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Intellectual Dynamics of the Warring States Period

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1. The Textual Basis

We here explore some implications of our earlier work on the chronology of the Warring States texts.[1] In general, we find that many of these texts have an accretional structure, being neither authentic nor forged in the traditional sense of those terms, but having accumulated over time, under the aegis of whatever advocacy groups had physical custody of them. The chief motive for extending a text seems to have been a need to represent the group or its founder as having something to say about new issues; that is, to keep the group current with social and intellectual changes. The classic example is the Analects, which in our view began as a memorial compilation of sixteen sayings of Confucius, written down shortly after his death in 0479,[2] but which in its later layers discusses, or makes a point of refusing to discuss, such 03c[3] issues as human nature, a question debated between the schools of Syẃndž[4] 荀子 and Mencius 孟子, and referred to in LY 17:2a/b and in the interpolated *5:13, both of which we date to c0270.[5]

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[1]For an outline of methods, see Brooks **Prospects**; for a brief history, Brooks **Original** 339f. The latter work is a full reconstruction of the Analects, the keystone of the new chronology.

[2]We use a prefixed "0" (zero) as typographically less obtrusive, and culturally more neutral, than the abbreviations BC and BCE.

[3]That is, 03rd ["oh-third"] or 3rd century BC. A "c" prefixed to dates means "circa."

[4]In response to the plea of Boodberg **Comments** 23 for a system accessible to generalists, and of Kennedy **Biographies** 499f for one less hampering to scholars, we here spell Chinese terms so as to respect the alphabetic reflexes of international readers. The rule of thumb "consonants as in English, vowels as in Italian" applies, with some special vowel conventions: æ as in "cat," r as in "fur," v as in "cup," z as in "adz," and yw (after l- or n-, simply w), for "umlaut u." Tones are indicated by contour marks: hīgh, rísing, lŏw, fàlling. This Common Alphabetic convention is compatible with the Hepburn spelling of Japanese, and can be easily extended to dialectal Chinese.

[5]Analects references are to the text of the 1929 Harvard-Yenching concordance; a prefixed asterisk identifies a passage we find to be an interpolation. For human nature, see further §8 below.

The Analects, then, has a time span of 230 years, from the death of Confucius in 0479 to the end of Lŭ in 0249. Other accretional texts are the Gwǎndž 管子, whose earliest portions we agree with Rickett[6] in dating to the 04c and the latest to Hàn; the Mwòdž 墨子, also 04c to Hàn; the Dàu/Dý Jīng 道德經, mid 04c to mid 03c, the statecraft (in Creel's term "purposive") part being relatively late; the Mencius, with core transcripts of his interviews with rulers (found, with several *imagined* ones, in MC 1) and two parallel 03c continuations (MC 2-3 and MC 4-7); and the Jwāngdž 莊子, 03c with Hàn addenda. The Dzwŏ Jwàn 左傳 is a special case: its final compilation date was c0312, in Chí, with a core going back to the mid 04c, in Lŭ; despite the plausibility of its historical picture (unsurprising if its compilers had contact with the lore traditions of other states), it cannot, in our view, be a Spring and Autumn work: (1) With a *written* Chūn/Chyōu 春秋, there was no need for a parallel *oral* tradition handing down a fuller account of the same material. (2) The DJ picture, however plausible, disagrees with the CC, as does (3) its linguistic usage, which cannot derive from that period. (4) It has anachronisms, such as a too-early appearance of popular literacy and of iron, but (5) it *does* fit smoothly into the picture implied by admitted Warring States texts.[7]

By noting points where one text is aware of another (the LY 17:19 defense of the three-year mourning, itself a response to MZ 48:8, is ridiculed in MZ 48:12), the text sequences can be joined into a single structure, which in turn can be linked to events (LY 3:1 reads like a protest against the usurpation of the title King by the Chí ruler in 0342; Lau has shown[8] that Mencius's career began in 0320), yielding a consistent *text* chronology anchored to the *political* chronology.

That construct, which is assumed in what follows, looks in part like this:

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[6]Rickett **Guanzi** and Rickett **Dates**.

[7]We here acknowledge the assistance of the Warring States Working Group, an interuniversity collaboration of scholars which since 1993 has exchanged views and held semiannual conferences at the University of Massachusetts, and among whom the DJ has been vigorously discussed. Our present view of it, though gaining ground in some circles (Sivin **Naturalists** 3), is resisted in others.

[8]Lau **Mencius** Appendix 1. See also Brooks **Original** Appendix 1.

0479		*Death of Confucius*										
0479						LY 4						
0470						LY 5						
0460						LY 6						
0450		*Dzūngdž headship of Analects*				LY 7						
0436		*Death of Dzūngdž*										
0436						LY 8						
0405						LY 9						
0403		*Tripartition of Jìn*										
0400		*Kǔng Family headship of Analects, under Dž-sz̄*										
0390			MZ 17									
0380			MZ 20			LY 10						
0360	GZ 1	GZ 3	MZ 8		?	LY 11						
0345	"	"					DDJ 14					
0342	"	*Chí ruler usurps Jōu title of King*										
0342	"	"		MZ 46	?	LY 3						
0326	"	"	MZ 19	"	?	LY 12						
0324	"	"	MZ 32	"								
0322	"	"		"	?	LY 13						
0320	"	"	MZ 9	"	?						MC 1	
0317	"	"		"	?	LY 2						
0316	"	*Yēn King abdicates in favor of minister Dž-jr̄*										
0315	"	*Civil disorder in Yēn; with Mencius's approval, Chí invades Yēn*										
0314	"	*Chí puts Dž-jr̄ to death*										
0313	"	*Jàu and allies enter Yēn, expel Chí, and restore monarchy; Mencius leaves Chí in disgrace*										
0312	"	"		"	DJ		DDJ 30					
0310				MZ 47		LY 14						
0306				"	GY							
0305				"		LY 15						
0294		GZ 5?		"		LY 1						
0286		*Chí invades and extinguishes Sùng*										
0285		*Coalition of states expels Chí from Sùng and drives Chí King into exile*										
0285				MZ 48		LY 16						
0284		*Chi Mǐn-wáng dies in exile*										
0282				"						MC 4		
0280				"				JZ 4		"	MC 2	
0272				"				"	JZ 8	MC 5		SZ 8
0270				"		LY 17		"	"	MC 6		
0265				"				"	"	"		SZ 23
0262				MZ 49		LY 18		"	"	"		
0256		*Chín annexes part of Jōu domain*						"	"	"		
0255		*Chǔ invades and annexes southern Lǔ; Syẃndž is Director at Lán-líng*										SZ 16
0254				MZ 50		LY 19	DDJ 80	"	"	MC 7		
0252								"	"	"	MC 3	
0250						LY 20	DDJ 81					SZ 15
0249		*Chín annexes remaining part of Jōu domain; Chǔ annexes northern Lǔ*										
0239										LSCC 1-12		
0221		*Chín completes unification of other Warring States; beginning of Chín Dynasty*										

2. The Texts as Sources

Arranging the material in chronological order is an advantage, but it does not solve some problems which are inherent in the nature of the texts. As a cautionary preface to what follows, we note the following: (1) The texts are few; compared to its better-studied contemporary, classic Greece, the Warring States period is severely underdocumented. (2) Most of them come from the world of the court (later, the bureaucratic) elite, and apart from some suggestions in the Mwòdž and the Jwāngdž, tell us little about the rest of society. Arguments from silence about non-elite matters are thus weak. (3) They are advocational rather than descriptive; they do not exist to *document* the period, but to recommend or resist changes in the status quo. (4) Many are (or, as with the Gwǎndž, become) identified with a philosophical founder, and are cast as sayings of that person. The heads of successor schools who extended any core of founder sayings will have tried to preserve the milieu of the founder and avoid anachronisms, hence there will be little mention of contemporary matters as such, and that either oblique or inadvertent, and (5) most early texts are eastern, and may not attest other areas, obliquely or otherwise. On the other hand, (6) the retrospective texts are also not intrinsically reliable for the earlier period they *purport* to describe.[9] In this situation one does best to accept the limitations of the material, and adopt the conservative view that, despite its possible obliquity, a text is only a *primary* source for the time *at which it was written*, not for some earlier time. This guideline seems to lead in practice to historical inferences which are internally consistent, and agree generally with the archaeological evidence for the period.

