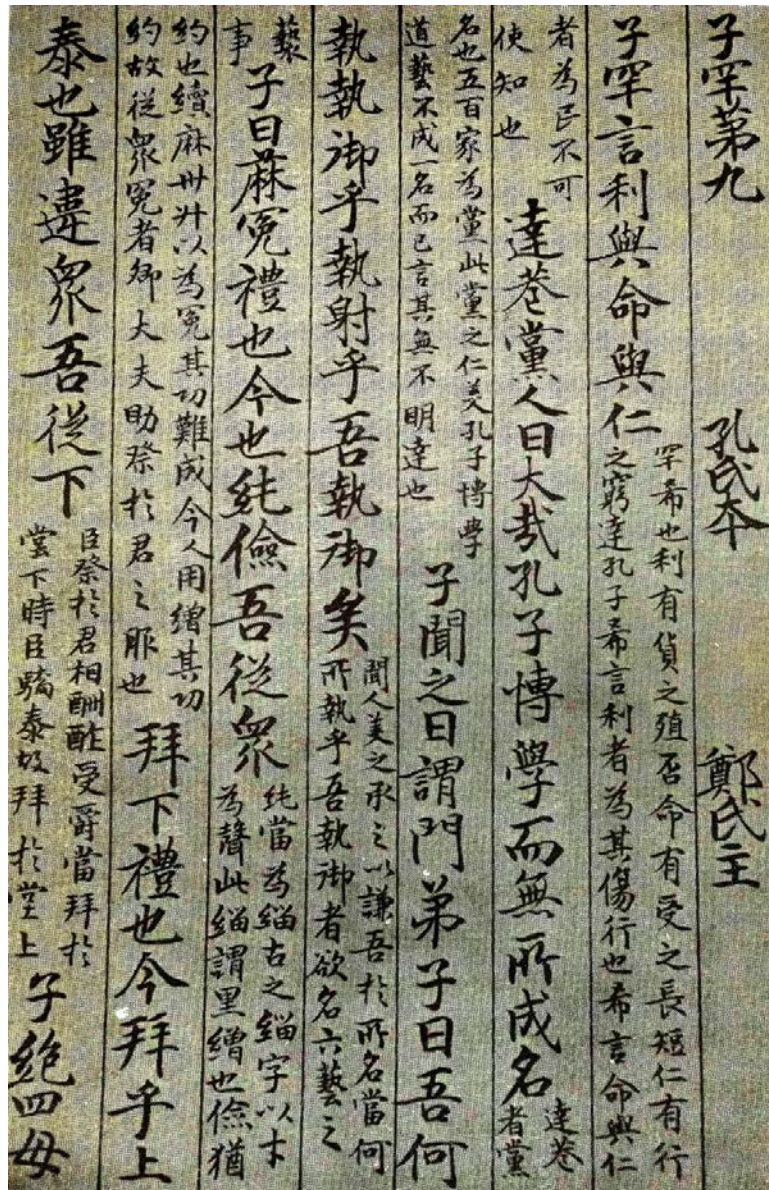


# THE ANALECTS OF CONFUCIUS

An Online Teaching Translation



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### *About the title page*

The title page illustration reproduces a leaf from a medieval hand copy of the *Analects*, dated 890 CE, recovered from an archaeological dig at Dunhuang, in the Western desert regions of China. The manuscript has been determined to be a school boy's hand copy, complete with errors, and it reproduces not only the text (which appears in large characters), but also an early commentary (small, double-column characters). (The quality of schoolboy "handwriting" – actually brush and ink work – should probably make us all feel inadequate.)

Thousands of scholarly commentaries in Chinese have been written in the 2500 years of the *Analects*' existence. Because so much important contextual information about the characters and special terms in the text does not appear within the *Analects*, having originally been provided by teachers, we would find the text almost impossible to read with understanding were it not that early commentators preserved much of this information in their interlinear notes. Recovery of this particular copy of the text was unusually valuable, because the second century CE commentary it includes is a famous one by a great early scholar that has otherwise been largely lost. Unfortunately, the recovered text was only of a portion of the *Analects*, so we do not now possess the entire commentary, but we are fortunate to have found even a part.

The page illustrated is the opening portion of Book IX.

The illustration source is Tsukihora Yuzuru 月洞讓, *Etsushū Rongo Shōshi shu* 佚輯論語鄭氏注 (Tokyo: 1963), plate 15.

## **Introduction**

*The Analects of Confucius* is an anthology of brief passages that present the words of Confucius and his disciples, describe Confucius as a man, and recount some of the events of his life. The book may have begun as a collection by Confucius's immediate disciples soon after their Master's death in 479 BCE. In traditional China, it was believed that its contents were quickly assembled at that time, and that it was an accurate record; the English title, which means "brief sayings of Confucius," reflects this idea of the text. (The Chinese title, *Lunyu* 論語, means "collated conversations.") Modern scholars generally see the text as having been brought together over the course of two to three centuries, and believe little if any of it can be viewed as a reliable record of Confucius's own words, or even of his individual views. Rather, much like the biblical Gospels, to which the text bears some resemblance, the *Analects* offers an evolving record of the image of Confucius and his ideas through from the changing standpoints of various branches of the school of thought he founded.

