

17

c0270

A new Lǚ Prince, Chǐng-gūng, succeeded in 0279 as a virtual puppet of Chǔ. An effort was apparently made to tempt the Confucians into higher office, which as legitimists they at first indignantly refused. At last, however, they seem to have agreed, and 17:1, which stands structurally apart from the rest of LY 17, seems to symbolize that acceptance. The school head was Dǔ-shèn, who would hold that position until the dissolution of the school itself in 0249.

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

⌌ 17:1. Yáng Hwò wanted to see Confucius. Confucius would not see him. He sent Confucius a pig. Confucius, timing it so that he would be out, went to pay his respects, but met him on the way. He said to Confucius, “Come, I would say something to you. One who cherishes his treasure and thereby lets his state go astray, can he be called rǐn?” He said, He cannot. “One who would like to serve in government, but keeps missing his chance, can he be called sensible?” He said, He cannot. “Days and months are passing away, and years will not be given to us.” Confucius said, Very well, I am going to take office. [17:1]

Yáng Hwò, the usurping minister of the Jì clan, should represent an illegitimate regime, but since he speaks with the authority of the royal yǐ 予 “I” (see 13:15), Confucius’s capitulation is presumably sincere. The image of “cherishing a treasure” (placing it in the bosom of one’s robe) also occurs in DDJ 70 (c0274).

[A. On Human Nature]

⌌ 17:2a. The Master said, By nature they are near each other; by habitual action they become farther apart. [17:2]

In the 03c debate on human nature (syìng 性), the old view (12:19; compare MC 6A7) was a *convergence* theory: the ruler transforms society, thus reducing individual differences. Later come *divergence* theories like 17:2a. The Mencian variant (MC 6A8) holds that people are good, but brutalized by experience. Sywǎndǔ (SZ 23) responds that people are bad, but may be bettered by teaching.

⌌ 17:2b. The Master said, It is the highest wisdom and the lowest stupidity that do not change. [17:3]

This modifies the harsh *8:9¹⁴ to make most people amenable to improvement.

⌌ 17:3. The Master went to Wǔ-chǐng and heard sounds of strings and song. Our Respected Master smiled in amusement and said, In trimming a chicken, where would you use an ox knife? Dǔ-yóu replied, In earlier days Yěn heard it from his Respected Master: if gentlemen study the Way, they will come to love others, and if little people study the Way, they will be easy to employ. The Master said, You disciples, what Yěn says is right. My previous words were merely teasing him. [17:4]

Confucius here assumes the old two-layer view of society, according to which teaching the people classical music is absurd. Dǔ-yóu, defending the new inclusive view (compare MC 1B1, Legge **Mencius** 150f), makes him recant.

[B. The Temptation to Serve]

┌ 17:4. Gūngshān Fú-rǎu headed a revolt in Bì. He sent an invitation, and the Master wanted to go. Dǔ-lù was not pleased, and said, When at last you go, why must it be Gūngshān that you go to? The Master said, Well, he has invited me, and how should it be for nothing? If there were one who would use me, could I not make a Jōu in the East? [17:5]

The contrary-to-fact use of the term “Jōu in the East” refutes the now-popular name “Eastern Jōu” for the period 0771–0221. The goal of each eastern state was to become a power in the east, symmetrical to the Jōu remnant in the west. Despite the unsavory credentials of the rebel, Confucius is tempted. Note the implication: a valid government can be established despite a tarnished ruler.

└ 17:6. Bì Syì sent an invitation, and the Master wanted to go. Dǔ-lù said, In earlier days Yóu heard it from his Respected Master: “One who in his own person does what is not good, the gentleman will not join.” Bì Syì is in revolt, with a base in Jūng-mǒu. If now the Master were to go, what would it look like? The Master said, Yes, there was such a remark. But is it not said, “Is a thing hard? Then it can be ground but will not wear. Is a thing white? Then it can be dyed but will not stain.” Do you think I am a bottle-gourd? How can I be hung up and never eaten? [17:7]

Confucius’s anguish at being constrained by the old legitimacy theory (Bì Syì is supposed to have been a Jīn officer, but the story is a mere parallel to 17:4) tells us that this theory is becoming untenable in the eyes of the school of Lǔ. See 17:1, above, and the ultimate affirmation of the same point in 18:6.

