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INTERTEXTUALITY AND MEMORY IN EARLY CHINESE WRITINGS: A CASE STUDY FROM *HUAINANZI*

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Abstract

This article aims to illustrate the usefulness of analytical approaches to early Chinese writings which center on effects of textual memory. Due to a dearth of contemporaneous descriptions, concrete practices of oral transmission, dictation, performance, and interpretation in Early China largely lie beyond the ken of present-day scholarship. But recurrence of linguistic-stylistic elements testifies to the presence of these elements in an author's memory. Memory should thus, in principle, provide a comparatively accessible perspective on textual production. To demonstrate this point, the article investigates verbal parallels to a passage from *Huainanzi* 淮南子 15, "Bing lüe" 兵略 (An Overview of the Military). The internal and distributional patterns as well as the qualitative properties of textual overlaps with other extant writings suggest a composition process that involved a particular type of textual memory. Parallels are fuzzy and patchy; they rarely exceed one or two clauses; they display an irregular distribution across intertexts; the similarities between them cut across linguistic and stylistic categories and recombine in unpredictable constellations. This bundle of characteristics suggests not so much systematic exploitation of trained mnemonic capacities to reproduce long stretches of text verbatim, but instead, a reliance on the aptness of linguistic-stylistic elements of various kinds to spring to mind piecemeal in particular thematic contexts. These specificities are captured well by Boris Gasparov's notion of "communicative fragments." To invoke an Aristotelian distinction, the resulting effects are close to those of unsupervised remembering rather than the deliberate, goal-directed cognitive activity of recollecting. Looking beyond the present study, it is hoped that future investigations of intertextuality will combine aspects

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of close reading—as in this article—and methods of digitally enhanced distant reading. This will likely help to elucidate distinct habits of text production and to devise more refined textual typologies, which might eventually feed into more nuanced literary, historical, and philosophical interpretations.

Introduction

The wealth of manuscripts brought to light over the last few decades by archaeologists and tomb robbers alike has encouraged scholars fundamentally to rethink the production, circulation, and reception of texts in ancient China. In the light of materially attested early writings, issues such as variation, transmission, and textual identity have come to the fore.[1] Ancient writings have been described as "composite texts" assembled from shorter, mobile units rather than as extended unitary compositions, and their collage-like character has been stressed.[2] So has the supposed fluidity of composite texts, though perhaps too much or for the wrong reasons, as the material evidence increasingly suggests.[3] The role of orality in textual transmission, as opposed to that of writing, has turned into a matter of debate, in particular the case of the Odes (*Shi* 詩).[4]

1. On the last point see Matthias L. Richter, *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

2. William G. Boltz, "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts," in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, ed. Martin Kern (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 50–78; Christian Schwerman, "Collage-Technik als Kompositionsprinzip klassischer chinesischer Prosa: Der Aufbau des Kapitels 'Tang wen' (Die Fragen des Tang) im *Liezi*," *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 29 (2005), 125–57; Michael Nylan, "Academic Silos, or 'What I Wish Philosophers Knew about Early History in China'," in *The Bloomsbury Research Handbook of Chinese Philosophy Methodologies*, ed. Sor-hoon Tan (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 93.

3. See Matthias L. Richter, "Manuscript Formats and Textual Structure in Early China," in *Confucius and the Analects Revisited: New Perspectives on Composition, Dating, and Authorship*, ed. Michael Hunter and Martin Kern (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 187–217. Richter argues against the hypothesis that the use of bamboo or wooden slips facilitated textual reorganization in the manner of a loose-leaf binder. Rather than being dictated by material features, Richter proposes, textual fluidity was a cultural or intellectual choice. In a similar vein, Donald Harper, "Daybooks in the Context of Manuscript Culture," in *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China: The Daybook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin, and Han*, ed. Donald Harper and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 93, asserts that "[c]onventions in manuscript culture influenced decisions about the combination of pieces of text to copy."

4. See Edward L. Shaughnessy, "Unearthed Documents and the Question of the Oral versus Written Nature of the Classic of Poetry," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 75.2 (2015), 331–75, with numerous references to publications by Martin Kern, the current major proponent of orality's crucial role in Odes transmission. On the influence of oral-formulaic theory on Western sinologists' understanding of the Odes, see

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Performance has likewise been proposed as a key to interpretation, for the Odes, but also for more bookish environments in the Western Han.[5]

From a text-critical perspective, oral transmission has been invoked to account for textual variation in prose writings.[6] The role of writing has been characterized as subservient to direct communication: "Teaching and transmission were largely oral, with most manuscripts prepared *as aides to memory* [sic], much like lecture notes today."[7] Broader claims have also been put forward by Dirk Meyer to the effect that Warring States "manuscripts reflect merely local instances of realising … what may have been predominantly oral texts," which had "nothing in common with the consciously edited recensions of imperial times."[8] Meyer has posited a "gradually developing" Warring States "manuscript culture in which predominantly oral texts were occasionally written down,"[9] which may have engendered a "shift in thought."[10] Before this purported shift was triggered by "the widespread use of lightweight stationery,"

Shaughnessy, "The Origin and Development of Western Sinologists' Theories of the Oral-Formulaic Nature of the Classic of Poetry," *Rao Zongyi guoxueyuan yuankan* 饒宗頤國學院院刊 3 (2016), 133–49, which draws on Haun Saussy, *The Ethnography of Rhythm: Orality and Its Technologies* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), a study of the invention of "oral literature" as a specific category of literature.

5. On textual performance, see Martin Kern, "*Shi Jing* Songs as Performance Texts: A Case Study of 'Chu ci' (Thorny Calthrop)," *Early China* 25 (2000), 49–111. See Kern, "Creating a Book and Performing It: The 'Yao lüe' Chapter of the *Huainanzi* as a Western Han *Fu*," in *The Huainanzi and Textual Production in Early China*, ed. Sarah A. Queen and Michael Puett (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 124–50, on the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 postface as a possible performance text. Nylan, "A Note on Logical Connectives in the *Huainanzi*," in *The Huainanzi and Textual Production in Early China*, ed. Queen and Puett, 225–65, interprets particle usage in *Huainanzi* chap. 7, "Jing shen" 精神, from the perspective of rhetorical performance and considers the entire book an "early performance text" (*ibid.*, 226; also 261). Nylan also speaks of *Huainanzi* as an example of a type of "early texts designed for highly performative manuscript cultures" (*ibid.*, 264) and conceives of her analysis of *Huainanzi* 7 as an attempt to "recapture … early listening practices" (*ibid.*, 265). On the Han as an "empire of texts" in which large-scale compilations and literary works conceived as idealized mirrors of reality gained prominence, see Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

6. See the discussion in Shaughnessy, "Unearthed Documents"; see also Dirk Meyer, *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 150, 152.

7. Nylan, "Academic Silos," 92; italics in the original.

8. Meyer, *Philosophy on Bamboo*, 83.

9. Meyer, *Philosophy on Bamboo*, 10.

10. Dirk Meyer, "Bamboo and the Production of Philosophy: A Hypothesis about a Shift in Writing and Thought in Early China," in *Material Culture and Asian Religions: Text, Image, Object*, ed. Benjamin J. Fleming and Richard D. Mann (New York: Routledge, 2014), 21–38.

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"texts, especially those that can be assigned philosophical purposes, were largely part of a wider oral performance."[11] Somewhat contradictorily, Meyer has claimed elsewhere that the "contemporaneous" and "artless" language of the "philosophical texts"—as opposed to the "archaic" idiom of the Odes—was less suited to being orally passed on, so that their "transmission … was predominantly accomplished on a written basis."[12]

Aside from the ideological overtones—recently explored by Haun Saussy in his study of the genealogy of "oral literature"[13]—which the concept of orality as a critical category opposing oral and literate minds has carried from its inception, it is also a slippery term prone to be invoked "as a kind of wildcard to play in default of any other explanation."[14] Albert Lord observed that "Oralitas, sicut Gallia, est omnis divisa in partes tres," distinguishing between a "philosophical" school of orality, which concerns itself with the respective cognitive and

11. Meyer, "Bamboo and the Production of Philosophy," 23. The following objections may be noted in passing; they pertain to three issues: (1) The decreasing cost of bamboo: Nothing suggests that "lightweight stationary"—bamboo—became cheaper or more common during the period in question. If use of bamboo spread, there is nothing to suggest that this change would have come about at any other than a glacial pace. (2) The representativeness of the sample: Due to the impact of various environmental factors on the survival of organic materials, recent finds of bamboo manuscripts are geographically skewed toward the northwest and south. The archaeological sample cannot be considered representative of the entire population of light organic writing materials at any given time. More excavated bamboo slips from a particular period do not automatically imply that there were more in circulation. Furthermore, there is no compelling reason to take it as a given that bamboo manuscripts buried in tombs meaningfully reflect wider social habits of manuscript production or use; in fact, scholars still debate potential motivations for interring manuscripts (see Armin Selbitschka, "'I Write Therefore I am': Scribes, Literacy, and Identity in Early China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (forthcoming) for an overview of arguments). (3) The relationship between material conditions and intellectual change: Material factors can be necessary conditions for social and intellectual change, but they are rarely sufficient. The availability of light writing materials by itself does not automatically mean that greater amounts of writing will be produced, that a greater number of people or proportion of the population will write, or that they will write any differently in terms of form and content. Any such outcome—or a lack thereof—will be influenced by more complex social and cultural factors.

12. Meyer, *Philosophy on Bamboo*, 172. Similar unexplained contradictions emerge in Meyer's interpretations of the Tsinghua counterpart of the *Shangshu* 尚書 chapter "Jin teng" 金縢 in different publications; see Edward L. Shaughnessy, review of *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu*, ed. Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2017), *Rao Zongyi guoxueyuan yuankan* 5 (2018), 426–28.

13. Saussy, *The Ethnography of Rhythm*.

14. Eric Eve, "Memory, Orality and the Synoptic Problem," *Early Christianity* 6 (2015), 317, on "oral tradition."

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cultural ramifications of social life with and without writing; a school which considers "oral" anything communicated in spoken utterances; and a third, "philological" one, focusing on the linguistic and literary features specific to orally performed poetry, its composition and transmission.[15] When marshaling the concept of "orality" for analytic purposes, it would seem incumbent upon us to clarify what kind of problematic we are addressing, and whether we do so from a philological, literalist, or philosophical perspective.

More to the point, faithful long-term oral transmission of texts requires stabilizing mechanisms, linguistic as well as social ones. Texts do not survive unchanged unless measures are taken to protect their integrity. Even linguistic patterns conducive to memorization such as rhyme, meter, and formulaic language, unless otherwise controlled, tend to give rise to specific kinds of variation.[16] In this respect, debates about the textual genesis of the Synoptic Gospels, with their broad similarities accompanied by frequent and manifold variation, offer an illuminating point of comparison. As Eric Eve concludes, "if oral material is to be

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15. Albert Bates Lord, "Rebuttal," in *The Singer Resumes the Tale*, ed. Mary Louise Lord (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 187–202. See also Alessandro Vatri, *Orality and Performance in Classical Attic Prose: A Linguistic Approach* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 1–2, and Vatri's discussions throughout chap. 1. In his "Rebuttal," Lord responded to D. H. Green, "Orality and Reading: The State of Research in Medieval Studies," *Speculum* 65 (1990), 267–80, which raised a number of objections against the Parry-Lord hypothesis, in particular regarding its application to medieval European literature. David R. Olson, "History of Writing, History of Rationality," in *Eurasia at the Dawn of History: Urbanization and Social Change*, ed. Manuel Fernández-Götz and Dirk Krausse (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 40–51, provides a concise overview of the "philosophical" approach.

