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PAUL FISCHER

Intertextuality in Early Chinese Masters-Texts: Shared Narratives in *Shi Zi*

Prior to Chinese unification in 221 BC and the beginning of imperial history, there was a "golden age" of philosophical debate among various scholars about the best way to live life, construct a social contract, and act in harmony with heaven and earth. The most influential of these scholars, collectively called the "various masters," or *zhu zi* 諸子, attracted disciples who recorded the teachings of their "masters" and passed these teachings on. These texts, collectively called "masters-texts" (*zi shu* 子書), became the bedrock of Chinese intellectual history.

Many early Chinese masters-texts contain a considerable amount of shared narrative.[1] One obvious explanation for this is that later authors borrowed sayings and stories from earlier authors, but this account obscures at least three problems. First, if it were simply a matter of direct borrowing, why is there often so much variation in the wording?[2] Second, given the multiplicitous ways in which early texts were formed, it is often difficult to ascertain earlier and later authors, and thus to know who was borrowing from whom.[3] Third, even if we had whole texts that were written at specific times, and we knew those times accurately enough to posit which text was earlier and which later, there is still the possibility that the authors of the texts known to us borrowed from sources not known to us. Li Ling 李零 described these unknown sources for shared narrative thus:

[1] William Boltz, "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts," in Martin Kern, ed., *Text and Ritual in Early China* (Seattle: U. of Washington P., 2005), p. 63: "Even the most casual reader of pre-imperial Chinese literature is familiar with the fact that passages, stories, anecdotes, parables, and so on found in one well-known text often crop up, sometimes in slightly different wording, expanded or abbreviated, in other, equally well-known texts." In this paper, I use "narrative" in the plain sense of "textual content" or "discourse."

[2] Several examples of such variation will be given in the body of this paper.

[3] For one important study of early Chinese text formation, see Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, *Gushu tongli* 古書通例 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1985). I refer to these "multiplicitous modes of early text formation" as the "polymorphous text paradigm."

> Scholars who like to date [texts] have usually thought to use "who is copying whom" to fix earlier and later [dates]. But we should not forget that at that time, "you copy me [or] I copy you" perhaps really had no earlier or later because these "sayings" were very possibly "common resources" coming from the same "source reservoir."[4]

The precise nature of these "source reservoirs" from which many masters-texts drew has not been well-studied. This paper presents preliminary research in that direction. It examines various ways in which authors might have borrowed from each other and from other sources and considers some of the reasons for the resulting variation in citation. The incidence of such borrowing is what I call "intertextuality."[5] The scope of the present analysis of shared narrative is limited to one early Chinese masters-text, *Shi Zi* 尸子 (ca. 330 BC), which in turn implicates two dozen other early masters-texts. *Shi Zi* is particularly appropriate for this inquiry because it is traditionally held to be the earliest of the extant "Za 雜" (Syncretist) texts, which were characterized by Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 AD) precisely as drawing from the thought of texts in other catalogic categories.[6]

Shi Zi is a fourth-century BC masters-text. Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–86 BC) noted its popularity in his lifetime, and Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BC) said it was written by Shi Jiao 尸佼 (ca. 390–330 BC) who, prior to writing the text, was a retainer to Shang Yang 商鞅 (ca. 390–338 BC), who was a chief minister to Qin Xiao Gong 秦孝公 (r. 361–338 BC).[7] We know very little about Shi Zi, but the extant, eponymous text consists largely of advice to an unnamed ruler of one of the many states into which China was then divided. We do not know how influential the text was during the two centuries after the death of Shi Jiao, but it was well known during the millennium from ca. 100 BC until ca. 1100 AD. It was lost, probably in 1127, but 15 percent of it was reconstructed

[4] Li Ling 李零, *Jianbo gushu yu xueshu yuanliu* 簡帛古書與學術源流 (Beijing: Sanlian, 2004), p. 204, n. 3.

[5] Susan Stewart has written on intertextuality in Western texts, noting that "The universes of discourse are involved in borrowing from one another and transforming one another at every step as they are employed in an ongoing social process." See her *Nonsense: Aspects of Intertextuality in Folklore and Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U.P., 1979), p. 15.

[6] Ban Gu, *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962; rpt. 1975) 30, p. 1742. Of course, drawing from the "thought" of other texts and drawing from the "narrative" of other texts are two entirely different things, but the former may nevertheless yield a higher incidence of the latter than other types of texts.

[7] Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–86), *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1959; rpt. 1996) 74, p. 2349 or William Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records*, vols. 1, 2, 5.1, and 7 (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 1994, 2002, 2006, and 1994, respectively), vol. 7, p. 185.

from over seventy sources by several scholars between 1640 and 1811.[8] There are six extant reconstructions of *Shi Zi*, though others have been lost. The earliest was done in 1640 by Chen Zhengxue 陳正學 (ca. 1580–ca. 1640?), and the latest was done in 1819 by Wang Jipei 汪繼培 (1775–ca. 1815). The primary sources for reconstruction are Wei Zheng's 魏徵 (580–643) *Qun shu zhiyao* 群書治要 (*Essentials of Government from Many Books*; 631) and Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) et al., *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (*Imperial Conspectus of the Taiping Era*; 983).[9] Even with only 15 percent of its original length however, at more than 10,000 graphs the extant *Shi Zi* is still as long as many other Warring States (481–221 BC) masters-texts. Its content consists largely of advice to an unnamed ruler to be objective and humble. The terms "objective" and "humble," however, are not used. Rather, this advice is implied by means of metaphor and reference to mytho-historical precedent. It teaches through parable and, as is often the case with such a literary device, it makes use of a cultural storehouse of stories.[10]

Intertextuality refers to narrative that is shared among texts. It pertains to a complex variety of relationships between multiple authors, texts, and readers. It involves borrowing and allusion and the tangled web of literate culture in which authors fashion new texts from old language, familiar themes, and extant narrative. The multivalence of shared language, at the level of the *word*, is studied in the field of semiotics and is outside of the scope of the present discussion.[11] The recurrence of commonplace *ideas* and *topics* as literary themes is generally studied in the field of literary criticism and is also largely outside the scope of my investigation.[12] Instead, in this article I examine the use of shared *narrative* in *Shi Zi* and other texts and explore how and why such narrative was borrowed.[13] This is a matter of textual criticism.

8 Pei Yin 裴駰 (fl. 438) says in his *Shi ji ji jie* 史記集解 (ca. 438) that *Shi Zi* had more than 60,000 graphs; *Shi ji* 74, p. 2349.

9 For details on the reconstruction of *Shi Zi*, see Paul Fischer, "The Formation of the *Shi Zi*," Ph.D. diss. (University of Chicago, 2007).

10 Text critical work on *New Testament* parables has a long history; of particular importance to the purposes of this paper, however, is Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (German edition: 1947; English translation by S.H. Hooke, 1954; 2d rev. edn., New York: Scribners, 1962).

11 See, for example, Patrick Fuery, "Deconstruction, The Death of the Author, and Intertextuality" in his *Cultural Studies and Critical Theory*, 2d edn. (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2000).

12 See, for example, Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" (1969), trans. Josué Harari, in Josué Harari, ed., *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism* (Ithica: Cornell U.P., 1979), pp. 141–60.

13 Other works that touch on shared narrative in early Chinese texts include David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography* (Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 2001), pp. 42–50, 65–80, and Paul Goldin, *After Confucius: Studies in Early Chinese Philosophy* (Honolulu: U. of Hawaii P., 2005), pp. 82–89.

This paper is in four sections. In the first section, I discuss what constitutes "shared narrative" and give examples of different kinds of intertextuality. In the second section, I analyze the various ways in which narrative was borrowed. In the third section, I elucidate three types of narrative that were appropriated, and in the last section I consider why shared narrative so often exhibits substantial variation in wording.

Analyses of intertextuality can be important for sinologists who wish to better understand how early Chinese texts relate to one another. In the past, this relation was often conceived as a conversation between a few well-known authors who wrote compositions that were for the most part original, but that sometimes indulged in borrowing from their predecessors in the conversation. I want to complicate this picture in three ways. First, as I have argued elsewhere, there were many more authors involved in the composition of early texts than just the eponymous masters.[14] Second, the authors of early masters-texts certainly operated within a narrative world that was significantly larger than that presented by the texts currently available to us. Excavated texts give concrete support to the logic of this assumption. Third, as I will argue below, early authors both made use of "source reservoirs" no longer available to us and routinely modified the narrative that they borrowed from them to fit their own compositions.

INTERTEXTUALITY AND TEXTUAL PARALLELS

Narrative that is shared among more than one text appears as "parallel passages" in those texts. A "parallel passage" is simply narrative in one text similar enough to narrative in one or more other texts to suggest the possibility of borrowing. This borrowing may be characterized by a number of qualities:

1. intentional or unintentional;
2. attributed or unattributed or misattributed;
3. verbatim or slightly altered or significantly altered;
4. taken from oral or written sources, or both;
5. having a known author or anonymous, or an obscure author known only to some writers;
6. from a text still known to us or now lost.

Judging which passages are "similar enough" to warrant being counted as "parallel" is a subjective matter and will always be problematic. Nevertheless, I will try to clarify my use of the term "parallel passage" with

[14] See my "Authentication Studies Methodology and the Polymorphous Text Paradigm," *EC* 32 (2008).

some examples shortly. First, I want to focus the scope of my inquiry.

About one-third of the extant *Shi Zi* has parallels in other texts. I have identified 115 such passages, though given the ambiguity involved in deciding what constitutes a parallel, this number should not be taken as definitive. These parallels range in length from a mere four graphs to all 263 graphs of chapter 14, "Zhi Chu shi" 止楚師 ("Stopping the Chu Army"). My analysis of parallel passages in *Shi Zi* is not meant to be exhaustive, and I have not taken into account any texts after Sima Qian, who noted the popularity of *Shi Zi* in his lifetime. The twenty-seven texts in this time frame with parallels to *Shi Zi* are given below, in roughly ascending chronology (all datable to "BC"). Note the number of parallels with *Shi Zi* passages (last column). Nearly every early masters-text available to us is represented in this list.

