

16

c0285

In 0286, Chí conquered Sùng, adding 50% to its area and almost surrounding Lǚ. 16:1–3 protest this outrage, in a style reminiscent of 3:1–3. A coalition of major states soon (0285) intervened, forcing the Chí armies back out of Sùng and driving its ruler, King Mǐn, to exile and death (in 0284).

The chapter which was being compiled before this dramatic interruption featured numerical groupings (the Three This and Nine That), a device imitated from the Gwǎndǔ and Mwòdǔ, and noted by Tswēi Shù as typical of the later Analects, LY 16–20. LY 16 as it finally took shape has a palindromic 1-2-6-2-1 pattern in its four thematic sections, unlike the alternating-speaker device of LY 1 but attesting a cognate sensibility. LY 1 and 16 both consist of 12 sayings, and were probably meant to frame the Analects as it then was, emphasizing the new domestic and personal themes. We are thus inclined to attribute both of them to the same school head, Dǔ-gāu.

The numbering of passages is identical in the Legge text.

[A. Against Impending Conquest]

16:1. The Jì were going to attack Jwān-yǔ. Rǎn Yǒu and Jì-lù were received by Confucius, and said, The Jì are going to do something about Jwān-yǔ. Confucius said, Chyóu, is this not your own fault? Now, as to Jwān-yǔ, in antiquity the former kings made it responsible for Dǔng-mǔng, and now, moreover, it is within the boundaries of the state; it is the servant of the altars of the soil and the harvest. Why should one attack it? Rǎn Yǒu said, Our Respected Master wishes it; neither of us two ministers wishes it. Confucius said, Chyóu, Jōu Rǔn has a saying, “Let those with strength step into line, let those without desist.” If he wavers and they do not support him, if he stumbles and they do not sustain him, what use are they as ministers? And moreover, if one speaks of fault: if a tiger or rhinoceros gets out of its cage, or a piece of horn or jade is broken in its container, whose fault is it?

Rǎn Yǒu said, Well, but as for Jwān-yǔ: it is strong, and it is near to Bì. If he does not take it now, it will be a worry to his sons and grandsons in later ages. Confucius said, Chyóu, a gentleman scorns to refuse to admit he wants something, and yet persist in arguing in favor of it. Chyōu has heard that those in charge of a nation or a family do not worry that they have little, but worry that the little they have is unevenly distributed; that they do not worry about poverty, but worry about discontent. In a word, if things are equitable, there is no “poverty,” if things are harmonious, there is no “little,” if there is content, there is no fear of overthrow. If all is thus, and should the distant still not submit, he will cultivate civil virtues to induce them to come, and once they have come, he will make them content. Now you, Yóu and Chyóu, are ministers to your Respected Master, and though the distant do not submit, he is unable to induce them to come; though the state is divided and partitioned, he is unable to safeguard it; he is even planning to loose shield and spear within the state. I fear that the worries of the Jì are not in Jwān-yǔ, but are instead to be found within his own walls.

This protest should properly be read after the calmer and earlier portion of the chapter, 16:4–10, and we urge the reader to make this detour.

In c0287, Chí spread anti-Sùng propaganda (JGT #478f, Crump **Ts'e** 565f; note the reference to LY *13:22b² at the end of JGT #479; Waley **Three** 137f, PB 100f) to prepare its conquest of Sùng; this passage reacts to such excuses. Cities were sometimes dedicated to the support of sacrifices, and “Confucius” cites “Jwān-yw’s” support of the “Dūng-mvng Mountain” rite (Sùng, we recall, preserved Shāng sacrifices). Jōu Rv̄n is a military authority quoted in the DJ (Yŷn 6, Jāu 5; Legge **Ch’un** 21b, 604a). Gān/gv̄ 干戈 is more precisely “shield and poleax” (in this period perhaps a halberd; see page 88), but the point of the phrase is alliteration (“shield and spear”) rather than denotation. The argument that the impending war is “within the state” shows how far Shāng was accepted as part of a unitary China. The final moral is that war will not prevent disorder: only an egalitarian policy – a peace in the functional sense – can achieve this.

After *11:24¹, also by Dž-gāu, this impassioned denunciation is the longest consecutive piece of prose in the Analects. Given that the Chí threat to Sùng is its true subject, it was then really addressed to the Confucians in Chí, who may have gained high rank in that state, but at the cost of all principle.