16. For a rich and methodologically sophisticated account of oral traditions from the perspective of psychological memory research see David C. Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-Out Rhymes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). For a text-critical application of insights from empirical research into variation arising during dramatic recitation from memory, see Paul Delnero, "Memorization and the Transmission of Sumerian Literary Compositions," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 71.2 (2012), 189–208. Note also the observations on the memorization of Sanskrit texts in Ludo Rocher, "Orality and Textuality in the Indian Context," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 49 (1994), 1–28, as well as the rewarding personal reminiscences and scholarly reflections in chap. 4, "Literacy and Memorization," of Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), an account of the author's time as a Buddhist monk in Tibet. See Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, "Ancient Sanskrit Mathematics: An Oral Tradition and a Written Literature," in *History of Science, History of Text*, ed. Karine Chemla (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), 138–40, on techniques of Vedic recitation, which are also discussed, as a unique type of memorization even within the Indian context, by Johannes Bronkhorst, "Literacy and Rationality in Ancient India," *Asiatische Studien / Études asiatiques* 56.4 (2002), 797–831.

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invoked to account for either detailed similarities or detailed differences in wording between synoptic parallels, it must be oral material that is stable enough to influence an Evangelist's choice of wording."[17] We may assume analogous principles and mechanisms to be at work in ancient Chinese texts. Anyone positing influence of orally transmitted texts on the level of wording should be prepared to defend, as a corollary, that we are encountering in such instances reflections of an "oral tradition"—of "something" being "passed on in reasonably stable form through a number of people well beyond its point of origin,"[18] more precisely, of "a particular kind of oral tradition": one "that is relatively stable not only at the level of gist but that of wording."[19] Which, in turn, requires the existence of said stabilizing linguistic features and/or social mechanisms. The latter in particular are a function of cultural validation, of a decision by someone to invest effort into the faithful preservation of a certain text. *Pace* claims to the contrary, relatively loosely structured texts like "Masters" prose would not lend themselves well to oral transmission, though some parts of them may do. Oral transmission of entire texts regardless of their structure is, of course, possible; historically, it is a common enough phenomenon in China and beyond. But it requires a special effort. Like the question of these texts' cultural appreciation, this one as well will need to be addressed on a case-by-case basis.

Instead of entering the fray to attack the twin problem of orality and performance head-on, I will suggest an alternative route, addressing the more general issue of textual production, exemplified by an in-depth study of a brief passage from the *Huainanzi* 淮南子. Whether "texts were more likely to be memorized than owned in manuscript form" is an open question, though the current evidence suggests that different modes of manuscript production served distinct purposes in different contexts, among them also the preservation of carefully edited versions of texts.[20]

17. Eve, "Memory, Orality and the Synoptic Problem," 319. In a similar vein, John S. Kloppenborg, "Memory, Performance, and the Sayings of Jesus," in *Memory in Ancient Rome and Early Christianity*, ed. Karl Galinsky (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 286–323, argues that Jesus narratives and even shorter, aphoristic sayings attributed to Jesus were probably not faithfully transmitted by word of mouth. There was no controlled oral transmission, as some have claimed, and wherever longer verbal parallels occur, writing was probably involved. For another refutation of the notion of controlled transmission, see Bart D. Ehrman, *Jesus Before the Gospels: How the Earliest Christians Remembered, Changed, and Invented Their Stories of the Savior* (New York: HarperCollins, 2016), 71–78.

18. Eve, "Memory, Orality and the Synoptic Problem," 318.

19. Eve, "Memory, Orality and the Synoptic Problem," 319.

20. Nylan, "Academic Silos," 94. See also Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 130, for the claim that academicians in the Qin-Han period "were far more likely to memorize an endangered text than to consign it to

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Regardless of any uncertainties on this point it is, however, clear that both textual production and reception—insofar as the latter involves genuine understanding—are dependent on the resources of memory. Texts become comprehensible on a basic literal level—and interpretable along more subtle stylistic, intellectual, or cultural dimensions—only if a recipient is able to call up linguistic elements of different shapes and sizes stored in memory.[21] Conversely, textual production requires such elements to rise to the level of consciousness in the course of composition. By default, originators of texts have to be aware of them to include them. And this pertains equally to different modes of production and reception: on the production side, in-performance extemporization—the main focus of oral theory—as well as typing in front of a computer screen; listening as well as silent reading, on the reception side. There are numerous complications to this basic conception, mainly to do with differentials regarding available time, limitations of short-term memory, reliability and types of communication channels, access to externally stored information, and the chance to revise linguistic output.[22] But

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expensive, fragile silk or bamboo." Matthias Richter, "Textual Identity and the Role of Literacy in the Transmission of Early Chinese Literature," in *Writing and Literacy in Early China: Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar*, ed. Li Feng and David Prager Branner (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 206–36, analyzes material features of two Mawangdui 馬王堆 manuscripts, concluding that one probably served performative functions, whereas the other was more suited for textual preservation. Rens Krijgsman, "An Inquiry into the Formation of Readership in Early China: Using and Producing the **Yong yue* 用曰 and *Yinshu* 引書 Manuscripts," *T'oung Pao* 104.1–2 (2018), 2–65, argues for a gradual increase in the use of punctuation and layout features which facilitated browsing and selective reading, a development which probably began with technical and administrative writings. Selbitschka, "I Write Therefore I am," combines manuscript and other material evidence to argue convincingly that pre- and early-imperial scribes were often highly literate and concomitantly took great pride in and highlighted their ability to read and write. Out of concern for their own reputation, Eastern Han literary and philosophical figures in particular may have tried to maintain a clear distinction from these literate administrators by deprecating them as mindless copyists of dry-as-dust documents. But Selbitschka's examples demonstrate that appreciation for writing existed in some groups in early China, and it is not always clear what kind of groups would have been involved in the transmission or study of certain texts and what attitudes they would have held, so any generalization about modes of transmission would seem problematic at this point.

21. Such elements may range from single lexical items to phrases, sentences, entire sections of text, and even to more abstract properties such as generic features of certain text types.

22. These factors are too wide-ranging and complex to address in sufficient detail, but on cognitive aspects of the last point see at least the intriguing, classic paper by Andy Clark and David J. Chalmers, "The Extended Mind," *Analysis* 58 (1998), 10–23; reprinted in *The Extended Mind*, ed. Richard Menary (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), 27–42.

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despite all this, the basic outline holds, whatever may be the type or material carrier of linguistic communication in any particular case.

To explore what the concept of memory could offer to textual analysis, especially of the production side, the following will explore the nexus of intertextuality surrounding a passage in the *Huainanzi* chapter "An Overview of the Military" (Bing lüe 兵略)—a Western Han summa of pre-imperial military thought "highly derivative of earlier military literature" yet also "a unique synthesis of these materials"[23]—which suggests a mode of composition based not so much on exercising mnemonically trained textual memory but relying, instead, on the aptness of phrases and linguistic patterns to spring to mind when cued by the conventions of particular discourses.

A notion relevant to such concerns has been explored by Boris Gasparov in connection with terms, phrases, and patterns he calls "communicative fragments." These can assume various linguistic forms;[24] unlike quotations, they tend to be brief due to memory constraints,[25] and they always come with what Gasparov calls "texture":[26] They conjure up "comprehensive scenarios" and "speech situations,"[27] consist of "remembered speech material,"[28] are "communicatively charged,"[29] and arise from "quotidian situations of language use" which are "casual, transient, and as such, not memorable."[30] While these patterns emerge from and are reinforced by everyday linguistic usage, Gasparov traces their influence in literary works as well, and it appears sensible to assume that his concept of conventionalized communicative patterns with "texture" in the sense of strong but tacit contextual associations can also be applied to literary communication.

The *Huainanzi* passage to be discussed below exhibits elements and patterns akin to Gasparov's communicative fragments, use of which is encouraged by themes and topics which conjure up a certain discursive context, so much so, perhaps, that "context" in general may "be defined

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23. Andrew S. Meyer, in *The Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China, by Liu An, King of Huainan*, ed. John S. Major, Sarah A. Queen et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 573.

24. Boris Gasparov, *Speech, Memory, and Meaning: Intertextuality in Everyday Language* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2010), 20, 45.

25. Gasparov, *Speech, Memory, and Meaning*, 47.

26. Gasparov, *Speech, Memory, and Meaning*, 4, 8 and throughout.

27. Gasparov, *Speech, Memory, and Meaning*, 7.

28. Gasparov, *Speech, Memory, and Meaning*, 8.

29. Gasparov, *Speech, Memory, and Meaning*, 55–56.

30. Gasparov, *Speech, Memory, and Meaning*, 46; see the illuminating examples of "The mushroom omelet left without paying" (*ibid.*, 4–6) and "May we come in" (*ibid.*, 91–93).

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in linguistic terms proper as a plurality of compact, observable expressions whose repertory constitutes a legitimate component of the speaker's knowledge of a language."[31] The composition of the passage in question, it would seem, results from a particular manner in which the author drew on the resources of memory: not by activating a mnemonically enhanced verbal storage offering up sustained, longer sequences of text, but rather through awareness of communicative fragments appropriate to the thematic context and rhetorical purpose at hand. This, at least, is what the study of a particular type of intertextual relationship—verbal parallels—suggests.

Intertextuality is a term widely and imaginatively applied in literary criticism.[32] But while the unrestricted concept of intertextuality transports us to the wilder and more exciting shores of the theoretical imagination, it seems to be of little analytical value.[33] Instead, the present article will adopt a more conservative, "tamed and domesticated"[34] notion of intertextuality by focusing on close verbal parallels. This limitation is partly owed to practical constraints and accompanied by a full acknowledgment that it is not without its "ideological implications" to decide on any "stopping place" along the potentially infinitely proliferating chains of associations a text might touch off in different readers.[35] The justification for this self-imposed restriction is that it seems to serve best the immediate purposes of this article which, in accordance with a useful functional typology of parallels in commentaries, might be conceived along such lines as "comprehending the text," "establishing register within the text," "contextualizing the text," "identifying intertexts / allusions," and "identifying topoi."[36]

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31. Gasparov, *Speech, Memory, and Meaning*, 95.

32. For an overview of intertextuality in literary theory beginning with Ferdinand de Saussure's (1857–1913) concept of the sign and Michail Bakhtin's (1895–1975) work on the dialogic nature of the novel, and extending down to recent postmodern developments, see Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London: Routledge, 2000). Strikingly, this student introduction does not suggest any concrete analytical approaches or research programs.

33. See Manfred Pfister, "Konzepte der Intertextualität," in *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien*, ed. Ulrich Broich and Manfred Pfister (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985), 15–16.

