15
c0305

The LY 14 Confucians had gone a certain way with the Lǔ policy of military buildup. LY 15 marks a break. It shows an increasing distance from what were probably by now common assumptions: that unification was inevitable, and that sovereignty in the resulting state would be based on the model of the supposed emperors of antiquity (a myth being constructed at this period), rather than the bureaucratic model favored by the Gwǎndž thinkers in Chí, and to an extent by the Analects group in Lǔ. LY 15 marks the moment when the course of intellectual history decisively got away from the Lǔ Confucians, leaving them viable but not dominant. Lǔ had come under the de facto control of Chǔ, and, if we accept a Shř Jì hint, the Lǔ ruler who succeeded in 0302 was called not Prince but Lord (Hóu), symbolizing his subordination to Chǔ. The continuity of LY 15 with LY 14 suggests Dž-jīng's continuing headship. Its content also appears to attest his increasing frustration.

Reference numbers to Legge are given at the end of each passage.

[A. Critique of Rulers]

┌ 15:1. Wèı Líng-gūng asked Confucius about tactics. Confucius replied, If it is matters of stemdish and stand, I have heard of them; if it is matters of armies and campaigns, I have never studied them. Next day he resumed his travels. [15:1a]

Ritual, not conquest (the allusions are to sacrificial offering vessels and the contemporary military handbook Sūndž), are the true concern of government. This passage and 14:32 are combined in a late addition to the DJ (under Aī 11 [0484], Legge **Ch'un** 826b), which weaves them into a precisely dated version of the growing myth of the international Confucius.

└ 15:2. In Chźn he ran out of supplies, and his followers became so weak that they could not stand up. Dž-lù angrily presented himself, and said, May a gentleman too find himself in want? The Master said, A gentleman may assuredly find himself in want. When a *little* man finds himself in want, he caves in. [15:1b]

There is always somebody who thinks that being good guarantees a good life. The real difference between the good people and the little people is how they take hardship. The little people lose their interest in good; the good stay firm. This is an evocation of the classic 4:5, balancing the nonclassic 15:1.

┌ 15:5. The Master said, One who did not act but produced order: that would be Shùn, would it not? For what did he do? He maintained a respectful stance, and faced toward the south, and nothing more. [15:4]

Here is the Confucian version of the inactive (wú-wéı 無爲) ruler, whose classic Dàuist form is given in DDJ 2–3 (the restatement of this mystical ideal in DDJ 39, we argue, is contemporary with 15:5). The Confucian version combines the idea of moral example (12:19, 2:1) and the bureaucratic notion of a ruler who symbolizes the identity of the state, while leaving its policies to its managers. This division of function between charisma and power was not, for better or worse, the plan on which the later Imperial state was constructed.

[B. The Gentleman and His Colleagues]

┌ 15:6. Dž-jāng asked about being successful. The Master said, If his words are loyal and faithful, and his actions sincere and respectful, then even in the states of the Mán and Mwò he will be successful. If his words are not loyal and faithful, and his actions not sincere and respectful, then even in his own region and village, will he be successful? When he stands, he should see this before him; when riding in his carriage, he should see it on the crossbar. If he does this, he will be successful. Dž-jāng wrote it on his sash. [15:5]

This is the earliest Analects reference to writing on silk. Contemporary Mician texts refer to archival documents as "written on bamboo *and silk*" (Mei **Ethical** 92, 147, 167). Not only was this practice common enough in c0305 to be assumed for earlier periods, the literate seem to have carried brush and ink around with them as a matter of course. Compare, from a less literate period, the jibe at book learning in 11:23 and the oral presumption behind *5:14[11].

The verb syíng 行 "act, succeed" and its noun syìng 行 "action, success" imply an action reaching its intended end. Dž-jāng's utilitarian question, reminiscent of the Micians and Legalists, here gets an ethical twist.

The names Mán and Mwò (conventionally defined as the tribes of south and north, respectively) are here used in a general sense. Despite increasing hostility at this time to non-Chinese peoples, this saying assumes an underlying level of common humanity, where ethical precepts hold universally true.

└ 15:7. The Master said, Upright indeed was Archivist Yẃ! If the state had the Way, he was like an arrow; if the state had not the Way, he was like an arrow. A gentleman indeed was Chyẃ Bwó-yẁ! If the state had the Way, he served; if the state had not the Way, he rolled it up and hid it in his bosom. [15:6]

This saying praises alternative ideals of conduct: the rigid and the flexible (compare 17:8). The unbending model is the "stupid" Níng Wŭdž (5:21), from the classic warrior code; the second, also classic, but civil and flexible, is the ideal to which later political theory increasingly inclines. Ethics has not grown a new foot, but may here be glimpsed in the process of shifting from one to the other of its two classic feet. The 04c search is not only for a new state structure, but for a "survivable" individual code of conduct within that structure.

