

14

c0310

LY 14 continues developments that are first visible in LY 2: the importance of writing, the rise of cosmology, and the militarization of policy. Píng-gūng apparently wanted to make Lǚ a major player in the game of war; an alliance with Chín was considered, and Chǔ eventually intervened. The Confucians urged their vision of a cultural rather than a political role for Lǚ in the east, and a protected position for the criticism of the officer in the new state. They also held a rational rather than mystical version of the theory of ruler influence. In these areas they seem to have lost ground to the Micians, Dàuists, and military theorists. LY 14 finds the Lǚ Confucians in an embattled condition.

LY 14 follows the DJ of c0312 (see 14:15n), and includes some sharp comments on that work; we have thus dated the chapter to shortly after c0312. Dǔ-jīng would at this time still have been the head of the Lǚ school.

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

[A. The Officer and the State]

┌ 14:1a. Syèn asked about the shameful. The Master said, When the state has the Way, to be paid, and when the state has *not* the Way, to be *still* paid – *that* is shameful. [14:1]

Syèn is Ywǎn Sǐ (see 6:5). In the bureaucratized state, honor is increasingly seen in terms of money (compare 4:5 and 5:21). 14:1a notes that even honor is shameful if it comes from an improper connection. Compare 14:3, below.

└ 14:2. The Master said, To be an officer, and yet fond of ease, is not good enough to count as being an officer at all. [14:3]

The same point made a different way: it is the responsibilities of office, and not the prerequisites of office, that are the point of office.

┌ 14:3. The Master said, When the state has the Way, he speaks boldly and acts boldly. When the state has not the Way, he acts boldly but his words are conciliatory. [14:4]

When the state is functioning, officers can be candid in opinion and vigorous in action. When it is not, action is still needed, but advocacy must be indirect. The test of not having the “Way” is thus a ruler’s unwillingness to hear advice. 14:3 implies that candor is crucial to the state, and the ruler its chief enemy.

└ 14:5. Nám-gūng Kwò asked Confucius, Yì was good at archery; Àu labored with the boat; neither died a natural death. Yǔ and Jí personally farmed, and came to possess All Under Heaven. Our Respected Master did not reply. Nám-gūng Kwò went out. The Master said, A gentleman indeed is that man! A respecter of virtue indeed is that man! [14:6].

The arts of peace, not war, are the basis of the state; compare DDJ 42 (c0300) and the popular agrarian movements noted in Graham **Tillers**. Yǔ and Jí figure in Shū 55; a Mician version of it is quoted in MZ 9 (c0320; Mei **Ethical** 46). The elegant surname Nám-gūng 南宮 is still met with in Korea.

┌ 14:7. The Master said, If he loves them, can he but exact toil from them? If he is loyal to him, can he but offer criticism of him? [14:8]

The people do not like toil, but in their own interest the ruler must induce them to toil at farming. The ruler does not like criticism, but for the good of the state (on which loyalty now focuses), the officer must sometimes criticize. This goes beyond the “propriety” argument of 13:19 to a “duty” argument; it is another basic precept of the censorial idea (Hucker **Censorial** 188f).

└ 14:8. The Master said, When they prepared an edict, Pí Chvń made the rough copy, Shř-shú criticized it, the diplomat Dž-yŵ polished it, and Dž-chń of Dũnglǐ added ornament to it. [14:9]

The point of this seeming bit of trivia is that the ruler’s message actually comes from the officials, and the ruler only addresses the people in their voice.

Those mentioned are from late 06c Jvng. The idea that early society was administered by documents is also found in the DJ, but there too it is an anachronism: not until the 04c would public pronouncements have been functional. 14:8 shows the importance of state documents *as of c0310*, and the disposition to ascribe the documentary mode of government to earlier periods. The Shū documents are an extreme instance of this disposition; see 2:21n.