MASTERS-TEXT	AUTHOR(S)	PARALLELS W/ *SHI ZI*
Deng Xi Zi 鄧析子	Deng Xi 鄧析 (545–501)	2
Lun yu 論語	students of Kong Qiu 孔丘 (551–479)	6
Yan Zi chunqiu 晏子春秋	students of Yan Ying 晏嬰 (ca. 500)	2
Zeng Zi 曾子 15	Zeng Shen 曾參 (505–436)	2
Guo yu 國語	attrib. Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (ca. 420)	4
Lao Zi 老子	Li Er 李耳 (ca. 500?)	3
Liu tao 六韜	anon. (ca. 400?)	1
Guan Yin Zi 關尹子	Yin Xi 尹喜 (ca. 430–380)	1
Mo Zi 墨子	Mo Di 墨翟 (ca. 480–390)	7
Guigu Zi 鬼谷子	Wang Xu 王詡 (ca. 350)	1
Shang Jun shu 商君書	Shang Yang 商鞅 (ca. 390–337)	2
Shen Zi 申子	Shen Buhai 申不害 (ca. 400–337)	1
Meng Zi 孟子	Meng Ke 孟軻 (ca. 390–305)	5

MASTERS-TEXT	AUTHOR(S)	PARALLELS W/ *SHI ZI*
Zhuang Zi 莊子	Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (ca. 365–295)	7
Guan Zi 管子	anon. (ca. 300?)	8
Kong Zi jia yu 孔子家語	anon.	4
Yin Wen Zi 尹文子	Yin Wen 尹文 (ca. 350–290)	1
Shanhai jing 山海經	anon.	2
Xun Zi 荀子	Xun Kuang 荀況 (ca. 310–215)	13
Lü shi chunqiu 呂氏春秋	Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (ca. 285–235)	24
Han Fei Zi 韓非子	Han Fei 韓非 (280–233)	17
Xin yu 新語	Lu Jia 陸賈 (ca. 220–150)	1
Xin shu 新書	Jia Yi 賈誼 (201–169)	3
Han Shi *wai zhuan* 韓詩外傳	Han Ying 韓嬰 (200–120?)	12
Huainan Zi 淮南子	Liu An 劉安 (179–122)	37
Wen Zi 文子	anon. (ca. 130?)	9
Chunqiu fanlu 春秋繁露	Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104?)	5 [16]

[15] A hypothetical *Zeng Zi* can be partially reconstructed by adding the "Xiao jing" 孝經 and "Da xue" 大學 chapters of *Li ji* 禮記, and the "Zeng Zi" 曾子 chapters of *Da Dai Li ji* 大戴禮記. Even if such a reconstruction does not represent any book that ever existed, it does represent a body of literature traditionally attributed to a particular master, which is roughly what can be said of most other early masters-texts.

[16] There are also a few parallels with some of the classics; these will be discussed below. Many of the attributed authors and their dates in this list are tentative.

Returning to the problem of what might plausibly constitute a parallel in *Shi Zi*, I will begin with what I do not consider to be shared narrative. For example, I do not count the bare coincidence of brief turns of speech, simple verb-object constructions, proper nouns, or narrative form, even if it is quite unusual. As an example of the first:

> *Shi Zi*: Worthy and unworthy, ordering and not ordering, loyal and disloyal: use [this] way to observe them, and it will be [as clear as] black and white. 賢不肖, 治不治, 忠不忠, 以道觀之, 由白黑也.
>
> *Guan Zi*: Hence, bravery and cowardice, stupidity and wisdom become as obvious as the difference between black and white. 故勇怯, 愚智之見也, 如白黑之分.[17]

Even though the context is roughly the same – a ruler choosing good soldiers and/or officials – and the use of the "[as clear as the difference between] black and white" turn of speech is the same, I think the differences outweigh the similarities. Likewise, the brief verb-object construction "*shu ren* 贖人 (ransom people)" constitutes a *Shi Zi* fragment in itself.[18] And since the topic of "ransoming people" is relatively rare in pre-Qin texts, it is possible to identify what might be considered parallels.[19] Nevertheless, I find the brevity of the *Shi Zi* passage makes the "parallel" too tenuous. Third, some proper names, like some verb-object constructions, are uncommon enough to invite speculation that repeated occurrence constitutes a parallel. One *Shi Zi* fragment says: "The essential substance of trees is called Bifang. 木之精氣爲畢方."[20] This probably refers to a bird called the "Bifang" mentioned in at least two other early sources, but since *Shi Zi* does not make any mention of a bird here and the rest of the sentence is not parallel, I do not count it.[21]

[17] *Shi Zi* (SBBY edn.) 1, p. 9a; *Guan Zi* (SBBY edn.) 21, p. 16b; *Guan Zi* translation by W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1998) 2, p. 167. All other translations in this article are my own, except where noted, though I usually provide the location of extant translations in the notes.

[18] *Shi Zi* (*Xuxiu* 續修 SKQS edn.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1995; hereafter cited as "Xuxiu SKQS edn."), vol. 1121, p. 286.

[19] See *Lü shi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (SBBY edn.) 16, pp. 13a–b, or John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, trans., *The Annals of Lü Buwei* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 2000), p. 395; and *Huainan Zi* 淮南子(SBBY edn.) 11, p. 2a and 12, pp. 5a–5b, or Evan Morgan, *Tao: The Great Luminant: Essays from Huai Nan Tzu* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh Ltd., 1934), pp. 110–11.

[20] *Shi Zi* 2, p. 10a.

[21] See *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (SBBY edn.) 2, p. 21a or Anne Birrell, *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (London: Penguin Books, 1999), p. 25; and *Huainan Zi* 13, p. 20b, or Morgan, *Tao: The Great Luminant*, p. 176. Derk Bodde describes the Bifang as a "demon" in his *Festivals in Classical China* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1975), p. 111.

Last, sometimes the context and narrative form are the same, but the content differs. I also do not count this as a parallel, because the term "parallel passage" implies similar content, even though we might find the compositional parallel quite interesting. For example:

> *Shi Zi*: [When] Zhongni's will and intention were not established, Zilu attended him; [when his] ritual clothes were in disrepair, Gongxi Hua attended him; [when his] rites were unpracticed, Ziyou attended him; [when his] discourse was not precise, Zai'e attended him; [when he] forgot temporal sequence, Yan Hui attended him; [when he] was dealing with small matters, Ran Boniu attended him. 仲尼志意不立, 子路侍; 儀服不修, 公西華侍; 禮不習, 子游侍; 辭不辨, 宰我侍; 亡忽古今, 顏回侍; 節小物, 冉伯牛侍.
>
> *Yan Zi*: [When] Zhongni stayed at home idle or tired, with improper behavior, then Jici and Yuan Xian attended [him]; [when] melancholy or ill, unable to see [his] intentions through, then Zhong You and Bu Shang attended [him]; [when his] virtue was incomplete, with [his] actions not generous, then Yan Hui, [Zi] Qian, and [Ran] Yong attended [him]. 仲尼居處惰倦, 廉隅不正, 則季次、原寰侍; 氣郁而疾, 志意不通, 則仲由、卜商侍; 德不盛, 行不厚, 則顏回、騫雍侍.[22]

The formal similarity between these passages is clear, as is the dissimilarity of content.

My use of the term "parallel passage" always refers to the wording and meaning and not to mere sentence structure. To give an example of a type of parallel that I do count as such, take the following passages from *Liu tao*, *Shi Zi*, *Guan Zi*, and *Xun Zi*:

> *Liu tao*: The world has things and sages arrange them. One who benefits the world will take the world, one who pacifies the world will possess the world, one who is devoted to the world will make the world last long, one who is good to the world will transform the world. 天下有物, 聖人裁之. 利天下者取天下, 安天下者有天下, 愛天下者久天下, 仁天下者化天下.
>
> *Shi Zi*: Heaven and earth produced the myriad things and sages arrange them. [They] arrange things by means of establishing allotments, and facilitate affairs by means of instituting [political] offices.天地生萬物, 聖人裁之. 裁物以制分, 便事以立官.

[22] *Shi Zi* 2, p. 14a; *Yan Zi* (SBBY edn.) 3, p. 3a.

> *Guan Zi*: In all cases, things come bearing names; sages rely on [these] to arrange (財=裁) them, and [thus] the world is ordered. 凡物載名而来, 聖人因而財之, 而天下治.
>
> *Xun Zi*: [If one] unifies the world, arranges (財=裁) the myriad things, raises and cultivates the people, impartially benefits the world, [is] the thoroughly penetrating type that none will not follow, [makes] those of the six theories quiet, and [makes] those twelve masters change, then a sage has attained power: such were Shun and Yu. 一天下, 財萬物, 長養人民, 兼利天下, 通達之屬莫不從服, 六說者立息, 十二子者遷化, 則聖人之得埶者, 舜禹是也.[23]

Consider the idea "sages arrange the myriad things" (*shengren cai wanwu* 聖人裁萬物) that is common to the four passages. None of the passages even uses the exact five-word phrase, but all use a variant of it. The context is the same for all four: sages governing the world. The meaning of the phrase is the same too: sages arrange the things of the world. There is clearly a common idea here, but more important for my purposes, there is similar narrative phrasing. Although perhaps not a common saying in the sense of a phrase known by memory or written source, "sages arrange the myriad things," in its various permutations, has both recognizably similar narrative form and content. Furthermore, it is not mundane as, for example, something like "horses pull carts" would be. It is not obvious that sages would arrange things, nor is the verb *cai* 裁 (cut into pieces, categorize, arrange) uninteresting in this context. There is no "rule" for deciding what does and does not constitute a parallel passage because criteria like "similar" and "non-ordinary" are too open to debate, but I hope that through the examples given in the following discussion a clearer picture of the problem will emerge.

Early Chinese masters-texts often share parallel passages. As mentioned above, I reckon *Shi Zi* to have well over one hundred such passages. Why do parallel passages exist? There are doubtless many reasons, but I will specify only four that are rather obvious. The first reason for the appearance of a parallel passage is unintentional while the latter three are intentional.

1. Pure coincidence that is simply a matter of two authors choosing the same wording to express the same or similar ideas.

[23] *Liu tao*, in Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643), *Qun shu zhiyao* 群書治要 (SBCK edn.), p. 409; *Shi Zi* 1, pp. 5b–6a; *Guan Zi* 13, p. 6a, or Rickett, *Guanzi*, vol. 2, p. 59; *Xun Zi* (SBBY edn.) 3, p. 10a, or John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works,* 3 vols. (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1988, 1990, 1994) 1, p. 225. Rickett, Knoblock, and I translate the verb *cai* 裁 (cut into pieces, judge, categorize, control, arrange) very differently from one another.

2. Quotation of texts that lend authority: even allusion to such texts can be seen as bringing literary cachet to the one that refers to them.
3. Use of existing narrative is easier than creating one's own. If an extant saying or story makes the same point that you want to make, why not borrow it? This is particularly true in a writing culture that does not frown upon such borrowing.
4. Citing or alluding to known texts of any kind, authoritative or not, has the advantage of being able to make a concise reference to another subject or context, without having to explain it. That is, it taps into the existing reservoir of cultural literacy: it is economical.

Of these four reasons, ease and economy probably motivated most of the parallels in *Shi Zi*. Coincidence is of course possible, as some or all of the authors of the four texts cited above could have independently invented the construction "sages arrange the myriad things." In the literate world of the producers and consumers of masters-texts, however, it is likely that later authors would have been familiar with a good many of their predecessors' works. Therefore I find coincidence unlikely.

Quotation of authoritative texts to give oneself borrowed authority was perhaps most obvious in quotes of the classics.[24] But *Shi Zi* rarely quotes the classics: it explicitly quotes only *Zhou yi* 周易, and that only once.[25] There are a very few parallels with other classics, but *Shi Zi* does not explicitly identify the parallel and it is unclear whether or not an allusion is even being made or if it is just a matter of variously referring to a mythological event:

> *Shang shu*: Then [Shun] commanded three leaders to sympathetically labor for the people. Bo Yi sent down regulations, bending the people with punishments. Yu pacified the waters and the land, presiding over the naming of mountains and rivers. Ji sent down sowing and planting, farming and propagating fine grains. [When] the three leaders had accomplished [their] labors, there was abundance for the people. 乃命三后, 恤功于民. 伯夷降典, 折民惟刑. 禹平水土, 主名山川. 稷降播種, 農殖嘉谷. 三後成功, 惟殷于民.

