13
c0322

LY 13 is a twin of LY 12, and gives us a slightly later cross-section of the Hundred Schools debate. The proportion of possibly Mencian ideas seems smaller than in LY 12, and Dž-jīng may thus have had a relatively larger role in its composition. The theory of government has here evolved since LY 12, but in a practical direction distinct from the more idealistic Mencian view.

The numbering of passages is identical in the Legge text.

[A. Ends and Means of Government]

┌ 13:1. Dž-lù asked about government. The Master said, Lead them, work them. He requested more. He said, Do not weary them.

Dž-lù in 13:1 parallels Yén Hwéı in 12:1; for the Yén Hwéı / Dž-lù schematic opposition see Waley **Analects** 20 and the Interpolations, below. The last line is "Do not (wú 毋) grow weary" in the received text; we here adopt the Lǔ reading vùt 勿(**Jyèshàu** 60), implying a pronoun object and a causative verb, giving a better grammatical parallel with the previous line, and adding an intelligible final caution: one should not be *too* efficient in working the people. The motif of "leaving something undone" is also prominent in the paired 13:2.

└ 13:2. Jùng-gūng was Steward of the Jì. He asked about government. The Master said, Lead the responsible officers, pardon small faults, advance worthy talents. He said, How shall I recognize the worthy talents so that I can advance them? He said, Advance the ones you know. The ones you do *not* know: will others reject them?

Jùng-gūng (Rǎn Yūng) also appears in the parallel 12:2. The 12:1/2 topic of rv́n has become the 13:1/2 topic of government; the two together make up Mencius's rv́n (compassionate) government. We have here some practical advice about delegating, priorities (not picking at details), and promotion. The "responsible officers" are the subordinate specialists. Overlooking small faults keeps personnel procedures simple. The need for new talent exceeds what one man's acquaintance can supply, hence the delegating of selection, contrasting with the older single-channel system (see 4:1). Promotion by merit is also a major theme of the contemporary Chí Legalists (GZ 7:6, Rickett **Guanzi** 140) and the Micians (MZ 9; Mei **Ethical** 36f).

┌ 13:4. Fán Chŕ asked to study agriculture. The Master said, I am not as good for that as some old farmer. He asked to study gardening. He said, I am not as good for that as some old gardener. Fán Chŕ went out. The Master said, A little man indeed is Fán Syw̄! If the superiors love ritual, then among the people none will dare but be assiduous. If the superiors love right, then among the people none will dare but be submissive. If the superiors love fidelity, then among the people none will dare but respect the facts. If these conditions obtain, the people of the four quarters will come with their children on their backs. What use has he for *agriculture*?

A rejection of the Legalistic love of subject specialization within government. If you can attract the people (see 13:16) by doing *your* job, you won't need to know *their* job. For "four quarters" (the world), see at left, and 13:20 below.

└ 13:5. The Master said, If he can recite the 300 Poems, but in applying them to government he gets nowhere, or being sent to the four quarters he cannot make an apposite response, then, many though they be, what are they good for?

This is the first suggestion that the Shī had reached 300 poems, essentially its present size. The idea is that the Shī give advice for government, and are a repertoire of allusion for diplomatic discourse. DJ examples of the latter (see Wvn 4 [for the year 0623]; Legge **Ch'un** 239b) are numerous but probably retrospective; one may doubt whether even in 0322 the Shī were that widely known (it is surely suggestive that the authentic Mencius, from 0320 onward, never quotes Shī poems to the rulers he addresses). The utilitarian view of the Shī here is notable; by the 03c (17:8a/b) it will have dwindled in Analects esteem to something nearer a mere school textbook. Note that "four quarters" here includes foreign states; in the 03c (20:1[19]) it will mean the domain of the universal ruler. The late 04c proved to be the end of an open phase of Warring States intellectual life, and the onset of a more closed, proto-Imperial phase.

┌ 13:6. The Master said, If his person is correct, then without his giving an order it will be carried out; if his person is not correct, even though he does give an order, it will not be obeyed.

Among late 04c rulership theorists was Shvn Dàu, later a member of the Jì-syà circle in Chí (SJ 74, 5/2346; Nienhauser **Records** 7/183), who is said to have developed the idea that it is not the ruler's character, but the potential inherent in his position (shì 勢), which explains his efficacy (Mote **Foundations** 107). 13:6 insists instead that a ruler's power comes from his actual character (compare 12:17 on correctness, 12:18 on charisma), but it also notices the resonance of that character with the executive staff around the ruler; something or other forms a medium in which orders get carried out and things get done. We may call this the *coherence*, rather than the *charisma*, theory of the ruler.