[B. Historical Models for the Officer]

┌ 14:9. Someone asked about Dž-chń. The Master said, A kindly man. They asked about Dž-syī. He said, That one! That one! They asked about Gwń Jvng. He said, That man took away the three hundred towns of Pyń from the head of the Bwó clan, and caused him to eat coarse food, but until his teeth fell out he had not a resentful word to say. [14:10]

The first of these ministers, Dž-chń of Jvng, is criticized for being kindly rather than firm (compare the positive view of *5:16¹³). The second, an 05c Chŭ minister, is also disapproved of (Chŭ was Lŭ’s major enemy at this time; compare the more positive view in the contemporary Chí text DJ). Gwń Jvng is here a model of the conciliatory use of force, inducing local barons to yield their privileges to the government (compare the more hostile 3:22). There is no consistency, with other texts or with the earlier Analects, in the view here taken of these figures; they are simply emblems of policy. The policy here being recommended seemingly favored consolidation of factions within Lŭ.

└ 14:11. The Master said, Mvng Gvng-chwò would have been overqualified as an elder in Jàu or Ngwèi, but he could not have been a great dignitary even in Tvng or Sywē. [14:12]

Jàu and Ngwèi were Jń successor states after 0403 (note the anachronism); Tvng and Sywē were tiny statelets south of Lŭ. The implication is that Mvng Gvng-chwò (said to have been head of the Mvng clan in Confucius’s time) was a minor talent, unfit for high office, who deserved to lose his local power.

Mencius, also surnamed Mvng, left Chí in 0313 after giving bad advice to its King on intervening in Yń. By 0310 he may already have become advisor to the future Prince of tiny Tvng. Is the Lŭ school, perhaps envying his big-state early career, here metaphorically jeering at the small-state end to that career?

└ 14:12a. Dž-lù asked about the perfect man. The Master said, The knowledge of Dzàng Wǔ-jǜng, the desirelessness of Gǔng-chwò, the courage of Jwāngdž of Byèn, the accomplishments of Rǎn Chyóu – if one added culture in the form of ritual and music, that would do as a perfect man. [14:13a]

Waley wonders at the mention of Rǎn Chyóu, but the whole list is suspect. Wǔ-jǜng, praised for practical savvy in the DJ, is deflated in 14:14; Gǔng-chwò was belittled in 14:11; no one knows anything about Jwāngdž of Byèn. Even the term “perfect [or complete] man” (ch’ing-r’vn 成人) is Dàuist (see JZ 20:4, Watson **Chuang** 214), not Confucian (it never recurs in the Analects). It is perhaps best to take the passage as sardonic, disapproving of its ostensible ideal (the perfect man) and exemplifying that “ideal” in recognizably negative terms. The “desirelessness” of Gǔng-chwò may reflect that of Mencius (see MC 2A2); This meditative “ideal” masks power politics (Wǔ-jǜng), riotousness (Jwāngdž), and corruption (Rǎn Chyóu). For the real views of the text, see rather 14:12b.

└ 14:12b. He said, As for a perfect man in the present day, why must he be thus? To see profit but think of right; to see danger but accept orders; despite constant pressure, not to forget his lifelong words – that too could be a perfect man. [14:13b]

The “said” marks the original independence of the now joined 14:12a and 12b.

For “making do with less” in a corrupt world, see 7:12 and 7:16. This passage celebrates the LY 4 virtues of honor, courage, and fidelity.

└ 14:13. The Master asked Gǔngmíng Jyǎ about Gǔngshú W’vndž, Is it true that his excellency did not speak, did not laugh, and did not take? Gǔngmíng Jyǎ replied, Whoever said that has exaggerated. His excellency spoke only when it was timely, and others did not weary of his speaking. He laughed only when he was happy, and others did not weary of his laughing. He took only when it was right, and others did not weary of his taking. The Master said, Could it have been so? How could it have been so? [14:14]

Confucius here doubts the praise of a “complete man” by one of his adherents. We may compare, and in the light of 14:12a/b we may doubt the sincerity of, the “taking without causing resentment” attributed to Gwǎn Jùng in 14:9.

└ 14:14. The Master said, Dzàng Wǔ-jǜng from his base in Fáng asked of Lǔ that Wéi should succeed him. Though they say he did not compel his ruler, I do not believe it. [14:15]

The pairing is based on distrust of a historical claim (for this one, see the DJ sv Syāng 23, Legge **Ch’un** 503; this criticism is acknowledged in a “Jùng-ní” comment later added to the DJ, Legge 504b). The question of how we know what we know in history greatly interested the late 04c. Claims of ancient precedent gave an advantage in debate. Confucian willingness to challenge the historical claims of other parties reaches its apex in MC 7B3 (c0252).