> *Shi Zi*: Shun promoted three leaders and four [kinds] of death were eliminated. What were the four deaths called? Starvation, exposure, overwork, and war. 舜舉三后而四死除. 何爲四死? 飢渴, 寒暍, 勤勞, 鬬爭.[26]

[24] Martin Kern examines this practice in his "Quotation and the Confucian Canon in Early Chinese Manuscripts: The Case of 'Zi Yi' (Black Robes)," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 59.1 (2005), pp. 293–332.

[25] See below, n. 33.

[26] *Shang shu* 尚書 (SBBY edn.), p. 12b, or James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics, Vol. 3: The Shoo King, or Book of Historical Documents* (London: Henry Frowde, 1865; 2d edn.

Is Shi Zi here alluding to *Shang shu*, or is this a more subtle kind of intertextuality? On the one hand, the reference to Shun commanding or promoting three leaders to help the people is an obvious parallel. On the other, if Shi Zi is alluding to the *Shang shu* account, how are we to reconcile his "four deaths" with the labors of the *Shang shu*'s three leaders? Certainly, Ji took care of starvation and Yu prevented overwork, but how were exposure and war averted? Therefore, this does not appear to be an instance of allusion, but rather different accounts of the same story. All of the other parallels between *Shi Zi* and the classics share this pattern.[27] Of course, not only classics need be quoted to lend authority to a text. In addition to the single, explicit quote of *Zhou yi*, *Shi Zi* also has parallels with three acknowledged quotes of Kong Zi and two of Zeng Zi.[28] These two authors were quite likely mentioned for the purpose of lending authority to the words attributed to them (number two, above). Thus, "coincidence" (number one) is unlikely and "quoting for lent authority" is rare in *Shi Zi*, leaving "ease" and "economy" (three and four) as the principal factors of motivation for borrowing in this text.

My analysis of shared narrative will now turn from the reasons why authors borrowed to the ways in which they borrowed, that is, from motivation to methods. There are a variety of ways in which an author can make use of extant texts. Borrowing from an extant text can come in the form of either an acknowledged or unacknowledged citation. The cited text can have either a known or anonymous author. The borrowing can be either intentional or unintentional. Finally, the source text can be quoted, misquoted, paraphrased, or alluded to. Given these variables, and starting from an "acknowledged, intentional quote from a text with a known author," I calculate twenty-four different ways in which an author can borrow from an existing work.[29]

Oxford: Clarendon, 1893–4; rpt. Hong Kong: U. of Hong Kong P., 1960), pp. 595–96; *Shi Zi* 2, p. 11a.

27 Cf. *Shang shu* 16, p. 7b (文王... 自朝至於日中昃, 不皇暇食用), or Legge, *Shoo King*, p. 469, and *Shi Zi* 2, p. 10b (文王至日昃不暇飲食); *Li ji* (SBBY edn.) 1, p. 27b (天子祭天地, 祭四方... 諸侯方祀, 祭山川... 大夫祭五祀... 士祭其先), or James Legge, trans., *Li Chi: Book of Rites* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1885; rpt. New York: University Books, 1967), vol. 1, p. 116, and *Shi Zi* 2, p. 8b (天子祭四極, 諸侯祭山川, 大夫祭五祀, 士祭其廟也); *Xici zhuan* 繫辭傳, in *Zhou Yi* 8, p. 3a (包犧... 始作八卦), or Richard Lynn, trans., *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1994), p. 77, and *Shi Zi* 2, p. 9a (伏羲始畫八卦); and, while not a classic, the possibly authoritative *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 (SBBY edn.) 6, p. 27a (黃帝執蚩尤, 殺之於中冀), and *Shi Zi* 2, p. 14a (黃帝斬蚩尤於中冀).

28 The parallels are found in the *Lun yu*, *Kong Zi jia yu*, and the *Da Dai Li ji*.

29 Mathematically, there are 32 possibilities that derive from the variables mentioned, but I exclude the eight where "acknowledged" and "unintentional" coincide. I use "misquote" rather than, say, "manipulate," because it is easier to imagine "intentional misquotation" than "un-

But these twenty-four do not occur with equal frequency in *Shi Zi*. The various types of acknowledged borrowing are rare in *Shi Zi*. Acknowledged-source quotations from texts with known authors we have already briefly discussed above, and acknowledged-source quotation from anonymous texts are also quite infrequent. As an example of the latter, *Shi Zi* has: "A saying goes: 'No one knows their [own] children's badness.'" 語曰: 莫知其子之惡也.[30] A parallel exists in *Zeng Zi* that affirms the familiarity of the source: "Therefore an adage has it that: 'No one knows their [own] children's badness, [just as, conversely,] no one knows the richness of their [own] crops.'" 故諺有之曰: 人莫知其子之惡, 莫知其苗之碩.[31] The unambiguous term *yan* 諺 (adage) does not occur in *Shi Zi*, while the word *yu* 語 (saying) used here occurs in this context only this once. More common is the simple placement of a "*gu yue* 故曰" ("Therefore it is said...") before a quotation, thus:

> *Mo Zi*: Therefore it is said: "Those who order [things] when [they] are spiritous (i.e., unformed): the masses do not know of their merit; those who contend with [things] when [they] are obvious: the masses will know of them." 故曰: 治於神者, 衆人不知其功; 爭於明者, 衆人知之.
>
> *Shi Zi*: Therefore it is said: "Sagely people order [things] when [they] are spirituous (i.e., unformed); stupid people contend with [things] when [they] are obvious. 故曰: 聖人治於神, 愚人爭於明也.[32]

Mo Zi is earlier than *Shi Zi*, and the parallel between them is clear, even though the parallel itself 治於神, 爭於明 is used rather differently. Mo Zi's use of the "Therefore it is said... 故曰" device would seem to indicate that he, at least, is citing a prior source, oral or written. Shi Zi could also be citing that prior source, or he could be paraphrasing Mo Zi, intentionally or not. Even if we knew what that prior source was, it still might not be clear what Shi Zi was doing here. This is because

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intentional manipulation." The lines between some of these 24 categories may appear rather fuzzy to the reader, but I think the distinctions are worth making.

[30] *Shi Zi* 1, p. 12a.

[31] "Da xue 大學," in *Si shu* 四書 (SBBY edn.), p. 7a, or James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics, Vols. 1–2: Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, the Doctrine of the Mean, and the Mencius,* 2d edn. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893, 1895; rpt. as *The Four Books* [Taibei: Wenhua tushu, 1992]), p. 22.

[32] *Mo Zi* (SBBY edn.) 13, p. 10b; *Shi Zi* 1, p. 4a. Mei Yi-pao [梅貽寶], trans., *The Works of Motze* (1927; rpt. Taibei: Confucius Publishing, 1976), p. 518: "Thus it is said: 'The merit of the man who cultivates himself before the spirits is not recognized by the multitude. On the other hand, he who strives in the open is recognized.'" The contexts of both the *Mo Zi* and *Shi Zi* episodes make it clear that it is the situation that is being *zhi* 治 (ordered/ cultivated), not the sage himself.

even in those rare instances when a known source is explicitly cited, the parallel may not be exact.

For example, in the following passage Shi Zi cites two sources, Kong Zi and *Zhou yi*. Written exemplars of both *Lun yu* and *Zhou yi* were almost certainly extant by 330 BC, when *Shi Zi* was ostensibly written, yet the citations in *Shi Zi* still vary from our received text versions:

> *Shi Zi*: 孔子曰：Master Kong said: "Faced with a task and yet cautious, rarely [will this kind of person] not succeed." The *Changes* says: "It is like stepping on a tiger's tail; at the end of it, auspiciousness." 臨事而懼, 希不濟. 易曰: 若履虎尾; 終之, 吉.
>
> *Lun yu*: The Master said, "Certainly [I would select one who, when] faced with a task was cautious, and while fond of making plans would complete [them]." 子曰: 必也, 臨事而懼, 好謀而成.
>
> *Zhou yi*: Treading on a tiger's tail: fearful [but] in the end, auspicious. 履虎尾: 愬愬, 终吉.[33]

What has happened here? Did Shi Zi intentionally or unintentionally misquote both *Zhou yi* and *Lun yu*? That is, might Shi Zi have been creatively paraphrasing the two prior texts, or was his narrative the result of faulty memory? A third explanation lies in the possibility of multiple editions of prior texts. Perhaps Shi Zi accurately quoted editions of both those texts, but the editions that were on his bookshelf were different from the received editions on ours. Excavated editions of *Lao Zi* make this possibility quite clear.[34] This possibility adds a new wrinkle to the twenty-four ways of borrowing extant narrative and, *mutatis mutandis*, complicates the picture even further. I should add that the two well-known texts in this parallel are probably good examples of the "polymorphous texts" described elsewhere,[35] because while *Zhou yi* and *Lun yu* certainly predate *Shi Zi*, it is not the case that either text was, during the first centuries BC, circulating solely as the work that would become the received edition.[36]

[33] *Shi Zi* 1, p. 7b; *Lun yu* (SBBY edn.) 7, p. 2b, or D. C. Lau, trans., *Confucius: The Analects (Lun yü)* (1979; 2d edn., Hong Kong: The Chinese U.P., 1992), p. 59; *Zhou Yi* 2, p. 12a, or Lynn, *Classic of Changes*, p. 203.

[34] Much has been written on this. See, for example, Huang Zhao 黄釗, "Zhu jian *Lao Zi* de banben guishu ji qi wenxian jiazhi tanwei 竹簡老子的版本歸屬及其文獻價值探微," and Huang Rener 黄人二, "Du Guo jian *Lao Zi* bing lun qi wei Zou Qi Ru zhe de banben 讀郭簡老子並論其爲鄒齊儒者的版本," both in Wuhan daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu yuan 武漢大學中國文化研究院, ed., *Guodian Chu jian guoji xueshu yanjiuhui lunwen ji* 郭店楚簡國際學術研討會論文集 (Wuhan: Hebei renmin, 2000), pp. 484–92 and pp. 493–98.

[35] See n. 14, above.

[36] To read a somewhat different edition of *Zhou yi* as late as the Eastern Han, see Edward Shaughnessy, trans., *I Ching: The Classic of Changes* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1996). For the transmission of *Lun yu* during the Warring States, see John Makeham, "The Formation of

Thus, even if we bracket the low incidence of explicit borrowing from a text with a known or unknown author in *Shi Zi*, there are still many possible ways in which an author can borrow narrative to create intertextuality. In the 115 parallels I found in *Shi Zi*, about a quarter are variations of unacknowledged quotation of known texts, while the remaining three-quarters are variations of unacknowledged "misquotation" or, assuming intentionality, "modification." Below, I will argue for a preponderance of intentional modification.