[B. Dynastic Curses]

⌈ 16:2. Confucius said, When All Under Heaven has the Way, rituals and music and military campaigns derive from the Son of Heaven. When All Under Heaven has not the Way, rituals and music and military campaigns derive from the Lords. When they derive from the Lords, it will be rare that all is not lost after ten generations; when they derive from the great officers, it will be rare that all is not lost after five generations. When subordinate officers are in charge of the mandates of state, it will be rare that all is not lost after three generations. When All Under Heaven has the Way, government does not rest with the great officers. When All Under Heaven has the Way, the ordinary people do not confer among themselves.

One usurpation (of executive impulse by ministers) leads to another (plotting among the people). This passage assumes a theory of Spring and Autumn history in which the loss of ruler initiative led to wars and the destruction of states. The DJ embodies such a theory (Hsu **Ancient** 25f); its appearance here testifies to the influence of the DJ shortly after its appearance in Chí. The point here is to threaten Chí with disaster if it persists with its plan to invade Sùng.

⌋ 16:3. Confucius said, It has been five generations since salaries departed from the princely house, and four generations since government devolved upon the great officers. Hence it is that the descendants of the Three Hwán are so reduced.

This links with 16:2, which predicted the downfall of the Jì (the state of Chí) if it carried out its military adventure, by exulting in that downfall. In 0286 Chí carried out its intended attack on Sùng, and in 0285 a coalition of rival states, alarmed that Chí had increased its area and thus upset the balance of power, combined to attack Chí. Mĭn-wáng was driven from his state, was refused refuge by several cities, and finally died in a border village. The 16:2–3 curses thus came true: Chí never recovered its military strength, and from this date was not a major player in the game of unification (Maspero **Antiquity** 263).

[C. Numerical Listings]

┌ 16:4. Confucius said, What is helpful is Three Befriendings, and what is harmful is Three Befriendings. To befriend the upright, to befriend the candid, to befriend those who have heard much: these are helpful. To befriend the partisan, to befriend those who prize weakness, to befriend the glib: these are harmful.

Here begins the calm, or pre-Sùng, part of the chapter. The wrong friends are those snared in petty advocacy, the low-profile “weakness” Dàuists of DDJ 43, and the specious talkers. All in their way emphasize indirection, and are thus hateful to the temperamentally steadfast Confucians. Notice that the contrast is phrased in terms of profit: an almost Mician type of moral accountancy.

└ 16:5. Confucius said, What is helpful is Three Joys, and what is harmful is Three Joys. To joy in seasonal ritual and music, to joy in the goodness of men of the Way, to joy in having many worthy friends: these are helpful. To joy in arrogant pleasures, to joy in dissipated adventures, to joy in feasting and music: these are harmful.

The formal parallel with 16:4 is obvious. The three good joys are an ordered culture, past exemplars of conduct, and the association of the like-minded. This last looks like the mere friendliness of 1:1, but much passion for right can smoulder amid such innocuousness. In 16:1 it bursts into flame. The friends from Chí and elsewhere implied in 1:1n are ratified by the clear links in LY 16 with Chí and Mencian influences. The Confucians, whatever their role in Lǚ, were active in what we may call the *international* Confucianism of the period.

There is a pun in both sets: “joy in” (yàu) and “music” (ywè) are written with the same character, 樂. The Micians opposed music as wasteful (MZ 32, Mei **Ethical** 175f). The Sywǎndzians would later produce a reasoned defense of music (SZ 20), whose first line (Knoblock **Xunzi** 3/80) uses the same pun, defending music as intrinsically appropriate to the human spirit.

┌ 16:6. Confucius said, In attending a gentleman there are Three Errors. To speak when he has not yet mentioned something, we may call this assertive. *Not* to speak when he *has* mentioned something, we may call this secretive. To speak without watching his countenance and expression, we may call this blind.

A renascent Confucian art of the courtier. It updates the balancing of speaking and not speaking in 14:3, but also recognizes a need for timeliness of speech in a subordinate role. The advice is the same, but one waits for an occasion.

