

The Mastery of Miscellanea: Information Management and Knowledge Acquisition in the “Chu shuo” Chapters of the *Hanfeizi*

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The “Chu shuo” 儲說 (Treasures of illustrations) chapters of the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, attributed to Han Fei 韓非 (d. 233 BCE), encompass an extensive collection of anecdotes. The *jing* 經 (classic, guideline) sections of these chapters are traditionally understood to be a set of “canonical” teachings, to be explicated by the anecdotes in the *shuo* 說 (discourse, explanation) sections. Eschewing this assumption, my analysis substantiates an alternative hypothesis that sees many of the *jing* texts as later superimpositions intended to serve as paratexts to existing anecdotal collections. By interpreting the *jing* and *shuo* sections as paratexts and main texts, respectively, this study reveals how early compilers sought to organize and inventory information, as well as to guide future users’ understanding and memorization of the anecdotal materials. This approach not only facilitates the reconstruction of early frameworks of information management and knowledge acquisition, but also places the “Chu shuo” chapters in a comparative context. It also proffers new answers to several long-standing philological debates, such as the meaning and function of the label *yi yue* 一曰 (it is also said). In its conclusion, this study draws attention to potential continuities between the pre-imperial (before 221 BCE) and imperial periods’ textual and bibliographical practices.

The early Chinese compilation *Hanfeizi* 韓非子 (Master Han Fei), known as a Legalist¹ Masters text (*zishu* 子書) attributed to Han Fei 韓非 (d. 233 BCE), houses a wealth of short narratives. The lion’s share of such disjointed and small textual units are found in its six “Chu shuo” 儲說 (Treasures of illustrations) chapters, constituting nearly a third of the entire compilation.² Beyond their impressive size, these chapters are known for an elaborate interplay between their *jing* 經 (guideline, classic, canon) and *shuo* 說 (explication, discourse) sections. The *jing* sections of each chapter enumerate paragraph-length precepts on the art of rulership. The ensuing *shuo* sections contain anecdotal narratives as well as aphorisms and brief expositions.

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1. I.e., the *fajia* 法家 (Legalist lineage) classification of the Han imperial bibliography; see *Hanshu* 漢書, comp. Ban Gu 班固 (32–92) et al., comm. Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 30.1736. For the problems associated with the term Legalism, see Paul Goldin, “Persistent Misconceptions about Chinese ‘Legalism,’” *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 38.1 (2011): 88–104.

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

If a *jing-shuo* structure is conventionally understood to be a pairing of a “canon” (*jing*) and its “commentary” (*shuo*), the short texts in the *shuo* sections—which I will refer to as “anecdotes”³—should function as commentarial exempla explicating the didactic precepts of the *jing* sections. Overturning this traditional assumption, this study considers the anecdotes as the main text, and analyzes their relationship to the *jing* section in terms of “text and paratext.” In doing so, this study recasts the *jing* sections as a sophisticated system of information management that facilitates knowledge acquisition.

At the latest by the Eastern Han (25–220 CE), the hierarchical primacy of *jing* was well established. As the author Wang Chong 王充 (27–ca. 100) states, “the sages created their canons [*jing*], while the worthies made their commentaries [*zhuan*], which transmit the creators’ meaning and glean the sages’ intention. Therefore the canons require commentaries” 聖人作其經，賢者造其傳，述作者之意，採聖人之志，故經須傳也。⁴ This is to say, *jing* occupies the principal position both in time and in status, while *zhuan* (tradition, commentary)⁵ is composed in service of *jing*. In analogy to this characterization of *jing* and *zhuan*, scholars generally apply the “canon and commentary” model to texts labeled *jing* and *shuo*, often citing the “Chu shuo” chapters as an example.⁶

However, a closer examination casts doubt on the applicability of this model to the “Chu shuo” chapters, even if it aptly describes other texts associated with the terms *jing* and *shuo*.⁷ This is because in the case of the “Chu shuo,” the primacy of the *jing* sections, both temporally and functionally, is far from unambiguous. As I will discuss in detail, many of the anecdotes appear to relate to their assigned *jing* only tangentially. There is also ubiquitous incongruence between the *jing* and *shuo* sections. Such puzzling mismatches undermine the assumption that the anecdotes were gathered specifically as commentarial explanations of the *jing* texts.

In place of the “canon and commentary” model, a “text and paratext” relationship can more aptly account for the complex dynamics between the *jing* and *shuo* sections of the

3. Despite the presence of a small number of non-narrative passages, I will use the term “anecdote” to refer to the *shuo* text, for the majority of aphorisms still conform to the structure of many of the narrative anecdotes. I argue for this in greater detail in Heng Du, “The Author’s Two Bodies: Paratext in Early Chinese Textual Culture” (PhD diss., Harvard Univ., 2018), 100–104.

4. *Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋, comm. Huang Hui 黃暉 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 82.1158. Translation consulted in Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1999), 300.

5. The basic meaning of *zhuan* < *drons 傳 is “a record” or “what has been transmitted,” derived from the exopassive form of *chuan* < *dron 傳 (to transmit); see Axel Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai’i Press, 2007), 630. For Tang scholars’ articulation of this pairing, see Tim Wai-Keung Chan, “The *jing/zhuan* Structure of the *Chuci* Anthology: A New Approach to the Authorship of Some of the Poems,” *T’oung Pao* 84 (1998): 296–97. Not all texts transmitted as *zhuan* were composed as commentaries. Most famously, the *Zuo zhuan* became a commentary for its *jing* text, *Chunqiu* 春秋, only through a gradual process; see Stephen W. Durrant, Wai-ye Li, and David Schaberg, trs., *Zuo Tradition* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2016), xxxviii–lviii.

6. E.g., Dagmar Zissler-Gürtler, *Nicht erzählte Welt noch Welterklärung: Der Begriff “Hsiao-shuo” in der Han-Zeit* (Bad Honnef: Bock und Herchen, 1994), 20–21; Chan, “*Jing/zhuan* Structure,” 315–16; Lewis, *Writing and Authority*, 299–300. W. K. Liao, in his complete translation of the *Hanfeizi*, renders the *jing* label in the “Chu shuo” chapters as “canon”; see, for instance, Liao, tr., *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu: A Classic of Chinese Legalism* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1939), 1: 285.

7. Aside from the “Jing shuo” chapter titles in *Mozi*, the pairing of *jing* and *shuo* is predominately featured in Han texts; see, e.g., “丘明恐弟子各安其意，以失其真，故論本事而作傳，明夫子不以空言說經也，” in *Hanshu*, 30.1715. One possible pre-imperial example is found in *Lüshi chunqiu*: “天地有始。天微以成，地塞以形。天地合和，生之大經也。以寒暑日月晝夜知之，以殊形殊能異宜說之，” *Lüshi chunqiu jishi* 呂氏春秋集釋, comp. Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (d. 235 BCE), comm. Xu Weiyu 許維遜 (Zhonghua shuju: Beijing, 2009), 276.

“Chu shuo” chapters. By paratext, I refer to textual elements that proffer auxiliary services to the main text, such as the title, table of contents, and preface.⁸ Under this model, the *jing* sections can be shown to perform various paratextual functions, as well as to be more likely—though not necessarily—later superimpositions applied onto existing collections of anecdotes.

This reading not only clarifies the otherwise puzzling textual features, but also sheds light on the intentions of early writers and compilers of the *jing* sections.⁹ Specifically, it identifies the functional similarities between the *jing* sections and modern paratextual devices such as the table of contents, descriptive intertitles, and other finding devices, drawing attention to the contribution of the *jing* sections to the organization, retrieval, and preservation of the anecdote compilations, as well as their role in steering the users’ interpretation and memorization of the anecdote collections. This once again accords with Gérard Genette’s characterization of paratext as a *locus* of mediation between textual producers and the users, as an articulation of producers’ prescriptions rather than necessarily a description of reality. Through composing the *jing* sections, the anonymous compiler(s) of the “Chu shuo” can dictate what they consider to be the “pertinent reading”¹⁰ of the anecdotes. Such a directive can be heeded or disregarded by docile or rebellious audiences.

This interpretation reverses the assumption held by many scholars throughout the reception history of the *Hanfeizi*, but corroborates more recent interpretations. Earlier scholars, assuming the canon and commentary model, tended to judge the *jing* to be the earlier and more authoritative sections, possessing closer ties to the putative author Han Fei; such scholars were more likely to regard the *shuo* sections as the works of disciples or even later interpolations.¹¹ In contrast, the Edo period commentator Ōta Hō 太田方 (1759–1830) evidently recognizes the paratextual functions performed by the *jing* texts, and compares them to “headings of later periods” 後世之條目也.¹² In the past decade, scholars such as Zhao Kuifu 趙逵夫, Ma Shinian 馬世年, Zhang Jue 張覺, and David Schaberg have begun to view the *shuo* sections as the main content, and the *jing* sections as the epitomes or even the tables of contents aiding the use and memorization of the anecdotes.¹³ Ma has further speculated on the use of the “Chu shuo” chapters as pedagogic materials.¹⁴

8. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, tr. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), 12.

9. For reconstructing historical readings and the intentions of textual producers through studying bibliographical features, see D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 28–29.

10. Genette, *Paratexts*, 2.

11. Even though the chapter title “Chu shuo” is mentioned in the *Shiji* biography of Han Fei, its authenticity has been a matter of debate. One telling interpretative approach sees the mismatch between the *jing* and the *shuo* sections as evidence falsifying the authenticity of the *shuo* sections; see Bertil Lundahl, *Han Fei Zi: The Man and the Work* (Stockholm: Stockholm Univ. Institute of Oriental Languages, 1992), 147.

12. At the same time, Ōta Hō did not fully disregard the notion of *jing* as canon and proposed reading both *jing* and *zhuàn* as the work of a sage, adducing Confucius’s authorship of the *jing* and *zhuàn* of the *Chunqiu* as an example. He judges Wang Chong’s model of *jing* and *zhuàn* to be a later fabrication; see *Kanpishi yokuzai* 韓非子翼彙, comm. Ōta Hō (1759–1829) (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2014), 391.

13. Zhao Kuifu, “Lun xian Qin wenxue de chengjiu” 論先秦寓言的成就, *Shaanxi shifa daxue xuebao* 2006.4: 24–31; *Hanfeizi jiaoshu xilun* 韓非子校疏析論, comm. Zhang Jue (Beijing: Zhishi chanquan chubanshe, 2011), 519; Ma Shinian, *Hanfeizi de chengshu jiqi wenxue yanjiu* 《韓非子》的成書及其文學研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), 145–51; David Schaberg, “Chinese History and Philosophy,” in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 1: *Beginnings to AD 600*, ed. Andrew Feldherr and Grant Hardy (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2011), 400–401.

14. Ma Shinian, *Hanfeizi de chengshu jiqi wenxue yanjiu*, 149–51.

While these scholars' readings closely align with my thesis, detailed evidence in support of this interpretation has yet to be provided. This article seeks not only to fill in this lacuna, but also to fully interrogate the implications of reading the *shuo* sections as the main text. Utilizing the concept of paratext allows one to expound the full spectrum of functions performed by the *jing* sections, and to place the "Chu shuo" in a comparative context. It also offers fresh answers to long-standing philological questions, among them a new reading of the label *yi yue* 一曰 (it is also said) found throughout the "Chu shuo" chapters. Finally, my analysis reflects recent developments in the conceptualization of early texts. Rather than the binary paradigm of the authored *Urtext* and later interpolations, I understand early textual formation to be diachronic, continuous, and complex. Consequently, I pay close attention to the changing definitions of terms and evolving textual practices, which are often the sources of tensions and negotiations between existing and newly introduced redactional intentions.

