# 10 c0380

It may have been the Dzvngs (LY 7–9) who founded the Confucian mansion, but it was the Kungs (LY 10f) who dwelt in it. The SJ 47 list of Kung successors is too short (at 25 years per birth generation) to reach back to Confucius; it suggests that the first Kung head of the school, Dž-sz, began his term in c0400, just after the date we have assigned to LY 9. This would imply a transfer of power from the Dzvngs to the more authoritative Kung lineage. The Kung phase of the text lasts to the end of Lu, and of the Analects, in 0249.

This first Kǔng chapter, LY 10, expanding on the social need already seen in 9:16, contains dress and behavior prescriptions for the gentleman courtier and householder (jyw̄ndž). At some later point, they were partly relabeled as descriptions of "Confucius" (Kǔngdž; see Waley **Analects** 146n1, 147n3), thus transforming the chapter into a biographical sketch, in the tradition of LY 7 and LY 9. As an arbitrary code of behavior, LY 10 is fascinating if not always intelligible to modern readers; it was presumably a useful guide for newcomers to official life. Once it came to be viewed as an intimate portrait of Confucius, it exerted a considerable influence on his perceived historical persona.

As to ethical teachings, there are none. LY 10 fits much more smoothly into the school's increasing preoccupation with ritual and propriety in general. Beginning with the LY 10 first precepts of behavior, a new ritualist agenda quickly unfolds in succeeding Analects chapters.

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

# [A. Public Occasions]

 $_{\Gamma}$  10:1a. In the county association he is hesitant, as though unable to speak; in the ancestral temple or at the court, he is forthcoming, but circumspect. [10:1]

Kǔngdž  $\mathcal{F}$  "Confucius" was later supplied as the subject of this sentence, one of the few instances where we must assume a change in the *old* text, as distinct from the interpolation of a *new* text. The stances and movements of the LY 10 persona, presumably the gentleman, are here, as often, described by reduplicative expressions whose meaning is sometimes unclear or contextually determined (see \*7:4<sup>10</sup>, below); interpretations thus vary widely. We gather that officers of this period regularly attended local occasions (see 10:7b; for "county association" see 6:5 and 9:2). The elite are now taking closer notice of local structures than in 6:5, and the novel practice requires a new rule.

One might have expected greater volubility in the *county* than at court. Perhaps the reservations of 6:13 about popular culture still obtain. Perhaps also it is the *unobviousness* of the rule that makes it necessary, here, to *state* the rule.

10:1b. When at court, speaking with the lesser dignitaries, he is unassuming; when speaking with the greater dignitaries, he is formal. When the ruler is present, he is deferential; he is open. [10:2]

It is officious to be stiff with lower-ranking colleagues, pushy to be casual with higher-ranking ones, and disrespectful to seem withdrawn before the Prince.

 $\Gamma$  10:2. When the ruler summons him to accompany a visitor, his demeanor is severe

and his strides are low. In genuflecting to those with whom he is to take his stand, he extends his hands left and right, letting his garment touch the ground before and behind; he is imposing. When he hastens forward it is as though he were on wings. When the visitor has withdrawn, he must return his charge, saying, The visitor is no longer looking back. [10:3]

Bwò 勃 [-rú] "severe" is followed in 10:4 and in MC 5B9 by predicates like "changed expression"; some commentators assign this meaning to bwò itself, which from context must here be a predicate meaning "alert and serious." Jywé **躩** [-rú] elsewhere implies, not small steps, as in some commentaries, but long striding ones. A modern English businessman approaching his sovereign to be knighted uses this same "glide" motion (Barrie **Twelve** 44–46).

Lyóu Bǎu-nán (Jŷng-yì 198) argues that the real diplomatic power in Confucius's day lay with the Jì, and that Confucius, as a loyalist, thus could not have had charge of palace diplomatic functions. Since the chapter originally *did not refer* to Confucius, this argument fails. We must suppose that by the time LY 10 was thought of as describing Confucius (which we put at c0370; see under Interpolations, below), the Jì threat was sufficiently far in the past that the Analects proprietors were not conscious of an anachronism.