This online translation is posted to make it easier to locate an English rendering of this important text with some basic commentary. It has been prepared for use in undergraduate teaching and is not meant to replace published scholarly editions. The interpretations reflected are my own, and in some cases do not represent consensus readings (if such exist – there are, and always have been, competing interpretations of many of the most engaging passages in the text, starting from passage 1.1).

In this very brief introduction to the text, I will summarize a few features of Confucius's life and social environment, review some basic ways in which the component parts of the *Analects* are dated by analysts, on a very general level, and note some particular issues concerning key terms and translation, and of personal names.

### **Confucius**

"Confucius" is the name by which English speakers know Kong Qiu 孔丘, born near a small ducal state on the Shandong Peninsula in 551 BCE. Centuries earlier, a strong royal state, known as the Zhou (founded in 1045 BCE), had sent members of its high aristocracy to rule regions of its empire as hereditary lords, subjects of the Zhou king, but, so long

as they remained loyal, masters of their local domains. In 771 BCE, raids by non-Zhou nomadic peoples led to the death of the Zhou king and the removal of the Zhou capital; from that time on, the Zhou kings had become weak, and the feudal lords had become de facto sovereigns over essentially independent states and statelets. Three themes of Confucius's day were incessant warfare, which had been pervasive among the feudal lords since the devolution of power into their hands, the further devolution of power from the Zhou-appointed feudal houses into the hands of subordinate families that managed to accumulate power locally, and the rising fluidity of social mobility which this type of open competition for power encouraged, as intelligence and warrior skills in their assistants proved more valuable to competing power-holders than did hereditary pedigree.

Confucius's father was a member of the low aristocracy of the medium sized state of Lu 魯. According to our best sources, he was an important aide to a major aristocratic, or "grandee" family. During his prime, this family had served the greatest power holders in Lu by controlling a domain assigned to them on Lu's southern border, near a small, non-Zhou cultural area called Zou 鄒. Shortly before Confucius's birth, the family's domain was relocated to the north, but Confucius's father, having by his primary wife and his concubines produced no healthy sons to carry on his line, and being now an older man, chose at this time to take as a concubine a woman of Zou. She soon gave birth to Confucius. Three years later, Confucius's father died, and Confucius apparently grew up with his mother's family in the border region between Lu and Zou. Reaching adulthood, he traveled to the feudal center of Lu to seek social position, based on his father's standing and connections.

The state of Lu took pride in the fact that the lineage of its rightful lords, the dukes of Lu, had begun with a famous brother of the Zhou dynastic founder, a man known as the Duke of Zhou. Treasuring Zhou traditions with which he was associated, after the decline of the Zhou royal house the state of Lu had become known as the purest repository of Zhou aristocratic culture. But during the sixth century, these traditions were undermined, as powerful warlord families gained increasing control of government and resources in Lu, gradually marginalizing the legitimate ducal house, and distorting the norms of government form and ceremonial ritual that had made Lu distinct.

When Confucius sought his fortune in Lu, he probably appeared there as a semi-outsider, the son of a “mixed” union between a man of Lu, who had long resided in Zou, and a woman of that non-Zhou place (see passage 3.15). But Confucius made his reputation as a strong advocate of a puristic revival of Zhou traditions in court conduct, religious ceremony, and every aspect of ordinary life. He became expert in these traditions, and it was on the basis of this knowledge and the persuasiveness of his claim that the way to bring order back to “the world” was to recreate early Zhou society through its ritual forms, or “*li*,” that Confucius became known. The details of what Confucius saw as legitimate Zhou culture and why he thought its patterns were tools for building a new utopia are the principal subjects of the *Analects*.

His mastery of Zhou cultural forms allowed Confucius to become a teacher of young aristocrats seeking polish, and through their connections, he was able to gain some stature in Lu. Ultimately, he and some of his followers attempted to implement a grand restorationist plan in Lu that would have shifted power back to the ducal house. Shortly after 500 BCE, when Confucius was about fifty, the plan failed, and Confucius was forced to leave his home state. For about fifteen years, he traveled with a retinue of disciples from state to state in eastern China, looking for a ruler who would employ him and adopt the policies he advocated. The *Analects* pictures some key moments in these travels, which ultimately proved fruitless. A few years before his death, one of Confucius’s senior disciples, a man named Ran Qiu, arranged to have Confucius welcomed back to Lu, where he lived out his days as a teacher of young men, training them in the literary, ritual, and musical arts that he saw as central to the culture of the Zhou.

### **The Structure and Date of the *Analects***

During the Classical era, texts were generally recorded by brush and ink, writing on thin strips of bamboo. These strips allowed for about two dozen Chinese characters each. Holes were drilled in each strip and the strips that belonged to a single written work were bound together in a bundle by a string. The *Analects*, which is composed of about five hundred independent passages, is divided into twenty “books.” Some of these books seem to have originated as strips authored, over a period of years, by a single group, and separated into bundles according to dominant themes. Others of the books seem to have origi-

nated independently, and been brought together with the larger number of books at a later date. Within each book, the order of passages appears to have been disrupted over time, to greater or lesser degree, either by disarrangements that occurred after the string of a bundle broke, or because part of the composition process involved conscious rearrangement and insertion of later passages into existing bundles / books, in order to adjust the way the message of the overall text was conveyed.

