all the traditions. The *"Liu De" 六德 from Guodian, for example, argues that the six cardinal relations (六位: 夫婦，父子，君臣) can be found in all of them:

> (20)[…]既生畜之，(21)又從而教誨之，謂之聖。聖，父德也。[…](23)故夫夫，婦婦，父父，子子，君君，臣臣，六者各(24)行其職，讒諂無由作也。觀諸詩、書則亦在矣，觀諸(25)禮、樂則亦在矣，觀諸易、春秋則亦在矣。親此多也，欽此多(26)[也]，美此多也，道御止。┃ [408]
> [After pairing the six virtues with the six relations] Engendering and rearing them, and subsequently teaching and instructing them is what is called Sagacious. Sagacity is the virtue of the father. […] This is why, when husband acts like husband, wife like wife, father like father, son like son, ruler like ruler, and minister like minister, and when these six all perform their role, slander and flattery have no means to arise. When you look for it in the *Shi* and *Shu*, it is also there, when you look for it in the *Li* and *Yue*, it is also there, when you look for it in the *Yi* and *Chunqiu*, it is also there. Congeniality abounds here, respect abounds here, perfection abounds here, the Way´s operation ends [in it].

While completeness is asserted again in this statement, the highlighting of the notion that the six relations can be found in each and every one of the traditions suggests that this was not taken for granted, and that a division of values was the more common interpretation. It should also be noted that in most cases, passages describing these traditions occur in an argument about or related to teaching. The *"Yucong" manuscripts, as I will argue in chapter 4, were likely used in a teaching context.[409] Likewise, the *"Liu De" passage is integrated in statements about education and similar lists from the transmitted literature such as those in the *Xunzi* often include comments on how they feature in education.[410] I have already argued at the beginning of the chapter that the passage from the *"Xing zi Ming chu", describes a

[408] Reconstruction from Li Ling 2007: 170-1. Note "Liu De" s. 9 also contains comments on teaching the people.
[409] See also Krijgsman 2014.
[410] For example *Xunzi* 荀子 "Quanxue"勸學, and the oft analyzed statements in the *Lunyu* to this effect (see the list in Dong zhian 1994: 64-5); for an analysis of these statements as evidence for 'Confucian schools', see van Zoeren 1991.

similar education setting for the sage, here I want to reiterate that it brings up the traditions as a unified set of cultural traditions, but also specifies them according to their particular ways of expressing this tradition:

> "Odes", "Documents", rites, and music—in every case their first appearing was brought forth by man. The actions in the "Odes" were acted out by them; the actions in the "Documents" were spoken out by them; the actions of the rites and music were exalted by them.

In other words, "the human way" 人道 brought up just before this passage, is exemplified through these four traditions, but each presents a different mode of paying homage to this way. As such, by the mid to late Warring States, a number of statements on the *Shi* as juxtaposed to mutually reinforcing but nonetheless separate traditions each used in teaching the fundamentals of culture start to appear. It is also in this period, that statements on the *Shi* as a subdivided collection begin to emerge, in addition to the earliest statements describing Kongzi as having organized this collection. With this additional element, I would argue, the *Shi* are increasingly conceived of as a collection-based genre.[411]

The *Mozi* passage heading this chapter is traditionally considered one of the first instances to talk of a delineated corpus when it refers to the *Shi* as numbering three hundred, strung, sung, and danced by the Ru, as are statements in the *Lunyu* which likewise make reference to a collection of three hundred *Shi*.[412] These passages of problematic dating would suggest an early Warring States emergence of this notion. Judging from passages traditionally considered to belong to the mid and late Warring States, and especially the excavated

[411] I draw a heuristic distinction between the overlapping fields of the concepts tradition and genre. I consider a tradition in the narrow sense to be a context bound type of discourse upheld by a community as a means of generating participation and therefore self-identity. While a genre can perform similar functions, to me it comes with the additional elements of being clearly delineated, operating in relation with other genres, and that its functional qualities and differences (genre traits) are reflectively articulated.

[412] See *Mozi* "Gongmeng", *Lunyu* 論語"Weizheng" 為政. Note however that the content of both of these texts cannot be dated with accuracy, and are here presented as an illustration only.

evidence from this period suggests that this development might have come later. At this point, references start to emerge across the literature to the various divisions that would later delineate the *Shijing*, such as the *Airs*, *South's*, *Elegantia*, and the *Hymns*.[413] In addition, Kongzi is described as ordering *zhi* 治 the *Shi* as part of the six arts *liuyi* 六藝 in the late *Zhuangzi* "Tianxia", and the *Shi* and the *Shu* in a fragment of the *"Junzi Weili" 君子為禮 from the Shanghai collection:

> (15) 禹治川, (16) […] 子治詩書 […][414]
> Yu ordered the rivers, the Master ordered the *Shi* and the *Shu* […]

Nylan is certainly correct in stating that this attribution to Kongzi only really took off during the early empires, and that it was during this period that the trope specifically started to denote the deletion of *Shi* from tradition to form an authoritative collection. The first indications for Kongzi's involvement in shaping the collection, however, already emerge during the mid to late Warring States.

I would argue that this is not a coincidence. When a body of tradition is increasingly considered as a genre tied to a "fixed" collection, including statements on its scope, arrangement, and division, it is common to give the responsibility of such emergent practices to culture heroes who by their authority and antiquity ratify such practices. The nature of these statements is not far removed from the processes of ordering the traditions attributed to the Sage in the *"Xing zi Ming Chu", indeed, they both might reflect a desire to project contemporary practices of organizing and delineating collections of text onto culture heroes in general, a process that finds parallels in other early traditions such as the Hebrew Bible.[415]

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[413] *Hanfeizi* 韓非子"Nanyan" 難言, *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 "Youshi Lan - Wuben" 有始覽·務本, *Zhuangzi* "Tianxia", *Xunzi* "Ruxiao" 儒效.
[414] Ma Chengyuan ed. 2005: 263-264.
[415] For the processes underlying the formation of the Hebrew bible see Carr 2011, and van der Toorn 2009. See also Nylan 2001 for an overview of such practices for the classics in early China.

While these different aspects taken together suggest that during the mid to late Warring States the *Shi* were increasingly being perceived as forming a circumscribed collection, I hasten to add that this by no means proves that there was one single well-ordered written collection in the form of the *Mao Odes* in place. Even the *"Kongzi Shilun", arguably one of the strongest indicators of a stabilizing collection as I show below, still refers to a number of pieces not found in later collections.[416] It should also be noted that the various statements indicating a perception of the *Shi* as a collection are not drawn together in any single source before the Han dynasty, suggesting that during the Warring States, such statements are indicators of *trends* towards a stabilizing collection rather than firm evidence for a fully formed written instantiation of such a collection, the first material evidence of which shows in the early Han Fuyang *Shi* collection.[417]

Verse and Performance part ways

As summarized at the beginning of this chapter, verse was originally part of ritual performance inviting full-sensory experience. These performances were increasingly turned into textual descriptions in framing narratives. I now show that with the trend of increasingly perceiving verse as part of a textual collection, textual descriptions of the performative were also increasingly distinguished from the phenomenon of verse. Fu Sinian, CH Wang, and Shaughnessy among others have argued that much of the material in the Hymns section of the *Shijing* was originally performed in sets.[418] Commonly cited examples are the *(da)wu* 大武 performance and the *Shao* 韶 among others. While it is extremely difficult to reconstruct any 'original' context of such materials, the fact remains that from the mid to late Warring States onwards, these set performances become a standard way to discuss music. Often, these

[416] See the introduction in Ma Chengyuan ed. 2001.
[417] Hu Pingsheng and Han Zhiqiang 1988.
[418] Shaughnessy 1997, Wang 1974, Fu Sinian 2008.

discussions are placed close to, but separate from, discussions on verse. A good example again comes from the *"Xing zi Ming chu", which, immediately after its discussion of the *Shi*, provides a separate section describing the relation of sound, song, and music of the set performances:

> (23)[…]凡聲其出於情也信，然後其入撥人之心也厚。
> (24)聞笑聲則鮮如也，斯喜。聞歌謠則舀如也，斯奮。聽琴瑟之聲(25)則悸如也，斯嘆。 觀<<賚>>、<<武>>則齊如也，斯作。觀<<韶>>、<<夏>>則勉如也，(26)斯儉。詠思而動心，喟如也；其居次也久，其反善復始也(27)慎，其出入也順，始其德也。<<鄭>>、<<衛>>之樂，則非其聲而從之也。(28)凡古樂隆心，益樂隆指；皆教其人者也。<<賚>>、<<武>>樂取，<<韶>>、<<夏>>樂情。
> In every case, sounds emanating from feelings are trustworthy, when after that they enter and stimulate the heart of man, they become profound.
> [Therefore,] to hear the sound of laughter is precious—and one rejoices. To hear the sound of chanted songs is highly gratifying—and one is elated. To listen to the sound of lute and zither is exciting— and one will sigh. [And likewise], to watch the [performance of the ritual dances] "Lai" and "Wu" [makes one] solemn—and one is stirred. To watch the [performance of the ritual dances] "Shao" and "Xia" is stimulating—and one is humbled. When moving the heart is moved by giving voice to a longing—one falls to sighing. The stages of this process last a long time, and the ways in which this returns us to excellence and the start are a matter of care and attention. The way in which it emanates [from feelings] and enters [the heart] is smooth. First principles are its virtue. With the music of Zheng and Wei, that is following the wrong sounds. In every case, music of old exalts one's mind; beneficial music exalts one's ambitions. They are both a means to educating the people. The "Lai" and "Wu" music is that of grasping [ambitions]; the "Shao and "Xia" music is that of feelings.[419]

Similar discussions on music sets can be found across the literature of the late Warring States and early empires.[420] What they have in common is a focus on the antiquity of the music, the transforming influence of sound, and the didactic or pernicious results of exposure to music.[421] The singing and playing of music is highlighted rather than the words of the songs, and instead of providing a window into historical narrative or functioning as a repository of

[419] Edition and translation modified from Meyer 2012: 316-7.
[420] See Dong Zhian 1994: 35-45, 64-88.
[421] For studies on music in early China see, Brindley 2012, Cook 2012, von Falkenhausen 1993b.

knowledge of the foundational age, the stress is on the psychological and emotional responses.[422] If my previous argument holds that verse was increasingly turning into a textual phenomenon as part of a collection, it would seem that rather than eliminating earlier performative and ritual functions of verse, these were instead transposed to the category of music. If the "Lai" and the "Wu" were indeed earlier performed using the words of the *Hymns of Zhou*, these were, at least from a commentarial perspective, conceptually differentiated and categorized under different labels.

In other words, the development towards verse as collected poetry coincides with a concomitant development towards conceiving ancient music and performance as a distinct category of reflection. As such, it is not that the earlier functionality of verse disappeared, rather, a performance based phenomenon was slowly being divided into a, for lack of a better term, poetic and a performative component. I do not think that these are absolute developments. Rather, the various (re-)conceptualization and (re-)classification practices likely occurred in non-linear ways. Still, an overarching, albeit slow, trend towards the perception of verse as collected poetry as opposed to performed tradition can be discerned.

In the following and final section of this chapter, I examine interpretative and teaching practices that I argue were instrumental in reinforcing the perception of verse as a textual collection, the words of which could be interpreted through commentary. I analyze the verse commentary *"Kongzi Shilun" 孔子詩論 "Kongzi's discussion of the Odes" using the categories of analysis on teaching and organization practices provided in the *"Xing zi Ming chu"passage discussed earlier, to provide further evidence for how the former could have been used as a teaching text and what the results of such usage entail from a contemporaneous perspective.

[422] Brindley 2012, Cook 2012.

Teaching verse as poetry: the *"Kongzi Shilun" read through the *"Xing zi Ming chu".

Ou Manjong in his analysis of *Shi* interpretation leading up to the *Mao Odes* makes the convincing argument that imperial modes of *Shi* commentary were indebted to pre-Han developments in using *Shi* references in argumentation. He argues that the attempt to connect lines of the *Shi* with philosophical argumentation in texts such as the *Xunzi* for example gave rise to modes of interpretation on the level of word, theme, and imagery that would later be employed in the *Mao* commentaries.[423] I argue that these nascent developments in *Shi* commentary focusing on verbal meanings were reinforced and increasingly formalized with the emergence of specialized commentarial and teaching texts in the late Warring States.

In this section I analyze the *"Kongzi Shilun",[424] using the description of teaching practices from the *"Xing zi Ming chu". I argue that the *"Kongzi Shilun" presents verse as part of a stable and subdivided collection that can be commented on for the meaning of its words. In addition, I provide further support for Kern's argument that the text was likely used for teaching interpretations of verse.[425] I view such teaching practices as instrumental in shaping the categories and perceptions of verse that would inform later collections leading up to the *Mao Odes*.

In Staack's edition of the extant material of the *"Kongzi Shilun", the first 8 slips deal with the *Airs* (here called *bangfeng* 邦風) and *Minor Elegantiae*, followed by 3 slips dealing exclusively with the *Minor Elegantiae*, 4 dealing with a combined discussion of the *Airs*,

[423] Ou Manjong 2001: 16-43.
[424] Ma Chengyuan ed. 2001. The 31 slips and fragments that have been preserved were about 55.5 cm long, 0,6 cm wide and 0,11-0,13 cm thick, and were bound together with three cords, Staack 2010: 861. For reconstructions, I rely on the edition provided in Staack 2010, which draws together the major scholarship and individual reconstructions up to 2008. Slips 2 to 7, which would have been positioned at the end of the manuscript and thus the first to have been visible on the scroll have the bottom and top ends scraped clear of writing and this suggests the manuscript was later modified to turn it into a burial object. Staack 2010: 864-867 provides a thorough discussion of the phenomenon, for the scraping theory in particular see the explanation by Zhou Fengwu 2002: 187-90. Staack 2010: 900 suggests that the manuscript is likely composed from multiple sources, as is apparent from differences in literary form between sections. For general reconstructions of the text and of its place in the tradition see Chao 2013, Chen Tongsheng 2004, and Liu Xinfang 2002.
[425] Kern 2015.

Major Elegantiae, and the *Hymns*, including a digression on the latter, followed by 4 on the categories themselves and a final slip on the *Shi* in general.[426] Statements on individually titled pieces and categories are generally, but not always, followed with punctuation marks (_), longer statements are sometimes interspersed with punctuation as well. Larger text dividing punctuation marks of the ink knot (▉) type close the sections discussing the *Airs*, the discussion on the four categories, and a statement on royal virtue in the *Hymns*. Because of the damaged and likely incomplete state of the manuscript it is unclear whether the other sections were similarly followed by a mark.

Martin Kern has analyzed the *"Kongzi Shilun" for its strategies of commentary and notes that the text is constructed in a way to favor memorization of its statements and was likely used as a teaching text.[427] In this section, I further develop this line of thought by analyzing specific sections of the text using categories of analysis provided in the *"Xing zi Ming chu".[428] I have argued above that this section of the *"Xing zi Ming chu" can be understood as a set of reflections on the practice of teaching. In the analysis below, each subsection is headed by a line from the *"Xing zi Ming chu". I read the textual form and commentarial strategies of the *"Kongzi Shilun" through these contemporary reflections to argue that the latter text was well-suited for use in teaching settings.

聖人比其類而論會之
The sages juxtaposed them according to their categories, and
brought them together in their discourses.
(*XZMC s.16-17)

The end of the *"Kongzi Shilun" presents a discussion of four main categories of the *Shi*. Similar to the quote above, the collection is divided up into four primary categories that are

[426] Staack 2010: 883.
[427] Kern 2015:80; 2010: 39.
[428] As quoted above in the discussion on teaching and genre.

each given their own definitions and values. From *Hymn* to *Airs*, it provides a summary definition of their type of virtue, their main content, sound, and effect:

> (2)[...]《頌》平德也。多言後，其樂安而遲，其歌紳而易，_其思深而遠，至矣。_
> 《大雅》盛德也。多言□□□□□□□□□(3)[□□□□]□
> [小雅]□□也。多言難而怨懟者也。衰矣，小矣。
> 《邦風》其内物也，博觀人欲焉，大斂材焉。其言文，其聲善。
> The *Hymns* are of balanced virtue. They mostly speak of posterity, their music is calm and slow, their songs restrained and easy, their longing deep and far, how accomplished!
> The *Major Elegantia* are of brimming virtue. ... they mostly speak of...
> [the *Lesser Elegantia* are ...] they mostly speak of those in difficulty and who have grudges and hatred. In decline! How small!
> The *Airs* take in things of the world, you can broadly observe human desire in them, and greatly gather material from them. Their words are patterned, their sounds excellent.