The bottle-gourd was dried as a container, not eaten like other melons. Being eaten symbolizes having one’s value absorbed into the community.

[C. An Educational Crisis]

┌ 17:8a. The Master said, Little ones, why do you not study the Shī? With the Shī you can inspire, you can observe, you can be congenial, you can express resentment. Applying them to what is near, you can serve your father; applying them to what is far, you can serve your ruler. And you will become acquainted with the names of birds and beasts, plants and trees. [17:9]

This begins with diplomatic uses (13:5), continues with the identity of public and personal realms (9:16), and ends with the vocabulary argument beloved of bad textbook writers. Legge’s rueful comment on this last line (“We do indeed learn *names* enow,” **She** 3) never fails to draw a laugh from Shī students.

Resentment and other emotions occur *in* the Shī, but here we have the official gentleman obliquely expressing his own emotions *by quoting* the Shī: he is evidently entitled to display, and thus in the first place to feel, resentment. This marks a revolution in feelings, and in social attitudes toward feelings.

└ 17:8b. The Master said to Bwó-yǔ, Have you done the Jōu-nán and Shàu-nán? If a man has not done the Jōu-nán and Shàu-nán, he will be like one who stands facing the wall, will he not? [17:10]

This fills in the background for 16:13, giving for it only the practical motives cited in 17:8a. The Shī was a trademark text of the Sywǎndǔ school; see below.

┌ 17:9. The Master said, “*Ritual, ritual*” – does it mean no more than jade and silk? “*Music, music*” – does it mean no more than bells and drums? [17:11]

For jade in ritual, see 10:4. We have dealt with the Shī in 17:8a/b, and now turn to the other two parts of the *8:8¹⁴ curriculum (p126). The point seems to be that ritual and music are understood only superficially by contemporaries.

└ 17:10. The Master said, Stern of aspect but soft within – I would compare it to a little man; it is like a thief boring through a wall. [17:12]

Here again, the externals (demeanor, a part of ritual) conceal inner falsity. Sternness is a desirable quality since 1:8, but should imply inner firmness.

┌ 17:11. The Master said, Country magnates are thieves of virtue. [17:13]

This centrist saying has occasioned much philological ingenuity over the years. Waley, relying on MC 7B37, makes it out to be complimentary, but see next.

└ 17:12. The Master said, To hear it on the highway and tell it on the footpath is a waste of virtue. [17:14]

Pearls before swine, the negativity confirming 17:11 as negative. These four sayings may refer to Sywǎndž, the rising Confucian star of the early 03c (as Mencius had been in the late 04c). He was born in Jâu, and perhaps studied Confucianism in Ngwèi. His non-Lǔ origin may be the target of these rustic aspersions. He emphasized ritual (SZ 19) and music (SZ 20), the subjects of 17:9/10, and studied the hard words in the Shī (Karlgreg **History** 32f finds that most Hàn glosses on the Shī are Sywǎndzian). 17:9–12 thus make sense as a sarcastic criticism of Sywǎndž. The last line in the otherwise positive 17:8a, above (which is problematic; Lau suspects a text corruption) may anticipate the 17:9–12 critique of Sywǎndž’s philological approach to the Shī.

[D. Denunciations]

┌ 17:13. The Master said, Can a common man take part in the service of a ruler? When he has not yet got it, he worries about getting it; once he has got it, he worries lest he lose it. And once he becomes worried lest he lose it, there is no extreme he will not go to. [17:15]

. . . to keep it. The lack of aplomb, the greed for power as such, that affects the wrong sort of person in or out of office. A comment on the competition.

└ 17:14. The Master said, In earlier times the people had three shortcomings, but at present it seems that they have lost them. The wild ones of old were impetuous; the wild ones of today are violent. The proud ones of old were principled; the proud ones of today are arrogant. The stupid ones of old were upright; the stupid ones of today are no more than specious. [17:16]

Not mitigations but exacerbations (see *8:16¹⁴); “people” means “subjects.” One thinks of old Níng Wǔdž’s “stupidity” (5:21) concealing his inner loyalty; the modern postures here listed lack this “shortcoming” of inner principle.