┌ 15:8. The Master said, If he can be talked to and you do not talk to him, you waste the man. If he cannot be talked to and you talk to him, you waste your talk. The knowledgeable will not waste a man, but will also not waste his talk. [15:7]

Waley (**Three** 13f, PB x–xi, ap JZ 26:8b, Watson **Chuang** 302, which is based on this passage) notes the difficulty of keeping the play on the verb and noun senses of yén 言 "talk." Rendering the noun as "words" does spoil the wit. But the question is: what is the "talk" *about?* 15:8 develops 12:24 on friends, here colleagues to persuade. An officer may validly oppose a ruler (14:22), and be joined in that stand by others. Officers have not only a group *ethos*, as before, but a group *interest*. Here is part of the classic charter for elite politics.

└ 15:9. The Master said, The dedicated officer and rv́n man; he will never seek life by harming rv́n, and he may even bring about his own death in realizing rv́n. [15:8]

And here are the *hazards* of politics, which the rv́n or principled man accepts.

┌ 15:12. The Master said, If a man has no worries about what is far off, he will assuredly have troubles that are near at hand. [15:11]

Note the need to plan, to anticipate, indeed to worry; once the responsibility of the ruler but now that of the managerial elite. It relates strongly to the new virtue of carefulness seen in 2:18 and *7:13[14].

└ 15:15. The Master said, If he makes his own duties heavy, and asks less of others, he will keep resentment at a distance. [15:14]

This is the classic leadership maxim: being harder on oneself than on others (4:17, 12:16; a leader should *lead*, not watch). Unlike the paired 15:12, this saying seems to disapprove of the new bureaucratic virtue of delegation. The balancing of new and old in these chapters (as with Gwăn Jùng in 14:16/17) makes it difficult to give a coherent account of their philosophy, but it does illustrate their strategy of wary, even covert, doctrinal evolution.

┌ 15:16. The Master said, One who does not say, "What is to be done, what is to be done" – I don't know *what* is to be done with him! [15:15]

This is a pun, and a pun on an idiom at that (for the same idiom, see 9:24); no successful English rendition can be other than a variant of Waley's solution. The "blunt" students of *8:16[14] (or 9:24) lacked the ethical impulse that would have made them educable. These officers lack the concern for the evil times that might have made them partners in *improving* the evil times.

└ 15:17. The Master said, Those with whom one can be together all the day long, but who never speak of what is right, or who love to carry out little acts of kindness: they are difficult indeed! [15:16]

Another type of incorrigible: concerned, but *on a miniature level*, with no interest in larger issues of right. A miniscule impulse is not expected to grow into a larger one; a man's *scope*, in LY 15 political theory, is a fixed quantity.

[C. The Gentleman in Power]

┌ 15:25. The Master said, In my relationship to others, who have I blamed? Who have I praised? But if there be any I have praised, there is a way they may be tested. This people is the same as that with which the Three Dynasties proceeded along their upright way. [15:24]

The "others" are contemporary rulers and ministers. Note the empirical test of their efficacy, and the idea of the people as that out of which the state is fashioned. As in *8:9[14] (and in Plato's Laws; Schwartz **World** 308), the people cannot evolve order themselves; their order mirrors the ruler's order. The idea that Syà, Shāng, and Jōu had an identical art of ruling is new (compare 3:21). This *single antiquity* is typical of late 04c linear-integrationist political theory.

└ 15:26. The Master said, I still go back to when scribes left blanks, and those with horses assigned others to drive them. Now all that is gone. [15:25]

Scrupulous care of a text one is copying, or a horse one owns. The error is to intrude your own inexpertise: guessing the doubtful character (note the praise of Archivist Yẃ in 15:7) or taking the reins. The Confucians saw themselves in this period as defenders of cultural integrity: keeping the record straight.

┌ 15:27. The Master said, Clever words confuse virtue. If in small things he cannot forbear, then he will confuse great plans. [15:26]

The clauses are not verbally parallel, and are probably a maxim and a codicil, rather than two maxims. The basic warning is against rhetoric, which confuses the issue being discussed. The codicil warns that specious juniors will not be cured by promoting them (compare 15:16/17). Most sayings in this section bear on personnel procurement and promotion.

└ 15:28. The Master said, When the many hate him, one must always look into it; when the many love him, one must always look into it. [15:27]

This digs a little deeper into 13:24, implying that a unanimous opinion is always suspect (13:24 as good as says that a *non*unanimous opinion is normal). Note that those in charge of the people are being monitored by their superiors.