└ 14:15. The Master said, Jìn W’vn-gūng was artful but not correct. Chí Hwán-gūng was correct but not artful. [14:16]

The two heroes of the DJ, whose historiography 14:15 attacks. W’vn-gūng’s *state* of Jìn was tripartitioned in 0403, Hwán-gūng’s *line* was brought to an end in Chí by the Tyén assassins. Note the implied praise of balance: neither quality alone is enough to safeguard a rulership over time.

[C. Larger Historical Principles]

⌋ 14:16. Dǔ-lù said, Hwán-gūng killed Prince Jyōu, and Sháu Hū died for him, but Gwǎn Jùng did not die. Would one say that he was not rǎn? The Master said, That Hwán-gūng nine times assembled the several Lords without using arms or chariots was Gwǎn Jùng's doing. But as to his rǎn, as to his rǎn. . . ! [14:17]

Gwǎn Jùng, the minister of Chí Hwán-gūng (see Rosen **Kuan**) treacherously abandoned his original master, to make his second master the leader or bà 霸 “hegemon” of the Lords (Rosen **Hegemon**). He raises the issue of new versus old loyalty, and that of the new functional state versus the old personalistic state (see Wang **Loyalty**). 14:16 classically disapproves of this, but compare 14:17.

⌋ 14:17. Dǔ-gùng said, Gwǎn Jùng was not rǎn, was he? When Hwán-gūng killed Prince Jyōu, he could not bring himself to die, and even served him as minister. The Master said, Hwán-gūng was leader of the lords, and united All Under Heaven; the people down to the present receive the benefit of it. Without Gwǎn Jùng, we would be wearing our hair long and lapping our robes to the left. How can this be compared to the consistency of some common man or common woman, to cut his own throat in some ditch or drain, and no one would ever know it? [14:17]

This refutes 14:16; which is right? The Analects often pairs conflicting sayings, sometimes to suggest nuances, sometimes to balance new and old ideas. The new idea here is a pragmatic, postfeudal, view of Gwǎn Jùng as saving Chinese culture from being overrun by barbarians. 14:16 respects chivalric “honor,” but for 14:17, results count. “Nine times assembled the Lords” (14:16) and “united All Under Heaven” (14:17) are echoed in GZ 20, which (Rickett **Guanzi** 318) disputes the DJ estimate of Gwǎn Jùng; GZ 20 was in turn a source of GY 6, from c0304 (Brooks **Prospects** 50). These varying estimates of Gwǎn Jùng show the competition to annex exemplary figures. The late 04c war of ideas was carried on in part as a war of symbolic personages.

⌋ 14:18. Gūngshú Wǎndǔ's minister and great officer Jwàn was promoted with Wǎndǔ. The Master heard of it, and said, He may well be called Wǎn. [14:19]

A classic touch; the epithet (here, the name) Wǎn “Cultured” is consistently used in the Analects in the contrary sense of “open to humble ways” (5:15). This is so traditional that we might anticipate a reversal in the paired 14:19.

⌋ 14:19. The Master had spoken of Wèi Líng-gūng's lack of the Way. Kāngdǔ said, If so, why was he not destroyed? Confucius said, Jūngshú Yǔ had charge of visitors and guests, Invocator Twó had charge of the ancestral shrine, Wángsūn Jyǎ had charge of military strategy. That being so, how should he be destroyed? [14:20]

Jūngshú Yǔ is the Kǔng Wǎndǔ of 5:15. This defines the state not in terms of its ruler (the bad Prince Líng of Wèi) but *of its functions*: the ruler's character no longer matters. This illuminates the Gwǎn Jùng comment in 14:17 (results count). This trend of thought is best identified as Legalist; it derives from the new-style, directly ruled postfeudal state which emerged in the 05c in Lǔ and especially Chí, where discontinuity in the ruling line made the state receptive to innovation. Personal virtue still matters (section 14B), but the Analects in 14C concedes that it also matters whether the state wins or loses. The mention of a court military officer may reflect growing militarization in Lǔ at this time.