L 10:3. When approaching the Prince's gate, he bends his body low, as though it will not admit him; he does not resume an upright posture within the gateway, nor step on the sill. When passing by the Place, his expression becomes severe and his strides become slow; his words seem insufficient. When gathering his skirt to ascend the hall, he bends his body low, and holds his breath as though he were not breathing at all. When he emerges, as soon as he has descended one step, he relaxes his expression and appears more at ease. When he reaches the bottom of the stairs, he hastens forward as though he were on wings. On returning to his place, he shuffles restlessly. [10:4]

The incipient aspect of rù 入 "enter" (hence "about to enter; approach") is implied by later clauses. The capitalization of "Place" is meant to suggest the ruler's place (not his "throne," since chairs were unknown in this period). The final predicate tsù-jí 殿错 "fidget, shuffle" seems inappropriate, hence Legge "respectful uneasiness," Lau, Dawson, and Huang "respectful." Waley has "resumes his attitude of wariness and hesitation," but 10:3 is a contrast of demeanor before and after an audience, hence "resumes" seems unjustified.

<sup>1</sup> 10:4. When he holds the scepter, he bends his body low, as though he cannot support its weight. He ascends as though genuflecting; descends as though presenting. He is severe, with an anxious look. His feet move shufflingly as though there were something he was following. At a presentation ceremony, he has an open expression. At a private viewing, he appears animated. [10:5]

The gwèr  $\pm$  is the minister's authority symbol. The verbs in the second sentence (shàng/syà  $\pm$  /  $\top$ ) are usually interpreted "holds it no higher/lower than" (Legge, Waley) or "at the top/bottom end" (Lau). The reader can see from p58 that there is little latitude in grasping the gwèr; there was probably also a correct height (chest-high) at which to carry it. The style of walking described later, which prevents bobbing, may help to maintain this altitude.

This unpaired saying shows the courtier rising above his status to carry a symbol of the ruler's authority delegated to him. That authority does not affect his own bearing, which instead expresses anxious stewardship. The courtier does not acquire, with delegated authority, the bearing of its original possessor. This distinction between delegatable and intrinsic authority suggests a nascent "constitutional" concept of the ruler in the new state.

## [B. Clothing and Food]

Deep blue-violets need room, and do not work as touches on something else; reds and purples are too strong for casual statement. An open-weave robe needs an under-robe for modesty. The color combinations black/oyster, ivory/taupe, and beige/brown commend themselves without comment. Note the expressed subject "gentleman," originally if implicitly that of the whole chapter.

10:5b. His casual robe is long, with a short right sleeve; he always has his sleeping garments longer by half than his body. The thicker furs of fox and badger he uses at home. When out of mourning, there is no sash ornament he may not wear. Except for ceremonial ones, his lower garments are always tailored. [10:6b]

If Waley is right about the short right sleeve as facilitating swordsmanship, 10:5a is early evidence for the sword (not the bow) as the standard sidearm, a cultural change which required a new practice. Too short nightclothes ride up during sleep. This and the home use of heavy furs suggest unheated houses. Ritual conservatism seems to preclude newfangled tailoring (compare \*5:22<sup>11</sup>).

 $_{\Gamma}$  10:5c. He does not visit the bereaved in fleece robe or dark cap. On auspicious days, he always attends court in his court dress. When fasting, he always has clean clothes, and of linen. [10:6c–7a]

10:5c on appropriate clothing pairs with 10:6a on appropriate food. Fasting for purification requires freshly laundered, light-colored clothing made of a traditional fiber (not newfangled silk; compare 9:3).

"Auspicious" days were new-moon days, when court was held. Since the Spring and Autumn period, one function of the court had been to determine the beginning of the seasons, and to locate the extra or intercalary months which were needed to keep the lunar and solar calendars coordinated.

L 10:6a. When fasting, he always uses different food, and when resting, he always moves his seat to a different place. His food he does not mind being of choice quality; his mincemeat he does not mind being cut fine. [10:7b–8a]

The point of fasting (selective rather than total abstinence; see further 10:6b/c). is its abnormality, hence the use of nonroutine foods and seating locations. There is at this period apparently no requirement that such food as the observer may eat should be literally coarse or ill-prepared.

