

## 20

c0249

The Chǔ conquest of southern Lǔ in 0255/0254 was completed in 0249 by absorbing the north (the crossbow, the decisive weapon of the 03c, had been pioneered by Chǔ). This ended Lǔ sovereignty and added its territory to Chǔ (for a cup from which a victory toast might have been drunk, see page198). This brought to an end five schools of thought which had been associated with the Lǔ court: the Dàuists of the DDJ (whose text ended with DDJ 81), the northern and southern Mencians (MC 7, MC 3), the Lǔ Micians (MZ 50), and the Analects group, whose last fragment we shall now examine (for 20:1, the 20th chapter of the text as divided by the school itself, see under LY 19; this truncated chapter was in their terms the 21st). It consists of two sayings, both featuring Dǔ-jāng, with whose remark LY 19 had also opened. It was written, like everything else from LY 17 on, by the last head of the school, Dǔ-shǔn.

The numbering of passages is identical in the Legge text.

┌ 20:2. Dǔ-jāng asked Confucius, What must one be like before he may serve in government? The Master said, If he honor the Five Beauties and shun the Four Evils, he may serve in government. Dǔ-jāng said, What are the Five Beauties? The Master said, The gentleman is kind but not extravagant, toils them but does not cause resentment, desires but does not covet, is serene but not haughty, is impressive but not alarming. Dǔ-jāng said, What does “kindly but not extravagant” mean? The Master said, To use what the people find profitable to profit them, is this not “kindly but not extravagant?” If he choose what can be toiled at and makes them toil at it, who would be resentful? If he desires rǔn and gets rǔn, what should he covet? If the gentleman does not distinguish between many and few, between small and great, if he dares not be dismissive, is he not “serene but not haughty?” And if the gentleman puts in order robe and cap, and conveys elevation in gaze and glance, so that men seeing him in his dignity from afar will regard him with awe, is he not “impressive but not alarming?”

Dǔ-jāng said, What are the Four Evils? The Master said, To kill without instructing: one calls that cruel. To expect completion without giving warning: one calls that oppressive. To enforce timeliness though late in commanding: one calls that robbery. In associating with others, to grudge rewards: one calls that officious.

This portrait of the ideal minister complements the ideal ruler of 20:1<sup>9</sup>. It does not reject punishments, but states conditions for their being valid: no exaction without prior notice, no assumption of motive without inculcation of motive, no payment in excess or payment withheld. Only the first Beauty and the last Evil deal with rewards rather than punishments, but the whole outline explores the Legalist technology of rule by positive and negative reinforcements. The two mingle clearly in the last of the Beauties: the imposing manner necessary for one in authority (compare Vreeland **D. V.** 126 on de Gaulle).

There are precedents in LY 12–13, but the catalogue of abuses of power is so knowledgeable that one assumes it is prompted by contact with the court Legalists of Lǔ, whom we infer the Dàuists had earlier opposed (DDJ 72–75).

↳ 20:3. Confucius said, If he does not know fate, he has no way to be a gentleman. If he does not know the rites, he has no way to take his stand. If he does not know words, he has no way to understand others.

To know what can and cannot be done in present circumstances, to know the limits and possibilities of the times, what might be called the protocol of Heaven, is to “know fate,” and qualifies him for high public responsibilities. To know the protocol of earth, ceremonies and courtesies, the procedural side of life, the guiding of civic intercourse that precedent and usage can provide, is to “know the rites,” and qualifies him for a functional role in government. To know the protocol of men, the way they reveal themselves and collaborate through language, is to “know words,” and qualifies him as a colleague.

These requisites, the counterpart of the guidelines in the paired 20:2, give a carefully considered view of the qualifications of the 03c government official. As contrasted with 4:1, the oldest saying in the book, they show a functional, even lateral, approach to staff procurement, not the patient and dutiful stance of the 05c elite aspirant hoping to be noticed by the ruler. The topic is the same, but the change wrought by 230 years of political evolution is enormous.

## Interpolations

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

## Reflections

As the Chǔ army approached, it seems that Dž-shv̀n hid the Analects, and some other stray jottings, in the wall of the school headquarters, and plastered them over. Some members of the school escaped to Chí and wrote down the text from memory on their arrival, it was added to and rearranged over the next 28 years until Chí too was conquered (by Chín, in 0221), and that version also ceased to be actively maintained.

Dž-shv̀n himself, according to family tradition (SJ 43), went to Ngwèi, where he became a minister of state and died in c0237 at the age of 57. The departure of the leader suggests that there was no major presence of Analects Confucians in Lǔ after 0249. Lǔ Confucianism as we know it from the history of Hàn scholarship (SJ 121) is largely Syẁndzian Confucianism, with its ritual emphasis, its text philology tradition, and its eye on the unified political state, not deeply concerned for the feudal past whether literal or romanticized.