[D. The Confucians in Office]

⌈ 14:21. Ch'vn Ch'ngdž had killed Jyěn-gūng. Confucius bathed and went to court. He reported to Aī-gūng, Ch'vn Hwán has killed his ruler. I ask to punish him. The Prince said, Report it to the Three Masters. Confucius said, As I follow after the Great Dignitaries, I did not dare not to report; and my sovereign says to report it to the Three Masters. He went to the Three Masters and reported, but was not given permission. Confucius said, As I follow after the Great Dignitaries, I did not dare not to report. [14:22]

This refers to the 0481 Tyén (Ch'vn) usurpation in Chí. In the DJ (Aī 14; Legge **Ch'un** 840), Confucius argues that the people would side with a Lǚ invasion, and refuses to consult the Three Clans. There may be a parallel with Mencius's advising Chí to invade disordered Yēn in 0314 (MC 1B10). 14:21 also absolves the Lǚ Confucians of any complicity in the Chí usurpation.

⌋ 14:22. Dž-lù asked about serving a ruler. The Master said, Do not deceive him; rather, oppose him. [14:21]

Loyalty requires candor, and precludes sabotage; this “loyal opposition” saying is another foundational statement for the later censorial system.

⌈ 14:32. Wēishvng Mǒu said to Confucius, Why is Chyōu so skittish? Is it not for the sake of displaying his eloquence? Confucius said, I would not dare be eloquent, but I deprecate stubbornness. [14:34]

This assumes that “Confucius” has been flitting from court to court (compare DJ Aī 11, Legge **Ch'un** 826b) making speeches in search of a ministership; the charge of disloyalty is phrased as vanity. Confucius denies that he is vain, and belittles consistency itself as stubbornness: loyalty is to principle, and it matters little where it is realized. The itinerant Mencius was also criticized as disloyal, and 14:32 (like 14:21) may be a defense of a brother Confucian.

⌋ 14:36. Gūngbwó Lyáu accused Dž-lù to the Jì clan. Džfú Jǐng-bwó reported it, and said, Our Respected Master must have some animus against Gūngbwó Lyáu. My influence is still sufficient to have him exposed in the marketplace. The Master said, Is the Way about to be implemented? It is Fate. Is the Way about to be discarded? It is Fate. What will Gūngbwó Lyáu be able to do against Fate? [14:38]

The plaza (shè 市) of 10:6c is here an execution ground. Confucius refuses secular help, and appeals to the higher sanctions of 7:23 and 9:5. The Micians hated this Confucian reliance on Fate; see MZ 35–37 (Mei **Ethical** 182–199).

⌋ 14:40. Dž-jāng said, The Shū says, “When Gāu-dzūng was in the mourning hut, for three years he did not speak.” What does it mean? The Master said, Why just Gāu-dzūng? All the men of old were like this. When the ruler passed away, the hundred officials continued in office, and took orders from the Steward of the Tomb, for three years. [14:43]

The Shū 43 quote refers to a Shāng ruler; it is the first statement of a three-year mourning rule (*4:20² was a harbinger). MC 3A2 (03c) says that Mencius urged that a Prince of T'vng observe it, but the T'vng elders argued that neither they nor the parent Lǚ line had ever done so. 14:40 does not join this dispute; its point is that government does not stop for the death of a ruler: *it continues*.

[E. Envoi: The Welfare of the People]

└ 14:41. The Master said, When the superiors love propriety, the people are easy to employ. [14:44]

The employment here meant is in forced labor projects, not government office. For this now familiar populist tenet, see the earlier 13:1 and 13:4.

└ 14:42. Dž-lù asked about the gentleman. The Master said, He cultivates himself so as to produce assiduousness. He said, If he achieves this, is that all? He said, He cultivates himself so as to ease the lot of others. He said, If he achieves this, is that all? He said, He cultivates himself so as to ease the lot of the Hundred Families. If he cultivates himself so as to ease the lot of the Hundred Families, could even Yáu or Shùn criticize him? [14:45]

The “so as to” reflects the incipient aspect of the verbs: “labors toward a result” (see Whorf **Reality** 151 and *13:22b², p116 above). The ruler sets an example; in 14:42 that example reaches the people at large (the “Hundred Families”), and he thus ranks with Yáu and Shùn. This is the first Analects mention of these supposed ancient rulers, who had appeared earlier in the Mician writings. Cultivating the self to benefit others is at bottom a Dàuist idea; compare 15:5.