Emphasis in this section is on the formal properties and representative nature of the *Shi* in the different categories. These four categories themselves become objects of analysis, and are thus opened up for comment. Words and music are described as separate categories, and they are linked to the representative qualities and main themes of the categories. This division comes with value judgements; revealing the "patterned words" and the "decline" represented in the various categories. The form of the categories and the evaluation assigned to them are related, suggesting a maturation in the development of conceiving the *Shi* as a genre subdivided into categories. In a following section, the order is reversed, and the respective uses and appropriateness of the different categories are described, from dealing with common people to achievements and merits:

> 孔子曰：唯能夫□□□□□□□□[□](4)[□]□□□□□□□□曰：詩其猶平門。_
> 與賤民而豫之，其用心也將何如？曰：《邦風》是已。_

民之有感患也，上下之不和者，其用心也將何如？[曰:《小雅》是已。
□□□](5)□□□□[何如？曰：《大雅》]是已。
有成功者何如？曰：《頌》是已。

Kongzi said: "Only if you can ... the *Shi* are like a level gate. What should we focus on in order to be at ease with the company of the common people? It is the *Airs*. What should we focus on when the people have sorrow and troubles, and when higher and lower are not in harmony? [It is the *Minor Elegantia* ...what should ...? It is the *Major Elegantia*]. When having achieved merit? It is the *Hymns*.

Accordingly, while the first section talks about the literary form, the second section speaks of the social uses of the categories. As Staack has noted, the inverted repetition of the names of the categories is a common listing practice in teaching materials, and serves to reinforce the orders into canonical form.[429] The second section starts with the notion that the *Shi* are like a level gate, implying that they are an easy means of *access* to different social spheres, while at the same time suggesting that their meaning is within reach of the commentator. This emphasis on the function rather than the form of the material was also present in collections such as the "Zhougong zhi Qinwu" and the "Qiye". Where in those collections the genre descriptions operate as a function of performance, here the conceptualization of the genre of *Shi* is intimately related to the division and form of the collection as such that is open to commentary. The text closes with a statement on cultural expression as a whole:

(1)[...]孔子曰：詩無隱志，樂無隱情，文無隱意[…]
Kongzi said: "*Shi* have no hidden intentions, Music has no hidden feelings, pattern has no hidden meaning."

With the statement that the *Shi* have no hidden intentions, the commentarial activity of the text is rationalized. The *Shi* as a sub-divided, collection based genre has become a textually

[429] Staack 2010: 871.

appreciated object and none of its meanings can escape the scrutiny of the careful commentator—the sages brought them together in their discourses.

觀其之先後而逆順之
[They] beheld them in their sequence to arrange them in their proper order.
(*XZMC s.17)

The individual pieces under discussion in the *"Kongzi Shilun" are meticulously ordered. The relative order of the 60 odd titles as a whole is close, but not identical to that of the *Mao Odes* and in many cases the groups of pieces would later end up in different sections of the *Airs* and *Elegantia* for instance. It suggests that the *"Kongzi Shilun" had its own particular practice of grouping, a process reinforced in the sequencing of the individual blocks. The most striking example is the first block dealing with the *Airs*:

(10)《關雎》之改，_《樛木》之時，_《漢廣》之智，_《鵲巢》之歸，_《甘棠》之保，_《綠衣》之思，_《燕燕》之情，_曷？曰：動而皆賢於其初者也。_
《關雎》以色喻於禮。[□□□□□□□□□](14+12)兩矣，_其四章則喻矣。_以琴瑟之悅擬好色之願，以鐘鼓之樂[□□□□]好，反入於禮，不亦能改乎？_《樛木》福斯在君子，不[亦□時乎？_《漢廣》□□□(13+15)□□]可得，不攻不可能，不亦知恆乎？_《鵲巢》出以百輛，不亦有離乎？_《甘[棠》□]及其人，敬愛其樹，其保厚矣。_甘棠之愛以召公[□□□□□□□□□…綠衣》…《燕燕》…](16)情愛也。_
《關雎》之改，則其思益矣。_《樛木》之時，則以其祿也。_《漢廣》之智，則知不可得也。《鵲巢》之歸，則離者[□□□□□□□□□]召公也。_《綠衣》之憂，思古人也。_《燕燕》之情，以其獨也。_

The correction of "Guanju", the time of "Jiumu", the wisdom of "Hanguang", the return (home) of "Quechao", the protection of "Gantang", the longing of "Lüyi", the feelings of "Yanyan": What do we mean by that? I say: in that they move they all become more worthy than their beginnings.[430]

[430] This line can be read as containing the central interpretive premise, see Kern 2010: 34; 2015: 186. Possibly the image at the beginning of each Shi (traditionally "evocation", or *xing*") can be read for more than its surface meaning. I agree with Kern 2015: 184-5 who reads this phrase as "rhetorically introducing a teaching setting"

> "Guanju" uses sex to draw a metaphor about the rites. ... two´s. It is in the fourth stanza that the metaphor is formed. By likening the desire for sex to the joys of zither and harp, and the fondness for X to the pleasures of bell and drum, it returns to the rites, is this not being capable of correction? In "Jiumu", fortune resides in the gentleman, [is this] not … [timeliness? In Hanguang …] can [not] be obtained. Not to strive for what cannot be achieved, is this not understanding permanence? In "Quechao", setting forth with a hundred chariots, is this not a departure? In "Gan[tang" x] and his people, respecting and caring for his tree, his protection is solid. The care of the gantang tree uses Lord Shao [… "Lüyi" … "Yanyan" …] the response is care.
> With the turn of "Guanju", its longing is increased. The timeliness of "Jiumu", is [seen] in its blessings. Through the wisdom of "Hanguang", one understands what cannot be obtained. With the return of "Quechao", the parting [...] Lord Shao. The yearning of "Lüyi", is about longing for the ancients. The feelings of "Yanyan", are shown in his solitude.

The same sequence of seven pieces is repeated three times. They are identified by title and this assumes a stable referent, i.e. a collection of known *Shi* organized by title. In the first iteration the pieces are summed up and connected with one key concept. As Kern has shown, the grammar of the phrasing presents itself as a fixed interpretation,[431] as such the statements not only claim authority but at the same time suggest that a stable teaching practice was associated with the text. The text itself was likely being used as an aide for the memorization of the teachings. In the second iteration the connections are developed with an explanation of the content and meaning of the pieces. The comments on "Guanju" are particularly revealing, as they are explicitly about the use of metaphor to *turn* one description into another meaning. What is more, it is explicit about the locus of this turn residing in the fourth (not transmitted to us) stanza of the piece, again implying both a textualized understanding of the piece and that it was remembered by people with a sense of its structure as well.

In the final iteration these are connected to concise references to the wording of the poems. With each iteration the interpretation given to the piece is expanded, connected, and

framed in the voice of authority sanctioned by tradition as such dissolving the authorship function. In other words, the text is opened up for any teacher that asserts a place within this tradition.

[431] Kern 2010: 35; 2015: 185.

tightly reinforced. What is more, the triple repetition, the fixed order, in addition to the fact that seven easily memorable pieces are presented within one section makes this text highly conducive to memorization.[432] The *"Kongzi Shilun" has another such repeated grouping of seven in the combined *Airs, Elegantia, Hymn* section discussed below, the only real outlier being the section commenting on 30 *Minor Elegantia* pieces that are not repeated but merely presented as one long list. As such, most of the text enabled ease of memorization by presenting the material into discrete "gobbets" of information, making the text conducive to teaching at the same time that it reinforces the groupings.[433]

體其義而節文之
[They] shaped their meaning to regulate
and pattern them.
(*XZMC 17)

The following section connects verse to ritual propriety, i.e. the regulation and patterning mentioned above. Meaning is *derived* from the *Shi* by the figure of Kongzi, who takes each of the individual pieces as paradigmatic examples describing human nature, and ties them in with proper ritual responses:

> 孔子曰：吾以《葛覃》得祇初之詩。民性固然，_見其美必欲反其本。夫葛之見歌也，則(24)以□□之故也。_后稷之見貴也，_則以文武之德也。_ 吾以《甘棠》得宗廟之敬。_民性固然，甚貴其人，必敬其位。悅其人，必好其所爲。惡其人者亦然。[吾以(20)《木瓜》得]幣帛之不可去也。民性固然，其隱志必有以喻也。_其言有所載而後入，或前之而後交，人不可干也。吾以《杕杜》得爵□[□□□□□□□□□](27)[□□□□]如此何？斯爵之矣。離其所愛，必曰：吾奚舍之？賓贈是已。_

[432] Compare Carruthers 2008: 98 who notes medieval European mnemonic experts reflecting on the shortness of text to be memorized as a major aide in recal. The cognitive psychologist David Rubin 1995: 181-2, writing on memory in oral traditions, notes that in serial, unstructured memorization students tend to recal the first seven units. He further notes that these short units tend to correspond to natural divisions in spoken language.
[433] For this term see Griffiths 1999:49 ff who describes the practice of dividing material in short, easily memorable gobbets in classical, medieval, and early modern collections of sayings.

> Kongzi said: "Through "Getan" I get the *Shi* that honor the origins. The nature of the people is stable, when they see its beauty they will always want to return to its origin. When arrowroot is sung about, this is because of x. When Hou Ji is praised, this is because of the virtue of [Kings] Wen and Wu. Through "Gantang" I get the respect for the ancestral temple. The nature of the people is stable, when they deeply praise his person, they will always respect his position. When they delight in his person, they will always be fond of what he does. When they dislike him it is equally so. Through "Mugua" I get the indispensability of fabrics and silks [as gifts]. The nature of the people is stable, they always need something which gives expression to their hidden intent.[434] What you have to say is only accepted if you have something concrete [as a gift] that accompanies it. You cannot make people to accept it first when you only present something concrete later. Through "Didu" I get that rank x […] What does this mean? This is ranking them. When they take leave from somebody for whom they care, one will always say, how can we part from them? Such is the business of presenting way fare to guests.

The section is highly formulaic and is well patterned. All of the comments include an invariable result as a function of the stability of human nature which is represented through the *Shi*. The significance of the pieces is thus naturalized, and they *embody* the values that ought to result in patterned (ritually appropriate) behavior. In the comment on "Mugua" this is particularly clear. In the *Shijing*, the piece consists of a thrice-repeated ritual exchange of fruits for gems, as a means to continue friendship. The comment in the *"Kongzi Shilun" abstracts from this verse a general and underlying meaning, as referred to in the *"Xing zi Ming Chu". Gifts are rendered as a necessary component of ritualized human interaction. Human nature we are told, demands the expression of hidden intents through gifts and what one says will only be listened to when accompanied by gifts. In this way, it makes a case for the regulation and patterning of human interaction, two standard ways of describing proper ritual behavior.[435] "Mugua" is taken as a paradigmatic example of this fundamental truth about the human condition and its gifts are elevated by the commentator as a central metaphor of not only the piece in question but of proper human interaction in general. The

[434] Cf. the comment in the text on .s1, presented above, stating that "The Shi have no hidden intent."
[435] See Krijgsman 2014.

figure of Kongzi, standing in for the commentator, "understands" *de* 得 these fundamental truths, and explains his ideas of human nature through the voice of the *Shi* which are now completely transformed into an object of commentary and have value in how, through texts, one can explain the world at large.

理其情而出納之
[They] ordered the feelings [expressed in them]
to be manifested and to be internalized.
(*XZMC 17-18)

In the final section of seven pieces, its interpretations are repeated and expanded. Here, the emotional responses evoked by the pieces are emphasized using direct quotation of the lines that are the object of these responses. In other words, the the correct feelings associated with the pieces are shown to be manifested in particular lines, which are then to be internalized in one's understanding of the poem as a whole:

> 孔子曰："《宛丘》吾善之，_《猗嗟》吾憙之，_《鳲鳩》吾信之，_《文王》吾美之，《清[廟》吾敬之，《烈文》吾悅(22)之，《昊天有成命》吾貴?]之。《宛丘》曰："詢有情，而無望"，[436] 吾善之。《猗嗟》曰："四矢變，以禦亂"，[437]吾憙之。_《鳲鳩》曰："其儀一兮，心如結也"，吾信之。"文[王]在上，[438]於昭于天"，吾美之。(6)[《清廟》曰："肅雝顯相，濟濟]多士，秉文之德"，吾敬之。《烈文》曰："作競維人，丕顯維德，於乎，前王不忘"，[439]吾悅之。"昊天有成命，二后受之"，貴且顯矣。"
> Kongzi said: ""Wanqiu" I find excellent; "Yijie" I find pleasant; "Shijiu" I trust; "Wenwang" I find beautiful; "Qingmiao" I respect; "Liewen" I delight in; "Haotian you chengming" I praise.
> When in "Wanqiu" it says: "I enquire after your feelings, but have nothing to admire", I find it excellent; When in "Yijie" it says: "the four arrows transform, in order to

[436] Note that the transmitted version reads the same phonologically, but written with different graphs and the inclusion of the exclamatory particle *xi*: 洵有情兮、而無望兮.
[437] The transmitted version reads 四矢反兮、以禦亂兮.
[438] This line does not include the quotation formula, as does the one for "Haotian you Chengming", which includes a reduplication mark after *Hao*. The fact that the title of the piece is the same as the graphs first quoted suggests that the scribe did not bother to repeat himself here.
[439] The transmitted version interestingly includes two additional lines, marked here in bold: **無**競維人、**四方其訓之**。不顯維德、**百辟其刑之。**於乎前王不忘。

> quell disorder", I find it pleasant; When in "Shijiu" it says: "His dignity is unified, his heart as if it is tied to it", I trust it; "King Wen is up high, he shines bright in heaven" that I find beautiful; [When in "Qingmiao" it says: "Respectful and ordered the bright assistants, numerous the many retainers, who wielded the *De* of [King] Wen", I respect it; When in "Liewen" it says: "Only men are to be competed for; only *De* is radiant, Lo! Do not forget the former kings!", I delight in it. "Luminous heaven has a mandate accomplished, the two sovereigns received it", that is both praiseworthy and radiant."

In this section, the responses such as respect and delight are directly tied in with quotations from the pieces. The particular sentiment ascribed to the piece has become a function of its wording. The commentary amplifies this relation through select quotation, and through memorization, the connotations can then be internalized. For the commentator, instead of a general aeasthetic response to music, the particular sentiments of a poem *Shi* are expressed in a specific verbal component of each piece. As such, while in the previously discussed sections, homage is still paid to music in general and to its role in the four categories, its role is increasingly superseded by a textual understanding premised on direct quotation.

然後復以教。教所以生德於中者也。
When this was achieved, they reinforced it through teaching.
Teaching is that by which [the sage] generates moral force in the center.
(*XZMC 18)

The final element I believe to be crucial in understanding texts such as the *"Kongzi Shilun" as a teaching text is their use in reinforcing the categories upon which the teaching is based. By repeating the steps discussed above through education, a particular perception of the division, role, and reading of verse was established. These include: the categorization of verse according to a subdivided collection; perceiving the material as belonging to distinct and functional genre with subgenres, premised on this collection; and, providing a reading strategy premised on finding the (often moral) meaning of pieces by examining their wording and metaphorical qualities. These elements form the backbone of later verse perception, and

are intimately related with the processes towards perceiving verse as being a collection bound genre. It is through texts such as this, and undoubtedly many others like it, that this perception, with the accompaniment of the verse material, whether memorized or in writing, that would lay the groundwork for the later canonized *Shijing* and commentaries such as the *Mao Odes*.