One must also note that the texts are part of the foundation on which the imperial ideology rested, and that much pressure has been exerted on them to conform to that function, a fact which has deeply affected the scholarly tradition.

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[9]A frequent claim is that, though *written down* late, such texts contain material transmitted orally from earlier periods. On the unlikelihood of *exact* oral transmission, see Ong **Orality** 53-67; the author (in a letter of 20 June 1996) has specifically endorsed this interpretation of his findings.

3. The Nature and Mutual Contact of the Texts

The aspects of the period[10] which the Warring States texts most directly attest are text-*related* matters: the spread of literacy, the shift from an oral to a written medium of statement and propagation, the organization of viewpoints around a closely-held text, and the nature of the contact between these viewpoint groups.

Our results confirm the common statement that the Analects was the first private book in China. It is useful to consider its immediate precedents, which were of two types: the memorial bronze inscription, in its nature permanent once the metal had cooled, and meant to be preserved in a family to perpetuate the fame of the ancestor in whose honor it was cast and whose exploits it recorded, and the state chronicle, of which the only secure example is the Chūn/Chyōu of Lŭ, not a closed but an open text, compiled sequentially and preserved in the ruler's palace. Neither was presumably secret: the fame of a family ancestor was doubtless paraded on occasion before others,[11] and the state chronicle's function as a repository of precedent and diplomatic protocol would not be served unless its contents were available to the members of the court circle. We note in passing that both types require the assumption of at least a limited degree of elite-level literacy in the Spring and Autumn period. The Analects is an important advance beyond this position: as far as we know, it was the first text not compiled on the initiative of the ruler, but on that of those who (or whose successors) would also constitute the intended readership of the text. It seems that elite *literacy* is here for the first time turned to purposes not wholly defined by elite *court position.*

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[10]We date the Warring States from the death of Confucius in 0479 (also the year of the conquest of Chýn 陳 by Chŭ) to the 0221 Chín unification. It is hardly controversial that the effective (though not the ritual) end of Jōu came with their defeat in 0771; we here follow the Warring States Working Group rule (which in turn follows the Analects characterization of the Jōu as a past, not a present, historical fact) which forbids the use of the term Jōu after that date. For the intervening period, 0770-0480, we adopt the term Spring and Autumn, from the text of that name which, in its DJ-associated version, more precisely covers the period 0721-0464.

[11]Mwòdž, in the one speech that can apparently be attributed directly to him, joins the issue by complaining of this flaunting of ancient military prowess by the "gentlemen of the world" to "bequeath it to posterity" (MZ 17; see Mei **Ethical** 99).

Ambience. The Warring States texts differ in their situation, or ambience.[12] Nothing in the Analects core (LY 4:1-14 and 4:16-17) implies an organized school; these remarks were seemingly spoken to one particular person, on one particular occasion, and were meant solely to benefit that person. MZ 17, the core of the Mwòdž, is a diatribe of the founder Mwò Dí 墨翟 (who represents the extension of writing to the sub-elite), seemingly addressed to a *group* of his followers, and giving an anti-war argument which could be used by them in a later persuasional situation; a template for future argument, delivered to a group of like-minded adherents. The immediate *audience* is thus the group of followers, but the ultimate *recipient* of the implied persuasion is the circle of those in power. Later strata of that text, including revised versions of the core anti-war argument, indicate that the former outsiders have reached positions of some governmental influence, and have altered their views on war and other issues accordingly. A yet more public initial stance seems to be taken by the earliest parts of the Gwǎndž, which read like memoranda of positions which in the first instance were argued at the court of the Chí ruler, and then preserved for the guidance of the persuaders or their colleagues. DDJ 14, in our view the core of that text, is a celebration of the mystical experience and not in any sense a public document; that text drifts into statecraft prescriptions only in its later ("purposive") layers. The DJ, in its final c0312 form, is a blueprint for empire, a warning about the mistakes of Spring and Autumn rulers, and an omen of Chí's success in the unification wars. Whatever their origins, then, it is worthy of note that the major texts whose beginning falls within the 05c/04c part of the Warring States either have, or eventually acquire, a functional interrelationship with the state.

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[12]We intend this as a technical term, including not only the audience envisioned by a text, but also the text's expectations *about* that audience, including their presumed acquaintance with other texts. We are generally indebted, at this point, to comments by C J Fraser, Paul Goldin, Michael LaFargue, Victor Mair, Nathan Sivin, Chad Hansen, and Dan Robins in a lively and ongoing discussion of school/text/audience topics on the Warring States Working Group's E-mail network, though our present remarks reflect our own opinion and do not summarize that discussion.

Literacy. The previous examples can be seen to document an increasing encroachment of writing into speech and hearing. The direct advice of Confucius to his separate protégés, samples of which are preserved in LY 4 (05c), have a sonorous and courtly parallelism, and like the Biblical Proverbs, were probably meant to be arresting:[13] oral remarks designed to be held in memory without a mediating text process. In none of these sayings does Confucius quote, mention, or otherwise suggest the existence of, written texts. The first MZ and GZ documents (early 04c) can be construed as oral presentations immediately committed to writing by their authors for their preservation. The mystical paean in DDJ 14 (mid 04c) may well have been meant to be memorized; that is to say, it was *in the first instance* a written text, not a memorandum of an oral effusion, and any oral or mnemonic aspect would be secondary to that written form. Finally, the DJ (late 04c), simply because of its length, cannot have been presented orally at the Chí court, and can only have been a primary written text *also transmitted to its intended audience* in written form. That is, as far as the major extant texts go, the 05c/04c saw a progressive erosion of the primacy of oral statement, and a concurrent expansion of written statement.

That process can be witnessed in detail by a chronologically consecutive reading of the Analects. The constant assumption in the 05c part of that text is that teaching is something "heard." Apart from the Shī poems, to which we shall return below, the first hint of written texts is the "Model Maxims" (Fǎ Yŭ 法語) and "Select Advices" (Sywǎn Jyŭ 選舉) of 9:24 (c0405);[14] whether oral or written, these are fixed inventories with titles, not a disorganized body of apothegm lore. And with LY 10 (c0380), which systematically covers court and private etiquette, and reads like a reference manual, not a set of disconnected remarks arranged in transcription, we seem to be clearly in the presence of a primary written text.

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[13]Grafflin **Form**, handout.

[14]We follow Waley's interpretation of this passage.

Later Analects chapters clearly attest the existence of such written manuals. The disciple pantheon in LY 11:3 (c0360) is a direct statement, not a Confucius saying, and 11:23 makes "Confucius" deplore Dž-lù's dismissal of book learning as unimportant for the administrator, indicating the contemporary existence of texts relevant to administration. LY 3 (c0342), though reverting to the saying form, is a systematic treatment of ritual, and its 3:9 laments the lack of written documentation of Syà and Shāng ritual practice, implying the existence of written guidelines for more *contemporary* ritual practice. Mention of ancient written documents, *even though they are said not to exist,* anticipates the later 04c, when ancient documents will not only be claimed to exist, but exhibited in extenso.