34. Don Fowler, "On the Shoulders of Giants: Intertextuality and Classical Studies," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 39 (1997), 13.

35. Fowler, "On the Shoulders of Giants," 25.

36. Roy K. Gibson, "'Cf. e.g.': A Typology of 'Parallels' and the Role of Commentaries on Latin Poetry," in *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*, ed. Roy K. Gibson and Christina Shuttleworth Kraus (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 334–35, 335–36, 336–39, 340–43, 343–44.

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A modern reader interested in the intertextuality of ancient Chinese writings relies perforce on the textual memory of Chinese scholars of the distant and more recent past, at least insofar as reflections of it have been externally preserved in the form of notes and commentaries. These scholarly monuments, which depend on the ability of the human mind to identify and recall multifarious linguistic correspondences, are now complemented by databases such as Donald Sturgeon's immensely useful, publicly accessible *Chinese Text Project*, thanks to which even the most obscure and arbitrary intertextual connections are at our fingertips.[37] More systematic intertextual inquiries will no doubt have to rely on digital approaches to develop comprehensive methods of "distant reading." Fields such as Latin literature are already producing impressive amounts of scholarship based on large-scale quantitative analyses of intertextuality across substantial corpora, whereas such methodologies are, at the time of writing, comparatively less common in classical sinology.[38] The present article, however, still adheres to the familiar paradigm of close reading, but does so in full acknowledgment of the fact that this can only be a stepping stone on the way to developing more comprehensive and systematic methods in the future in which automated analysis will play a greater part.

37. See https://ctext.org, accessed on March 12, 2019.

38. On "distant reading" see the highly influential Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005), a collection of Digital Humanities studies *avant la lettre*, as it were, still largely conducted with pencil-and-paper methods. See also Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013). On quantitative intertextuality in Latin literature, see, e.g., James O. Gawley and A. Caitlin Diddams, "Comparing the Intertextuality of Multiple Authors Using Tesserae: A New Technique for Normalization," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 32, Supplement 2 (2017), 53–9; Joseph P. Dexter et al., "Quantitative Criticism of Literary Relationships," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 114, no. 16 (April 18, 2017), E3195–3204. For a study of the *Lun yu* and Confucius quotations in early writings substantially based on digital methods, see Michael Hunter, *Confucius beyond the Analects* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); for a study of textual overlaps and processes of borrowing between medieval encyclopedias (*leishu* 類書), see Hsiang Jieh 項潔 et al., "Shuwei renwen shiye xia de zhishi fenlei guancha: liang bu guanxiu leishu de bijiao fenxi" 數位人文視野下的知識分類觀察：兩部官修類書的比較分析, *Dongya guannianshi jikan* 東亞觀念史集刊 9 (2015), 229–86. See also Donald Sturgeon, "Unsupervised Identification of Text Reuse in Early Chinese Literature," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 33.3 (2018), 670–84, on methodological issues in the detection of parallels in ancient Chinese writings. For a study applying Digital Humanities methods to the history of early Confucianism, see Ryan Nichols, Edward Slingerland, Kristoffer Nielbo, Uffe Bergeton, Carson Logan, and Scott Kleinman, "Modeling the Contested Relationship between *Analects*, *Mencius*, and *Xunzi*: Preliminary Evidence from a Machine-Learning Approach," *Journal of Asian Studies* 77.1 (2018), 19–57.

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A final note of caution seems in place. Even carefully controlled psychological experiments will not always yield clear and uncontested results about mental faculties and the exact manner in which they are exercised under specific conditions. Operating at a much lower level of precision and being, for the available data, at the mercy of uncontrollable, frequently unknowable long-term transmission processes, the analysis of ancient texts as traces of cognitive activity severed from their original context will by necessity remain tentative, if not tenuous. Penetrating and methodologically sophisticated work is possible but depends on propitious circumstances.[39]

Huainanzi on the Three Foundations of the Military

The following *Huainanzi* passage, presented in Andrew Meyer's translation, is at the heart of a tangle of multifarious intertextual relationships resulting, I would argue, from various memory effects. For a contemporary reader trying to better understand the subtleties of quotation and allusion, memory and orality, the value of the passage lies in its high density of such phenomena.

1	兵有三詆，	The military has three foundations:
	治國家，理境內，	In ordering the kingdom, regulate within the borders.
	行仁義，布德惠，	In effecting Humaneness and Rightness, spread Moral Potency and Benevolence.
	立正法，塞邪隧，	In establishing correct laws, block deviant paths.
		[When]
5	群臣親附，	the collected ministers are intimately close,
	百姓和輯，	the common people are harmonious,
	上下一心，	superiors and inferiors are of a single mind,

39. See the study by Delnero, "Memorization and the Transmission of Sumerian Literary Compositions," in which the author identifies evidence of copying from memory in Sumerian cuneiform tablets. Aside from Delnero's inventive methodology, drawing on empirical investigations into textual memory, his work also relies on the availability of large numbers of copies of the same texts. The peculiarities of scribal cuneiform culture, the physical sturdiness of the clay tablets, and the arid climatic conditions in present-day Iraq are crucial factors in this. Most of these conditions are absent in the case of early China.

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	君臣同力，		ruler and minister unite their efforts.
	諸侯服其威，而四方懷其德。		The Lords of the Land submit to your might and the Four Directions cherish your Moral Potency;
10	脩政廟堂之上，	[*daŋʔ]	you cultivate governance in the temple hall
	而折衝千里之外，		and extend control beyond one thousand *li*;
	拱揖指撝，		you fold your hands, issue commands,
	而天下響應，	[*ʔəŋh]	and the world responds as an echo.
	此用兵之上也。	{*daŋʔ}	This is the highest use of the military.
			[When]
15	地廣民眾，	[*tuŋh]	the territory is broad and the people [are] numerous;
	主賢將忠，	[*truŋ]	the ruler is worthy and the commanders loyal;
	國富兵強，	[*gaŋ]	the kingdom is rich and the military strong;
	約束信，		covenants and prohibitions are trustworthy;
	號令明，	[*mraŋ]	pronouncements and orders are clear.
20	兩軍相當，	[*tâŋ]	the two armies oppose each other;
	鼓錞相望，	[*maŋ^{A}]	the bells and drums face each other;
	未至兵交接刃而敵人奔亡，	[*maŋ]	yet the enemy flees before the soldiers meet or blades clash.
	此用兵之次也。		This is the middling use of the military.
			[When]
	知土地之宜，		you understand what suits the terrain;
25	習險隘之利，		practice the beneficial [use of] narrow and obstructed [positions],
	明奇正之變，		discern the alterations of the extraordinary and the usual,
	察行陳解續之數，		investigate the rules for marching and formation, dispersion and concentration;[40]

40. *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋, ed. He Ning 何寧 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1998), 15.1056 ("Bing lüe xun" 兵略訓), has *shu* 贖 instead of *xu* 續. He quotes Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821–1907) to the effect that *shu* stands in for *xu*, to be understood as "connecting, linking up," hence, *jie xu* 解續: "breaking / splitting / dividing up and connecting / gathering together."

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	維枹綰而鼓之，		bind the drumsticks [to your forearms] and roll the drums.
	白刃合，	[*gə̂p]	White blades meet;
30	流矢接，	[*tsap]	flying arrows are exchanged;
	涉血屬腸，	[*d-laŋ]	you wade through blood and tread through guts;[41]
	輿死扶傷，	[*lhaŋ]	you cart the dead away and support the wounded;
	流血千里，		the blood flows for a thousand *li*;
	暴骸盈場，	[*d-laŋ]	exposed corpses fill the field;
35	乃以決勝，	[*lhəŋh]	the victory is decided.
	此用兵之下也。		This is the lowest use of the military.[42]

Below follows a detailed, but by no means exhaustive—in fact, by necessity incomplete—discussion of intertextual phenomena. Among other things, the near-verbatim recurrence of this passage in the *Wenzi* 文子 will be ignored, as any analysis of this parallel would only make sense within a broader investigation into the triangular relationship between *Huainanzi*, the received *Wenzi*, and the excavated manuscript of the *Wenzi*, all of which have been the subject of intense scholarly debate.[43]

Imaginary Battle Scenes

In one out of a group of interview scenes in which several followers of Confucius one by one introduce their aspirations to the Master or a noble, Zigong 子貢, of famed diplomatic talent, imagines himself at the center of a military standoff, which he deftly diffuses through his de-escalating rhetoric.[44]

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41. *Shu* 屬 may be a graphic mistake for *lü* 履 or *ju* 屨 "tread / step on." Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744–1832) suggests the character *nian* 躡, with the same meaning.

42. *Huainanzi jiaoshi* 淮南子校釋, ed. Zhang Shuangdi 張雙棣 (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 1997), 15.1560 ("Bing lüe xun" 兵略訓); tr. Andrew S. Meyer, in *The Huainanzi*, ed. Major and Queen, 587–88. Here and throughout, reconstructed pronunciations are Axel Schuessler's Minimal Old Chinese from his *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

43. For the parallel, see *Wenzi jiaoshi* 文子校釋, ed. Li Dingsheng 李定生 and Xu Huijun 徐慧君 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2016), 11.450 ("Shang yi" 上義). For a study of the *Wenzi* with further references see Paul van Els, *The Wenzi: Creativity and Intertextuality in Early Chinese Philosophy* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

44. On these interview scenes, see Oliver Weingarten, "Textual Representations of a Sage: Studies of Pre-Qin and Western Han Sources on Confucius (551–479 BCE)" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2010), chap. 4.1.

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1	賜也願齊楚合戰於莽洋之野，	[*laʔ]	I wish Qi and Chu would meet for battle on a vast expanse,
	兩壘相當，	[*tâŋ]	their strongholds confronting each other,
	旌旗相望，	[*maŋ^{A}]	their banners facing each other.
	塵埃相接，	[tsap]	When the dust [from the two camps] intermingles
5	接戰構兵。	[*praŋ]	and, meeting in battle, they cross their weapons,
	賜願著縞衣白冠，	[kôn]	I wish to don raw silk garments and a white cap
	陳說白刃之間，	[krên]	to present my persuasions amidst glistening blades
	解兩國之患。	[grôns]	and dispel the troubles between the two states.
	獨賜能耳。		Only I can do it![45]

One recognizes immediately the similarity with the *Huainanzi*'s description of a similar situation (*HNZ* 15/20–22): both are tetrasyllabic; both end in the same rhymes—in identical words, in fact; both depict, with minor variations, the confrontation between enemy armies. The verses resemble each other so closely, they might be understood as variants of the same lines, just as the differing ways of reciting a ballad which has changed during its transmission are usually still taken to be versions of the same poem. In the present case, the overlap only covers two lines, though, which would make it difficult to argue that these are partial quotations from a single longer poem.