In sum we can see that the *"Kongzi Shilun" brings together many of the trends discussed in this chapter and provides one of the final elements – the commentary to a collection – that would foreground later canonical collections such as the *Mao Odes*. If I am correct in arguing that the collections of verse materials, and the commentaries that accompanied them were likely to be used in a teaching context, they provide powerful stimuli for reinforcing trends towards the perception of verse as a an increasingly fixed and text based collection.[440] Rather than arguing that the evidence I cite proves that the order, content, and perception of the *Shi* as seen in the *Mao Ode*s were already firmly in place during the early Warring States or even the Springs and Autumns period, I have argued for a set of trends emerging in the Warring States period, fostered by written collections, that would provide many of the elements so familiar from the *Mao* commentary to the *Shi*. Many of these trends were not necessary developments. Instead, as I have tried to show by taking reference to a number of representative examples of arguably a much wider landscape, many individual texts provided elements that were sometimes picked up by later users in their composition of texts. While the contingency of these developments cannot be stressed enough, I nevertheless argue that one of the main results of writing down verse and its interpretative frameworks is that it acts as an active force in reinforcing modes of interpretation, grouping, and labelling that would increase the chance of transmission of these

[440] In Riegel's 1997 discussion of the Mawangdui "Wuxing", it becomes clear that at this point (early Han at the latest), verse commentary had become increasingly formalized and focused on the exact wording of the pieces.

elements when used as teaching materials, thus providing later uses with access to these very categories of understanding.

Conclusion

I have sketched out the evidence for the rise of collecting of verse materials in the Warring States. I suggest in this chapter that these collections were increasingly framed in contextualizing narratives, which turn the ritual performance contexts of verse into textual description rather than lived experience. This reframing of verse, provides a context for the emergence of functional genre designations rather than those based on generic reference to a tradition. I argue that these labeling practices signify the emergence of a genre consciousness, leading to a variety of labeling and organization practices that would finally converge into the perception of a genre of *Shi* as part of a fixed collection. Within the historiographical narratives textualizing the production and performance contexts, certain figures such as the Duke of Zhou came to be singled out as personae to represent the literariness, historicity, and authorial intents behind the production of verse.

At the same time, the late Warring States period sees an increase in statements on the *Shi* in particular as belonging to a collection. This collection is subdivided in categories of organization and delineated in terms of number and supposed editor. It is imbued with statements on meaning and function, yet juxtaposed to other traditions likewise designated as the fundamental bearers of culture. With the rise of commentarial frameworks and statements on the teaching of these traditions, the meaning of verse is increasingly understood as residing in the words and categorization of the pieces. These meanings are often elucidated through commentator figures such as Kongzi. I argue that it was these interpretations, and the concurrent division and ordering of the materials that would be reinforced through teaching practices.

In the end, written collections of verse, whether they were memorized or copied, would thus increasingly start to inform the access people had to the material, and mediate the ways in which they placed and understood them. Looking back from the perspective of the collections of *Shi* in the early Han, these would likewise have received access to the materials and modes of interpretation (some that would be canonized) through the many contingent acts of transmission mediated by the collections and commentaries that I have discussed in this chapter.

今學者皆道書笈之頌語，不察當世之實事

Scholars these days all just read out Hymns and anecdotes from their bamboo manuscripts, and do not examine the actual affairs of the current age

Han Feizi 韓非子, "The Six Opposites"六反

Chapter 4: Manuscript Materiality: Compiling Knowledge and the Textualization of Discourse

Introduction

Collections of sayings and aphorisms are often taken as the starting point in discussions of Warring States thought and text. Exemplified by works such as the *Lunyu* and the *Laozi*, they are consistently presented as embodying the earliest textual expressions of the great thinkers and the schools of thought that would shape the intellectual landscape of China up to this day.[441] Despite substantial critique of the notion of "schools of thought",[442] and a re-evaluations of the status of these works as representative of the thought of specific Warring States masters,[443] the status of sayings-collections as the starting point of Warring States text- and genre history is conspicuously unchallenged. Consensus has it that collections of short sayings and aphorisms precede the short expositions and dialogues seen in the *Mengzi* and *Mozi*, before developing long and complex essays that make up the *Xunzi* and *Hanfeizi*, culminating in the 'encyclopedic' compilations of all the thought in the realm.[444] The

[441] This characterization informs even recent works such as Lewis 1999, and to an extent, Denecke 2010, who however perceives the *Laozi* as a reactionary, and deliberately archaeized work, see p. 208.
[442] For valid critiques of the schools paradigm see Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003, Petersen 1995, Sivin 1978.
[443] For a critique focussing on relying on the *Lunyu* as the sole and authentic source of Confucian thought, and for strong arguments against the collection being in existence before the early Han, see Hunter 2012, for further evidence on the literary techniques used in its composition including the (re-) writing of its component materials see Weingarten 2009. For further discussions on the textual history of these compilations see Makeham 1996 and Henricks 2000, 1989.
[444] E.g. Lewis 1999, Graham 1989.

underlying rationale of this chronology based on transmitted materials is a list of authors who sought increasingly new ways to outdo their contemporaries and predecessors in argumentative depth and literary skill.

While there is no question that sayings attributed to masters (mostly Kongzi) were already popular by the mid-late Warring States, palaeographical evidence does not support that *collections* of sayings were an early phenomenon, let alone that they were associated with particular authors. Instead, this chapter argues that saying-collections were a response to the slow maturation of the manuscript culture during the mid to late Warring States. Moreover, far from faithfully *collecting* the words of the *master*, the excavated materials represent different strategies of *compiling unattributed* saying and aphorism materials.[445] That is to say, to different degrees of complexity and sophistication, the material under discussion represents an act of gathering and structurally integrating, pre-circulating, or travelling, sayings.[446] In these compilations, material was organized around the building block.

By examining the textual and material strategies used to integrate pre-circulating material into compilations, I argue that these short building blocks are the result of how material was organized on bamboo manuscripts, rather than representing the way in which ancient masters talked or disciples wrote down their expressions. Finally, I aim to show that the function of these compilations in oratory and teaching contexts reflects increases in the volume and communication of discourse through writing, i.e. hallmarks of a developing manuscript culture. The compilation responds to these developments by providing a means to

[445] In this chapter, I understand the term 'collecting' to refer to the gathering of materials, compiling represents a more concerned attempt to structurally integrate these materials using rhyme, topical, and stylistic qualities for instance.
[446] For this term see Krijgsman 2014.

preserve and organize *a selection* of material from this body of text in a format conducive to memorization and use of the material in a variety of contexts.

The unborn 'Laozi'

As noted, the *Laozi* and *Lunyu* can be disputed as starting points in Warring States textual and intellectual developments. As such, the following discussion addresses excavated *Laozi materials, in particular those from Guodian, the only excavated compilation to wit that is in some form 'ancestral' to a transmitted counterpart.[447] At the background of this chapter lies a simple question: what where the processes that underlay the formation of these collections and what does their form and structuring tell us about their use in the teaching culture of the time?

Together with four short bundles of sayings, named the *Yucong 1-4 by the editors (discussed below), the *Laozi materials form the earliest excavated evidence for sayings compilations and are dated around 300 BCE. The Guodian *Laozi materials were recovered in three bamboo manuscripts, A, B, and C, each of different physical characteristics.[448] Together, the three bundles contain about one third of the material that would end up in transmitted *Laozi* texts. While about half of that material is highly similar to the transmitted texts, and it is clear that the material is in some way antecedent to these later compilations,[449] there are significant differences.

The order and division of the individual units (or chapters in the received text) within the texts is radically different from all other excavated and received 'Laozi' compilations.[450]

[447] *Laozi materials is shorthand for the variety of titles and different means in which these materials have been understood. The Guodian *Laozi materials have enough correspondances in content with transmitted Laozi texts to suggest it was compiled within the same broad range of traditions (in the literal sense of handing over) that would eventually produce the transmitted *Laozi* texts, regardless of whether or not the GD materials in specific were directly ancestral to these texts.
[448] In terms of bamboo slip lengths and endings, and the calligraphy for example.
[449] Henricks 2000: 7, 10
[450] Overview in Boltz 2005: 55-56.

Henricks and Wang Bo have observed topical divisions in the Guodian *Laozi materials not present in later texts for instance, providing a case wherein the compiler(s) sought to organize a collection of material into meaningful units.[451] Likewise, as LaFargue has observed early on, many of the building blocks of the *Laozi* appear to be composed of rhymed and argumentative components, with the latter steering the interpretation of the former.[452] The absence of some of these sub-units in the Guodian materials illustrates that these were added in later collections, likely to steer the pre-existing material in ways that made it applicable to new argumentative needs. I have argued elsewhere for a similar process occurring across Warring States literature, where travelling sayings where incorporated in a variety of texts in order to serve a variety of arguments.[453]

This suggests that simple transcription of sayings and the faithful preservation of old material was not the main focus of compilations. Both topical clustering and the embedding of sayings in arguments illustrate two ways of dealing with the problem of how to integrate pre-existing sayings material meaningfully into a new compilation that enabled specific textual functions. This all supports Boltz's characterization of the material, that: "[T]he Guodian material is not properly called the *Laozi* in any meaningful sense but is rather a collection of textual units some of which have subsequently been brought together by unknown editors or compilers to constitute the text that has been transmitted as the *Laozi*."[454]

Boltz's seminal article goes on to argue that not just these 'Laozi' materials, but perhaps the majority of early Chinese texts are the product of compiling relatively stable units (whatever their origins) into differently ordered texts.[455] While I agree with this general

[451] Henricks 2000: 9, 10 and Wang Bo cited therein.
[452] Lafargue 1994. Whether or not the rhymed components should be seen as originally oral text, and the argumentative components as latter written explication, or later archaicized, is moot. The point is that sayings are integrated into a stylistically identifiable pattern, allowing for a variety of different appraisals.
[453] Krijgsman 2014.
[454] Note Boltz 2005: 59-60.
[455] Boltz 2005: 61-62.

characterization, I like to deepen Boltz's argument in two aspects. First, as already mentioned, the Guodian *Laozi materials exhibit certain significant differences on the level of the individual units when juxtaposed to later texts. As Henricks and others have shown, entire lines within units are absent or truncated to an extreme,[456] and certain building blocks in the Guodian material are split in multiple chapters in later texts and vice versa.[457] Clearly, the building blocks themselves were not fixed and should perhaps rather be seen as merely providing another layer, aiding, but not ensuring, the preservation of textual identity.

Second, Boltz's understanding of the building block applies most strongly to texts wherein such units were clearly established *on the manuscript*. That is to say, all of the manuscripts that Boltz draws on for his argument are furnished with visual demarcation of textual units such as punctuation and slip blanking, in addition to stylistic criteria such as rhyme or parallelisms.[458] Already in the Guodian *Laozi manuscripts, punctuation is used to demarcate certain textual units, albeit by no means as extensive as the Mawangdui and Beida *Laozi materials which exhibit the general trend of Han manuscripts to increasingly demarcate textual divisions using visual cues.[459] I would therefore argue that for the copyists of the material, and, we may assume for its readership, there was already a physically reinforced understanding of the text as consisting of identifiable 'paragraph' *zhang* 章 length units.[460] As I argue below, the absence of these visual cues would make it difficult to

[456] For specific differences in terms of the composition of individual units and differences in the contents see Henricks 2000, esp. 7-11.
[457] A prime example can be found in the way both the Guodian *Laozi A and C manuscripts contain material that in the transmitted version forms a single chapter 64. See here especially the tabulation in Cook 2012: 951-1002.
[458] See for example the Guodian "Ziyi" 緇衣 and the different instantiations of the *Yi* 易 materials.
[459] Krijgsman *in preparation*. The status of the Beida *Laozi materials is unclear, Xing Wen 2016 disputes their authenticity for instance. As it stands, the evidence is not strong enough either way and we have to wait for the publication of more Laozi materials hinted at in news reports.
[460] For the question of how readership interacts with physical form see Krijgsman *in preparation*.

determine the actual demarcations, and therefore, the identification of the building blocks with one another, and to an extent, their autonomy.

I therefore suggest that the formation of building blocks is closely related to the visual demarcations on the manuscript, representing a compositional choice of organizing a body of material. For materials where such physical demarcations are absent, the dynamic might very well be different. As such, while I agree with Boltz's general claim that early texts are fluid entities prone to continuous changing and updating to serve new social and intellectual functions, and that in many cases, this dynamic operates on the level of the *zhang* or building block. Yet it is also true that for a great number of texts, the level at which textual coherence occurred was either smaller or larger than the *zhang*. As Meyer has argued, many argumentative texts have a fixed order to individual building blocks, as determined by the argument that ran throughout the *pian* or essay as a whole.[461] Furthermore, across the early literature phrases, stories, and short sayings are more fundamental units of composition, which could be recomposed into different building blocks.[462]

When going along this train of thought it follows that we should examine the use of sayings and their formation into building blocks. In particular I wish to look into the textual and physical means that were instrumental in generating the unity and identity of different layers of a text. Such an enquiry enables us to reach a more complete understanding of the processes governing textual formation. In addition, it helps understand the social needs and textual functions these texts could have fulfilled.[463]

[461] Meyer 2012, see also Allan 2015.
[462] See Krijgsman 2014.
[463] It should be noted that to rely on graph counts, slip lengths, and other *reconstructed* material features of transmitted and edited collections, such as Maeder's 1992 analysis of the *Mozi*, or Boltz's 2005 analysis of the *Zuozhuan* and *Mengzi* materials cannot be used to understand Warring States textuality. It can only reflect the practices of the Han imperial library, which among other things, presupposes a standardized practice of the physical demarcation of textual units, the length of bamboo slips, as well as scribal practice that were not yet established before the Qin dynasty. I therefore take issue with Maeder's oft quoted image of textual formation as "the looseleaf ring binder into which miscellaneous material, including both class notes by different hands and

Below, I will explore these and other options and argue that they are representative of a larger trend in which previously circulating materials, oral and written, were incorporated into new written frameworks as a result of a general increase in the use of manuscripts. This development, as I show below, is not limited to specific 'master texts' and occurs throughout the Warring States period rather than just at the start. I will argue that the different strategies to incorporating sayings material are part of general developments towards increased organization and readability of knowledge, in response to increases in availability and communication of material in writing. Users of this material, whether for didactic purposes or to use in persuasion as the *Han Feizi* quote heading this chapter suggests, increasingly relied on bamboo manuscripts as a means to select and organize material, and use them as a basis for teaching and memorization.

In the following, I will discuss several strategies that facilitated the arrangement and division, the legibility and memorization, and the use of the materials of collections beyond straightforward copying of its materials.

Sound based organization: the *"Yong yue" 用曰

The *"Yong yue" manuscript from the Shanghai collection provides an excellent example of a compilation which uses sound rather than visual means to organize text on the manuscript.

documentary handouts, can be entered, only later to be rearranged, shortened or expanded as new material is found which is deemed pertinent, and as the compilers' concerns change." (28) The problem is that it retrojects notions of standardized building blocks and slip lengths into the Warring States. The *"Fanwu Liuxing" analyzed below, which exists in two copies of different physical properties yet with similar building blocks as demarcated through punctuation, may serve as an example. If textual recomposition occured using bamboo slips of different lengths and containing different numbers of graphs as a means of direct textual movement, this would generate a chimera of a text. Maeder's understanding assumes bamboo slip lengths to physically segragate building blocks, and as I will show in my analysis of the *"Yucong" 1-3 materials below, this is a practice that occured only rarely in the Warring States, yet as shown by the Mawangdui and more so the Beida *Laozi* materials, was becomming increasingly common in the Han dynasty. For an earlier critique of this approach see Kern 2002: 304, n.22.

It provides a case of minimal reliance on the written and material nature of the composition while at the same time reflecting developments that are common to the organization of bodies of knowledge in general by illustrating the ways in which textual organization serves readability and therefore, social functions of manuscript use.

