

### 3 c0342

Ritual can give antique dignity to an innovating state, and psychological continuity to a changing society. LY 3, the most unified Analects chapter, is on this theme of ritual. It has the form of an intentionally consecutive treatise, except that the form is interrupted by some sayings (3:1–3, 6, 10, 22, 26) which express indignation at a usurpation of royal forms. Ostensibly criticisms of the Jì clan, these seem to refer to the Chí ruler’s adopting the title “King” in 0342, the year after his defeat of Ngwèi in the battle of Mǎ-líng. These topical sayings complete, but also interrupt, the design of the original treatise (which had begun with 3:4). The present chapter thus has two not quite compatible layers.

LY 3 is the first chapter to have been *preposed*: placed in front of older chapters. Its front position tended to increase its visibility, highlighting the protest component, and to give the whole text the character of a ritual treatise. The LY 3 theory of ritual goes beyond the description of propriety in LY 10 to include state sacrifices. It was probably by Dǔ-jyā, who may have succeeded Dǔ-shàng in c0355. By Hàn times (in the early 02c), little was left of Lǚ Confucianism but this ritual focus (see the story of Shúsūn Tūng, SJ 99, and the SJ 121 remark on Lǚ and Chí; Watson **Records** 1/295, 2/397).

Pairing of sayings is shown by the usual ㄱ and ㄴ brackets, at the left of the saying numbers, and section-final unpaired sayings by the usual ㄷ bracket. Pairing of sayings in the proto-chapter that was interrupted by the c0342 protest addenda is shown by ㄱ and ㄴ brackets at the ends of passages. The interruptive sayings themselves are marked by an arrow > with, or in place of, a bracket.

The numbering of passages is identical in the Legge text.

#### [Prologue: The Usurpation of Ritual]

> ㄱ 3:1. The Master said of the head of the Jì, Eight rows of dancers performing in his courtyard: if this can be borne, what cannot be borne?

Later ritual texts specify a descending order of grandeur for ceremonies at different levels. One may wonder how far this reflects early practice rather than systematizing fantasy, but some usurpation *is* implied. For contemporary concern in other states about excessive expenditure as a burden on society, see MZ 21 (Mei **Ethical** 120) and GZ 3:6 (Rickett **Guanzi** 92).

> ㄴ 3:2. The Three Families exited to the Yūng. The Master said,  
Assisting Princes standing by,  
And Heaven’s Son in majesty –  
where in the halls of the Three Families was *this* drawn from?

The (Jì, M̀ng, Shú) were the rival Lǚ clans. Here and in 3:1, they symbolize the Chí ruler, who in 0342 proclaimed himself King, assuming in the east the position still held by the Jōu King in the west (compare 17:4). The Yūng is Shī 282, from the Hymns of Jōu. The two preceding lines in the stanza are “Slow and solemn they draw nigh / til all are ranged in panoply.” As a recessional hymn, it was most probably sung by a chorus, who narrated, as though it were happening, the sacrifice that had just been concluded.

> 3:3. The Master said, A man, but not *rǎn*, what has he to do with ritual? A man, but not *rǎn*, what has he to do with music?

In 3:1/2 context, this pun (人 “man” and 仁 [the virtue], both pronounced *rǎn*) articulates the principle that music and ritual cannot validate an unworthy ruler. The old term *rǎn*, absent in LY 10–11, here recurs in a new sense, as a quality not of the officer but of the ruler. This amounts to including the ruler in an ethical context which had previously defined only the elite warrior. *Rǎn* here shifts its meaning from “manly” to “humane,” anticipating by 25 years the later Mencian “*rǎn* [compassionate] government” 仁政 theory of MC 1A5.