└ 16:7. Confucius said, The gentleman has Three Bewares. When he is young, and his blood and breath are not yet fixed, he bewares of lust. When he is mature, and his blood and breath are firm, he bewares of temper. When he is old, and his blood and breath are feeble, he bewares of acquisitiveness.

The idea of characteristic temptations at different ages (see 2:4) here takes a physiological turn. The “blood and breath” theory (also mentioned in DJ) posited separate circulation of blood and breath, jointly determining the vitality of an organism. The same (erroneous) idea was held in Greece at this time (Hammond **Classical** sv Anatomy). Both cultures later realized that there is only one circulation, and this “vital humors” theory was abandoned. A curious coincidence (Greece and China were at opposite ends of the silk trade, and Aristotle notes attempts to make local silk in Cos; Hammond **Classical** sv Silk).

⌈ 16:8. Confucius said, The gentleman has three things he is in awe of. He is in awe of the commands of Heaven, he is in awe of great men, and he is in awe of the words of the Sages. The little man does not know the commands of Heaven, and so is not in awe of them; he disdains great men, and jeers at the words of the Sages.

We may again think of 2:4, in the phrase “commands of Heaven.” The concept of Heaven was in this period becoming part of the standard discourse of all the philosophical schools. The areas of concern here have much the same map as those in 16:5 – the natural order, the political order, the wisdom of tradition. The energy of these last few sayings is developing in the direction of court partisanship, and the last line is especially bitter at the jeerings of what is probably DDJ 53, at the grandly robed and overfed officials who “lead the people into brigandage.” The targets of this satire seem to be Confucian, and there may have been, in c0285, at least some Confucians at the Lǚ court.

⌋ 16:10. Confucius said, The gentleman has Nine Thoughts. In seeing he thinks of being clear, in hearing he thinks of being perceptive, in expressing he thinks of being warm, in appearance he thinks of being respectful, in word he thinks of being loyal, in deed he thinks of being assiduous, in doubt he thinks of inquiring, in anger he thinks of consequences, and seeing a chance of gain he thinks whether it is right.

For several of these “think of” phrases we could more idiomatically say “is concerned to, takes care to.” All but the last are paired. Seeing and hearing are the basic learning methods; one tries to use them effectively. Expression and demeanor are basic behavior, and a balance of affability and courtesy cover the ground. Then come the old pair of word and deed, with fidelity and duty uppermost. The next pair are relatively new, and seem to give counsel for bureaucratic position: if you don’t know, ask, and if you are angry, forbear. Finally, the set ends with an unpaired and thus somewhat emphasized saying (that clause, having an extra word, is also not tightly parallel to the other eight). For love of gain as a failing of age, see 16:7.

This series of Threes thus culminates in a courtier’s grand Nine. It may be relevant that Dzōu Yǎn’s astral/terrestrial correspondence theory (of which we seemed to see echoes in LY 2, c0317) later gave way to a vogue for mapping terrestrial phenomena on each other. These groupings are a further extension into the realm of ethics. The number nine appears to have been a major element in Dzōu Yǎn’s nested ninefold geography (Needham *Science* 2/236). If this fact is being alluded to here, then 16:10 may have been intended as something like a map for the courtier.

[D. Disapproval of Actions]

⌈ 16:11. Confucius said, When he sees the good it is as though he could not catch up to it; when he sees the not-good it is as though he had put his hand into scalding water – I have seen such men, and I have heard such words. He dwells in retirement in order to realize his intention; he does right in order to advance his Way – I have heard such words, but I have not seen such men.

These are Confucian (8:17¹⁴) versus Dàuist ideals. The Dàuists recommended an indirect courtiership and art of diplomacy (DDJ 54–56) to the ruler of Lǚ. 16:11 dismisses these Dàuist claims as unreal and unsubstantiated.

┌ 16:12. Prince Jǐng of Chí had a thousand teams of horses, but on the day he died, the people could find nothing to praise in him. Bwó-yí and Shú-chí starved to death at the foot of Shōu-yáng, but the people down to the present praise them. Is this not an example?

It is an example of the principle in the closely paired 16:11. It is not cast as a Confucius saying, a trait that we will find increasingly common in these late chapters. Chí Jǐng-gūng may symbolize the fate of Chí Mǐn-wáng (see 16:2c), who died not only despised but rejected by the common people (note the role of the common people, in contemporary Confucian political theory, as judges of the past). He sought to expand his state by war, whereas Bwó-yí and Shú-chí left their states out of principle. It seems that the Analects Confucians are here, circa 0285, enjoying the triumph of their principles in real life.