The *"Yong yue" manuscript features 20 slips,[464] and is bound with 3 strings secured by equidistant notches located in the upper (-1.2/1.4 cm) and lower (0.6/0.7- cm) extremities and in the middle (--23/23.4 cm). Complete slips have straight edges and range from 45 to 45.9 centimeters in length with 35 to 42 graphs per slip. The manuscript appears to be bound before writing, and the graphs are equally dispersed over the slips, with the first graph on each slip very close to the binding string. Reduplication (*chongwen* 重文) and ligature (*hewen* 合文) marks are expressed with two dashes = and the manuscript is closed on s.20 by a thick horizontal bar, followed by four graphs and a sign in what appears to be a different hand.[465]

The text of the *"Yong Yue" manuscript is rhymed throughout and structured around its eponymous *yong yue* 用曰 statements.[466] These thirteen short statements intersperse groups of short rhymed blocks of wise sayings dealing with related themes such as speech, governance, the people, and public behavior.[467] Because many of the slips are broken at the bottom end and because the text is composed of short sets of apodictic statements, the order of the material has been difficult to establish and at least seven different partial and complete reconstructions have been published so far.[468] Rhyme has not proven decisive in the

[464] Ma Chengyuan ed. 2007. The manuscript was edited by Zhang Guangyu, real size images of the slips are on pp. 105-124, the transcription on pp. 285-306.
[465] 善古君之 + small T-shaped sign on left; note this last is also one of the most worn slips.
[466] The only other manuscript-text completely in rhyme is the Guodian *"Yucong" 語叢 4, and the partially rhymed *"Fanwu Liuxing" 凡物流形, both discussed below.
[467] Some reconstructions suggest a missing fourteenth *yong yue* statement, see Zi Ju 2009. For an overview of the contents see especially Gu Shikao 2009a.
[468] Zi Ju 2009, Yan Changgui 2009; Chen Jian 2007 and Cao Feng 2007 (both partial), Qiu Dexiu 2007, Wang Lan 2007, Li Rui 2007a,b.

reconstructions, in part because different scholars have adopted different standards as to what constitutes a proper rhyme,[469] and in part because certain rhymes such as the *yang* 陽 (*-aŋ) and *geng* 耕(*-eŋ) groups recur across several blocks and thus allow various groupings. Finally, there is also a debate on the placement and role of the *yong yue* statements vis-à-vis the rhymed blocks. Some, such as Scott Cook for example, see them as prospective, illustrating a principle that is elaborated in the rhymed block.[470] Others, such as Dong Shan and myself, rather see them as following the blocks and adducing a general saying or statement to them.[471] Below, I present an example of the first two blocks from the manuscript:[472]

> (1)\思民之初生[*sreŋ]，[473] 多險以難成[*djeŋ]。[474] 視之以康樂[*ŋrawks]，愿之以兇刑[井*geŋ **tsjeŋʔ]。心目及言[*ŋjan]，是善敗之經[*keŋ]。參節之未得[*təkˁ]，豫命乃縈[*ʔʷjeŋ]。
>
> (14)\用曰：毋事縸＝[莫**mak]。強君虐政[*tjeŋs]，揚武於外[*ŋʷats]。[475] 克獵戎事[*tsrjəs]，以損四衛[戔*dzan]。[476] 制法節刑，[井*geŋ, **tsjeŋʔ]恆民守敗

[469] In particular there is a propensity to build up rhymes from the reconstructed rather than the transcribed words of the text. As a result, any tolerance build into the loaning principle used to determine readings also seeps into the rhymes of the text. It seems to me that, despite difficulty and sometimes imprecision, we should at least attempt to determine the phonophore in the graph as written on the bamboo and determine rhymes from there.

[470] Gu Shikao 2009a.

[471] The syntactical use of *yong* supports this, commonly predicating upon previous information rather than forming the subject itself. Dong Shan 2007a,b, see also Ziju 2009. Dong Shan 2007b reads the *yong yue* statements as something akin to canons 經 and the rhymed blocks as their explanation 說. He further speculates that these canons were originally in another manuscript that might have rhymed on its own, and were then used to compose the manuscript-text at hand. There is no evidence to support these claims other than that the *yong yue* statements themselves inter-rhyme.

[472] The edition I use is Ziju's 2009. A backward slash \ indicates a broken slip end, a vertical line | a whole slip end. Squares □ indicates the predicted number of missing graphs, double lines ＝ a reduplication or ligature mark and the numbers in fat brackets the slip number followed by number of graphs. I here use the old Baxter 1992 reconstruction to represent phonological information because it contains more material. Phonological readings are based on the bamboo graph rather than the reconstructed reading unless otherwise noted using a double asterisk and the graph or phonophore used for the reconstruction marked in brackets. Direct transcription of the bamboo graphs are provided in the end notes except for commonly established readings which are not marked.

[473] Ma Chengyuan ed. 2007: 286 notes a similar line in *Shijing* "Mian" 緜 .

[474] See Ziju 2009 who notes similarities to *Zuozhuan* Xuan 12 and *Chuci* "Lisao" 離騷. Ma Chengyuan ed. 2007: 286 notes intertextuality for this statement, with *Wenzi* "Weiming" among others.

[475] Ma Chengyuan ed. 2007: 301 notes similarities to *Guoyu* "Jinyu" 6.

[476] Note that the rhyme works better in reconstruction compare 踐** dzjenʔ with 衛**wjats. Ziju 2009 reads as 衛.

[*prats]。設其有繼緒[者**tjᴀ]，而難其有惠 [*wets]。民□□
(05)𠂤難之[*tjə]，而亦弗能棄[*khjits]。用曰：寧事赫＝[*虎 xaʔ **xrak] [...]

Thinking about the first origins of the people, they navigated many narrow paths in their arduous completion. See them in peace and happiness, hide them with harsh punishments. Heart, eyes and speech, they are the guideline of perfection and failure. When these three cruxes have not been attained, the ease of the mandate becomes entangled.

Use this to say: Let no affairs be dark and dim! Tyrannical rulers and cruel governments, they overtly display their prowess, hunting and war games, and thus diminish the four corners of the world, Regulate laws and control punishments, and the people will be lasting and failure contained. In plans, ensure that your threads can be followed; in trouble, display kindness, The people […]
Even when you trouble them, they cannot discard you. Use this to say: Rather have affairs be brilliant and radiant.

As can be seen from this representation and the following image, material organization of the text on the *“Yong yue” manuscript is minimal. Its layout is straightforward and does not show signs of deliberate structuring. Slips are continuously written from the top to the bottom binding string, ensuring textual preservation and manuscript integrity. The calligraphy is clear, and highly legible, and graphs are regularly spaced on the slips. Punctuation on the manuscript is not used for rhyme, rhythmic, or semantic divisions, only for ligature and reduplication marks. A title seems unlikely, and other than a final thick bar closing the text at the end there is no visual division in units on the manuscript. The final bar is followed by a short phrase ‘Shan Gu Jun Zhi X’ 善古君之 X written in a distinct hand and could represent anything from a doodle to a reading note. Disregarding this final phrase, the rest of the last slip is left blank. The size of the manuscript, if we assume that it was not bound together with other material, is easy enough to handle at a height of 45.9 and a breadth of roughly 10 to 12 centimeters. Physically, it thus appears that the manuscript is not intentionally prepared for certain types of use. However, even a lack of extensive material structuring can provide some clues on the possibilities of usage of the manuscript.

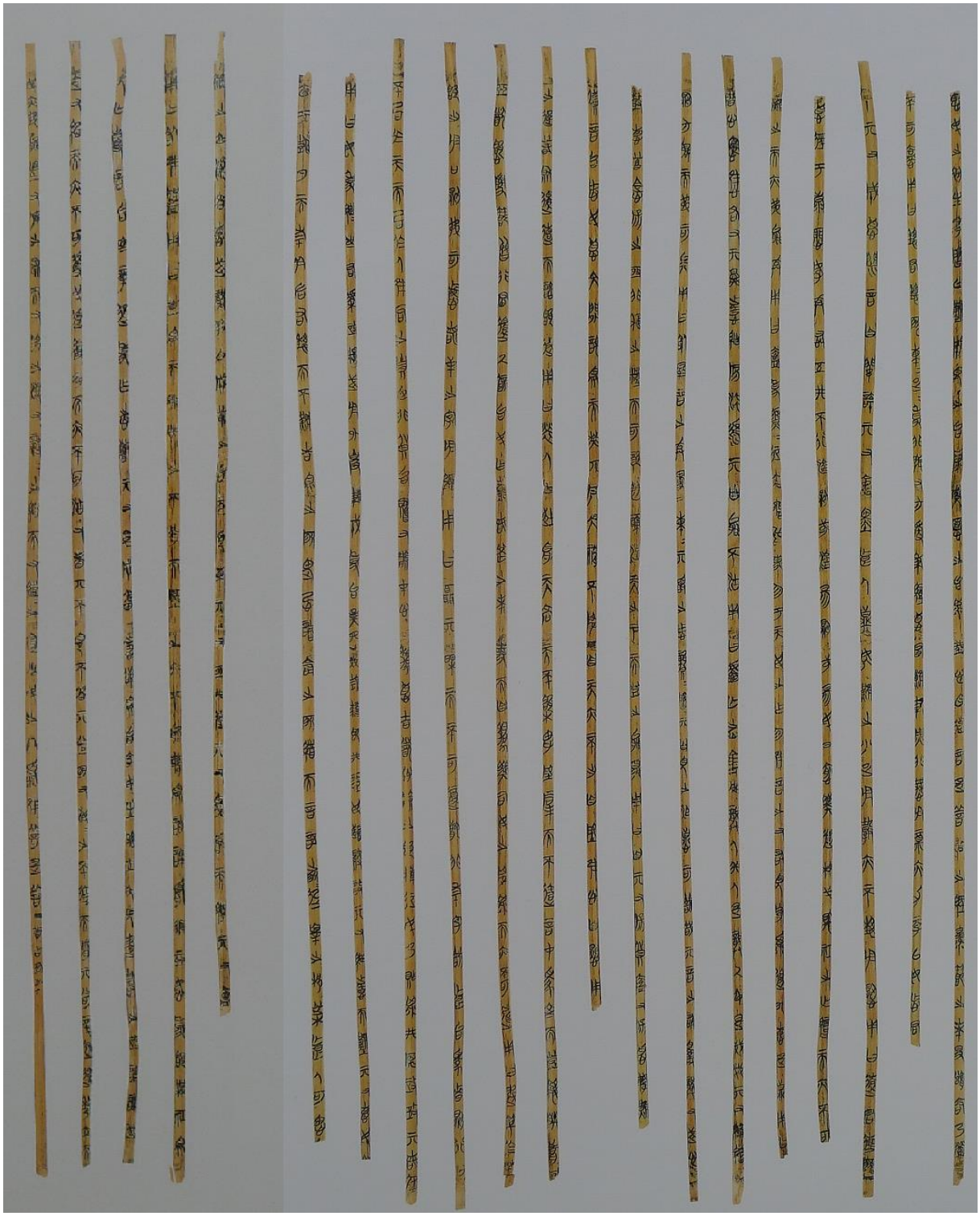

Fig 1: *Composite image of the *"Yong yue" manuscript*. Source: Ma Chengyuan ed. 2007: 10-11.

The very fact that the *“Yong yue” is not visually segmented seems to imply that it was not produced specifically to be read section by section, but rather assumes a continuous, linear reading as the manuscript provides no means for starting at a different point in the text. Of course, segments can be projected on the material, but they are not visually apparent and therefore need other forms of structuring. Compare the following simplified visual representation of the part of the text translated above as a reader would encounter it:

\思民之初生多險以難成視之台康樂慝之以兇刑心目及言是善敗之經參節之未得豫命乃縈
\用曰毋事縸＝強君虐政揚武於外克獵戎事台員四戔折灢即井恆民獸敗設其有繼緒而難其有惠民□□
|難之而亦弗能棄用曰寧事赫...

No immediate organization is visible, and to the unfamiliar reader, the text is difficult to read sentence by sentence, semantic unit by semantic unit. In manuscript-texts such as the *“Yong yue”, the structure of the text rather emerges from the reading itself. In giving voice to the text, sentence divisions are made based on sound, rendering rhymes and parallelisms apparent. When the auditory structure of the *“Yong yue” is represented visually, however, the picture changes dramatically:

思民之初生	[*sreŋ]	多險以難成	[*djeŋ]
視之以康樂	[*ŋrawks]	慝之以兇刑	[**tsjeŋʔ]
心目及言	[*ŋjan]	是善敗之經	[*keŋ]
參節之未得	[*tək]	豫命乃縈	[*ʔʷjeŋ]

用曰 [*ljoŋs wjot] 毋事縸＝ [**<u>mak mak</u>]

強君虐政	[*tjeŋs]	揚 武於外	[*ŋʷats]
克獵戎事	[*tsrjəs]	以員四衛	[**wjats]

制法節刑　[**tsjeŋʔ]　恆民守敗　[*prats]

設其有繼圖　[**prjəʔ]　而難其有惠　[*wets]
民□□

[...]　難之　[*tjə]　而亦弗能棄　[*khjits]

用曰　[**ljoŋs wjot]　寧事赫 ＝　[*xrak xrak]

The structure of the text is clearly audible and neatly divides into blocks of rhymed lines, interspersed by inter-rhyming *yong yue* statements. The rhyme within blocks ties together an individual section, and the rhymes between the *yong yue* statements present a rudimentary ordering of the text together across sections. The main principle of organization is therefore auditory rather than visual.[477] Different rhymes alternate and are variously broken up by the dissonant yet inter-rhyming *yong yue* statements. To the ear and body, this structure only emerges and becomes engrained through vocalization.

Yet because of the repetition of the same rhymes throughout the blocks and the sometimes tangential connections between the blocks, the structural divisions are not firmly safeguarded in the text. In absence of visual sectioning, repeated, linear readings of the material are required to memorize the structure and for an awareness of the building blocks to emerge. In memorization based on linear reading, each section of text functions as a cue for the next. As a result, repeated linear memorization of the whole text allows for a perception of unity in meaning to emerge in the text as a whole because each section is read through the other. This suggests two likely and closely related modes of engagement with the manuscript-text, vocalization and sound based memorization. The optimal mode for breaking the text in

[477] It could be argued that the recurrence of the graphs *yong yue* on the manuscript present a form of visual stimuli, it should be noted however that these statements are not otherwise set apart visually, having the same size and style of graphs and spacing. They are also not placed in one particular location on the manuscript and their placement is governed by the textual order instead.

its component parts is for the 'reader' to actualize the auditory organization by reading it out loud, thus bringing out the structure of the text through vocal means rather than visual layout.

While this can be achieved in the 'mind's ear', or using sub-voce or clear vocalization, the latter two are more effective means of 'feeling' or embodying the text as the resonation of the sounds reinforces the perception of its structure.[478] Moreover, vocalization of the text is an effective aid to memorization.[479] The auditory organization of the material structures the text as retrievable 'gobbets' of information, and while not necessarily ensuring word-perfect recall of individual lines and words, repeated readings facilitate a basic recollection of the textual structure, aiding further memorization and recollection.

This auditory mnemonics is further enabled by a dynamic of rhymed dissonance between the rhymed sayings and the *yong yue* statements. The statements inter-rhyme and some include parallelisms, accordingly they form a higher level of textual organization. At the same time, they contrast with the rhymes of the individual building blocks, and in their dissonance,[480] audibly break up the text in distinct units. As such, textual integrity in memorization is favored both in the individual blocks and to an extent, in-between blocks. The text as a whole is strung together across sections, thus promoting the perception of textual unity.