### [A. Basic Principles of Ritual]

└ 3:4. Lín Fàng asked about the basis of ritual. The Master said, Great indeed is this question! In ceremonies: than lavish, be rather sparing. In funerals: than detached, be rather moved.┘

For the handling of the Chinese idiom “rather than,” see 9:12. This passage seems to have been the intended beginning of the chapter (note the secondary pairings, which are assumed to be those of the original draft). It is the first appearance in the text of the analytical concept *běn* 本 “basis, fundament,” and itself states two principles for ritual practice. For a slightly later Mician protest against lavish funerals, see MZ 25 (Mei **Ethical** 123f; two earlier tracts on this theme are lost). 3:4 also recommends frugality and genuineness of feeling. Ceremonies are made valid by sincerity; they are not efficacious *in themselves*.

Lín Fàng was not a disciple (not even the SJ 67 list includes him); his question here may imply that Confucius was not seen in this period as a teacher of only his own disciples, but, consistent with the high rank which 3:1 pictures him as holding, as an advisor-at-large to Lǚ court and society.

> 3:6. The Jì were going to sacrifice to Mount Tà. The Master said to Rǎn Yǒu, Can you not save the situation? He replied, I cannot. The Master said, Alas! Who will say that Mount Tà is not as good as Lín Fàng!

The object of “save” is an “it” which appears, preposed and contracted, in the compound negative *fú*, early pronunciation *fút* 弗 “not . . . it” (see 9:25n). The idiom “not as good as” (*bù-rú* 不如) is context-sensitive; here, it implies “not as perceptive [of ritual nuances] as.” The mountain knows the ritual, and will reject a sacrifice offered by the wrong person (compare the mountain sacrifices of 6:6). The superficial pairing based on the name Lín Fàng may have been a device to justify the intrusion of 3:6; the original pairing was 3:4/7.

└ 3:7. The Master said, “Gentlemen never compete.” Surely the exception will be in archery? But they bow and defer as they ascend, and drink a toast as they descend: in their competing, they show themselves gentlemen.┘

The crossbow had been known in Chǔ since the 05c; in Chí and Lǚ the chariot warrior’s longbow was still in use. The archery contest (Shī 11 and 25) was thus not a mere ceremony; it was probably still functional militarily.

In the original 3:4/7 pairing, this is a second, lateral principle to match the vertical or sacrificial one of 3:4. The 3:7/8 juxtaposition enforced by the later intrusion of 3:6 has no obvious link beyond the general chapter theme of ritual.

└ 3:8. Dž-syà asked,

The artful smile so charming, ah,

The lovely eyes so sparkling, ah,

*The plain on which to make the painting, ah –*

what does it mean? The Master said, The painting comes *after* the plain. He said, Does ritual then come afterward? The Master said, The one who takes my hint is Shāng; he begins to be talkable-to about the Poetry.┘

The first two lines are from Shī 57; the third, a rhyming commentary, refers to the lady's decorated robe, and hints that true beauty lies beneath cosmetically enhanced lips and eyes. After a further hint ("corner," see 7:8), Dž-syà extracts from this analogy one about ritual; the point, as often in LY 3, is that emotion underlies ceremony. The use of the yú 予 "my" (compare 9:12, 11:9) suggests that Confucius's former political mission (4:8), later replaced by a Jōu cultural mission (9:5), is now a personal interpretative mission (compare \*15:3<sup>15a</sup>).

For Dž-syà's role in the Shī, see 6:13n. Notice the link between his two names, Shāng and Syà, the dynasties that are supposed to have preceded Jōu. On the ritual traditions of those dynasties, see 3:9.

The first two Fvng sections, Jōu-nán and Shàu-nán, refer to Lǚ and Yēn as the domains (nán 南 "south," the direction in which the ruler faced) of their founders, Jōu-gūng and Shàu-gūng. The titles emphasize the ancient lineage of those states, perhaps to contrast them with Chí, ruled by Tyén clan usurpers since 0375. The implied friendly relations between Lǚ and Yēn, the border gateway state, tend to suggest Lǚ contact with the 04c northern border trade.