After a thorough introduction to the "Chu shuo" chapters, I will present evidence pinpointing the incongruence between the *jing* and *shuo* sections; such evidence speaks against a simple application of the canon and commentary model, while lending support to the reading proposed here. This is followed by a survey of the *jing* sections' paratextual functions, which is subdivided into a section on information management and a section on knowledge acquisition. "Information," as Ann Blair characterizes, tends to take "the form of discrete and small-sized items that have been removed from their original contexts and made available as 'morsels' ready to be rearticulated." It is often discussed in terms of selecting, organizing, storing, and retrieving.¹⁵ The anecdotes of "Chu shuo" can also be analyzed as a collection of "morsels" that can be consulted, reselected, and reused. Accordingly, the *jing* sections can be seen as a form of information management that increases this collection's ease of retrieval and likelihood of preservation.

The interpretative and mnemonic functions of the *jing* sections, on the other hand, are related to knowledge acquisition. Blair distinguishes knowledge from information, in that knowledge implies a "knower," while information conjures to mind public properties that can be shared and recycled.¹⁶ As interpretative guides, the *jing* sections teach potential "knowers" to view a miscellaneous conglomeration of materials through the ideological lens of the *Hanfeizi*. As mnemonic aids, they help learners to convert external information into internalized knowledge.

THE LAYOUT OF THE "CHU SHUO" CHAPTERS

In addition to the shared titular term "Chu shuo," what unites chapters 30 to 35 is their non-linear and elaborate textual organization.¹⁷ Each chapter opens with a *jing* section consisting of three to seven didactic precepts, followed by a sizable collection of anecdotes that forms the *shuo* section. The *jing* sections generally echo the larger *Hanfeizi* compilation, whether in advocating for a system of reward and punishment or in refuting rivaling political positions. The majority of the anecdotes found in the *shuo* sections feature known historical figures, in addition to a limited number of attributed and unattributed aphorisms as well as

15. Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2010), 2.

16. *Ibid.*

17. For an account of the structure of the "Chu shuo" chapters, see Christian Schwermann, "Anecdote Collections as Argumentative Texts: The Composition of the *Shuoyuan*," in *Between History and Philosophy: Anecdotes in Early China*, ed. Paul van Els and Sarah Queen (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 2017), 155–56.

Chapter 30. Inner “Chu shuo,” Upper

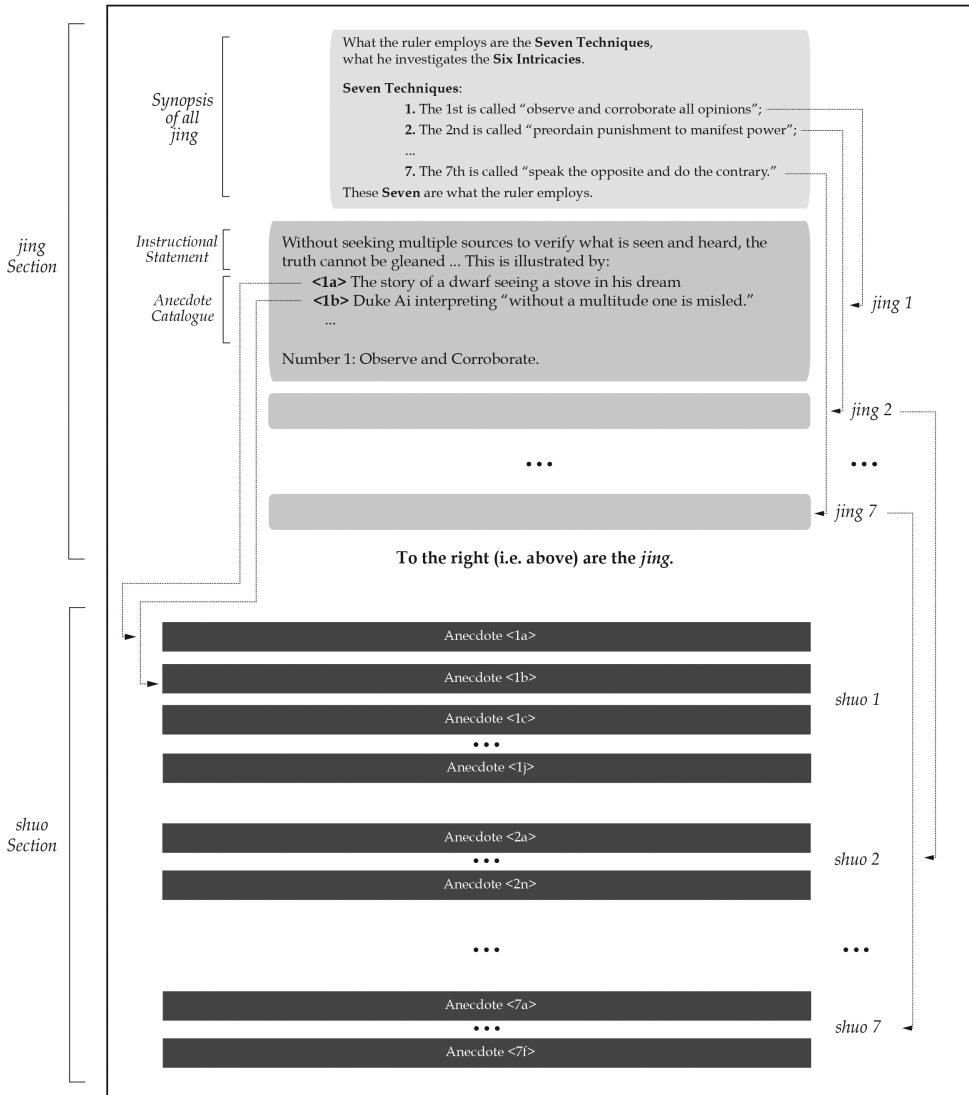


Fig. 1. Schematic Overview of a “Chu shuo” Chapter

short expository compositions. Figure 1 offers an overview of the various components of a “Chu shuo” chapter.

Each *jing* text, roughly speaking, can be further divided into the following components: They begin with a succinct articulation of a political teaching, which I call “instructional statement,” before proceeding to what I term the “catalogue of anecdotes.” Both the instructional statement and the catalogue of anecdotes are written in a pithy yet rhythmic language, which can come across as cryptic, as I try to illustrate in this literal rendition of a typical *jing* text:

Withhold what you know and ask about it, then what is not known will surface. Have deep knowledge concerning one thing, then you will discern¹⁸ a multitude of what is concealed. This is illustrated by how Marquis Zhao concealed a fingernail in his hand. Thus, by preordaining the South Gate three counties were obtained. The Zhou ruler searched for a crooked staff and the ministers were in fear; Bu Pi employed a valet; Ximen Bao feigned losing wheel-guards.

Number Six: Withhold Knowledge.

挾智而問，則不智者至；深智一物，眾隱皆（變）（辨）。其說在昭侯之握一爪也。故必南門而三鄉得。周主索曲杖而群臣懼，卜皮事庶子，西門豹（詳）（佯）遺轄。挾智六。¹⁹

The instructional statement of this *jing* introduces a technique for uncovering hidden intentions. The underlined portion is the catalogue of anecdotes, a list of catchphrases each referencing one anecdote found in the *shuo* sections. I will refer to each of these catchphrases, e.g., “Ximen Bao feigned losing wheel-guards,” as the “entry” of the anecdote it indexes. Such catalogues are often introduced by the phrase “this is illustrated by” (*qi shuo zai* 其說在), as is the case here. By thus cataloguing the anecdotes, the *jing* texts have essentially divided the anecdotes into groups, associating each group with a specific *jing* text. For instance, the first nine anecdotes of chapter 30 are tied to the first *jing* (*jing* 1), the next dozen to the second (*jing* 2), and so on. The short phrase at the very end, “Number Six: Withhold Knowledge,” references back to a catalogue of the *jing* texts within this chapter, which I will further explain below. In chapters 30 and 31, the end of the *jing* sections is marked by the phrase “to the right are the *jing*” (*you jing* 右經).²⁰ Since the traditional layout of sinographic texts is vertical and right-to-left, this means “what precedes are the *jing*” or even “the *jing* section ends here.”

In three of the six “Chu shuo” chapters (chapters 32, 33, and 36), the *jing* sections consist simply of a list of such paragraphs; in the other three (chapters 30, 31, and 34), however, there is one more layer of paratext at the beginning, a synopsis of all *jing* texts in that chapter. Below, for instance, is the very beginning of chapter 30, the first “Chu shuo” chapter:

What the ruler employs are the Seven Techniques, what he investigates the Six Intricacies. Seven Techniques: The First is called “observe and corroborate all opinions”; the Second is called “preordain punishment to manifest power”; . . . the Seventh is called “speak the opposite and do the contrary.” These Seven are what the ruler employs.

主之所用也七術，所察也六微。七術：一曰、眾端參觀，二曰、必罰明威 . . . 七曰、倒言反事。此七者，主之所用也。²¹

This opening groups the subsequent teachings into the “Seven Techniques” and the “Six Intricacies.” The name of each of these techniques or intricacies is a tetrasyllabic catchphrase that refers to an ensuing *jing* text. The *jing* text cited above is item Number Five in this list, namely, “befuddling summons and confounding envoys.” The “Six Intricacies” will not be expounded until the next chapter, chapter 31, which opens with a similar list of tetrasyllabic catchphrases. Chapter 34 also contains an additional level of synopsis, but it simply sums

18. For reading *bian* 變 as *bian* 辨 (to discern), see “夫物至則目不得不見，言薄則耳不得不聞；故物至則變，言至則論”，*Shangjunshu zhuizhi* 商君書雜指, comm. Jiang Lihong 蔣禮鴻 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 24.134.

19. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu* 韓非子新校注, comm. Chen Qiyong 陳奇猷 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), 30.568.

20. Among the early editions, this phrase is not attested in the remaining four “Chu shuo” chapters, but modern commentators have inserted it into those chapters; see, e.g., *ibid.*, 32.667.

21. *Ibid.*, 30.560.

up its three *jing* texts as “there are three (rules) whereby the lord governs his ministers” 君所以治臣者有三。

The phrase “to the right are the *jing*” also signals the beginning of the *shuo* section. The textual history of the *shuo* label is, however, far more involved. While the first two “Chu *shuo*” chapters of most extant early editions contain the phrase “to the right are the *jing*,”²² the explicit *shuo* label is only introduced by modern editions. Two influential sixteenth-century editions designate the anecdote section as *zhuan* 傳 (tradition, commentary),²³ while other early editions simply group the anecdotes with numerical headings such as “One” (*Yi* 一) and “Two” (*Er* 二).

Despite its absence in early editions, the word *shuo* is added to the numerical labels in most, if not all, modern editions, so that these headings become “Illustrations One” (*Shuo yi* 說一), “Illustrations Two” (*Shuo er* 說二), and so on. This addition can be traced back to a commentary by the Qing period scholar Gu Guangqi 顧廣圻 (1776–1835), who considered *shuo* to be more appropriate than the term *zhuan*. Modern editors such as Chen Qiyong favor Gu’s argument, since the character *shuo* appears in both the chapter title “Chu *shuo*” (Treasures of *shuo*) and the introductory phrase *qi shuo zai* 其說在 (this is illustrated by . . .).²⁴

The meaning of the term *shuo* is also a complicated issue, partly due to the fact that the character 說 stood for several etymologically related words—among them *shuo* < *lhot (to explain, to speak) and *shui* < *lhots (to persuade)—deriving from the root meaning of “to loosen, relax.”²⁵ The character 說 is employed in the titles of other anecdote compilations as well, for instance in *Shuo yuan* 說苑 (Garden of illustrations). This suggests that at some point, 說 became a genre term for anecdotal texts, together with words such as *zhuan* and *yu* 語 (discourses). Scholars have not agreed on whether to read 說 in such titles as *shuo* or *shui*, as “discourses” and “explications,” or as “persuasions.”²⁶ When 說 is paired with *jing*, it is more likely to be disambiguated as *shuo* in the sense of “to explicate.” In this article, I have chosen to read 說 as *shuo* for the wider semantic range it affords, which can refer to both commentarial materials as well as discourse, speech, or even argumentation.