└ 13:9. The Master went to Wèı, and Rǎn Yǒu was his equerry. The Master said, How numerous they are! Rǎn Yǒu said, Once they are numerous, what should be added to that? He said, Enrich them. He said, Once they are rich, what should be added to that? He said, Teach them.

This additive saying (starting with a first stage, and adding two later ones) contrasts with the subtractive 12:7 (where a system is reduced to its basis); here, ideology is the *last* of the three ingredients. The primacy of the people's stomachs was a tenet of Chí Legalism (GZ 3:18, Rickett **Guanzi** 95) and also of Lǔ Dàuism: DDJ 12, which we date to c0324, may be the proximate source of the 13:9 formula. We will see below (13:29/30) that "teaching" the people means military or premilitary training. A vital problem for the new-style state (see 12:7) was how to induce the little people who now largely made up its armies to fight and die for it. 13:9 theorizes that they must first be numerous enough to draw on, and prosperous enough to feel grateful, before they can be called on for such sacrifices. This differs from the 12:7 "trust" theory. It is instead transactional, resting on gifts between the state and its people, not directly on the people's elementary confidence in the ruler. It is thus a step less feudal than 12:7. It is a theory of the populace from the vantage point of war and not of peace. Together with the paired 13:8, it implies an objectively based resonance or coherence theory of the whole society.

[B. The Role of Ministers]

┌ 13:10. The Master said, If only there were one who would use me, within a month it should be viable, and in three years it would be finished.

For the civilization of the masses, see 13:9. The ministerial timetable is an end to disorder in three months, and a fully functional society in three years.

└ 13:11. The Master said, If good men ran the state for a hundred years, one could finally rise above cruelty and abolish killing – true indeed is this saying!

A 97-year difference (in 13:10/11) in the schedule for abolishing mutilations (one gloss has "robbers") and executions invites comment. Punishments may have been among the methods envisioned in 13:10, whereas the ideal society of 13:11 (note the assimilation of the Mician term "good"), which can dispense with deterrents, would require a century of social preparation to achieve.

┌ 13:13. The Master said, If once he can correct his person, what problem would there be in his serving in government? If he cannot correct his own person, how can he be good enough to correct others?

This punning definition of government (jèng 政) as correctness (jèng 正) echoes 13:6 (compare 12:17), but applies to the officer rather than the ruler.

└ 13:14. Master Rǎn withdrew from court. The Master said, Why are you so late? He replied, There was government. The Master said, I expect it was business. If there had been government, though I am not employed, I expect that I would have heard about it.

A sardonic gloss on "government business" (see 11:3), contrasting [personal] business with [public] government. Even as a private citizen, "Confucius" would have been aware of any overtime devotion to the good of the state. Few lines in the Analects are more quotable by those *not* employed, as a comment on those who *are*. It may have expressed contempt for the self-seeking Micians; if 13:11 is also anti-Mician, then we must recognize a secondary ABAB pairing.

└ 13:15. Dìng-gūng asked, One saying that could prosper a state: is there such a thing? Confucius replied, No saying could be as efficacious as that. But people have a saying, "To be a ruler is hard; to be a minister is not easy." If one understands the difficulty of being a ruler, would not this be one saying that could prosper a state? He said, One saying that could destroy a state: is there such a thing? Confucius replied, No saying could be as efficacious as that. But people have a saying, "I have no joy in being a ruler save in being able to speak and have no one disobey." If he is good and no one disobeys, is that not good? But if he is *not* good and no one disobeys, would this not be one saying that could destroy a state?

The chief danger to the state is not an external enemy, but *its own ruler,* and the right of protest thus becomes part of the defensive structure of the state. This is one of several Analects passages defining the idea of the censorate, an institutionalized internal criticism that is the most recognizably Confucian of Imperial government forms (Hucker **Censorial** 194–198). It is also the first Analects passage to acknowledge the need for a comprehensive maxim rather than many particular ones; compare *15:3[15a], *15:24[15a], and *4:15[1]. Yǘ 予 "I" (compare 7:23n) here here appears in its original sense as a royal pronoun.