One notices, furthermore, that *Huainanzi* has other tetrasyllabic lines describing battle situations ending in *-aŋ or fairly close rhymes in back vowels with a nasal final (*HNZ* 15/13–14; 17, 19; 31–32; 34–35). We encounter some of the same phrases and lexical items as in Zigong's speech (*HNZ* 15/29: *bai ren* 白刃; 30: *jie* 接), though these correspondences are distributed across different units of the tripartite disquisition on the "optimal," "mediocre," and "worst" ways of deploying the military (*HNZ* 15/14, 23, 36: *yong bing zhi shang / ci / xia* 用兵之上 / 次 / 下). Taken on their own, the tetrasyllabic lines in *Huainanzi* represent consecutive stages of a battle. Initially, the opposing armies take their position, awaiting the command to strike. Then, the actual battle having

45. *Shuoyuan jiaozheng* 說苑校證, ed. Xiang Zonglu 向宗魯 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987), 15.375 ("Zhi wu" 指武); note the parallel in *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng* 孔子家語疏證, ed. Chen Shike 陳士珂 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1987), 2.39 ("Zhi si" 致思), where the lines in question vary slightly.

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been skipped, we are apprised of the gruesome aftermath—the blood shed, the soldiers maimed or slaughtered, corpses exposed to the elements. This order mimics the chronological unfolding of the event; it partially enacts the cognitive scheme of a battle. It also reflects the logic of the argument: The optimal way to deploy the military is to end a confrontation victoriously *before* the fighting starts. The worst, to let it run its course, any victory inevitably being overshadowed by bloodshed and death. This piece of strategic advice varies a principle which in its canonical form in the *Sunzi* 孫子 states:

> 百戰百勝，非善之善者也；不戰而屈人之兵，善之善者也。
>
> It is not the most skillful of skills to fight hundred battles and win one hundred times. The most skillful of skills is to stunt the others' troops without fighting battles.[46]

In different guises, we will encounter this principle again as we make our way through the intertextual connections of the *Huainanzi* passage; it forms a recurrent theme suffusing the strands of discourse connected to *Huainanzi* by multiple textual correspondences. This is also not the only place in the *Huainanzi* passage which resonates with echoes of the *Sunzi*.[47]

Further to the question at hand, though, we might wonder whether what we are observing here is a single text—a battle poem in tetrasyllabic lines—circulating in variant versions and split up in *Huainanzi* so as to be divided across different parts of an extended argument on strategy. While this would be a highly speculative reading of the evidence, the correspondences with Zigong's speech are substantial and salient. In conjunction with other, similar evidence discussed below, they suggest a mixed type of intertextuality, which is partly authorial and intentional but, at the same time, also partly systemic and, at most, semi-deliberate. On such an understanding, the texts under investigation "combine the purposeful and the serendipitous, the structural and the incidental."[48] To approach these phenomena by searching for signs of verbatim memorization and reproduction alone would be mistaken, and so perhaps

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46. *Sunzi xiangjie* 孫子詳解, ed. Niu Guoping 鈕國平 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2013), 3.21 ("Mou gong" 謀攻). A similar formulation can be found in chap. 4 (*ibid.*, 32), while similar ideas are discussed in a slightly different form in *Guanzi*, *Laozi*, and *Liu tao* (see notes *ibid.*, 22).

47. The phrase "alterations of the extraordinary and the usual" (奇正之變; *HNZ* 15/26) also occurs in *Shiyi jia zhu Sunzi jiaoli* 十一家注孫子校理, ed. Yang Bing'an 楊丙安 (Beijing: Zhongshua, 1999), 5.89 ("Shi" 勢).

48. Raphael Lyne, *Memory and Intertextuality in Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 6.

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would be the search for precursor texts in each instance. But there are thematically related texts with shared elements, which suggests that there existed a consistent set of expressions—communicative fragments, in Gasparov's terminology—associated with these discourses.

Take the following self-appraisal by a certain Zhuji Ying 諸稽郢, officer at the court of King Goujian 勾踐 of Yue 越 (r. 496–465 B.C.E.) who, in this narrative, joins a long line of other officials introducing to the king their respective "business."

> 望敵設陣，飛矢揚兵 [*praŋ]，履腹涉屍，血流滂滂 [*phâŋ] ，貪進不退；二師相當 [*tâŋ] ，破敵攻眾 [*tuŋh] ，威凌百邦 [*prôŋ] ：臣之事也。
>
> Watching out for the enemy and setting up the battle lines, letting arrows fly and raising weapons, treading on bellies, wading through corpses and, while blood surges like a flood, to still be eager to advance without turning back; when the two armies confront each other to destroy the enemy, attacking his hosts, and thus to bear down on the hundred states with awesomeness: That is Your subject's business.[49]

Lexical items common to battle descriptions which occur in *Huainanzi* make an appearance here as well: "weapons" (*bing* 兵), "battle lines" (*zhen* 陣), also "flying arrows" (*fei shi* 飛矢; cf. *HNZ* 15/30: *liu shi* 流矢). The verb *wang* 望 occurs, albeit in a slightly different meaning, and again the two sides are "confronting each other" (*xiang dang* 相當). As in *Huainanzi* and *Shuoyuan*, rhymes in *-aŋ or nasal finals preceded by other back vowels predominate. So does the tetrasyllabic meter.

But, as before, the resemblances are fuzzy. The shared vocabulary and common patterns—rhyme and meter—are not traces of a faithful, if partial, reproduction of the same text. Instead, a set of linguistic elements are recombined to produce utterances that fit a particular kind of discourse, a remarkably specific one, in fact. All three examples include descriptions of hypothetical battlefield situations which, in two instances, are embedded in a fictional declaration in which the speaker vaunts his own abilities.

We may also consider the following brief record, again involving a hypothetical battlefield situation and tetrasyllables in *-aŋ:

> 宋石，魏將也。衛君，荊將也。兩國構難，二子皆將。宋石遺衛君書曰：「二軍相當 [*tâŋ] ，兩旗相望 [*maŋ^{A}] ，唯毋一戰 [*tans] ，戰必不兩存 [*dzə̂n] 。此乃兩主之事也，與子無有私怨，善者相避也。」

49. *Wu Yue chunqiu jiaozheng zhushu* 吳越春秋校證注疏, ed. Zhang Jue 張覺 (Beijing: Zhishi, 2014), 7.210 ("Goujian ru chen waizhuan" 勾踐入臣外傳).

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> Song Shi was a general of Wei, the Lord of Weih a general of Jing (Chu). When the two states were locked into a conflict, both gentlemen were in command. Song Shi sent the Lord of Weih a letter, saying: "When the two armies are confronting each other and the banners of the two [sides] are facing each other, we should not even fight once. If we do, we will not both survive. This is a matter for our two rulers; I bear no personal grudge against you. Good men will stay out of each other's way."[50]

Relating this episode to matches in *Huainanzi* and Zigong's speech does not exhaust the network of intertextual connections; we may note in passing, though will not further address, the fact that the phrase "when the two states were locked in a conflict" (*liang guo gou nan* 兩國搆 / 構難) is only attested in one other text—a *Han shi waizhuan* version of Zigong's speech, which above is quoted from *Shuoyuan*.[51] Moreover, *xiang dang* 相當 is frequently attested elsewhere in military contexts, sometimes in combination with *xiang wang* 相望 . In these cases it is not exclusively, but predominantly used in tetrasyllabic lines. At one point, we even find the Yellow Emperor's sage adviser Qibo 歧伯 explaining that medical treatment by acupuncture requires time and patience, like disciplining troops. Qibo sets the scene for his elaborate comparison in a by now familiar way: "So it takes more than a single day of strategic planning for two armies to confront each other, their banners facing each other, glistening blades displayed across the wilderness" (故兩軍相當，旗幟相望，白刃陳於中野者，此非一日之謀也。).[52]

This tangle of correspondences, echoes, and resemblances defies definitive contextualization. Unless we take literally the narrative frames in which Zigong and Zhuji Ying make their pronouncements, it is difficult to conjure a social setting in which it would be advantageous to have a knack for composing tetrasyllabic lines on hypothetical battles with frequent rhymes in *-aŋ. But while this case is odd, it is not unique. Recently, David Schaberg has drawn attention to a similar phenomenon. The kind of verse he terms "*Laozi*-style tetrasyllables," which is scattered across the ancient literature, is also dominated by nasal rhymes as well as a particular vocabulary. In a repetitive and somewhat tedious way it

50. *Han Feizi jiaoshu* 韓非子校疏, ed. Zhang Jue 張覺 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2010), 31.661 ("Nei chu shuo xia" 內儲說下).

51. *Han shi waizhuan jianshu* 韓詩外傳箋疏, ed. Qu Shouyuan 屈守元 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1996), 7.656.

52. *Huangdi neijing lingshu jizhu* 黃帝內經靈樞集注, ed. Zhang Yin'an 張隱庵 (Taiyuan: Shanxi kexue jishu, 2013), 7.262–63 ("Yu ban" 玉版).

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addresses narrow thematic concerns related to the mind and self-cultivation.[53]

In this case, as well as in that of the discourse repertoire of battlefield description, certain thematic prompts and perhaps specific settings—be they actual or fictional—elicit converging linguistic choices with regard to diction, rhythmic organization, and euphonic patterning. And while some such choices combine to produce a group of almost identical verses, as happens in a few lines in *Huainanzi*, *Shuoyuan* and elsewhere, other texts loosely replicate a set of interrelated conventions without substantive overlaps, yielding a less easily definable group of textual matches which resemble, in some respects, the similarities of vocabulary, diction, and literary form obtaining between the First Emperor's stele inscriptions.[54] What is common to all of these examples is a certain set of features shared across texts which also address similar themes. As a recent study of the *Huainanzi*'s intertextuality suggests, these observations very likely hold for the entire "Overview of the Military."[55]

Blood and Guts

If we inspect our *Huainanzi* passage further in light of Zhuji Ying's speech, more similarities become apparent. Zhuji Ying's "treading on bellies and wading through corpses, while blood surges like a flood" (*lü fu she shi, xue liu pang pang* 履腹涉屍，血流滂滂) calls to mind the following lines from *Huainanzi*:

53. David Schaberg, "On the Range and Performance of *Laozi*-Style Tetrasyllables," in *Literary Forms of Argument in Early China*, ed. Joachim Gentz and Dirk Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 87–111.

54. Martin Kern, *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2000).

55. Zhu Xinlin 朱新林, *Huainanzi zhengyin xianqin zhuzi wenxian yanjiu* 淮南子徵引先秦諸子文獻研究 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue, 2015), chap. 5, reviews some intertextual phenomena in *Huainanzi* 15. While Zhu analyzes these in terms of quotations and clear dependencies, I would argue that the examples he cites strengthen the case presented here. Rarely do the verbal parallels he discusses exceed two, at most three, sentences; beyond that, resemblances turn fuzzy. Many examples adduced as cases of quotation or borrowing, furthermore, express vaguely similar ideas, but do so in a manifestly divergent manner. Sometimes, Zhu's delineation of influences is inconsistent, for instance when he describes the origins of *Huainanzi*'s view of war as natural occurrence among humans as derivative of *Xunzi*, chap. 15, "Yi bing" 議兵 (Zhu, *Huainanzi zhengyin xianqin zhuzi wenxian yanjiu*, 123–25), only to trace it back at a later point to the excavated manuscript *Sun Bin bingfa* 孫臏兵法 (Zhu, *Huainanzi zhengyin xianqin zhuzi wenxian yanjiu*, 132) instead.