The vices are those of officials. 17:13/14 thus criticize rivals, perhaps the “wild” Dàuists. Note that the classic DDJ 20 had amiably called *itself* “stupid,” whereas stupidifying the *people*, as was proposed by the more recent DDJ 65, is opposed to the educationist policy of 17:3.

┌ 17:15. The Master said, Clever words and beguiling looks – seldom are they rǎn. [17:17]

A similar pronouncement had first appeared in 5:25; it was given exactly this pithier form in 1:3. Its repetition may show a distaste for current controversy.

└ 17:16. The Master said, I hate the purple encroaching on the crimson. I hate the Songs of Jǎng disturbing the classical music. I hate the sharp mouths overthrowing states and families. [17:18]

Purple (see 10:5a) may have been a new and expensive dye, displacing the old standard vegetable reds. For the “Songs of Jǎng” (Shǐ 75–95) and the enmity they aroused among the Confucians, see *15:11^{15a}, the tunes associated with them were evidently popular at this period (for popular music among the elite, see also MC 1B1). The accusation is of vulgarity (compare 7:11/12 above), which as in 17:14 is more likely to be the wrong behavior of the mighty than the normal behavior of the literally vulgar. 17:16 hates it that good old ways are replaced by tasteless new ways, and that the political order is imperiled by it. “Sharp mouths” echoes the “clever words” of the paired 17:15. Someone must be preaching new doctrines that threaten the old order. As in 7:9–12, it is hard not to think of Syǎndǒ, who wanted to follow “the later kings” rather than the mythical ancient sages who were invented to symbolize certain values. Syǎndǒ was on easy terms with power: in SZ 15 (Knoblock **Xunzi** 2/211f), for example, he argues military strategy before the King of Jǎu. His pupil Lǐ Sǎ was the chief minister of Chǐn at the time of its conquest of the Empire in 0221.

We now take up Waley’s challenge (17:11 above) to read MC 7B37. It is based on a whole cluster of Analects sayings and phrases, among them 17:16. It must therefore be later than all of them, but not necessarily *very much* later. An unbiased reading of MC 7B37 shows that it can be construed as criticism of a rival rather than a villager. For that rival, Syǎndǒ is the obvious candidate. From MC 6A and SZ 23, with their directly opposing views of human nature, we know that Syǎndǒ *was* a foe of the Mencians. Who more plausible?

17:16 for various reasons must precede at some distance the 0255 Chǔ partial conquest of Lǔ, and the arrival of Syǎndǒ as Director of southern Lǔ. If so, then the war between Syǎndǒ and the Lǔ Confucians dates from before the conquest of Lǔ, and perhaps from his years in Chǐ, an important finding.

┌ 17:17. The Master said, I wish not to say anything. Dǒ-gǔng said, If the Master does not speak, then what will we little ones have to transmit? The Master said, What does *Heaven* say? The four seasons go their way, and the hundred entities are produced withal. What does *Heaven* say? [17:19]

The solemn pronoun yǎ 予 “I” (compare *15:3^{15a}) implies a serious echo of DDJ 73 and the proto-Hwǎng/Lǎu nature concept (Peerenboom **Law** 64).

└ 17:18. Rú Bēi wanted to see Confucius. Confucius excused himself on account of illness. When the bearer of the message was going out the door, he took up his psaltery and sang, letting him hear it. [17:20]

Letting him know that his request for an audience (a technical term; note the formal name “Confucius”) is unwelcome. Who does Rú Bēi represent? One thinks of the would-be employers of 17:4/6, but the tone of collegial courtesy and the hint of doctrinal differences in 17:16 suggest rather a doctrinal rival.