Through this process, the *Analects* has come to appear quite random on first reading, and no depth of analysis has yet removed that sense of randomness from large portions of the text. While this is not ideal for readers who wish to understand the message of the *Analects*, it has been very good news for academic textual analysts, for whom the long process of trying to untangle the text and understand how it came to be shaped as it is has provided gainful employment and opportunities for tenure. \* Although there is consensus about a few points, such as the fact that several of the books, such as Books XVI and XX, are very late additions, there is more disagreement than agreement about specific issues of dating and origin of the *Analects*' various components. The translation that follows here operates on the following model.

Books III through VII are seen as a core text from a single, relatively early origin, with the books, in their original form (now much altered) sorted by topic in roughly this way:

Book III – General issues of ritual (*li*)

Book IV – General issues of character

Book V – Comments about disciples and historical figures

Book VI – Comments about disciples and historical figures

Book VII – Descriptions of Confucius

Among all the books, the most consistent in structure and apparently least altered in form is Book IV. Examination of that book does seem to yield some pretty clear principles about what the original editorial goals were, and what regular processes of alteration later occurred.

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\* The most detailed attempt in English to reconstruct this process of textual accretion is Bruce and Taeko Brooks, *The Original Analects* (NY: Columbia, 1999). The dating model used here does not approach that of the Brooks' in detail, and is based on different premises.



Traditionally, it has been widely noted that Books I-X seem to bear some similar features of length, structure, and vocabulary, and it has become common to speak of those books as the “upper text” and Books XI-XX as the “lower text.” Rounding out the “upper text”:

Book I – Designed as an overview introduction for disciple-readers

Book II – General issues of governance

Book VIII – Miscellaneous, embedding a “core” of quotes from a disciple, Master Zeng, a diverse set of passages with some indications of common origins with Book XVII, and an outer text “shell” of historical commentary<sup>\*</sup>

Book IX – Perhaps a variant version of Book VII, from a different school branch

Book X – A portrait of ritualized perfection, cast as a description of Confucius

In some of these cases (II and IX), the core theme seems to be present in a relatively small number of passages, and the books seem particularly heterogeneous.

The “lower text” is even less coherent. There seems to be some resemblance of structure and tone among Books XI-XV; in some cases, a thematic aspect seems visible, in others not.

Book XI – Comments on disciples

Book XII – General issues of governance

Book XIII – General issues of governance

Book XIV – Includes themes of reclusion

Book XV – A broad collection

It is reasonable to suggest that at their core, these five chapters originated as sorted collections made by a single branch of the school, different from the branch that may have collected Books III-VII, with the collection deriving from a somewhat later date.

The remaining five books have been regarded for several centuries as later and less authoritative than the others. For some of these, the later date seems certain:

Book XVI – Written in a very different style and dominated by numbered lists

Book XVII – Many passages “re-imagining” political issues of Confucius’s time

Book XVIII – Focusing on reclusion and responsive to “Daoist” ideas

Book XX – A small appendix of miscellaneous items

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<sup>\*</sup> Appendix 3 includes a detailed analysis of the structure of Book VIII.

One book among the final five appears different from the rest:

Book XIX – Recording the sayings of disciples after Confucius’s death

This book may well be much earlier than the others in the “lower text” – it was likely at one time the final book, and the bulk of it may actually have been composed in association with Books III-VII, viewed as the oldest portion of the book.

All of the books bear the traces of rearrangements and later insertions, to a degree that makes it difficult to see any common thematic threads at all. If a full account of these alterations in the text could be made, it would likely provide a clear and valuable reflection of the way that the Confucian school and its various branches developed over the first two or three centuries of the school’s existence.

Recent finds of early manuscripts dating from c. 300 BCE have thrown additional light on these processes of text development. For a fuller discussion, see Appendix 3.

### **Key Terms and Translation Issues**

The philosophy conveyed through the *Analects* is basically an ethical perspective, and the text has always been understood as structured on a group of key ethical terms. These (along with some terms key to other early streams of Chinese thought) are discussed in more detail in the Glossary (Appendix 2). Notes in the text also touch on all these issues, but a brief overview here may be useful.

There is a group of key terms whose meaning seems to be so flexible, subtle, and disputed that it seems best to leave them untranslated, simply using transcription for them. These include:

- Ren* 仁 – a comprehensive ethical virtue: benevolence, humaneness, goodness; the term is so problematic that many *Analects* passages show disciples trying to pin Confucius down on its meaning (he escapes being pinned).
- Junzi* 君子 – often used to denote an ideally ethical and capable person; sometimes simply meaning a power holder, which is its original sense.
- Dao* 道 – a teaching or skill formula that is a key to some arena of action: an art, self-perfection, world transformation.
- Li* 禮 – the ritual institutions of the Zhou, of which Confucius was master; the range of behavior subject to the broad category denoted by this term ranges from political protocol to court ceremony, religious rite to village festival, daily etiquette to disciplines of personal conduct when alone.