┌ 15:32. The Master said, The gentleman takes thought for the Way; he does not take thought for his own livelihood. If one farms, subsistence will come in the course of it; if one studies, a stipend will come in the course of it. The gentleman worries about the Way; he does not worry about poverty. [15.31]

The ABBA parallelism of this saying is unusual, but presents no interpretative difficulties. One can do what *leads* to salary, but not *because* it leads to salary.

└ 15:33. The Master said, If your knowledge reaches it, but your rźn cannot maintain it, then though you may get it, you will surely lose it. If your knowledge reaches it and your rźn can maintain it, but you approach them without dignity, then the people will not be respectful. If your knowledge reaches it and your rźn can maintain it and you approach them with dignity, but you motivate them with anything other than propriety, it is still not good enough. [15:32]

For the elements of the polity, compare 12:7, 13:5, and 14:5. The know-how which gains you the state in the first place may be military (this, as is seen also in the contemporary stratum of the Mencius, is the age of conquest theory), but it can only be maintained with civil virtues. Then comes demeanor (compare 15:5), to evoke an answering sobriety in the people, and last of all propriety in dealing with the people. This may refer to the ordering of rural tasks according to the calendar: a Monthly Ordinances text (Ywè Lìng) probably existed in the 04c; a later version is in HNZ 5 (Major **Heaven** 217f), and a still later one in the Lĭ Jì (LJ 4; Legge **Li** 1/249f). The late 04c is the period when many of the central culture-hero myths were first invented, and the ordering, even the ritualizing, of the annual cycle is part of that trend.

┌ 15:34. The Master said, The gentleman cannot know little things, but can accept great responsibilities. The little man cannot accept great responsibilities, but can know little things. [15:33]

A more classic view (compare 13:4) of the generalist and the specialist.

└ 15:35. The Master said, The relation of the people to rźn is nearer than to water or fire. As for water or fire, I have seen those who trod on them and died; I have never seen anyone who trod on rźn and died. [15:34]

Water is essential to life, and fire to civilization, but neither partakes as closely of the nature of humanity itself as does rźn (here equivalent to “humaneness”).

[D. Official Careers]

┌ 15:37. The Master said, The gentleman is steadfast but not stubborn. [15:36]

This retreats from the Níng Wǔdž position of 5:21, in the direction of the flexibility of 14:32, and so helps clarify the choice left hanging in 15:7.

└ 15:38. The Master said, In serving his ruler, he is attentive to his duty and negligent of his livelihood. [15:37]

Except for the atypically direct mention of livelihood (compare 5:32), this is traditional, reasserting the idea (4:5) that duty and career may be in conflict.

┗ 15:40. The Master said, If their Way is not the same, one cannot take counsel together with them. [15:39]

Compare 9:30 and the similar but more metaphoric 2:16. All these sayings emphasize the importance of dedication to right, and deprecate any lesser, or more self-interested, consistency. This too is probably anti-Mician.

[E. Envoi: Courtly Practices]

┌ 15:41. The Master said, The words should reach their goal, and nothing more. [15:40]

The only virtue of an official communication is *that it communicate*. This has many parallels as a maxim, not excluding Matthew Arnold (“Have something to say and say it as clearly as you can; that is the only secret of style”). This commonsense view of language is perhaps being asserted here in opposition to the contemporary, especially Mician, *analytical* interest in language.

└ 15:42. Preceptor Myěn came for an interview. When he reached the steps, the Master said, Here are the steps. When he reached the mat, the Master said, Here is the mat. When all had been seated, the Master informed him, So-and-so is here; So-and-so is here. When Preceptor Myěn had gone out, Dž-jāng asked, When one is speaking with a Preceptor, is this the way? The Master said, Yes, this is assuredly the way to assist a Preceptor. [15:42]

The Preceptor (we would say, Conductor) is a blind man, and teaches by rote and repetition, not by book. As custodian of the court musical tradition, he is a person of consequence, and thus deserves respect. It seems that Confucius, in receiving his visitor, guides him up the steps and to his place (sitting-mat), and names those present, none of which is part of the normal LY 10 protocol. Dž-jāng questions this extra solicitude, which seems to sacrifice Confucius’s dignity as host, but which is explained as situationally appropriate.

The previous saying deplores excessive ornament in literary style; this one advocates simple directness in reception-protocol. They do not appear to sum up, but rather to form a codicil to, the chapter proper. They partake however of the utilitarian simplicity that is characteristic of the chapter.