For example, one might write a text that employs the common saying "a stitch in time saves nine," and most native English speakers would know this means "acting early saves effort."[37] But they may not know if the saying is anonymous or if it has a known author. Certainly many English speakers may quote Shakespeare or the *Bible* without even knowing it. Furthermore, an author might unintentionally misquote the saying – perhaps he misheard it, or misread it, or miswrote it – or he might capitalize on the knowledge that this is a cultural commonplace and intentionally change the wording to suit his own purposes. "A stitch in time saves twelve" would convey the same meaning as the original, and this version might be an unintended misquote or may come from a deliberate desire to be original or funny. Either way, the familiarity and meaning of the phrase is still clear. This general meaning could also be narrowed for a specific context; imagine a sign on a parking meter that reads: "a dime in time saves you a fifty dollar fine." The form and meaning are rather similar, but the wording has been considerably modified. One could also make an oblique reference to the original saying in a more distant form of borrowing. If a clothing alteration shop were called "The Timely Stitch," some of us would still see an allusion to the original. Or the saying could be appropriated for a completely different meaning. Only the rhyme is retained in the culinary advice "a pinch of lime tastes fine."

These four reconfigurations each move farther away from the original saying until it becomes debatable whether or not "a pinch of lime tastes fine" should even be considered as derived from "a stitch in time saves nine." This ambiguity is inherent in any study of intertextuality, but while it is important to recognize this uncertainty, as well as the

the *Lunyu* as a Book," *MS* 44 (1996), pp. 1–24. Alternatively, the phrase "faced with a task and yet cautious 臨事而懼" could have been used by Kong Zi more than once, with an exact parallel to the *Shi Zi* being lost to us, leaving only this apparently inexact parallel remaining.

[37] Common English sayings are perhaps not as celebrated as Chinese *chengyu* 成語 (historical sayings), but there are thousands nonetheless. For a selection of the most popular, see the "Proverbs" and "Idioms" sections in E. D. Hirsch, Jr., Joseph F. Kett, and James Trefil, eds., *The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy*, 3d edn. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), pp. 47–82.

array of possibilities that it creates for narrative borrowing, I will not dwell on it in this paper. Rather, I want to examine the more prevalent kinds of intertextuality in *Shi Zi*. Not the known "common discourse" of "a stitch in time saves nine," nor the elusive allusion of "The Timely Stitch," nor the strictly formal similarity of "a pinch of lime tastes fine," but rather, possible sayings, unfamiliar to us, and their slight and extensive modifications. Of course, in this example, we may know the proverb is a well-known, anonymous saying. With many *Shi Zi* parallels, however, we have no way of knowing if the parallel narrative is anonymous or not; that is, if it is an unacknowledged "quotation" of a text now lost to us, or an unacknowledged citation of what was then known to be "common discourse." Nevertheless, let us consider the variety of parallels by looking at some examples that are exact, some with slight differences, and others with extensive differences.

VARIETY OF PARALLELS: EXACT, SLIGHT DIFFERENCE, EXTENSIVE DIFFERENCE

Repetition of a concise fact has a role in shared narrative. For example, five early texts, including *Shi Zi*, all give the circumference of the earth as exactly 26,000 *li* measured longitudinally and 28,000 *li* measured latitudinally.[38] Also, four record that "Yao instituted the board of criticism and censure 堯立誹謗之木."[39] But exact, or nearly exact, parallels are not only limited to such brief sentences; a few are somewhat longer:

> *Shi Zi*: Shun at [his] first migration completed a settlement, at [his] second migration completed a city, and at [his] third migration completed a state. [When] Yao heard of his worthiness, [he] summoned him from amid the grass and thatch. 舜一徙成邑, 再徙成都, 三徙成國. 堯聞其賢, 徵之草茅之中.
>
> *Guan Zi*: Shun at [his] first migration completed a settlement, at [his] second migration completed a city, and at [his] third migration completed a state. Shun was against severe punishments and strict prohibitions, [so] the people returned to him. 舜一徙成邑, 二徙成都, 参徙成國. 舜非嚴刑罰、重禁令, 而民歸之矣

[38] *Shi Zi* 1, p. 15b; *Shan hai jing* 5, p. 45a, or Birrell, *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, p. 103; *Guan Zi* 23, p. 1a, and 24, p. 1a, or Rickett 2, pp. 422 and 467; *Lü shi chunqiu* 13, p. 3a, or Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, p. 281; *Huainan Zi* 4, p. 2a, or John Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought* (Albany: SUNY P., 1993), p. 147.

[39] *Deng Xi Zi* (SBBY edn.), p. 12a; *Shi Zi* 2, p. 2a; *Lü shi chunqiu* 24, p. 4a, or Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, p. 612; *Huainan Zi* 9, p. 21a, or Roger Ames, *The Art of Rulership: A Study of Ancient Chinese Political Thought* (Albany: SUNY P., 1994), p. 204.

> *Lü shi chunqiu*: Shun at [his] first migration completed a settlement, at [his] second migration completed a city, and at [his] third migration completed a state, so Yao's abdication [to Shun] was based on the people's hearts. 舜一徙成邑, 再徙成都, 三徙成國, 而堯授之禪位, 因人之心也[40]

One interesting aspect about some close parallels is that they may exemplify narrative borrowed with the wording and meaning modified for use in quite different contexts.[41] For example, in the *Mo Zi–Shi Zi* parallel above, Mo Zi is talking about fame, while Shi Zi is talking about acting early to solve problems. Similarly, the opening section of the first chapter of *Shi Zi* has this parallel:

> *Shi Zi*: [If] a cocoon is abandoned and not worked, then it will rot away and be discarded. [But] have a female worker draw the silk out from it, and it can be used to make beautiful brocade, [fit for] a great ruler to wear and go to court with it. 夫繭舍而不治, 則腐蠹而棄. 使女工繅之, 以爲美錦, 大君服而朝之.
>
> *Huainan Zi*: The nature of a cocoon is to be made into silk thread, but [if it] is not taken by female workers and cooked with boiling water, then pulled out by its lead thread, then it cannot become silk thread. 繭之性爲絲; 然弗得工女煮以熱湯, 而抽其統紀, 則不能成絲.
>
> *Han* Shi *wai zhuan*: The nature of a cocoon is to be made into silk thread, [but if it] is not taken by female workers and roasted with boiling water, [then] pulled out by its lead thread, it cannot become silk thread. 繭之性爲絲; 弗得女工燔以沸湯, 抽其統理, 不成爲絲.[42]

The context of the above passages makes clear that Shi Zi is talking about the need for people to work on themselves in order to better themselves, while the later texts are discussing the inner nature of things, silkworm cocoons being but one example.[43] This may be a kind of in-

[40] *Shi Zi* 2, p. 9b; *Guan Zi* 15, p. 15b, or Rickett, *Guanzi*, vol. 2, p. 179; *Lü shi chunqiu* 15, p. 15b, or Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, p. 364. *Zhuang Zi* (SBBY edn.) 8, p. 20b, also mentions this story, but it is paraphrased to the point where I do not consider it a parallel.

[41] See Steven Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1991), pp. 35–44, to see how the *Shi jing* 詩經, at least, was often deliberately quoted out of context. Deliberately changing the wording is only a small step from this.

[42] *Shi Zi* 1, p. 1a; *Huainan Zi* 20, p. 4b; Xu Weiyu 許維遹, *Han Shi wai zhuan jishi* 韓詩外傳集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980; rpt. 2005), p. 185, or James Hightower, trans., *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1952), p. 176.

[43] The examples of "creative borrowing" of *Shi* passages given by Van Zoeren are only tentatively comparable here, given that we know the *Shi* was widely memorized and was a part of the familiar cultural heritage while this saying may have existed only in these three texts. Furthermore, the "self-cultivation" topic of the *Shi Zi* and the "inner nature" topic of the latter

tentional appropriation on the part of the later authors, which might also explain the difference between the following *Xin shu* account and those of *Shi Zi* and *Huainan Zi*. Italicized words in *Xin shu* and *Huainan Zi* are parallel (corresponding Chinese in bold):

> *Shi Zi*: Anciently, in the time of Xia [King] Jie, perfected virtue was destroyed and not exalted; the way of thearchs was concealed and not thriving; (the erected earth-altar dried out, cracked and split,) the guest platform was shaken and overturned; packs of dogs howled and entered the springs; pigs with weeds in their mouths bedded in the southwest corner of the room;[44] fine-looking people had messy hair, dirty faces, and did not use makeup; the graceful-voiced swallowed ashes [so that their] insides (i.e., throats) closed and [they] could not sing; flying birds lost [their] feathers; running beasts had broken hooves; mountains had no tall trees; and wetlands had no good water. (Fields did not send out sprouts, roadsides had no *suo* or *pin* [growing alongside], metal [weapons/utensils] were amassed until the edges became worn, jade *bi* disks were piled up [until they] no longer had patterns.) 昔夏桀之時, 至德滅而不揚, 帝道掩而不興, (植社槁而鏄裂), 客臺振而掩覆, 犬群嗥而入泉, 彘銜藪而席隩, 美人婢首墨面而不容, 曼聲吞炭内闌而不歌, 飛鳥鎩翼, 走獸決蹄, 山無峻榦, 澤無佳水. 田無立苗, 路無莎蘋, 金積折廉, 壁襲無理. (田無立苗, 路無莎蘋, 金積折廉, 壁襲無理.)
>
> *Xin shu*: ...ruler and official were estranged and not harmonious, the established *earth-altar* and grain-altar broke and *split*, the decorated *platform* room was *toppled* and destroyed; *packs of dogs howled and entered* the deep water; *pigs with* dried grass *in their mouths* went to *the southwest corner of the room*; swallows and sparrows split open and venomous snakes emerged; [when] eating reeds or grasses leeches [would get into one's] mouth, and [when] bathing in clear water [one would] encounter scorpions. 君臣乖而不調, 置**社**稷**而**分**裂**, **容台**榭**而掩**敗, **犬群嗥而入**淵, **彘銜**菹**而**適**奧**, 燕雀剖而虺蛇生, 食蘆菹而蛭口, 浴清水而遇蠆.
>
> *Huainan Zi*: Coming to the end of the *Xia, in the time of [King] Jie*, the ruler was benighted and not enlightened, the way was dispersed and not cultivated, [he] abandoned the benevolent punishments of the Five thearchs, and toppled the law texts of the Three kings; thus was *perfected virtue destroyed and not exalted, the way of thearchs*

two texts may well be variations on a single theme. Nevertheless, the two are not the same.