└ 17:19. Dzǎi Wǒ asked, Is the three-year mourning period not too long? If gentlemen for three years do not do ceremonies, ceremonies are sure to be lost. If gentlemen for three years do not do music, music is sure to vanish. When the old grain is gone, and the new grain has been piled high; when once bow and tinder have changed the fire – that period should suffice. The Master said, If you were to eat your rice, and wear your brocades, would you feel comfortable with yourself? He said, I would feel comfortable. [The Master said], If you would feel comfortable, then do it. But as to the gentleman's way of being in mourning: if he ate dainties he would not find them sweet; if he heard music he would not find it enjoyable; if he abode in his usual place he would not be comfortable; therefore he does not do them. But if now you would be comfortable, then do them. Dzǎi Wǒ went out, and the Master said, Such is Y'w's lack of r'vn! Only when Y'w had been alive for three years did he finally leave the bosom of his father and his mother. Now, a three-year mourning is the universal mourning custom of the world. Did Y'w receive three years of love from his father and mother? [17:21]

The “bow and tinder” fire drill is used to rekindle fires in the new year. As early as the late 04c (*4:20², 14:40), the Confucians had advocated the three-year mourning concept; MC 3A2 shows Mencius urging it in T'vng. The frugal Micians wrote treatises (MZ 25; Mei **Ethical** 123f) denouncing it; 17:19 rebuts them. It was answered in its turn (MZ 48:12, Mei **Ethical** 236f), with an anecdote quoting and ridiculing this symmetry theory of mourning. Whether they are winning it is too soon to tell, but no one can say that the Confucians are not at least holding up their end of the contemporary culture wars.

└ 17:20. The Master said, One who eats his fill all day long, and never uses his mind on anything, is a difficult case. Are there not such things as gammon and chess? Would it not be better to play them? [17:22]

Gammon (Yang **Game**) and chess suggest the growth of wealth, leisure, and thus boredom (Maugham **Cakes** 37–38). MC 6A9 hilariously improves on the chess image in criticizing a ruler, but the 17:19 pair suggests a lower object of this intellectual scorn; perhaps the primitivists of JZ 9 (Watson **Chuang** 106).

└ 17:21. Dž-lù said, Should a gentleman prize courage? The Master said, With the gentleman, right comes before all else. If a gentleman has courage but lacks a sense of right, he will make a rebellion. If a little man has courage but lacks a sense of right, he will become a thief. [17:23]

The old military virtue of courage is now a danger unless tempered by right. For the prevalence of thieves in the age of wealth, see 12:18 and DDJ 53, 57.

└ 17:22. Dž-gùng said, Does the gentleman too have his hates? The Master said, He has his hates. He hates those who speak of the bad points of others, he hates those who dwell downstream and criticize those above, he hates those who are brave without propriety, he hates those who are daring but violent. He said, Does Sž too have his hates? [He said], He hates weakness passing for wisdom, he hates impudence passing for courage, he hates slander passing for uprightness. [17:24]

Hatred, like courage, is a classic virtue (see 4:3/4), here directed at rivals such as the Dàuists (for “downstream” see DDJ 61), but mostly the standard crowd: carpers, whiners, swaggers, bullies; the specious, pushy, and insinuating.

[E. Envoi: Again on Human Nature]

┌ 17:23. The Master said, Women and little people are hard to handle. If you let them get close, they presume; if you keep them at a distance, they resent it. [17:25]

Our Chinese correspondents report (1995) a movement to eliminate this remark on women (no one has so far arisen to defend the “little people”) by reading nǚdǐ 女子 “women” as rǚ dǐ 汝子 “your children.” Nǚ *may* stand for rǚ in early texts, but that emendation would give a second-person form atypical of Analects maxims. No doubt the saying somewhat lacks gallantry as it stands, but transferring it to children seems ungallant too.

What then does the unamended line mean? Women figure incidentally as wives in 05/04c Analects passages, but not until 1:13 do we hear of a standard of conduct *applicable* to a future wife. This seems to imply increased ethical stature. Greater wealth is changing households, leading to grander houses, more formal living arrangements, and social distance between family members (including children; 16:13). As earlier noted, more respect is now given to personal feelings: an empathy ethic is emerging. 17:23 implies a situation of rising emotional expectations, and acknowledges the resentment that arises when expectations are denied. Admitting resentment as a discussable part of social situations is a major social advance, paralleling the new admissibility of courtier resentment in 17:8a. *Women are becoming more visible.*

Women of court rank were noted in the DJ, and now also in the Analects (*6:28, below). They raise the specter of harem influence on politics, which the Confucians consistently deplored; this may be the thrust of 17:23. Slave women also existed: slaves of both sexes wearing iron collars, slaughtered to accompany their masters, have been found in 03c tombs (Wagner **Iron** 170f).

