

### Appendix 3

## A Window on the Hundred Schools

Appendix 1 tested the consistency of the accretion theory of the Analects, and Appendix 2 explored the capacity of that theory to generate a developmental picture of the Warring States. As a third test, we here inquire whether confronting the accretional Analects with other texts yields historically meaningful conjunctions.

**The Gwǎndǔ.** GZ 3 (dated by Rickett to the 04c) deals with the question of the role of the people, but its view of that role varies within the chapter. GZ 3:2–3 says that the supply of food and armaments is crucial to survival, and recommends the use of rewards and penalties. GZ 3:8 and 3:10 sharpen this to the use of rewards and *punishments*, and 3:18 repeats that the food supply is basic.<sup>1</sup> To this LY 12:7 retorts that there are three basics, not two, and that more basic than food and weapons is the confidence of the people. As to capital punishment, LY 12:19 responds that government is there to govern, not to kill, and that if government sets an example, people will follow it. To this LY 13:9 and 13:29–30 add that before people can be called on for military service, they must be taught: not merely advised of their obligations, but motivated to accept them. So far we have a disagreement between GZ and the Analects. But the later passage GZ 3:29–35 *adopts the position of LY 13*, in a section devoted to the inculcation of virtues, including the new Confucian virtue of propriety (lǐ 禮) which is emphasized in LY 12–13. It is impossible not to feel that the last paragraphs of GZ 3 are later than the first, and that, in the interim, GZ 3 has accepted some Analects criticisms of its early theories. Schematically:

GZ 3:2–3	Basis of society is food and arms; use rewards and penalties
GZ 3:8, 10	Use rewards and punishments
GZ 3:18	Basis of society is food
LY 12:1	Makes lǐ (propriety) the chief virtue
LY 12:7	Basis of society is food, arms, <i>and trust</i>
LY 12:19	Government has no business killing
LY 13:9, 29–30	Education of people is fundamental
GZ 3:29–35	Inculcate virtues, including lǐ, among the people

**The Dzwǒ Jwàn** (c0312) generally approves of Dzàng Wǔ-jùng, an 06c Lǚ magnate. Under Syāng 23 (0550) it tells how, fleeing from intrigue, he offers to give up his city Fāng and leave Lǚ if his brother Wéi is made head of the Dzàng family, an offer which the Lǚ Prince accepts.<sup>2</sup> Wǔ-jùng in this story is a victim of intrigue. LY 14:14 (“I do not believe it”) doubts this. Acknowledging this suspicion, a comment appended to the DJ passage under the name of Jùng-ní [Confucius] says of Wǔ-jùng, “There was cause for it; he was disobedient, and showed lack of empathy (shù 恕).” These Jùng-ní comments are suspected of being later additions to the DJ. In this case, it seems clear that an original DJ judgement was modified, in response not to criticism from Confucius, but more literally from the Analects:

DJ Syāng 23	Portrays Dzàng Wǔ-jùng as wronged (c0312)
LY 14:14	Suspects Wǔ-jùng of bringing pressure (c0310)
DJ addendum	Admits some wrong on Wǔ-jùng’s part (after c0310)

<sup>1</sup>GZ references are to paragraph in Rickett **Guanzi**; compare Brooks **Gwǎndǔ 3**.

<sup>2</sup>See Legge **Ch’un** 503a/b; the following Jùng-ní comment is at 504b.

**The Mwòdž.** A point of difference between the Confucian and Mician schools was the three-year mourning period for a parent, which the Confucians claimed as ancient, and the Micians condemned as wasteful in a trio of tracts (MZ 23–25) of which only the last survives; MZ 25 takes the line that mourners should resume their livelihood immediately on returning from the funeral. More specifically, in MZ 48:8 “Mwòdž” objects to extended mourning on the grounds that it interrupts not only the work of the people, but the official duties of the elite.<sup>3</sup> In LY 17:19, the renegade disciple Dzǎi Wǒ is made to urge a natural-year mourning, arguing in very similar vein that a longer period is too long an interruption of the gentleman’s work of maintaining the cultural tradition, and that culture itself will suffer. “Confucius” in response deplores Dzǎi Wǒ’s lack of feeling for his parents, noting, as an opposing natural sanction, the parallel between the three years that an infant is carried in its parents’ arms, and the balancing three years it mourns for a parent. In MZ 48:12, a few lines below the inciting 48:8, this psychological rationalism is ridiculed as “the ultimate in stupidity” – a baby knowing it cannot get its parents back, yet crying for them unceasingly. “How is the wisdom of the Confucians worth more than that of a baby?” Though the Micians in this case end up unconvinced, there is no doubt that a two-way dialogue is taking place:

MZ 48:8	Mwòdž deplores damage to culture by extended mourning
LY 17:19	Disciple rebuked for urging a similar position
LY 17:19	Confucius cites parents’ nurture of infant
MZ 48:12	Mwòdž ridicules Confucians as “no wiser than a baby”

**The Jwāngdž.** JZ 4 has several images of uselessness: the tree which is not cut down because there is nothing it can be made into (JZ 4:4–5) or the cripple whose disability protects him from military service (JZ 4:6). That these symbolize avoiding government service is apparent in 4:7, a denunciation of Confucius by the Madman of Chǔ, who berates him for his dangerous inclination to hold office in evil times. This episode is repeated almost identically in LY 18:5, with the telling difference that the end is changed to have Confucius attempt to address the Madman, who flees. The implication is that such criticisms, and such critics, are cowardly. This point is made directly in LY 18:6, which rejects the prudent device of camouflage and knowingly risks danger for the sake of making the world itself less dangerous. This imputation of cowardice seems to have come home to the JZ 4 group, and in a stunning series of anecdotes, JZ 4:1–3, preposed at the beginning of JZ 4 as though to signal the change, they explore – in two cases with Confucius as the mentor – a new Way of remaining safe while accepting the call to government service under dangerous conditions.<sup>4</sup> A similar change of orientation, presumably a fruit of this encounter between the two texts, can be found in each of JZ 3–7, but this instance will sufficiently show the dispute, *and the fact that the Confucians win*:

JZ 4:4–6	Images of uselessness
JZ 4:7	Madman of Chǔ denounces Confucius for office-seeking
LY 18:5	Confucius questions Madman, who flees
LY 18:6	Urges the duty to serve in perilous times
JZ 4:1–3	Confucius and others show how to serve in perilous times

<sup>3</sup>See Mei **Ethical** 234–237 for the two MZ 48 passages quoted here and below; the translations given are our own.

<sup>4</sup>Brooks **Jwāngdž** 4.

## An Extended Instance

Examples of more extended dialogue include the Analects/DDJ relationship, treated elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> and the Mician series MZ 46–50, which we examine here. The link between MZ 48:8/12 and LY 17:19 (c0270) establishes one contact point; the MZ 46:10 criticism of LY 13:16 (c0322) defines another. Putting *all* of MZ 46–50 beside the Analects reveals a pattern of contact over about a century, sporadic at both ends, but continuous for the middle 50 years. To get a sense of the relationship from the Mician side, we here list all MZ 46–50 passages and the related Analects ones. Directional symbols denote influence from (<) or to (>) another passage; unclear influences or similarities are indicated by (~):

LY	MZ
11:16 too much is as bad as too little	> 46:1 faster is better than slower
3:9 Confucius confesses ignorance of ancient rituals	> 46:2 spirits know ancient rituals
12:11 each has proper role	~ 46:3 division of labor in urging virtue
	<i>(Both these passages may be influenced by GZ 2:45–46)</i>
12:22 rǎn defined as love (ài)	< 46:4 love is right even if unsuccessful
12:8 appearances deceptive	< 46:5 poor disciple is after all successful
	46:6 dedication is not wrong
12:8 animal skin simile	> 46:7 criticizes animal metaphors
13:15 need for remonstrance	> 46:8 criticizes dispraise of “early kings”
	46:9 state regalia are worthless
13:16 answers Shǐ-gūng	> 46:10 criticizes Confucius’s answer
	> 46:11 war both disruptive and childish
13:5 Shǐ must be applicable	~ 46:12 doctrines must be applicable
	46:13 leaving office [anticipates LY *8:13 <sup>14</sup> ]
	46:14 men accept unjustified praise
	46:15 disputes claim of three early models
	<i>(MC IA3: example of soldiers who ran away, but not as far as others, c0320)</i>
	> 46:16 rejects “late desertion” excuse
	46:17 attacks LY 7:1, defends innovation
13:18 defends family partialism	> 46:18 attacks family partialism
13:29 training people for war	> 46:19 irrationality of war; harms people
	46:20 oaths are ridiculous
2:24 advocates moral courage	> 46:21 condemns physical courage

With the material in MZ sequence, as here, some LY items (12:8, 13:5) are out of order; we infer that the above is the *order of composition* for both sides, and that the LY passages were rearranged when compiled into final chapter format. Besides the Analects, MZ responds to the Gwǎndǒ and the speeches of Mencius. For some MZ passages we cannot suggest an extant inciting text; MZ 46:9 and 20 may oppose the general Confucian ritual ethos, and not any specific Analects formulation of it. Except at the beginning, when it *contributes* ideas, the MZ seems largely defensive; hence, perhaps, the early appearance of the exit theme (MZ 46:13, before 0320) which appears slightly later (LY \*8:13<sup>14</sup>, c0310) on the Confucian side.