22. The earliest reconstructable edition, the so-called Qiandao 乾道 edition, dates to 1165. No physical copies of this Song edition are extant, but a few Qing dynasty copies are said to be its reproductions, including a traced copy (*yingchao ben* 影抄本); see Zhang Jue 張覺, *Hanfeizi kaolun* 韓非子考論 (Beijing: Zhishi chanquan chubanshe, 2013), 31–36. The critical apparatuses of the modern standard editions suggest that the phrase “to the right are the *jing*” is found in all extant versions. Ōta Hō, however, mentions an unspecified copy that lacks this phrase; see *Kanpishi yokuzei*, 359.

23. I.e., Zhao Yongxian’s 趙用賢 edition of 1582 and Ling Yingchu’s 凌瀛初 edition of circa 1600, with Zhao’s edition as one of the major sources of Ling’s; see Zhang Jue, *Hanfeizi kaolun*, 43–44. The Ling edition has labels such as *zhuan yi* 傳一 (Commentary one), while the Zhao edition has the phrase *you zhuan* 右傳 (to the right is the commentary) at the end of the chapter; *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 30.571.

24. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 30.571, 614.

25. Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, 476–77, 586. For extensive discussions of the character 說 in *Hanfeizi*, see Michael Reeve, “Demonstrating the World: Mind and Society in the ‘Shuo Lin’ Chapters of the ‘Han Fei Zi’” (PhD diss., Princeton Univ., 2003), 75–89; Michael Hunter, “The Difficulty with ‘The Difficulties of Persuasion’ (‘Shuinan’ 說難),” in *Dao Companion to the Philosophy of Han Fei*, ed. Paul Goldin (New York: Springer, 2012), 172–77.

26. For examples of the *shui* reading, see Hunter, “Difficulty with ‘The Difficulties of Persuasion’”; Martin Kern, “‘Persuasion’ or ‘Treatise’?: The Prose Genres *shui* and *shuo* in the Light of the *Guwenci leizuan* of 1779,” in *Ad Seres et Tungos: Festschrift für Martin Gimm*, ed. Lutz Bieg, Erling von Mende, and Siebert Martina (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 221–43; Reeve, “Demonstrating the World.” For examples of the *shuo* readings, see Zissler-Gürtler, *Nicht erzählte Welt noch Welterklärung*, 19–20; Schwermann, “Anecdote Collections as Argumentative Texts.”

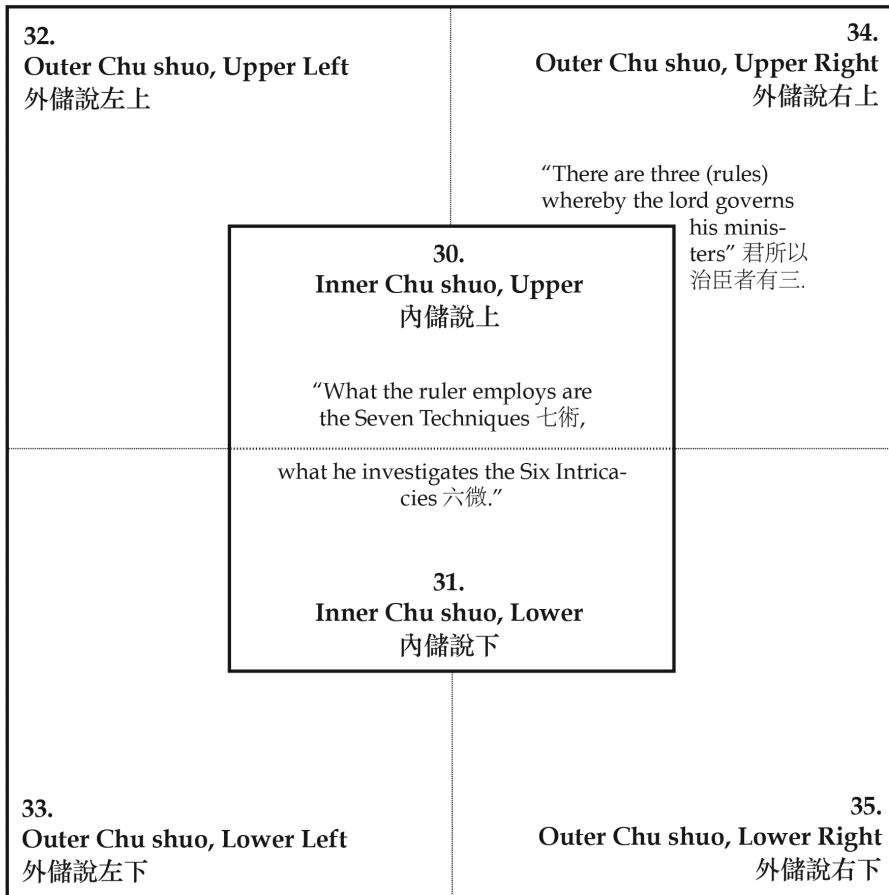


Fig. 2. Spatial Terms in the Titles of “Chu shuo” Chapters

In attempting to elucidate the meanings of *jing* and *shuo* within the “Chu shuo” chapters, it is important to recognize that their usage is not entirely consistent, and likely reflects diachronic semantic development. Before Han texts, the pairing of *jing* and *shuo* is rare, suggesting that *shuo* might not have become a genre term for commentarial texts or illustrative anecdotes until the imperial period.²⁷ Its usage in the introductory phrase *qi shuo zai* (this is illustrated by . . .), for instance, does not yet appear to be a genre term. In two *jing* texts, *qi shuo zai* is paired with another phrase that is parallel in structure and also introduces catalogues of anecdotes, *qi huan zai* 其患在 (its peril can be seen in . . .).²⁸ Given that the word in the parallel position, *huan* 患 (peril), clearly does not designate a genre, *shuo* here is also less likely a generic reference. It is possible that some of the usages of *jing* and *shuo* within “Chu shuo” predate such terms’ later associations with the canon and commentary pairing, or with the anecdote genre.

27. See n. 7 above, in particular the passage from *Lüshi chunqiu*.

28. This phrase is paired with *qi shuo zai* in chapter 30. It also appears by itself in two other *jing* texts; see *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 31.615, 35.807.

Unlike the *qi shuo zai* phrase, *shuo* in the title “Chu shuo” does appear to refer to the illustrative anecdote genre, for it characterizes these chapters as treasuries of *shuo* texts, similar to the usage of *shuo* in the titles of other anecdote compilations. This titling likely reflects a later stage in the formation history of the *Hanfeizi*, when its various types of chapters were assembled together. Whoever introduced the title “Chu shuo” probably had the “Shuo lin” 說林 (Groves of illustrations) chapters of the *Hanfeizi* in their purview, which is also a compilation of anecdotes. Similarly, the use of the term *jing* in the phrase “to the right are the *jing*” is in line with the chapter title “Ba *jing*” 八經 (Eight guidelines), for the content of this chapter closely resembles the instructional statements of the “Chu shuo” *jing* texts.

Finally, all six of the “Chu shuo” chapters are conjoined through their titling. As Figure 2 shows, the spatial terms utilized in all six titles almost seem to characterize the chapters as partitions of the same “treasury” or storehouse. The first two chapters, the “inner” chapters, are further divided into upper (chapter 30) and lower (chapter 31); the next four “outer” chapters are entitled “upper left” (chapter 32), “lower left” (chapter 33), “upper right” (chapter 34), and “lower right” (chapter 35). The “inner” versus “outer” division appears to be meaningful, not least because of the synopsis at the beginning of chapter 30, which ties together only the two inner chapters. I have discussed elsewhere other significant textual differences before and after this inner-outer division.²⁹ In the subsequent sections, I will explore the potential inventorying and mnemonic functions of these spatial terms.

THE TENSION BETWEEN *JING* AND *SHUO* SECTIONS

This part identifies examples of anecdote clusters that clash with the grouping dictated by the *jing* texts. Such tension appears in varying extents in the majority of the “Chu shuo” texts, and the uniting factor within a given cluster, moreover, is often only tangentially related to the *jing* text. Had “Chu shuo” been composed according to a canon-commentary model, we would have expected the clustering of similar anecdotes to correspond to the message and grouping prescribed by the *jing* text, at least to a greater degree. What our observation instead suggests is that at least some of the anecdotes were collected—or written down from memory as a group—independent of the *jing* texts, and the *jing* texts were superimposed later. Since the nature of each anecdote cluster differs, these clusters may have had their own independent formation history before their adaptation into the “Chu shuo” chapters.³⁰

The Clustering of Anecdotes

A conspicuous example of this tension can be found in the second half of chapter 30, namely, *jing* 5, 6, and 7 and the fifteen associated anecdotes. As part of the “Seven Techniques,” these *jing* texts instruct three ploys intended for powerplays within a bureaucratic context. According to *jing* 5, “befuddling summons and confounding envoys” 疑詔詭使, erratic interrogation of a subordinate can instill fear. *Jing* 6 teaches the art of “withholding knowledge and question knowingly” 挾知而問, while *jing* 7 demonstrates the merit of “speaking the opposite and doing the contrary” 倒言反事, i.e., lying.

29. Heng Du, “From Villains Outwitted to Pedants Out-Wrangled: The Function of Anecdotes in the Shifting Rhetoric of the *Han Feizi*,” in van Els and Queen, *Between History and Philosophy*, 193–228.

30. In addition to what my readings below suggest, textual analysis of the “Chu shuo” chapters reveals their complexities. D. C. Lau’s study, for instance, suggests that the texts within the same *jing* or a set of *shuo* could have been assembled from different base texts; see D. C. Lau 劉殿爵, “Qinhui chutan: Jianjiu huizi lun gushu zhong zhi chongwen” 秦諱初探: 兼就諱字論古書中之重文, *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* 19 (1988): 247.

Although all three techniques (*jing* 5–7) involve psychological manipulations, they describe three distinctive and differentiable behavioral strategies. The fifteen anecdotes grouped under them, however, are surprisingly similar to one another. Nearly all of them appear to be versions of merely three plotlines, distributed without adhering to the *jing* texts. To visualize this mismatch, I provide a translation of the anecdote catalogues labeled with the following three plotlines:

Plot (1): a ruler loses something that the officials (*li* 吏) cannot locate. He then personally employs people to find it, instilling fear in the officials.

Plot (2): a ruler obtains information concerning lower-level administration and uses this information to instill fear among the local officials.

Plot (3): the protagonists, either superiors or subordinates, lie (*yang* 佯, *wei* 偽, or *jiao* 矯) in order to conceal their motives or observe the opponents' reactions.

In addition, I label with asterisks (*) the three anecdotes that are closely related to the wording of the *jing* texts:

[*jing* 5 catalogue:] Pang Jing recalled the inspector*, and Dai Huan ordered someone to observe the covered carriage*; the ruler of Zhou lost his jade hairpin (1); the Grand Minister of Shang discussed ox dung (2). Number Five, Confounding Envoys.
龐敬還公大夫，而戴謹詔視輜車；周主亡玉簪，商太宰論牛矢。詭使五。

[*jing* 6 catalogue:] This is illustrated by how Marquis Zhao concealed a fingernail in his hand (1+3). Thus, by preordaining the South Gate three counties were obtained (2). The Zhou ruler searched for a crooked staff and the ministers were in fear (1); Bu Pi employed a valet (3); Ximen Bao feigned losing wheel-guards (1+3).³¹ Number Six: Withhold Knowledge.
其說在昭侯之握一爪也。故必南門而三鄉得。周主索曲杖而群臣懼，卜皮事庶子，西門豹詳(佯)遺轄。挾智六。

[*jing* 7 catalogue:] Yangshan libeled Jiu the little courtier (3); Zhuo Chi devised an envoy from Qin (3); A man of Qi wanted to start a rebellion (3); Zi Zhi employed a white horse (3); Zichan separated the litigants*; Duke Si went through the market checkpoint (2). Number Seven: Speak the Opposite.
陽山謾樛豎，淖齒為秦使，齊人欲為亂，子之以白馬，子產離訟者，嗣公過關市。倒言七。³²

This labeled translation shows that the same storylines are repeated across all three groups, without necessarily matching the techniques specified by the *jing* texts.