There is much late 04c evidence for a detailed concern with the way in which written texts come into being, all examples being of the reduction to writing of originally oral expressions. LY 14:8 (c0310) is concerned with the transcription, verification, and embellishment in written form of a ruler's proclamation, and in LY 15:6 (c0305), Dž-jāng is shown writing a maxim *which he has just heard* on the sash of his robe, the first Analects reference to writing on silk.[15] The process of *immediately* recording the Master's saying leaves no role for memory; as in the former example, transcription is direct rather than from later recollection. The same point is made in the remarkable passage MC 1A6, Mencius's first interview with Ngwèi[16] Syāng-wáng in 0319, presumably while he was still in mourning and no retinue was allowed to visitors. Mencius is recorded as coming out of the audience and recounting the interview to a follower, presumably his amanuensis, who under more normal court conditions would presumably have been present at the interview itself. Again, the effect of these narrative asides is apparently to guarantee the authenticity of the transcript to its readers.

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[15]Earlier is MZ 16 (c0315); Mei **Ethical** 92. This passage, one of several similar ones in MZ chapters of the same period, is intended to inspire confidence in the written record handed down from antiquity; it is noteworthy that no claim of reliable *oral* transmission is made in 04c texts.

[16]The initial ng-, phonetically long lost in Mandarin, is here restored to distinguish the states of Ngwèi 魏 and Wèi 衛.

The Hundred Schools. We now turn from written texts as such to the question of interplay *among* those texts. It is generally accepted that there occurred in the Warring States a period of intergroup or interschool debate, customarily called the Hundred Schools period, and the onset of just such a period of direct mutual awareness among the respective school texts can be clearly seen in the Analects. Following upon some fainter indications in LY 11 and LY 3, we find in LY 12-13 a sudden explosion of similarities to, quotes from, or refutations of, such texts as the Mwòdž and particularly the Gwǎndž. Many of the sayings in these two chapters (from c0326 and c0322), and a good number of those in LY 2 (c0317) as well, have some sort of counterpart or verbal similarity in the Gwǎndž,[17] and the striking definition of the old Confucian virtue rv́n 仁 as the Mician term ài 愛 "love" [for others] in LY 12:22 shows influence from that school as well. We have elsewhere documented an extended interplay between the Analects and the Dàu/Dv́ Jīng,[18] and also between the Analects and the parallel chapter series MZ 46-50, which amount to a Mician counter-Analects.[19] We will revert below to the *substance* of these interschool debates; the point for the history of textual dynamics is that the level of mutual awareness and mutual influence among the school texts makes a quantum leap at about the year 0330.

The existence of this lateral intertext debate is an important departure from the predominantly court-centered or centrifugal character of most 05c and 04c texts or their audiences. It may from this point on be assumed that one of the possible audiences for a piece of writing is the group associated with *another* piece of writing. This diffusion of text focus will be seen, below, to be only an aspect of a more general diffusion of significant membership in the new-type bureaucratic state, and also in the new-type mass army, both of which were evolving steadily in parallel with these strictly textual developments.

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[17]See Brooks **Original** 226-231, and the corresponding portion of the main translation.

[18]See Brooks **Prospects** 63-68.

[19]See Brooks **Original** 259-262.

Wider Audience. The contact of texts *with each other*, and not exclusively with the members of their own supporting group or of a central court, amounts to a first expansion of the audience for texts. A second such expansion, which seems to occur by the early or mid 03c, is the appearance of an *outside* audience: a readership which is not itself part of an advocacy group. This in turn implies an expansion of literacy itself outside the limits of the court or those who are concerned to influence the court, to include a much wider circle whose major concern is with the conduct of their own lives. They constitute something like a general public. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to give an accurate profile of Warring States social structure, but it can be shown that reading for pleasure or profit, and not exclusively for policy-making, ranged very widely. In the late 04c or very early 03c we have, from the tomb of King Syāng of Ngwèi, abovementioned (who died in 0296), not only a copy of the Gwó Yŵ and a study of the divinations in the Dzwŏ Jwàn, which might be categorized as relevant to administration, but also a copy of the fantastical Journey of King Mù (Mù Tyēndž Jwàn 穆天子傳) and an unnamed and openly romantic sequel.[20] And from later in the century, we have the socially suggestive JZ 8:1b (c0260), which tells how a slave lad let his sheep stray because he was absorbed in reading a book. The fact that this anecdote condemns book-reading *as leading to error* is merely an indication of the Jwāngdž's position (or one of its positions; this is a very diverse text) in the contemporary culture wars. That books *were* at this time read by at least some low-status persons is a necessary literary assumption for this Jwāngdž passage, and thus a valid historical inference. By the mid 03c, then, what may be called secular reading not only existed, but was rather widespread. The Jwāngdž itself, in recommending personal priorities, seems to have in view such a general rather than governmental or specialist-philosophical audience.

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[20]For an account of the texts recovered in c279 from this tomb, which seems to have been based on the original archaeological report, see Jìn Shū 3 (1/70) and Jìn Shū 51 (3/1434).

Court Forms. These show a similar expansion. The genuine interviews of Mencius (0320-c0310) are consistent in having occupied no more than 5 minutes, and in being initiated by a question from the ruler. There is no question of the persuader stating a topic, or talking at random, or for an extended period, with the sovereign.[21] The same limit recurs in the early 03c interviews of Syŵndž with rulers (maximum 5·5 minutes), though it is extended in preliminary interviews with screening functionaries (to 11·3 minutes). In c0250, however, the King of Jàu holds not an interview *but a debate* on military policy, preserved in SZ 15:1, and lasting some 28·4 minutes, far beyond the previous court limit.[22] Not only do the principals *speak in turn*, they *question each other*. Since, as noted above, lateral debate goes back to the mid 04c, this represents court adoption of a form already known at the advocacy level. This openness to sub-court fashion suggests in turn that the 03c courts were no longer the sole source of public culture.

Texts and Memorization. The presumption that fixed texts such as the DJ existed and were handed down orally before being committed to writing receives scant support from the text evidence. Single Shī poems are quoted, evidently from memory, in earlier passages, but it is only in LY 13:5 (c0322) that an ability to recite the whole corpus from memory is clearly referred to, and only in 1:1 and 1:4 (c0294) that the technique of repetition to fix memory (syí 習) is mentioned. And the primacy of writing to such memorization efforts in the 03c is strikingly confirmed in the Gŭ or old-script Analects text, supposedly recovered from the wall of the Confucian school in c0154, and the Lŭ text, supposedly retranscribed from memory after 0191. It is well known that only the Gŭ text included the final saying, 20:3, at the end of a chapter whose composition was probably interrupted by the Chŭ conquest of 0249. This saying had then been *written in the school text*, but had not yet been *given out for memorization*, when the conquest intervened.

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[21]See Brooks **Interviews**. The genuine MC 1 interviews, distinguished on formal and linguistic grounds, are MC 1A1, 1A3a, 1A5-6, 1B1, 1B9-10, and 1B12-16, a total of twelve passages.

[22]See Brooks **Syŵndž**. The early interviews are in SZ 8:2 and 16:6 (rulers) and 16:4 (minister).