<sub>-</sub> 10:6b. If food has gotten damp and is spoiled, if fish has softened and its flesh has

gone bad, he does not eat it. If the color is bad, he does not eat it. If the smell is bad, he does not eat it. If it is incompletely cooked, he does not eat it. If it is out of season, he does not eat it. If it is not cut straight across, he does not eat it. If it does not have the appropriate condiment, he does not eat it. [10:8b]

"Food" (sì食, deverbal of shŕ "eat") means the basic grain food (Legge "rice," but the staple grain at this time was millet). Grain keeps only if stored dry. These rules, including seasonability, seem meant to avoid illness or discomfort from eating. Cutting across the grain reveals hidden defects, and condiments (jyàng 醬) help by making the safe but probably rather bland fare palatable.

Plant foods attested in the CC include winter wheat, winter barley, plums, soybeans (following the 0663 conquest of the Mountain Rúng people, and the adoption of this important vegetable), and millet. Early LY mentions add vinegar (5:24, attesting the use of fermentation and pickling), dried meat (7:7), plus, in 9:3, hemp and the mulberry tree implied by the mention of silk cloth. So far the 05c. The LY 10 range (from the early 04c), as we see, is much wider.

10:6c Even if meat is plentiful, he does not let it overpower the food. It is only with wine that there is no set limit, but he does not drink to the point of confusion. Bought wine or market jerky he does not eat. He does not disdain food with ginger. He does not eat to excess. [10:8c]

The economy provides larger supplies of meat, but the gentleman, respectful of tradition, still treats it as a garnish on the basic grain food. There are urban markets (their first mention in the text), but the gentleman supplies fermented wine and cured meat (compare 7:7, and note the low social status of dried meat) from his own farmstead in the hinterland. Ginger as a spice for meat (unmentioned in the contemporary but archaizing Shr) is a novelty which seems welcome even in this generally traditional household.

Waley's reading of these rules as preparatory to sacrifice seems sometimes forced; some of them suggest mere dietary snobbery like the modern disdain, in country-club circles, for canned food (Cleary **Henshaw** 49, 67).

 $_{\Gamma}$  10:6d. After sacrificing with the Prince, he does not keep the meat overnight. With other sacrificial meat, he does not go beyond three days. If it is more than three days old, he will no longer eat it. [10:8d]

The flesh of ceremonially sacrificed animals was distributed to higher officials as a mark of favor. Being unpreserved, it could not be kept long. Meat from sacrifices was probably eaten the same day in order to avoid the implications of storing it (using it as mere food rather than as a mark of ceremonial honor). The safe keep limit on fresh meat was obviously the three days here insisted on.

10:6e–7a. He does not converse at meals. He does not talk in bed. Even with a meal of coarse food and vegetable broth or melons, in making an offering from it he is always solemn. If his mat is not straight, he will not sit on it. [10:8e–9a]

This is not a regimen for handling sacrificial food (though Waley ingeniously so argues), but the influence of sacrificial decorum on nonsacrificial manners. An increasing richness of elite-level domestic life is implied, as is a solemn manner for the official personality even in his domestic aspect.

[C. Visits and Gifts]

 $\lceil$  10:7b. When the country folk are drinking wine and the elders have left, he also takes his leave.  $\lceil$  10:10a $\rceil$ 

Evidently a low-society festive and social occasion at which the gentleman is present ex officio (see again the note to 10:1a). He puts in his appearance, and withdraws before the proceedings degenerate to the level of mere merriment. For the limited interpenetration of the two social orders, compare next.

10:8. When the country folk are performing an exorcism, he takes his stand in his court dress on the formal stairs. [10:10b]

The exorcism was a driving away of evil spirits; a ceremonial and religious occasion which the gentleman (compare 10:7b) attends in an official capacity. The gentleman is not a priest, or technician of the unseen (for thaumaturges in early China, see Mair \*M'ag), but knows how to behave *in the presence of* the unseen. It seems (pace Waley) that the people perform the ceremony, with the gentleman as an official onlooker. The ruler/ruled architectural axis is north and south, but there was also a reception-of-guest entrance and stairway on the east side of the larger buildings. The gentleman occupies this position, as a sort of envoy from the higher culture.

 $_{\Gamma}$  10:12a. When the ruler makes a gift of food, he must sit straight on his mat and first taste it. If the ruler makes a gift of sacrificial flesh, he must heat it and make an offering from it. If the ruler makes a gift of a live animal, he must rear it. [10:13a]

Later "tribute missions" concealed trade between peoples, and these supposed sacrificial sharings may amount functionally to salary, or a salary bonus. The respectful treatment accorded gifts from the palace avoids acknowledgement of this more crass meaning. Society appears to be outgrowing a sacrificial bond between ruler and henchmen, and replacing it with a secular ceremonial one.