## [B. Explanations of Ritual Traditions]

└ 3:9. The Master said, The ceremonies of Syà: I could discuss them, but Kǐ has not enough evidence. The ceremonies of Yīn: I could discuss them, but Sùng has not enough evidence. The reason is that the writings and worthies are not enough. If they *were* enough, I could then give evidence for them.┘

This is the first mention of Syà and Yīn (Shāng) in the text. Experts may have been combing old lore to devise ceremonies for royal Chí; perhaps a like effort was made in Lǚ, for a cultural hegemony which the Chí usurpation forestalled.

Kǐ 杞 (modern pronunciation "Chǐ") had in earlier centuries occupied several sites northeast of Lǚ. It is said to have been originally in Chí District (34°33' N, 114°45' E) but later moved eastward (for the eastward move of Lǚ, see page 3 and 5:11n). Later texts put Syà near the Jōu homeland or its later capital on the Lwò River (Chang **Archaeology** 319). The location currently favored by archaeologists is Aǐlǐtóu (34°42' N, 112°45' E), to the west of Kǐ. The whole Syà question is complicated by cultural pride (Thorp **Xia** 36–38).

Jvng Sywǎn, followed in the translation, takes syèn 獻 as syén 賢 "worthies" (oral versus written tradition). The syèn = syén equation occurs in several Shū, all first attested *later than* 3:9. In the Shī, syèn means "presented to the ruler," and wén-syèn 文獻 may thus in fact be simply "written records" of sacrifices.

This wish for ancient documents (compare 11:23 on contemporary ones) ends in a conscientious admission that none are available. The demand will shortly be met, with less scruple, by a whole series of *forged* ancient documents.

> 3:10. The Master said, The dī sacrifice from the libation onward – I simply do not wish to see it.

This angry passage (as the arrow > indicates) is from the final protest addenda. Its point of attachment was the dī 禘 sacrifice mentioned in the following 3:11, and its interpolation isolates 3:9 (which had been originally paired with 3:11). It contradicts the uncertainty of 3:9 and 3:11 by implying that “Confucius” knew that part of this rite was inauthentic, and thus knew the rite itself.

Chinese dislikes long object phrases, and often preposes them, as here, to topic position, resuming them by a pronoun (“it”) in the sentence proper.

└ 3:11. Someone asked for an explanation of the dī sacrifice. The Master said, I do not know. The relation of one who *did* know to All Under Heaven would be like holding something here. And he pointed to his palm.↓

One who understood, and could perform, the dī rite (etymologically related to the dī 帝 divinely sanctioned rulers of the Shāng dynasty) would be able to rule the world (tyēn-syà 天下, “[all] Under Heaven,” in its cosmological sense; for the older, merely diplomatic sense of the term, see 4:10): to be a universal king. Note the rationalizing assumption that rites *have* explanations.

Before the insertion of the confident 3:10, 3:11 had paired with 3:9 as showing *ignorance* of ancient rites. With sufficient anger comes certitude.

└ 3:12. “Sacrifice as though present: sacrifice to spirits as though the spirits were present.” The Master said, If I do not take part in the sacrifice, it is as though I did not sacrifice.┐

The quoted maxim (perhaps based on a rhyme between jì 祭 “offer libation” and dzài 在 “be present”) required belief in the spirit that was sacrificed to. The Master replies with a seemingly compatible but different idea: one must be directly present at a sacrifice; it may not be delegated or performed in absentia. The shift of emphasis is from outward belief to inner sincerity (compare 7:35).

└ 3:13. Wáng-sūn Jyǎ asked, “Than beseech the alcove, rather beseech the stove,” what does this mean? The Master said, It is not true. One who has incurred guilt with Heaven has no one to whom he can pray.↓

The original pairing is with the other folk maxim in 3:12; the 3:13/14 pairing enforced by the insertion of 3:10 lacks substance. The saying here contrasts the efficacy of offerings to the spirits of departed family members, whose shrine was at a corner of the house, with offerings to the stove or kitchen god; it means that the living are more help to you than the dead. The Master rises to this “cynical piece of peasant-lore” (Waley) by rejecting it outright (compare 3:12). Though withholding *assent* toward the otherworld, he forbade *disrespect*.