[C. The Basis of Government]

┌ 13:16. The Prince of Shvì asked about government. The Master said, When the near are happy, and the distant come.

The Prince, mentioned in 7:19, is revived to make a point that was incidental in 13:4: the test of government is the happiness of its people, and the wish of others to *become* its people. This is the primary formulation of the Confucian populists; it was criticized by the Lŭ Micians (MZ 46:10, Mei **Ethical** 216), but adopted, with cosmological embellishments, by the Chí Legalists (GZ 1:1, Rickett **Guanzi** 52). The weakness of the immigration test is that it can only be applied in a competitive situation, with more than one state to choose from. This option vanished, for China, in the Chín unification of 0221.

└ 13:17. Dž-syà was Steward of Jyw̆-fù. He asked about government. The Master said, Do not be in a flurry, do not pay attention to petty advantages. If you are in a flurry, you will not get there. If you pay attention to petty advantages, then the great affairs will not come to completion.

This pairs with 13:16 as goal with method. One should not be distracted by impatience or greed from the larger tasks. There is no philosophy here, but practicality has its place. The ability to see the point (Churchill **Allance** 24), or to prioritize around it (Barnett **Generals** 268–269), is exceedingly rare.

The Chí dialect word sù 速 "flurry" (see Fāng-yén 2:34) occurs in none of the contact GZ passages, and is thus independent evidence of close relations with Chí at this period. These seem to have been both political and economic.

┌ 13:18. The Prince of Shvì was speaking to Confucius, and said, In our county there is one Upright Gŭng; his father stole a sheep and the son gave evidence against him. Confucius said, The upright ones in our county are different from this; a son will screen a father, and a father will screen a son. A sort of uprightness is involved in this also.

This passage rejects the Legalist coercion state, where order is kept from above, and other social structures such as the family simply vanish. The issue is whether lower structures articulate with, or yield to, higher ones. 13:18 opts for articulation, which emphasizes honoring, not betraying, these local obligations (the seemingly apologetic 在其中 "is involved in" is sarcastic). The contrast between different states (Lŭ and Shvì) points to the contemporary problem of nonuniversal social values, for which see also the paired 13:19.

└ 13:19. Fán Chír asked about rv́n. The Master said, In his dwelling, respectful; in his responsibilities, assiduous; toward others, loyal – though one go even to the Yí or Dí, this cannot be cast away.

The feudal value rv́n is here (see 13:18) reinterpreted as a *multilevel* standard: the familial has its place, the governmental has its place, and loyalty within the newly important relation of friendship has its place. The claim of universality despite cultural variants addresses the challenge of cultural relativism in 13:18, and responds to the Mician position on the sensitive subject of funeral customs (MZ 25, Mei **Ethical** 132–133), which had compared non-Chinese practices (hence the "Yí and Dí" peoples mentioned here). MZ 25, on our view, was compiled somewhat before the present passage was written (Brooks **Triplets**).

⌊ 13:20. Dž-gùng asked, What must he be like before one can call him an officer? The Master said, In carrying out his own purposes he has a sense of shame; in being sent on missions to the four quarters, be does not disgrace his ruler's command – *he* may be called an officer. He said, I venture to ask what is next best. He said, His lineage and clan esteem him as filial to them; his county council esteems him as fraternal to them. He said, I venture to ask what is next best. He said, In word he is sure to be faithful, in deed he is sure to be effective: he is a pertinacious little man, but we may still regard him as being next. He said, Those who are now taking part in government; what about them? The Master, said, Ugh! Those dipper-and-scoop people: how are *they* worth calculating?

One difficulty in understanding the Analects is the varied value given to what look like the same terms. Loyalty and fidelity, honored in other sayings, here rank low on the list of public virtues. One must look beyond inconsistency (Syǘndž criticized fluctuating use of terminology; under Syǘndzian pressure an interpolated *13:3[19] on consistency of terms was added to LY 13 in c0253) to the intent of each saying. Here, the top grade (with duties abroad; for the symbolism of sž-fāng 四方"four quarters," see the mirror on page 98, with four schematic mountains surrounding the center area) has inner compunctions and outer adroitness, the next is functional in a more limited (community) sphere, and the next in a still more limited (individual) sphere. 13:20 attempts to harmonize insights recorded in various passages earlier in this section.