Authorship and Sponsorship. We may also note a significant evolution in the concept of authorship, and the means, including sponsorship, by which the production of books was facilitated. The paradigmatic situation would seem to be that of the Analects, whose core consisted of sayings that could validly be ascribed to Confucius, though this authenticity was progressively diluted by the addition of further chapters of quasi-sayings. Those who wrote down the core sayings, however, did so anonymously, *on behalf of* Confucius. Mwò Dí, in the diatribe that is now MZ 17, like Confucius in the sayings delivered in his lifetime, did not identify himself; it is only in the later quasi-diatribes, added by anonymous followers, that he is identified as "our master Mwòdž" 子墨子. Both the Gwǎndž and the Dàu/Dý Jīng speak with an anonymous voice, though in the latter case sometimes, tantalizingly, with a personal "I" (wú 吾). On present evidence, it was Mencius, from 0320 onward, who was the first individual to philosophize (as it were) in his own voice, and to produce, by the use of an amanuensis, a written text which authentically recorded his opinions *as such.*

The almost unknown but richly imagined Jì-syà establishment in Chí was founded, if we follow the seemingly sober account in SJ 74, shortly after the mutually embarrassing departure of Mencius from Chí, with the purpose of showing the world that Chí knew how to treat learned persons; it consisted of six stipendiaries with regular salaries but no official duties, who produced (and had presumably been expected to produce) writings on the science of government, especially in its mystical aspect. Some of these hothouse writings survived until Hàn, but did not circulate widely at the time, and are now lost, perhaps because their subsidized authors lacked the self-replacing propagation-group structures that Mencius had wisely borrowed from the Analects and other 04c precedent. Sywndž, who from 0254 to the death of his patron in 0238 held the Directorship of Lán-líng (in the newly conquered area of southern Lǔ) as a Chǔ official, is a one-man variant of the Jì-syà model (his previous position had, in fact, been as eldest member and de facto head of the revived Jì-syà enterprise in Chí).

The next step was a shift from patronage of *authors* to sponsorship of *texts*. This occurred under the Chín minister Lǚ Bù-wéi 呂不韋, who assembled a group of assistants to compile the 60 chapters of the Lǚ-shì Chūn/Chyōu 呂氏春秋 (0239),[23] and again in the Hàn under Lyóu Añ 劉安, King of Hwái-nán, in the work known as the Hwái-nándž 淮南子, produced in 0161-0140 with the help of eight assistants whose names are given in the Gāu Yòu 高誘 commentary; some of them are known from SJ 118 to have held concurrent responsibilities as well.[24]

We feel that it is an exaggeration to hold, as some do, that there was no concept of authorship in the Warring States period. The Micians speak of bronze inscriptions as stemming from individuals, not from undifferentiated antiquity. From Mencius on, in addition to philosophizing by ascription (as in the added layers of the Analects or the Mwòdž), we have a new pattern of philosophizing in the first person. In the 03c we find not only competing views (already present in the early Hundred Schools), but competing views *identified with individuals* (such as Yàng [Jū] and Mwò [Dí] 陽墨, attacked in Mencius and Jwāngdž), or groups (the Rú [Confucians] and Mwò [Micians], 儒墨, denounced in Jwāngdž). That is, the rise of factionalism and the rise of personality went, as we might have expected, hand in hand. The collective authorship of the Lǚ-shì Chūn/Chyōu should not be construed as showing a lack of interest in individual authorship, but as showing a quite personal desire on Lǚ Bù-wéi's part to be a patron of learning (a similar motive had actuated Chí Sywān-wáng in founding the Jì-syà), along with a strong governmental wish not to leave the production of culture to the whim of uncontrolled individuals, but to intervene fiscally and editorially to produce an ideology suitable to the needs of the emerging unified state.

No *student* of the period should forget what every *reader* of the period knows: that the Warring States are the locus classicus for the concept of individuality.

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[23]The later layers of the work (LSCC 13-20 and 21-26) can be shown to date from after 0221.

[24]See Brooks **Prospects** 12-16.

4. The Classics and the Unification Agenda

Some of the above is new, but little of it is likely to impress students of the period as novel or implausible for the Warring States. It would, for example, be astonishing if the direction of evolution implied by our chronological conclusions were *away from* written texts and *toward* oral texts. Nothing of the sort occurs. However, our findings do *not* support the view of the Shī 詩, Shū 書, and Yì 易 texts, respectively the Classics of Poetry, Documents, and Changes, which came to be orthodox in Hàn, and is still widely held – namely, that these texts existed before Confucius, were the center of his own teaching, and were entrusted by him to different disciples for transmission to later ages. Whatever the origin of the *contents* of these purported ancient works (a question into which we need not enter), they do seem to play a major role in the 04c arguments for and against the unification of the several states, and that role deserves discussion here.

That neither these nor any other written texts were part of Confucius's teaching is shown by the lack of reference to them *in that role* in the core sayings of LY 4 or in the rest of the 05c chapters (LY 5-9), as well as by the positive fact that the teaching portrayed in those chapters has its own character; empirical rather than authoritarian.[25] Nor do the early layers of the Mwòdž or Gwǎndž show knowledge of these texts in the early 04c. Instead, apart from hints of the Shī in the 05c Analects, they first become visible in the mid and late 04c. Their first occurrences in the literature suggest that they have separate histories; that is, that they are not *at that time* part of a fixed canon, Confucian or other. This diversity is compatible with their later position, the Yì in particular being unacknowledged even by the 03c canon-builder Sywndž, and not becoming part of orthodox Confucianism until the Hàn. It may be useful to give here a brief sketch of what appears to be the Warring States history of these three texts.

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[25]We thus concur, as to the Yì, with the earlier (negative) conclusions of Dubs **Changes**. We follow most scholars in accepting the Lǔ text reading yì 亦 "also" for Yì 易 "Changes" in LY 7:17. For a summary of the Analects evidence as it affects these three texts, see Brooks **Original** 255.

Shī. The text record implies that this collection took shape in the 05th and 04th centuries, under auspices near to but not within the Confucian school of Lǔ. Dzvngdž 曾子 quotes what is now a Shī poem on his deathbed in 0436 (LY 8:3), and his elder son and successor Dzvng Ywæn 曾元 mentions in LY 9:15 (c0405) that, under Wèi influence, the "Yǎ" 雅 (court) and "Sùng" 頌 (sacrificial) sections, of what extent we do not know, "found their proper place" (各得其所), either in a text or in the court music repertoire. By the late 05c, then, at least portions of the present Fvng 風 (folk), Yǎ, and Sùng sections were part of the design. The first citation of a Shī poem *as part of the teaching of Confucius* is in LY 3:8 (c0342); the meaning there given to the quoted lines is esoteric and ritualistic rather than direct, implying a lag in time or space since that poem had entered the collection (the first Mician Shī citation is much later: MZ 9, c0320). An outright misreading of a Shī line occurs at LY 2:2 (c0317). In LY 13:5 (c0322) and in LY 2:2 (c0317), the collection is first reported as having reached a total of 300 poems.

The original meaning of the Fvng poems was probably political: a real or seeming ethnographic sample meant to indicate the political virtue of the several states, and thus their chances of surviving the wars of the period.[26] A famous DJ scene (under Syāng 29 [0544], but itself authorially c0312) interprets the Shī in terms of just such political predictions. The irregular sexual morality of the Jvng poems (Shī 75-95) fits perfectly into this interpretation; their negative example labeled the depraved Jvng as not only ethically damned, but politically doomed. For the Confucians of Lǔ, who had practical use only for *positive* ethical examples, the Jvng poems defied interpretation, and were a continual embarrassment.[27]

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[26]See Brooks **Political Geography**. Some decoding of section titles is necessary; the Jōu-nán for instance indicating the heritage or domain (nán 南 "south" is the direction in which a ruler faces) of Jōu-gūng, namely Lǔ. The Lǔ Sùng, now Shī 297-300, originally ended the collection, thus framing it with sections extolling the cultural and temporal power of Lǔ. The Analects twice mentions the performance of Shī 1 (in LY 3:20, c0342, and *8:15, c0310), which was evidently of emblematic importance at the Lǔ court. Given this groundplan, there would seem to be no doubt that the first impetus toward compiling the collection occurred in Lǔ.

[27]As is eloquently witnessed in LY *15:11 (c0301) and 17:16 (c0270).