Tian – carrying the basic meaning of “sky,” Tian becomes a concept of supreme deity, often translated as “Heaven,” sometimes possessing clear anthropomorphic features, sometimes appearing more a natural force.

In addition to these items, other complex key terms are rendered by very vague English words, the meaning of which can only emerge as contextual usage is noted.

Virtue (*de* 德) – a very complex concept, initially related to the notion of charisma derived from power and gift-giving, developing into an ethical term denoting self-possession and orientation towards moral action.

Pattern (*wen* 文) – denoting a relation to features of civilization that are distinctive to Zhou culture, or to traditions ancestral to the Zhou; *wen* can refer to decoration, written texts, and personal conduct, but most importantly, it points to the behavioral matrix underlying Zhou *li*.

Finally, a set of important terms can be translated with some accuracy into English, but only with the understanding that the conceptual range of the Chinese term may not match English perfectly; in some cases, alternate English translations are used.

Right / Righteousness (*yi* 義) – often a complement to *ren*, denoting morally correct action choices, or the moral vision that allows one to make them.

Loyalty (*zhong* 忠) – denoting not only loyalty to one’s superiors or peers, or to individuals, but also to office; an alignment of self with the interests of others, or of the social group as a whole.

Trustworthiness / Faithfulness (*xin* 信) – derived from the concept of promise keeping, meaning reliability for others, but also unwavering devotion to principle.

Respectfulness / Attentiveness (*jing* 敬) – derived from the notion of alertness, and fusing the attentiveness to task characteristic of a subordinate and the respect for superiors that such attentiveness reflects.

Filiality (*xiao* 孝) – a traditional cultural imperative, obedience to parents, raised to a subtle level of fundamental self-discipline and character building.

Valor (*yong* 勇) – in a feudal era marked by incessant warfare, bold warriors and adventurers were common; for Confucians, valor concerns risk taking on behalf of ethical principle.

## **Personal Names**

Although this is not clear on initial reading, the ideas of the *Analects* are importantly influenced by the literary character of the text, and the fact that it is presented chiefly as conversational interplay among a relatively limited cast of characters: Confucius (“the Master”), his disciples, and a group of power holders with whom Confucius interacts. The *Analects* was almost certainly used as a teaching text for later generations of disci-

ples, who were taught not only the text but much detail about the contexts and characters now lost to us, and it is certain that the original audience of the text developed a grasp of the rich nuances conveyed by the way statements in the text are distributed among its various speakers. Most importantly, the disciples in the *Analects* provided a range of positive and negative models readers could emulate as they attempted to find their way into Confucian teachings, and develop into the true inheritors of the *tao* of discipleship.

Unfortunately for readers of the text in translation, the characters in the *Analects* are each referred to by a variety of names, reflecting the customs of the times. It was the general rule that members of the aristocracy, at any level, possessed at least three types of names. They could possess many more. The three basic names are:

1. Surname (family name – family names precede other names in Chinese)
2. Personal name (given at birth, used by intimates – like our first names)
3. Style, or polite name (given at puberty, used publicly and in formal settings)

When it comes to the disciples, the narrative voice of the text usually refers to them by their polite style name, but Confucius is generally pictured calling them by their personal names (as a teacher, he was a surrogate parent). For example, in passage 11.15 (Book XI, passage 15) we read:

The Master said, “What is Yóu’s zither doing at my gate?” The disciples showed Zilu no respect.

Yóu and Zilu are the same person. He is the disciple Zhong Yóu (surname: Zhong, personal name: Yóu). Confucius calls him by his personal name, but the narrative voice, being a later disciple writing about a revered elder of the past, uses the polite Zilu. (Zilu is, in addition, referred to by what appears to be a “generational name”; Ji Yóu, the “Ji” indicating that in his family, he was the fourth eldest male of his generation.)

Finally, some disciples whose later followers likely had a clear impact on the text are referred to as “masters” in their own right; the most prominent example is “Master Zeng,” who is Zeng Shen, among the youngest of the major disciples. In the case of Zeng Shen, the influence of his own branch of the Confucian school is particularly visible; a portion of Book VIII is devoted to descriptions of his dying words, words likely uttered over forty years after the death of Confucius. The reference to any disciple as “Master” indicates that they had some later influence, but does not indicate that they were, in Con-

fucius's day, influential among Confucius's own disciples. Indeed, a number of the greatest disciples died before Confucius, and thus could never have earned the title of "Master" in their own right.

In the notes to the text, I have tried to provide information and reminders necessary to keep track of the various disciples, so that it is possible for their characters and the individual ways their roles shape subtle meaning to emerge. But this is hard to grasp on initial reading, no matter how much help is provided. For the sake of directness, I will close this Introduction with a list of some of the major disciples, and, where it may be known, the dates that have been reconstructed for them. This list by no means exhausts the roster of disciples who appear in the *Analects*, or even the roster of interesting ones, but these are the ones who appear most frequently. Their names are given as surname + personal name, with style and variant names in parentheses. Fuller descriptions of the major disciples appear in Appendix 1.