At about this time, Chí had decimalized its old system of measures, but Lǔ seems to have kept a nondecimal system, with different units for different commodities, hence constant conversion between units was needed to monitor government inventories. It seems to be the pettifogging of these accountants that triggers the scorn here expressed (the dǒu 斗"dipper" and shāu 筲"scoop" held 16 and 12 handfuls respectively; the same ratio as that between English avoirdupois and troy pounds). The Lǔ government evidently employed such clerks, so that opposition to the accountancy theory of the state in LY 12–13 may be not merely theoretical, but a practical matter of Lǔ court politics.

[D. The Official in the New Society]

⌐ 13:23. The Master said, The gentleman is harmonious but not conformist. The little man is conformist but not harmonious.

Compare *7:38[3]. The little man emphasizes his likeness to colleagues; the gentleman has a higher principle in view, and relates to colleagues in terms of that principle. This may be a criticism of the Mician principle of conformity (túng 同; MZ 11-13, Mei **Ethical** 56–77).The implication is that the principled and the sycophant do not mix, and only the principled are safely employable. Virtue, as the interpolated *4:25[2] will presently note, must have neighbors. Thus we have Gresham's law of ethics: the group low disables the group high.

⌊ 13:24. Dž-gùng asked, If his countrymen all like him, what about it? The Master said, You cannot yet act. [He asked], If his countrymen all hate him, what about it? The Master said, You cannot yet act. It is not as good as if the good among his countrymen like him, and the not good hate him.

Again emphasizing a theoretical limitation on the validity of peer judgements.

┌ 13:25. The Master said, The gentleman is easy to serve but hard to please. If you try to please him otherwise than in accordance with the Way, he will *not* be pleased. When he employs others, he uses them as implements. The little man is hard to serve but easy to please. If you try to please him, other than in accordance with the Way, he *will* be pleased. When he employs others, he seeks to get everything out of them.

Personalistic rather than principled conduct downplays results and emphasizes favors. Chì 器 in earlier passages (see 3:22n) always means "vessel" (and, as a metaphor, the "capacity" of a man for office), but from this point on in the text it has the meaning of "edged tool." The implication is that well before c0325 the Lǔ metal trades were turning out chiefly tools and weapons (things with sharp edges) rather than vessels (things with volumes). We may be witnessing the conversion of the state and its people to a war footing (metal plowshares and chisels being as much implements of war as swords and knives). The foreground meaning is that the right kind of officer uses people appropriately, whereas the little man is indiscriminate in his use of men, and, so to speak, uses the screwdriver to open the paint can, thus spoiling it as a screwdriver.

The slightly later DDJ 28 (c0313) objects to just this "use" of men.

└ 13:26. The Master said, The gentleman is dignified but not arrogant; the little man is arrogant but not dignified.

This saying (compare 13:23) is so profound as to leave little room for comment. Arrogance is the refuge of those without anything of which they can be proud.

┌ 13:27. The Master said, Steady, solid, quaint, quiet: near to rvn.

For "steady," see "steadfast" in 5:11; for "quiet," see "hesitant" in 12:3. It is easier to see that the *opposites* of these qualities are little-people traits.

└ 13:28. Dž-lù asked, What must he be like to be called an officer? The Master said, Particular, punctilious, agreeable – *him* one can call an officer. With friends, particular and punctilious; with brothers, agreeable.

This surprisingly unofficial description (compare 13:20) needs reflection in the light of earlier passages. 13:27/28 may be seen as personal finishing touches on the more official, conduct-based earlier sayings. There is no implication (13:20 *forbids* the implication) that mere domestic virtue makes one a proper officer. We have seen that a gentleman is strict with his friends (12:23) but makes a special category for his family (13:18), an exemption which 13:28 preserves.

[E. Envoi: Preparation for War]

┌ 13:29. The Master said, When good men have taught the people for seven years, one may then have recourse to arms.

This glosses the "teaching" of 13:9 as military training, or social indoctrination leading up to it. The goal of state organization, as seen in LY 13, is war.

└ 13:30. The Master said, To do battle without instructing the people – this is called throwing them away.

This warning complements 13:29: the schedule for integrating the people into society and the army cannot be rushed. Convincement is necessary.

Interpolations

LY 13 is stiffer than LY 12, but maintains its interest in new ideas. There are interpolations elsewhere in the text that seem close in theme to LY 13, and may thus date from that period. This suggests that Dž-jīng, as he approached maturity, was taking a stronger role in this chapter, not only changing its tone from that of LY 12, but adjusting the earlier text to be consistent with it.