LY 13:5 (c0322) mentions the function of the Shī in interstate diplomacy. That the Shī were known outside Lŭ at this period is confirmed by the first Mician quotation from the corpus, in MZ 9 (c0320). The DJ (c0312, a decade later) projects this situation back into the Chūn/Chyōu period.[28] The genuine interviews of Mencius, which span the decade in question, imply no knowledge of the Shī on the part of any of the rulers, great or petty, whom he addresses,[29] but leave open the possibility that this knowledge was widespread at Mencius's own level. This is then the international period of the Shī, or at least the half of its present contents that is attested by quotation in Warring States texts. In the 03c, the Shī is taken up by Syŵndž, and (compare LY 16:13, c0285, 17:8a, c0270, and *7:18, interpolated c0270) gains a curricular position that is virtually canonical.

The Shū are first heard from in the Mician, not the Confucian, school, the earliest citation of a Shū-type document being in MZ 32 (c0324).[30] Shū are quoted twice in the Analects (inexactly in LY 2:21, c0317; exactly in LY 14:40, c0310), and repeatedly in the DJ (c0312). In the 03c, the Shū are referred to as though they had canonical rank in LY *7:18 (c0270), and LY 20:1 (c0250) seems to be experimenting with original composition in the Shū style. From the evidence of all the major sources, the period of formation of the Shī collection was the 05c and 04c, whereas that of the Shū was the late 04c and 03c. That is, the Shū come into view (quoted by the Micians) just when the Shī corpus was approaching completion, the new Shū, as it were, picking up from the older Shī the function of serving as an authority sanction in the Hundred Schools debate.

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[28]Not wholly irresponsibly. Eric Henry notes that DJ instances of communication by singing Shī at banquets are zero in the first 84 years of the text, five in the next 67 years, twenty-two in the next 52 years, and – reversing this upward trend – zero again in the last 55 years. We suggest that this fourth period largely corresponds to the lifetime of Confucius; compilers may have avoided projecting this skill into his era since he himself was still known not to have possessed it.

[29]The later interpolated interviews show no such restraint, and portray rulers as familiar with both the Shī and Shū.

[30]Most Shū quoted in the Mwòdž are lost as documents; the quotations seem to have served as nuclei around which the so-called gŭ-wŷn Shàng-shū 古文尚書 were forged in Hàn or later.

The pain felt by the Analects Confucians in having to accept the Jvng poems as part of the otherwise manageable Shr package has been noted above. With the Shū, an even stronger negative reaction comes from the Mencian camp, which in MC 7B3 (c0252) has the school founder say that rather than accept all the Shū, he would prefer to accept none of the Shū. This is remarkably candid language. Yet more candid is the Mician taunt, directed at their Confucian rivals in the Hundred Schools debate: "Your antiquity is not old enough" (MZ 48:4, c0270). The point of this is apparently that the (more or less) Confucian Shr claimed to go back only to the Jōu dynasty, whereas the Shū documents claimed the antiquity of Shāng and earlier rulers, a standard string of whom the Micians were accustomed to invoke (the earliest case is MZ 8, c0360) even before they came up with purported actual documents to quote. What seems to have happened is that the 04c debate had become stalemated as a contest of competing opinions, and had been transmuted instead into a war of authorities, in which the earlier quote was felt to win against the later. The pleasure of the Micians in having taken the lead in the race back to antiquity is palpable. Nor were the Mencians alone in wanting to opt out of that race; Sywndž also repeatedly emphasizes that the example of the "later kings" (not the earlier, more mythical, and thus more readily forgible kings) is the one to follow in the present day.[31] The simplest hypothesis that will cover this situation is the one implied by the exasperated remark of MC 7B3: the Micians in c0324 introduced spurious ancient documents, modeled on the bronze inscriptions which had incurred their ire since the days of their founder, into the contemporary statecraft debate, thereby gaining an advantage which the Confucians could only meet by ignoring them (the Analects after LY 14:40, c0310), by protectively admitting some of them to canonical status (LY *7:18, c0270), and by themselves improvising in that key (LY 20:1, c0250).

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[31]SZ 3:10 and 5:5, Knoblock **Xunzi** 1/179 and 207-208. The argument in the latter passage counts as a further instance in which Warring States participants challenged the otherwise standard assumption that all claimed ancient inscriptions or documents must be credited as authentic.

The Unification Agenda. Mencius's 0319 interview with Ngwèi Syāng-wáng (MC 1A6) opens with the King asking how the world (tyēn-syà 天下) can be stabilized, and Mencius answering that it can only be stabilized by unification. This conviction, that the older multistate system was no longer viable, must have done much to undermine the authority of the Shī, whose political geography was based on just that system. Among the states to be unified were several such as Ywè which, despite formal grants of Jōu lineage credentials, seem not to have been originally within the Jōu cultural horizon. In this situation, a more inclusive heritage than that of Jōu alone would inevitably have its attractions. It is notable that the lists of ancient rulers cited by the Micians before their introduction of purported ancient documents already includes pre-Jōu rulers, going back indeed to Yáu and Shùn, who figure neither in the Shī nor in the Analects earlier than LY 14:42 (c0310), and are thus not part of the strictly Confucian view of antiquity. The Analects Confucians did recognize Three Dynasties comprising Syà, Shāng, and Jōu (LY 3:9, c0342), but viewed them as both successive and different, with Jōu having *replaced* Shāng rituals with something better (LY 3:14, c0342). In this separatist spirit, Shī 235, addressing the conquered Shāng people, exhorts them *Do not think of your ancestors* (無念爾祖), since they cannot both maintain their lineage ties and be obedient subjects of the Jōu. The unification theory minimized these differences by focusing on political rather than ritual aspects of sovereignty, and holding that, though the *tenure* of the political mandate might falter, thus leading to dynastic transitions, *the mandate itself*, and the qualifications of a ruler to hold it, are constant. On this view, the conquered Shāng might maintain their lineage rites and still be valid political subjects of the Jōu, and this is precisely what the later interpretative tradition of the Shī in fact maintains: it explains the abovementioned line in the philologically absurd but politically cogent sense, *Ever think of your ancestors*.[32]

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[32]For an overview of the philological gyrations involved, see Reifler **Ever** 340-342.

The political problem of the Shāng as depicted in the Shī was also dealt with at a formal level, by adding a final five poems (the present Shī 301-305) which were supposed to represent the Shāng sacrificial tradition, which, in violation of the structural logic of the original collection, were then represented as culturally compatible with the following Jōu. As is shown by Shī quotations in the DJ, the Shī as of c0312 existed in two forms, one with, and one without, the new Shāng Sùng section. The latter version was current in Lŭ,[33] which had obvious reasons for holding on to a narrower concept of Jōu supremacy, and the former in all other states. The Shāng Sùng poems are never acknowledged by quotation in the Analects, but the longer Shī including them later became standard everywhere.

The new *linear* or *single-mandate* theory of the past seems to have affected the interpretation of later history also: the bà 霸 or hegemon concept which appears for the first time in the DJ and is later elaborated by the Mencian and Syŵndzian schools may be seen as a way of providing a sort of intermittent political mandate despite the collapse of Jōu rulership, with a resulting mandate vacuum, in 0771.[34]

The Yì has no immediately apparent political meaning, but it too first appears in the late 04c, and plays into the late 04c political theory debates. Its early Warring States history is a blank: it is not mentioned in the Analects or any other text during the 05c or the first half of the 04c. Its claim of relationship to the early Jōu rulers is not sustained by Shī 244 (compare 237) which describes omens taken for the founding of a Jōu city as using the bŭ 卜 (bone or scapulimancy) method; the only instances of the shì 筮 (sortilege) method are in Shī 58 and 169, both of which describe a private household, not the Jōu dynasty.[35]

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[33]The DJ scene (under Syāng 29) in which the Shī is politically interpreted assigns *one meaning* to the Sùng section (Legge **Ch'un** 550), which is more plausible if only one dynasty is envisioned.