[44] The southwest corner of a house is typically where an altar was, or where an honored guest was seated.

concealed and not thriving; the carrying out of affairs was contrary to azure heaven, the issuing of commands was against the four seasons, [so that] spring and autumn withdrew their harmony, and heaven and earth eliminated their virtue; good noblemen were not secure in their positions, the senior officials concealed the way and did not speak, the many ministers allowed the intentions of [their] superiors and held on to what was appropriate, distancing [themselves] from relatives to accommodate themselves, and evil people colluded, got close, and secretly schemed; [though] situated within [the relationships of] ruler and official and father and son and yet competing in affairs, the arrogant ruler complying with his [own] wishes, and the disordered people took [advantage of it] to complete their affairs. This is why ruler and official were estranged and not friendly, relatives were distant and not close; *the erected earth-altar dried out, cracked and split, the ritual platform was shaken and toppled; packs of dogs howled and entered* the deep waters*; pigs held* straw mats *in their mouths and bedded in the southwest corner of the room; fine-looking people had messy hair, dirty faces, and did not use makeup; the graceful-voiced swallowed ashes [so that their] insides (i.e., throats) closed and [they] could not sing*; mourners were not complete in their sorrow, hunters did not hear their song, the Western Old [Queen] broke her crown, the Yellow spirit cried out; *flying birds lost [their] feathers; running beasts* had ruined legs; *mountains had no tall trees; and wetlands had no good water*; foxes and raccoons [died] facing [their] holes, horses and oxen were released and lost; *fields did not send out* shoots, *roadsides had no suo or pin [growing alongside], metal [weapons/utensils] were amassed until the edges became worn, jade bi disks were piled up [until they] no longer had patterns*; chime-stone [shaped] tortoises were without plastrons, and yarrow stalks were daily used. 逮**至夏桀之時**, 主闇晦而不明, 道瀾漫而不修, 棄捐五帝之恩刑, 推蹶三 王之法籍, 是以**至德滅而不揚, 帝道**揜**而不興**, 舉事戾蒼天, 發號逆四時, 春秋縮其和, 天地除其德, 仁君處位而不安, 大夫隱道而不言, 群臣準上意而懷當, 疏骨肉而自容, 邪人參耦比周而陰謀, 居君臣父子之間, 而競載驕主而像其意, 亂人以成其事, 是故君臣乖而不親, 骨肉疏而不附, **植社槁而X**[45] **裂, 容臺振而掩覆, 犬群嗥而入**淵, 豕**銜**蓐**而席澳, 美人挐首墨面而不容, 曼聲吞炭內閉而不歌**, 喪不盡其哀, 獵不聽其樂, 西老折勝, 黃神嘯吟, **飛鳥鎩翼, 走獸**廢腳, **山無峻榦, 澤無洼水**, 狐狸首穴, 馬牛放失, **田無立**禾, **路無莎薾, 金積折廉, 璧襲無理**, 磬龜無腹, 蓍策日施.[46]

[45] X = 左土右雩. Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744–1832) says X = *xia* 罅 (crack); see He Ning 何寧, *Huainan Zi ji shi* 淮南子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1998), p. 487.

[46] Italicized/bolded words are parallel. *Shi Zi* 2, p. 11b, but Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753–

The context in *Shi Zi* and *Huainan Zi* are the same, as they are both describing ill omens during the reign of the last Xia ruler, Jie 桀. *Xin shu* is describing ill omens in the reign of Chu Ping Wang 楚平王 (r. 528–516). The parallel, however, is unmistakable in *Shi Zi* and *Huainan Zi* and at least suggestive in *Xin shu*. But how did this occur? Should we assume the traditional dating of these texts and deduce that Jia Yi is paraphrasing Shi Zi while Liu An is embellishing him? Perhaps Jia Yi is making a conscious allusion to lend rhetorical weight to his condemnation of the later ruler. Or, given how close the wording of *Shi Zi* and *Huainan Zi* are, and the greater length of the latter, might we entertain the possibility that the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 editors edited the *Shi Zi* passage to its present form from an original form closer to the *Huainan Zi*?[47] Or were both the latter excerpted from a fuller, unknown source?

Let us look at this parallel again, excluding the *Xin shu* passage. Below are only the parallel sections from the Cheng Zhengxue edition of *Shi Zi* (rows 1), the *Taiping yulan* quotation of *Shi Zi* (rows 2), and *Huainan Zi* (rows 3), this time with the variora marked only in the *Huainan Zi* rows merely to show the reader what columns to find them in:

1: 至德滅而不揚, 帝道掩而不興, 植社槁而鏬裂, 容臺摇而掩覆,
2: 至德滅而不揚, 帝道掩而不興, 客臺振而掩覆,
3: 至德滅而不揚, 帝道**揜**而不興, 植社槁而**X**裂, 容臺**振**而掩覆,

1: 羣大嗥而入淵, 豕銜蓐而席隩, 美人挈首墨面而不容, 曼聲蜃炭内閟而不歌
2: 犬成羣而入泉, 彘銜藪而席隩, 美人婢首墨面而不容, 曼聲吞炭内闌而不歌
3: **犬群嗥**而入**淵**, **豕**銜**蓐**而席**澳**, 美人**挈**首墨面而不容, 曼聲**吞**炭内**閉**而不歌

1: 飛鳥鎩翼, 走獸廢脚, 山無峻榦, 澤無洼水
2: 飛鳥鎩翼, 走獸決蹄, 山無峻榦, 澤無佳水
3: 飛鳥鎩翼, 走獸**廢脚**, 山無峻榦, 澤無**洼**水

1: 田無立苗, 路無莎蘋, 金積折廉, 壁襲無理
2:
3: 田無立**禾**, 路無莎蘋, 金積折廉, **璧**襲無理

1818), the compiler of this edition, omits "fine-looking people had messy hair, dirty faces, and did not use makeup 美人婢首墨面而不容." This omission is probably unintentional, as all other reconstructions have this line, as does Sun's source: see Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) et al., *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1960, 1998), p. 386, or SKQS edn., vol. 893, p. 784. Bracketed lines in *Shi Zi* appear in the Chen Zhengxue 陳正學 (c.1580-c. 1640?) reconstruction, but in no others. For more on this and other *Shi Zi* reconstructions, see my dissertation (cited n. 9, above). *Xin shu* (SBBY edn.) 7, p. 4a; *Huainan Zi* 6, pp. 8a–b. The last two phrases in the *Huainan Zi* excerpt may mean a bad ruler needs more divine help than usual, as he has no moral compass.

[47] As noted above, *Shi Zi* is a reconstructed text; this passage comes from *Taiping yulan*.

Several conclusions can be drawn on the basis of this comparison. First, Cheng's *Shi Zi* is closer to *Huainan Zi* than it is to the *Taiping yulan* citation of *Shi Zi*. This is clear from both the extensive omissions in the latter as well as from other variora where the first and third lines match, but the second line does not. Second, Cheng did not take this passage of his *Shi Zi* reconstruction from *Huainan Zi* either, because if he had, then he would have copied the whole passage. Third, therefore Cheng had access to a source other than *Taiping yulan* to reconstruct this passage. Fourth, if there was borrowing between Cheng's *Shi Zi* source and *Huainan Zi*, in either direction, then some small changes were made, possibly due simply to scribal error.[48] This, however, does not clarify the relationship among these parallel passages in *Shi Zi*, *Xin shu*, and *Huainan Zi*, which must remain merely intriguing.

Parallels that are exact for a phrase or two but that are used in differing contexts are very common. *Lao Zi* connects "not going out the door yet knowing the whole world" with *bu wei* 不爲 (not contrived), while *Shi Zi* uses it with *zhi ji* 治己 (ordering the self) and *Lü shi chunqiu* ties a variant of it to *fan ji* 反己 (returning to the self). These different connections show the versatility that many sayings had as they appeared in various contexts as parallels:

> *Lao Zi*: Not [even] going out the door [yet] knowing the world, not [even] looking out the window [yet] seeing the heavenly way. The farther one goes the less one knows. This is how the sage knows without moving, is famous without being seen, and completes [affairs / himself] without being contrived. 不出户, 知天下; 不窺牖, 見天道. 其出彌遠, 其知彌少. 是以聖人不行而知, 不見而名, 不爲而成.
>
> *Shi Zi*: How are we to make people excellent? Zhongni said: Those who obtain it [in their own] persons [will cause the] obtaining of it in the people, and those who lose it [in their own] persons [will cause the] losing of it in the people. Without [even] going out the door, yet knowing the world; without [even] descending from their hall, yet ordering the four quadrants, are those who return to it in themselves. Looking at it from here, [if one] orders the self then the people will be ordered. 我奚爲而人善? 仲尼曰: 得之身者得之民, 失之身者失之民. 不出於戶而知天下, 不下其堂而治四方, 知反之於己者也. 以是觀之, 治己則人治矣.
>
> *Lü shi chunqiu*: I have heard it: Those who obtain it in [their own] persons [will cause the] obtaining of it in the people, and those

[48] These are: 掩→揜, 鑄→X [左土右雩], 摇→振, 羣大→犬群, 隩→澳, 蜃→吞, 閟→閉, 苗→禾, 壁→璧. Of these, only the second, fourth, sixth, are eighth are significant.

> who lose it in [their own] persons [will cause the] losing of it in the people. One who orders the world without [even] going out the gate: is he not one who knows to return to his own person? 丘聞之: 得之於身者得之人, 失之於身者失之人. 不出於門户而天下治者, 其惟知反於己身者乎?[49]

The majority of parallels in *Shi Zi* are, however, not as similar as those just discussed in this section. For example, the following anecdote is the same in context, form, and idea, but the protagonist is different and, more importantly, the wording of the narrative is quite different:

> *Shi Zi*: Yi Yi [was] a descendant of Yi Guizhu. Someone encouraged him to become an official. [He] replied: "I am comparable thus to an ox which would rather submit to a yoke in order to plow in the wilds rather than wear embroidery, enter the temple, and be a sacrifice." 夷逸者, 夷詭諸之裔. 或勸其仕. 曰: 吾譬則牛, 寧服軛以耕於野, 不思被繡入廟而爲犧.
>
> *Zhuang Zi*: Someone invited Master Zhuang to accept office and Master Zhuang responded to his envoy saying: "Have you seen a sacrificial ox? [It] is clothed in patterned embroidery, and fed with chopped grass and legumes, [but] when the time comes [for it] to be led into the great temple, even though [it may] wish to [once again] be a solitary calf, can it [still] achieve this?" 或聘於莊子, 莊子應其使曰: 子見夫犧牛乎? 衣以文繡, 食以芻叔. 及其牽而入於太廟, 雖欲爲孤犢, 其可得乎?[50]

Why are some parallels exact while others differ somewhat and still others differ extensively? Exact parallels are easily explainable by excellent memory and access to written texts. Parallels with slight differences might have arisen for several different reasons, both unintentional and intentional. Unintentional reasons include imperfect memory and quoting different editions of a particular text. Intentional reasons include changing the wording to fit a new context, a local vocabulary, or a particular writing style. But the passages in this *Shi Zi–Zhuang Zi* parallel are clearly too different to be accounted for by these theories.

[49] *Lao Zi* (SBBY edn.) 2, p. 7a, or D.C. Lau, *Lao Tzu / Tao Te Ching* (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 108; *Shi Zi* 1, p. 13b; I am not sure if the *Shi Zi* attributes this to Kong Zi (Zhongni) because I do not know where the quote ends. The "it" probably refers to the preceding "virtue." *Lü shi chunqiu* 3, p. 7b or Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, pp. 105–6; the "I" is Kong Zi.

[50] *Shi Zi* 2, p. 14b; *Zhuang Zi* 10, pp. 12a–b, or Victor Mair, trans., *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Bantam Books, 1994), pp. 331–32.

Parallels with such extensive differences can only be explained by positing a common theme that can be incorporated in narrative with very dissimilar wording. When a specific theme is embodied in a particular literary form, as with this *Shi Zi–Zhuang Zi* example, I consider the resulting passages to be parallel, even though these passages use significantly different diction. In the following section I consider the kinds of narrative that were borrowed by early Chinese authors, and distinguish the kind of theme evident in the above example from sayings and stories that share not only similar ideas and literary forms, but also similar wording at the level of the sentence.