For a complete finding list of interpolated passages, see page 329.

Added to LY 5

*5:16. The Master said of Dž-chăn, Of the Ways of the Gentleman, he possessed four: his personal conduct was respectful, his serving his superiors was assiduous, his nourishing the people was kind, and his using the people was appropriate. [5:15]

Dž-chăn was an 06c statesman of Jvng. He figures in the DJ as a (mostly) adroit manager of a state of the second military rank. Note the two aspects of governing the people: providing for their welfare (in which the gentleman is generous rather than harsh) and deploying them as a labor force (in which he observes factors like seasonability). Yì 義 "appropriate" means "what is proper, what is their due" in 6:22. In 4:16, and in Dž-jīng's first solo chapter at 2:24, it means "what is right." One should not rush to equate this with the modern concept of "human rights," but there is a parallel: not a *law*, human or divine, but a *societal expectation* of proper treatment by others.

Added to LY 6

*6:24. The Master said, Chí with one change would reach to Lŭ, and Lŭ with one change would reach to the Way. [6:22]

This political statement, however condescending, is in Lŭ terms friendly to Chí, and seems to suggest that the alignment with "Wèı" (see 9:15) was at an end. The literal Wèı had been eclipsed during the 04c by the post-Jìn state Ngwèı, which in 0365 had moved its capital east to Lyáng, near to Wèı. In c0330 Wèı had moved its capital to Pú-yáng; its territory was little more than that city, and it scarcely existed as a state. A Lŭ rapprochement with Chí is suggested by evidences of intellectual contact, faint in LY 11 (c0360) and clear in LY 12 (c0326). The LY 3 kingship quarrel seems to have been made up.

Added to LY 9

*9:14. The Master wanted to dwell among the Nine Yí. Someone said, They are crude; how will you manage? The Master said, If a gentleman dwelt among them, what crudity would there be? [9:13]

This seems to follow after *5:7[11] (the Master's intention to take a raft out to sea, leaving behind his own familiar culture); it asks how the gentleman could function without "this [defining] culture" (see 9:5). The answer is that the gentleman has his own civilizing influence, and can make culture around him. Compare "all men are brothers" (12:5) and the universally valid rv́n (13:19). Such thoughts sustained many a Táng-dynasty official exiled to a remote area.

*9:26. The Master said, The Three Armies can be deprived of their leader, but a common man cannot be deprived of his will. [9:25]

If correctly placed (it agrees with the background assumptions of 13:29–30, and the note of popular appropriateness in *5:16, above), this is the first Analects reference to the Three Armies, whose wings had separate commanders and could execute combined maneuvers, and whose general was the brains of the campaign. The parallel between the "mind" of an army (see the contemporary SBF 7; Griffith **Sun** 108) and the "will" of an individual is suggestive. This affirmation, that even a humble fellow's "will" is inalienable, is the strongest statement so far of what a modern reader might call individual rights.

Added to LY 12

*12:12b. Dž-lù never slept over an agreement. [12:12b]

This remark, part of the myth of the rashness of Dž-lù, seems too slight for a passage, but also nonconsecutive as a final sentence in 12:12. It may be a comment to 12:12 which was later merged with it. For a humorous example of an incorporated comment in the Mencius, see Kennedy **Literary** 493.

The presumption is that the extra words were added in small characters beside the original text, on the same bamboo strip. Full interpolation (untying the roll, inserting new strips, and writing the new text on them) would not have been called for (for the form of these bamboo strips, see Tsien **Written** 95 and Tsien **Paper** 31, the latter of Hàn date). The introduction of writing on silk will shortly transform the whole textual situation.

Reflections

The LY 13 interpolations, though presumably the work of Dž-jīng, strongly support such typical Mencian populist ideas as the importance (see *5:16[13]) and even the individual integrity (see *9:26[13]) of the commoners. Their role as both the tax base and the military conscript base made it urgent for states to succeed in attracting them. This market advantage of the people did not survive the competitive Warring States period, into the unitary Empire.

LY 13 proper (which Mencius may have influenced) *implies* intellectual relations with Chí; the interpolated *6:24[13] (probably by Dž-jīng) *expresses* that situation openly. Greater literary freedom may have obtained in interpolations.