Confucius himself continues to be pictured as a person of consequence, who receives guests like a ruler. The word for coming into his presence is jyèn (perhaps better syèn) 見 “appear, be seen [have an interview with],” which occurs with a disciple in 15:2 and with a dignitary in 15:42. It is also the technical term used in the Mencius text for formal audiences with kings.

Interpolations Series A: c0301/c0300

LY 14 and LY 15 are smothered in interpolations which swell them to twice the size of the usual chapter. Why were these not simply put into two separate chapters? We infer (see Appendix 3) that the Analects functioned in this period in part as a record of things said at court. From the overt 15:1/2, and the hint of failed criticism in 15:12, we assume a rupture between the Confucians and the court. It seems from LY 14 that Confucians supported a strong Lǔ cultural initiative, but only a frugal use of force (with emphasis on strategy). They probably supported the apparent Lǔ policy: an alliance with distant Chín against nearby and aggressive Chǔ. In 0302, a new ruler succeeded in Lǔ, posthumously called Wźn-hóu ("Lord") rather than Wźn-gūng ("Prince," implying independence), perhaps because of pressure from Chǔ. Chǔ itself was beset in the west by Chín in 0301–0300, perhaps interrupting its eastern expansion. We infer these stages: (1) Chǔ forced Lǔ into underlordship in 0302 at the succession of Wźn-hóu, and the Confucians left the court. With no court connection, and no court diary, no further chapter modules were begun. (2) Chín distracted Chǔ in 0301–0300, creating a situation in which the Confucians may have hoped to return to power; in this period they added hopeful afterthoughts to their latest court record, LY 15. (3) With renewed Chǔ pressure in 0299 through Dž-jīng's death in 0296, the school added to LY 15, and to LY 13–14, material of a more pessimistic and indeed recriminatory kind.

Whether or not this scenario is precisely correct, there seem to be two distinct groups of LY 14/15 interpolations, and we give them separately here. Immediately below are the 0301–0300 series; the 0299–0296 addenda follow.

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

Added to LY 15

┌ *15:3. The Master said, Sż, you regard me as one who has studied a lot and remembers it, do you not? He replied, Yes. Is that wrong? He said, It is wrong. I have one thing by which I string it all together. [15:2]

Its expression in a body of miscellaneous maxims gave Confucianism a useful evolutionary flexibility, but hampered it in competing against the Micians with their ten principles, which, however ill-assorted (Waley **Three** 164; PB 122), probably had at the time the persuasiveness of any Decalogue. *15:3 asserts that Confucianism has a structure too (its esoteric nature is implied by the use of the sacral pronoun yẃ 予 "I," see 3:8), and tops the Micians with a *unitary* principle (compare 13:15; for its content, see *15:24[15a]). Interpolation, of which art Dž-jīng was a bold practitioner, lets one impose this kind of unity on the past. The unity here is *conceptual*: all sayings are ultimately one doctrine. This philosophic rigor, like the cosmic unity of 2:1 and the historiographic unity of 15:25, attests something like a scientific mindset in this period.

└ *15:4. The Master said, Yóu, those who know virtue are few. [15:3]

Notice the pairing: two sayings addressed to disciples (Dž-gùng and Dž-lù), one defending the home school, and the other disparaging the competition. Though thematically intrusive as placed in LY 15, this pair fits in smoothly between the earlier pairs; *formally*, Dž-jīng is not trashing his own chapter.

┌ *15:10. Dž-gùng asked about being rźn. The Master said, If an artisan wants to do his job well, he must first sharpen his tools. When dwelling in some country, serve the worthy among its dignitaries; befriend the rźn among its officers. [15:9]

This makes explicit a practical point about friends which was less obvious in earlier sayings (12:24): friends, and indeed associations too high-ranking for friendship ("serve" implies relationships of sponsorship and clientship at the level of real power), are to be cultivated for the purpose of bringing about the right political result, that result being the aim, or agenda, or definition, of rźn.

└ *15:11. Yén Ywǣn asked about running a state. The Master said, Follow the calendar of Syà, ride in the carriage of Yīn, wear the garments of Jōu. For music, the Sháu and Wǔ. Get rid of the songs of Jvèng and banish flatterers: the songs of Jvèng are lewd, and flatterers are dangerous. [15:10]

This summarizes earlier recommendations: the Three Dynasties (3:21; for the Babylonian chariot of Yīn, see Shaughnessy **Chariot**) and the old court dances (3:25); the ritual concept of the state is now established. Except in 6:16, the Analects opposes artful talkers, now including the logic-wielding Micians.

We identify the Jvèng songs with the Jvèng folk-poems of Shī 75–96. Dž-syà's idea of the Shī, visible in the DJ (Legge **Ch'un** 549f), is that it documents the culture of the several states, to predict which would succeed politically. The Analects sees the Shī as moral exempla, meant to be imitated. Is Shī 87, they ask, with its floozyish inconstancy, what you want your daughter to be like?