As such, the process of vocalization argued for above is instrumental to memorization, and indeed to any reading of the text. While there certainly are liturgical contexts where vocalization is a goal in itself, I suggest taking the *yong yue* statements literally to mean: "Use (the above text) to speak of: X". This would imply that in the use of the manuscript, the

[478] On embodiment of voiced out text and its relation to memory and text structure, see Rubin 1995: 66ff.
[479] Rubin 1995: 66, 70ff. For comments on having text 'resonate' and 'echo' from within and how this stimulates memorization see Griffiths 1999: 48ff. Note also Saenger 1997 on the differences between silent and voiced reading practices.
[480] In combination with the repetition of the assonance in *yong yue* *ljoŋs wjot. See Rubin 1995: 72ff on the use of assonance in memorization.

text was meant to be liberated from its carrier and reused in other contexts, such as debate, admonitions, or speeches for example. Rather than being referenced or read only once for information, this manuscript-text appears to favor the transfer of its content to the memory of the user, and from then to new compositions. The use of the *yong yue* statements indicates topical divisions within the text and serves as mnemonic pegs in order to anchor the content. This provides a rudimentary basis of organization allowing easier retrieval of the content even in absence of the physical manuscript. As a result, the text could then be used for future composition and influence speech habits far removed from the context of the manuscript-text itself.[481]

The extensive auditory structuring seen in the *"Yong yue" is a relatively extreme case. While many Warring States manuscript-texts contain rhyme and rhythmic features, only a few are rhymed throughout or completely structured on the basis of sound. The lack of visual structuring in this manuscript is however very common. Most of the philosophical materials from the Guodian and Shanghai collections for example come with minimal visual structuring only, featuring text terminator marks and rudimentary punctuation at best. This suggests that for the majority of Warring States manuscripts, the structure of a text only became clear in its articulation, and only became memorable with repeated readings. For higher level textual functions such as building blocks to emerge therefore, significant effort was required on behalf of the reader. As physical carriers of text, many manuscripts only became active when used as support for oral delivery, memorization, and accordingly, reuse in other contexts. The majority of Warring States manuscripts was not physically prepared to

[481] It should be stressed that repeated vocalization and auditory memorization are of course not the only possible modes of engagement. Recitation and other forms of performance and engagement are not being excluded and some indeed enabled through the material representation of the text. It is only by taking the text internal statements and content into account that it seems likely that memorization through vocalization was an intended mode of engagement. This of course does not mean that the manuscript was indeed used as such. To take a textual analogy, the *Chunqiu* 春秋 is by no means textually optimized for memorization, but some people memorized it nonetheless.

favor silent reading.[482] Manuscript-texts such as the *"Yong yue" had their function in that they provided a physical basis for oral delivery in teaching contents for instance, or as aide de memoire so that its contents could be integrated in new contexts and compositions, whether written or oral. In the remainder of this chapter, a group of compilations are discussed that illustrate the added functionality of using visual features to amplify textual divisions on the manuscript.

The *"Fanwu Liuxing"

The *"Fanwu Liuxing" 凡物流形, published in volume 7 of the Shanghai manuscripts, uses punctuation in addition to rhyme and textual cues to integrate sayings and form building blocks. The text is preserved in two copies, A and B. The two copies are written in different hands and on different manuscripts. Of the two, A is largely intact numbering 30 slips and featuring a title on the back of slip 3. While slip order cannot be established with complete certainty, reconstructions collating the two copies have produced a legible copy of the text.[483] The text is generally divided into two major parts, the first section (s.1- first half of 14) is mainly composed of questions on the origins of things, the practice of government and ritual, and has been likened to *Chuci* 楚辭 "Tianwen" 天問, *Zhuangzi* "Tianyun" 天運, and the Mawangdui "Shiwen" 十問 among others.[484] The second section (second half of 14 -30) is

[482] See also Meyer 2012: 172.

[483] Both A and B, judging from each other, contain elisions and mistakes, although copy B is generally considered to be more carefully executed. Note here also the presence of what appear to be practice graphs on the last slip of manuscript A. The manuscripts were originally edited by Cao Mianyan, see Ma Chengyuan ed. 2008: 76-132，220-30. The first major reconstruction was undertaken by FDDSH 2008a, after which Li Rui 2009 and Gu Shikao 2009b published variations and emendations that have largely been accepted. Here, I base my discussion on Gu Shikao 2009b with minor emendations.

[484] See particularly Cao Feng 2009a.

composed of affirmative statements, some of which can confidently be seen to answer questions in the first section.[485]

The text, barring some idiosyncrasies – possibly indicative of the Chu dialect – is rhymed throughout. As Cao Feng has argued previously, the affirmative statements included in the text are introduced by "I have heard it said that" 聞之曰 and have intertextual counterparts across the literature, especially among the *Guanzi*, *Wenzi*, *Zhuangzi*, and *Laozi*.[486] The text thus provides a prime example of a (re-)collection of previously circulating sayings. What sets it apart from materials such as the *"Yong yue" discussed previously is that it explicitly marks its intertextuality using formulae such as "I have heard it said that" and "This is why" 是故. These markers function as cues to include saying material into distinct blocks of texts. Moreover, punctuation is used to demarcate these blocks of sayings as distinct units, providing a visual means of segmenting the large body of material into nine manageable units of roughly similar size.[487] At the end of each section, often before the final syntactic break, a short bar (▂) or a hook (┗) shaped mark indicates that a section is to end:

> (7)[...]祭祀奚升*s-təŋ，吾如之何使飽**pʿu？順天之道*lʿuʔ-s，吾奚以為首*l̥uʔ-s？吾欲得(8)百姓之和，吾奚事之*tə？敬天之明奚得*tʿək？鬼之神奚食*mə-lək？先王之智▂奚備*brək-s？
>
> How do the sacrifices rise up, and how do I satiate [the ancestors]？ In following the way of heaven? What do I take as beginning? When I want to obtain the compliance of the hundred surnames, how do I administrate them? How does one respect heaven's brilliance? How do the spirits of ghosts eat? How is the wisdom of the former kings gathered?

[485] Cao Feng 2009a, Cook 2009 has defended this interrelated section proposal most coherently.
[486] For an overview see Cao Feng 2009a.
[487] In Cook's reconstruction. Note that the place of the punctuation is the same in both copies of the manuscript.

聞之曰：升(9）高從埤*pe，至遠從邇*nˁeʔ。[488]十圍之木*C.mˁok，其始生如蘗**ŋret。[489]足將至千里*rəʔ，必從寸始*l̥əʔ。[490] ┗

I have heard it said that: “To rise high you have to start from the below. A tree of ten circumferences is like a sapling when first growing. When you are about to traverse a thousand miles on foot, you have to start with an inch.”

日之有(10)耳*C.nəʔ，▂將何聽*l̥ˁeŋ？月之有軍*kʷər，[491]▂將何征*teŋ？水之東流*ru，▂將何盈(耕部**-eŋ)？[492]日之始出*t-kʰut，何故大而不炎*lam？其入(11)中*truŋ，▂奚故小佳（益）暲**taŋ？屢[493]問天孰高，與地孰遠*C.gʷanʔ歟？[494]孰為天*l̥ˁin？孰為地？孰為雷(12A)電*l̥ˁin-s？孰為霆？土奚得而平*breŋ？水奚得而清*tsʰeŋ？草木奚得而生*N-sreŋ？(13B)禽獸奚得而鳴*m.reŋ？(14)夫雨之至*tit-s，▂孰雩□之*tə？夫風之至*tit-s，▂孰飂飄而迸之*tə？[495]

If the sun has ‘ears’(its halo), how does it listen with them? If the moon has an ‘army’(its aureole), how would it attack with it? The river keeps flowing east, how could it ever fill up? When the son first comes up, how come it is big yet not bright? And yet when it moves to midling size, how does it gain in brightness? Again and again, I ask, what is higher than heaven, and what is more expansive than the earth? What is heaven, and what is the earth? What is thunder and what is lightning? How can soil be flat and how can water be clear? What makes grasses and trees grow and what makes beast and bird cry out? Regarding the coming of rain, who prayed and X for it? Regarding the arrival of the winds, who gathered them up and blew them forth?

聞之曰：執道，坐不下席*s-dak。[496]端[497]文(16)▨書不與事*m-s-rəʔ-s，先知四海*m̥ˁəʔ，至聽千里*rəʔ，達見百里*rəʔ。[498]是故聖人處於其所*s-qʰraʔ，[499]邦家之(26)危安存亡，賊盜之作*tsˁak，可先知*tre。 ┗[...]

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[488] Compare parralel in *Liji* 禮記 “Zhongyong” 中庸: “子曰：‘射有似乎君子，失諸正鵠，反求諸其身。君子之道，辟如行遠必自邇，辟如登高必自卑。’”

[489] Note parralels in *Wenzi* 文子 “Shang Yi”: 上議: “十圍之木，持千鈞之屋，得所勢也 and *Shuoyuan* 說苑 “Zheng Jian”: 正諫：“夫十圍之木，始生如蘗”.

[490] Compare Laozi 64: “[...]合抱之木，生於毫末；九層之臺，起於累土；千里之行，始於足下[...]” where the first and last lines section can be read as varients for the text here. See also *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 “Quanxue” 勸學: “是故不積跬步，無以致千里.”

[491] Note the pun, and see *Liezi* 列子 “Tangwen” 湯問 for this story.

[492] Compare *Zhuangzi* “Qiushui” 秋水: “天下之水莫大於海，萬川歸之，不知何時止而不盈。” and *Chuci* “Tianwen”: “東流不溢，孰知其故？”

[493] In this transcription and sentence division I follow Li Rui 2008.

[494] Compare similar a trope in *Zhuangzi* “Qiushui”.

[495] Compare *Zhuangzi* “Tianyun” 天運: “風起北方[...]孰噓吸是？孰居無事而披拂是？”

[496] Compare *Wenzi* “Jingcheng” 精誠: “聖人不降席而匡天下[...]不下席而匡天下者，求諸己也。”

[497] Following Ma Chengyuan ed. 2008: 251.

[498] Compare *Xunzi* “Yibing” 議兵: “且仁人之用十里之國，則將有百里之聽，用百里之國，將有千里之聽。”

[499] Compare *Zhuangzi* “Shanxing” 繕性: “古之行身者，不以辯飾知，不以知窮天下，不以知窮德，危然處其所而反其性，己又何為哉！” And *Lunyu* “Weizheng” 為政: “子曰：「為政以德，譬如北辰，居其所而眾星共之。”

> I have heard it said that: “In grasping the Dao, one does not rush from one’s seat. In holding culture, one does not involve oneself in affairs by writing. You know the four seas beforehand, and your hearing reaches a thousand miles and vision a hundred miles. This is why the sage resides in his place, and why he can know of the danger and safety, the preservation and loss of the kingdom, and the rise of thieves and brigands before they occur.

As the section above illustrates, the first half of the text gains unity through the repetition of the catchwords ‘how’ 奚 and ‘who’ 孰. Both the question- and affirmative units of the text are composed of rhymed phrases. Unlike the example of the *“Yong yue” above, sound as such is not enough to generate clear textual divisions. While the rhymes group individual statements together into short sequences and thus allowing for the stringing together of sometimes disparate sayings, the common repetition of *-əʔ rhymes across blocks for instance does not make the use of rhyme discriminatory enough to demarcate sections. Instead, the repetition of the formulae “I have heard it said that” is used in combination with punctuation marks to demarcate the individual sections.

The punctuation alerts a recipient to the coming break and the new section is marked by the repetition of the quotation formula. In other words, punctuation in this manuscript is used to solidify divisions within the text and clearly mark sections from others, thereby forming individual building blocks. One of the reasons is that the internal coherence of the text is far from clear. Rather than asking a set of questions and providing directly related answers, the questions and answers often only have a tangential relation and require a measure of interpretation in order to connect them. As such it seems that the questions are a general foil to introduce a range of sayings dealing with a particular concern without exhibiting any particular order. The majority of the questions deal with the formation of things 物 and natural phenomena, the practice of ritual, and the exercise of government. The

answers are focused on the holding of the “One” or the “Dao” as a catch all answer to all these queries.

As such, while the lines: “To rise high you have to start from the below. A tree of ten circumferences is like a sapling when first growing. When you are about to traverse a thousand miles on foot, you have to start with an inch” could be understood as an aphoristic set of answers to the question: “In following the way of heaven? What do I take as beginning?” Its relation to the rest of the questions is however tangential at best. Likewise, the relation between “In grasping the Dao, one does not rush from his seat. In holding culture, one does not involve oneself in affairs by writing” and questions about the origins of natural phenomena such as rain and wind is not clear at all. Only when one relies heavily on interpretation and an integral reading of the latter blocks does the relation become clearer. For example, the grasping of the Dao and the One are further linked with an understanding of the formation of natural phenomena on slips 21-22.[500] To all intents and purposes then, the clearest level of textual coherence occurs among the sayings within an individual building block. This coherence, other than stemming from physical proximity, is achieved by topical groupings, the most obvious example being the set of sayings quoted above focusing on small beginnings leading to large ends. In terms of reception therefore, textual coherence is most easily grasped in the visually demarcated sections. While more complex relations amongst building blocks can be construed through repeated linear readings, such structures are not provided by the physical or textual form.

[500] (21)聞之曰：一生兩，兩生三，三生母，母成結。是故有一，天下無不有；┗無一，天下亦無一有。┗亡(13A)而知名，無耳而聞聲。草木得之以生，禽獸得之以鳴，遠之弋(12B)天，近之箭人，是故(22)執道，所以修身而治邦家。聞之曰：能執一，則百物不失；如不能執一[...].it should be noted that while the reconstruction of the order of the text is open to discussion in places, there is no possible reconstruction wherein question and answer neatly follow up on each other.

The stability of building blocks beyond a particular text should however not be overstated. While Boltz's analysis of excavated texts with transmitted counterparts shows that within many of these texts, the highest level of textual stability occurs on the level of the building block, this picture becomes fuzzier when intertextual relations at large are considered. The majority of the sayings in the "Fan wu liu xing" have intertextual counterparts across the early literature. But this resemblance holds at the level of the saying only and does not extend to the building blocks in their entirety. The closest case of similarity on the level of the building block occurs in the passage on small beginnings. This block features topical coherence among the sayings in a similar manner to chapter 64 from the Laozi:

FWLX 升高從埤，至遠從邇。十圍之木，其始生如蘖。足將至千里，必從寸始

LZ:64 其安易持，其未兆易謀。其脆易泮，其微易散。
為之於未有，治之於未亂。合抱之木，生於毫末；九層之臺，起於累土；千里之行，始於足下。
為者敗之，執者失之。是以聖人無為故無敗；無執故無失。民之從事，常於幾成而敗之。慎終如始，則無敗事。
是以聖人欲不欲，不貴難得之貨；學不學，復衆人之所過，以輔萬物之自然，而不敢為。

While there is a common line, a partial overlap in theme, and the use of the foot and wood metaphor, it is clear that the two as integral building blocks are vastly dissimilar. The *Laozi* building block is itself a composite of statements, aphoristic sayings, and a concluding argument whereas the *"Fanwu Liuxing" block is just a set of topically related phrases. It is not the building blocks that moved across texts, but their constituent sayings. I have argued elsewhere for these travelling sayings to represent a body of cultural memory consisting of 'the already said', which could be meaningfully integrated into new compositions by

juxtaposing it with different materials.[501] In this case, an author grouped them by topic, perhaps for similar reasons. This is not to say that the building blocks thus formed could not move *in toto* to yet other compilations, as indeed occurred in many cases. The point is that these building blocks themselves where the result of acts of compilation. This process of compiling sayings material did not stop with the advent of stable building blocks in certain texts. Rather, the sayings themselves were used by many other texts at the same time that they formed stable building blocks in others. One of the reasons for this is that the sayings were not firmly associated with an individual text or author, and move freely between texts. Compilations themselves are a catalyst in this development as they tend to group material around topics and questions rather than author figures, and were aimed at redistributing their content to new usage contexts. From this perspective, compilations are a means of organizing access to text. They operate as nodes between the intertextual world of possible sayings and new compositions in that they incorporate material selectively and 'redistribute' it to their users, whether this occurred through teaching contexts or as aide de memoire for persuasion and speeches. This aspect will be addressed more fully in the following section.

The *"Yucong" 語叢 4

The *"Yucong 4 appears to be just such an aide de memoire for persuaders or strategists vilified by the *Han Feizi* quote heading this chapter. The manuscript from Guodian is written on 27 slips. Together with the *"Yucong 1-3", it stands out among early Chinese manuscripts through its use of short bamboo slips, averaging at 15.1 cm in length, resulting in an easily transportable format. It is bound by two binding ropes and features between 15 to 16 graphs per slip, with writing starting from the very top up to the bottom of the manuscript. Different

[501] Krijgsman 2014: 104ff.

reconstructions have been proposed,[502] in this chapter I follow Cook's reconstruction which comprehensively addresses the text's themes, use of rhyme, and the manuscript's use of punctuation.[503] The text is written in a clear and evenly spaced script, and though the graphs are small, they are easily legible. In addition to repetition marks, the manuscript is divided into topical sections using four black blocks ▄, after which the rest of the slip is left blank. Except one line, the text of the manuscript is rhymed throughout and the majority of the rhymed blocks are marked with a short horizontal mark ▬, although not always consistently.