The incongruence between *jing* and *shuo* texts is most strikingly illustrated by the five anecdotes straddling the boundary demarcated by *jing* 5 and *jing* 6, as Table 1 below, again labeled with the plotlines, shows.

31. The anecdotes featuring Marquis Zhao and Ximen Bao involve superiors feigning (*yang* 佯) losing something, thus echoing both Plot (1) and Plot (3) in language and construction.

32. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 30.567–70.

Table 1

	Plotline
Last two anecdotes of <i>shuo</i> 5 (grouped under <i>jing</i> 5)	Anecdote A: (1) Anecdote B: (2)
First three anecdotes of <i>shuo</i> 6 (grouped under <i>jing</i> 6)	Anecdote C: (1+3) Anecdote D: (2) Anecdote E: (1)

Anecdotes A and E, despite being in different groups, are in fact close textual parallels, as are Anecdotes B and D. In the following comparison of Anecdotes A and E, repeated phrases are underlined.

Anecdote A of *jing* 5

周主亡玉簪，令吏求之，
三日不能得也。
周主令人求，而得之家人之屋間，
周主曰：「吾知吏之不事事也，
求簪三日不得之；
吾令人求之，不移日而得之。」
於是吏皆聳懼，以為君神明也。

The ruler of Zhou lost a jade hairpin. He ordered his officials to look for it, and they could not find it even after three days. The ruler of Zhou then ordered people to look for it, and they found it in a house of a commoner. The ruler of Zhou says, “I have learned that officials do not busy themselves with their business. They could not find the hairpin even after three days; when I then ordered people (i.e., non-officials) to look for it, they found it even before the day had passed.” Thus, the officials were all trembling, thinking that their lord must be divinely perspicacious.³³

Anecdote E of *jing* 6

周主下令索曲杖，吏求之
數日不能得。
周主私使人求之，不移日而得之。
乃謂吏曰：「吾知吏不事事也。
曲杖甚易也，而吏不能得；
我令人求之，不移日而得之。豈可謂忠
哉！」
吏乃皆悚懼其所，以君為神明。

The ruler of Zhou sent down an order to look for a crooked staff. The officials looked for it for many days and could not find it. The ruler of Zhou then privately sent people to look for it, and they found it before the day had passed. He thus said to the officials. “I have learned that officials do not busy themselves with their business. The crooked staff was a very easy matter, but still, the officials could not find it. When I then ordered people (i.e., non-officials) to look for it, they found it even before the day had passed. How can this be called devoted?” The officials then were all trembling in their places, taking their lord as divinely perspicacious.³⁴

As this comparison shows, Anecdotes A and E are nearly identical, with the exceptions of minor details such as the missing items. There is a greater degree of variation in the other pair, Anecdotes B and D, such as the fact that they feature different historical figures; but they are similarly dominated by verbatim repetitions throughout.³⁵ Anecdotes A–E were

33. Ibid., 30.607.

34. Ibid., 30.611.

35. Ibid., 30.608, 610.

thus likely a cluster of similar anecdotes in their origin, which were arbitrarily divided into two groups.

Repetitiveness in fact permeates the anecdotes grouped under *jing* 5–7, as the underlined recurring phrases below show:

From *jing* 5:

周主亡玉簪，令吏求之，三日不能得也。周主令人求而得之家人之屋間，周主曰：「吾知吏之不事事也...」 (translated above).

From *jing* 6:

Marquis Zhao of Hán hid his nails in his fist, pretended that he was missing one fingernail, and was urgently looking for it. His attendant then cut his own nail and presented it. In this way, Marquis Zhao detected whether his attendants were honest or not.³⁶

韓昭侯握爪而佯亡一爪，求之甚急，左右因割其爪而效之，昭侯以此察左右之誠不。

Ximen Bao, the prefect of Ye, pretended that he had lost his wheel-guards. He sent officials to look for them, but they could not find them. He sent other people to look for them and they found them in the house of a commoner.³⁷

西門豹為鄴令，佯亡其車轄，令吏求之不能得，使人求之而得之家人屋間。

From *jing* 7:

Zi Zhi served as the minister of Yan. While sitting, he feigningly said, “What is that just walking out of the gate? A white horse?!” His attendants all said they did not see it. One person ran out to chase it, and reported, “Yes.” In this way, Zi Zhi found out whether his attendants were honest and trustworthy or not.³⁸

子之相燕，坐而佯言曰：「走出門者何？白馬也？」左右皆言不見。有一人走追之，報曰：「有。」子之以此知左右之誠信不。

In addition to such verbal repetitions, there are also topical repetitions, among them an unusually high concentration of stories pertaining to the new administrative unit of the Warring States period, the districts (*xian* 縣).³⁹

These fifteen anecdotes are a more pronounced example of a dynamic that prevails in the “Chu shuo” chapters. Since the other clusters tend to be smaller, they are usually confined within a given anecdote group rather than overriding the boundaries prescribed by the *jing* texts. While this cluster in chapter 30 features textual and narrative parallels, far more clusters share similar phrases,⁴⁰ or revolve around the same figure,⁴¹ topic, or themes.⁴² Some of these figures or themes do not appear anywhere else in the *Hanfeizi*, and are thus especially

36. Ibid., 30.609.

37. Ibid., 30.611.

38. Ibid., 30.613.

39. In addition to *ibid.*, 30.606–11, see also Mark Edward Lewis, “Warring States Political History,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008), 613–14.

40. E.g., the four anecdotes under *jing* 2 of chapter 30 all repeat versions of the same line on heavy punishment; see *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 30.585–87. See also the repetition of a version of *fangyi* 妨義 (hindrance to propriety) and the interaction between “inferiors and superiors” (*xia* 下 and *shang* 上) in the four anecdotes grouped under *jing* 3 of chapter 33, which happen to be the four anecdotes without corresponding *jing* entries; see *ibid.*, 33.734–38.

41. E.g., the series of anecdotes on Zi Zhi 子之 under chapter 35, *jing* 3; see *ibid.*, 35.822–27.

42. E.g., the series of anecdotes under *jing* 4 of chapter 31 that revolve around a ruler’s cooks or servants sabotaging each other; see *ibid.*, 31.640–41. As another example, the last four anecdotes under chapter 34, *jing* 1 all center around an analogy between a ruler’s control over his ministers and the taming of animals; see *ibid.*, 34.769–73.

noticeable.⁴³ The clusters of anecdotes cited in the later sections of this article will continue to illustrate this phenomenon.

The amassing of similar or related anecdotes is a widely seen compositional technique among early Chinese texts. Characterizing such compositions as collages, Christian Schwermann has classified different collage techniques that link anecdotes through association, key words, themes, or key concepts.⁴⁴ Very possibly, what is now a cluster of anecdotes within the “Chu shuo” was earlier an independent composition, much as the anecdote-centered chapters in compilations such as *Zhuangzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu*. Unearthed materials also attest to such compositions; an example would be **Tang chu yu Tangqiu* 湯處於湯丘 (Tang dwelling at the Tang Hills) and its collection of anecdotes revolving around the minister Yi Yin 伊尹.⁴⁵

The Jing Texts as Superimpositions

There is also evidence to suggest that, in the case of the second half of chapter 30, its three *jing* texts might have been created in view of the fifteen anecdotes as an existing anecdote collection. While neither *jing* 5 nor *jing* 7 can describe *all* of the anecdotes grouped under them, they closely correspond to *one or two* anecdotes within the group (see the anecdote entries marked with asterisks above). The instructional statement of *jing* 5, “summon someone numerous times and let him wait for a long time without appointing him” and “dispatch someone to ask about odds and ends,” happens to fittingly summarize the first two anecdotes of this group, even though it is a poor descriptor for the rest.⁴⁶ The key phrase in *jing* 7, *dao yan* 倒言 (speaking the opposite), appears verbatim in one of the anecdotes under *jing* 7.⁴⁷ Thus, while not all anecdotes can suitably illustrate the *jing* texts, the *jing* texts appear to be keyed to specific anecdotes. As I will discuss in the following sections, this allows the *jing* texts to serve as finding aids or memory pegs.

A similar observation can be made concerning the overarching organization of chapter 30, once we identify the three central ideas expounded by its seven *jing*:

- (1) Beware of powerful courtiers who monopolize information channels (*jing* 1, 4).
- (2) Rewards and punishments are important tools (*jing* 2, 3).
- (3) How to uncover hidden motives and manipulate subordinates (*jing* 5, 6, 7).⁴⁸

There is no apparent reason why *jing* 2 and 3, preoccupied with the second idea, should come between *jing* 1 and 4, both of which are concerned with the first idea. One could have easily arranged the *jing* texts in a more logical order. This current sequence thus also suggests that the *jing* were positioned according to the pre-existing order of the collected anecdotes.

Of course, not every part of the “Chu shuo” chapters allows us to infer whether the *jing* or the *shuo* were created first. It is also very likely that many anecdotes were incorporated—copied down or recalled from memory—at a later point, in view of the existing *jing* texts. In addition, every time the “Chu shuo” text was recopied or recompiled, there is (at least

43. A section below will focus on a series of anecdotes featuring the charioteer Zaofu 造父, who is mentioned twenty-two times in chapter 35, but only one other time in the rest of the *Hanfeizi*.

44. Schwermann, “Collage-Technik als Kompositionsprinzip klassischer chinesischer Prosa: Der Aufbau des Kapitels ‘Tang wen’ (Die Fragen des Tang) im *Lie zi*,” *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 29 (2005): 136–37, 140, 143, 145.

45. Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian (V)* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡(伍)(Beijing: Zhongxi shuju, 2015), 10–14, 134–40.

46. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 30.606–7.

47. *Ibid.*, 30.617.

48. For similar groupings of these seven *jing* texts, see *Hanfeizi jiaozhu* 韓非子校注, comm. Zhou Xunchu 周勛初 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2009), 249; *Hanfeizi jiaoshu xilun*, 520.

theoretically) a new opportunity to further unify the *jing* and *shuo* sections. In view of the possibility of such harmonizing efforts, the visible tension between the *jing* and *shuo* section is all the more remarkable.

THE *JING* TEXTS AS PARATEXTS: INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

If many of the *jing* texts were only composed in view of pre-existing anecdote compilations, then why were they created and superimposed? As proposed in the introduction, the *jing* texts appear to perform a variety of paratextual functions in service of the “main text,” or the anecdotes. In the next two sections, I will further specify these paratextual functions as pertaining to 1) information management and 2) knowledge acquisition. This section focuses on the information management aspect, namely, how the *jing* texts organize and inventory the anecdotes and contribute to their retrieval and preservation.