If you love me tenderly,
Lift your robe and cross the Dzvn̄;
If you love me not at all,
Are you then the only one?
– The craziest of crazy lads, is all you are!
If you love me tenderly,
Lift your robe and cross the Wài;
If you love me not at all,
Are you then the only guy?
–The craziest of crazy lads, is all you are!

┌ *15:23. The Master said, A gentleman does not promote a man because of his sayings, or reject a saying because of the man. [15:22]

That judgements of worth should be based on more than words goes back to the 05c (5:10b); the plea that *advice* should also stand on its merits is new.

└ *15:24. Dž-gùng asked, is there one saying that one can put in practice in all circumstances? The Master said, That would be empathy, would it not? What he himself does not want, let him not do it to others. [15:23]

The Golden Rule from 12:2 is here given a name (shù 恕 "empathy," also rendered "reciprocity") and a status as a central saying, in line with the promise of *15:3 (compare the later *4:15[1]). The pairing with *15:23 hints that this saying was liable to rejection because of its source (probably non-Confucian; see 5:12n). For the analogous concept in contemporary Micianism (which school however never calls it by the name shù), see MZ 16 (Mei **Ethical** 90). Its acceptance here shows the Lǔ Confucians, fortified by the *15:23 principle, in an assimilating as well as a systematizing mood.

┌ *15:29. The Master said, A man can broaden a Way; it is not the Way that broadens a man. [15:28]

This is probably a swipe at the Dàuists, whose ineffable Way was certainly impressive to the Lǔ government, offering, as it seemed to do, a method by which the individual, or the small state, could almost magically become more effective than they really were. Dàuism is the power politics of the powerless.

└ *15:31. The Master said, I once went all day without eating, and all night without sleeping, in order to think. I gained nothing. It is not as good as studying. [15:30]

Mencius, easily the most visible Confucian of his day, was not someone the Lǔ group cared to attack publicly. He had been (if we credit the seeming personal reminiscence in MC 2A2) himself an adherent of the Lǔ meditationist group whose text was the DDJ, and whose crossover hero was the reflective Yén Hwéı (note the wary treatment of Hwéı in MC 2A2). Dž-jīng's 2:15 had accepted meditation as a complementary way of knowledge, and as late as 15:5 he even accepted the Dáuist idea of the ruler. Now, with Mencius only recently dead, comes the break. Here and in the paired *15:29, the Dàuist art of meditation is rejected. Like the systematic pulling together of earlier sayings, above, this cleansing of tradition was surely meant to clarify and strengthen Confucianism. Compare *13:12 and *14:1b, immediately below.

Interpolations Series B: c0299/c0296

See the prefatory note to the preceding group of interpolations. These are the later, more bitter additions which we assume Dž-jīng made to LY 14–15 after the hope of Confucian return to court prominence had proved vain, and regrets and recriminations, some of them aimed at the ruler, were in order.

Added to LY 13

*13:7. The Master said, The governments of Lǔ and Wèı are still brothers. [13:7]

They had been granted as territories to literal brothers, in early Jōu times. Since Wèı by this time has been reduced by Ngwèı to almost zero territory, this may be a wry comment on the near-extinction of Lǔ sovereignty by Chǔ.

*13:12. The Master said, If there were one who could be a King, it would surely be only a generation until everyone was rə́n. [13:12]

A complaint of the Lǔ ruler, in the terms used by Mencius to Tə́ng Wə́n-gūng (MC 1B12; see page 116, above), perhaps inserted in LY 13 in his memory.

Added to LY 14

*14:1b. "Overcoming pride, resentment, and desire so that they no longer occur: can this be regarded as rə́n?" The Master said, It can be regarded as difficult. As for its being rə́n, I wouldn't know. [14:2]

This rejects the Dàuist suppression of desire to achieve special mental states. It follows on *15:29/31, in the previous group, but goes beyond them to dismantle the use of the Dàuist term "overcome," used in 12:1. Confucianism is not merely *distancing itself* from a rival; it is *dismantling part of its former self*.

*14:4. The Master said, Those with virtue will always have something to say, but those with things to say are not always virtuous. Those with rv́n are always brave, but those who do brave things are not always rv́n. [14:5]

The old contrast between virtue and well-spokenness, to which is added a new link between rv́n and courage. Courage has been revived as a moral quality.

*14:6. The Master said, A gentleman who was *not* also rv́n: such things have been. But there never was a little man who *was* rv́n. [14:7]

An admission (we Confucians have had our share of failures) and a complaint (but the nobodies who took our places at court lacked our special qualities).