Zhong Yóu 仲由 (Zilu 子路, Ji Yóu 季由, Ji Lu 季路), c. 542-480

Ran Qiu 冉求 (Yǒu 有), c. 522-462

Yan Yuan 顏淵 (Hui 回), c. 521-481

Zai Wo 宰我 (Yu 予), c. 520-481

Duanmu Si 端木賜 (Zigong 子貢), c. 520-450

You Ruo 有若 (Master You), c. 518-457

Bu Shang 卜商 (Zixia 子夏), c. 507-420

Yan Yan 言偃 (Ziyou 子游), c. 506-445

Zeng Shen 曾參 (Master Zeng), c. 505-436

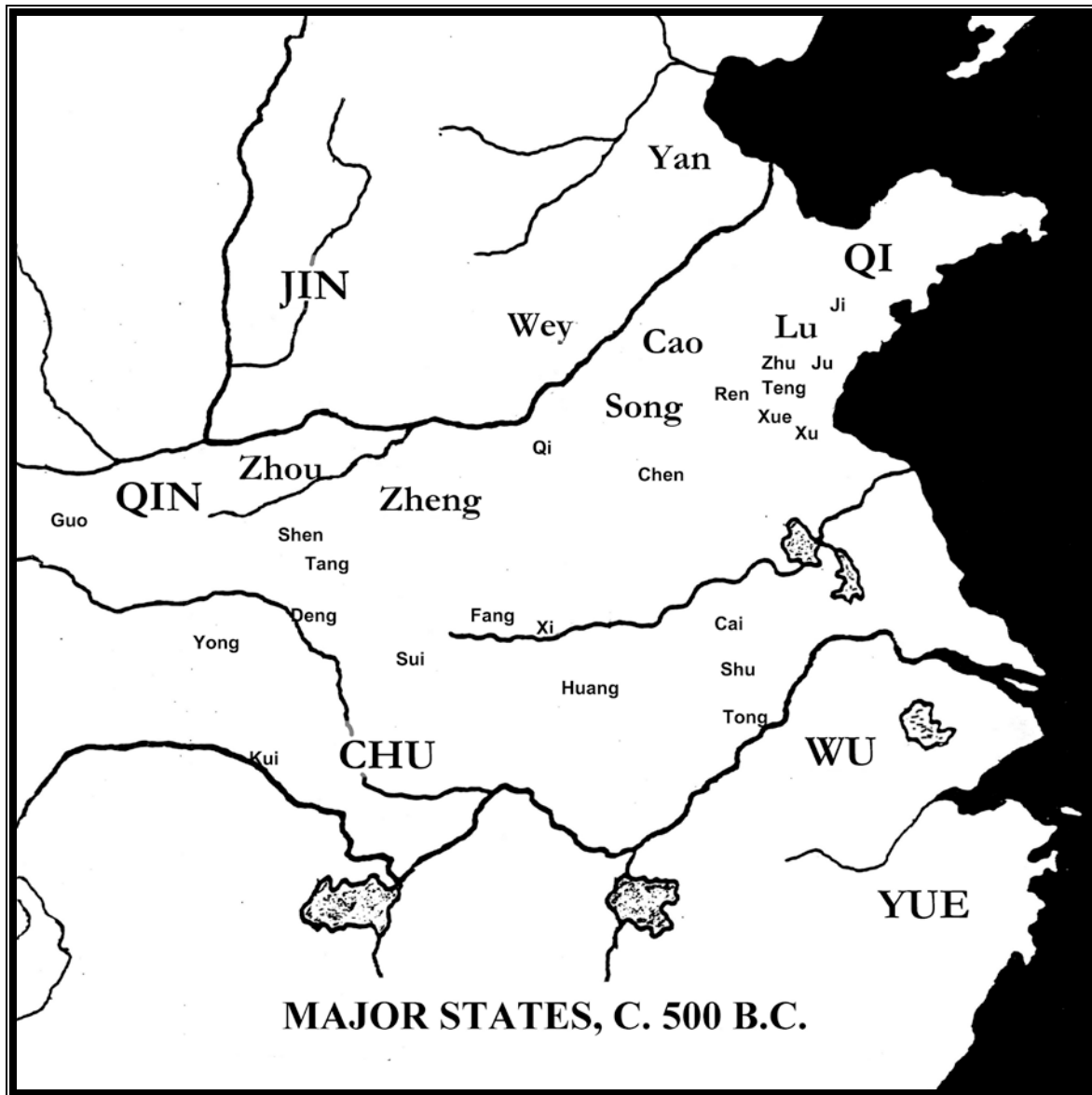
Duansun Shi 端木師 (Zizhang 子張), c. 503-450