[E. Envoi: Education]

16:13. Chǎn Kàng asked Bwó-yǎw, Do you have, besides, something special that you have heard? He replied, I do not. He was once standing alone, and Lǐ with hurrying steps was crossing the courtyard. He said, Have you studied the Shǐ? I replied, I have not. He said, If you do not study the Shǐ, you will be unable to carry on conversation. Lǐ withdrew and studied the Shǐ. Another day he was again standing alone, and Lǐ with hurrying steps was crossing the courtyard. He said, Have you studied the rituals? I replied, I have not. He said, If you don't study the rituals, you will have nothing on which to take your stand. Lǐ withdrew and studied the rituals. I heard these two things. Chǎn Kàng withdrew and happily said, I asked one thing and I got three. I heard about the Shǐ. I heard about the rituals. And I also heard that the gentleman keeps distant from his son.

This passage imagines the jealousy aroused by the Master's own son, who by his position as the presumptive successor is suspected by the other students of getting special, private teaching "besides" that which was available to all. The invented disciple Chǎn Kàng threatens him unless he reveals these secrets (is this a memory of Dǔ-gāu's, from his days as the predesignated successor of the then school head?). The efforts of the son to deny favoritism on his father's part, and his own lack of gumption, give the anecdote a slightly comical air. Its ostensible purpose is to make an educational point, which is the one paraded by Chǎn Kàng at the end: the father keeps distant from his son. This is interesting as typical of 03c practice, whereas in earlier and poorer times, a father would presumably have taken more personal pains with his son. It is also interesting in that it shows the Shǐ/Rituals/Music of *8:8¹⁴ reduced to two elements, Music being absent. It will take 25 years before this Shǐ/Lǐ grouping is replaced by the Shǐ/Shū one which remained canonical in later tradition.

We should also not overlook the literary realism of this anecdote, another of Dǔ-gāu's masterpieces. It is the most fully realized picture the Analects gives us of the Confucian-school courtyard, with the the nervous heir (coming to life from his scant prior mention in 11:8) and the belligerent older student. The setting is doubtless that of the actual Confucian school as of c0285. To imagine that courtyard peopled with the Master and his circle must have heartened the LY 16 Confucians, trapped in their all too post-Confucian century.

Interpolations

These pieces reverse previous doctrine, and by Dž-gāu's rule of filiality in 1:11, they should thus follow the end of the three-year mourning for Dž-jīng, giving a terminus a quo of c0292. Our best guess is a date nearer to LY 16 (c0285).

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

Added to LY 8

*8:4. When Dzṽngdž fell ill, Mṽng Jìngdž inquired of him. Dzṽngdž said, When a bird is about to die, its song is sad; when a man is about to die, his words are good. What the gentleman prizes in the Way are three things. From the movements of his demeanor, he bans cruelty and arrogance. To the expressions of his countenance, he summons fidelity. From the words he utters, he bans coarseness and vulgarity. As to the ordering of splintbox and stand, there are specialists available. [8:4]

This redo of 8:3 honors Dzṽngdž (also prominent in LY 1) by a visit from the head of the Mṽng clan, and makes his last words a wisdom precept rather than a personal summary. Its triple structure recalls the triples of 16:4–10. The use of “bans” in both clauses 1 and 3 may look like a misprint, but the ABA form of “bans/summons/bans” (literally, “distances/nears/distances” 遠/近/遠) is like Dž-gāu's symmetrical LY 16 chapter structure, and thus may be original.

The stunner is the concluding allusion to the climax line of 15:1, where Confucius himself is made to claim just such expertise in ritual arrangements. It would seem that Dž-gāu is decisively turning from the school's previous ritual emphasis to his own more inward, personal-cultivation agenda.

Added to LY 11

*11:12. Jì-lù asked about serving ghosts and spirits. The Master said, You cannot yet serve men, how could you serve the ghosts? He said, I venture to ask about the dead. He said, You do not yet know the living, how could you know the dead? [11:11]

This is one of the classic passages against, or at any rate disclaiming the importance of knowledge about, the world of spirits. In historical context, it represents a rejection of the belief in the unseen world on which the validity of sacrifice rests, and which the mid 04c Analects had in fact acknowledged. We have here something like agnostic humanism, bent on life, not on death.