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31	涉血屬腸，	[*d-laŋ]	[Y]ou wade through blood and tread through guts;
	輿死扶傷，	[*lhaŋ]	you cart the dead away and support the wounded;
	流血千里，		the blood flows for a thousand *li*;
	暴骸盈場，	[*d-laŋ]	exposed corpses fill the field[.]

Within the received corpus, Zhuji Ying's phrasing is unique,[56] but the underlying imagery clearly is not. It is reprised elsewhere with reference to different body parts. The bodyguard of a Jin 晉 general explains somewhat idiosyncratically, and in another self-appraisal: "Getting off the chariot and unsheathing the sword (?), wading through blood and stepping on livers, that is naturally my business!" (下車免劍，涉血履肝者，固吾事也).[57] King Goujian supposedly explained once about the fighting spirit he nurtured in his men that "if knights and grandees trampled on livers and lungs and died the same day" (士大夫履肝肺，同日而死), that was something he wished for.[58]

Closer to the *Huainanzi* passage in imagery and phrasing, however, is a discussion of Marquis Wen 文 of Wei's 魏 "skill at using troops" (*shan yong bing* 善用兵), which is dramatically set off against the dire results of incompetent leadership.

> 野人之用兵也，鼓聲則似雷，號呼則動地，塵氣充天，流矢如雨，扶傷輿死，履腸涉血，無罪之民其死者量於澤矣。
>
> When a crude man uses troops, the war drums sound like thunder, his commands and shouts shake the earth, clouds of dust fill the sky, arrows fall like rain, the wounded must be carried and the dead transported in carts, treading on guts and wading through blood, and so many innocent people die that they would fill a plain.[59]

Familiar images are marshaled to paint the horrors of war in an indictment of strategic ineptness—the flying arrows as well as the blood and

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56. No other received text seems to preserve exactly the same verb–object combinations.

57. *Shuoyuan jiaozheng*, 11.271 ("Shan shui" 善說).

58. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi* 呂氏春秋新校釋, ed. Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2002), 9.486 ("Shun min" 順民); tr. John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei: A Complete Translation and Study* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 211–12.

59. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 21.1458 ("Qi xian" 期賢); tr. Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 555–56. Cf. the parallel in *Xinxu jiaoshi* 新序校釋, Shi Guangying 石光瑛 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2001), 5.689–90 ("Za shi" 雜事).

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guts covering the battlefield so densely the soldiers cannot help but tread on them, and even the fairly rare phrase about the removal of the dead and wounded, which we will encounter again below.[60] While these phrases and images are yet again joined together in the context of a particular strategic argument, intertextual correspondences are patchy and fuzzy, consisting in similarities of themes and phraseology rather than the wholesale repetition of preformed textual sequences.

Naturally, flowing blood is a common image in war discourse, and Zhuji Ying uses it as well, though here too he picks a rare turn of phrase. The *Huainanzi*'s wording, by contrast, is repeatedly attested and thus rather conventional. More surprising is perhaps that, in the received corpus, the phrase "blood flows for a hundred *li*" frequently collocates with expressions which resemble, though do not match precisely, *Huainanzi*'s "exposed corpses fill the field," thus forming a two-sentence unit which can be regarded as a semantic and positional variant of the *Huainanzi* lines in question.

Staying close to our *Huainanzi* passage, another *Huainanzi* chapter, "The Basic Warp," describes the lawlessness of the "later ages" as opposed to the positively idyllic "ancient times," claiming that during the latter-day era of decline "[l]arge countries set off to attack [others]" and in the end "carried off their weighty treasures, [so that] streams of blood flowed for a thousand *li*, and sun-bleached skeletons choked the wild lands" (大國出攻 … 遷人之重寶，血流千里，暴骸滿野).[61] This close correspondence may hint at a general stylistic coherence across different parts of the same work, for the phrasing in these two *Huainanzi* passages contrasts with the following.

In *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策, the king of Qin evokes the prowess of the Zhou king in a similar but differently worded expression: "When the Son of Heaven flies into a rage, prostrate corpses will number in the millions, and blood will flow for a thousand *li*" (天子之怒，伏尸百萬，流血千里).[62] Here, the "exposed" or "sun-bleached skeletons" (*pu hai* 暴骸) have become "prostrate corpses." But though they conjure up a less vivid image, semantically the king's words do not differ much from *Huainanzi*. In the *Han shu*, we encounter a similar depiction of battle deaths:

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60. In one of the economic chapters of *Guanzi*, the phrase *yu si fu shang* 輿死扶傷 appears three times in direct speech attributed to Duke Huan of Qi and Master Guan respectively. See *Guanzi qingzhong pian xinquan* 管子輕重篇新詮, ed. Ma Feibai 馬非百 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979), 13.502, 556 ("Qing zhong jia" 輕重甲).

61. *Huainanzi jiaoshi*, 8.879 ("Ben jing" 本經); tr. John S. Major in *The Huainanzi*, ed. Major and Queen, 286.

62. *Zhanguo ce jizhu huikao* 戰國策集注匯考, ed. Zhu Zugeng 諸祖耿, rev. ed. (Nanjing: Fenghuang, 2008), 25.1344 ("Qin wang shi ren wei Anling jun" 秦王使人謂安陵君); see also *Shuoyuan jiaozheng*, 12.295 ("Feng shi" 奉使).

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"Prone corpses filled the wilderness, and blood flowed for a thousand *li*" (僵尸滿野，流血千里).[63] This comes as part of a discussion between Liu An 劉安 (179?–122 B.C.E.), titular king of Huainan 淮南, and his close adviser Wu Pi 伍被 on whether or not to rebel against the Han court. Tantalizingly, Wu, who uses the image to characterize the campaigns of the Qin general Meng Tian 蒙恬, is listed by Gao You as one of the scholars with whom Liu An composed *Huainanzi*.[64] Lastly, in *Heguanzi* 鶡冠子, the general Pang Huan 龐煥 (also: Xuan 煖; c. 295–c. 240 B.C.E.) is asked by King Wuling 武靈 of Zhao 趙 (r. 325–299 B.C.E.) to elucidate the saying that "It is not the most skillful of skills to fight hundred battles and win. The most skillful of skills is not to fight battles and win" (百戰而勝，非善之善者也，不戰而勝，善之善者也).[65] Pang Xuan states, as part of his answer: "Nowadays, prone corpses sometimes number in the millions, blood flows for a thousand *li*, but victory is not yet determined. And even if it were over, it would not be worth it (?)" (今或僵尸百萬，流血千里，而勝未決也，以為功計之，每已不若。).[66] As will be remembered, Pang Xuan repeats here verbatim a principle which is set out in its classic form in *Sunzi* but which, differently phrased, also structures the entire *Huainanzi* passage under discussion.

The semantic content of the juxtaposition of dead bodies and flowing blood remains stable across texts, but the phrasing in which these combined images are presented varies between two groups of writings—the two *Huainanzi* chapters on the one hand and *Zhanguo ce*, *Han shu*, and *Heguanzi* on the other. Apparently, there was no idiomatic or canonical way of expressing this conventional combination of images at the outset. If we ignore the various imponderables involved and tentatively arrange the texts in a plausible chronological order, we arrive at *Zhanguo ce* as the earliest one, followed by *Huainanzi* and *Han shu*, while *Heguanzi* is difficult to place but could be older than *Huainanzi*. The phrasing in *Huainanzi* would then perhaps reflect a stylistic idiosyncrasy; one may even speculate whether it could be attributed to the book's patron and main editor, Liu An.

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63. Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* 漢書, repr. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1964 [1962]), 45.2171.

64. See "Gao You Huainan honglie jie xu" 高誘淮南鴻烈解敘, 2, in *Huainanzi jiaoshi* (the item is included with separate pagination). On Wu Pi, see also Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221 BC–AD 24)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 585–86; on Meng Tian see *ibid.*, 437–38.

65. *Heguanzi jiaozhu* 鶡冠子校注, ed. Huang Huaixin 黃懷信 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2014), 19.371 ("Wuling wang" 武靈王).

66. *Heguanzi jiaozhu*, 19.378 ("Wuling wang"). Understanding *mei* 每 as being synonymous with *sui* 雖, "even though"; see *Gushu xuci tongjie* 古書虛詞通解, ed. Xie Huiquan 解惠全, Cui Yonglin 崔永琳, and Zheng Tianyi 鄭天一 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2008), 420.

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But speculation aside, what the group of recurring images as a whole suggests is a stylistic convention rather than a quotation, since there is no indication that readers are supposed to link the images to any particular authority, textual or otherwise. The recurring uses suggest a topos, one which is fairly narrowly circumscribed but not as rigidly entrenched as an idiom, which would tolerate variation only for ironic or other subversive purposes. This topos is, furthermore, embedded in a relatively stable manner into a specific discourse on warfare. It would be intriguing to know whether these contextual links were reinforced through reading and writing—that is, whether they were predominantly a phenomenon of literary communication—or whether they circulated in speech—oratory or conversation—or both. But this question seems impossible to decide. What is clear, however, is that the topos must have formed part of the memory resources available to those who composed these texts and their intended audience, regardless of possible channels of communication or transmission.

Exhortations to Unity

Emphasizing the harmonious unity between rulers and ministers, the people and their superiors, our *Huainanzi* passage explains about the "highest use of the military":

7	上下一心，	[S]uperiors and inferiors are of a single mind,
	君臣同力，	ruler and minister unite their efforts.
	諸侯服其威，而四方懷其德。	The Lords of the Land submit to your might and the Four Directions cherish your Moral Potency[.]

The first two sentences are thrice repeated verbatim in two different *Xunzi* chapters; a variant version appears in a fourth one. All of these occurrences contribute to discussions about military strength, though from opposing perspectives. Like *Huainanzi*, two of the *Xunzi* passages promise domination over other states to the ruler who unites his ministers and his people behind himself. Two others warn against attacking a state which achieves such unity, for it will be invincible.

Holding out the promise of domination over others, the *Xunzi* chapter "Strengthening the State" explains that the "enlightened ruler" (*ming zhu* 明主) follows up success with generous rewards for subjects on all rungs of society.

> 是以為善者勸，為不善者沮，上下一心，三軍同力，是以百事成，而功名大也。

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> Thus, those who did good were encouraged, and those who did what was not good were obstructed. Superiors and subordinates shared one heart, and the three armies merged their strengths. Thus, the hundred tasks were successfully completed, and people's accomplishments and fame were great.[67]

By contrast, the *Xunzi* chapter "Discussing Military Matters," employing slightly different phrasing, argues that "when a [humane] person is in charge of those below, the hundred generals share one heart, and the three armies merge their strengths" (仁人上下，百將一心，三軍同力), making all members of society care for and protect each other like kin, so that "[t]rying to deceive such a person and ambush him will have the same result as if one first alerted him and then attacked him" (詐而襲之，與先驚而後擊之，一也。).[68] In a similar vein, the *Xunzi* chapter "Enriching the State" warns against attacks on a "person of [humanity]" (仁人) who "will open up farmland, fill up his granaries and make ready supplies. Then those above and those below will be of one mind, and the three armies will be united in strength" (將闢田野，實倉廩，便備用，上下一心，三軍同力。).[69] Taking the opposite perspective again, the same chapter advertises unity as a source of strength and preeminence:

> 必將脩禮以齊朝，正法以齊官，平政以齊民；然後節奏齊於朝，百事齊於官，眾庶齊於下。如是，則近者競親，遠方致願，上下一心，三軍同力，名聲足以暴炙之，威強足以捶笞之，拱揖指揮，而強暴之國莫不趨使。
>
> Instead, he will surely cultivate ritual in order to set straight his court. He will rectify his models for conduct in order to set straight his officials. He will make his government evenhanded in order to set straight the common people. Only then will the regulations be set straight in his court, the hundred tasks set straight among his officials, and the masses set straight below. When the situation is like this, then those close by will vie to draw near to him, and those far away will send notice of their wish to submit to him. Those above and those below will share one heart, and the three armies will merge their strengths. His reputation will be enough to blaze over other states, and his authority and strength will be enough to thrash them. He need merely stand

67. *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解, ed. Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2013 [1988]), 16.348 ("Qiang guo" 彊國); tr. Eric Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 165.