└ 17:24. The Master said, If he is forty and is still hated, he will probably be so until the end. [17:26]

17:23 does not envision change in women or little people; this paired saying finds equal inflexibility within the male elite. Forty seems to have been seen as the terminus of personality development (compare 9:23, 2:4); by then, the mix is presumed to be set. The chapter returns to its 17:2 beginning, but on an ethically pessimistic note. The final verdict is that only a segment of society, and not all of *them*, are capable of enough virtue to be usable in office.

Interpolations

The resumption of involvement with the court led to renewed activity in interpolation (compare the slight output of Dž-gāu during the period of exile, LY 1 and 16). Subjects range from court protocol to doctrinal points, in the spirit of the feistily combative main chapter. The principal one, however, is the saying proposed as 17:1, which changes the stance of LY 17 from principled refusal to reluctant acceptance of high office under a tainted Lǚ regime.

Also of interest are the “junk” interpolations: the seemingly irrelevant bits of lore which Tswēi Shù used as another criterion for his late chapter group, the first sample being *16:14¹⁷ below. On examination, these turn out to make more Analects sense than at first appears.

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

Added to LY 5

*5:13. Dž-gùng said, Our Respected Master's cultural accomplishments we can contrive to hear about, but our Respected Master's explanation of nature and the Way of Heaven, we cannot in any way contrive to hear about. [5:12]

Wǐn 文 “culture” we have met before; the present term wǐn-jāng 文章 occurs otherwise only in *8:19¹⁸, where it describes the cultural splendor of Yáu. Confucius is not an emperor with a culture of his own, and we must thus take it here as “his *teaching of culture*.” The complaint is that “Confucius” has not discoursed on fashionable topics: human nature (see 17:2a) and the cosmos as a model for earthly society (see 17:17 and the phrase 天之道 “the Way of Heaven” from DDJ 73, of this same period). *5:13 leaves open the possibility that the Master *has* views on these subjects, which are merely difficult for the disciples to find out about. The strain, for the mid 03c Lǚ Confucian school, of having nothing canonical to say on major contemporary issues is palpable in this passage. For Szmǎ Chyēn's agonized failure to find fairness in the rational historical cosmos of the “Way of Heaven,” see Durrrant **Mirror** 23f.

Added to LY 6

*6:28. The Master saw Nándž. Dž-lù was not pleased. Our Respected Master took an oath about it, saying, Whatever wrong I have done, may Heaven reject it! May Heaven reject it! [6:26]

The situation, like that in 17:4/6, implies a questionable political contact. Nándž was the dissolute consort of Líng-gūng of Wèi (see *7:15¹⁴ and 15:1). Confucius is supposed to have seen her privately, presumably seeking support for a ministership; his oath denying any wrongdoing uses the sacral yǔ 予, “I.” The implication of wrongful feminine political influence is an important cultural sign of the times (the 03c times; compare 17:23n, above).

Added to LY 7

*7:18. What the Master pronounced in classical speech were the Shī, the Shū, and the Instructions for Ritual. [7:17]

Special pronunciation (the term used is yǎ yēn 雅言, “elegant” or perhaps “court” speech) implies special veneration, and perhaps some linguistic time depth, for these evidently canonical works. As in *8:8¹⁴, there are three subjects, but here the Music is replaced by the Shū; the fact that the Music has dropped out perhaps reflects the fact that this classic was lost before the Hān dynasty. The Analects only twice quotes individual Shū (12:21, 14:40); the DJ and MZ of that same late 04c period quote a wider range. By c0270, half a century later, there seems to be a collection. The school of Sywǎndž quotes only one Shū outside the set of 28 or 29 that made up the early Hān Confucian inventory (Shaughnessy **Shu** 377, 380), and it seems that in about this period the canonization processes were far advanced; the text situation increasingly resembles the one that we know from Hān bibliographies. Again (see 17:9–12), we seem to have evidence of the intellectual influence of Sywǎndž in 03c Lǚ. For an original composition in the archaic Shū mode by the Lǚ Confucians (coming late to this particular species of literature), see 20:1¹⁹.