Organizing and Retrieving

If we visualize the relationship between a given *jing* and the anecdotes listed in its catalogue, the result is a simple branching structure. The anecdote entries ramify from the instructional statement, and point to their corresponding anecdotes. I call this structure a “branching catalogue” (see Fig. 3). The additional synopses in three of the “*Chu shuo*” chapters add extra layers to this basic branching catalogue, as Figure 4 visualizes. As Figure 4 illustrates, the *jing* section of the first “*Chu shuo*” chapter, chapter 30, is a branching cata-

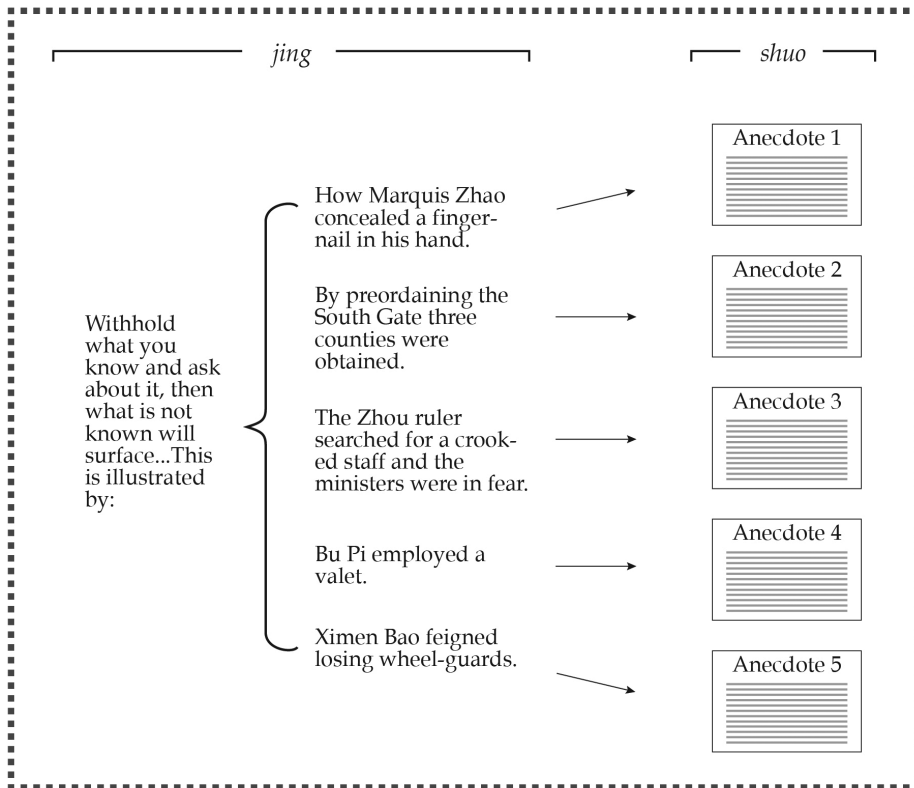


Fig. 3. *Jing* and *shuo* as a Branching Catalogue

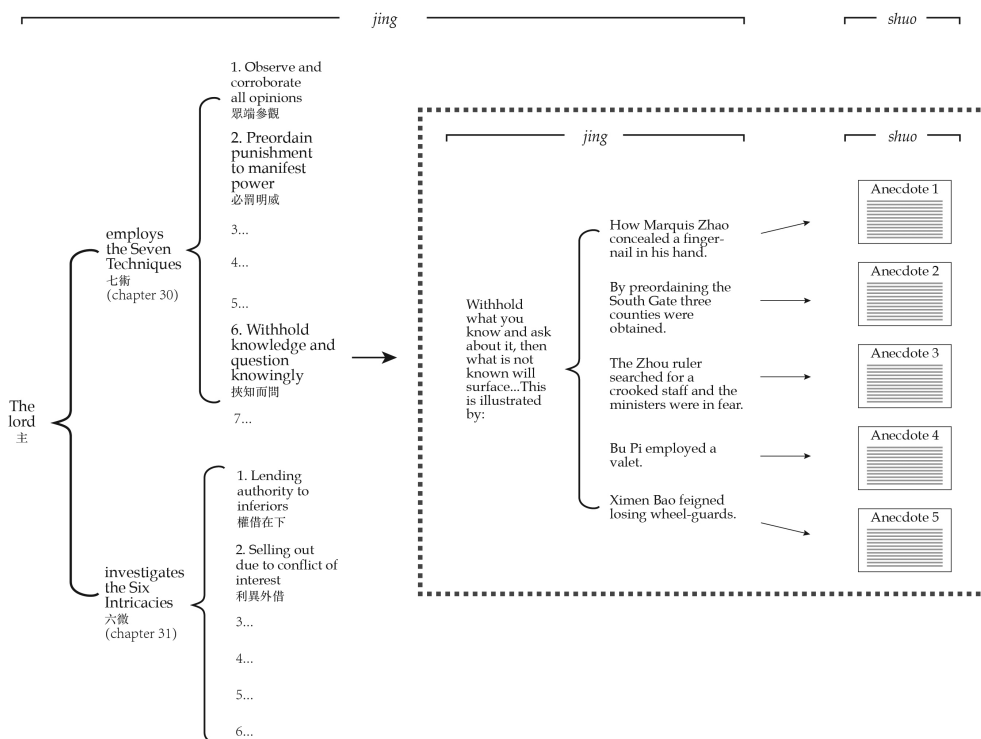


Fig. 4. The Branching Catalogue of the Two Inner “Chu shuo” Chapters

logue that encompasses the content of both inner chapters, chapters 30 and 31. Each *jing* text is a branch of either the “Seven Techniques” or the “Six Intricacies,” as well as a node for the subsequent anecdotes.

As Matthias Richter points out, various forms of non-linear structures often function as devices for information organization in early Chinese texts, which allow the audience to navigate between different levels or layers of a text. The organizational elements involved, such as enumeration, relate to the didactic content as paratext to text.⁴⁹ Such non-linear structures are more likely to appear in unearthed materials.⁵⁰ An elaborate version of a branching catalogue, for instance, is found in another text from the Tsinghua cache, **Tang zai chimen* 湯在齋門 (King Tang at the Chi Gate).⁵¹ Yegor Grebnev has also shown the importance of similar textual structures in the *shu* 書 genre and Buddhist scriptures.⁵²

On a larger scale, a branching catalogue can serve as the structuring device of compilations such as *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (The Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü) and *Shiji* 史記 (The Records of the Grand Historian), or even that of the bibliography of the Han

49. Richter, “Interweaving Technical Text and Narrative in *Guoyu* ‘Yueyu Xia’” (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society, Boston, March 19, 2016).

50. Idem, *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 174–77.

51. Li Xueqin, *Qinghua daxue cang zhanguo zhujian* (I), 15–18, 141–48.

52. Yegor Grebnev, “The Core Chapters of the *Yi Zhou shu*” (PhD diss., Univ. of Oxford, 2016), 131–78.

library as devised by Liu Xin 劉歆 (d. 23).⁵³ The chapter synopsis in the table of contents of *Shiji*, for instance, exhibits structural parallels to *jing* texts in “Chu shuo” chapters, as the comparison in Table 2 shows:

Table 2

Structural Components	<i>Shiji</i> 130, Chapter Synopsis	“Chu shuo” 30, <i>jing</i> Text
Instructional Statement	(None)	Withhold what you know and ask about it . . . 挾智而問 . . .
Chapter Synopsis or Anecdote Catalogue	When King Min lost Linzi and escaped to Ju, Tian Dan alone, with his base in Jimo, put Qi Jie to flight, thus preserving the earth alter (i.e., statehood) of Qi. 潛王既失臨淄而奔莒，唯田單用即墨破走騎劫，遂存齊社稷。	Marquis Zhao concealed a fingernail in his hand. Thus, by preordaining the South Gate three counties were obtained . . . 昭侯之握一爪也。故必南門而三鄉得 . . .
Navigation to Upper Node	This is written as “Tian Shan,” Number Twenty-Second of the “Arrayed Traditions.” 作田單列傳第二十二。 ⁵⁴	Number Six: Withhold Knowledge. 挾智六

Both texts recapitulate the main text they refer to, not unlike descriptive intertitles in early modern novels, such as the title of *Tom Jones*, book 1, chapter 3: “An odd Accident which befel Mr. Allworthy, at his Return Home. The decent Behaviour of Mrs. Deborah Wilkins, with some proper Animadversions on Bastards.”⁵⁵ Just as the anecdote catalogues, the synopses of *Shiji* chapters are written in a prosodic language (usually in tetrasyllabic lines, unlike the example given here), and are similarly succinct and abstruse-seeming.⁵⁶ Both, moreover, end with a reference to the “node” they branch from. The *jing* text navigates back to the list of “Seven Techniques,” indicating that it is the sixth of the seven earlier branches. In the case of *Shiji*, the upper node is the category of “Arrayed Traditions” (*lie zhuan* 列傳), one of this compilation’s five major parts.

These two types of texts are moreover functionally analogous. The table of contents is taken from the last chapter of *Shiji*, “Taishi gong zixu” 太史公自序 (Self-narration by the Grand Historian, or Author’s postface by the Grand Historian). The word *xu* 序 would eventually become the genre term for prefatory writings, but its most basic meaning, “to put in order,” is salient here. Since this chapter also contains Sima Qian’s autobiographical account, such a title suggests the ordering of both Sima Qian’s life and his book. Synopses organized according to a branching catalogue are essential for preserving Sima Qian’s intended chapter

53. Liu Xin’s work forms the basis of the “Yiwenzhi” chapter of *Hanshu*; see Hur-Li Lee, *Intellectual Activism in Knowledge Organization: A Hermeneutic Study of the Seven Epitomes* (Taipei: National Taiwan Univ. Press, 2016).

54. *Shiji*, comp. Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 146–ca. 86 BCE) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 130.3314.

55. Henry Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones* (London: Penguin, 2005), 109. For descriptive intertitles in the European tradition, see Genette, *Paratexts*, 300–311. Descriptive intertitles are also a regular feature of late imperial Chinese novels, written according to the even stricter prosodic requirements of parallel couplets.

56. Burton Watson, for instance, omits the table of contents from his translation of chapter 130, since it is too difficult to understand by itself; see Watson, tr., *Ssu-ma Ch’ien: Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1958), 55.

sequence and grouping, for this large compilation would have required numerous bamboo or silk scrolls. They also could have served as a finding device, allowing early users to identify and consult a specific part of this corpus.

All such functions are performed by the *jing* sections of “Chu shuo” as well. For two millennia, they have stabilized the sequence and groupings of the hundreds of anecdotes within these six chapters. If anecdotes can function as building blocks of larger texts, then the *jing* sections are the instructions for how these blocks should be stacked.⁵⁷ They also could have served as a finding device for locating an anecdote group or even a specific anecdote. In view of this comparison, the seemingly cryptic style of the *jing* texts is evidently linked to their function as paratexts, rather than serving as a hallmark of their canonical status.⁵⁸ As the table of contents in *Shiji* reveals, being elliptical is characteristic of paratexts, which, as auxiliary texts, are usually not intended to be read on their own. Brevity is furthermore a feature of mnemonic aids, as will be discussed in the next section.

In a comparative context, branching catalogues similarly serve the function of information organization in medieval and early modern European texts, often in the form of tables of contents, tabulated synopses, or illustrated branching diagrams.⁵⁹ In the European context, such visual aids are more commonly associated with derivative compilations—for instance, textbooks, encyclopedic compendia, and commonplace books—rather than with primary, authoritative texts.⁶⁰ This association is suggestive, for the “Chu shuo” chapters in many ways resemble an European florilegium or commonplace book, which is a compendium of anecdotes, sayings, and analogies collected for specific didactic purposes, and is often furnished with finding devices.⁶¹ If the title “Chu shuo” can be translated as “Treasures of Illustrations,”⁶² many such compilations were also conceived of as “treasuries” of knowledge, giving rise to the term “thesaurus.”⁶³

Placing the “Chu shuo” chapters in a comparative context also highlights the rhetoric of branching catalogues. According to Joachim Gentz, branching catalogues—which he terms enumerative catalogues—imply both the comprehensiveness of their content and the unity among the constituent branches.⁶⁴ Similarly in the European context, branching diagrams

57. For early Chinese texts as composites of small building blocks, see William G. Boltz, “The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts,” in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, ed. Martin Kern (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2005), 50–78. For early Chinese anecdotes as building blocks, see Paul van Els and Sarah A. Queen, “Anecdotes in Early China,” in eadem, *Between History and Philosophy*, 16.