The text is composed of rhymed blocks including sayings, aphorisms, and general wisdom, which are in turn distributed over the topical sections. Compared to the *"Fanwu Liuxing", the *"Yucong 4"'s use of punctuation to divide the blocks adds another layer of manuscript structuring as it distinguishes small blocks from the larger topical clusters. As in the other collections discussed above, the *"Yucong 4" is rife with intertext, featuring parallel passages with the *Zhuangzi*, the *Shuoyuan*, and *Huainanzi* 淮南子 to name but a few. The text has been understood by some as a handbook for wandering persuaders or speech material for strategists.[504] The first section of the text explicitly discussed the art of persuasion, the section under discussion here follows up by addressing the theme of taking care in one's use of words:

(1)言以司（始）*s-lə，┃ 情以舊（久）*N-kʷəʔ-s。┃ [505]

[502] Jingmenshi Bowuguan 1998: 217-219; Li Ling 2007: 478ff, and the crucial paper by Chen Jian 2002 for an understanding of the rhymes.
[503] Cook 2012: 919 - 938.
[504] Cook 2012: 910 – 911. Note also the presence of reading notes, or likely, practice graphs at the back of slip 27. It is interesting to note that similar occurrence appear on all of the so-far discussed collections. Possibly, this is related to how, and by whom, the manuscripts were used.
[505] Compare *Hanshi Waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 4: "朽木不可雕，情亡不可久".

非（靡）言不酬(**duʔ-s 壽)，非（靡）德亡復（報）（**m-puk 复）[506]。┃ [507]

[A relationship]

Begins with words, [but] endures through true affections.

There are no words left unreplied; there is no virtue left unrequited.

言(2)而狗（苟）*Cə.kˁroʔ，[508]牆有耳*C.nəʔ。┃ [509]

往言傷人*niŋ，來言傷己[510]*kəʔ。┃

When words are capricious, the walls have ears:

The words that go forth injure others; the words that come back injure the self.

(4)口不慎[511]（**Cə.lin-s）而戶之閉**pˁit-s，

惡言復己*kəʔ而死無日*C.nit。[512]■

[When your] mouth is incautious and [your] door is shut,

malicious words will come back to you and [your] days will be numbered.[513]

In these two-line blocks, the first line presents an aphoristic statement, and the second focusses its interpretation in the field of 'being careful in one's speech'. In the first set, the statement is exemplified with a line reminiscent of the Odes, and in the second and third

[506] The bamboo graph is used for phonological values, in absence of these in the Baxter Sagart reconstruction, the phonophore of the bamboo graph is used, and if necessary, finally the reconstructed graph, the latter two indicated by a double asterisk.

[507] Compare *Shijing* "Yi" 抑: "無言不讎，無德不報" , the line also appears in *Liji* "Biaoji" 表記 for example.

[508] Compare *Xunzi* "Quanxue"勸學: "君子之學也，入乎耳，著乎心，布乎四體，形乎動靜。端而言，蝡而動，一可以為法則."

[509] Compare *Shijing* "Xiao pan" 小弁: "君子無易由言，耳屬于垣" and *Guanzi* 管子"Junchen xia" 君臣下: "古者有二言: "牆有耳"、"伏寇在側"。 "牆有耳"者，微謀外泄之謂也。"伏寇在側"者，沈疑得民之道也. "

[510] Compare *Dadai Liji* "Wenwang Guanren" 文王官人: "王曰：太師！女推其往言，以揆其來行；聽其來言，以省往行；觀其陽，以考其陰；察其內，以揆其外。是隱節者可知，偽飾無情者可辨，質誠居善者可得，忠惠守義者可見也."

[511] Compare *"Wuwang Jianzuo A": 慎之口口.

[512] Compare *Liji* "Jiyi" 祭義: "壹出言而不敢忘父母，是故惡言不出於口，忿言不反於身。不辱其身，不羞其親，可謂孝矣。" and *Xunzi* "Yuelun" 樂論: "故君子耳不聽淫聲，目不視邪色，口不出惡言，此三者，君子慎之。" *Dadai Liji* "Zengzi Benxiao"曾子本孝: "孝子惡言死焉，流言止焉，美言興焉，故惡言不出於口，煩言不及於己."

[513] Cook 2012: 926.

blocks, pithy images and common expressions are the foil for admonitions cautioning against careless speech. In all cases, common lines are paired together to form small arguments in a manner reminiscent of building block formation in the Laozi.[514]

Compilations are by definition highly intertextual. But in addition to gathering a variety of circulating materials, many of these compilations integrate them along general topics and arguments to form clusters of related material. By grouping blocks of topically related text passages and segmenting them visually, these clusters seem to function as corpus organizers in that they select and organize a number of current sayings around one theme. These corpus organizers can thus be understood as a means to sift through large bulks of textual data by providing a selection of passages on a certain topic or for a certain argument.[515] In the section above, sayings on carelessness in speech are linked to personal and social consequences and turned into admonishments aimed at persuaders. Accordingly, the intertextual phrases are turned into a short argument that on the one hand conveniently groups related materials for future use while at the same time self-reflexively stressing the didactic value of using compilation of sayings materials.

I argue that the clustering as seen in the *"Fanwu Liuxing" and *"Yucong" 4 is indicative of a need to organize large quantities of data into manageable and organized blocks. It points to an increase in both a reliance on, and use of, the 'already said' and thus represents a text cultures' response to a proliferation in *preserved* speech, whether in writing or through memory, while at the same time it indicates a desire to manage this data in order to more effectively use it in new contexts. I therefore suggest that compilations such as these ones function like catalysts in the emergence of discourse. They contain what an individual or

[514] For this point see also Krijgsman 2014: 108, building on LaFargue 1994. See also Wagner 1999.
[515] For the concept of corpus organizers see Bausi 2010.

group decided to be the best phrases, most aesthetically pleasing expression, or profoundest statements of wisdom and turned them to specific purposes.

Ready parallels are found in Medieval European florilegia. These florilegia, sometimes just simple lists, other times elaborately organized, gather beautiful and useful phrases in one place for their users. Faced with ever increasing quantities of text, people culled their favored material from a wide array of sources, be that written, oral, or previously memorized, and compiled them to guard the material against memory loss. These were mulled over, (re-)memorized and internalized and later found their way interspersed in new compositions, influencing both the selection of materials, arguments, and examples, and altering the very fabric and style of the composition.[516] The compilation is therefore often indicative of a tendency to gather proper speech habits in written form for use in teaching or rhetorical situations. Ultimately, using these materials aimed to reproduce these habits in the speech, writing, and memories of the students.[517] Manuscripts such as the *"Yucong" 4 are instrumental in this usage in that they allow visual demarcation of such topically distinct units, organizing material for future usage and providing ready-made examples of new building blocks in arguments.

While the use of rhyme in texts such as this allow for better memorization of the phrases themselves, the visual divisions enable different reading patterns than the linear vocalization and memorization seen in the *"Yong yue". For example, visual demarcation allows for selectively perusing an individual section, and taking visually aided pauses in the reading process before picking up the next section or to focus the reading on a particular topic. There is evidence from cognitive psychology suggesting that sectioning helps

[516] For 'rumination' and the range of food metaphors used to describe the 'mulling over' of text, thus integrating it in memory for medieval and classical readers, see Griffiths 1999: 43, Carr 2005:5, and *passim*, and Caruthers 2008: 234ff, have respectively made similar observations regarding early scribal cultures in general, and medieval monks in particular.
[517] Compare for instance Morgan 2007.

memorization, stimulating the recall of individual sections and enabling large amounts of text to be committed to memory.[518] A text visually divided in short sections, enhances piecemeal memorization and aids with repetition of individual sections. Accordingly, meaningful relations are more likely to center on individual sections rather than on the text as a whole, as is corroborated by the division of themes in *"Yucong" 4 across visually marked of sections.[519] Other manuscript-texts, such as the "Fan Wu Liu Xing" discussed above combine elements by featuring both visual segmentation and the repetition of key formulae (here: *wenzhi yue* 聞之曰) in-between rhymed segments. These developments are part of larger tendencies in manuscript culture towards visual amplification of textual divisions.

In the Mawangdui and Beida *Laozi* manuscripts for instance, visual structuring is increasingly more extensive than in their Warring States counterparts. [520] Likewise, many of the technical manuscripts from the Warring States and especially the Qin and Han periods, such as the various manuscripts dealing with the *Changes* 易, and technical and medical manuscripts show increasing degrees of visual structuring.[521] In other words, there is a marked increase in the visual organization of manuscripts over time, enabling easier and more varied reading strategies by structuring larger quantities of information. While technical manuscripts have generally been the first to feature extensive visual organization, by the early Han period, philosophical, historiographical, and poetic manuscripts are likewise increasingly structured visually. Because such visual structuring is instrumental in the organization of a text into sections, the history of visual structuring cannot be seen separate from the

[518] Note the discussion in Rubin 1995: 188-9, chs. 9 and 11, esp. 266-7.
[519] See Cook 2012: 917 who argues that the individual sections of the text conform to thematic divisions in its contents. A stimulating comparison is the difference between reading the Bible as one unit each showing different aspects of the divine, as opposed to individually circulating elements that gain meaning in their respective communities only.
[520] On the materiality and visuality of the Mawangdui *Laozi* manuscripts see especially Richter 2011, for the Beida *Laozi* see Han Wei 2012.
[521] See Krijgsman *in preparation*. Manuscripts of the changes have been unearthed with various degrees of extensive visual structuring, for a good overview see Shaughnessy 2014.

developments Boltz identifies for the formation of building blocks as argumentative units. In the following section, the use of punctuation and the interplay between argumentative form and manuscript layout is examined in the * "Yucong" 2 and 3, representing an early experiment with manuscript materiality to structure knowledge.

The *"Yucong" 2

While important, the saying is not the sole unit used to create building blocks in compilations. In the *"Yucong" 2 from Guodian,[522] blocks of sorites arguments are employed to organize a range of concepts under Nature and Desire, two heavily debated concepts during the Warring States period. These blocks are linked to didactic maxims, and together they form a simple argument on proper behavior. This case illustrates the use of physical characteristics of the manuscript such as slip length, punctuation, and spacing to visually reinforce textual and argumentative structure.

The manuscript carrying the *"Yucong" 2 is composed of 54 slips of 15.1 to 15.2 cm in length. Each slip was bound by three strings just of the top, in the middle, and at the bottom end of each slip. The presence of fine notches made in the slips to hold the strings in position and the double shading on the slips suggests that two strings were used per bind, thus it is likely that the production of the manuscript enabled maximum firmness of binding while keeping the individual slips as strong as possible, and much care was taken to produce a sturdy and durable manuscript. Each slip features a maximum of 8 graphs evenly and broadly spaced across the slip.[523] The regular placement of graphs does not cross the binding strings

[522] Jingmenshi Bowuguan 1998: 202 – 206.
[523] Except for s.45 which is a maxim (discussed below, paralleled with s.46) written in 9 graphs. It is interesting to note that apparently it was more important to write one maxim as a self-contained unit on the slip – hence squeezing in the final two graphs – rather than resuming it - and thus keeping even spacing – on the next slip which is clearly related and closes the section with a dash sign.

and appears planned out in advance or possibly written after binding, in all, the manuscript is highly legible. The individual statements, principles and sorites chains in the text are all followed by a short horizontal dash mark, represented here with -. Except for s.8, s.30 and possibly, s.1 which feature a dash in-between a chain,[524] the marks signal the end of the individual unit after which the rest of the slip is left empty. The script is very clear and uniform in terms of character structure and appears to be written in a single hand though there is minor variation in the execution of individual components.[525]

The text

The first 37 slips of the manuscript consists of short chains of interlocking concepts, where concept A is 'brought forth' through concept B, B through C and so forth. The remaining 17 slips contain short evaluative maxims reflecting on these chains and a set of 4 general principles introduced by "In principle" *fan* 凡. The interlocking chains form what is known as a sorites argument in Greek philosophy, where each step in the chain links a primary concept to a further development.[526] All of the concepts ultimately stem from either "Nature" *xing* 性 or "Desire" *yu* 欲, in 10 and 4 of the cases respectively, with the chains stemming from Nature consistently longer at a maximum of eight four-character components,[527] as opposed

[524] Some of these marks, for example on s. 1 could also be inkblobs, as Cook 2012: 847 notes however, all of these mid-text marks occur after *xing* "Nature" and might also be understood as a further material underscoring of argumentative primacy of Nature as the ultimate foundation of the sorites.
[525] Most notably the execution of the *xin* 心 signific occurring in three different forms in this manuscript, sometimes even on the same slip (comp. s. 30, s. 3 - 4) *sheng* 生 with or without middle stroke (comp. s1-8 with 9-37). Note that these different styles are regularly differentiated in *"Yucong" 3 for instance, where each occurs only in a specific sub-division of the manuscript also characterized by different punctuation, different hands, and argument structure.
[526] See also Unger 1994: 53 - 58, Roth 1997: 298.
[527] Note that the longest chain s.1-4 is not closed by a dash and thus likely ran for at least one more layer. In addition, due to broken and missing slips the absolute division in terms of chains stemming from Nature or Desire is necessarily tentative.

to a maximum of three components for the chains on Desire, a good example of which can be found on s.13-14:

(13)貪[528]生於欲，倍[529]生於貪，
(14) 汙[530]生於倍。–
Coveting is brought forth from Desire, Betrayal is brought forth through Coveting, Defilement is brought forth through Violation.

In this example, Defilement is presented as ultimately stemming from Desire, through a series of unspecified but logically understandable connections. It is noteworthy that all the chains stemming from Desire are composed of negative concepts, and even though some of the chains stemming from Nature are likewise negatively oriented, such as the one below, they also include more positive or general attributes.

The primacy of the concept of Nature, both in terms of length and frequency is attested in that Desire itself is subsumed under Nature as well:

(10) 欲生於性，慮生於欲，
(11) 倍生於慮，爭 生於倍，
(12) 黨生於爭。 –
Desire is brought forth from Nature, Worrying is brought forth through Desire, Betrayal is brought forth through Worrying, Fighting is brought forth through Betrayal, Ganging up is brought forth through Fighting.

[528] Slips 13 and 14 are mired by reading issues. Jingmenshi Bowuguan 1998: 203 transcribes as 含+心 and reads as *nian* 念. Tu and Liu 2001: 303 follow. Liu Zhao 2003: 204 and Li Ling 2007: 221 tentatively read as *tan* 貪, I follow.

[529] This graph *pi* 伾 is read as a protoform of 倍 by Liu Zhao 2003: 204. Li Ling 2007: 223 reads as *fu* 負, arguing it is a common variant in bamboo writing, I follow. Tu and Liu 2001: 303 keep 伾.

[530] Jingmenshi Bowuguan 1998 and Li Ling 2007 merely transcribe the graph as  but do not provide a reading, although Li Ling 2007: 226 thinks that it might be a shortened form for *you* 繇, as the comparative evidence he cites is too divergent graphically, I do not agree. Tu and Liu 2001: 304 read as *gan* 忏. Liu Zhao 2003: 204 tentatively reads as a variant for *zhong* 豕 used as a loan for 憧. It is not exactly clear which element should be considered the phonophore of this graph and readings diverge widely, I tentatively follow Cook 2012: 856 who reads as 汙 'defilement'.

Because every concept is rooted either in Desire or Nature, and because in addition, Desire itself is ultimately rooted in Nature, the logic of the sorites argument subsumes every concept, and thus all aspects of conduct and behavior under a single origin. By connecting specific concepts such as Betrayal to the much more frequently discussed concept of Nature, it places the specific concerns of the text within contemporary philosophical debates at large.

Image 3, YC 2: s10-12.



This structure of the sorites is physically underscored by the layout of the text on the bamboo manuscripts. Every block is laid out on the bamboo in the same way, components of the sorites make up exactly half of a bamboo slip, underscored by the binding rope in the middle. On these halves, the first and last concept in the chain respectively occupy the top and bottom end, and the function formula of the chain (*sheng yu* 生於) is placed in the middle. After every argument-block, the remainder of the slip is left blank, clearly demarcating the building blocks as individual units. This highly systematic layout makes an aesthetic claim to the orderly, patterned, predictable, and thus seemingly *natural* quality of the argument. It physically performs the form of the argument, generating a powerful reading experience. This identity between physical and argumentative form is unique to the *"Yucong" 1-3 and imbues the argument with persuasive force which in the case of other texts would be furnished through strategies such as narrative integration, authoritative attribution, or the use of aural features such as rhyme and assonance for instance.

