

## Jwāngdǔ Editions

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**Abstract.** I here review evidence for the contents of early editions and textual states of the Jwāngdǔ (JZ). It will appear that the labeling of JZ 1-7 as “Inner” 内 chapters does not go back to Hàn or earlier, but is an artifact of Six Dynasties editing, and that the abridged Jwāngdǔ deprives the modern reader of little that was valuable.

**Early Testimony.** No text reliably datable to the 04c knows of a JZ text, or of any material now *included* in our JZ text. The default inference must be that such material did not yet exist. Some 03c texts do quote or echo the JZ. Of them: (1) none is aware of *more than a few* JZ chapters; (2) the list of chapters known by one text *scarcely overlaps* with the lists of chapters known by other texts; and (3) no text shows a preference for, or in any way distinguishes, what we call the Inner chapters, JZ 1-7.<sup>1</sup>

**SJ 63** (c0115) is the first source to give *information* on the JZ text. It identifies the author as Jwāng Jōu of Mǐng 蒙 (north of the Sùng capital). It identifies as Jwāng Jōu’s own work JZ 10, 23 (“extravagant”), 29, and 31; note the lack of Inner chapters. JZ 29 (“Robber Jr”), the Shǐ Jì’s favorite JZ chapter, is also alluded to in SJ 23, 55, 61, and 129. SJ 63 does not mention an Inner/Outer 内 / 外 division. It gives the text’s character count as “over 100,000.” Our 33-chapter text contains some 65,400 characters. At that average size (1,982 characters/chapter), the JZ text known to SJ would have contained something over 50 chapters. The numbers are consistent.

**HS 30** (original entry c012) lists our text as having 52 chapters 莊子五十二篇, and says of its author, 名周, 宋人. This 52-chapter Palace text is no doubt essentially the text earlier seen by the Shǐ Jì compilers. The HS 30 entry mentions no 内 / 外 division, though such divisions *are* specified for other works in the catalogue.

The JZ picture so far is that of a group of materials which did not exist in the 04c, came to exist in more or less connected form in the 03c, and are first reported as a bibliographically definite text in the middle 02c. The next step toward our familiar Jwāngdǔ seems to have been taken during a brief span of time in the Six Dynasties.

**JDSW 經典釋文** (c600),<sup>2</sup> a Six Dynasties work containing glosses on classic texts plus Lǎudǔ and Jwāngdǔ, notes that the 52-chapter JZ was seen as containing many later additions and thus as “having lost Jwāngdǔ’s true meaning” 失其真. Several editions were made to remedy this supposedly interpolated condition of a popular text.

<sup>1</sup>For greater detail on these early quotations, see Brooks **Disunity** 122.

<sup>2</sup>Compiled during 0583/0606, when its author Lù Dǐ-míng 陸德明 had access to the Chǐn palace library (Thompson 56f). The view that it was compiled later, and rested on the Swéi library, cannot stand; some works seen by JDSW are listed in SS 34 2/1001f as lost.

**Tswēi Jwàn** 崔譔 held office under the retrospectively designated Wǎn-dì of Jìn, before the official beginning date (265) for that dynasty. His 27-chapter Jwāngdǔ abridgement and commentary was probably written in c255. Tswēi seems to have been the first to distinguish 7 “Inner” chapters from a remainder labeled “Outer” 外 (for the “Miscellaneous” 雜 group, see Szmǎ Byāu, below).

**Syàng Syòu** 向秀 (c240-c275) was a student when Tswēi Jwàn’s edition was new. Like Tswēi, he served under pre-Jìn, and also under Jìn proper (Jìn Shū 49 3/1374f). He liked Tswēi’s selection, but not his commentary. He made his own commentary to those chapters and showed it to Syī Kāng in c260 (SSSY 4:17; Mather 100). Syàng’s Jwāngdǔ edition did not circulate widely, but was much esteemed within a small circle. JDSW reports it as containing “20 jywǎn, in 26 pyēn [chapters]; some say 27 or 28.”

Repeating an experiment of Takeuchi Yoshio, we may note the JZ chapters for which JDSW cites a commentary by either Tswēi or Syàng. The results<sup>3</sup> are:

Tswēi	1-12	14	16	17-20	22-26	29	32-33	(total: 26)
Syàng	1-12		16	17	22-26	27	32-33	(total: 22)

These combine to give an inventory of 27 chapters, said to be the number chosen by Tswēi and, with a little less certainty, the number included by Syàng. It seems likely that Syàng followed Tswēi in distinguishing JZ 1-7 as “Inner” chapters.