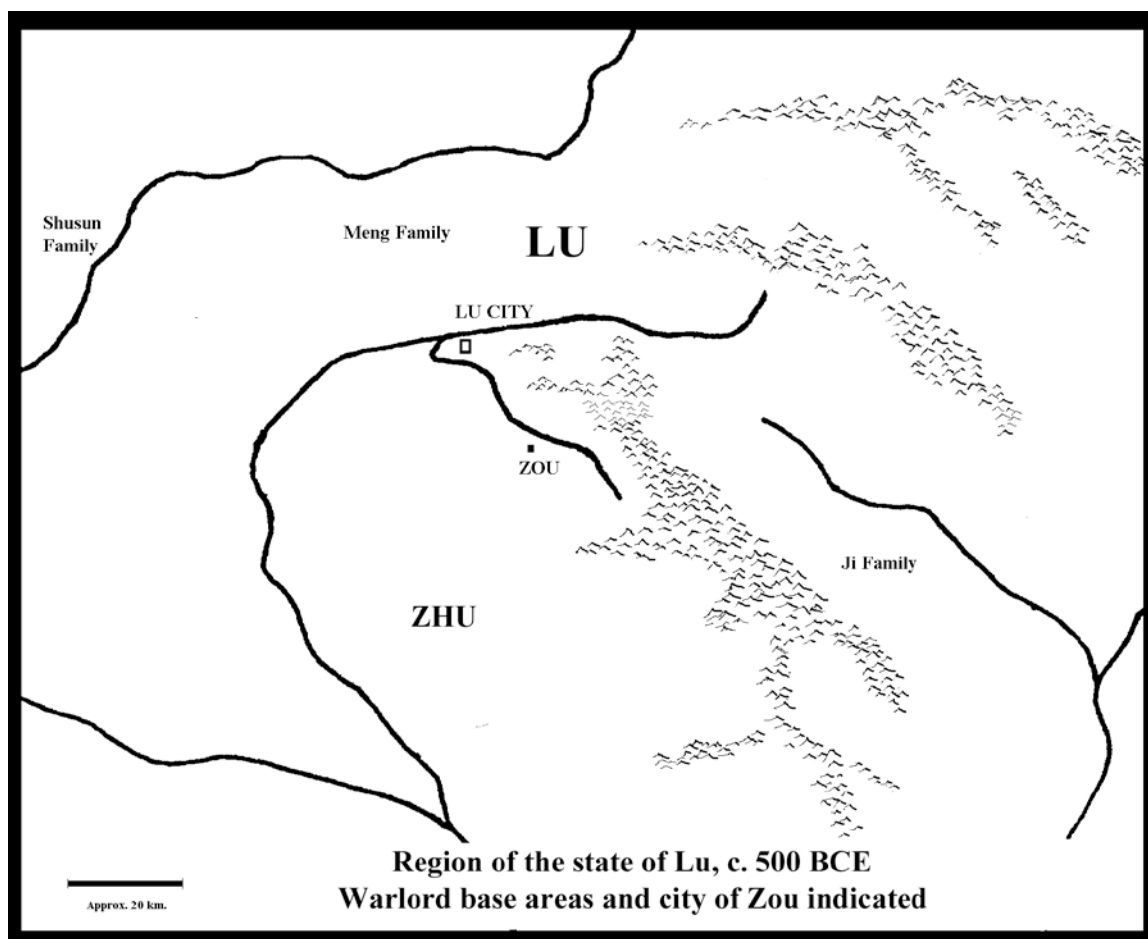
Ran Yong 冉雍 (Zhonggong 仲弓), n.d.

Yuan Xian 原憲 (Si 思), n.d.

### **Note to Version 2.2 (2015)**

The translation text in Version 2.2 includes corrections and changes, mostly minor, to Versions 2.0 (2010) and 2.1 (2012). The notes have been more extensively revised and maps on pp. x-xi have been added.





# The Analects of Confucius

R. Eno, revised 2015

## Book I

1.1 The Master said: To study and at due times practice what one has studied, is this not a pleasure? When friends come from distant places, is this not joy? To remain unsoured when his talents are unrecognized, is this not a *junzi*?

1.2 Master You said: It is rare to find a person who is filial to his parents and respectful of his elders, yet who likes to oppose his ruling superior. And never has there been one who does not like opposing his ruler who has raised a rebellion.

The *junzi* works on the root – once the root is planted, the *dao* is born. Filiality and respect for elders, are these not the roots of *ren*?

1.3 The Master said: Those of crafty words and ingratiating expression are rarely *ren*.

1.4 Master Zeng said: Each day I examine myself upon three points. In planning for others, have I been loyal? In company with friends, have I been trustworthy? And have I practiced what has been passed on to me?

1.5 The Master said: To guide a state great enough to possess a thousand war chariots: be attentive to affairs and trustworthy; regulate expenditures and treat persons as valuable; employ the people according to the proper season.

1.6 The Master said: A young man should

## Notes

1.1 ‘The Master’ refers to Confucius: Kongzi 孔子, or ‘Master Kong.’

There are three precepts here; the ‘punch line’ is the last. As an example of the many different interpretive traditions that may attach to *Analects* passages, this last phrase is read, in one long-standing tradition: “To remain unsoured when others do not understand your teaching, is this not a *junzi*.”