In early Hàn, when the 0213 Chín ban on Confucian texts was lifted, the Lǔ and Chí Analects were transcribed from the memory of Lǔ and Chí scholars, these becoming the “Lǔ” and “Chí” versions of the work. Quite naturally, the Lǔ version was regarded as more authoritative by Hàn scholars. In c0157 a Hàn prince was given the former Lǔ as his domain. He tore down the old palace and a nearby building to erect a proper mansion, and in the wall of the adjacent building, apparently the old Confucian headquarters, Dž-shv̀n’s hidden copy of the Analects came to light. It varied from the “Lǔ” text largely in sentence particles and minor points of orthography. This is called the “Old” text, from the Warring States script in which, before the Chín standardization of writing, it had been written. The “Old” text gradually replaced the “Lǔ” text in scholarly favor, and is at most points the basis for our present Analects.

One Lǚ/Old difference is that the final saying, 20:3, appears only in the Old text (written) and not in the generally similar Lǚ text (oral; the Dìng-syèn Analects has written 20:3 in *small characters* after 20:2, showing the increasing influence of the Gǔ text by c055; **Shì-rǔn** 54). This can only mean that this passage was first written down, with a view (precluded by the 0249 conquest) to being later given out for memorization. This text-based memory is the opposite of the situation in the LY 4 core, which on our view was rather a memory-based text. The transition from oral to written society was noticed in 15:6 (late 04c). The changing nature of the Analects itself, oral at its beginning and written at its end, shows that it lies on both sides of that transition.

We add here a final cautionary tale. In 1922 (Chan **Way** 35, 45, 68), Lyáng Chǐ-chāu began a controversy with Hú Shì (Hu Shih) on the date of the DDJ, arguing inter alia that (following Gù Jyé-gāng) the use of gūng “fair” is late, thus ruling out the traditional c0500 date for the DDJ, which uses that term. Hú (**Recent** 385f) cited in rebuttal the Analects use of gūng “fair” as proving the c0500 date, and went on (as does Chan **Way** 70–71) to assert that ideas do not evolve, and that all such claims are therefore groundless. He would have done better to consider that the Analects use of gūng “fair” is in \*20:1<sup>19</sup>, in a chapter which Tswēi Shù had argued is in the late group LY 16–20. Hú himself (Hummel **Eminent** 2/776) had in 1923 called attention to Tswēi’s discoveries by a paper on “Tswēi Shù as a Scientific Historian.” This was admirable work. Alas, that the revival of “scientific history” should have been so fragile!

No critical scholar now believes in the 06c DDJ, but what can students learn from this episode? First, that reason will not always triumph in a contest with something else. Hú and others delayed the acceptance of the 03c DDJ by 60 years. Second, scholars are not divided into Column A and Column B; anybody, including an eminent person like Hú, can and does make a mistake. Third, when you find yourself, in an argument, rejecting the whole proposition that evidence leads to conclusions, you too are possibly making a mistake.

As to the Analects itself, we note in the last LY 20 sayings that, though the \*20:1<sup>19</sup> word gūng 公 does not recur, fairness is still prominent as a concept. The virtue rǔn had come to be used in the last years of the Analects text for a variety of gentlemanly qualities, and was displaced from the focus of attention as the school concentrated instead on the inner workings of government. Ritual too, though it figures in the LY 19 satire, had seemingly lost its old centrality. If the Lǚ Confucians at the end organized their views under any one concept, it was perhaps instead fairness. That concept can be recognized in the forgiving rulership of 12:17–22 and the teaching maxims of 13:29–30. The final position of Analects Confucianism thus appears to be based on its Mencian phase.

The word gūng “fair, impartial” goes back further, to DDJ 16, in the Dàuist text that evolved beside the Analects. This adds dimensions to LY 20: not only is it Mencian at its roots, but those roots lie in Dàuist/populistic soil. They also reach into other areas: the enigmatic 05c Golden Rule maxim, 5:12, and the Mician definition of rǔn as “love for others” in 12:22. Thus have many sources, both known and unknown, contributed their share to the final Analects.

From first to last, the Analects never strays from the furious integrity of Confucius, but it takes it into areas that would have amazed him, transmuting his code of honor into a code of public obligation, and his vertical loyalty into a vision of a reciprocal society, accepting not only of its rulers, but of itself.

Lacquer Drinking Cup from Chǔ (see 20h)  
*Height 23.5 cm (9.3 in). 05c/04c. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art (49-1)*