In addition, there are cases in which several blocks are linked together into more complex configurations.[531] This suggests that the maxims, which follow the sorites arguments, should be read as forming general conclusions and principles deduced from the sorites arguments:[532]

> (15)諼[533]生於欲，訐[534]生於諼，
> (16)忘[535]生於訐。–
> Deceit is brought forth from Desire, Craftiness is brought forth through Deceit, Negligence is brought forth through Craftiness.
>
> (25)惡生於性，怒生於惡，
> (26)勝[536]生於怒，恭生於勝，
> (27)賊[537]生於恭。–
> Dislike is brought forth from Nature, anger is brought forth through dislike, Besting is brought forth through Anger, Hate is brought forth through Besting, Brutality is brought forth from Hate.
>
> (43) 訐，[538]自安[539]也。賊，退人也。
> 'Craftiness' is pleasing oneself. 'Brutality' is distancing oneself from others.

Craftiness 訐 stemming from Desire is juxtaposed to Brutality 賊 stemming from Nature, and both are reduced to a didactic principle that equates favoring oneself to distancing others. This combination of building blocks to form even larger principles thus mimics the logic of

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[531] For example a chain dealing with strength 強 (s.34-35) is diametrically paralleled to a chain on weakness 弱 (s.36-37).

[532] Chain s.20-22 for instance deals with delight 悅: (20)智生於性，化生於智，(21)悅 生於化，好生於悅，(22)從生於好。–"Wisdom is brought forth from nature, transformation is brought forth through wisdom, delight is brought forth through transformation, fondness is brought forth through delight, adherence is brought forth through fondness." And s.42 contains its general principle (42)凡悅，作於譽 者也– "In general, 'delight' is that which arises from good reputation."

[533] I follow He Linyi 2001: 167 who reads as *xuan* 諼. Tu and Liu 2001: 303 read as *yuan* 怨, phonologically, graphically and semantically their reading is less apt than He's.

[534] I do not follow He Linyi 2001: 167 who reads as *tao* 饕. The two present variant written forms of the same graph, the structure of the text likewise demands that they be the same word. Liu Zhao 2003: 204 reads both as *xu* 訐, I follow. Tu and Liu 2001: 305 do not offer any support for their reading as *yu* 籲, which is likely based on semantic considerations only.

[535] Li Ling 2007: 223 suggests to read as *huang* 慌, I do not think it is necessary to read *wang* 忘 as a loan here.

[536]Li Ling 2007: 223 and Liu Zhao 2003: 202 read *sheng* 乘 as a common variant for *sheng* 勝.

[537] Jingmenshi Bowuguan 1998: 206 suggests reading *ce* 惻 as *zei* 賊, I follow.

[538] Jingmenshi Bowuguan 1998: 206 reads as *hua* 華, Li Ling 2007: 222 as *xu* 訐. Liu Zhao 2003: 207 reads as *hua* 譁. I follow Li Ling 2007 and read as *xu* 訐. Compare s. 46 and s. 15.

[539] Jingmenshi Bowuguan 1998: 204 transcribes as 心+宴, I doubt whether or not it is not simply 心+ 安. I thus follow Li Ling 2007: 224 and read as *an* 安. Liu Zhao 2003: 207 reads as *yan* 宴.

the sorites chain, where small steps can lead to larger, and possibly adverse, long term results. These maxims turn the rather abstract chains of concepts into short arguments. The didactic principles combines with a sorites chain to construct another building block. In the following example, Craftiness is further connected to the term Loyalty 忠,[540] to form another argument on the virtue of serving others:

(45)未有善事人而不返者，[541]
(46)未有訐而忠者。–[542]
There has not yet been excellence in serving others that was not returned.
There has not yet been one who was Crafty and yet Loyal.

Here, the harmful consequences of self-serving behavior are turned around, suggesting that loyal service is rewarded. Chains of seemingly abstract concepts specifying emotions and behaviors are thus turned into moral lessons relating to public comportment and ethical behavior. One such maxim, which also has a parallel in the *Lunyu*, brings out the generative logic of the sorites argument by arguing that one should be steadfast every step of the way, in order to reach a favorable outcome in the end:

(50)毋失吾勢，此勢得矣。–
I should not lose my Disposition, and this is how Disposition is gained.
(51)小不忍，敗大勢。–[543]
When not enduring the small, grand Disposition will be lost.

[540] See s. 8-9 (8)愛生於性，– 親生於愛，(9)忠生 於親。– "Fondness is brought forth from nature, congeniality is brought forth through fondness, loyalty is brought forth through congeniality."
[541] Cook 2012: 861 suggests there to be a mark at the end of this statement, I have not been able to see it on the image of the slip.
[542] Cook 2012: 861 notes a structurally similar passage in the Shanghai "Dizi Wen" 弟子問 manuscript s. 21 reading "吾未見華而信者，未見善事人而憂者。"
[543] Liu Zhao 2003: 207 notes a parallel with *Lunyu* "Weilinggong" 衛靈公: "子曰：「巧言亂德，小不忍則亂大謀." Cook 2012: 862 n.98 further notes a parallel in a citation of the "Zhaigong zhi Guming" 祭公之顧命 in the Guodian Ziyi 緇衣 s. 21-22: "毋以小謀敗大圖."

The high degree of physical structuring of the argument in this manuscript is rare, but its recombination of common sayings with small blocks of argument to form moral lessons finds counterparts among didactic materials across the globe and will be developed further in the discussion of the *“Yucong” 3 below.

*** “Yucong” 3**

The *“Yucong” 3 consists of 72 slips, measuring 17.6 – 17.7 cm in length. The slips were – possibly doubly – bound by three strings and the graphs are equally spaced over the slips, just as in *“Yucong” 2. The key difference in the materiality of *“Yucong” 3 is that the manuscript is written by three different hands and using three different types of punctuation.[544] The different hands match with other regular divisions such as manuscript layout and argumentative structure to form three distinct textual sections on the manuscript, in the following discussion I focus on the second part of the first section, composed of two building blocks, each marked of by a slanted line, here represented as |.

Text

This section begins with two blocks prescribing the relation of a minister with his ruler, likening it and differentiating it from the relation one has with one’s father. The conclusion is that a ruler-minister relation can be severed, just like friendship, whereas family relations are permanent. Thematically, the reasons for breaking off the relationship tally with the two

[544] The three sections are comprised of the following slips, section 1: s.1-16 + s.50-51; section 2: s.17-47, 54-56, 60-63; section 3: s.48-49, 52-53, 57-59, 64-72. Hands can be differentiated through the differences in the structure of common graphs (or components) such as 也，者，之，治，心，生, and stylistic criteria such as thickness and slant of strokes, combined with the observation that the punctuation in each section is markedly different. Lastly, it should be noted that the third section matches the *YC 1 both in hand (and *YC 2), theme and argument structure, the first section has some definitional and thematic overlap with *YC 1, see Krijgsman 2014.

blocks that follow, under discussion here. They focus on the need for mutual support and stress the importance of morally positive influences, a sentiment echoed in the latter blocks. Topically and structurally, the latter blocks are distinct in that they focus on learning, ability and behavior rather than service to a ruler and do so using a recurrent formula labelling specific types of company and action as either 'advantageous' or 'disadvantageous':

(9) 與為義者遊，[545]益。與莊
(10) 者處，[546]益。起習文章，益。
(14) 自視其所不足，[547]益。|[548]游[549]
(15) 佚，[550]益。高志，[551]益。存[552]心，益。|
(11) 與慢[553]者處，損。[554]與不好
(12) 學者遊，[555]損。處而亡躐[556]

[545] This first line tallies explicitly with one of the reasons for breaking with a ruler specified in the previous block of section 1 of *YC 3: "If [he] is not righteous and he forces [tasks] on you, you do not have to accept them." 不義而加諸己，弗受也。|.

[546] Compare *Shuoyuan* "Zayan"雜言: "孔子曰：「丘死之後，商也日益，賜也日損；商也好與賢己者處，賜也好說不如己者。」" and similar passages in *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 "liuben" 六本; and *Zhuangzi* "Waiwu" 外物： "嬰兒生無石師而能言，與能言者處也。".

[547] I follow Liu Zhao 2000: 82and read *zu* 族 as*zu* 足. Note similar passages in *Dadai Liji* 'Wenwang Guanren': "伐其所能，曰日損者也" and "見[視]其所不足，曰日益者也".

[548] The slanted line here indicates a subsection, the form of the next three 'advantageous' statements continuing onto s. 15 is different, consisting solely of binomes. Note also parallels with *Dadai Liji* "Wenwang Guanren": "二曰，方與之言，以觀其志。志殷如涔，其氣寬以柔，其色儉而不諂，其禮先人，其言後人，見其所不足，曰日益者也。如臨人以色，高人以氣，賢人以言，防其不足，伐其所能，曰日損者也。".

[549] I follow Li Ling 2007 and read as 游.

[550] I follow Liu Zhao 2003: 213 who reads as *yi* 佚.

[551] I follow He Linyi et al. 2007: 66 and read *song* 嵩 as *gao* 高. I do not see any reason to emend to *chong* 崇 as in Li Ling 2007: 192 or as *zong* 縱 as in Liu Zhao 2000: 82.

[552] I follow Liu Zhao 2000: 88 and read as *cun* 存.

[553] I follow Liu Zhao 2003: 212 who transcribes as 曼 and reads as 慢 'arrogant'.

[554] Compare a similar distinction between *zhuang* and *man* in *YC 1 (33)禮生於莊，樂生於薄。(34)禮繁樂零則蹙，樂繁(35)禮零則慢。– Ritual is brought forth from solidity; music is brought forth from sparseness. If ritual is elaborate and music minimal then one behaves dignified; when music is elaborate and ritual minimal then one becomes lax.

[555] Compare *Lunyu* "Yanghuo" 陽貨: "子曰：「由也，女聞六言六蔽矣乎？」對曰：「未也。」「居！吾語女。好仁不好學，其蔽也愚；好知不好學，其蔽也蕩；好信不好學，其蔽也賊；好直不好學，其蔽也絞；好勇不好學，其蔽也亂；好剛不好學，其蔽也狂。」"

[556] Liu Zhao 2000: 82 and Li Ling 2007: 195 both argue that the phonophore of this graph is the same as used in 獵. Liu suggests reading as *lie* 躐, which he glosses as 超越 'exceed' on the basis of a citation from *Liji* "Xueji" 學記: "幼者聽而弗問，學不躐等也".

(13) 習也，[557]損。自視其所能，損。[558]
(*73*) 從所小好，與所小樂，損[559]
(16) [有][560]所不行，[561]益。必[562]行，損。|[563]
To accompany those who practice propriety is advantageous. To reside with the dignified is advantageous. To take up exercising patterned composition is advantageous. If you yourself show what you lack, it is advantageous. To be free and leisurely [in one's study] is advantageous. To be of grand intent is advantageous.[564]
To hold it in one's heart is advantageous.
To reside with the lax is disadvantageous. To accompany those who do not care for study is disadvantageous. To reside [in the aforementioned good company] and yet not to exceed in exercise, [that][565] is disadvantageous. If you yourself show what you are capable of, it is disadvantageous.

To follow that which brings small pleasures, and participate in that which gives small happiness is disadvantageous. Having that which you do not practice is advantageous. To practice out of necessity is disadvantageous.

Nearly all of the short items in the first block find intertextual counterparts in other texts, such as the *Manuals on Being a Good Official* 官人 texts.[566] They feature in two sayings from the *Lunyu* for example, where two diametrically opposite categories are used to classify three positive and negative forms of friendship and happiness using examples from learning

[557] The particle 也 is problematic. It only occurs once in this block and does not appear to nominalize an expression. Likely its function is emphatic.
[558] Compare *Dadai Liji* "Zengzi Lishi" 曾子立事: "君子不唱流言，不折辭，不陳人以其所能；言必有主，行必有法，親人必有方。" and "友以立其所能，而遠其所不能，苟無失其所守，亦可與終身矣。」" and *Kongzi Jiayu* "Zilu Chujian" 子路初見: "孔蔑問行己之道。子曰：「知而弗為，莫如勿知；親而弗信，莫如勿親。樂之方至，樂而勿驕；患之將至，思而勿憂。」孔蔑曰：「行己乎？」子曰：「攻其所不能，補其所不備。毋以其所不能疑人，毋以其所能驕人。終日言，無遺己憂；終日行，不遺己患。唯智者有之。」"
[559] I follow Cook 2012: 881 in assigning the slip number s. 73 to this slip and placing it here in the sequence. The slip was later discovered and added to *Yucong 3 by Long Yongfang 2002.
[560] I follow Li Ling 2007: 195 and Liu Zhao 2003: 214 who both supplement 有 here.
[561] Compare *Lunyu* "Xue'er" 學而: "有子曰：「禮之用，和為貴。先王之道斯為美，小大由之。有所不行，知和而和，不以禮節之，亦不可行也。」"
[562] It has been successfully shown by Li Tianhong 2000: 95 - 96 and Liu Zhao 2000: 89-90 that this graph should be transcribed as 必. I follow Li Ling 2007: 195 who reads 必行 as the opposite of the preceding 有所不行.
[563] I follow Cook 2012: 879 and Long Yongfang 2003 in grouping the 'advantageous' and 'disadvantageous' statements together. The last line would thus break the pattern, simultaneously signaling the end of this list and focusing the recipient on the main point of this list, necessitated action.
[564] Compare *Xunzi* "Youzuo" 宥坐: "身不佚者志不廣." and "Xiushen" 修身: " 抗之以高志."
[565] Possible also to read as an inversion of the nominalized predicate, hence 'that'.
[566] For a reconstruction and study of these materials, see Richter 2005.

and (a)moral behavior.[567] In this context, it is striking that many of the sayings in the *"Yucong" 1-3 find counterparts in the *Lunyu* and the *Liji*, both compilations having a strong thematic focus on education, and at least from the early empires onwards, were often used for educational purposes.[568] Lastly, they appear in the *Laozi* where the normative relation is characteristically inverted, and *sun* 損, in this case meaning 'decrease', is shown to be the true learning in that it leads to *wuwei* 無為 as opposed to 'worldly' action.[569]

In short, the two are often used as means to categorize ways and types of learning, and often bear on how individual behavior influences, and is influenced by, that of others. The use of such basic categories predominately presented in lists to structure instructions, is a common element in instruction texts across cultures, where they function as a placeholder to organize related concepts. They function as a building block generator, in that the list could be extended to include a range of materials. It is thus likely that this text too would have been used for educational purposes.[570]

As I argued in the discussion on the *"Yucong" 2 above, a common feature of the *"Yucong" 1-3 is that individual sections of an argumentative nature are often followed (or as in the case of *"Yucong" 1, preceded) by one or more sayings or generalizing statements.

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[567] *Lunyu* "Jishi" 季氏: "孔子曰：「益者三友，損者三友。友直，友諒，友多聞，益矣。友便辟，友善柔，友便佞，損矣。」 "Of benefit, there are three friendships; of detriment, there are three friendships. Befriending the straight, forgiving, and wise, these are beneficial. Befriending the avoiding, the easily yielding, and prone to flattey, these are detrimental." And: 孔子曰：「益者三樂，損者三樂。樂節禮樂，樂道人之善，樂多賢友，益矣。樂驕樂，樂佚遊，樂宴樂，損矣。」"Of benefit, there are three pleasures; of detriment, there are trhee pleasures. Pleasure in measure and the rites and music, pleasure in the goodness of men of the way, pleasure in many worthy friends, these are beneficial. Pleasure in presumptuous music, pleasure in unbridled license, pleasure in banquet music, these are detrimental."

[568] Weingarten 2009.

[569] *Laozi* 48: "為學日益，為道日損。損之又損，以至於無為。無為而無不為。取天下常以無事，及其有事，不足以取天下。" "To study you daily increase, to practice the way you daily decrease. Decrease and decrease until you reach non-deliberate action. Acting non-deliberately, and nothing won't be done. Taking the realm is always without laboring it, and when one labors, it won't be enough to take the realm."