*Junzi* 君子: Originally ‘a prince’; used by the *Analects* to denote an ideal moral actor. The term is sometimes rendered ‘gentleman’, but has a more emphatic moral sense, and is left untranslated here. At times it merely denotes a ruler.

NOTE: More detailed discussions of key terms may be found in the Glossary.

1.2 Master You (You Ruo 有若) was a disciple. For a brief time after Confucius’s death, he took on the Master’s role for the group of disciples.

*Dao* 道: The ‘Way’; the Confucian notion of the evolved moral & cultural pattern of past eras of sage governance. *Dao* is also a generic term for *any* fully conceived behavioral path.

*Ren* 仁: The key moral term in the *Analects*. Rendered as ‘humanity,’ ‘goodness,’ etc., its rich meaning is a mystery to many in the text, and defies translation.

1.3 Duplicated at 17.17. (When passages are duplicated in different



be filial within his home and respectful of elders when outside, should be careful and trustworthy, broadly caring of people at large, and should cleave to those who are *ren*. If he has energy left over, he may study the refinements of culture (*wen*).

1.7 Zixia said: If a person treats worthy people as worthy and so alters his expression, exerts all his effort when serving his parents, exhausts himself when serving his lord, and is trustworthy in keeping his word when in the company of friends, though others may say he is not yet learned, I would call him learned.

1.8 The Master said: If a *junzi* is not serious he will not be held in awe.

If you study you will not be crude.

Take loyalty and trustworthiness as the pivot and have no friends who are not like yourself in this.

If you err, do not be afraid to correct yourself.

1.9 Master Zeng said: Devote care to life's end and pursue respect for the distant dead; in this way, the virtue of the people will return to fullness.

1.10 Ziqin asked Zigong, "When our Master travels to a state, he always learns the affairs of its government. Does he seek out the information, or do people give it to him of their own accord?"

Zigong said, "Our Master obtains this information by being friendly, straightforward, reverential, frugal, and modest. The way our Master seeks things is different from the way others do!"

books, it may signal independent editorial origins.)

1.4 Master Zeng 曾子 is the disciple Zeng Shen 參, among the youngest of Confucius's major disciples. The fact that he is referred to as 'Master' in the *Analects* indicates that his own later disciples had a hand in the text. (Zeng Shen's death is described in Book VIII.)

'Loyalty' (*zhong* 忠) and 'trustworthiness' (*xin* 信) are complex concepts in the *Analects*. Loyalty involves taking others' interests as central in your conduct; trustworthiness means standing by one's word, or, more deeply, being a dependable support for others. Both could be rendered in some contexts as 'faithfulness'; occasionally, I have rendered *xin* in that sense.

1.5 In Classical China, the size of feudal states was often expressed in terms of chariot forces. 'One thousand chariots' denotes a mid-size state.

Certain political issues important to the Classical era recur in the *Analects*; employing people in the proper season contrasts with the practice of pulling peasants from the fields in summer to fight in war.

1.6 'Refinements of culture' translates the term *wen* 文, which is a key term in the *Analects*. Its basic sense is 'pattern', and it is applied in a variety of important ways.

NOTE: Elsewhere in this translation, *wen* is generally translated in its literal sense, 'pattern', most often referring to

1.11 The Master said: When the father is alive, observe the son's intent. When the father dies, observe the son's conduct.

One who does not alter his late father's *dao* for three years may be called filial.

1.12 Master You said:

*In the practice of li,*

*Harmony is the key.*

*In the Dao of the kings of old,*

*This was the beauty.*

In all affairs, great and small, follow this. Yet there is one respect in which one does not. To act in harmony simply because one understands what is harmonious, but not to regulate one's conduct according to *li*: indeed, one cannot act in that way.

1.13 Master You said: Trustworthiness is close to righteousness: one's words are tested true. Reverence is close to *li*: it keeps shame and disgrace at a distance. One who can accord with these and not depart from his father's way – such a one may truly be revered.

1.14 The Master said: A *junzi* is not concerned that food fill his belly; he does not seek comfort in his residence.

If a person is apt in conduct and cautious in speech, stays near those who keep to the *dao* and corrects himself thereby, he may be said to love learning.

1.15 Zigong said, "To be poor but never a flatterer; to be wealthy but never arrogant – what would you say to that?"

The Master said, "That's fine, but not so good as: To be poor but joyful; to be wealthy and love *li*."

basic cultural norms of civilization that underlie *li* (on which, see 1.12). In many instances, use of the word 'pattern' will signal a range of possible connotations, from 'civilization' to 'good breeding' or 'fine literature'.

1.7 Zixia was a junior disciple, noted for his abilities with texts.

Note how this passage seems a gentle correction to the one before. The *Analects* was composed by many hands over several centuries. Some portions seem to bear the traces of a conversation among differing viewpoints within the Confucian school.

1.8 This passage seems to string a set of aphorisms together. Are they truly related? Should we read this as a single lesson, or a catalogue? (The latter portions are duplicated at 9.25.)