<sup>5</sup>Brooks **Prospects** 63–66 and 70–73.

LY	MZ
14:12b men will die for principle ~	47:1 men will die for principle
14:32 advocacy while in disfavor ~	47:2 advocacy while in isolation
	47:3 ideas good though of humble origin
	47:4 ancient kings should be followed
	47:5 theories must be applicable
<i>(unknown source for numerical-category formulations)</i>	
	47:6 against the Six Partialities
<i>(the Analects will not adopt this device until LY 16:4, c0290)</i>	
	47:7 failures do not impugn the standard
<i>(MC 1B9: there is a specific qualification that ministers possess, c0309)</i>	
15:34 gentlemen are generalists ~	47:8 ministers need a specific skill
15:42 courtesy to blind man ~	47:9 passing example of blind man
15:38 should ignore livelihood ~	47:10 gentlemen are careless of selves
15:40 despise low colleagues >	47:11 gentlemen refuse humble help
15:26 suspicious of old writings >	47:12 sages recorded wisdom in writings
	47:13 defends reading many writings
<i>(MC 1B13: "T'vng is a small state . . .," c0307)</i>	
	> 47:14 "Wèi is a small state . . ."
<i>(MC 1B13: recommends defensive measures)</i>	
15:1 Confucius despises war ~	47:15 recommends defense, not luxury
15:1 Confucius leaves Wèi >	47:15 gentlemen leave because of low pay
<i>(this is surely among the cattiest of all the Mician rejoinders)</i>	
15:25 scope same as early kings <	47:16 gentlemen deny the early kings
15:16 despair of teachability >	47:17 gentlemen refuse to teach virtue
<i>(unknown source for directional fortune-telling)</i>	
	> 47:18 such predictions are impractical
<i>(Sūndž Bīng-fǎ 5: simile of rock breaking egg)</i>	
	> 47:19 simile of rock breaking egg

As observed in this second series of correspondences, the Mwōdž text exhibits many of the qualities found in the previous series. It is largely reactive to other points of view, perhaps suggesting that the Micians may have held a relatively low position at the Lù court; some nonreactive passages seem to be encouragements of the perhaps disheartened Mician followers. The Mician stance is also conspicuously obdurate in its tone, sometimes borrowing phrases or illustrations from other texts, but virtually never adopting an idea or a value, and never acknowledging a defeat. This doctrinal self-identity is functional for a group contending for favor at court; conviction as such is impressive. There is also tactical flexibility. MZ 46:11 and 19 articulate a pure anti-war position, based on the classic MZ 17, against Confucian willingness to train the people for war (LY 13:39). MZ 47:1 instead draws on the also classic but later MZ 18–19, acknowledging just wars and showing how the people can be induced to die fighting in them, and MZ 47:15 urges defensive precautions which the LY 15:1 Confucians refuse to discuss. The Micians thus consistently *maximize their differences* with the Confucians, who in the end (as we infer) lose their influence at court. After final sparring with the defeated Confucians (MZ 47:16–17), the Micians drop them as opponents, and turn to other matters. Among the other matters is reading Sūndž, the contemporary handbook on strategy. It is known that at some point the Micians became specialists in defensive war, compiling their own tactical handbook (MZ 51f). This may have been the point.

LY	MZ
<i>(impending Chí conquest of Sùng, c0286)</i>	
16:1 protest to ruler's advisors	~ 48:1 urges need to protest to ruler
	48:2 defends exhorting the people
<i>(Confucians are circulating texts representing Jōu antiquity)</i>	
	> 48:3 unimportance of correct dress
*7:18 <sup>17</sup> use of antique speech	> 48:4 unimportance of antique speech
*7:18 <sup>17</sup> . . . for Shī, Shū, ritual	> 48:5 Confucius knows Shī, Shū, ritual
[14:36 on fate, 1:1 on study]	> 48:6 fate and study are contradictory
*11:12 <sup>16</sup> against spirits	> 48:7 argues spiritual retribution
17:19 rational mourning . . .	< 48:8 rational theory of mourning
	> 48:9 sacrifice implies belief in spirits
	> 48:10 defends shorter mourning period
	48:11 wisdom not relative
17:19 . . . is rejected with simile	> 48:12 ridicules "infant" simile of LY 17:19
17:9 music has meaning	< 48:13 denies "music for music's sake"
	> 48:14 against music and funerals
	48:15 defends attack on Confucius
	48:16 defends citing Confucius
	48:17 defends learning as desirable
	48:18 defends untraditional students
	48:19 deflects expectation of blessing
[7:35 ill Confucius; no prayer]	> 48:20 illness does not refute spirits
	48:21 refuses to teach archery
<i>(MC 6A1–4 features philosophical opponent Gàudž)</i>	
	~ 48:22 refuses to denounce Gàudž
	~ 48:23 belittles Gàudž's supposed virtue
	~ 48:24 cites LY 13:13 against Gàudž