58. For the association between subtle and obscure language and canonical texts, see Lewis, *Writing and Authority*, 300–302.

59. The branching catalogues of Jean Bodin’s *Juris universi distributio* (1578) and *Universae naturae theatrum* (1596) provide illuminating examples of this parallel. The catalogue in the latter is first introduced discursively, in a dialogue between its two characters. In a subsequent French translation, the translator François de Fougerolles appended visual branching diagrams both as an overview and as a finding device; see Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2017), 10, 159–63. The branching diagram is also an important tool for what is known as the Ramist logic, an analytical and educational method developed by Peter Ramus (1515–1572); see Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 144.

60. John Emery Murdoch, *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Album of Science* (New York: Scribner, 1984), 31–32, 277.

61. Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 124–26; for examples of branching diagrams in commonplace books, see discussions of *Polyanthea* and *Theatrum Humanae Vitae* in *ibid.*, 144–52.

62. Lundahl translates *chu* 儲 as “repository”; see Lundahl, *Han Fei Zi*, 146. W. K. Liao as “congerly”; see Liao, *Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu*, 2: 1.

63. See also Richter, *Embodied Text*, 172–73 for early Chinese texts as repository of didactic materials for consultation rather than linear reading.

64. Joachim Gentz, “Defining Boundaries and Relations of Textual Units: Examples from the Literary Tool-

were also favored on account of their power to represent the entirety as well as the relationships between the parts.⁶⁵

Inventoring and Storing

The branching catalogues of the *jing* texts also perform an inventoring function. By “inventoring,” I refer to the attempt to create a complete catalogue, so that all anecdotes in the *shuo* sections are accounted for by the catalogues in the *jing* section. This inventoring function is performed by two specific textual features: in addition to the anecdote catalogues, I believe that the label *yi yue* 一曰 (it is also said), found throughout the *shuo* sections, also serves this purpose.

The label *yi yue* has only limited parallels in the received early Chinese corpus,⁶⁶ and has been the subject of much debate. It usually introduces a second—and occasionally a third— anecdote that is similar or related to the previous anecdote. Most of the anecdotes labeled with *yi yue* appear to be alternative versions of the previous anecdotes, although quite a few have significant differences. Zheng Liangshu counts a total of forty-four such alternative versions scattered throughout the “Chu shuo” chapters.⁶⁷ A variety of explanations have been proposed for why, how, and when this label and the alternative versions were introduced. While many considered them to be later insertions,⁶⁸ others point to the cases where the entries in the *jing* sections echo the second rather than the first versions.⁶⁹ Those who do not see the *yi yue* feature as a later insertion attribute to Han Fei a special proclivity for collecting alternative accounts.⁷⁰

My argument for the inventoring function of the *jing* texts is coupled with a new explanation of the function of the *yi yue* label. If my observation in the previous section—that the clustering of similar or related anecdotes is a widespread feature among the “Chu shuo” chapters—is valid, then this already necessitates a reexamination of the *yi yue* feature. Existing explanations assume that the anecdotes linked by *yi yue* are alternative versions that share a considerably higher degree of similarity. However, if the amassing of similar anecdotes is a regular feature of the *shuo* sections, then the *yi yue* anecdotes are no longer qualitatively

Kit of Early Chinese Argumentation,” in *Literary Forms of Argument in Early China*, ed. Joachim Gentz and Dirk Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 128.

65. Blair, *Theater of Nature*, 162–63, 176–77.

66. Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821–1906) interprets the use of *yi yue* in “Chu shuo” as a juxtaposition of alternative understandings or interpretations. But the other examples he supplies, such as passages from *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 and *Guanzi* 管子, are more likely to involve *huo yue* 或曰 (someone says) rather than *yi yue*; see *Gushu yiyi juli wuzhong* 古書疑義舉例五種 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), 11–14. Using *yi yue* to introduce alternative or related information is more commonly seen in writings and compilations dating to the Han period or later. In addition to its concentrated appearances in select chapters of *Shanhaijing* 山海經, *Hanshu*, *Yuejueshu* 越絕書, *Lunheng* 論衡, and *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經—as well as throughout *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字—I have so far located one case in *Shiji* and one case in *Huainanzi* 淮南子. For parallels in *Taichan shu*, see below.

67. Zheng Liangshu 鄭良樹, “Hanfeizi Chushuo pian wu lun” 韓非子·儲說篇五論, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 1990.7: 47–48.

68. Gu Guangqi, for instance, attributes them to the Han librarians, while Chen Qiyou would even consider the early medieval author Lu Ji 陸機 (261–303). As Lundahl points out, the presence of alternative versions, together with the mismatches between *jing* and *shuo* texts, have led scholars to doubt the authenticity of the *shuo* sections; see Lundahl, *Han Fei Zi*, 148–49.

69. *Ibid.*, 149; *Hanfeizi jiaoshu xilun*, 536.

70. See, for instance, Zheng Liangshu 鄭良樹, *Han Fei zhi zhushu ji sixiang* 韓非之著述及思想 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1993), 307; Ma Shinian 馬世年, “Hanfeizi ‘Chu shuo’ de tiyi fenpian yu xingzhi” 《韓非子儲說》的題意、分篇與性質, *Gansu shehui kexue* 2004.5: 70.

different.⁷¹ Indeed, the pairs of parallel anecdotes discussed earlier—one of which concern a Zhou ruler in search of a missing object—are closer to each other textually than many of the passages linked by *yi yue*. But those two pairs are not labeled with *yi yue*. If similarity is not the distinguishing factor of anecdotes linked by *yi yue*, what is? Even more importantly, the juxtaposition of similar anecdotes, as mentioned, is far from rare among early Chinese compilations, and is therefore not a unique feature of the *Hanfeizi*. Why then are the compiler(s) of “Chu shuo” unusually insistent in utilizing the *yi yue* label, when it is not found in the textual couplets or triplets in other early texts?

One possible answer lies in the close correlation between the *yi yue* labels and the catalogues of anecdotes in the *jing* section. The distinguishing factor between the *yi yue* anecdotes and the rest is not the degree of similarity, but whether an anecdote has its own unique entry in the *jing* catalogues. With one or two exceptions,⁷² all “normal” anecdotes possess one-to-one correspondences with the catalogue entries; it is only in the case of the *yi yue* anecdotes that one entry would refer to more than one anecdote. The “Chu shuo” chapters are not immune to the vicissitudes of textual transmission and contain many notable lacunae in both the *jing* catalogues and the *shuo* sections.⁷³ But even these lacunae have not disrupted this general pattern.

A more elegant explanation of this pattern would see the *yi yue* label as a device for adding an additional layer to the branching catalogues. As Figure 5 illustrates, this label allows one entry to branch into two or three anecdotes. This interpretation is supported by the use of the *yi yue* label in the Mawangdui silk manuscript **Taichan shu* 胎產書 (Book of the generation of the fetus).⁷⁴ Among its collection of childbirth-related recipes and formulae, the label *yi yue* is frequently employed. There, it has the function of loosely grouping together recipes belonging to the same category. For instance, instructions related to the handling of the after-birth are linked together by *yi yue*, as are the recipes for manipulating the fetus’s gender. It thus similarly presents the recipes as branches of implicitly shared topics.

Given that the *yi yue* labels and the *jing* texts are closely coordinated, either one must have been created as a result of the other. The close tie between the *jing* anecdote entries and some of the alternative versions indicates that not all *yi yue* versions were later insertions. This suggests that the *yi yue* label might have been employed from early on, perhaps in response to the challenge of inventorying materials that have an inherent degree of repetitiveness. When so many anecdotes resemble each other, it must have been difficult to systematically create a unique entry for each one. By allowing one entry to refer to a pair or a triplet, the

71. Like many anecdote clusters in the “Chu shuo” chapters, the *yi yue* anecdotes feature both passages that are close parallels and others that are rather different.

72. There is one possible exception in *jing* 5 of chapter 31, where the entry, “Tian Chang, Kan Zhi, Dai Huan, and Huang Xi feuded and thus the lord of Song and Duke Jian were murdered” 田常、闕止、戴驩、皇喜敵而宋君、簡公殺, refers to two anecdotes, one involving Tian Chang, Kan Zhi, and Duke Jian, and the other Dai Huan, Huang Xi, and the lord of Song. However, this entry seems to have collapsed all of the characters involved in the two stories into the same sentence because of the structural parallel of the two narratives, so that it is almost as if two entries were abbreviated to one. At the level of information, there is still one-to-one correspondence between the names in the entry and in the anecdotes; see *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 31.620. A true exception is found in *jing* 5 of chapter 32, where there is only one entry concerning Duke Jian of Zheng. The two anecdotes featuring him are not linked by *yi yue*; see *ibid.*, 32.665, 702–3.

73. See Zheng Liangshu, “*Hanfeizi chushuo pian wu lun*,” 33–69 for a full account of textual problems in the “Chu shuo” chapters.

74. Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, ed., *Changsha Mawangdui Hanmu jianbo jicheng*, vol. 6 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成 (陸) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 93–102. For a translation see Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts* (London: Kegan Paul, 1997), 378–84.

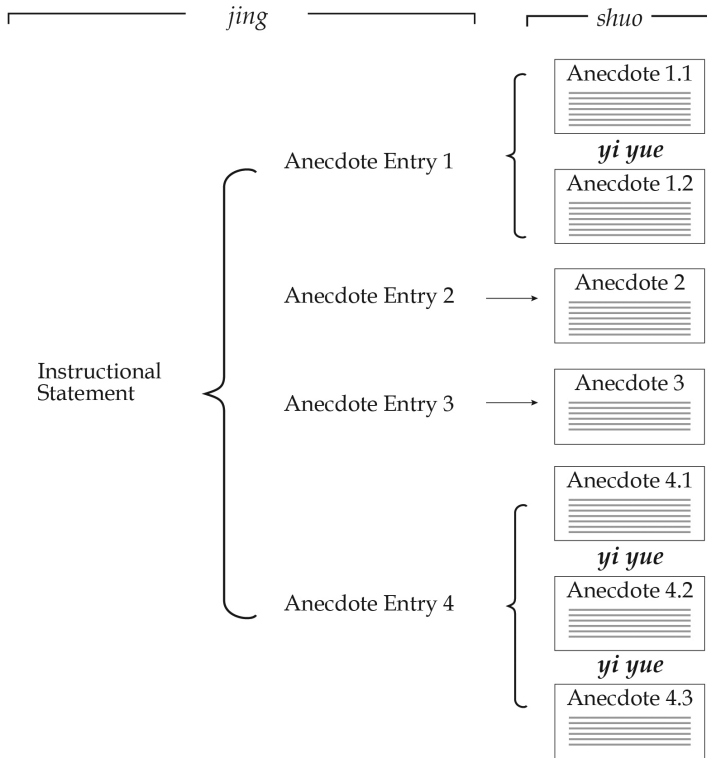


Fig. 5. *Yi yue* as part of the Branching Catalogue

insertion of *yi yue* offers an expedient solution. At the same time, it is easy to imagine the continued usage of the *yi yue* label even after the majority of the *jing* texts are composed, which would allow for the insertions of additional versions without violating the existing one-to-one correspondence.