└ 3:14. The Master said, Jōu could look back upon the Two Dynasties. How splendid was its culture! And we follow Jōu.↓

Here, echoing the section-initial 3:9, is the idea that rites accumulate, each age succeeding the last. The lost Syà and Yīn (Shāng) rites thus do not matter; they are subsumed in Jōu, and *Lǚ succeeds Jōu*. Chí, whose ruling lineage had been ended by the Tyén assassination, was not a successor to anything. Liturgically, Lǚ had the better credentials. The Chí usurpation of the Jōu title King in 0342 must thus have infuriated the Lǚ people beyond endurance.

## [C. Adjustments to Ritual]

┌ 3:15. The Master entered the Great Shrine, and at every stage asked questions. Someone said, Who says this son of a man of Dzōu knows ritual? At every stage he asks questions. The Master said, *That* is the ritual.

The extreme meanings of 禮, “ritual” versus “courtesy,” here alternate to make the pun on which the saying turns. The Master knows the ritual (for the assumption that rituals had meanings, see 3:11). But it would be discourteous for him, as a spectator, to display superior knowledge. You may, indeed must, admire your hosts’s prize Monet, but you should refrain from launching into a discourse on Impressionism. Note the subtle acceptance of expertise in this passage, contrasting with its scornful rejection as recently as 9:2. We are here in the age of the thaumaturge, a technician of ritual or master of ceremonies.

For the first time since 5:1–2, we get incidental biographical data about Confucius: his father was from Dzōu, 25 km south of the Lǚ capital. This seems intrinsically plausible, since it reverses the aggrandizement process (Dzōu is clearly a town of low prestige), and we are inclined to accept it as true.

└ 3:16. The Master said, In archery one does not emphasize the hide, because strengths may not be at the same level. This was the old way.

The hide is the leather covering the archery target: piercing it was of military importance, since the enemy at this period would be wearing leather armor. Confucius here claims an “older” principle which emphasized aim, not force. We venture to doubt this, as simply another example of attributing virtue, even ritual virtue, to some distant past. Archery (see 3:7), despite the civilianizing intent which is evident in LY 3, was still a weapon at this period.

┌ 3:17. Dǔ-gùng wanted to do away with the sacrificial lamb at the Announcement of the New Moon. The Master said, Sǔ, you grudge the lamb; I grudge the ritual.

Ài 愛 “love” is here “feel sorry for, be solicitous toward,” thus “grudge.” For “grudging” versus “feeling sorry for” a sacrificial ox, see the famous MC 1A7.

We doubt the usual explanation of this ritual: that the announcement is to the *ancestors*. Announcements to ancestors (see the Sùng section of the Shǐ) were of the doings and needs of the descendants. Calendrological information (like the announcement of intercalary months; CC sv 0621; Legge **Ch’un** 243) was essential guidance for the rural population, and it seems likely that this, while perhaps *invoking* an ancestor, was a public ceremony (as in MC 1A7). The theoretical point of 3:17 is that some elements of ritual cannot be adapted or reinterpreted: a valid sacrifice requires the sacrifice *of* something.

└ 3:18. The Master said, If one served one’s ruler by observing every last detail of propriety, people would regard it as obsequious.

In contrast to the paired 3:17 (the pairing in this section is not dislocated by the addition of protest passages), there are some observances that can and should be mitigated. The implication is that the old court propriety involved greater elaborateness than the newer style. This can be disputed (the likely direction of ritual evolution would seem to be toward elaboration), but may be noted as the view of the period. In terms of that view, note that the sort of changes that were resisted in 9:3 as disrespectful are now, 60 years later, being accepted.

└ 3:19. Dìng-gūng asked, When a ruler employs a minister, when a minister serves a ruler – how should it be? Confucius answered, The ruler employs the minister with propriety; the minister serves the ruler with loyalty.

This seems old-fashioned and even feudal, but it is instead progressive: it seeks to impose on the ruler's treatment of his ministers a restraint symmetrical to that which loyalty had always imposed on the minister's service to the ruler.