Reflections

Dž-jīng and Dž-gāu present us with our most interesting father/son authorial pair since Dzṽngdž and Dzṽng Ywán (LY 7 and LY 8/9). The same pattern of respect and divergence applies, and may be investigated at term paper length. We may here ask: why was it that the father, who had annexed domestic virtue in his LY 2, failed to see it as the answer to the doctrinal dilemma of c0302? In large perspective, this is not at all surprising. It is familiar in the sciences that discoverers and developers tend to be different people, and that the mind has great difficulty in taking a second step in the same direction, so that it is hard to follow up even one's own first breakthrough with a second.

As the Confucian school resumes contact with the Lǚ court, in LY 16, it seems that the Mician enmities which occupied Dǔ-jīng have been replaced by Dàuist ones. The ten basic tenets of the Micians were fixed by the early 03c, and, being thus canonized, tended not to grow further in later years. The Micians remained politically visible, and attacked the Confucians on cultural issues such as the three-year mourning (see LY 17), but their ethical push was over, and that school had instead turned to the logic of statement (Hu **Logical**, Graham **Later**). The Confucians had been affected by several Mician ideas: the popular welfare, mutuality, moral accountancy. There was no merger, but that front was quiet. Not so the Dàuists. Their distinctively pacific statecraft was being exerted on behalf of Lǚ (which beleaguered state the country envisioned in the later DDJ greatly resembles), and, practical or not, it was evidently getting a hearing at court. The bickering at the DDJ (see 16:4 and 16:8) suggests that this group was the chief policy rival to the Analects Confucians. The Micians may also have served as defensive-warfare experts, a low-profile tactic consistent with the soft DDJ line.

Readers of the speculation on Lǐ or Lǎu Dǎn (lǎo 老 is the epithet “old”) in 1r (page151) may wonder how far back his gentle antiwar philosophy goes in the DDJ. We see a break at DDJ 26, earlier chapters having a mystical context. If so, then Lǐ Dǎn’s term as group head will have been c0314–c0275, very close to the standard 40-year term of a transmission genealogy.

The DDJ relationship (like all the other Analects connections) ran in two directions. For all the brusque dismissal of “weakness” as a policy in LY 16, the self-cultivation agenda of LY 1 was in all probability Dàuist-influenced.

As for the Micians, it would be a violation of tact to compare them with John Stuart Mill merely because both explored logic and stressed “utility.” Such microcorrespondences are rarely fruitful. But the societies of 04c Lǚ and 19c England do have points in common, among them the industrial advances which, in Lǚ, permitted large-volume production of silk and iron, an expansion of trade to exploit those surpluses, a simultaneous growth of wealth and squalor (domestic slavery advancing at the same pace as domestic freedom), and the rise of aspirations to happiness among the little people. There was in 04c Lǚ also a discovery of psychological interiority: an interest in feelings and their origins which will lead to a debate on human nature (LY 17). The recasting of personal ethics from a feudal-duty basis in Confucius to a reciprocity basis in the late 04c Analects, symbolized in the concept shù 恕 “empathy,” attests this trend. This term occurs only twice in the Analects: Dǔ-jīng’s interpolated *15:24^{15a} and Dǔ-gāu’s interpolated *4:15¹. But a close reading of LY 15–1 will show that these passages merely exemplify a general conceptual shift that seems to have been occurring at about this time. The mystical inwardness of the DDJ (Waley **Way** 32–33) is another example.

It seems that by this time the interpolation had become a literary medium in its own right, distinct from the saying, and with different rules of propriety. More invention was allowed (the much-loved Yén Hwéi / Dǔ-lù stories are both interpolations), and more space was available (all the longest Analects passages are interpolations or, like 16:1, intrusions). This freedom gives scope to certain literary predilections. Dǔ-gāu, whose primary chapters have a style of their own (the mapping of LY 16 on LY 1 is a nice study in compositional proclivity), seems to have enjoyed the different options available in the interpolation.

Archaizing Bronze Bell (see LY 17:9)

Height 36.8 cm (14.5 in). 04c. Courtesy Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (V-124)