10:12b. When he is attending at a meal in the ruler's palace, what the ruler sacrifices he is the first to make a meal of. [10:13b]

The seeming lowly attendant actually occupies a place of honor; he stands by the ruler when the ruler is discharging his formal or sacrificial functions. Hence his precedence at the meal (the verb is fǎn 飯 "make a meal of," not, as many commentators wish it were, cháng 當 "taste") following the sacrifice.

 $_{\Gamma}$  10:13. When he is ill and the ruler comes to see him, he places his head to the east, covers himself with his court robe, and spreads out his sash. [10:13c]

Even a sick man must receive his ruler in a prone equivalent of court dress. Note the alignment on the east/west "guest" axis, as in 10:8.

10:14. When the ruler's command summons him, he does not wait for the horses to be yoked, but simply goes. [10:13d]

In the old days, when the feudal warriors resided on their farmsteads, they responded to the ruler's summons by mustering with their chariots and arms. With the advent of urban residences for their more civilianized descendants (see again the implication of a grand official residence in 8:3, and its departure from the implied domicile of Confucius in the earlier LY 5–7), it is faster and thus more respectful to simply walk across to the palace.

[D. Private Behavior]

 $\lceil$  10:16a. When a friend dies, and there is nowhere else to turn, he says, Bury him at my expense. [10:15a]

Perhaps a holdover from the obligations of feudal warriors to fallen comrades (yẃ 於 can here *almost* be construed as an archaic full verb "it lies with me"), and perhaps an indication of the rising complexity, and thus cost, of funerals.

10:16b. When a friend sends a gift, even a carriage and horses, unless it be sacrificial meat, he does not bow before it. [10:15b]

Another cultural adjustment, probably designed to insulate the genuinely sacral occasions from the homogenization of manners. Even the most lavish gifts, if not from the court/sacrificial context, should not be accorded the respect which is properly reserved for that context. The money value of this gift between friends is staggering, and again implies a society of widespread wealth.

The pairing (as in several previous sayings) is based on a giving/receiving (or going/staying) contrast. Note the new attention given to the protocol of lateral relations, as distinct from the older vertical or hierarchical ones.

 $_{\Gamma}$  10:17. When asleep, he does not assume the posture of a corpse. When at ease, he does not adopt formal demeanor. [10:16a]

The first clause seems merely superstitious, and may have been so in origin, but combined with the second it is a barrier to the spread of sacral paradigms into the whole of life. The more relaxed moments have their own propriety.

L 10:18. On seeing one fasting or in mourning, even if it is an intimate, he changes expression. On seeing an officiant or blind man, even if it is an acquaintance, he assumes the proper attitude. Those in ill-omened garb he bows to; he bows to one carrying planks. When there are piles of delicacies, he changes expression and rises. On hearing thunder, or if the wind gusts, he changes countenance. [10:16d]

Another distinction between sacral and everyday realms, in which ceremonial roles ("blind men" are court musicians) supersede personal acquaintance in determining behavior. There is a constant respect for death (garb of "ill omen" is a circumlocution for funeral dress, and planks are used to make coffins), higher powers (in their weather aspect), and the unknown generally.

The "piles of delicacies" have presumably been previously offered to the spirit of the departed, hence the gentleman rises (dzwò (年) in respect when they are served. Waley suggests an analogy with a modern banquet guest saluting the arrival of a new dish; the mourning context seems to forbid this.

10:19. When getting into his chariot, he must stand squarely, holding the guide rope. Once in his chariot, he does not look back. He does not speak hurriedly, and does not point at individuals. [10:17]

The chariot is a power symbol, and must be approached with the straight, respectful stance with which power symbols (such as gifts of sacrificial food) are treated elsewhere in LY 10. Casualness and uncertainty are disrespectful, and they also undermine the social basis of the power (Orwell **Shooting** 158–159). Hurried speech and individual pointing can be threatening when combined, as they here seem to be, with a power position in the chariot.