└ 3:20. The Master said, The Gwān-jyŵ: happy but not licentious; sad but not wounded.

This refers to Shī 1, the first of the Lǚ poems in that anthology, and describes its emotional message. It supposedly depicts the courtship of King Wǎn of Jōu, ending with his marriage. The question of personal feeling in the ruler, whose every act is of state consequence, was a delicate one. Here, the royal suitor feels passionate longing for a proper outcome, and experiences the loneliness of the quest without prejudice to the joys of its completion. See Waley **Songs** #87 (note that Waley rearranges the Shī topically) or Legge **She** 1.

### [D. Praise and Blame of Ancient Rituals]

└ 3:21. Aī-gūng asked about the shè from Dzǎi Wǒ. Dzǎi Wǒ replied, The Syàhòu lineage used a pine, the Yīn people used a cypress, the Jōu people used a chestnut, saying it would make the populace be in fear and trembling. The Master heard of it and said, What is over one does not analyze, what is done with one does not reprove, what has passed away one does not blame.

The question is what sort of tree is planted to mark the shè 社 or altar of the soil (for the associated phallic fertility cult, see Karlgren **Fecundity** 10–21). The first two involve puns (the gūng 公 phonetic of sūng 松 “pine” means “father” in archaic usage; the phonetic of bwó 柏 “cypress” occurs in pwò 魄 “soul”), and Dzǎi Wǒ suggests a pun on lì 栗 “chestnut” and lì 慄 “fear” for the third. He goes wrong not with his punning exegesis (these were standard practice), but with its critical character. Jōu is no longer in the grammatical present tense (see 3:14 for the politically important statement “We follow [after] Jōu”), and our criticism, unlike a remonstrance against current practice, cannot reach it.

Dzǎi Wǒ is rebuked, but at a high level, as ritual expert to the Prince of Lǚ. His rehabilitation from the unpromising beginning of 5:10a/b (compare his insolent pun in 6:26), which was complete in 11:3, is here carried even further.

> └ 3:22. The Master said, Gwǎn Jùng's capacity was small indeed! Someone said, Was Gwǎn Jùng frugal? He said, Gwǎn had three wives; among his officers there were no concurrent duties; how could *he* be frugal? If so, then did Gwǎn Jùng understand ritual? He said, Rulers of states have a gate screen; Gwǎn also had a gate screen. When rulers of states celebrate the amity between two rulers, they have a cup stand; Gwǎn also had a cup stand. If Gwǎn understood ritual, who does *not* understand ritual?

This is the last use of chī 器 “vessel” to mean “capacity for office” (see 13:25). Technical knowledge (as in 5:18) does not excuse arrogation; *it makes it worse*. Gwǎn Jùng, minister to Hwán-gūng of Chí (reigned 0685–0643), here stands for the expert but misguided ritual advisors of the usurping Chí “King.”

┐ 3:23. The Master, in discussing music with the Lǚ Grand Preceptor, said, The art of music, or the part of it that may be understood, is that when it first begins, it is tentative, but as it continues along, it settles down, it brightens up, it opens out; and so it comes to an end.┑

This is music minus the part that only musicians know (interval theory and instrumental technique, which by the rule of 3:15 would infringe the province of the expert), namely, a listener's-ear impression of the progress of a piece of court-orchestra music. The passage can be better understood after a year of playing lead drum in a Japanese gagaku ensemble, gagaku being the nearest extant analogue of classic Chinese music; next best is exposure to recordings. These pieces are at first unfocused rhythmically and melodically, but as they proceed, they gradually become more metrically defined, coloristically rich, and thematically intense. There is also a brief ending phase, called lwàn 亂, when, after the culmination of the gradual climax (typically at 5 to 7 minutes), the elements again dissolve. Ravel's tour-de-force coloristic crescendo Bolero, though longer (14 minutes), has similar constructional features: repetition of a strophic melody, increasing tension as the basic principle of form, and an ending in disarray. For an appreciation of the Lǚ court orchestra's performance of Shī 1 (the Gwān-jyǔ piece mentioned in 3:20), see \*8:15<sup>14</sup>.