The close interplay between MZ 46–47 and the parallel Analects breaks down in MZ 48. There still occur what look like a few contacts with especially outspoken positions (LY 16:1), but much of the ongoing opposition between the two schools is expressed by the citing of previous Analects passages by the Mwòdž. There is a positive citation of a Confucian saying in MZ 48:24, preceded by a general defense of using such appropriated wisdom in 48:16, implying that such appropriation had occurred (and been challenged) in the Mician *school* before an actual specimen of it happened to be recorded in the Mician school *text*. Such a practice is evidence that Confucius was in this period no longer a monopoly of his own school, but to some extent public property; his appropriation by the partly contemporary Jwāngdž is further evidence for this development. Confucius *had become a public figure*, identified with a certain position (based on a dedication to public service and emphasizing ritual and the now all-but-classic texts Shī and Shū), but also capable of being made the spokesman of a different position in the text of a rival school.

The parallel Mician school itself seems to have developed by this time into a major enterprise. The MZ 46–47 references to disciples imply only a few pupils trained for public office; the MZ 48:15f series suggests a larger school, not so closely linked to success in an official career, but increasingly to learning "for its own sake." The attack on this "cultural" position as respects music in MZ 48:13 is an anti-ritual stand, not an exception. LY 17:8a/b and 16 imply a similar development of cultural, rather than exclusively professional, education on the Confucian side.

LY	MZ
	<i>(DDJ 61 advises being subordinate to the larger states)</i>
	~ 49:1 serve a larger state for protection
	<i>(MC 6B4, anti-war persuasion)</i>
	<i>(JZ 25:5, anti-war persuasion)</i>
	~ 49:2 Mwòdž argues against attacking Lǚ
	~ 49:3 Mwòdž argues against weapons
	~ 49:4 Mwòdž argues against an attack
	~ 49:5 Mwòdž refutes “just war” concept
[earlier MZ 47:12]	> 49:6 rulers wrongly brag of conquest
[earlier MZ 17]	> 49:7 gentlemen are confused in values
	49:8 Chinese worse than cannibals
	49:9 denunciation of obituaries
	49:10 denunciation of ritual etiquette
	49:11 observe results, not just intentions
	49:12 Mician student dies in battle
	<i>(MC 3A4 disputes with agrarian primitivist spokesman)</i>
	~ 49:13 against agrarian primitivism
*18:2 <sup>18</sup> why leave native state?	~ 49:14 why leave one’s native state?
[earlier MZ 8–37]	> 49:15 urges Ten Mician Doctrines
	49:16 explains misfortune of pupil
	49:17 criticizes greedy sacrifice
	49:18 future can be predicted
	49:19 brave but not wise
	49:20 treachery of Mician student
	49:21 battle of Chǔ and Ywè
	49:22 against useless technology
	49:23 dissuades attack on Sùng
	<i>(Chǔ conquers southern Lǚ, 0255)</i>
	<i>(DDJ 80 represents loss of half the state as an improvement)</i>
	50:1 no gratitude for saving Sùng

The terrain here is utterly different. The Micians are in a position to advise on policy, and in that position they focus on the issue of war. They are not closely engaged with the Confucians, who probably had little power at this period, and from whose text they pick up only a turn of phrase, but speak in their own voice. In MZ 46 they had gone back to dispute early Analects sayings; here, they invoke their own text, not only the primary anti-war statement MZ 17 (the earliest Mician tract) but the whole mass of now-canonical ethical pronouncements. They do not debate the Mencians or the Jwāngdž groups; they address the topics these groups address. Their chief opponents are the makers of war; the agrarian primitivists (MZ 49:13), the deluded makers of peace, are a second concern.

The turn toward military theory in MZ 47 leads in MZ 49 to the creation of a school for defensive warfare, as attested by the complaint of the father of a student who had died in that service (49:12). By comparison with this relevant energy, the absorption of the contemporary Analects in its doctrinal differences with Sywǹdž must seem beside the point, however fertile for reflection under the unified state, once the Micians had lost their last-ditch struggle to stabilize the multi-state system.

Here, then, is another interlocking piece of the Warring States dialogue.