Interpolations

The sayings in the first concentric layer added to the small Dz̄ngdž core of LY 8 (the 8B layer; for 8C, see LY 18) have many affinities with LY 12–15, such as a new but subordinate role for r̄n. They also lack such devices as numerical groupings, which are typical of LY 16. We append them here, with some sayings that may have been added at about this time to other chapters.

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

Added to LY 7

*7:11. The Master said to Yén Ywān, When they use him, he acts; when they cast him aside, he waits – it is only me and you that have this, is it not? Dž-lù said, If the Master were running the Three Armies, who would he have as an associate? The Master said, One who would rush a tiger or breast a river, who would die with no regret – I would *not* associate with. What I would require is someone who oversees affairs with trepidation, and prefers to succeed by consultation. [7:10]

Yén Hwér wins praise for his submissiveness. Rash Dž-lù, jealous, thinks he would fare better in a military setting, but his recklessness (the allusion is to Shī 195, Legge **She** 333; for 04c man/animal combat, see Lewis **Violence** 153) only loses out to cautious strategy. See also SBF 3:10 (c0312), Griffith **Sun** 79, for the new-style general’s preference for victories that minimize losses.

*7:13. What the Master was careful about were abstinence, war, and illness. [7:12]

The bureaucratic virtue of carefulness, sh̄n 慎, first appears at 2:18 (c0317); next are this and *8:2a, below; compare 1:9, 1:14, and 19:25. All subjects mentioned here seem to have involved the state temple: abstinence precedes sacrifice, which might be occasioned by the illness of rulers. For the planning of military campaigns in the temple precincts, see SBF 1:28 (Griffith **Sun** 71).

*7:15. Rǎn Yǒu said, Is our Respected Master for the Ruler of Wèi? Dǔ-gùng said, Right; I shall ask him. He went in and said, Bwó-yí and Shú-chí: what sort of men were they? He said, Worthy men of old. He said, Were they resentful? He said, They sought rǎn and they got rǎn; what should they resent? He went out, and said, Our Respected Master is not for him. [7:14]

The father was trying to oust, from the rulership of Wèi, the son in whose favor he had abdicated. The ancient rulers Bwó-yí and Shú-chí had abandoned their states out of principle, and thus make a diplomatically adroit way of asking a question which, within Wèi itself, could not be framed directly. As in *7:11 above, Confucius favors impassiveness rather than insistence on formal rights, and deplores violent contention. In 0314 the King of Yēn had abdicated in favor of his minister Dǔ-jī; civil chaos ensued, and Mencius (MC 1B10) had recommended that Chí intervene. This piece seems to question the wisdom of that advice (Chí was expelled from Yēn by a group of other states in 0314).

*7:21. The Master did not speak of freaks of nature, feats of strength, disorders, or spirits. [7:20]

Freaks of nature (birds flying backward, falling stars) were recorded as baleful portents in the CC, and the DJ commentary of c0312 abounds in fulfilled predictions as well as feats of strength and uncanny events (Watson **Tso** 139f and 120f; the hero of the former is Confucius's father, which must have been intensely embarrassing to the newly pacific Lǔ Confucians). Distaste for military prowess appears as early as 11:13b in the changed image of Dǔ-lù (compare *5:7¹¹ and 3:16) and is further developed in *7:11, above. For the Mician belief in supernatural retribution, see MZ 29–31 (Mei **Ethical** 160f).

Lists like this and the next can be very evocative literarily; they are the ancestor of those in Sei Shōnagon (Waley **Pillow** 22–24, 93, 123f, 131f).

*7:25. The Master based his teaching on four things: culture, conduct, loyalty, and fidelity. [7:24]

This positive parallel to *7:21, above, reaffirms the 05c range of Confucius's teachings, and pulls back at least momentarily from the new 04c terrain.

Added to LY 8

┌ *8:2a. The Master said, If he is respectful without propriety, he becomes wearisome. If he is careful without propriety, he becomes finicky. If he is brave without propriety, he becomes disruptive. If he is upright without propriety, he becomes censorious. [8:2a]

Jyǎu 絞 “tangled” means “censorious” also in the DJ (Jāu 1, Legge **Ch'un** 576b “sharp”). For lǐ “propriety” as a moderating principle, see 12:1; for moderation, and tact in particular, rather than the old extremism, see *7:11, above.