As Waley notes, LY 10 was originally a description of the private and public conduct of the ideal gentleman, and was only at some later point partially relabeled as a description of the historical Confucius. The pattern of chapters and interpolations as a whole suggests that this point came after LY 10 itself (c0380) but before LY 11 (c0360), and thus, as a first approximation, in c0370. It was inevitable that, once appended to the previous series of Confucian teachings, this extended description of the protocol-perfect gentleman should have been assumed to have been true of Confucius as well, and that the literal Confucius profiles in LY 7 and LY 9 should thenceforth have been read from the viewpoint of, or so to speak through the filer of, the LY 10 prescriptions. The next step was to regard LY 10 itself not as a Confucian primer but as itself a third Confucius profile, and it is this change of view which the relabeling noted by Waley makes explicit. Having textually adjusted LY 10 to fit this new presumption, the next logical step was to touch up LY 7 and 9 also, to bring them closer to the kind of Confucius that was being perceived through LY 10. This was accomplished by adding some descriptive statements of the very distinctive LY 10 type to those chapters, thus providing similar information at those points, and homogenizing the three Confucius "portraits" stylistically. Apart from the retrospective adjustment to LY 10 itself, these homogenizing additions to LY 7 and 9 were the earliest use of the interpolation device as a way of maintaining consistency in a text which up until that point had simply accumulated, any internal conflicts being allowed to stand. A desire for internal consistency would seem to be intelligible as part of the ritual interest of the new Kung family heads, since ritual itself tends to emphasize both canonicity and repeatability, and since their interest as a new leadership group was to minimize any perceived differences between their own teachings and the accumulated doctrinal pronouncements of the 05c series of disciple heads. These older chapters seem to have constituted a heritage that both defined them as successors, and challenged them as interlopers.

Below we present the material which we identify as having been added to LY 7 and LY 9 at this slightly later date. It is modest, even innocuous, in both extent and character. It will however be followed, in LY 11 (c0360), by a much bolder attempt to revise and reshape, not merely to retouch, the entire previous tradition of the school.

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

#### Added to LY 7

#### \*7:4. When the Master was at leisure, he was easy; he was open. [7:4]

It would be hard to imagine a more modest example of so sinister a process as interpolation. It describes demeanor with the kind of reduplicative expressions (shvnshvn-rú 申申如 "easy," yāuyāu-rú 夭夭如 "open," both unique in the text) that are repeatedly used in LY 10 (see the note to 10:1a). The meaning of these expressions often has only a tenuous relation with the meaning of the single character (respectively, "stretch out" and "youthful"), and must be inferred situationally (for this principle,see Kennedy **Ode**). Such precise specification of casual behavior shows how serious were the early 04c cataloguers of ritual.

 $^{*}$ 7:9. When the Master was eating beside someone who was observing mourning, he would never eat his fill. [7:9a]

He respects, by meeting it partway, the restraint that is obligatory on the mourner (*full* compliance would usurp the mourner's own position; compare Maugham **Cakes** 239). It was presumably at court banquets after a sacrifice that the courtier might find himself seated beside someone in mourning (the mourner would normally remain at home, but a palace summons had to be answered). Kennedy **Ode** explores the disorderly revelry that might eventuate on these occasions. Rowdy behavior in an ostensibly formal context is also encountered in Western postfeudal societies (Wodehouse **Option** 301–302).

This interpolation covers a situation not dealt with in 10:18. Why was it not simply added to LY 10 itself? Such questions are unanswerable, but perhaps, beside the above-mentioned desire for canonical homogeneity, LY 10 was too recently issued, or too fondly regarded by its author, to be thus disfigured.

- Wailing (kū 哭) is a stylized lamenting conventional at funerals. The principle of ritual propinquity (see \*7:9 above, with which \*7:10 is in effect paired) applies to one visiting the bereaved on a given day, but not himself in mourning for the *remainder* of that day. Here, the grief is the gentleman's own. Weeping and singing flow from different feelings, and emotional sincerity is inconsistent with too rapid a change of feeling. The idea of a human-feeling basis for ritual will be much further elaborated in LY 3.
- \*7:27. The Master angled but did not net; shot, but not at perching birds. [7:26] Hunting was increasingly obsolete in these days of intensive agriculture, but the small angling and birding of this passage is quite plausible for the 04c. Hunting with line or bow is unfair unless it gives the prey a chance; it is not victory, but rather skill and courage that count. On postfeudal sportsmanship see also 3:7 and 3:16, and compare Wodehouse **Bludleigh** 204–209.
- \*7:32. When the Master was singing with others and liked the song, he always let it come round again, and only then harmonized with it. [7:31]

As in \*7:9, above, the point is to avoid intrusiveness while giving scope to pleasure. Hè  $\pi$  "harmonize with" may imply adding a countermelody rather than simply joining in; if so, awaiting the next repetition of the song makes all the more sense. For further, albeit enigmatic, evidence on singing in the partly contemporary Sh $\bar{r}$ , see Waley **Songs** #15–16, #210.