Added to LY 11

*11:20. Dǔ-lù asked, When I hear something, shall I put it into practice? The Master said, You have father and elder brother living; how should you hear something and put it into practice? Rǎn Yǒu asked, When I hear something, shall I put it into practice? The Master said, When you hear something, put it into practice. Gūngsyī Hwá said, When Yóu asked, “When I hear something, shall I put it into practice?” the Master said, “You have father and elder brother living.” When Chyóu asked, “When I hear something, shall I put it into practice?” the Master said, “When you hear something, put it into practice.” Chì is confused, and ventures to ask about it. The Master said, Chyóu tends to hold back, so I pushed him forward; Yóu tends to go ahead of others, so I held him back. [11:21]

This recalls 2:5, where the meaning of a seemingly simple statement is elicited only by a second questioner. Pedagogically, it establishes the idea of advice adjusted to the individual student. The existence of different answers to the same question refutes the idea that the question itself has a constant answer. Constancy was an ideal of the late 04c, which wanted a maxim valid in all circumstances (*15:24^{15a}), or including all other maxims (*4:15¹). The situationality of *11:20 destroys this hope. It also undercuts Mician logic, since a statement with many sequels cannot be a link in a deductive chain.

From 4:3/4 to 14:17/18 and beyond, some Analects paired sayings seem to be opposite in meaning, causing interpretational cruxes: which is right? This story allows the answer: both, for different people at different times. Such situational fluidity is the bane of philology, but the soul of hermeneutics (see Henderson **Scripture** ch4). There was already a focus on “tradition” in 1:4, and *11:20 seems to show the Analects itself in the process of becoming canonical.

Added to LY 14

*14:34. Someone said, Requite malice with kindness: how about that? The Master said, With what then will you requite kindness? Requite malice with uprightness; requite kindness with kindness. [14:36]

This objects to the niceness principle of DDJ 49 and 63, and wants an ethic that distinguishes good and bad. “Malice” is ywǎn 怨, usually “resentment.” “Kindness” (dè 德), usually “virtue,” shades into “character, latency,” Waley’s “power.” The 03c is in part an age of niceness (its “sweet” Confucius persona may have been defensively adapted from the affable early 03c Lǎu Dǎn). The DDJ 63 idea recurs in Luke 6:27, near the (perhaps Mician?) Golden Rule in its post-Hillel or *6:30¹⁸ form at Luke 6:31 (widely separated in the earlier Matthew 5:44, 7:12. As Christianity evolves toward its final international form, it homes more consistently on its Oriental heritage). The scorn of *14:34 thus does not seem to have harmed the long-range viability of DDJ 63.

The word “requite” (bào 報) has the technical sense of reciprocating a deed or a gift (Yang **Basis**); it occurs in folk-courtship contexts in the Shī (Waley **Songs** 31 notes the parallel with English pastoral poetry); the classic example is Shī 64 (Waley #18). The DDJ use of this transactional term puts even wrongdoers within the group of those with whom one has social relations. The LY 17 Confucians (compare 12:19) refuse to open the gate that wide.

⌈ *14:43. Ywǎn Rǎng sat sprawl in the Master's presence. The Master said, In youth not lineal or fraternal, in maturity with nothing to pass on, growing older without dying – this is a brigand! He struck him on the shin with his staff. [14:46]

12:1 saw an increase in student/teacher formality; this piece laments its lapse. The basic sitting posture (still standard on formal Japanese occasions) is that illustrated in Rudolph **Han** #65; the Japanese verb *kuzusu* denotes shifting to a less tiring, more “open” position, with lower legs crossed and knees apart. “Confucius” stigmatizes this implied disrespect for tradition as a lack of lineality (sywǎn 孫; read 遜) or respect for one's heritage (see *15:18n below), and a sign of future worthlessness, having nothing to pass on to one's own heirs. Note the reference to brigands as a symbol of the breakdown of civilization.

After this physical assault on a student, the mere *impatience* of 5:10a, from two hundred years earlier, is almost idyllic. The 03c was not an age of niceness; it was an age of mingled niceness and cruelty – an age of extended extremes.