[34]We hope that readers are acquiring the impression that the DJ, however enjoyable if read as a chronicle of the bygone days of chivalric warfare, is absolutely up-to-the-minute in terms of contemporary political theory. Further examples of this characteristic will be noted below.

[35]If one cares to push the matter, the stanzas containing these uses can be objected to, on both prosodic and substantive grounds, as later interpolations. Even here, we note that stalk divination (shì) is always performed *in conjunction with* bone divination (bŭ), never *independently*.

The first Analects mention of the Yì is in LY *13:22 (interpolated in c0317), where it is associated with the south, and linked with the practice of medicine. We are fortunate to have, in the documents recovered from the Bāushān site, evidence that medicine and sortilege divination were associated, in the south, in documents covering exactly that year, and evoking exactly the private context of use that is suggested by the Shī references.[36]

No later Analects passage refers to the Yì. The Chí Confucian DJ (c0312) includes many examples of Yì divination, typically in state rather than private contexts, and with the text in some cases[37] explicitly linked to the Jōu dynasty. The text, so far as we know, is not quoted or mentioned in either the Mwòdž or the Gwǎndž. Its 04c affinities seem to be rather with the thought of the Naturalists, among whom Dzōu Yěn is always mentioned, who relied not on any ancient authority but rather on the system of nature as a model for human affairs. This approach is echoed in the nature metaphor of LY 2:1 (c0317), and it too is visible at many points in the DJ, as the yīn/yáng theory of the seasonal cycle, and an astral/terrestrial correspondence theory which may have been a method of predicting earthly events from astronomical anomalies occurring in particular parts of the sky.[38] This recourse to nature to explain the affairs of men is one stimulus behind the famous early 03c debate on the nature of men, represented by SZ 23, MC 6A, LY 17:2a and interpolations in other chapters made at that time, and several segments of the diverse Jwāngdž group of thinkers. As to the Yì among these nonhuman theories of the human, the pre-Hàn commentaries on that text show some Dàuist connections, but also much that is clearly Confucian,[39] and it is toward the Confucian canon that the text gravitates during Hàn.

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[36]See Weld **Cases**. The dated records in the tomb show its owner to have been a Chǔ official; the associated but undated divination records were prognoses concerning his final illness.

[37]As with the Shī, the DJ operates with two versions of the Yì which are at bottom geographically distinguished, only one of which is called the Jōu Yì.

[38]Here is another instance of the extreme up-to-dateness of the DJ.

[39]Shaughnessy I 19-25.

5. Policies Toward War

Not every developmental pattern in texts we analyze as accretional is to be seen as reflecting general historical developments; some of them are involved with events internal to the school, and not directly influenced by outside events. We would expect that texts of the period would take a position concerning war, and all of the extant ones do so, but the precise stand adopted by a given text depends on particular circumstances, and is not in principle predictable.

The Analects Confucians were throughout the 05c under a series of disciple heads of the posthumous school, including Dzvngdž (d 0436), who is seen dying amid students of the school in LY 8:3. From the early 04c, however, the school came under the leadership of a succession of Kŭng family heads, beginning with Dž-sz̄ 子思,[40] and underwent a doctrinal shift, becoming more ritually oriented, and later more family oriented, than were Confucius and his first successors. This meant a turn away from the martial values which according to tradition[41] Confucius would have inherited from his warrior father. It is conspicuous in the LY 4 core sayings that Confucius does not discuss virtue, but urges his protégés to live up to its demands. Among them are utter dedication (4:6), steadfastness in adversity (4:5), identification with the cause (4:8), no embarrassment at poor clothes or poverty (4:9), putting others first (4:13), and lack of a right to personal resentment (4:14). None of these requires any rewording whatsoever to apply to the probable value system of Confucius's father: the late feudal military ethos.[42]

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[40]An argument for a disciple-head period in the 05c is given in Brooks **Original** Appendix 4. Family tradition held that Dž-sz̄ was the son of Confucius's son Bwó-yw̌ (d c0481), but Mencian recollections of him, probably dating from Mencius's time in the school of Lŭ and thus authoritative for the mid 04c, portray him as serving only under Lŭ Mù-gūng (r 0410-0378), which requires that he was not the son but the great-grandson of Bwó-yw̌.

[41]See Brooks **Original** 274n47 for the argument that Kŭngdž Jyā-yw̌ 孔子家語 (KZJY) 38, the disciple list, is a Hàn document later included in KZJY but not subject to the doubts which attach to that work in general; the case for KZJY 39, the main source for Confucius's parents and forebears, is similar, though without the history as a separate text which can be demonstrated for KZJY 38.

[42]We use "feudal" here in the comparativist sense: a system of indirect sovereignty supported by landed warriors with a service obligation to the sovereign (compare Strayer **Idea** 4-9).

However, as may be seen by tracking such words as rv́n 仁 (the undefined original core value of Confucius) and yǔng 勇 "courage, prowess" through the text, these original military-based civilian values are denied or redefined in later chapters. Quite dramatically, rv́n itself dwindles in prominence in the later 05c, is wholly absent from LY 10-11, *denied as a concern of Confucius* in the outrageous interpolated LY *9:1,[43] defined in terms of the new central value lǐ 禮 "ritual" in LY 3:3 (c0342) (and 12:1, c0326)[44] and as the Mician ài 愛 "love" in 12:22 (c0326). It is this sense of governmental benevolence from which the Mencian theory of compassionate government (rv́n jv̀ng 仁政), expounded by him directly to rulers after 0320, directly stems. In LY 14:5 (c0310) we have a denunciation of military as against agrarian regimes, and in 15:1-2 (c0305) "Confucius" is made to refuse to discuss military dispositions, being so offended that he leaves the state (Wèi). The civilianization of original Confucianism is complete.

The Micians follow the opposite trajectory. The founder's MZ 17 diatribe, as noted above, attacked the ruling elite for their wrongheaded persistence in an irrational cultural pattern based on vaunting over crimes against humanity. Then time passes, the Micians themselves get into power, and the tone changes. In the third rewrite of MZ 17, namely MZ 19 (c0326),[45] it is allowed that certain kinds of war are after all ethically justified.[46] Following the Mician counter-Analects in its dialogue with the Confucian Analects, we find in MZ 47:1 (c0310) a softening toward military theory, and in MZ 49:12 (c0260) evidence that the Micians were themselves training young men for military service, an impression confirmed in the stalemate described in MZ 50 (c0253). It was then presumably in the 03c that the Micians took up the art of defensive warfare, an art preserved in MZ 51-71.

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[43]See Brooks **Original** ad loc. A separate paper on the LY 9:1 perplexity is in preparation.

[44]It is this later, lǐ-based Confucianism that is described in Fingarette **Sacred**.

[45]It will be obvious that we do not follow Graham's theory that the three versions of some ethical chapters represent geographically distinct Mician schools; see instead Brooks **Triplets**.

[46]Mei **Ethical** 111.

6. The Rise of the Mass Army

As with literacy, which one can hardly imagine as other than expanding during the Warring States period, the developments in economics, trade, war, and state structure which are implied by the sources in our proposed chronology are intrinsically likely, and in many cases also archaeologically supported.

The beginning date 0479 for the Warring States does not correspond exactly with the onset of what is new about the period; instead, the main political and social trends are already underway as it opens. A key point in the dismantling of a feudal system is the assumption by the state of direct taxation of the local populace. Such a point was marked in England by William the Conqueror's compiling the Domesday Book in 1085.[47] A perhaps analogous moment in Lŭ was Aī-gūng's imposing a direct tax in 0483. One consequence of a larger government role is *a larger government,* and we note, among the exasperations of Confucius in LY 4, the presence at court of "little [non-elite] people" with a profit ethic totally at variance with Confucius's own selfless code of duty (LY 4:2, 4:16). Emerging bureaucracy is mirrored in LY 9:2 (c0405), where Confucius is ridiculed for lacking a specialty. LY 13:4 (c0322) inveighs against agronomists in government, and 13:20 ridicules pettifogging granary officials. The parallel early Gwăndž shows an advanced level of state control in Chí in the early and middle 04c.