Beyond serving as a finding device, such an inventory system also contributes to the textual stabilization of the “Chu shuo” chapters. This is not to say that the “Chu shuo” was rendered immutable, as the presence of lacunae can well attest to. Nevertheless, as Genette insightfully articulates, paratexts as speech acts are expressions of wishes, and are not necessarily descriptions of reality.⁷⁵ The establishment of this inventory system informs us of the existence of a desire to seal this corpus, even if it was not perfectly realized. But the very fact that we can identify the lacunae speaks to the efficacy of this inventory system, without which most of these textual changes would not have been detectable.

Finally, the spatial terms in the chapter titles also play a role in stabilizing and preserving the “Chu shuo” chapters. Early compilers could have simply entitled this series with numbers, just as the four “Nan” 難 (Critiques) chapters succeeding the “Chu shuo,” the titles of which are “Critiques One,” “Critiques Two,” etc. The advantage of the spatial terms, however, is that each implies the existence of the other. From the word “inner” a user can infer the existence of an “outer” component, and from “upper” the existence of the “lower.” A title such as “The outer upper left treasury of illustrations” 外儲說左上 indicates that there

75. Genette, *Paratexts*, 1–2.

must be three other such “outer treasuries.” Entitling a text “Two,” in contrast, does not betray whether there is also a “Three” or a “Four.” In guaranteeing the integrity of the “Chu shuo,” these titles do not merely conjure up the image of a storehouse, but in fact perform the function of storing.

THE *JING* TEXTS AS PARATEXTS: KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION

I have so far focused on how the *jing* texts manage the anecdotes as pieces of information. As an organizational structure and finding device, the *jing* texts facilitate the consultation and selected reuse of these materials for different occasions and purposes, as well as ensuring their preservation and future availability.

The next two aspects of the *jing* texts are more closely related to learning and knowledge acquisition. They reflect an interest in regulating the interpretation and memorization of these anecdotes. Such didactic functions imply a learner, someone who not only consults these materials, but also tries to internalize them as knowledge.

Guiding Interpretation

While the terms *jing* and *shuo* at first suggest that the anecdotes, as the *shuo* texts, supply the “explication” of the *jing*, there are many cases where the opposite is true. Many *jing* texts, not unlike commentarial writings, in effect specify how the anecdotes ought to be understood. This has to do with the fact that the “message” of a narrative can often be far less determined than that of an instructional statement. The *jing* texts, even as they are often terse and elliptical, are explicit articulations of didactic messages, whereas many of the anecdotes are open to a wide range of interpretations. As I have discussed in a previous article, this phenomenon is particularly pronounced in the four outer “Chu shuo” chapters (32–35), which incorporate a wider range of heterogeneous materials. In these chapters, the *jing* text often has to prescribe alternative readings or outright refute the anecdote’s explicit argument.⁷⁶ Just as other forms of paratexts, such *jing* texts fulfill the function of prescribing a desired interpretation of the “main text.”

A striking example for this phenomenon is the reappropriation of jokes within the “Chu shuo.” The following examples are two consecutive anecdotes from a cluster of such materials. Read without their assigned *jing* text, their relevance to the political philosophy of *Hanfeizi* is no longer self-evident:

Buzi, a man from Zheng county, asked his wife to make him a pair of trousers. The wife asked, “What should these trousers look like?” The husband said, “Like my old pair.” The wife thus ruined the new pants so that they resembled the old pair.

鄭縣人卜子，使其妻為袴，其妻問曰：「今袴何如？」夫曰：「象吾故袴。」妻子因毀新令如故袴。

There was a man from Zheng county who came upon a cart yoke but did not know what it was called. He asked someone, “What type of a thing is this?” The person answered, “This is a cart yoke.” In a short while he yet again came upon another one, and asked someone, “What type of a thing is this?” The person answered, “This is a cart yoke.” The inquirer was greatly enraged, saying, “The one before was called a ‘cart yoke’. This one is also a ‘cart yoke’. How can this ‘cart yoke’ be so numerous? You must be fooling me.” He then started a fight.

76. For an example, see Du, “From Villains Outwitted to Pedants Out-Wrangled,” 212–13.

鄭縣人有得車輓者，而不知其名，問人曰：「此何種也？」對曰：「此車輓也。」俄又復得一，問人曰：「此是何種也？」對曰：「此車輓也。」問者大怒曰：「曩者曰車輓，今又曰車輓，是何眾也？此女欺我也。」遂與之鬪。⁷⁷

Readers familiar with the *Hanfeizi* might recognize what the first anecdote can be construed to allegorize. The wife who doggedly replicated her husband's old pants can be read as a satire of those who advocate for the restoration of ancient political systems. This is indeed the reading prescribed by the *jing* text, which likens these fools to the scholars who rule out any possibility of political change (不能更), and judges their teachings to be “ill-fitting for today” 不宜今.⁷⁸ But had readers come across a manuscript containing only such anecdotes, without the *jing* text and the larger context of the *Hanfeizi* compilation, would they have interpreted them this way?

The need for interpretative guidance is further underscored by the other anecdotes of this cluster, which—as exemplified by the second narrative—do not work well as parodies of hidebound pedants. The problem with the second protagonist is not the inappropriate over-generalization of an old lesson, but the failure to at all generalize. As Christoph Harbsmeier points out, this cluster of anecdotes was likely once a collection of jokes.⁷⁹ Indeed, they call to mind the “fool” or “simpleton” jokes attested cross-culturally, where the archetypal nincompoops tend to be associated with a particular region.⁸⁰ The phrase “the man from Zheng county” 鄭縣人 marks the beginning of three of the seven anecdotes in this cluster, not unlike the formulaic openings of “when X, Y, and Z walk into a bar . . .”

This cluster once again illustrates the tension between the *jing* and *shuo* sections: while the earlier redactional logic of this cluster relates to the message of the *jing* only obliquely (or not at all), the addition of the *jing* text transforms the audience's interpretation of these jokes, imposing a new interpretation that is more “pertinent” to the agenda of the *Hanfeizi* compilation. Throughout the “Chu shuo” chapters, especially in the outer chapters, the *jing* texts reappropriate a variety of materials in such a manner.

Mnemonic Aides

Finally, the *jing* texts could have been utilized as mnemonic aids for the hundreds of anecdotes, as their jingle-like, rhythmic style already suggests. The example below not only illustrates such a mnemonic function, but also showcases yet another form of anecdote clustering in the “Chu shuo”: as parts of an expository composition that were deliberately disassembled and transformed into “morsels.”⁸¹ Such clusters raise the questions of why an essay composition would be dissected, as well as their relationship with the superimposed *jing* texts.⁸² Despite its complexity, this anecdote cluster provides persuasive evidence for the *jing* section's role in aiding memorization. The *jing* text of this particular cluster is a slavish repetition of its *shuo* passages, so that without recognizing its inventorying and mnemonic functions, its inclusion would have been puzzling.

77. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 32.691–92.

78. *Ibid.*

79. Christoph Harbsmeier, “Humor in Ancient Chinese Philosophy,” *Philosophy East and West* 39 (1989): 300.

80. Zhou Xunchu points out that the *Hanfeizi* often uses people from Song or Zheng as examples of simpletons; see *Zhou Xunchu wenji* 周勛初文集 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2000), 368–69. For ancient Roman parallels, see Mary Beard, *Laughter in Ancient Rome: On Joking, Tickling, and Cracking Up* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2014), 191–93.

81. Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 2.

82. In addition to the example closely analyzed below, such clusters can also be found at the end of chapter 34 and in other parts of chapter 35.

From the seven *shuo* passages associated with *jing* 1 of chapter 35, I selected the following three. The remaining four passages are all labeled with *yi yue* and appear to be parallel versions of these three pieces. By leaving out the *yi yue* passages, the shape of the original essay composition resurfaces. I have labeled these passages with numbers for ease of reference:

(1) When Zaofu steered four horses, they could gallop, spin, and turn in whatever ways he pleased. The horses sped in every way Zaofu pleased because of his skill in utilizing the control of his reins and whip. But when the horses were startled by a pig running amok, and Zaofu lost control of them, it was not because the severity of the reins and whip was insufficient, but because the pig took share in the deterrence they instilled. When Wang Yuqi harnessed extra horses alongside his chariot, he made the horses do whatever his heart desired without reins and whip, and this was because of his skill in utilizing the attraction of fodder and water. But when the horses passed by a garden and a pool, and the extra horses broke away, it was not because the attraction of fodder and water was insufficient, but that the garden and pool took share in the virtue they offered. Thus, even though Wang Liang and Zaofu were among the best charioteers in the world, if we let Wang Liang hold the left rein shouting commands, and Zaofu hold the right rein and whip, the horse will not go for even ten miles due to this sharing. Even though Tian Lian and Cheng Qiao were among the best zither players in the world, if Tian Lian plucks while Cheng Qiao presses, there is no music, and that is also on account of sharing. If, given Wang Liang's and Zaofu's skills, they cannot command a horse while sharing the reins, how can the lord of men govern when he shares his authority with his ministers? If, given Tian Lian's and Cheng Qiao's skills, they cannot perform music while sharing a zither, how then can the lord of men govern when he shares his position with his ministers?

It is also said . . . (A much shorter passage follows offering alternative accounts of Zaofu's encounter with the garden—not the pig, the incidents are switched around—and Wangzi Yuqi's encounter with the pig.)

造父御四馬，馳驟周旋而恣欲於馬。恣欲於馬者，擅轡策之制也。然馬驚於出彘，而造父不能禁制者，非轡策之嚴不足也，威分於出彘也。王{子}⁸³於期為駙駕，轡策不用而擇欲於馬，擅芻水之利也。然馬過於圃池而駙馬敗者，非芻水之利不足也，德分於圃池也。故王良、造父，天下之善御者也，然而使王良操左革而叱吒之，使造父操右革而鞭笞之，馬不能行十里，共故也。田連、成竅，天下善鼓琴者也，然而田連鼓上，成竅撒下，而不能成曲，亦共故也。夫以王良、造父之巧，共轡而御不能使馬，人主安能與其臣共權以為治？以田連、成竅之巧，共琴而不能成曲，人主又安能與其臣共勢以成功乎？一曰 . . .

(2) Zihan, Garrison Commander of the Capital, said to the lord of Song, "Since people welcome reward and bestowal, my lord can perform these himself. What people abhor is execution and punishment, and I, your servant, beg to be in charge of them." "It is allowed," replied the lord of Song. Thus, when there are stern orders needing to be issued or ministers needing to be censured, the lord always said, "Ask Zihan." Thus, the ministers feared him while the commoners turned to him. Over the course of one year, Zihan murdered the lord of Song and took over the government. Thus, Zihan, acting as the pig running amok, took over the state from his lord.

司城子罕謂宋君曰：「慶賞賜與，民之所喜也，君自行之。殺戮誅罰，民之所惡也，臣請當之。」宋君曰：「諾。」於是出威令，誅大臣，君曰「問子罕」也。於是大臣畏之，細民歸之。處期年，子罕殺宋君而奪政。故子罕為出彘以奪其君國。

(3) Duke Jian, seated above, was heavy in his punishment and severe in his censure. He collected high taxes, punished and executed the common folks. Tian Heng, however, always displayed kindness and fondness and demonstrated leniency and generosity. Duke Jian has turned the people of Qi into thirsty horses by bestowing no favor upon them, while Tian Heng, with his benevolence and generosity, lies in wait as the garden and the pool.

83. Scholars have argued that *zi* 子 here is an interpolation; see *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 21.454 n. 1.

(This is followed by three other anecdotes introduced by *yi yue*. The first one relates the garden-pool incident again, though featuring Zaofu as opposed to Wangzi Yuqi, and likens it to Duke Jian and Tian Heng. The second one is another version of Wangzi Yuqi encountering the pig, though here he is said to be driving for the lord of Song; no comparison with political power struggle is made. The last one begins as another account of Zihan and the lord of Song, though after the narration ends, it repeats the comparison between Zihan and the pig, as well as Tian Heng and the garden and pool, even though Tian Heng is not mentioned in this anecdote. Its last portion repeats the imagined scenario of the two charioteers sharing reigns and the two musicians sharing a zither.)