⌋ *14:44. A youth from Chywè Association came bearing an order. Someone asked, Is he one who is improving? The Master said, I have seen how he stands informally in his place, I have seen how he walks side by side with his elders. He is not one who is in search of improvement; he is one who wants to get ahead quickly. [14:47]

Another vignette of cultural decline in the young: not a desire to improve by associating with his moral superiors, but an eagerness to get ahead by hanging around the powerful. Note the presence of adolescents, túng 童 (the “lads” of Shī 87, page 137), in the school of *11:24¹ and in this official messenger role. One of the extremes to which the 03c goes is extending adult functions to younger ages; this culminates in the cult of the prodigy in early Hàn, as represented by the career of Jyǎ Yì (Brooks **Prospects** 3). The fault here is not slovenly disrespect, as in the paired *14:43, but an assumption of equality with official superiors, as walking *with* them rather than respectfully *behind* them (note that some of the conversations in the 05c Analects chapters seem to require the assumption that the speakers are walking essentially together, not in file). Chywè 闕 is said to have been Confucius's own residential league or locality; the “order” may have been from the court. If this bright neighbor lad is serving as a court page, the upward social mobility that we conjectured as of LY 7 seems to be still present and flourishing, two hundred years later.

Added to LY 15

*15:18. The Master said, If a gentleman has right as his substance, and puts it in practice with propriety, promulgates it with lineality, and brings it to a conclusion with fidelity, he is a gentleman indeed! [15:17]

Here is the new virtue of “lineality” which also occurred in *14:43 above. It suggests an emphasis on maintaining the position of the newly wealthy families by emphasizing the duty of children not to other individuals *in* the family, but to family continuity itself: honoring one's pedigree. The aspects incumbent on an adult, in this saying, given “right” as personal equipment, are to practice that right courteously in his own deeds, transmit it lineally to his children in private life, and carry it out faithfully with his associates in public life. For all the novel family focus, here, the *public* expression of right is still the ultimate goal.

Added to LY 1

*1:5. The Master said, To lead a state of a thousand chariots, be assiduous in administration and keep faith; make expenditures frugally and be solicitous of others; and employ the people according to the season. [1:5]

A thousand chariots might (by MC 1A1) be the private army of a great clan in a myriad-chariot state like Ngwèi. On that basis, schematic as it clearly is, Lǚ at the time of Mencius's remark (c0320) might have had three or four thousand chariots. MC 5B7 envisions Lǚ before Mù-gūng (c0400) to have been a thousand-chariot state; this might have been the force available to the palace proper. LY 16:12 mentions that a ruler of the larger state of Chí in c0500 personally disposed of a thousand teams of horses; the resources of the entire state would therefore have been larger. All this is consistent enough that we may conclude that the "state of a thousand chariots" mentioned in this saying is 05c Lǚ as a writer of the 03c might retrospectively have imagined it.

The description does not imply a minister "leading" that state, but a middle administrator: dutiful toward his superiors, thoughtful of his junior colleagues, and appropriate in his demands on the subject population.

*1:10. Dǔ-chín asked Dǔ-gùng, When our Respected Master arrives in some country, he always manages to hear about its government. Does he seek this, or does he wait until they give it to him? Dǔ-gùng said, Our Respected Master is warm, genial, respectful, restrained, and deferential; in this way he gets it. Our Respected Master's "seeking" is perhaps different from other people's seeking, is it not? [1:10]

Other people poke and pry; "Confucius" by his open manner invites (does not simply await) confidences. Inside information about who is really who in administration is probably being acted on in the visit to Nándǔ, *6:28 above. Apart from the literal "warm up" of 2:11 (c0317), "warmness" as a personal quality first occurs in *7:38³ (general demeanor) and thereafter in the 03c passages 16:10 (of facial expression) and 19:9 (general manner). The next adjective, *lyáng* 良, is unique in the text. In Mencius it occurs in "goodman" (husband, MC 4B33) and in "goodmind" (conscience, MC 6A8). Since the qualities urged in *1:10 need to be directly apparent to an observer, we should imagine it here as meaning "projecting an air of good intention" or "genial." The complex art of geniality may be seen in action in Parker **Taming** 83–85.