### Added to LY 9

\*9:10. When the Master saw one who was wearing mourning, one who was dressed in full court costume, or one who was blind, as soon as he caught sight of them, even though they were younger, he would always rise; on passing by them, he would always hurry. [9:9]

A similarity in the ritual treatment of the bereaved, the consecrated, and the disabled. Rising in another's presence symbolizes solicitous attention; hurrying when passing in front of someone symbolizes the minimizing of obstruction. For further details on the protocol of blindness, see the later 15:42.

#### Reflections

The bafflement of English-language Analects commentators at the ethical desert of LY 10 is echoed in that of English-language Bible explicators at having to deal with Leviticus (Interpreter's 2/4). With LY 10, a new ritual emphasis enters Confucianism. Ethics reappears in the Analects from LY 11 on, but the tone of Confucianism is permanently altered in a ritual direction. It is with LY 10 that the later emphasis on lǐ 禮 ("ritual, propriety, procedure") takes over from the earlier emphasis on rýn 仁. Modern commentators differ in how they handle the result: Fingarette Sacred expounds the entire text from the lǐ viewpoint toward which its later layers indeed tend; Roetz Axial 119–148 detects the early rýn beneath the later overlay of lǐ. Following LY 10, later lǐ chapters were not only added (LY 11), but preposed (LY 3), and individual lǐ sayings were interpolated within the older sequence of rýn chapters, LY 4-9, thus giving lǐ a longer pedigree in the writings of the Confucian school.

To put the ritual interpretation in perspective, the reader may usefully contrast LY 10 and Leviticus in extenso, noting especially how different the respective background assumptions are. Waley's comparison (**Analects** 59) with the Indian householder text Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra seems to be more to the point: domestic conventions may well *take account* of the otherworldly, but they are not themselves seen as *grounded in* a view of the otherworld.

Many of the LY 10 prescriptions have more elaborate and systematic counterparts in the documents constituting the Lǐ Jì; this fact is one reason for believing the Lǐ Jì to be of late date. LY 10 itself does not so much codify elite behavior as constitute a primer of it for the non-elite novice. It has the socially homogenizing mission of the English "public" school (Orwell **England** 272; "an aristocracy constantly recruited from parvenus"). Nor is it anomalous that such outsiders should become arbiters of elite taste (Wodehouse **Bingo** 342). This social fluidity is a central, and apparently recent, fact of the 04c.

As a corrective to the sacrificial tone of LY 10, we note Waley's remark on the prestige value of clothing in the Shī: "a girl in a garrison town turning down one lover in preference for another who has more stripes on his sleeve" (**Songs** 16–17). Rank and status are certainly the point of many of these rules, as they are in the courtship songs of the Shī (some of which may have been composed at just this period). But there are other aspects too. On the value of "dress and address" to the gentleman, see Hazlitt **Life** 200; the aesthetic aspect denied by Waley also peeps through in such details as the color combinations of 10:5a. Agricultural production (see 9:3n) has long been above subsistence level, and there seems to have been a proportionately abundant *urban* surplus. The arts of the enjoyment of life thus begin to loom large in the text.

The "Reflections" on LY 7 (7r) compared that chapter and LY 9, and to a lesser extent LY 10–11, with the Christian Gospel portraits of that movement's founder. We now see that LY 10 began by describing an ideal gentleman, and only later acquired a "Confucius" biographical label. The original LY 10 had therefore *turned away* from the persona of the founder to the content of the ideology. Later chapters add other details to the Confucian persona, but there are no more full-length portraits. In LY 10, ideology first freed itself from the Confucius persona. In the later Analects elaboration of that persona, it seems to be evolving ideology, more than evolving myth *as such*, that drives the text.

Bronze Axle Cap and Linchpin (see LY 11:8)

Length 8·1 cm (3·2 in). 05c. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art (79·13)