TYPES OF PARALLELS: SAYINGS, THEMES, STORIES

There are several types of parallels. I divide them into sayings, themes, and stories. "Saying Parallels" share wording, literary form, and probably meaning. "Theme Parallels" share literary form and meaning, but not wording. In the "a stitch in time saves nine" example used above, the original saying and the slightly modified "a stitch in time saves twelve" are examples of Saying Parallels, while the "a dime in time saves you a fifty dollar fine" is an example of a Theme Parallel.[51] A story is longer than a saying and has a plot. A story is not necessarily longer than a theme, and if the wording is sufficiently dissimilar but the theme is the same, then it is a long Theme Parallel. In the case of *Shi Zi*'s chapter fourteen, where Mo Zi stops the Chu army, its parallel in *Mo Zi* is clearly more than just the same idea and same literary form, because it also shares substantially the same wording. This is a Story Parallel. But its parallels in *Lü shi chunqiu* and *Huainan Zi* are significantly abbreviated and reworded versions that are long examples of Theme Parallels.[52] An examination of Story Parallels, however, would take up too much space in this article.

Examples of what I call Saying Parallels in *Shi Zi* include these two sets:

[51] A "formal" parallel would share only literary form, as in "a pinch of lime tastes fine." I do not deal with this type of parallel in this study.

[52] In this story, Mo Zi travels to the state of Chu to persuade its ruler not to attack the state of Song. Chu was richer than Song, and the impending invasion seemed to be largely based on the desire to try out a Chu engineer's recent invention of a military scaling ladder. Mo Zi argues that the Song ruler had committed no crime and that Chu was already considerably richer in natural resources than Song. The Chu ruler was in the end convinced, and called off the war. See *Mo Zi* 13, pp. 8b–10b, or Mei, *Works of Motze*, pp. 514–18; *Shi Zi* 1, pp. 14b–15b; *Lü shi chunqiu* 21, pp. 7b–8a, or Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, pp. 560–61; *Huainan Zi* 19, pp. 4a–5a, or Morgan, *Tao, The Great Luminant*, pp. 225–26.

> *Shi Zi*: [If] a crossbow trigger is diminished by as much as [the length of one] grain of millet, then [it] will not hook [the string], and [if it] is increased by as much as [the length of one] {grain of rice}, then [it] will not release [the string]. 夫弩機損若黍則不鉤, 益若□則不發.
>
> *Lü shi chunqiu*: [If] a crossbow trigger is off by [the length of a] grain of millet, then [it] will not release [the string]. 夫弩機差以米則不發.[53]

And:

> *Shi Zi*: Within jade depths, a black dragon coils, and beneath [its] chin is a pearl. 玉淵之中, 驪龍蟠焉, 頷下有珠.
>
> *Zhuang Zi*: A pearl worth a thousand pieces of gold certainly lies beneath the chin of a black dragon in the ninefold depths. 千金之珠必在九重之淵而驪龍頷下.[54]

Similarly, three of the four passages below combine two sets of sayings. Interestingly, three different sources are attributed in them:

> *Shi Zi*: 孔子曰：Kong Zi said: "To yield a *cun* (inch) but extend a *chi* (foot), or to be slightly crooked but mostly straight, are [what] I do." 詘寸而信尺, 小枉而大直, 吾爲也.
>
> *Meng Zi*: Chen Dai said [that]... the *Records* say: "To be crooked a *chi* (foot) but straight a *xun* (8 feet), seems an appropriate [way] to act." 陳代曰... 志曰: 枉尺而直尋, 宜若可爲也.
>
> *Huainan Zi*: To yield a *cun* (inch) but extend a *chi* (foot): sages do this; to be slightly crooked but mostly straight: noble men practice this. 詘寸而伸尺, 聖人爲之; 小枉而大直, 君子行之.
>
> *Wen Zi*: Master Lao said: "To yield a *cun* (inch) but extend a *chi* (foot), or to be slightly crooked but mostly straight: sages do this." 老子曰: 屈寸而申尺, 小枉而大直, 聖人爲之.[55]

To whom shall we ascribe this saying? Kong Zi, Lao Zi, an untitled "*Record*," or perhaps an unknown source from which all of them were borrowing?

Sayings and themes may not always be clearly delineated, but the distinction is worth making, if only so that the latter does not escape

[53] *Shi Zi* 1, p. 7a; *Lü shi chunqiu* 16, p. 14b or Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, p. 396. I filled in the lacunae in *Shi Zi* with text from *Lü shi chunqiu* using braces: { }.

[54] *Shi Zi* 2, p. 7b; *Zhuang Zi* 10, p. 12a, or Mair, *Chuang Tzu*, p. 331.

[55] *Shi Zi* (Xuxiu SKQS edn.), p. 302; *Meng Zi* 6, p. 1a, or Lau, *Mencius*, p. 106; *Huainan Zi* 13, p. 14a, or Morgan, *Tao: The Great Luminant*, p.165; *Wen Zi* (SBBY edn.) 2, p. 31a, or Thomas Cleary, trans., *Wen-tzu: Understanding the Mysteries* (Boston: Shambhala, 1992), p.164.

our notice. In the following example there is a shared metaphor of a spreading fire, but it is primarily the theme of putting out a fire when it is small that is parallel, rather than the concrete references to the Mengzhu swamp and the Jiang river:

> *Shi Zi*: [When] flames first arise, [they] are easily extinguished. [But when] it reaches to the burning of the Yunmeng and Mengzhu swamps, even using the service of all those under heaven to ladle out the waters of the Jiang and Han rivers, [one will still] be unable to save [the situation]. 熛火始起, 易息也. 及其焚雲夢、孟諸, 雖以天下之役, 扞江漢之水, 弗能救也.
>
> *Huainan Zi*: A fire [still] within pale smoke can be extinguished with [just] one finger, or a dike (唐=塘) with a hole like a titmouse's burrow can be plugged with [just] one clod of earth. [But when it] reaches an extreme fire roasting Mengzhu swamp with flames towering [as high as] clouds, or a flood that breaks across the nine [branches] of the Jiang river and soaks the land of Jing, [then] even arousing the ranks of a three corps army, [one will still] be unable to save [the situation]. 夫爝火在縹煙之中也, 一指所能息也; 唐漏若鼷穴, 一墣之所能塞也. 及至火之燔孟諸而炎雲臺, 水決九江而漸荆州, 雖起三軍之眾, 弗能救也.[56]

Likewise, I think it is the theme of "a river is greater than the streams that feed into it by virtue of its being lower than them" that is being expressed in the following sentences, rather than a particular saying:

> *Lao Zi*: The reason why the [Jiang] river and the ocean are able to be kings of the hundred valleys is that they excel at being lower than them. Therefore [they] are able to be the kings of the hundred valleys. Likewise, in desiring to be above the people, it is necessary in [one's] speech to be below them, and in desiring to precede the people, it is necessary in [one's] person to be behind them. 江海所以能爲百谷王者, 以其善下之. 故能爲百谷王. 是以欲上民, 必以言下之; 欲先民, 必以身後之.
>
> *Shi Zi*: Master Kong said: "Great is the [Yellow] river and the ocean." [This is because of their position] below things. The [Yellow] river is lower than [all] the streams of the world and is therefore vast; a person [who puts himself] lower than [all] officials of the world is therefore great. 孔子曰: 大哉, 河海乎! 下之也. 夫河下天下之川故廣, 人下天下之士故大.
>
> *Huainan Zi*: That by which the [Jiang and Yellow] rivers can rule the hundred streams is [their] being able to be below them. Only by

[56] *Shi Zi* 1, p. 3b; *Huainan Zi* 18, p. 13a.

being able to be below them: this is that by which it can be above them. 江河所以能長百谷者, 能下之也. 夫惟能下之, 是以能上之.[57]

As mentioned above, stories differ from sayings and instantiated themes in that they have characters and plots. Some are anecdotal and others may be historical. A very well-known story that appears twice in *Han Fei Zi* also appears in *Shi Zi*:

Shi Zi: Among the people of Chu there was one who sold spears and shields; praising the one [he] said: "The solidity of my shields is [such that] nothing can pierce [them]. [He] also praised his spears, saying: "The sharpness of my spears is [such that] among [all] things, none will not be pierced [by them]." Someone asked [him]: "[If one] takes your spear and [tries to] pierce your shield, what would happen?" That person was unable to answer. 楚人有鬻矛與盾者, 譽之曰: 吾盾之堅, 莫能陷也. 又譽其矛曰: 吾矛之利, 於物無不陷也. 或曰: 以子之矛陷子之盾何如? 其人弗能應也.

Han Fei: Among the people of Chu there was one who sold shields and spears; praising the one [he] said: "The solidity of [my] shields is [such that] nothing can pierce [them]. [He] also praised his spears, saying: "The sharpness of my spears is [such that] among [all] things, none will not be pierced [by them]." Someone asked [him]: "[If one] takes your spear and [tries to] pierce your shield, what would happen?" That person was unable to answer. 楚人有鬻楯與矛者, 譽之曰: 楯之堅, 莫能陷也. 又譽其矛曰: 吾矛之利, 於物無不陷也. 或曰: 以子之矛陷子之楯何如? 其人弗能應也.

Han Fei: Among the people there was one who sold spears and shields; praising his shields as [that which] nothing can pierce, [he] then also praised his spears, saying: "The sharpness of my spears is [such that] nothing will not be pierced [by them]." A person responded to him saying: "[If one] takes your spear and [tries to] pierce your shield, what would happen?" That person as unable to answer. 人有鬻矛與楯者, 譽其楯之堅, 物莫能陷也, 俄而又譽其矛曰: 吾矛之利, 物無不陷也. 人應之曰: 以子之矛陷子之楯何如? 其人弗能應也.[58]

The wording of the first two is almost identical, while Han Fei's second telling is still quite close. It was obviously an anecdote well-known to both authors, but we do not know its origin.

[57] *Lao Zi* 2, pp. 18a–b, or Lau, *Lao Tzu*, p. 73; *Shi Zi* 1, p. 5b; *Huainan Zi* 16, p. 3a.

[58] *Shi Zi* (Xuxiu XSKQS edn.), p. 308; *Han Fei Zi* (SBBY edn.) 15, pp. 2b–3a, and 17, p. 2b, or W. K. Liao, *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1939, 1959) 2, pp. 143 and 203–4.

The following story may have its roots in early historical writings, but the theme of self-sacrifice on the part of Tang Wang is emphasized in the masters-texts. I have prefaced them with two historical accounts for background as well as for similarities in wording made probably for rhetorical purposes.