The modal *chí* 其 "expect" is here replaced by *chí-jū* 其諸, otherwise found only in the *Gūngyáng Jwàn*, an early Hàn commentary on the CC. Waley notes this without drawing the inference that this passage has early Hàn linguistic affinities, and so might be nearer the 03c than the mid 04c to which he ascribes most of the *Analects* (Waley **Analects** 21–22). His observation that *Dzṽngdǔ* in LY 1 is later than *Dzṽngdǔ* in LY 8, suggesting a link to the Hàn myth of *Dzṽngdǔ* (**Analects** 20), put another piece of the puzzle into his hands. In both myth *and* language, LY 1 displays what look like 03c relations.

This missed opportunity is noted not in derogation of Waley, one of the heroes of our field, but to show how hard it is to have ideas, or recognize them when they turn up. What makes a new idea hard to recognize is the old idea you already have (Beveridge **Art** 102f, PB 142f). *Dzṽngdǔ*'s daily effort (1:4) was to *advance* in virtue. Continual effort is also required in the intellectual sphere, but it consists in being at all times ready to *retreat* from previous gains.

*1:16. The Master said, He does not worry that others do not know him; he worries that he does not know others. [1:16]

This evokes three similar sayings (4:14, *14:30^{15b}, and *15:19^{15b}) but differs from them importantly: instead of striving in the second clause to further prepare himself for possible recognition, the gentleman exerts himself outward, on behalf of others of even lower rank. It thus implies a “niceness” period, when empathy is accepted as central to the value system.

Reflections

The extremeness of 03c conditions (see *14:43¹⁷ n, above) makes itself felt in many ways, among them the alienation of ordinary people. The Jwāngdž (JZ), with which the Analects spars directly in LY 18:5–7, is the great champion of these leftover people: the poor, the crippled, the ugly, the socially deprived. As a parallel tendency, we note in LY 17 (indeed, from LY 1 on) an emphasis on personal feelings. In the Mencian school, the feelings are the ground for reasserting human universality; see the Bull Mountain allegory in MC 6A8 (Waley **Three** 115–118, PB 83–86; and, poignantly, Blacker **Intent** 26–27).

Waley’s comments on this passage note the breath-control aspect in Mencius’s thinking. MC 6A8 is not by Mencius, but the perhaps authentic MC 2A2 (Legge **Mencius** 185f) does establish his use of this technique; it tallies with the Analects evidence (11:8b) for an 04c Lǚ meditation group with Yén Hwéi as its cult figure. In MC 2A2 we notice Mencius’s disciples pushing to get Mencius to admit a special devotion to Yén Hwéi, and Mencius himself refusing to be identified with what may by then have been a Dàuist heresy.

Mencius’s doctrines enraged other Confucians, including those of Chí and Ngwèi, who were becoming increasingly more important. Sywǎndž was the most energetic of these rivals; his counterattack on the Mencian theory of human nature (SZ 23, Knoblock **Xunzi** 3/150f; actually a counter to MC 6A2, Legge **Mencius** 395) is worth reading for a sense of the acrimony of the period. The Lǚ school by tradition expressed its ideas in the aphoristic medium of Confucius’s sayings, and could not use the Sywǎndžian longer forms (though some 03c Analects passages are dialogues stretched almost to essay length). This may have been something of a tactical handicap in the war of ideas.

The 03c debate on human nature is still vigorous today. For a series of arguments within Sinology, and with an eye to contemporary relevance, see Graham **Background**, Ames **Conception**, and Bloom **Arguments** (readers are reminded that these essays assume a different relative chronology of the Analects and other texts than the one expounded in the present book).

There *is* something Warring States-ish about the 20c (Waley **Three** 11–12, PB ix; Mote **Foundations** 99). That does not refute our earlier suggestion that Aī-gūng may be the William the Conqueror of Lǚ: historical situations may have more than one parallel, each with its own sequences and its own timescales. Coulborn **Feudalism** begins by defining feudalism descriptively, but ends by insisting on position within a historical sequence as essential to the concept. Such programmatic expectations keep one from noticing cases of acceleration (such as Trotsky’s law of combined development) or divergence. Comparative history consists not in mapping one history on another history, but in discovering factors that tend to cohere, or not, in analogous situations.

Phoenix Design on Bronze Mirror (see LY 18:6)
Height 2·0 cm (0·8 in). 03c. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art (44·6)