└ *8:2b. If the gentleman is dependable toward his kin, the people will be inspired to be rǎn. If his old friends are not cast off, the people will not be unstable. [8:2b]

Dú 篤 “dependable” (translated as “sound” in 11:19b) here for the first time acquires moral import. The exemplary ruler concept is typical of the late 04c, but this particular saying evidently helps define the sort of rǎn which it was hoped to induce in the populace. Rǎn here can only be something like “trust.”

┌ *8:8. The Master said, He is inspired by the Shī, given a foundation by Ritual, and completed by Music. [8:8]

These were probably texts rather than merely values, hence the capital letters. Some ritual writings of the period are included in later collections. The Music canon seems to have comprised accompaniments to the Shī poems and some separate court dances; it has not survived. Pedagogically, the beginner is motivated by ideals of conduct in the Shī, learns to embody them in behavior by ritual, and in some Platonic sense given a broad social vision by the study of music, including actual performance. There was a hint of music in 11:15, and we first see Confucius himself playing an instrument in *14:39¹⁸.

└ *8:9. The Master said, The people can be made to follow it; they cannot be made to understand it. [8:9]

The people can respond to a higher-level example, but they cannot themselves generate that example, or even understand what it is they are responding to; they have moral susceptibility without moral instinct. This retreats from the degree of educability asserted in LY 12–13 (see 12:19), which, with MZ 16 (Mei **Ethical** 96f) are the high-water mark of Warring States populist theory.

┌ *8:10. The Master said, If people love valor and are suffering from poverty, there will be disorder. And if people are merely not rǎn and are suffering excessively, there will be disorder. [8:10]

This echoes the 8:2b fear of the people, whose refusal of military service imperils the state, and whose love of martial qualities also imperils the state, but it is also a warning that a state which tolerates popular suffering will be in danger even from those who are not by nature fractious. Suffering is bad policy.

└ *8:11. The Master said, If one had all the abilities and excellences of the Prince of Jōu, and were at the same time arrogant and stingy, then the rest would not be worth looking at. [8:11]

The essence of the new-style ruler is modesty and generosity. The people must not be made to feel the lowliness of their situation, or be subjected to want. This and *8:10 are paired on the basis of the implied policies of the ruler.

┌ *8:12. The Master said, One who would study for three years without aiming at wealth is not easy to find. [8:12]

The school course evidently lasted three years (compare the tripartite subject matter of *8:8, above), and qualified students for profitable positions. 8:12 deplores the lack of any higher motive in its students than the pursuit of profit.

└ *8:13. The Master said, He is dependable, faithful, and loves study; he will hold unto death to the Way of the Good. Into a precarious state he will not enter; in a disordered state he will not remain. When All Under Heaven has the Way, he is seen; when it does not have the Way, he is invisible. When the state has the Way, to be poor and humble in it is shameful; when the state has not the Way, to be wealthy and honored in it is shameful. [8:13]

Notice the portability of the gentleman (compare 14:32), who like the people (13:4) will leave a bad situation for a better one. The Mician “Good,” resisted in 11:19a, has been assimilated since 13:11. The last line of *8:13 echoes 14:1.

┌ *8:14. The Master said, If he does not occupy the position, he does not give counsel for the policies. [8:14]

The idea that the gentleman does not comment on things that are not his business goes back to the limited duty of the old-style warrior, and recurs in *14:26a^{15b} as glossed in *14:26b^{15b}. The new context for this principle in c0310 was the emergence of advisorships as distinct from ministerships. We are told in SJ 74 (5/2344–2346) that, in the wake of Mencius’s departure from Chí, its ruler established a number of high-profile stipendiaries at Jî-syà. These had government *rank* but not government *duties*; instead, they wrote long treatises. LY *8:14 may be disapproving this separation of ability and accountability. Churchill too, at a not less militarily dire moment, recognized the anomaly of the “exalted brooding over affairs” which is the lot of the minister without a department, and thus without the power to affect outcomes (**Storm** 409).