> *Shang shu*: Heaven's way [is to send] good fortune to the good and bad fortune to the bad. [It] sent down calamities on the Xia [dynasty] in order to manifest their guilt. Therefore I, the young son, will promote heaven's mandate and manifest [its] might, and will not dare to pardon [Xia King Jie], [but rather] dare to use a dark male animal [as a sacrifice], and dare to clearly announce to the supreme Thearch and the spiritous Earth: may the guilt remain with the Xia [and not accrue to the succeeding Shang].... Cause me, the solitary man, to make peaceful and tranquil your country: [in doing] this I do not know [if I] will accrue offence toward [those] above or [those] below. ... Those of you with excellence, I will not dare to conceal, and as for the guilt that belongs to my person, [I] will not dare to pardon myself. [These things] are clear in the mind of the supreme Thearch. If you of the world have guilt, [may it] reside in me the solitary man, and [if] I, the solitary man, have guilt, [may it] not be added to you [people of] the world. 天道福善禍淫. 降災于夏, 以彰厥罪. 肆台小子, 將天命明威, 不敢赦, 敢用玄牡, 敢昭告于上天神后: 請罪有夏. ... 俾予一人, 輯寧爾邦家. 茲朕未知獲戾于上下. ... 爾有善, 朕弗敢蔽, 罪當朕躬, 弗敢自赦. 惟簡在上帝之心. 其爾萬方有罪, 在予一人, 予一人有罪, 無以爾萬方.
>
> *Zhu shu jinian*: In [his] 18th year, a *guihai* year, King [Tang] took [his] position [as king], and lived in Bo. [He] roofed the Xia Earth-altar. In [his] 19th year there was a great drought. The Di and Qiang peoples visited court. In [his] 20th year, there was a great drought. [Deposed] Xia [King] Jie died at Mt. Ting; it was forbidden to play stringed instruments, sing, or dance. In [his] 21st year, there was a great drought; there was casting of metal coin. In [his] 22nd year, there was a great drought. In [his] 23rd year, there was a great drought. In [his] 24th year, there was a great drought; the king prayed at Sanglin, [then it] rained. 十八年癸亥, 王即位, 居亳. 始屋夏社. 十九年, 大旱. 氐、羌來賓. 二十年, 大旱. 夏桀卒于亭山. 禁弦歌舞. 二十一年, 大旱. 鑄金幣. 二十二年, 大旱. 二十三年, 大旱. 二十四年, 大旱. 王禱于桑林, 雨.
>
> *Lun yu*: I, the young son Lü, have dared to use a dark male animal [as a sacrifice], and dare to clearly announce to the very august

Thearch: [those] with fault [I] will not dare pardon, as [the relation between] Thearch and ministers is not obscured [but] is plain in the mind of the Thearch. [If] my person has guilt, do not bestow [it] upon the world, and [if] the world has guilt, [may] the guilt be upon my person. 予小子履, 敢用玄牡, 敢昭告于皇皇后帝: 有罪不敢赦, 帝臣不蔽, 簡在帝心! 朕躬有罪, 無以萬方; 萬方有罪, 罪在朕躬.

Mo Zi: Tang said: "I, the young son Lü, have dared to use a dark (元=玄) male animal [as a sacrifice] to announce to high heaven: 'Now heaven [has sent] a great drought, just during my [reign]; [I] do not know [whether there] is guilt toward [those] above or [those] below: where there was excellence [I] did not dare to conceal [it] and where there was guilt [I] did not dare to pardon [it]: [this is] plain in the mind of the Thearch. [If] the world has guilt, then appropriate it to my person, and [if] my person has guilt, do not bring [it] upon the world.'" 湯曰: 惟予小子履, 敢用元牡, 告於上天后曰: 今天大旱, 即當朕身履, 未知得罪于上下, 有善不敢蔽, 有罪不敢赦, 簡在帝心. 萬方有罪, 即當朕身, 朕身有罪, 無及萬方.

Shi Zi: Tang's saving [the people] from drought was [his] riding a plain vehicle [with] white horses, wearing cloth clothes, [his] body wrapped in white wildgrass, using [his own] person as a sacrificial animal, and praying in the wilds of Sanglin. At that time singing to strings and dancing to drums were prohibited. 湯之救旱也, 乘素車白馬, 著布衣, 身嬰白茅, 以身爲牲, 禱於桑林之野. 當此時也, 絃歌鼓舞者禁之.

Lü shi chunqiu: [When] Tang conquered the Xia and rectified the world, heaven [sent] a great drought, and for five years there was no harvest. Tang thereupon personally prayed in the wilds of Sanglin, saying: "[If] I the one man have guilt, do not bring it upon the people, and [if] the people have guilt, [let it] be upon me the one man. Do not take one person's shortcoming and have [it] cause the supreme Thearch, ghosts, and spirits to harm the fate of the people." Thereupon [he] cut his hair, shackled his hands, and took his person as a human sacrifice to pray for blessings from the supreme Thearch. The people then were very happy, and rains then greatly came. 湯克夏而正天下, 天大旱, 五年不收. 湯乃以身禱於桑林, 曰: 余一人有罪, 無及萬夫; 萬夫有罪, 在余一人. 無以一人之不敏, 使上帝鬼神傷民之命. 於是翦其髮, 磨其手, 以身爲犧牲, 用祈福於上帝. 民乃甚悅, 雨乃大至.[59]

[59] Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849), *Shisan jing zhu shu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980, 2003), p. 162, or Legge, *The Shoo King*, pp. 184–90; *Zhu shu jinian* (SBBY edn.) 1, p. 11a, or Legge, *The Shoo King*, p. 129; *Lun yu* 20, p. 1b, or Lau, *Analects*, 158; *Mo Zi* 4, pp. 10a–b, or

Among the masters-texts, only *Shi Zi* mentions the cessation of singing and dancing and, unlike *Zhu shu jinian* (not a masters-text) connects this cessation to the drought rather than the death of Jie, the last Xia king. This makes it similar to the historical text in one respect, so perhaps the *Shi Zi* author drew his knowledge of this incident from it. More likely, however, is that the story became particularly connected to the theme of self-sacrifice sometime between the historical texts and the masters-texts and became a specific pedagogical story.

INTERTEXTUALITY AND INDIVIDUATION

I suggested above that there were several reasons for changing the wording of a text when borrowing from it. These included the unintentional reasons of mistaken memory or citing from different editions and the intentional reasons of modifying the wording to make an allusion or to fit a new context, local vocabulary, or different style. Another unintentional reason is scribal error. Or perhaps a later author might have tried intentionally to hide his borrowing by changing the wording, but this would assume that such borrowing was considered unseemly, an attitude that is almost certainly anachronistic. While all but the last of these explanations are certainly possible, the probability of most of them decline as the number of texts that share the parallel increases. That is, if there are five texts that share a textual parallel and all have significant differences, it is unlikely that at least four authors remembered incorrectly, were citing four different editions, or needed to change the wording for a local vocabulary, or that four were due to scribal error. Furthermore, there are very few parallels in *Shi Zi* that appear to be simply allusive, because most parallels with significant differences have reworded narrative of roughly similar length, not the abbreviated narrative indicative of allusion.

The problem of changed narrative does not extend to Theme Parallels because Theme Parallels do not modify any extant narrative; rather they are instantiations of a particular theme using a similar literary form. The following historical anecdote has parallels in several texts, but not one appears to have been copied word for word – the hallmark of a Theme Parallel:

> *Yan Zi*: The king of Yue liked bravery and [therefore] his people made light of death; the king of Chu liked thin waists and [there-

Mei, *Works of Motze*, pp. 186–88; *Shi Zi* 1, pp. 16b–17a; *Lü shi chunqiu* 9, pp. 3b–4a, or Knoblock and Reigel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, p. 210.

fore] his court had many people who starved to death. 越王好勇, 其民輕死; 楚王好細腰, 其朝多餓死人.

Mo Zi: Anciently, King Ling of Chu liked his officers to have thin waists [therefore] King Ling's officials all limited [themselves] to one meal [a day]. 昔者楚靈王好士細腰, 靈王之臣皆以一飯爲節.

Shi Zi: Anciently, [King] Goujian [of Yue] liked bravery and [therefore] the people made light of death; King Ling [of Chu] liked thin waists and [therefore] many of the people went hungry [for him]. 昔者句踐好勇而民輕死, 靈王好細腰而民多餓.

Guan Zi: Now the king of Chu liked small waists and [therefore] perfectly healthy people reduced their meals, and the king of Wu liked swordplay and [therefore] the state officers made light of death. 夫楚王好小腰而美人省食, 吳王好劍而國士輕死.

Yin Wen Zi: [King] Zhuang of Chu loved slender waists and [therefore] everyone in the state had a starved look [for him]. 楚莊愛細腰, 一國皆有饑色.

Xun Zi: [If] a ruler is an archer, then the ministers will [wear] thumb-rings (決=抉), King Zhuang of Chu liked slender waists, therefore the court had starving people. 君射則臣決. 楚莊王好細腰, 故朝有餓人.

Han Fei Zi: The king of Yue liked bravery and [therefore] many people made light of death, King Ling of Chu liked slender waists and [therefore] within the state many people starved. 越王好勇, 而民多輕死; 楚靈王好細腰, 而國中多餓人.

Huainan Zi: King Ling [of Chu] liked slender waists (要=腰) and [therefore] there were people who reduced their food and starved themselves; the king of Yue liked bravery and [therefore] the people all got into dangerous [situations] and contended [with one another] to the death [to prove their bravery]. 靈王好細要, 而民有殺食自飢也; 越王好勇, 而民皆處危争死.[60]

The narrative setup is the same for almost all of these: a Chu king "liked slender waists" (*hao xi yao* 好細腰), but the result is worded differently every time, even though the meaning is the same in each. Probably it was the gist of this anecdote that was transmitted and not a set saying, so that each telling was a new composition of an old theme. But if it

[60] *Yan Zi* 7, pp. 6a–b; *Mo Zi* 4, pp. 3b–4a, or Mei, *Works of Motze*, p. 166; *Shi Zi* 1, p. 13a; *Guan Zi* 17, p. 2b, or Rickett, *Guanzi*, p. 206; *Yin Wen Zi* (SBBY edn.) 8a; *Xun Zi* 8, p. 3a, or Knoblock, *Xunzi*, p. 180; *Han Fei Zi* 2, p. 7b, or Liao, *Han Fei Tzu*, vol. 1, p. 50 ; *Huainan Zi* 9, pp. 9a–b, or Ames, *The Art of Rulership*, p. 183.

were the case of using and modifying a common saying with set wording, like "a stitch in time saves nine," then it seems that only two motives remain for popular parallels like this one.