Lǚ here claims for itself the court and public splendors that in the 05c had been available only in Chí (see 7:14). The later custodians of the Analects did not fail to notice this modest implication, and the head of the school, Dž-shǔn, interpolated a passage (\*18:9<sup>18</sup>) which offers an aggrandizing rationalization: Chí court music had actually been previously established by refugees from Lǚ.

└ 3:25. The Master said of the Sháu that it was wholly beautiful and wholly good. He said of the Wǔ that it was wholly beautiful, but not wholly good.┑

See again 7:14, where the Sháu 韶 or "Summons" was first mentioned; it is supposed to have accompanied a mime of King Wǔn. The Wǔ 武 "Martial" was a mime of the exploits of King Wǔ, necessarily symbolizing his forcible conquest. It is this that the Master finds less estimable. The Confucians at this juncture were, and to the end of their court prominence (LY 15) with various qualifications remained, the antimilitary party at the Lǚ court. This involved a considerable shift of position for a group with an ultimately military origin. The theoretical issue is between cultural hegemony leading imperceptibly to political dominion (symbolized by King Wǔn) and straight military conquest (King Wǔ). Mencius, who was a student in the school at this time, would further develop the contrast in his own political theory (see MC 1A6).

In the original (if incomplete) version of LY 3, this piece served as the envoi. With the intrusion of the anti-Chí 3:22, enforcing the pairing 3:21/22 and 3:23/25, a new envoi was added to round the chapter out at 24 sayings:

> └ 3:26. The Master said, Occupying high position without magnanimity, performing rituals without assiduousness, attending funerals without grief – how can I look on at such things?

This is the last of the intruded protest passages. It returns to several earlier themes, and at bottom concerns governmental inappropriateness and ritual insincerity. The added third point, *emotional* insincerity, is no doubt strained, but it is consistent in the only way that propaganda needs to be consistent.

## Interpolations

LY 3 resumes the LY 7 interest in music, as well as developing the LY 10 interest in all aspects of ritual. We thus place here certain interpolations in those chapters which seem to reflect those emphases, but which seem to be later in date than those we conclude were added following LY 10.

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

### Added to LY 7

\*7:31. The Sheriff of Ch'vn asked, Did Jāu-gūng know ritual? Confucius said, He knew ritual. Confucius withdrew, and he beckoned Wūmǎ Chí to come forward, and said, I have heard that the gentleman is not partisan. Is the gentleman after all partisan? Your ruler took a wife in Wú who was of the same surname, and called her the Eldest Daughter from Wú. If your ruler knew ritual, who does not know ritual? Wūmǎ Chí reported this. The Master said, Chyōu is fortunate: if by chance he makes a mistake, others are sure to find out about it. [7:30]

This wonderful bit of sarcasm shares a phrase with 3:15 (see also 3:22), and the basic idea that the display of ritual knowledge may not be ritually correct (Confucius could not have criticized his own ruler while in another state). It also changes the politics of Confucius: if we are right, the actual Confucius was loyal to Jāu-gūng as the legitimate Prince, whereas now that the legitimacy issue has faded, Jāu-gūng is criticizable. And it gives Confucius a grander life, replacing the vague wanderings of 7:23 and 9:5 with a diplomatic visit.

\*7:36. The Master said, If he is lavish, he will grow improvident; if he is frugal, he will grow rigid. Than improvident, be rather rigid. [7:35]

This is the point of 3:4 (with which Waley **Analects** 131n4 also compares it). It recognizes that qualities have their characteristic mode of excess, and that excess is bad, but also insists that there is a preferable, *least worst* excess. These sayings, and several in LY 3, show a Confucian discomfort with ministerial wealth in the new state, and a nostalgia for sterner, more frugal times of old.