└ *8:15. The Master said, When Preceptor Jí began the Gwān-jyṽ coda, how impressively it filled the ears! [8:15]

A technical approval of how one music-master conducted the coda of Shī 1 (see 3:20, 3:23). Music-masters were blind (15:42), and must have learned the repertoire by rote. If the Canon of Music contained notation (*8:8c, opposite), it was probably an elite transcript of expert practice, not an expert handbook. The pairing is based on this expert/layman contrast.

┌ *8:16. The Master said, Wild but not upright, unschooled but not eager, simple but not candid – I do not recognize them. [8:16]

The quality kwáng 狂 “mad,” here “wild,” is in many cultures allowed direct expression without incurring offence (see 18:5). But such privileged behavior ought at least to be straightforward. The other two clauses have the same logic: students should have virtues proper to their shortcomings (compare 4:7).

└ *8:17. The Master said, Learn as though you would never get there, as though you were afraid of losing it. [8:17]

This paired saying seems to confirm students as the focus of *8:16. It is also a cousin to the ardent 9:11, and the strenuous Dzṽngdzian fervor of 8:3.

Added to LY 3

*3:5. The Master said, The Yí and Dí *with* rulers are not the equal of the several Syà states *without* them. [3:5]

However well ordered politically, foreigners are inferior. This view is new in 14:17, and reverses the inclusive 12:5; it has thus provoked commentary. Waley (ap 5:7) sees *all* mentions of other cultures as examples of a “noble savage” motif; Leys notes that interpretations of *3:5 have varied with the political relation of China to the steppe peoples. Analects comments on foreign peoples occur within a 50-year span, and evolve from *5:7¹¹ (c0360) and 12:5 (c0326, positive) through 13:19 and *9:14¹³ (c0322, moderate) to 14:17 and *3:5 (c0310, hostile). This change may reflect the aggressions of the Syūngnú, which inspired defensive walls (0324, in Chín; Yü **Hsiung-nu** 118) and the use of cavalry (0307, in Jâu; page 117 above). The DJ (Jâu 10; Legge **Ch’un** 668a) approves of learning from other cultures; the Analects here disagrees.

Added to LY 13

*13:8. The Master said that Jīng, son of the the Prince of Wèi, knew how to live in his house. When he first began to have something, he said, They will somehow suffice. When he came to have a little more, he said, They will be more or less complete. When he had a great deal, he said, They will be rather beautiful. [13:8]

The two elliptical expressions “have [wealth]” and “they [ancestral rites]” show how well established were private wealth and ancestral piety at this time, though in the Analects they are something of a new note at this point. There is nothing in LY 10, an extended survey of the daily manners of a high officer as of c0380, that implies an important place for domestic ancestral rituals. Other evidence suggests that these were an 04c extension of the established ancestral observances of the ruling line. A metaphorical portrait of Confucius’s palatial mansion in 19:23 does mention an ancestral shrine, with hundreds of menials in attendance, though by that time the Confucius myth had developed to the point where he is seen as virtually a state institution, so that remarks about his residence are not evidence for private wealth. Nevertheless, private households do seem in the 04c to have acquired the means of enjoyment, and even of splendor, that had once belonged exclusively to the ruler.

*13:21. The Master said, If he cannot get those of moderate conduct to associate with, he will surely have to make do with the wild or the timid, will he not? The wild will go ahead and do *something*, and the timid will have some things that they will *not* do. [13:21]

“Wild” (compare *8:16¹⁴ above) and timid are clearly a viable second-best. Possible interpretations range from Waley, who sees both as representing a single preferable extreme (the “impetuous and hasty” versus the timid and conscientious), to Lau, who sees them rather as naming opposite extremes (“undisciplined” versus “overscrupulous”) which are equally workable. Which is right? Most of the commentators agree with Lau. It is not decisive that some glosses on the second character, jywæn 猥, give the meaning “urgent,” since others give “timid,” and the word is rare in any case (this is its only Analects occurrence). The explanations *in the passage*, relied on by Legge, tend to imply opposites (going ahead versus leaving out). Since the earliest dictionaries were not studies of meaning but repositories of commentary, glosses do not have an authority greater than the passage itself. Legge thus seems justified in abandoning the dictionary, and trusting instead the implications of the passage.