*14:10. The Master said, To be poor and without resentment is difficult. To be rich and without pride is easy. [14:11]

The virtues of success are disparaged, and those of failure are extolled.

*14:20. The Master said, If his words are incautious, he will find it difficult to carry them out. [14:21]

Legge instances *4:22[2], with which we cannot but agree, since we ascribe both sayings to Dž-jīng. The advice is obvious; perhaps the emotional point of it is to justify an advocacy which, in retrospect, may have seemed *too* cautious.

*14:23. The Master said, The gentleman is successful at a high level; the little man is successful at a low level. [14:24]

This can be read as a division-of-labor generalism, and such is certainly its value for later Confucianism; the Mencian school's classic formulation is in MC 3A4 (mid 03c). In the historical context we assume for it, it can also be read as a sour-grapes retrospection, impugning the quality of successful rivals.

┌ *14:24. The Master said, The studies of the ancients were for themselves; the studies of the moderns are for others. [14:25]

We follow the commentators in taking this as critical of the moderns: the ancients studied to improve themselves *to be worthy of public service*, whereas the moderns study *to gain the good opinion of others*. This criticism may have in view the Mician branch school in Lŭ, which by this period was turning out students of its own; see MZ 46:5 (Mei **Ethical** 214) and note its pro-Chŭ focus.

└ *14:25. Chyẃ Bwó-yw̏ sent a messenger to Confucius. Confucius sat down with him, and inquired of him, How is your Respected Master doing? He replied, My Respected Master wishes to reduce the number of his errors, but has not yet been able to. When the messenger went out, the Master said, This is a messenger? This is a messenger? [14:26]

It is improper (compare *7:31[3]) to criticize one's leader before others. We thus agree with Waley against Legge that Confucius's final remark is disapproving. Legge assumes that Bwó-yw̏ was a disciple of Confucius, but though he has his place in the modern Temple of Confucius, 15:7 does not treat him so, and the protocol of *14:25 (Confucius is called Kŭngdž in the presence of his envoy) makes him a respected superior. If he were a disciple, Confucius's praise of the messenger's candor would be praise for Bwó-yw̏'s wish to improve himself, and the passage would be an incitement to self-cultivation. Since he is not, *14:25, like the paired *14:24, is a sarcastic denunciation of the vulgar ways of the age.

┌ *14:26a. The Master said, If he does not occupy the position, he does not take council for the policies. [14:27]

This is identical with *8:14[14], and is probably just an idea Dž-jīng used twice. Of the two paired sayings, *14:26b, following, is the more consecutive.

└ *14:26b. Dzv̄ngdž said, The gentleman's thoughts do not go beyond his own responsibilities. [14:28]

Dzv̄ngdž had been on Dž-jīng's mind since he wrote the LY 8 interpolations. This is not yet the filial paragon Dzv̄ngdž of LY 1 (the next later chapter), and thus seems to belong here. In that context, the pair of sayings may perhaps be validly read as an unemployed but worthy speaker disdaining comment on the nonentities who do at the moment hold office, rather in the manner of 13:14, composed either by the young Dž-jīng or with his knowledge during his minority. We noted that 13:14 may be anti-Mician, and that suggestion seems not less appropriate here. The very fastidiousness and punctilio of the bystander somehow condemn the officeholder.

┌ *14:27. The Master said, The gentleman is ashamed to have his words run beyond his deeds. [14:29]

Another maxim, echoing *14:10 above, and perhaps, like it, critical of those in power, though the pairing here suggests a different nuance. See next.

└ *14:28. The Master said, The ways of the gentleman are three, and I am not capable of them. The rv́n man is never anxious, the wise man is never in doubt, the brave man is never afraid. Dž-gùng said, This is our Respected Master's own Way! [14:30]

The three "ways" are identical with those of 9:29, but the Master's confession of inadequacy is new. This and *14:27 pair readily enough, as respectively praising and exemplifying understatement. As part of this group of resentful sayings, they may be a justification for earlier cautious posture in office, and a balancing praise of "Confucius's" own virtues; that is, a self-criticism by the head of the LY 15 school, Dž-jīng, amounting in the end to a self-vindication.

┌ *14:29. Dž-gùng liked to compare himself with others. The Master said, Sz̀ must certainly be a worthy man. I myself have not the time. [14:31]

An echo of the Dž-gùng criticisms in LY 5, and, like the next, nostalgic.