**Szmǎ Byāu** 司馬彪 (c242-c304; Jìn Shū 37 2/1103f and 82 4/2141f), of the Jìn ruling clan, was disinherited at 18 (c259) by a father who was an enthusiast of ritual. Byāu then studied ritual to such good effect that he attracted Emperor Wǔ’s attention. In c267 he obtained a post as a ritual specialist in the Imperial library, and there he spent his whole career. His first official task, the compilation of the Jìn rules of state ceremony, was finished in 268.

The JZ abridgements of Tswēi (c255) and Syàng (c260) probably irked the ritualist Szmǎ Byāu, who will have known the Palace Library copy of the 52-chapter Jwāngdǔ. Perhaps then in c270, Byāu wrote his own commentary on the Jwāngdǔ, in 52 pyēn.<sup>4</sup> It distinguished 7 “Inner” 內 and 28 “Outer” 外, and also 14 “Miscellaneous” 雜 and 3 “Explanatory” 解說 chapters.

With what presently extant chapter might Byāu’s Miscellaneous division have begun? It is imaginable that, agreeing with the SJ 63 disapproval of the “extravagant” JZ 23 庚桑楚, he will have put at least that chapter in Miscellaneous; that division now *begins* with JZ 23. And JZ 33, with its outsider’s summary of early thought, was probably in Byāu’s Explanatory division, and perhaps at the very end of that division.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup>SSSY 4:17 says that Syàng did not complete his commentary to JZ 17-18. JDSW cites glosses from Syàng for JZ 17, but none beyond the first dialogue between the River God and the Sea God, and none at all from JZ 18. A commentary partly complete for JZ 17 and unwritten for JZ 18 would account both for the SSSY statement and the JDSW facts.

<sup>4</sup>His and Syàng Syòu’s editions ended with additional pyēn of pronunciation glosses; these are not counted in the totals for the works proper.

<sup>5</sup>This “chapter” is probably an attached Hàn overview; logically associated with the work by someone in charge of the library, but not really part of it; see Brooks **Jwāngdǔ 33**.

**Gwō Syàng** 郭象 (c248-c312) was an enthusiast for “Lǎu/Jwāng,” and was early known for his brilliance in philosophical discussions. He declined official position, and lived as a literary private citizen. He is said to have taken part of his JZ commentary from the privately circulated work of Syàng Syòu. If so, his own work probably postdates Syàng’s death in 275. He also knew Szmǎ Byāu’s work (270?), and we might consistently date Gwō’s commentary to c278. He entered politics sometime before 300, in the service of the local King of Dūnghǎi.

He accepted Szmǎ Byāu’s divisions, but dropped “Explanatory” (perhaps because his selection had only one Explanatory chapter) and put JZ 33 in Miscellaneous. To the Tswēi/Syàng inventory, he added JZ 13, 15, 21, 28, 30, and 31. There was little excuse for including the obviously extraneous JZ 30 (說劍); for the scarcely less extraneous JZ 31 (漁父), its attribution to Jwāng Jōu in SJ 63 may have carried weight.

**Overview.** Our Jwāngdž is that of Gwō Syàng, which drew on all its predecessors, not just on Syàng Syòu. Six Dynasties activity on the JZ spanned about a generation, from c255 to c278. Our present text was then reached by the following route:

Name	Date	Inner	Outer	Misc	Expl	Tot
[Hàn]	c0135	[52 chapters, not divided into sections]]				52
Tswēi	c255	JZ 1-7	JZ 8-12 14 16-20 22	23-27 29 32	33	27
Syàng	c260	JZ 1-7	JZ 8-12 14 16-20 22	23-27 29 32	33	27
Szmǎ	c270	JZ 1-7	[28ch]	[14ch]	[3ch]	52
Gwō	c278	JZ 1-7	JZ 8-22	JZ 23-32	33	33

**Fragments.** From quotations, Wáng Shú-mín gathers 178 items, most of them short, and some perhaps belonging to the Lyèdž rather than the Jwāngdž. Together, they suggest that the parts of Jwāngdž omitted by Tswēi and Syàng possessed little interest, helping to explain why in Six Dynasties times they *attracted* little interest. Notwithstanding Szmǎ Byāu’s restorative gesture, these abridgements may merely have ratified a position which had already been reached by contemporary taste. The literary historian is ill-served by the Six Dynasties abridgement: everything, including the Tswēi/Syàng omitted chapters, is part of history. But in the case of the Jwāngdž, perhaps not a part whose loss modern Jwāngdž enthusiasts need greatly regret.

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