\*7:37. The Master said, The gentleman is poised and unruffled; the little man is always in a dither. [7:36]

Again we have the gentleman / little man contrast. The Lǚ Confucians were beginning to compete with such humble-origin groups as the Micians at court; the same was occurring in Chí, as a Mician strain in some early GZ passages shows (see GZ 3:6–9; Rickett **Guanzi** 92–93). This passage contrasts old status, which is accustomed to the court ethos and its conventions, and new status, which displays the anxious striving of the noninitiate. The implication is that those with a courtly background (or an intensive course in LY 10?) will always be better prepared to function in a court role than those without.

\*7:38. The Master was warm but strict, imposing but not aggressive, respectful but calm. [7:37]

Whereas, by implication, the “little people” violate the guidelines of propriety in seeking expedient friendships, intimidate others when they are in authority, and grovel obsequiously before superiors when they are *not* in authority.



### Added to LY 10

\*10:15. When he enters the Great Shrine, at every stage he asks questions. [10:14]

Perhaps the students had been taking too literally the misguided criticism of Confucius in 3:15. Adding just *this line* of 3:15 to the reference manual LY 10 sets up a context which assures that 3:15 will have its intended, sarcastic effect.

Note the implication, here and in 3:15, explicit in 3:9 and 3:21, that rituals, and indeed their separate performance stages, had historical or sacrificial “explanations.” LY 3 is above all a *rationalizing* chapter.

### Reflections

The skewed parallelism of LY 3 suggests a research project: did a similar afterthought give rise to the double parallelism of LY 5?

Note the creation of the historical anecdote in \*7:31. A key technical advance is the narrative change of scene implied in 3:15 and 3:21, and overt in \*7:31. The anecdote was perfected in the later DJ (Watson **Tso** passim).

LY 3 raises a recurring question: is Confucianism a religion? This arises from the modern definition, that religion is anything held in common by a community. The old view, that religion requires a supernatural belief, seems to be the line that is drawn in the Analects itself. On that basis, earlier readers (Creel **Confucius** 113–122, Mote **Foundations** 18–19) have concluded that Confucianism operates on the secular side of that line, acknowledging spiritual entities and sacrificing to ancestral spirits, but remaining philosophically aloof from the spirit realm. Future term papers on this theme should distinguish acknowledgement and belief. To respect prayer is not the same as to pray.

Another LY 3 question is the Confucian view of the individual. The old one-directional feudal ethic of LY 4 has greatly evolved by LY 3: the ruler is in principle liable to the same standards, and criticisms, as the officer. Aesthetic sensibility adds an interior note; so does the insistence on inner feeling as the basis of ritual. The value of ritual as incipiently constitutional for society has been noticed by de Bary **Rights** 196 and Ames **Rites** 201, 209. A careful reader may be able to find more of this in LY 3.

Aī-gūng’s direct tax of 0490 marked the end of indirect sovereignty and thus of feudalism. So did William the Conqueror’s compiling the Domesday Book, in 1085 (Cross **England** 81f). Henry I’s establishment of the “curia regis” (King’s Council), a working bureaucracy rather than a personal retinue, comes 45 years after Domesday (**England** 97f); 45 years after 0490 brings us to LY 7, where Confucius is seen as *someone with a policy* (a Jōu-derived Lǚ cultural hegemony), an initiative unlikely from the passive, dutiful Confucius of LY 4. Under John, the English barons gained legal rights (Magna Carta, 1214; **England** 141f). There is no precisely parallel Chinese event in the analogous year 0361, but the hint of bilaterality in 3:19 (c0342), noted above, is only off by some 19 years, perhaps close enough for a cross-cultural parallel.

Myths tend to accumulate around major figures, but we may distinguish between spontaneous (Lincoln; Lewis **Myths**) and managed mythification (Lee; Connelly **Marble**). The Confucius of LY 3 seems to be of the latter type, less biographically developed than emblematically emphasized. What we have here is perhaps a myth of Confucianism rather than of Confucius himself.

**Bronze Halberd (see LY 12:7)**

*Height 44 cm (17.3 in). 05c/04c. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art (80-208)  
Gift of General and Mrs. Albert Wedemeyer*