└ *14:30. The Master said, He does not worry about others not knowing him; he worries about whether he is capable. [14:32]

An echo of the real Confucius's 4:14. Having in the previous pair found his own conduct defensible and his character admirable, Dž-jīng now turns to the question of recriminations, deploring them in *14:29, and here evoking the old feudal principle that one is *not responsible for outcomes*. As head of a failed court faction, Dž-jīng was very much in Confucius's own historic position.

└ *14:31. The Master said, He does not anticipate betrayal; he does not assume infidelity. Compared to one who knew it all beforehand, is he not worthier? [14:33]

Like *14:27, a justification of a policy which, by hindsight, might have been wiser. But how virtuous is such cynical wisdom? Compare Churchill's verdict on Chamberlain (**Storm** 325–326 "good faith," **Hour** 550–551 "worthy").

┌ *14:33. The Master said, A Jì is not praised for its strength; it is praised for its character. [14:35]

Jì seems to be the name of an individual horse. Late Hàn commentaries, and the Shwō-ẃn dictionary, agree, and add that Jì could go "a thousand leagues a day" (300 American miles: a good Arabian can negotiate with style the modern endurance race of 100 miles; 300 miles is virtually impossible). Horses bred for strength are no good for distance. The gentleman is not to be prized for his utility in doing the heavy chores (compare 2:12), but for his "heart" ("character" or dý 德, elsewhere "virtue") that lets him stay the long course. Like the paired *14:35, this a complaint of being wrongly used at court.

A chariot horse good for a thousand leagues would be ineffective if yoked with one good for five hundred leagues. "Jì" thus seems to be a rider's mount, not a charioteer's horse. If so (compare JGT #92, translated in Crump **Ts'e** 100 in the latter sense), here is another hint of the new art of riding astride.

└ *14:35. The Master said, No one knows me, do they. Dž-gùng said, Why is it that no one knows the Master? The Master said, I do not resent Heaven; I do not fault men. I study at a humble level, that I may succeed at a high level. The one who knows me: will it not be Heaven? [14:37]

"Knows," here and in several of the above sayings, is "recognizes the ability of." The passage is a rumination on failure, balanced by a sense of compensatory recognition higher up. It has the metaphysics if not the Heavenly-sponsorship assurance of 9:5. The Lŭ court may have failed to recognize the value of the Confucian group, but the Confucians feel sure they will be vindicated.

Added to LY 15

┌ *15:13. The Master said, It is all over! I have not seen anyone who loves virtue as much as he loves beauty. [15:12]

The almost identical 9:18 was a criticism of unworthy student material. This seems, in the context of the stratum, to be instead a criticism of the ruler of Lŭ, for disdaining substantial virtues and prizing instead more superficial qualities, like those of the glib Micians and mystical Dàuists who were currently in favor.

└ *15:14. The Master said, Dzàng Ẃvn-jùng was a stealer of positions, was he not? He knew the worth of Lyŏusyà Hwèı but would not take his stand with him. [15:13]

A jibe at Lŭ courtiers for favoring the like-minded. Preferring compatibility to quality is a classic personnel problem (Caplow **Marketplace** 107, 137–139); here (compare Parkinson **Law** 80–81) is the classic diagnosis.

┌ *15:19. The Master said, The gentleman takes it as a fault if he is incapable of something; he does not take it as a fault if others do not know him. [15:18]

Similar, except for its verb (here, "regard as a fault"), to *14:30, opposite.

└ *15:20. The Master said, The gentleman is concerned lest he leave the world when his reputation is not yet established. [15:19]

Along with the implied duty to contribute to the public good, this evokes 4:5 by acknowledging the only allowable ambition of the gentleman: not power, but the chance to make a name for himself in his own lifetime.

┌ *15:21. The Master said, The gentleman seeks it in himself; the small man seeks it in others. [15:20]

Similar to 15:15, in the main chapter, but with a possible further nuance, which might offer guidance to the disappointed disciples: the small man requires ratification of worth in the approval of others; the gentleman is self-sufficient in his sense of worth. We might consider here not only the classic Dzvngdzian statement 8:3, but its contemporary update in 12:4.

└ *15:22. The Master said, The gentleman strives, but he does not contend; he associates, but he is not partisan. [15:21]

By keeping principle first in his mind, he avoids the smaller temptations to *jealousy* of colleagues, and also to excessive *solidarity* with colleagues. These maxims can be seen in context as criticisms of the Lŭ courtiers for their mutual validation (*15:21) and contentious partisanship (*15:22).

┗ *15:30. The Master said, To make a mistake and not change: this is what one calls making a mistake. [15:29].

On its face, a mere intensification of part of 9:25; in context, a complaint of the Lŭ government for not correcting its error in excluding the Confucians.