Industrial productivity was also rising. LY 9:3 (c0405) notes that silk had become so cheap that it had displaced plant fibers even for ritual garments. The mention of tailoring in *5:22 (c0360) suggests that clothing as well as silk cloth was being traded to the steppe, in general agreement with the chronology of the Altai tombs, in which Chinese artifacts have been recovered,[48] and with the whole range of northern trade which is now abundantly documented.[49]

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[47]See Brooks **British** for an exploration of this comparison.

[48]See Brooks **Contact**.

[49]See, for example, So **Traders** and Bunker **Steppe**.

Iron (tyě 鐵) had been known since before 0493, under which date the CC mentions a place of that name (presumably a smelting center) in Wèi. Its advent did not transform the situation, and it was also not a factor in the final victory of Chín.[50] Of military interest is a shift in *bronze* production, which before c0330, as seen in the Analects usage of the word chì 器, had turned from vessels (for the old ritual culture) to edged tools and weapons (supporting a military culture).[51]

CC battles seem to be chariot encounters. By the late 04c, and earliest in the DJ of c0312, we hear of a fighting unit of 70 men,[52] which is archaeologically attested together with a chariot in Pit 3 of the First Emperor's tomb (c0209).[53] Here may be a hint of the expanded armies of the middle and late Warring States. The DJ projection of large infantry units back to Spring and Autumn times[54] is contradicted by archaeology, which fails to attest mass armies in that period.[55]

It is to this same latter half of the 04c that many other signs point as the rise of the new-type army. The Sūndž Bīng-fǎ 孫子兵法 (SZBF), which in our view has relations with the late 04c segments of the DDJ and the Analects[56] and is independently dated to that period by Griffith[57] (whose view of the crossbow is supported by subsequent archaeology)[58] spells out the tactics of the mass army.

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[50]See Brooks **Iron** 150, reinforcing Barnard **Did** 62-63. One hopes that the initially attractive but now discredited 1951 Sekino "iron age" theory will eventually vanish from the literature.

[51]See Brooks **Original** 252.

[52]70 footsoldiers are mentioned as an attack unit in the DJ under Dìng 10 [0500]. GZ 5 (c0294?) gives a detailed breakdown of the duties of a 78-man group associated with a four-horse chariot and including foragers as well as fighters.

[53]Dien **Armor** 47, reporting 68 infantry and a chariot, whose warrior and driver would have made 70. Dien's remark that "this is . . . no combat group" may need reconsideration in the light of the Warring States data cited above.

[54]As in a DJ entry for Syāng 3 [0570], mentioning a force of 300 men in armor and another 3,000 wearing coats protected with silk; taken at face value in Hsu **Ancient** 69.

[55]The clash of historical assumption and archaeological fact produced a "swords controversy" in the literature; see Keightley **Where**, Trousdale **Where**, and Barnard **Did**, and also Brooks **Where**. It is not necessarily to the point that large infantry forces are referred to in the Shāng oracle bones. One of the earliest literary references to the two-edged sword is MZ 21 (c0365); Mei **Ethical** 121.

[56]See Brooks **Prospects** 59-61.

[57]Griffith **Sun** 11.

[58]Brooks **Crossbow**.

We thus have a plausible conjunction of (1) increased 05c production of silk, which with comparable increases in other crafts made possible (2) a vigorous early 04c trade, some of it with the steppe peoples, in silk and other commodities including bronze, iron, and lacquer implements, which would have generated sufficient revenues to support (3) the new-style mass army, which did not rest on hereditary farmsteads supporting each warrior, but instead had to be (4) funded from state revenues, all attested by a combination of text and archaeological evidence. Some elite-level echoes of these new developments are striking enough to deserve recapitulation, among them the LY 9:3 mention of cheap silk (c0405), noted above, the LY 11:18b (c0360) reference to Dž-gùng "enriching himself" (presumably through trade), the LY 12:9 (c0326) opposition to a proposed doubling of the tax rate, the LY *7:11 (interpolated c0310) denigration of mere physical courage and preference for the new-style strategy, as less costly in loss of life, the SZBF 2 (c0311) warning of the cost of maintaining armies in the field, and the DDJ 30 (c0312) lament over the devastation wrought by those same armies while in the field, suitably capped by the LY 15:1-2 (c0305) detestation for the entire military enterprise. We have here a witness to the new sinews of war, the new conduct of war, and the increased ravages of war, in the late 05c and 04c.

7. The People and the State

We now turn to the "little people" who filled the ranks of the larger army. Not surprisingly, the first indication of their hardship in this role comes from the lowest-placed socially of our texts, the Mwòdž. The earliest Mician ethical tract, MZ 17 (c0390), treats war as something deplorable which the elite do for their own glorification and in disregard of common morality; war as a cause of suffering for the people is not part of that indictment. In the third chronologically of these tracts, MZ 20 (c0380), that claim is first urged: in campaigns that may last a year, males and females are kept from meeting, and innumerable men die.[59]

[59]Compare Mei **Ethical** 119. Unfortunately, we do not know where these tracts were written.

These hardships, and the political problem which resistance to them presented, were not slow in coming to the notice of the policy-makers. In the earliest layers of the 04c Gwǎndž chapters, from c0360, we find that compulsion is the principle device employed to secure the compliance of the people, and that the level of concern for the people themselves does not go beyond provision of sufficient food and opportunities for advancement on the positive side, and the threat of punishment, including the fear of death, on the negative side.[60] A second phase, c0340, while maintaining the deterrent of punishments, adds to the positive side of the equation, emphasizing that rewards must be reliable and the people must not be cheated,[61] and advising that the people be attracted not only by benefit but by love, and that the ruler should himself adhere to the laws so as to serve as an example for the people.[62] This last is of theoretical interest as acknowledging a single standard of accountability for ruler and people.

With the next Gwǎndž layer, we enter what we have above identified as the Hundred Schools public debate, and nascent Chí Legalism, as it had evolved up to that point, is subjected to input from Lǔ. The reaction of the Analects Confucians to the early, draconic Gwǎndž position is well known to any reader of LY 12-13 (c0326-c0322); one unforgettable highlight is the LY 12:7 response to the Gwǎndž agenda of food and defensive weapons as sufficient for government; it insists that the ruler must also enjoy the confidence (syìn 信) of the people, and that without that confidence, the ruler "cannot stand." As for the protections of law itself, LY 12:13 is also dismissive: "In hearing lawsuits I am just as good as anybody else; what is required is to bring it about that there *are no* lawsuits."[63]

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[60]GZ 1:4a; Rickett **Guanzi** 55. We divide the Gwǎndž text according to the paragraphing in Rickett, or where (as in GZ 1) the text itself has named subsections, by those subsections. Comparable prescriptions in GZ 3 are 3:3-5; Rickett **Guanzi** 92.

[61]GZ 1:4b; Rickett **Guanzi** 55 (2nd paragraph).

[62]GZ 3:9; Rickett **Guanzi** 93.

[63]Our translation; so also with subsequent Analects quotations. For a similar awareness that good government results in less, not more, litigation, see GZ 3:16 (c0326), Rickett **Guanzi** 95.

On capital punishments, the Analects takes a firm line. Being asked about a policy of killing the incorrigible to encourage the docile in LY 12:19 (c0326), "Confucius" answers "You are there to govern; what use have you for killing?" In the vein of the exemplar theory stated in GZ 3:9, he continues, "If you desire good, the people will be good. The virtue of the gentleman is the wind; the virtue of the little people is the grass. The wind on the grass will surely bend it."