[570] Compare also the wise versus the dumb man, laxity versus diligence, and wealth-poverty distinctions often employed to structure lists of moral behavior, see for example Morgan 2007 for early Greek and Roman examples. While the antonyms used to categorize are often culturally specific, their structural position and use in knowledge classification is remarkably similar.

Where in the *“Yucong” 1 the semantic import of the sayings is often interpreted and steered through the use of definitions,[571] in *“Yucong” 2 and 3 it is rather the reverse. Lists of terms, small arguments and sorites chains are summarized and commented on using short maxims or sayings. In the case described above, the different aspects of learning, behavior, and conscious choice of action from the list are neatly summed up in a saying also seen in the *Lunyu*:[572]

> (50) 志於道，狎[573]於德，比[574]於
> (51) 仁，遊於藝。|
>
> Set your intent upon the way, familiarize yourself with virtue, draw near to humaneness, roam in the arts.

The verbs in this saying, “focus” 志, “familiarize” 狎, “draw near to” 比 and “roam” 遊 all refer to the subject actively engaging and physically moving into the company of (persons with) the respective virtue. As such, this saying too can be understood as exemplifying a moral principle which finds its practical application in the specific exhortations in the list. This is how the two elements link up to form the basis of a short argument. Like the *“Yucong” 2, this section from the *“Yucong” 3 formulates general principles wherein good company begets good learning, and learning and action are related to show that the one leads to incisive ability in the latter and is thus exemplified in the moral behavior of the saying.

[571] Krijgsman 2014: 87-89.
[572] *Lunyu* “Shu’er”: 志於道，據於德，依於仁，游於藝。”
[573] I follow Li Ling 2007: 195 who analyzes this graph as the old script version of 甲 and reads as 狎. He suggests that it might have been corrupted to 據 in *Lunyu* “Shu’er” 述而.
[574] I follow Li Ling 2007: 195 who reads as 比. Reading the graph as 依 on the basis of the *Lunyu* parallel is highly unlikely, s. 44 below reflects the common way of writing 衣 which is clearly composed of different elements.

Both harness an arsenal of intertext to provide cultural support to the wisdom of these principles.

Comparing manuscript cultures

Similar functions have been shown to arise from both Greek Gnomai and Egyptian Instruction texts. Lichtheim for instance, has argued in a number of publications on Egyptian Instruction texts from the Early Kingdom to the Ptolomaic period that these texts implicitly foreground a moral code, founded on a *do ut des* principle, which she styles the Golden Rule.[575] The internal logic of the individual sayings, sorites, and maxims in the Instruction texts similarly actualize this rule by repeating it in a variety of (largely similarly structured) cases. Especially the Demotic Instruction texts from Ptolomaic Egypt do this in a manner strikingly similar to the *"Yucong". Singular sayings (monostichs) are joined through the use of similar sentence structuring and repetition, and these are concluded with generalizing paradoxes and statements emphatically underscoring the internal logic and code of behavior emerging from the sayings. Each item takes up a single row on the papyrus and is clearly sectioned off as a separate, but interconnected, piece of wisdom. Lichtheim notes how these instructions were used in educational contexts, and often accompanied instruction either in house by the father, or in school contexts by scribes. In addition, when familiar with the genre and its workings, many people later started compiling and composing their own collections in similar ways, as evidenced in ostraca from the period.

[575] Lichtheim 1996.

In the early Greek and Roman collections of wise sayings, the Gnomai or Gnomologia discussed by Morgan, a similar pattern emerges.[576] She describes how they were seen as embodying and ingraining a model of morality and behavior. She notes that certain collections are targeted to people from different classes, mainly due to changes in thematic focus, but that the basic value of sayings and maxims in moral *Bildung* were recognized in and for all circles. Because of this formative aspect of the collections, just as the Egyptian case discussed by Lichtheim, they were often used as the basis for any further education. While people from different strata would be taught using the collections, some of the elite would expand on this basis with education in other, more specified areas such as grammar, clerical skills and so on. Both authors note too, that underlying the individual collections was an ontology, a concept of the body and its interactions with the outside world, and a certain understanding of social realities upon which the lessons were predicated.

What is unique to the material in the *"Yucong" is that the implicit ontological structures in sections of the texts are explicitly touched upon and conceptualized in other sections.[577] This intimate correlation of ontological and ethical arguments, as analyses by Cook for example have brought out, can be observed in texts such as the "Fanwu Liuxing" as well.[578] I have suggested earlier that such links between highly intertextual sayings material on the one hand and blocks containing ontological or ethical arguments places the compilations discussed here in an intermediary position between Meyer's argumentative and authoritative texts.[579] In this sense, the texts not only function as corpus organisers in that

[576] Morgan 2007.
[577] See for example the first 17 slips of *"Yucong" 1 and the final section of *"Yucong" 3 (slips 58 – 72) wherein heaven, earth, matter, and the human sphere among other things are connected in an intricate but as of yet not entirely understood system. For a reading of the *"Yucong" 1 material that draws out some of these points based on conceptual analysis see Harbsmeier 2011. See also Cao Feng 2009b for an analysis that ties the ontological aspects of the *"Yucong" 1-3 together.
[578] Cook 2009.
[579] Krijgsman 2014: 106-7. For Meyer's argument, based on a division between texts that construct intricate arguments to make a philosophical point and texts that rely on the authority of a master or tradition to convey argumentative force, see his 2012 study on the Guodian materials.

they help users sift through and organize textual data, but also provide an argumentative context within which to place these sayings. As such, they operate as an interface between different modes of argumentation and provide recipients of the texts with a well-rounded and relatively comprehensive basis for further argumentation.

Conclusions and implications for use

In this chapter, I have tried to reposition the status of the compilation in early Chinese intellectual and literary history. Instead of faithful collections of the master's words, I have analyzed them as compilations that creatively integrated pre-circulating materials such as travelling sayings, maxims, and aphorisms. The compilation thus operates as an intertextual hub. It draws on apt phrases and organizes them around topics and short arguments, so that the material could be effectively reused in new compositions and influence speech and writing habits of their users, I suggest that they represent a manuscript culture's response to a proliferation of textual production, the 'already said', and thus organize this material to prepare it for new use. In addition, some of these compilations add an interpretative structure, whether using ethical or ontological arguments, that provide a framework within which to place and understand the sayings. The compilation thus works as a corpus organizer, a filter selecting and structuring useful materials for its users to draw on in teaching and persuasion contexts for example. The use of compilations as teaching materials and aides de memoire for rhetoricians is well attested across cultures, and the close parallels suggest that this is also applicable to the materials under review.

The manuscript is a uniquely suited medium for this type of text. By providing visual means to organise its content in building blocks, it provided a legible way to organize

knowledge into manageable units. This allowed for different reading strategies, easing piecemeal memorization, and grouping certain material under topical headings or arguments, thus facilitating ease of recall and reinforcing text internal divisions. The building block, I argue, is to a large extent the product of using the visual capabilities of manuscripts to highlight syntactic and semantic divisions with punctuation and slip blanking for instance. Visual amplification was crucial to the establishment of building blocks since textual cues such as rhyme were not always discriminant enough. But the manuscripts themselves were not an endpoint in the story of the sayings and arguments they bore. Rather, through use in teaching contexts they influenced speech and writing habits far beyond their initial composition, a practice well attested across early manuscript cultures as well.

The maxims, sayings, and argument chains were recited, memorized and slowly mulled over to digest and embody their wisdom. Memory is a fundamental aspect to textual composition, and the use of these compilations is likely to have influenced later composition by recycling its content in new contexts. These pithy expressions of wisdom needed to be explained and contextualized before they were useful in arguments, however, and the compilations under discussion achieved this by linking the materials to each other under short arguments and topics, or by using a maxim to highlight a specific value embodied throughout the materials. The webs of association thus formed in the compilations provide a basis for instilling a particular field of morality and behavior in education, but the conceptual associative habits foregrounded in these texts and ingrained in memorization and education, can be seen as one of the means through which argumentative patterns were transmitted and reinforced in their users, which would in turn influence other texts and speeches. The fact that many of the argumentative patterns such as the sorites or the combination of saying and conceptual definition are common forms across early literature can be taken to support such a conclusion but in absence of clear evidence on Warring States education no definite

conclusions can be drawn.[580] What seems clear is that in their role as corpus organizers, these compilations were important actors in bringing together text from different spheres and thus performed an integrating function in early discourse. On that basis alone their importance as catalysts in the emergence of a shared discourse cannot be overlooked.[581]

Finally the role of manuscript-compilations in the history of early Chinese texts cannot be underscored enough. The developments in manuscript materiality and the advances in textual structuring it engendered, are formative to the chapter, section, and essay divisions that would characterize early imperial book culture. The different strategies to meaningfully integrate a diverse body of knowledge on a physical manuscript were what led, in the end, to the textual divisions which inform the composition of a wide range of transmitted materials, and provided the means for the early librarians to reconstruct the textual landscape of the Warring States period.

[580] Compare also earlier work on this problem by Richter 2005 and Krijgsman 2014.
[581] I refer here to Meyer's 2014b argument on the emergence of a shared discourse during the Warring States period.

子張問行。子曰：「言忠信，行篤敬，雖蠻貊之邦行矣；言不忠信，行不篤敬，雖州里行乎哉？立，則見其參於前也；在輿，則見其倚於衡也。
夫然後行。」子張書諸紳。

Zi Zhang asked how a man should conduct himself. The Master said, "Let his words be sincere and truthful, and his actions honorable and careful - such conduct may be practiced among the tribes of the South or the North. If his words be not sincere and truthful, and his actions not honorable and careful, will he, with such conduct, be appreciated, even in his neighborhood? When he is standing, let him see those two things, as it were, fronting him. When he is in a carriage, let him see them attached to the yoke. Then may he subsequently carry them into practice."
Zi Zhang wrote these counsels on the end of his sash.

Lunyu 論語 "Weilinggong" 衛靈公.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have examined the consequences of the emergence of a manuscript culture during the Warring States period. Drawing on excavated and transmitted evidence, I have argued that in this period, authors remarked on the unprecedented increase in the volume of written text and the reliance on the written word in spreading, communicating, and challenging ideas. This rise of the bamboo manuscript as a social phenomenon, wrought and reinforced changes in the very fabric of the intellectual landscape. Ideas about knowledge, the ways to communicate it, and the means to access it across space and time were articulated for the first time in an attempt to make sense of this unprecedented expansion of the written word into a range of discourses. The practice of knowledge production, transmission, and reception changed as well. The bamboo manuscript enabled visual support for presenting and structuring complex ideas at the same time that it divorced text from its context of articulation or performance. Importantly, manuscripts enabled a practice of compilation.

Whether bringing together different anecdotes and historiographical materials, or verse, songs, and sayings, the compilation of selections of materials enabled the emergence of new functions such as genre and authorship, while at the same time allowing for different modes of use such as mnemonic aides or as teaching material. The selection of materials from the stream of tradition, by organizing and presenting them on a single manuscript, enabled these manuscripts to operate as catalysts for the emergence of a range of discourses. The juxtaposition of similar materials opens up a space for further enquiry, and higher abstraction. Bringing together disparate materials required bridging them, mediating their difference through commentarial strategies, the discovery of underlying patterns, and argumentative strategies that showed their relatedness. Within chapters 2, 3, and 4, I have examined this emergence of narratives and textual functions out of collections of materials, and analysed how their development provided crucial elements for the reconceptualization of text and knowledge.

These shifts in perception and practice are crucial for our understanding of this formative period in Chinese history. Ideas are debated differently when information is transmitted and structured in different ways. A body of knowledge forms and re-forms differently depending on the media of communication, the possibility for cross-reference, and the degree of variation in the preservation of older knowledge. Likewise, the ways in which text is grouped together, how it is organized along categories of interpretation such as authorship and genre, and the ways in which text is understood and commented upon are all dependent on the physical and textual characteristics of the medium through which they are communicated. While it is certainly not my contention that the use of bamboo manuscripts was the sole reason for the shifts in communication that I describe, I do think it is a fundamental, and often overlooked contributor and necessary element in these developments.

At the very least, the fact that Warring States thinkers themselves were questioning the status, role, and functions of writing should trigger us to follow in their footsteps.

To deal with this problem, I have tried to answer such questions as: why write a text down in the first place? What changes in the process? What happens when texts are brought together on the same carrier? What functions and uses does writing enable that make it an attractive alternative? Looking at texts from these processes of textualization, reveals aspects of the social usage context that generated the materials we study as sources.

The relevance of this work, I believe, therefore lies in that it forces us to reconsider the tales of origins of texts, such as the one in the anecdote heading this conclusion,[582] through an awareness of text production and transmission. Moreover, it cautions against projecting modern or imperial notions of genre and authorship, textual affiliation and stability, and the physical characteristics and ways of reading texts onto the Warring States. Many of these element, as I have tried to show, were transforming or only just emerging during the Warring States. The period, I suggest, is one of experimentation in how to textualize discourse, some of the results of which ended up informing later standards for book production, textual formation, and the grouping and structuring of verse and historiography. In light of this pluriformity and variation evidenced by the manuscripts, it is simply wrong to forcefully project later notions of what a text is, and how it is supposed to be made and used, onto the material.

This distinction applies to the content of the material as well. As I have tried to show, the ways in which the past was understood, structured, and continuously re-written was in part a consequence of the fact that it was increasingly written on, and communicated through,

[582] Note that the central line of Kongzi's answer – but not the rest of it, finds a counterpart in the excavated *"Zhongxin zhi Dao" 忠信之道 from Guodian, suggesting that the picture of transmission was more complicated, involving memory, rewriting, and recontextualization of a saying that might have been current regardless of the masters' and Zi Zhang's involvement.

bamboo manuscripts. I have argued that the accretion of narratives about the past in written form to advance arguments and philosophical positions stimulated not just the accumulation of information itself, but also the ways in which it was structured and conceived. Whether in anecdotal or documentary form, the way the past was written informed the ways in which people could use the past in order to form arguments on the (preferred) state of the present, fundamentally changing the character of debate in the period. Moreover, the ways in which the production and transmission of writings attributed to hallowed antiquity were framed, provides clues not only towards their date, but also sheds light on how people attempted to provide firm footing for their ideas in an imagined past.

Likewise, the ways in which verse was conceived and framed, informed the means in which the material was collected, read, and taught. The use of verse in argumentation, understanding of the past, and as embodiment of wisdom during the Warring States underlines the importance of trying to understanding the material from a contemporary perspective. The rise of notions of authorship and genre are intimately tied in with the development that saw verse increasingly written down in collections. Both are metatextual functions that, in frame narratives, emerge in response to filling interpretive gaps left by the absence of a performative context. Especially understandings of genre, is something that emerged in relation to grouping materials together along shared characteristics, be they their imagined authors, original performative contexts, or shared literary form. This new understanding and organization of the material, provided the forms and structuring that came to shape the canonical collections of the early empires.

Finally, the formation and textualization of the wise sayings and short arguments that formed the foundational compilations of Warring States philosophy need to be understood in order to arrive at a contextualized understanding of the practice of debate underlying Chinese philosophy. The absence of authorial attributions in such compilations warns us that notions

of authorship, while nascent in the period, were not attached to collections of sayings material. But perhaps more importantly, it is the physical nature of the manuscript-compilation, with its use of punctuation, layouting, and thematic groupings, that helped enable the emergence of philosophical discourses on top of disparate sayings. The juxtaposition, connection, definition, and argumentative bracketing of sayings materials stimulated the development of moral, ontological, and other types of implicit, yet overarching and connecting, frameworks. When memorized in teaching or as aid to further argumentation, these selections, groupings, and embedding of materials shaped the resources of future use and argumentation, subtly acting as a catalyst within the emerging philosophical discourse of the Warring States period.

This study questions the categories in which the intellectual activity of the period is traditionally understood, and has attempted to provide a number of directions towards a new reconstruction. New discoveries are bound to challenge some of the finds of this study, and one could argue that this attempt has been premature, I can only hope that some of the questions raised in the process allow someone to do a better job in the future.

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