68. *Xunzi jijie*, 15.316 ("Yi bing" 議兵); tr. modified from Hutton *Xunzi*, 146.

69. *Xunzi jijie*, 10.232–33 ("Fu guo" 富國); tr. modified from Hutton, *Xunzi*, 96.

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> with hands clasped together and give directions, and then none of the strong and violence states will fail to hurry in doing his bidding.[70]

The frequency with which the same two phrases are repeated together suggests that they form a recognizable unit, a set expression of sorts. This perception already existed in the Han, as an episode in Liu Xiang's 劉向 (79–8 B.C.E.) *Xin xu* 新序 shows. When both the king of Chu and his ministers sincerely blame themselves for attracting an attack by the state of Jin, the "people of Jin" (Jin *ren* 晉人) realize that a state with elites so united in their desire to take on responsibility for its fate is insuperable:

> 君臣爭以過為在己，且君下其臣猶如此，所謂上下一心，三軍同力，未可攻也。
>
> When ruler and minister contest to find fault with themselves and, moreover, the ruler even humbles himself like this to his ministers, this is a case of what is called "Those above and those below are of the same heart, and the Three Armies unite their strength." [Such a state] may not be attacked.[71]

This statement not only repeats the phrases in question and explicitly marks them, metalinguistically, as a quotation or communicative fragment, it also replicates the negative injunction familiar from two of the above-quoted *Xunzi* passages not to attack a socially united polity. For the author of the *Xin xu* episode, the oft-repeated phrases come with a specific texture, a firm attachment to a recognizable discursive context—in fact, to a very specific argument about whether it is advisable to attack a particular kind of enemy. The passages in question are found in a number of different writings, mostly within the book *Xunzi*, but they are not randomly scattered across debates on varying topics. On the contrary, they display a stable relationship, not only with a general theme such as military matters—the use of *jun* 軍 "army" would make that rather unsurprising—but with a precise argument.

Gesturing Commands with Clasped Hands

The last *Xunzi* passage quoted above is interesting for an additional reason as well. To dominate other polities, it claims, the ruler of an internally

70. *Xunzi jijie*, 10.238 ("Fu guo"); tr. Hutton, *Xunzi*, 98. Cf. the parallel in *Han shi waizhuan jianshu*, 6.570; tr. James Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 215–16.

71. *Xinxu jiaoshi*, 4.539 ("Za shi"). Cf. *Huainanzi jiaoshi*, 12.1262 ("Dao ying" 道應), where the sentences in question do not appear.

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united state "need merely stand with hands clasped together and give directions" (*gong yi zhi hui* 拱揖指揮). The same memorably paradoxical image of the ruler gesturing his commands while clasping his hands—exerting his power without having to take action—is also encountered in *Huainanzi*, not far from the lines on unity just discussed (*HNZ* 15/12). Assuming that "[p]hysical contiguity must be a plausible explanation for the intersection between sources,"[72] we may further note in passing that this characterization also appears in the conclusion to an anecdote about the power of sincerity (*cheng* 誠) in *Han shi waizhuan*, immediately preceded by a parallel to one of the *Xunzi* passages on unity.[73] The conclusion to the anecdote, furthermore, also records a saying by Confucius on personal rectitude (*zheng* 正), said to be a precondition for one's orders to be carried out by others, a statement better known as part of the *Lun yu* 論語.[74]

Within the *Huainanzi* itself, the clasped-hands formula *gong yi zhi hui* appears in the chapter "Surveying Obscurities" as part of a discussion about rulership under the Han, stressing the pivotal position of the Son of Heaven, who makes the entire world submit to his aura of moral and spiritual superiority, gladly paying him obeisance.

> 逮至當今之時，天子在上位，持以道德，輔以仁義，近者獻其智，遠者懷其德，拱揖指麾而四海賓服。
>
> Coming down to the present time, the Son of Heaven occupies his position on high, sustaining [his rule] with the Way and its Potency, supporting [his rule] with Humaneness and Rightness. Those nearby augment his knowledge; those far away embrace his Moral Potency. He folds his hands and bows, gestures with his finger, and [all within] the Four Seas respectfully submit to him.[75]

This ideal of political rulership portrays the monarch as the eternally resting yet mysteriously omnipotent center of a world that he dominates

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72. Lyne, *Memory and Intertextuality in Renaissance Literature*, 48.

73. *Han shi waizhuan jianshu*, 6.573–74; tr. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 216–17. Cf. the parallel in *Xinxu jiaoshi*, 4.615–21. The passage in *Han shi waizhuan* 6 follows the *Han shi waizhuan* parallel to *Xunzi jijie*, 10.238 ("Fu guo"); tr. Hutton, *Xunzi*, 98 (see above). Whether by coincidence or not, the beginning of *Han shi waizhuan* 6 also uses the phrase "the Three Armies" (*san jun* 三軍), which features so prominently in the exhortation to unity.

74. *Lun yu jishi* 論語集釋, ed. Cheng Shude 程樹德 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1990), 26.901 ("Zilu shang" 子路上).

75. *Huainanzi jiaoshi*, 6.710 ("Lan ming" 覽冥); tr. Major in *The Huainanzi*, ed. Major and Queen, 229.

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exclusively by the centripetal force of his purified charisma.[76] Our passage from the military chapter of the *Huainanzi* promotes a similar concept of rulership, but in this case more narrowly confined to military matters. Now note how similar ideas are recombined in the following speech of a "literatus" (*wen xue* 文學) in the *Discourses on Salt and Iron* (*Yantie lun* 鹽鐵論):

> 孔子曰：有國有家者，不患貧而患不均，不患寡而患不安。故天子不言多少，諸侯不言利害，大夫不言得喪。畜仁義以風之，廣德行以懷之。是以近者親附而遠者悅服。故善克者不戰，善戰者不師，善師者不陣。修之於廟堂，而折衝還師。王者行仁政，無敵於天下， 惡用費哉？」
>
> Confucius observed that *the ruler of a kingdom or the chief of a house is not concerned about his people being few, but about lack of equitable treatment; nor is he concerned about poverty, but over the presence of discontentment*.[77] Thus the Son of Heaven should not speak about *much and little*, the feudal lords should not talk about advantage and detriment, ministers about *gain and loss*,[78] but they should cultivate benevolence and righteousness, to set an example to the people, and extend wide their virtuous conduct to gain the people's confidence. Then will nearby folk lovingly flock to them and distant peoples joyfully submit to their authority. Therefore, *the master conqueror does not fight; the expert warrior needs no soldiers; the truly great commander requires not to set his troops in battle array*. Cultivate virtue in the temple and the hall, then you need only to show a bold front to the enemy and your troops will return home in victory. The Prince who practices benevolent administration should be matchless in the world;[79] for him, what use is expenditure?[80]

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76. On self-cultivation as organizing principle of the book *Huainanzi* and as core concept in the work's political ideology, see Harold Roth, "Daoist Inner Cultivation Thought and the Textual Structure of the *Huainanzi*," in *The Huainanzi and Textual Production in Early China*, ed. Queen and Puett, 40–82.

77. See *Lun yu jishi*, 33.1137 ("Ji shi" 季氏). Gale uses Soothill's translation here.

78. Cf. *Xunzi jijie*, 27.592–93 ("Da lüe" 大略); tr. Hutton, *Xunzi*, 304; *Han shi waizhuan jianshu*, 4.388; tr. in Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 139–40.

79. Here, Wang Liqi王利器 in his *Yantie lun jiaozhu* 鹽鐵論校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1992), 1.13 n. 41 ("Ben yi" 本義), references two *Mengzi* quotes: 仁者無敵 (*Mengzi zhengyi* 孟子正義, ed. Jiao Xun 焦循 [Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987], 2.68 ["Liang Hui wang shang" 梁惠王上]); 如此則無敵於天下 (*Mengzi zhengzyi*, 7.232 ["Gongsun Chou shang" 公孫丑上]).

80. *Yantie lun jiaozhu*, 1.2 ("Ben yi"); tr. Esson M. Gale, *Discourses on Salt and Iron: A Debate on State Control of Commerce and Industry in Ancient China, Chapter I–XXVIII* (Leiden: Brill, 1931; Taipei: Ch'eng Wen, 1973), 4–5 (italics in the original). Citations refer to the Ch'eng Wen edition.

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This speech is itself a veritable patchwork of quotations and communicative fragments which I will not attempt to unravel here. Instead, I shall only highlight three points: (1) the conception of optimal warfare as victory without fighting (善克者不戰 …); (2) the presence of what we might call an "attraction formula" (in the present version: 近者親附而遠者悅服); and (3) the notion of cultivation in the temple and the deterrence of enemies at a distance (修之於廟堂，而折衝還師).

As Gale points out, the claim that the "master conqueror does not fight" and the sentences that follow it are a restatement of the principle that winning without fighting represents the highest form of military skill. The idea is presented here in a manner which does not so much resemble the canonical version in *Sunzi*, but instead has closer counterparts in a different set of works such as *Laozi* 老子 and *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書.[81] The received historiography of ancient Chinese thought with its penchant for positing schools, each with a strong collective identity and neatly defined set of doctrines, would lead one to expect a strict separation between this idea—irrespective of how it is phrased—and the Confucian tradition. Yet we find this notion right at the center of a statement by a "literatus," sandwiched between sayings associated with Confucius himself.