The phrase “moderate conduct” implies a “mean” theory of virtue, in which the right amount is between two extremes. This notion, like some others which come into view at about this time, is very Greek in feeling; the older view (see 5:21, 8:3) was that virtue lay *at one extreme*. We may have here the difference between the warrior’s code and the bureaucrat’s job description.

Waley (following Legge) cites MC 7B37, which expounds this passage in terms of mid 03c thought, including that of a text called the Jūng Yūng “Doctrine of the Mean,” apparently then in process of compilation (see below, in the commentary to *6:29¹⁸). Legge also refers to *8:16 (above), which we assign to this same group of interpolations. That saying made the point that “bluntness” without uprightness is intolerable. This saying gives the corollary: as long as they are sincere, the impetuous are not only tolerable but educable.

Reflections

We sense in LY 14 a swirl of conflicting opinion. One refuge from the uncertainty of debate was the precision of science, one of whose forms in this period was an astronomically based yīn/yáng 陰陽 theory, which explained normal seasonal events and predicted baleful ones. The computed rituals of 2:23 (c0317), the predictions of the DJ (c0312), and the cyclical theory of the Mencians (MC 2B13), attacked by Sywǎndž in SZ 6:7 (Knoblock **Xunzi** 1/224), bypassed debate by controlling history itself.

There was also Heaven. Eno **Heaven** 79f devotes a chapter to analyzing all occurrences of tyēn 天 “Heaven” in the Analects, and finds two modes: the descriptive and the prescriptive. It is a fruitful exercise to arrange these passages in the order assigned them in the present work, to see if a sharp transition between the two modes occurred, and if so, at what date.

Debate itself could be *sharpened* by the logic of statement, developed from the late 04c onward by the Micians (see Graham **Later**). This is echoed in the Analects tendency to define rather than merely state in LY 12, and especially (as Van Norden **Mencius** points out) in LY 13.

Texts counted too. The Shī is complete; in DJ (Legge **Ch’un** 549f) it comprises all but the Shāng Sùng, or the 300 poems it is said to have in 13:5, and a Shū corpus begins, imitating genuine inscriptions (MZ 16 cites records “engraved on bronze and stone,” Mei **Ethical** 92; see page 130). The Analects hesitates to credit them (for intentional forgery, see McPhee **Hovings** 24 and the MZ 48:4 jeer, “*Your* antiquity is not old enough,” Mei **Ethical** 233), but was gradually drawn into the race to create a citable antiquity. The DJ itself is a reconstructed past, the ancestor of both Chinese history and Chinese fiction. For chivalry, see Watson **Tso**; for spicier passages like the career of Lady Syà, a sermon on the evil influence of women, see Legge (**Ch’un** 305b, 308a, 347–348, and 527a). The DJ was the Gone with the Wind of c0312 (compare Connelly **Marble** 131f), weaving romance into the fabric of cultural nostalgia. As noted above, the Analects disagreed with the political agenda of the DJ, while conceding that the state had needs which political theory should address.

Another authority was tradition as embodied in lineage. This is the age of invented ruler genealogies (Chí, in an inscription, and Ngwèi, in the spurious Bamboo Annals, both claimed descent from the mythical Yellow Emperor). Allan **Heir** explores the contrast between lineage and merit; the Yēn incident of 0314 focused this “hot” issue. Politically, LY 14 emphasizes the continuity of ministers rather than rulers, a “constitutional” tendency, creating, with the ruler and the state, a third locus of political identity.

Finally, there is exoticism, especially that of far places. An imaginary journey to west Asia is implicit in the Tale of Emperor Mù (Cheng **Mu**). Meditation (inner rather than outer wandering) and the uncanny but practical divination of the Yì, unknown to the historical Confucius (Dubs **Changes**) but attested in this period (*13:22a²n), were analogous fascinations. In a context of frantic change, the Yì or “Changes” gave a rationale for seeing *within* change an underlying principle of hǐng: an achievable stability.

In politics, there were two major options for the state: the new bureaucracy being newly *developed* in Chí, or the imagined classic Jōu monarchy being *revived*, also in Chí. As of LY 14, the choice between them is still open.

Inscription on a Jōu Bronze Vessel (see p129)

Height 8.5 cm (3.3 in). Early 010c. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art (33.2, detail)