簡公在上位，罰重而誅嚴，厚賦斂而殺戮民。田成恆⁸⁴設慈愛，明寬厚。簡公以齊民為渴馬，不以恩加民，而田成恆以仁厚為圃池也。一曰...。一曰...。一曰...。⁸⁵

Unlike the majority of textual units collected in the “*Chu shuo*” chapters, passage (1) is hardly an anecdote. Instead, it appears to be an essay composition that utilizes anecdotes as allegories. Its four allusions to charioteers and zither players are woven together through carefully crafted parallelisms. Zaofu’s mastery of the horses through his “control” (*zhi* 制) of whip and rein dovetails with Wang Yuqi’s manipulation through the “attraction” (*li* 利) of fodder and water. The whip and the fodder correspond to the “two handles” of power discussed in other parts of the *Hanfeizi*: punishment and reward.⁸⁶ These meticulously inter-linked allusions ultimately construct an argument against the “sharing” (*gong* 共) of the instruments of power. The last section of this passage not only makes this point, but also yokes all four allusions through parallelism.

Just as with the other anecdote clusters, there is an internal logic that connects this passage with the others. In this case, the three passages cited above appear to be part of the same essay. While passages (2) and (3) might at first appear to be independent anecdotes, their endings, underlined above, refer back to passage (1). Without passage (1), it would be impossible to decipher the meanings of “appearance of a pig” (*chu zhi* 出彘) or “garden and pool” (*pu chi* 圃池) in these endings. We would not even be able to determine what the pig is doing, whether it *chu* 出 in the sense of “appears,” “is born,” or “exits.” Read together, however, these three passages form an elegantly constructed essay fragment.

Without passage (1), the *jing* text would be similarly unhelpful in illuminating the meaning of the pig and the pool, as this literal translation below shows. The *shuo* passages echoed by this *jing* text are indicated in the square brackets:

When (the power to) reward and punish is shared, then prohibitions and orders have no effect. What can illustrate this? Let me illustrate it with Zaofu and Yuqi [*beginning of passage 1*]. Zihan [*passage 2*] acted as the pig that appeared, and Tian Heng [*passage 3*] the garden and the pool. Therefore the lord of Song [*passage 2*] and Duke Jian [*passage 3*] were murdered. Its harm is shown in Wang Liang and Zaofu sharing a chariot, as well as Tian Lian and Cheng Qiao sharing a zither [*end of passage 1*].

賞罰共則禁令不行，何以明之，明之以造父、於期。子罕為出彘，田恆為圃池，故宋君、簡公弑。患在王良、造父之共車，田連、成竅之共琴也。⁸⁷

Read by itself, this *jing* text appears to resemble many other “*Chu shuo*” *jing* texts, and its catalogue seemingly lists half a dozen discrete anecdotes. However, it is in fact an elliptical epitome of the reconstructed essay composition. The last two underlined entries, for instance,

84. I.e., Tian Heng 田恆. According to Wang Xianshen 王先慎 (1859–1922), Cheng 成 is Tian Heng’s posthumous name; see *ibid.*, 35.812.

85. *Ibid.*, 35.808–14. Translation adapted from Liao, *Complete Works of Han Fei Tzū*, 2: 120–24.

86. Explicitly articulated in chapter 7, “Er Bing” 二柄 (Two handles).

87. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 35.802.

do not have matching anecdotes, as one might have expected; their possible reference point is instead the last two sentences of passage (1).

Why did someone compose this half-legible *jing* text to recapitulate a far more eloquent essay fragment? This can be explained in terms of the aforementioned paratextual functions. As an essay composition, passages (1–3) constitute a synthesis of existing cultural knowledge, weaving together anecdotes concerning famous charioteers, zither players, and rulers. The “Chu shuo” chapters, in contrast, present anecdotes as individuated units of information, to be freely selected and recombined for future reuses. The adaptation of this essay composition to the “Chu shuo” chapters seems to require its de-composition. This disassembling is partly achieved through the addition of the *jing* text. Its catalogue treats the essay fragment as if it is really a collection of discrete anecdotes. What the *jing* text repeats are indeed the “informational” factoids of the essay, such as the names and the signature details, in effect plucking out the allusions once tightly interwoven. This de-synthesis is further aided by the insertion of the *yi yue* passages, which obscure the essay’s original, integrated state.

Its inventory function is complemented with its possible role as a mnemonic verse, being inflected with rhyme and assonance. Such prosodic language likely facilitated its users’ recitation of the essay’s informational content:

賞罰共(*gəŋh),
 則
 禁令不行(*gâŋ/*gâŋ(h))
 何以明(*mraŋ)之,
 明之以
 造父於期(*gə) - 之/職 *mixed rhyme*
 子罕為出處(*d-lats) - 歌/月 *mixed rhyme*
 田恆為圃池(*d-lai) - 歌/月 *mixed rhyme*
 故
 宋君簡公弑(*lək-s) - 之/職 *mixed rhyme*
 患在
 王良造父之共車,
 田連成竅之共琴
 也。

Could the anecdote catalogues have functioned as “memory pegs”? Without direct evidence concerning the early usage of “Chu shuo,” we can only hypothesize. But if prosody can indeed be associated with memorization, this hypothesis would not be farfetched. Based on manuscript evidence, Christopher Nugent has shown that a prosodic text such as the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (Thousand character text) can be more than a literacy primer. Once memorized, one can associate each of its lines with classical writing or historical knowledge, effectively using them as memory pegs for recalling additional information.⁸⁸ Had ancient users memorized the *jing* sections, the catalogues would have naturally functioned as memory pegs for the anecdotes themselves.

The other features of the “Chu shuo” chapters also could have served as mnemonic and pedagogic aids. In the early modern European context, branching diagram illustrations were valued both as a shortcut to a comprehensive overview and as a memory aid.⁸⁹ Even though the branching catalogues constructed by the *jing* sections have not been visually illustrated,

88. Christopher M. B. Nugent, “Structured Gaps: The *Qianzi wen* and Its Paratexts as Mnemotechnics,” in *Memory in Medieval China: Text, Ritual, and Community*, ed. Wendy Swartz and Robert F. Campney (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 158–92.

89. Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 145, 152; Karl Josef Höltgen, “Synoptische Tabellen in der medizinischen Litera-

they do offer a condensed overview of a given chapter. Finally, the spatial arrangement dictated by the chapter titles is reminiscent of a memory palace.⁹⁰ It is conceivable that after committing the *jing* sections to memory, one could navigate a rather substantial collection of anecdotes with the mind's eye.

CONCLUSION

Similar to other paratextual devices—the preface, for instance—the *jing* sections are the *loci* of mediation between the textual producers and users. Whether as information management tools or as didactic guides, the *jing* sections express how—according to certain group(s) of compiler(s)—the anecdote materials should be organized, retrieved, preserved, interpreted, and memorized. The presence of the users is also palpable. Not only do the various functions of the *jing* texts anticipate them, the *jing* sections address the users in a hortatory tone, sometimes even explicitly naming them as the rulers (*zhu* 主).⁹¹ In contrast to the *jing* texts, the anecdotes in the *shuo* section are assembled from a variety of sources, often reflecting the traces of their previous contexts. Without the *jing*, a significant portion of the *shuo* texts would remain as polyphonic miscellanea and reflect neither a unified redactional intention nor a shared audience. Reading the *jing* texts as paratextual devices thus sheds light on their function in guiding the users' interaction with the anecdote compilations. It also explains intriguing or problematic textual features such as the incongruence between the *jing* and the *shuo* and the function of the *yi yue* label.

This analysis of the “Chu shuo” chapters potentially touches upon the early development of the term *jing*. In its earlier usages, the term *jing* seems to indicate a text's function, and not necessarily its hierarchical status. The root meaning of the word *jing* (*kêŋ) seems to be “to pass through,” which gave rise to meanings such as “small path, shortcut” (written as 徑 in modern orthography), “warp” (what is being passed through), as well as “to take as norm, plan, practice.”⁹² According to my reading, the *jing* sections indeed function as a “through line” stringing together groups of anecdotes or even groups of *jing* texts, often overriding earlier redactional logic of the existing compilations.⁹³

Analyzing the *jing* sections in terms of paratext also highlights what the “Chu shuo” has in common with other scholastic compilations, whether it is medieval *leishu* 類書 (categorically arranged writings) or early modern European commonplace books. Many such compilations also superimpose an overarching structuring device, recycle existing materials as individuated pieces of information, foist on the audience a new interpretative agenda, and supply learning aids.

While I have yet to encounter a *Hanfeizi* edition that graphically illustrates its branching catalogues, there is a passage within the “Chu shuo” that likens a centralized bureaucracy

tur und die Logik Agricolas und Ramus’,” *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 49 (1965): 388.

90. Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (New York: Random House, 2014).

91. E.g., the opening of chapter 30. While the *jing* texts always appear to address the rulers, Schaberg surmises that such texts were designed for “orators and essayists” who aimed to persuade the rulers; see Schaberg, “Chinese History and Philosophy,” 401.

92. Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, 315. For extensive discussions of the term *jing*, see Lewis, *Writing and Authority*, 297–99; Michael Nylan, *The Five “Confucian” Classics* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2001), 10–14.

93. Ming dynasty scholars such as Chen Maoren 陳懋仁 (fl. 1584) in fact link the “Chu shuo” chapters to the *lianzhu* 連珠 (strung pearl) compositions from the early medieval period; see Ma Shinian 馬世年, “Lianzhuti yuanyuan xintan” 連珠體淵源新探, *Gansu shehui kexue* (2008.6): 172.

to trees and fishing nets, metaphors that also happen to aptly visualize the functions of the *jing* texts:

If one wants to shake a tree and proceeds to pull leaf by leaf, one cannot reach them all even after much toiling. But if one strikes the tree trunk left and right, then all of its leaves are shaken . . . He who is skilled at hauling fishing nets does not pull on each opening one by one, because this is toilsome and difficult. By pulling on the central cord, he will have trapped all fish. Thus, the officials are the trunk and the net of the people. Thus, the sage governs the officials and not the people.⁹⁴

搖木者，一一攝其葉則勞而不遍，左右拊其本而葉遍搖矣。 . . . 善張網者引其綱，不一攝萬目而後得則是勞而難，引其綱而魚已囊矣。故吏者，民之本綱者也，故聖人治吏不治民。

These analogies suggest that through the branching structure of a bureaucracy, rulers control the entire realm by the tree trunk or central cord. Just as medieval European manuscripts often depict branching diagrams as trees,⁹⁵ these analogies could as well be applied to the “Chu shuo,” especially the two “inner” chapters. If the anecdotes and their entries are the “leaves” and the “openings” (*mu* 目), the *jing* texts are the trunk and the central cords (*gang* 綱).

These terms related to the fishing net, *gang* (central cord) and *mu* (opening), would eventually become the standard bibliographical terms for paratextual apparatuses such as out-lines, tables of contents, and catalogues of entries. As this passage articulates, the promise behind such terms is that of mastery: over bureaucrats and the teeming populace in the political realm, and over information and knowledge in the textual realm. This parallel suggests a certain kinship between the “Chu shuo” *jing* sections and the later paratextual apparatus—if not in genealogy, then at least in spirit.

94. *Hanfeizi xin jiaozhu*, 35.829-30. Translation adapted from Liao, *Complete Works of Han Fei Tzū*, 2: 132–33.

95. They are often referred to as *abores* (trees); see Murdoch, *Album of Science*, 38, and fig. 21.