The Yí in *9:14[13] must be foreign, since the indigenous non-Chinese peoples (Lattimore **Frontiers** 345) had by now been absorbed. Among foreign peoples at this period were the Altai tribe attested at Pazyryk (51°30′ N, 86° E) on the upper Ob. The radiocarbon date for Tomb 2 at this site is c0390, from which dendrochronology gives dates of c0377 for Tomb 4, c0353 for Tomb 3, and c0331 for the similar Tombs 5 and 6 (Hiebert **Pazyryk** 120f). Tombs 3, 5, and 6 contained Chinese artifacts: silk fabric, lacquered wood (middle Warring States lacquer used a light wood or fabric core, better adapted to long-range export; Wang **Han** 81), and a bronze mirror (Rudenko **Frozen** 319f) like that on p98 above, a type for which molds have been found at the later capital of Yēn (Lawton **Art** 86f, So **Traders** 147f, page 108 below). The Altai horsemen rode astride, like the customers of the silk trade which is implied by *5:22[11].

No Chinese artifacts have been found in later Altai tombs. The span of *contact* implied would be a few years earlier than the respective *burial* dates, or c0355–c0333. 0355 closely follows the 0357 accession of the Chí ruler who in 0342 proclaimed himself King Wēi. It may represent an economic initiative by this evidently vigorous leader, expanding earlier trade with the Scythians, or with other areas liable to secondary trading or raiding by the Scythians.

We observe in this period the rise of the mass army of maneuver, a development with profound consequences for society. It made it necessary to implant elite motivations in the the lower orders, so that they would identify with the state and become willing to risk death in its service (compare 12:7). This chapter focuses on this need in 13:29/30. Mencius was consulted as late as c0312 by a local ruler about troops who had fled from battle (MC 1B12), hence we know that this project had its failures, but it was obviously attempted.

As a counterpart to this acculturation of the lower orders, LY 13 also proposes an identity of culture between the ministers and the ruler (13:15). This effort too would later continue. One thing that hampered Imperial Confucianism as a political force may have been the fact that this culture gap between the palace and the mandarinate never closed, but rather widened.

A further consequence of the military changes was the militarization of civil office: where the early Analects uses only the term jyūndž "gentleman" for its ideal minister, the text at this point begins to use the military term "officer" (shì 士) in this same sense, as in 13:20 and 13:28.

Pú 僕, the "equerry" of 13:9, occurs nowhere else in the Analects. Legge notes that it means "servant," but still translates "acted as his driver" (thus Waley "drove him," Lau "drove for him," Dawson "drove his carriage"). But in 2:5, from almost the same period, the word for driving a chariot is yù 御, and the point of the sardonic 9:2 is that driving (yù) is a highly developed skill, not to be expected of a menial (DJ sv Jāu 7; Legge **Ch'un** 616a, lists ten social strata, the last five being menial; pú is ninth). The Shī uses pú in four poems. In one (Shī 247GH; Legge **She** 478) it is a verb meaning "attached," in one (Shī 192J; Legge **She** 319) it implies one walking beside (in attachment to?) the draft animal of a fully loaded cart, and in one (Shī 3D; Legge **She** 9) it suggests an outrider for a military chariot. We conjecture that here and in 13:9 pú may mean a mounted escort rather than a driver.

Riding, a Bedouin informant tells us, is not required for horse breeding, and so need not be inferred from the stables of Lǔ (*10:11[11], c0360) or the tailoring of what may have been mere export clothing (*5:22[11], c0360). But archaeology (So **Traders** 29) attests Chinese riding near the northern border. SJ 15 (2/735, compare JGT #239–242; Crump **Ts'e** 296f) claims that the first elite cavalry force was formed in Jàu in 0307, despite resistance to the "barbarian [tailored] clothes" required by riding astride. This attests the foreign *associations* of riding in the late 04c. The clothing of low-status persons, not robes but a loincloth wrap (Rudolph **Han** #9 "servant," compare p46), would not have inhibited riding astride, which may have been first adopted at a lower social level (note the children playing horse in MZ 46:11; Mei **Ethical** 216). Elite adoption of riding in 0307 would then amount in part to low-to-high acculturation, such as is condemned by the "Confucius" of 13:4. Given these bits of social history, it is possible that the word pú in 13:9 constitutes an early, perhaps inadvertent, reference to the new and still unprestigious art of riding.

Clay Mirror Mold (see p98 and p106)

Diameter 11·7 cm (4·6 in). 04c. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art (FSC-P200)