The passage in the *Xunzi* chapter "Enriching the State" (Fu guo 富國) which shares with the military chapter of *Huainanzi* the encouragement to unity (上下一心，三軍同力) has also with it in common the clasped-hands formula.[82] At the same time, another similarity catches our attention—a statement on the effect which the ideal ruler's influence has on those nearby and those in the distance which reads, in the *Xunzi* version:

> 近者競親，遠方致願。

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81. Gale, *Discourses on Salt and Iron*, 5 n. 1, notes: "A frequently used quotation of uncertain source … The passage is indeed reminiscent of *Lao-tzu*, chap. 68," where it says, in the Wang Bi 王弼 version: 善為士者不武，善戰者不怒，善勝敵者不與 (*Laozi gujin: wu zhong duikan yu xiping yinlun* 老子古今：五種對勘與析評引論, ed. Liu Xiaogan 劉笑敢 [Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2006], 659; see *ibid.* for variant versions). See also *Yi Zhou shu huijiao jizhu* 逸周書彙校集注, ed. Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, Zhang Maorong 張懋鎔, and Tian Xudong 田旭東 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1995), 8.113 ("Da wu jie" 大武解): 善政不攻，善攻不侵，善侵步伐，善伐不搏，善搏不戰 (*Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔, quoted *ibid.*, records a slightly different sequence, which some scholars such as Wang Niansun prefer: 善征不侵，善侵不伐，善伐不陣，善陣不鬪，善鬪不敗); *Guliang zhuan zhushu* 穀梁傳注疏, ed. Shisan jing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui 十三經注疏整理委員會 (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2000), Duke Zhuang 8, 85: 故曰：善陳者不戰，此之謂也。善為國者不師，善師者不陳，善陳者不戰，善戰者不死，善死者不亡; *Xinxu jiaoshi*, 5.704 ("Za shi"), credits 善為國者不師 to *Chunqiu*; *Han shu* 23.1088 quotes under *gu yue* 故曰 the following: 善師者不陣，善陣者不戰，善戰者不敗，善敗者不亡.

82. *Xunzi jijie*, 10.238 ("Fu guo").

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> [T]hose close by will vie to draw near to him, and those far away will send notice of their wish to submit to him.

An attraction formula in *Yantie lun* expresses a similar idea thus: "Nearby folk [will] lovingly flock to them and distant peoples joyfully submit to their authority" (近者親附而遠者悅服). As Esson Gale notes, the classic formulation of this idea is found in the *Lun yu*, where Confucius responds to an inquiry by the Master of She 葉公 about ideal government that "those close by will be delighted, those in the distance will come" (近者說，遠者來).[83] Versions of this saying with only minimal variation, all presented as advice by Confucius to the Master of She, appear across a number of texts.[84]

Reprising some of the characteristic vocabulary of the *Lun yu* and closely related versions such as *qin fu* 親附 and *yue* 悅 / 說, *Yantie lun* includes the canonical form of the saying in the context of a Confucius quotation explicitly marked as such. The proximity of the two sayings suggests that their stable association with the Master motivated their being quoted together in *Yantie lun*; given its pervasive association with Confucius, we are entitled to assume that the attraction formula is an implicit quotation.

More generally, the concept of the ruler's moral excellence as a force that suffuses and structures the political world encourages a mingling of communicative fragments which find their place in discourses on both military success and virtuous rule. This is how we come to find varying intersections between such texts as *Xunzi*'s "Strengthening the State" with its own version of the attraction formula (近者競親，遠方致願), its exhortation to unity (上下一心，三軍同力), and its clasped-hands formula (拱揖指揮);[85] the *Huainanzi*'s "Surveying Obscurities" with yet another version of the attraction formula (近者獻其智，遠者懷其德) and the clasped-hands formula; and the *Discourses on Salt and Iron* with—among other quotations and communicative fragments—the canonical version of the attraction formula, but also with a restatement of the principle of optimal strategy as non-fighting, the organizing principle of the passage from the military *Huainanzi* chapter at the heart of this article and a key concept of strategic thought appearing in *Sunzi* and elsewhere.

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83. *Lun yu jishi*, 27.920 ("Zilu xia" 子路下); see Gale, *Discourses on Salt and Iron*, 4 n. 4.

84. See *Han Feizi jiaoshu*, 38.996 ("Nan san" 難三); *Shuoyuan jiaozheng*, 7.154 ("Zheng li" 政理), with a parallel in *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng*, 3.88 ("Bian zheng" 辨政); *Shangshu da zhuan bu zhu* 尚書大傳補注, ed. Wang Kaiyun 王闓運 (*Xu xiu si ku quan shu* 續修四庫全書, ed.), 6.11b–12a; and a critical discussion in *Mozi jiangu* 墨子閒詁, ed. Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986), 11.394 ("Geng Zhu" 耕柱).

85. *Xunzi jijie*, 10.238 ("Fu guo").

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What we observe on the level of intertextual echoes and correspondences, then, is not so much a reflection of strictly separate bodies of doctrine or lines of textual descent which could be represented by a stemma but, instead, an intertwining of shared components in thematically, though not doctrinally, determinate strands of discourse, which results in shifting but meaningfully interrelated configurations of recurring elements.

Up in the Temple

The *Yantie lun* passage just discussed turns out to be even further entwined with the tangle of intertextual relationship surrounding our passage from the military chapter of *Huainanzi*. Two sentences on cultivation and its military effects at a distance which, in *Huainanzi*, immediately precede the clasped-hands formula (脩政廟堂之上而折衝千里之外; *HNZ* 15/10–11) also appear in *Yantie lun*—in Gale's slightly modified translation:

> 修之於廟堂，而折衝還師。
>
> Cultivate it in the temple and the hall, then you need only to show a bold front to the enemy and your troops will return home in victory.

The second part is in fact better rendered as "to turn back [the enemy's] assault chariots and bring home [one's own] troops,"[86] the underlying idea being that the ruler's purified virtue will radiate outwards and forestall attacks, though it is left open whether this is due to the mysterious force of his moral potency or to the enemy's realization that virtuous rulers command devoted troops which are hard to defeat. One should, in any case, beware of giving this statement a reading fixated on supposedly transcendent effects of virtue. As Wang Liqi underlines, referencing a number of military writings, the ancestral temple is a place for strategic deliberation,[87] just as it is the site of high-profile military rituals such as the "handing over of the axe [of command]" (*shou fu yue* 授斧鉞) to a newly appointed military commander.[88]

The general notion of mindful rulerly activity in the temple conforming to ritual standards is open to either thematic contextualization, military or political, insofar as these two can be conceptually distinguished

86. For the interpretation of *zhe chong* 折衝 see Gao You's 高誘 (c. 168–212 C.E.) commentary at *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 20.1377 n. 38 ("Zhao lei" 召類); also quoted to elucidate the *Yantie lun* passage in *Yantie lun jiaozhu*, 1.12 n. 40 ("Ben yi").

87. See *Yantie lun jiaozhu*, 1.12 n. 40 ("Ben yi").

88. See Ren Huifeng 任慧峰, *Xian Qin junli yanjiu* 先秦軍禮研究 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2015), 59–62.

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in the period under discussion. Hence, when asked by a ruler in *Lüshi chunqiu* whether "those who take care of the state simply do so up in the hall" (為國家者，為之堂上而已矣), Confucius responds in the affirmative, proclaiming that "the realm will be well-ordered without [the ruler] stepping out of the gate" (不出於門戶而天下治).[89] In a variant version, he affirms that "state and family will be well-ordered if one only takes care up in the hall of the temple" (謹之於廟堂之上而國家治矣).[90] In a memorial from around 128 B.C.E., advising Han Emperor Wu 武 (r. 141–87 B.C.E.) against large-scale campaigning, the contextual association with warfare is stronger, an impression reinforced in the crucial statement itself by the reference to "calamities" rather than the more general and connotationally less loaded terms for good governance used in the Confucius dialogues.

> 賢主獨觀萬化之原，明於安危之機，修之廟堂之上，而銷未形之患。
>
> The worthy ruler alone observes the origin of the myriad transformations and is aware of the trigger which turns security into danger. Cultivating this up in the hall of the temple, he dispels calamities before they have taken shape.[91]

Having taken this long intertextual detour, we finally arrive at a *Lüshi chunqiu* episode which takes us back to the more specific idea of forestalling attacks from a distance and thus obtaining victory without bloodshed. When an official from Chu is, on a visit to Song, invited by the local Master of Public Works, Zihan 子罕, he learns that Zihan tolerates his neighbors' encroachment upon his property because he empathizes with them and shies away from harming them. Upon the Chu official's return, the king of Chu is preparing a campaign against Song. But the official alerts him that "Song may

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89. *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi*, 3.148 ("Xian ji" 先己); cf. tr. in Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 105–6. Cf. the parallel in *Shizi yizhu* 尸子譯注, ed. Li Shoukui 李守奎 and Li Yi 李軼 (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin, 2004), 48 ("Chu dao" 處道). *Tang* 堂 is lexicalized as "[hall in] a palace," "raised foundation for a building," and "raised, square-shaped" foundation or altar (see the glosses in *Guxun huizuan* 故訓匯纂, ed. Zong Fubang 宗福邦, Chen Shinao 陳世鐃, and Xiao Haibo 蕭海波 [Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2003], 427).

90. *Shuoyuan jiaozheng*, 7.146 ("Zheng li"); cf. the parallel in *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng*, 3.86 ("Xian jun" 賢君). In *Lüshi chunqiu*, Confucius's interlocutor is Duke Ai of Lu; in *Shuoyuan* and *Kongzi jiayu*, it is Duke Ling of Wei.

91. Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1963 [1959]), 112.2957; see also *Han shu* 64A.2806. On the memorial and the official who presented it, Xu Yue 徐樂, an associate of Zhufu Yan 主父偃, in whose biography the memorial is recorded, see Loewe, *Biographical Dictionary*, 624.

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not be attacked" (宋不可攻也)—a cautionary remark resonating with similar warnings accompanying the exhortation to unity—because "its ruler is worthy and its chancellor humane" (其主賢，其相仁). In a separate comment, Confucius, who "hears about this" (*wen zhi* 聞之), proclaims: "'Cultivating it up in the hall of the temple and turning back [the enemy's] assault chariots at a distance of more than a thousand *li*'—this surely refers to Zihan, the Master of Public Works!" (夫脩之於廟堂之上，而折衝乎千里之外者，其司城子罕之謂乎。).[92]

A further echo which, again, carries with it various fragments of the contextual framework, appears in a dialogue between Confucius and Zengzi 曾子 . The encounter reenacts the previous staged conversations between Confucius and a ruler of state as one between Master and disciple—or vice versa, given the shared use of the slightly overbearing phrase "I will tell you" (*wu yu ru* 吾語女).[93] Confucius explains about the ideal ruler:

> 明主之守也，必折衝於千里之外；其征也，衽席之上還師。
>
> Defending, the enlightened ruler will always turn back [the enemy's] assault chariots at a distance of more than a thousand *li*. Attacking, he will bring home [his] troops [sitting] on his mat.[94]

The halls and temples with their ritual and military associations have disappeared. Instead, the sitting mat marks the tightly circumscribed space from which an immobile and withdrawn monarch will exert his powers at a distance. Stylistically, the disappearance of the temple throws the sentences out of kilter—no longer does "a thousand *li* away" contrast with "up in the temple." At the same time, one detects a lexical overlap with the *Discourses on Salt and Iron*: "bringing home [his] troops" (*huan shi* 還師) does not feature in any of the other versions.

Finally, *Han Feizi* takes the argument about rulerly non-action in a different direction. Here, inaction per se is not praiseworthy. "Sitting up in the hall of the temple with the complexion of a young maid" (身坐於廟堂之上，有處女子之色), it is stated, will do no harm to good government

92. *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi*, 20.1370 ("Zhao lei"). Cf. the rendering in Knoblock and Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei*, 524–25, where the crucial sentence is, however, mistranslated. See also the parallel in *Xinxu jiaoshi*, 6.821–25 ("Ci she" 刺奢).