These two are the motives of fitting the narrative to a new context or a new writing style. In many *Shi Zi* parallels, however, while the context may differ from text to text, it is rarely the case that a change in wording appears to be necessary to convey the meaning of the borrowed narrative. For example, all seven of the following texts are making the same point – that like seeks like – and all are clearly using the same metaphors, yet no two are exactly alike:

> *Deng Xi Zi*: Therefore, in adding bundled kindling to the fire, dryness must precede burning; in pouring water on flat ground, wetness must precede soaking in. 故抱薪加火, 燥者必先燃; 平地注水, 濕者必先濡.
>
> *Guigu Zi*: For bundled kindling to catch fire, dryness must precede burning; in pouring water on flat ground, wetness must precede soaking in. 抱薪趨火, 燥者先燃; 平地注水, 濕者先濡.
>
> *Shi Zi*: Pour water on flat ground, and the water will flow to the wet; add fire to spread kindling, and the fire will follow the dry. 平地而注水, 水流溼; 均薪而施火, 火從燥.
>
> *Xun Zi*: On spread kindling that is even, fire will seek the dry; on flat ground that is even, water will seek the wet. 施薪若一, 火就燥也; 平地若一, 水就濕也.
>
> *Xun Zi*: Add fire to spread kindling and fire will seek the dry; pour water on flat ground and water will flow to the wet. 均薪施火, 火就燥; 平地注水, 水流濕.
>
> *Lü shi chunqiu*: Pour water on flat ground and water will flow to the wet; add fire to spread kindling and fire will seek the dry. 平地注水, 水流溼; 均薪施火, 火就燥.
>
> *Chunqiu fanlu*: Pour water on flat ground and [it] will leave the dry to seek the wet; add fire to spread kindling and [it] will leave the wet to seek the dry. 平地注水, 去燥就溼; 均薪施火, 去溼就燥.[61]

These passages are too similar to be considered a vague theme coincidentally worded in similar ways. It rather seems like a single, well-known saying that was modified with every written embodiment. Thus,

[61] *Deng Xi Zi* 14b; *Guigu Zi* (SBBY edn.) 2, p. 12a, or Thomas Cleary, *Thunder in the Sky* (Boston: Shambhala, 1993), p. 37; *Shi Zi* 1, p. 11b; *Xun Zi* (SBBY edn.) 1, p. 2b and 19, p. 14a, or Knoblock, *Xunzi*, vol. 1, p. 137, and vol. 3, p. 232; *Lü shi chunqiu* 13, p. 4b, or Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, p. 283; *Chunqiu fanlu* (SBBY edn.) 13, p. 3a.

the sole remaining explanation for this kind of parallel is deliberate emendation for reasons of style, probably the author's own writing style. That is, the borrowed text was individuated. I do not want to suggest that early Chinese authors pored over every passage of borrowed narrative in an effort to personalize it. But it does appear that, more often than not, they significantly modified the narrative that they borrowed. By "significantly modified" I mean more than that necessary to simply fit local vocabulary, but less than would be expected if they were describing what was known to them only as an idea or a theme.

Why did they bother to do this? If they knew the saying – whether oral or written, whether from an anonymous text or one with a known author – it would have been easier to just repeat it verbatim. There are two possible answers to this question, the first of which depends on whether or not the saying, the borrowed text, was oral or written. If the borrowed narrative of a Saying Parallel came from an oral source, then there is an increased likelihood that there were multiple versions of that saying. For this kind of narrative, a written version is likely to be more stable than an oral version, despite the extraordinary memory skills of the ancients.[62] In this case, the authors may in fact have been quoting a borrowed text verbatim, but they each were quoting different versions. While it is unlikely that each of the seven authors of the last parallel was quoting a different edition of a written text, it does seem possible that they were quoting different versions of an oral saying.

The second explanation for this type of parallel, the most common of those found in *Shi Zi*, applies to borrowing from both oral and written texts. Perhaps early Chinese authors commonly changed the narrative they borrowed simply because they could, because there was no social pressure for them to be faithful to the wording of extant narrative. Perhaps the last example given above is simply an example of what *Zhuang Zi* was talking about when he encouraged his readers to concentrate on the meaning of the narrative and not the wording.[63] In any case, parallel passages in early Chinese texts present us with a wide variety of intertextuality.

62 For other kinds of texts, like cultural epics or religious scriptures, oral transmission over long periods of time can be nothing short of amazing. But the types of narrative that constitute the parallels of the *Shi Zi*, oral folklore is a more apt comparison. For examples of how folklore, poetry, and ballads change in oral transmission, see Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1977). Some interesting examples of changes in oral texts from folklore and ballads are also adduced by Robert Waltz in his online article "Oral Transmission" <http://www.skypoint.com/members/waltzmn/OralTrans.html>.

63 See *Zhuang Zi* 9, p. 6a: "荃者所以在魚, 得魚而忘荃; 蹄者所以在兔, 得兔而忘蹄; 言者所以在意, 得意而忘言. 吾安得夫忘言之人而與之言哉? (A fish-trap is for catching fish; once

Although sayings outnumber thematic anecdotes or stories in the *Shi Zi* parallels, all three are prevalent. Therefore, it appears that the three most likely explanations for parallels with significant differences in wording are: instantiating themes, citing one of a variety of similar oral sayings, and modifying oral or written narrative to fit the author's style. The various kinds of sources for all three of these constituted a complex and common storehouse of texts from which early authors borrowed.

CONCLUSION

Scholars in the past have often taken parallel passages to be indicative of unacknowledged citation on the part of a later author and rarely interpret them as examples of "common discourse" appropriation.[64] However, the analysis of parallel passages in *Shi Zi* presented in this paper demonstrates that the motives and methods of early Chinese authors are often too complex to easily make such a judgment. In particular, the individuation of parallel narrative that characterizes the intertextuality of early Chinese texts complicates our understanding of how and why early authors borrowed from one another. Moreover, since the "polymorphous text" paradigm mentioned above posits multiple authors for most early Chinese texts, we can postulate that there were more opportunities for them to implement some of the many ways they could appropriate and modify extant oral and written narrative. The authorial creativity exhibited in early Chinese intertextuality is thus magnified by the anonymous multiplicity of authorship for most early Chinese texts.

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you've caught the fish, you can forget about the trap. A rabbit-snare is for catching rabbits; once you've caught the rabbit, you can forget about the snare. Words are for catching ideas; once you've caught the idea, you can forget about the words. Where can I find a person who knows how to forget about words so that I can have a few words with him?)"; trans. Mair, *Chuang Tzu*, pp. 276–77.

[64] For example, A. C. Graham's "The Date and Composition of *Liehtzyy*," *AM* NS 8 (1960–61), pp. 139–98; rpt. as "The Date and Composition of Lieh-Tzu" in *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature* (Singapore: The Institute of East Asian Philosophies, 1986; rpt. Albany: SUNY P., 1990), pp. 216–82, does mention the possibility of a common source when considering parallel passages between *Lie Zi* and other early texts (pp. 229, 238, 241), but the idea never makes much of an impression in his analysis of who is copying whom. This is carried over into Timothy Barrett's assessment of *Lie Zi* in Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 1993), p. 300. Boltz, in "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts," p. 70, suggests "that the practice of compiling texts from a reservoir of preexisting materials, combined with whatever newly composed material was called for, was not just widespread but perhaps the norm." Boltz is referring to a "reservoir" of written materials of a specific length, while I am suggesting a "reservoir" of oral or written sayings, ideas, and stories of any length.

Awareness of ancient intertextuality should have at least three implications for modern readers. First, we should be aware of the formal fluidity of many of the sayings and stories that make up a significant portion of masters-texts. The long *Shi Zi–Xin shu–Huainan Zi* citation on visible signs of the decline of a royal house, cited above, shows how narrative that is clearly parallel can nevertheless still be presented in longer or shorter form. Whether the longer version was an embellished form of the shorter, or the shorter version was a truncated version of the longer, we will probably never know. This will serve to caution readers that even if they know an anecdote, they may not yet know it in its various permutations, some of which could potentially change the meaning.

Second, we should be aware of an ancient author's willingness both to borrow narrative and use it in a different context to make a different point. One simple example of this is putting the same words into the mouths of different people, as we saw above when Yi Yi and Zhuang Zi both used the same metaphor to explain why they refused public office.[65] Another example is the following, which is either a parable about not scaring away worthy ministers or the bad omens that attend a deficient ruler:

> *Shi Zi*: [If one] overturns nests and breaks eggs, then phoenixes will not come to that place; [if one] cuts open embryos and roasts the young, then *qilin* will not go to that place; [if one] drains swamps and strands fish, then spirit-dragons will not descend to that place. 覆巢破卵, 則鳳皇不至焉, 刳胎焚夭, 則麒麟不往焉, 竭澤漉魚, 則神龍不下焉.
>
> *Lü shi chunqiu*: [If one] overturns nests and destroys eggs, then phoenixes will not come; [if one] cuts open wild beasts and eats the embryos, then *qilin* will not come; [if one] dries out swamps and dries up the fish, then turtles and dragons will not arrive. 覆巢毀卵, 則鳳皇不至; 刳兽食胎, 則麒麟不来; 乾澤涸漁, 則龜龍不往.[66]

Shi Zi uses these images to warn a ruler not to be rude to worthy potential ministers, so the emphasis is on the violent verbs and exquisite animals, which are clear metaphors for worthy people. *Lü shi chunqiu*, on the other hand, uses them to illustrate what happens when bad rulers are in power, so the emphasis is on the apparent lack of these animals in an age of disharmony.

[65] Jens Østergard Petersen dealt with sayings possibly put into the mouth of Sun Zi in his "What's in a Name? On the Sources concerning Sun Wu," *AM* 3d ser. 5.1 (1992), pp. 1–31.

[66] *Shi Zi* 1, p. 5b; *Lü shi chunqiu* 13, p. 4b, or Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, p. 284.

But the most common kind of intertextuality in *Shi Zi* involves what can only be conscious modification of borrowed narrative. The *Mo Zi–Shi Zi* parallel cited above about "ordering things when they are still unformed" vs. "contending with things when they are obvious 治於神, 爭於明" is a case in point. *Mo Zi* uses the saying to praise Mo Zi for publicly contending with Gongshu Ban 公輸盤 in front of the king of Chu, whereas *Shi Zi* uses it in the opposite way, saying that only "stupid people" wait until things are obvious to contend with them. It appears at least one, if not both, of the authors modified the saying to make his point. The core saying clearly has very flexible connotations that a single instantiation will not bring out to the reader.

Authors have used attributed quotes from very early on in the Chinese literary tradition. The use of unattributed quotes was more prevalent in the first centuries BC no doubt because an author could reasonably expect his reader to know the source. But as literature burgeoned thereafter, particularly with the invention of paper, attribution became more common. Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465–520) in his *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, though writing several centuries beyond the scope of my survey, is nevertheless quite clear: "When we find our writing similar to others' work, it would seem to be our obligation to delete it. Why plagiarize beautiful expressions as if they were our own creations"? 又製同他文, 理宜刪革, 若掠人美辭, 以爲己力?[67]

Similarly, the flexibility of "common discourse" sayings employed for different ends seems to have been more prevalent in early Chinese writings than in later periods. The use of sayings with set wording probably became largely associated with a specific context, as is the case with most *chengyu* 成語 still used today, and so their citation became confined to particular situations. The authorial freedom to modify a saying in order to fit a certain context is also a thing of the past, but describing its eventual decline lies outside the scope of this analysis. Liu Xie remarks on the phenomenon of modifying the wording of borrowed narrative in early texts, but does so only in passing, and it is not clear if he is censuring it or simply noting it:

> Chü [Yuan] and Sung [Yü] are known to have followed the example of the Ancient Poets in their poetry; but on close examination we find that, although they cited the Ancient Poems, they

[67] Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465–520), *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, trans. Vincent Yu-chung Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (Hong Kong: Chinese U.P., 1983), p. 423. I use Shih's translation.

did not follow the original texts. 觀夫屈宋屬篇, 號依詩人, 雖引古事, 而莫取舊辭.[68]

To conclude, there are at least twenty-four means by which intertextuality may appear in early Chinese texts. These revolve around authorial intention, knowledge of the source of the borrowed narrative, and whether and how the narrative was modified by the borrowing author. The most interesting thing to note, as I have argued above, is that quite often borrowed narrative was intentionally modified to fit a new context and to prove a new point. Modern readers of these texts might care to know about such instances of textual fluidity and authorial strategies in order to draw stronger conclusions about the relationships that existed among early Chinese authors.

[68] Ibid., p. 395; Shih's translation.