Reflections

The reader should by now have a sense of the complex interplay, in this period, between competing court factions and their ideologies. The span from c0325 through c0300, which ends (in the Analects) with LY 15, is the Hundred Schools phase of Chinese intellectual history, a high point comparable in vigor, variety, and significance to the Athenian one before and after Socrates.

The sort of tact required in the fruitful comparison of cultures is one of the 72 needful things not taught in schools, but with due caution the reader may note some striking similarities between early Greece and early China. One is that both are characterized by a *multiple polity*, literally at war with itself (one scholarly volume is titled The Warring States of Greece). Greek public debate had a background of fluid alliances and military threats. War has an urgency, a way of concentrating human attention, that is hard to replicate in softer times. William James sought its moral equivalent (Kallen **James** 341–347), though he admits that his solution runs to Tolstoyan sentimentality. From the viewpoint of world philosophy, we must put this question among the unsolved.

It is notable that LY 14–15 not only refine LY 12–13, but as their troubles increase, revisit the classic LY 4–9 as well. And it is touching that, having left the Lŭ court over their antiwar stand (15:1), the Confucians in their isolation reasserted the virtue of courage (15:8/9, *14:4[15]). Many Confucians in later centuries abundantly showed this physical courage in pursuit of ethical ideals.

It is not so surprising that the Confucians with their military origins evolved into ceremonialists and managers; note the parallel of the Japanese samurai under Tokugawa peace (1615–1867) and Meiji internationalism (1868–1912). A reflective reader will find many resonances in such a work as Fukuzawa's **Autobiography**. Some upper samurai, like the Analects Confucians, went into administration; some lower ones (Fukuzawa's own group) drifted into trade.

Fukuzawa's book gives us the cultural feel of such a transition. His father's contempt for money, mingled with his responsibility as overseer of his lord's treasury (p1–2), has the same tension we saw in LY 5. And the father's anger upon finding that his children were being taught multiplication, a tool of the vulgar merchants, has exactly the tone of classic disdain with which 13:20 regards the absurd unit-conversions of the treasury scriveners of Lǔ.

Among the things the Analects is trying to work out in this period are the nature of rulership and the proper relation between the ruler and the ministers (or the bureaucracy). There is also much interest in how the bureaucracy works: in running things. One stimulus to this was probably the increasing size of government, with the department heads needing to delegate, supervise, and plan ahead. Study of military procurement, or of strategy as a function of military procurement, in World War 2, will show that these skills are vital to national survival, and thus perhaps valuable. If philosophy is knowing how to live life well, the art of managing public life belongs somewhere in the mix.

It does not belong to "philosophy" as defined by modern departments of that name. Western philosophy, with its quaint preoccupation with ontology, epistemology, and logic, is largely a residue of religious questions involving statements about the existence of, knowledge of, and valid deductions about, the ultimately unknowable. The tradition represented by the Analects has no enduring interest in any of this. It spends time instead on such practical matters as how to get along in office, how to be in charge of things effectively, how to lead, how to wait, how to dare. For light on these subjects, vital for individual success and national survival, the student of Western philosophy waits in vain.

The efforts of Lǔ thinkers in the Hundred Schools days went partly into opposing each other. So what emerged from all this? Were there winners? Metzger **Roots** 112 notes that *society* was the winner; that both the Confucians and the Micians contributed to the collective institutional expertise which preserved the Chinese Empire, despite the folly of Chinese Emperors (14:19), for more than two thousand years.

It is tempting to suggest that the student make an outline of the Confucian idea of the state as of LY 15, as a way of updating a project mentioned in 9r. But it is difficult to say what data should be included. We can see, most easily in the group of revisionist interpolations above, how closely balanced was the Lǔ Confucian school between acceptance and rejection of given ideas, such as that of meditation and its implications for government. The pairs of pro and con statements which are a characteristic of Analects rhetoric (the classic case is 14:16/17) are in our view not mere ambivalence; they reflect the vagueness of the boundary, *at the time*, between hostile ideas and adaptable ideas. And the classic ideas of the school *were still there*, in the earlier Analects chapters to which, as is proved by the fact that it was worth interpolating in them, the school still referred. Keeping its doctrinal identity intact, while at the same time keeping its controversial interface viable, was an impossible challenge. We need not be surprised if the Analects repeats itself, and contradicts itself, and then *homogenizes* itself, as part of the process of extending itself in time.

For all the effort that went into these kinds of boundary maintenance, we find in the end that Dž-jīng does not, in his final interpolations, go much beyond oscillating on familiar ground. For a breakthrough into new territory, we will have to turn to his son and successor Dž-gāu, in LY 1.

Jade Hair Ornament (see LY 1:13)
Height 6·6 cm (2·6 in). 04/03c. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art (30·28)