The Analects reaction had its effect on the Gwǎndž theorists.[64] A major question at this time was how the little people, lacking the elite warrior's lifelong acculturation, could be induced to die for the state, a problem stated at GZ 1:3.[65] It is addressed in LY 13:9, where the final step after multiplying and enriching the populace is to instruct them, and in a concluding pair of passages, LY 13:29-30, the latter of which reads, "To do battle without instructing the people – this is called throwing them away." This educationist view, going beyond the exemplar theory to active inculcation, is taken up in GZ 3:29, "When men do not commit evil acts, it is because they have been [properly] instructed."[66] The Analects is clear that this education process is not mere conditioning, noting in *9:26 (c0322) "The Three Armies can be deprived of their leader, but a common man cannot be deprived of his will." In the DJ (sv Syāng 31, but c0312), Dž-chǎn 子產 refuses to close a village school which has been critical of the government, saying "They are my teachers."[67] and in a variant of this story, set much further back in time, the Gwó Yǔ 國語 of c0306 echoes his final advice, "Stopping up the mouths of the people is more dangerous than stopping up a river."[68] What is being asserted here is the right of the people to be heard, and the need of the state to hear them.

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[64]Most students of the period agree that a Hundred Schools debate occurred; it is less widely conceded that there were winners and losers in that debate, with the losers accepting the winners' viewpoint. See Brooks **Original** Appendix 3, and, on the present issue, Brooks **Gwǎndž 3**.

[65]Rickett **Guanzi** 54; compare GZ 2:51 and 3:21, Rickett **Guanzi** 80 and 95.

[66]Rickett **Guanzi** 96.

[67]Legge **Ch'un** 565-566.

[68]GY 1:3, translation from De Bary **Trouble** 82-83.

8. The Eclipse of Populism

This new theory held that the state existed for the people, or, in a Mencian formulation, "the people are of supreme importance" (MC 7B14, c0254). It led, as just noted, to the idea of a popular right to criticize the state, just as the ministers had a right of remonstrance. The later Mencians developed a more extreme view, in which the people shared in the right to overthrow a bad ruler, thus MC *1A8 ("I have heard of the punishment of the outcast Jòu, but I have not heard of any regicide") and MC 4A2 ("If a ruler ill-uses his people to an extreme degree, he will be murdered and his state annexed"). Their power to validate a good ruler is implicit in MC 5A5 ("[Yáu] recommended [Shùn] to Heaven and Heaven accepted him; he presented him to the people and the people accepted him").[69]

Meanwhile, this development of what we may call populist theory had been overtaken by events. In 0316, the King of Yēn abdicated in favor of his minister Dž-jī 子之; civil confusion ensued, and Chí invaded Yēn in 0315 and put Dž-jī to death in 0314; a coalition including Jàu entered Yēn that year, expelled Chí, and restored the monarchy. Mencius, who had favored the Chí intervention, left Chí in disgrace; the crisis was generally felt as a setback for the meritocratic approach. Also, the inculcation of citizen values in the populace was not initially successful; Mencius consulted in c0310 (MC 1B12) with Dzōu Mù-gūng about soldiers who had deserted in battle, leaving their officers to be slaughtered. The education policy, and the question of human nature which it implied, were developed in the 03c phase of the debate, with the Mencian group (MC 6, c0270) articulating an optimistic view of human propensities, the Mencian-leaning Analects group assenting (LY 17:2a/b, c0270), and Syẃndž (SZ 23, c0265) taking a gloomier view, which required a stronger educational effort. Despite this philosophical progress, the new 04c citizen concept of the people was put on hold politically in the 03c, and cosmological and other ruler-centered theories became dominant instead.

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[69]Translations from Lau **Mencius**, ad loc.

The Domesticity of the Confucians. As we deduce it from the evidence of the texts, events also overtook the Confucians of Lŭ. As late as the educationist envoi of LY 13:29-30, they had been not unwilling to aid the process of bringing the people not only into the state, but into the army. From LY 14 (c0310) onward, with the practical Mencius having left the school for his career as an independent advisor of rulers, the Analects line hardens into a rigid anti-war stand, and the Confucians themselves lose power at court. Their virtual retirement, and their rethinking of their statecraft as based on domestic piety (which even those out of office have scope to achieve), are chronicled in the present LY 1, a set of maxims placed at the head of the book to signal its new philosophical emphasis.[70]

The Fall of Sùng. Another event which seems to have had far-reaching consequences for philosophy was the Chí conquest of Sùng, prepared by a propaganda barrage in c0287[71] and soon denounced in LY 16:1 as an *impending* outrage, carried out in 0286 and denounced in LY 16:2-3 as an *accomplished* outrage, and again provoking a coalition of states to intervene, driving Chí out of Sùng and its King into exile, where he died in 0284. The state of Sùng was not restored, as Yēn had been in 0314, and there seems to have been widespread shock at the spectacle of a long-established state, indeed the repository of the Shāng phase of the new, linearized past, suddenly obliterated from the scene. It was most likely in the aftermath of Sùng that there arose the agrarian primitivists discussed by Graham,[72] whose ideas can be glimpsed in MC 3A4 and JZ 8-10.[73] The unified state was being achieved, and many did not care for what they saw. Self-sufficient rural communities, renouncing trade as well as war, and asking only to be let out of history as it was actually shaping up, were one response.

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[70]The power of this preposed material to affect later readers' perceptions of the nature of Confucianism is explored, word by word, in Brooks **Original** Appendix 5.

[71]See Waley **Three** 137-143, PB 100-105, for the propaganda and the shock of the event.

[72]Graham **Tillers**.

[73]Brooks **Primitivist**.

The Service Issue. After their LY 1 domestic interlude, the Lŭ Confucians had reverted to politics in commenting on the Sùng crisis in LY 16:1-3, and in the aftermath of Sùng they challenged not only the primitivists, but also the typical Jwāngdž hermits, the educated men who would normally serve the state, but in evil times refused to do so for reasons of political despair and personal safety; among their literary guises are the useless trees of JZ 4:4-6. To this and other variants of the position, the Lŭ Confucians responded in LY 18:6 (c0262), where Confucius insists that life *in nature* is impossible; humankind must somehow make terms with humankind, and perilous times only call on individuals to join in making them better. Stung by this imputation of cowardice, the other side, in JZ 4:1-3, did return to statecraft, using meditation skills to ward off the dangers.[74]

The End of Lŭ. This dialogue did not continue long. The first Chŭ conquest of Lŭ led to the Lŭ court Dàuist apologetic in DDJ 80, that reducing territory and population was good policy ("Make the state small, make the people few"), and the dismissal of the defensive-war Micians, who in MZ 50 (having meanwhile relocated in Chí) lament this lack of appreciation.[75] The extinction of Lŭ in 0249 cut the Analects off virtually in mid-sentence, and brought to an end the DDJ court Dàuists and both Mencian schools. The Chín dynasty was 28 years away.

9. Envoi

Enduringly interesting as all these details may be, our object in reviewing them here is to show that, in the light of the new text chronology (for all its remaining imperfections), they assume greater historical coherence than before, revealing Warring States thought to have been closely related not only to itself, but also to contemporary material and political developments.

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[74]Brooks **Jwāngdž 4**. The theory of Waley **Analects** 21 and 219n3, that the LY 18 challenges are hostile Dàuist interpolations which the proprietors of the closely-held Analects school text were somehow powerless to excise, does not stand detailed scrutiny, for which see Brooks **Original** 183. The error arises through failing to realize that LY 16-20, long since pointed out by Tswēi Shù 崔述 as later than the rest of the Analects (see Brooks **Original** 201), are more precisely *its 03c portion:*

[75]Mei **Ethical** 257-259.

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