93. On this formula, see Weingarten, "The Sage as Teacher and Source of Knowledge: Editorial Strategies and Formulaic Utterances in Confucius Dialogues," *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 68.4 (2014), 1175–1223.

94. *Da Dai liji jiegu* 大戴禮記解詁, ed. Wang Pinzhen 王聘珍 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983), 1.2 ("Zhu yan" 主言); cf. the parallel in *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng*, 1.12 ("Wang yan jie" 王言解).

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as long as the ruler possesses the right political "techniques" (*shu* 術).[95] The argument is about political leadership in general, not war in particular, and it is not unequivocally in support of non-action, which, as a strategy for governing, has to be supplemented by a body of practical knowledge.

Remarkably, despite the different nature of the advice given, even this text reproduces some characteristic elements of the other intertexts. We are still listening in on debates within the Confucius circle: the remarks are purportedly from a conversation between the disciples Fu Zijian 宓子賤 and You Ruo 有若 . Indeed, the figure of Confucius is hovering in the background of more than just this communicative fragment, which connects the Master to the strategic principle of aspiring to bloodless victories canonized in *Sunzi* and repeated elsewhere. The attraction formula, implicitly quoted in the *Discourses on Salt and Iron*, also intersects with military discourses, blurring the lines between supposedly distinct schools of thought and their doctrines.

Conclusion

As a matter of principle, no investigation into intertextuality can ever be exhaustive. There is no factor to control according to objective standards the proliferation of associations in a reader's mind. In the present case, moreover, the focus on verbal parallels obviates from the outset identification of subtler phenomena—allusions and narrative templates such as the interview scenes, for instance, which do not consist in verbatim matches and may only become apparent to readers patiently scanning the entire body of ancient literature. But even with this restricted purview, the search for textual parallels to *Huainanzi* has yielded a number of insights.

With the exception of the matching passage in *Wenzi*—a case of wholesale copying—no other continuous, exact parallels longer than a couple of phrases are attested. *Huainanzi* does not contain any explicit quotations; the only potential implicit quotation I was able to identify is a tersely phrased strategic principle also occurring in *Sunzi*. This contrasts markedly with the intertextual patchwork of a related *Yantie lun* passage, which likewise addresses military strategy and features easily recognizable Confucius quotations. *Huainanzi* 15 as a whole has been convincingly portrayed as a summa of prior military thought, and the entire book of *Huainanzi* as a synthesis of older intellectual and textual resources. But in the passage under investigation there

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95. *Han Feizi jiaoshu*, chap. 32.708 ("Wai chu shuo zuo shang" 外儲說左上).

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seems to be no direct evidence that readers were expected to recognize a particular authority as source of any statement in the text. And given the brevity of attested overlaps, there is no plausible argument to be made for *Huainanzi* being the immediate source of one of its intertexts, or vice versa.[96]

Yet, though certain phenomena—quotations, longer parallels, clear genetic dependencies—cannot be positively identified, the reader encounters others which are of great interest, especially in view of the absences with which they contrast. Overlaps with other writings do exist, but they are brief rather than extensive, and fuzzy rather than precise; they cut across linguistic and stylistic categories; they have memorable formal or semantic properties; they are dispersed rather than concentrated; and they display distributional patterns which resist neat reconstructions of mutual influences. Taken together, these features suggest a particular manner in which *Huainanzi* adapted pre-existing linguistic material, a certain way of textual composition.

Similarities are sometimes lexical, and to the extent that the items in question are ordinary military terms (e.g., *bing* 兵, *zhen* 陣), their presence is not revealing. Set phrases such as "glistening blades" (*bai ren* 白刃) are comparatively more relevant, but even more so are combinations of typologically different features such as tetrasyllabic meter and particular rhymes, accompanied by characteristic phrasing. Conceptual similarities can likewise be of interest, for instance in case of the strategic principle of securing victory without bloodshed, which is distinctly phrased in different groups of texts—*Sunzi* and *Heguan zi* chapters standing against *Laozi*, *Yi Zhou shu* and others—and provides the rhetorical backbone of the *Huainanzi* passage.

Lastly, these similarities manifest themselves within a characteristic discursive setting: the hypothetical battle description, frequently employed in the service of self-praise. How peculiar this context is can be gauged from the fact that all texts under review deal in some way or other with warfare and even conjure up battle situations, but none of them describes or narrates an actual battle, or purports to do so. In reading these texts, we are privy to exclusively generic, hypothetical discourses. Whatever the phraseology of actual battle narratives looks like, it seems to be neatly cordoned off from the type of discourse reflected in our tangle of intertexts.

Most importantly, short verbal parallels—sometimes with semantic and positional variants—co-occur in unpredictable combinations

96. The case is different for some of the *Xunzi* passages quoted above, for which *Han shi waizhuan* parallels exist. These are most likely cases of direct textual borrowing.

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across texts. In intersecting texts, we do not find distributional patterns allowing one unambiguously to group texts together, in such a manner that shared sets of elements mark particular sets of texts as belonging together. This, in combination with the texts' shared themes, suggests the existence of a loosely interconnected set of discourse-specific phrases and linguistic-stylistic conventions reminiscent of Gasparov's communicative fragments. What links these elements is their "texture," to use Gasparov's term, their conventionalized participation in a particular kind of discourse, rather than their being singled out as quotable utterances stemming from specific texts. It is, then, not the case that these elements appear in our texts as quotations. More likely, their texture would confer on them a shared propensity to rise to the level of consciousness while an author creates texts that participate in a certain type of discourse.

Contrasting orality and writing in absolute terms would seem, in the present case, to be positing a false dichotomy. What I would suggest instead is a process of composition that cannot be usefully characterized as "oral" in any of the three meanings specified by Lord, but which is not strictly dependent on text either, if we take a composition being dependent on texts to mean that it should be based (a) on writings which the author had physically in front of him or (b) on extensive verbatim memorization of prior texts, either as part of a purposely maintained oral tradition, such as the Vedas, or as the result of an individual effort, however motivated.

The composition process would, however, certainly seem to be textually *mediated* in that textual knowledge—though not necessarily systematically consolidated verbal memory—plays a crucial part in it. This would account for the observable thematic and linguistic convergences—in particular the highly specific common discursive background—as well as for the irregular distribution of multiple shared brief parallels across intertexts. What we are observing in these instances are, it appears, traces of remembering as opposed to recollection, the latter being, according to an influential Aristotelian distinction, an intentional act which involves deliberation and sustained, goal-directed mental activity, whereas the former is "a thing that happens to people."[97] On the

97. Lyne, *Memory and Intertextuality in Renaissance Literature*, 6. Lyne misconstrues the distinction by defining "memory" as a "practical art" and "recollection" as an event happening to people. His reference is to Rhodri Lewis, "Hamlet, Metaphor, and Memory," *Studies in Philology* 109.5 (2012), 609–41, and here see esp. 618–19, where Lewis refers to Aristotle's *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, 453a; see David Bloch, *Aristotle on Memory and Recollection: Text, Translation, Interpretation, and Reception in Western Scholasticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 48–51.

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available evidence it seems most likely that the parallels arise from unintentional responses of long-term, semantic memory capacities prompted by cues such as the discursive setting, rather than from a sustained effort to faithfully preserve long stretches of text and keep them perpetually accessible to the author's mind in order to revisit and quote from them at will.

Before concluding this exercise in parallelomania,[98] I would like to call attention to some of the limitations of the present approach and briefly remark on how they might be remedied through more systematic and comprehensive research in the future.

First, the features of the *Huainanzi* passage in question, as outlined here, may well be atypical compared to other parts of the book itself (elsewhere, *Huainanzi* extensively quotes *Laozi*, for example) or within the early Chinese corpus. Also, the features described can result from deliberate stylistic choices. A text such as the military chapter of *Huainanzi* might have been considered too practical, too ordinary in its orientation to merit adornment with intellectual credentials and literary flourishes found to be apposite for other purposes. To find out whether this is the case would be precisely the goal of more systematic inquiries along the lines of the present article. Hence, stating that the *Huainanzi* passage does not reflect the workings of a mnemonically trained textual memory and betrays little interest in borrowing established authority through quotation is not tantamount to claiming that the author of the passage *did* not possess, or *cannot* have possessed, a mnemonically trained textual memory. He may have chosen not to exercise it in the present case.

Second, characterizing the passage in the way proposed here and heaping so much attention on it should not be construed to imply that, in the present example, we encounter a crucially important text type resulting from *the* predominant mode of textual composition. Rather, I would suggest that the passage represents one among a number of typologically possible texts arising from one conceivable mode of textual production which, if described at a sufficient level of precision, may be usefully contrasted with others for purposes of literary, historical, or philosophical interpretation.

Such a broader comparative approach will probably need to start out from smaller textual units on the sub-chapter level and thence proceed to eventually encompass chapters, entire works, and then relationships between works and groups of such. Given the effort required for the

98. For this term see Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81.1 (1962), 1, who claims to have encountered it "in a French book of about 1830, whose title and author I have forgotten."

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analysis of small sets of intertexts, it goes without saying that more comprehensive approaches will call for some form of computer-based distant reading. The greater the distance, however, and the higher the level of abstraction attained through large-scale quantitative analysis, the more important it will be concomitantly to maintain, at least in selected cases, detailed attention to the wording, phraseology and ideas, in short, to the texture of the works under scrutiny which only qualitative approaches can afford.

早期中國散文寫作中的文本記憶與互文性：以《淮南子・兵略》篇為例

韋禮文

提要

近幾十年來陸續有出土文獻面世，引起中西學者對抄本文化的研究熱誠。而受到抄本文化研究的啟發，西方漢學界近年特別關注於文本的撰述、傳授等相關議題。但古代的傳授方法與慣例，無論是口述、朗讀、聽寫等，其詳情現今恐無法而知。然而，各種互文現象則不然。重出的文字或語言模式屢屢載於諸文本上，可以證實這些元素必定原本存在作者的記憶中。 因此，本文主張，文本記憶的概念能為文本分析帶來一個有用的比較視角。本文以《淮南子・兵略》為例，藉其豐富的互文現象探討文本生產的問題。本文認為，《兵略》篇與其他著作相似甚至重複的言語既簡短且模糊，並非有意引用典故或固有語言資料。它們分散而不集中，難以確認文本間的影響；它們之間的相似性跨越了語言與形式的範疇，並以一種不可預期的方式重新組合；互文有令人印象深刻的形式或意涵，故易於回想；互文現象體現在特殊的語境中，大概是應其語境而發的。在《淮南子・兵略》中互文現象的這些特色令人想到 Boris Gasparov 所謂的溝通片斷（communicative fragments），即常態性地出現在相似語境當中的語句或模式。本文認為，溝通片斷並非作者有意為之，而是意義或文理上固有聯繫而在創作過程中無意間提升到作者意識層次。而《兵略》篇則似乎為組合多種溝通片斷而成的，顯現出一種特定文本構成方法，亦即是作者有意無意中組合與語境相符的溝通片斷以撰文。

Keywords: Intertextuality, Textual Memory, Textual Structure
互文性，文本記憶，文本結構

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