1.9 Many passages in the *Analects* seem directed at individual action, but suggest social or political consequences.

On the term 'virtue', see passage 2.1.

1.10 Not much is known of the minor disciple Ziqin 子禽.

Zigong 子貢 was a senior disciple. He is reported to have performed occasional diplomatic tasks in the state of Lu despite having no office, because of his skills in speech. He is said to have becoming a rich man in later life. See Appendix 1 for more on Zigong.

1.11 Duplicated at 4.20 (see the note there). Why keeping to one's father's way (*dao*) is criti-

Zigong said, “In the *Poetry* it says,  
*As though cut, as though chiseled,*  
*As though carved, as though polished.*

Is that what you mean?”

The Master said, “Ah, Si! – I can finally begin to talk about the *Poetry* with him. I tell him what came before and he understands what is coming next.”

1.16 The Master said: Do not be concerned that no one recognizes your merits. Be concerned that you may not recognize others’.

cal to filiality is unclear. Passage 19.18 may provide some insight into what it entailed.

1.12 *Li* 禮 refers to the body of religious, political, and common ceremonial forms that marked the Zhou cultural sphere as ‘patterned’ (*wen*), or civilized. Confucians believed that *li* had evolved, through sage trial and error, from the earliest leaders of previous dynasties to its apex in the initial centuries of the Zhou era. (*‘Li’* may be singular or plural.)

1.13 See 1.11.

1.15 In this conversation Zigong shows his knowledge of the classical collection of songs, known as the *Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經, see 2.2).

Confucius refers to Zigong him by the name Si. In ancient China, most men possessed at least two personal names: a childhood name, by which their families addressed them, and a ‘style’ name, for public use, given to them at a puberty ceremony called ‘cap-ping’. ‘Zigong’ is a style name; as a teacher, Confucius uses the intimate family name.

Multiple names for people create a reading problem in the *Analects*. I will use notes to try to keep clear who is who.

1.15 may be modeled on 3.8, which is likely earlier.

1.16 Note how the themes of the opening and closing passages to this book serve as conceptual ‘book ends’ (this is one reason why this translation selects its reading of 1.1).

## Book II

2.1 The Master said: When one rules by means of virtue it is like the North Star – it dwells in its place and the other stars pay reverence to it.

2.2 The Master said: There are three hundred songs in the *Poetry*, yet one phrase covers them all: “Thoughts unswerving.”

2.3 The Master said: Guide them with policies and align them with punishments and the people will evade them and have no shame. Guide them with virtue and align them with *li* and the people will have a sense of shame and fulfill their roles.

2.4 The Master said: When I was fifteen I set my heart on learning. At thirty I took my stand. At forty I was without confusion. At fifty I knew the command of Tian. At sixty I heard it with a compliant ear. At seventy I follow the desires of my heart and do not overstep the bounds.

2.5 Meng Yizi asked about filiality. The Master said, “Never disobey.”

Fan Chi was driving the Master’s chariot, and the Master told him, “Meng Yizi asked me about filiality and I replied, ‘Never disobey.’” Fan Chi said, “What did you mean?” The Master said, “While they are alive, serve them according to *li*. When they are dead, bury them according to *li*; sacrifice to them according to *li*.”

2.6 Meng Wubo asked about filiality. The Master said, “Let your mother and father

## Notes

2.1 ‘Virtue’ translates *de* 德, a key ethical term with a range of meanings that shift with context. The vague term ‘virtue’ is an imperfect fit, but flexible enough to serve.

2.2 ‘The *Poetry*’ refers to an anthology of popular and court songs largely compiled during the pre-Classical era (c. 1000-600). The Confucian school believed it had been compiled by sages, such as the founding Zhou Dynasty kings, and was thus a repository of wisdom. Confucius himself was seen as its final editor. (See 13.5.)

2.3 Note how this passage relates closely to the leadership model of 2.1. In the *Analects*, related passages have sometimes been separated through re-editing.

2.4 This famous ‘thumbnail autobiography’ is probably a later addition to the book, but captures Confucian school views of its founder.

Tian 天 (‘sky’) refers to a concept of supreme deity: ‘Heaven’. Its conceptual range is flexible, and the term is left untranslated here.

2.5 Meng Yizi was one of two young patricians of the state of Lu who were entrusted by their father to a youthful Confucius for tutoring, thus beginning Confucius’s career as a teacher. Since the later (rather undistinguished) disciple, Fan Chi 樊遲, is present here as well, we are presumably to picture Meng Yizi now as a fully adult member of the Lu nobility. Meng Yizi’s son, Meng Wubo, appears in 2.6.

With 2.5 we begin a string

need be concerned only for your health.”

2.7 Ziyou asked about filiality. The Master said, “What is meant by filiality today is nothing but being able to take care of your parents. But even hounds and horses can require care. Without respectful vigilance, what is the difference?”

2.8 Zixia asked about filiality. The Master said, “It is the expression on the face that is difficult. That the young should shoulder the hardest chores or that the eldest are served food and wine first at meals – whenever was that what filiality meant?”

2.9 The Master said: I can speak with Hui all day and he will never contradict me, like a dolt. But after he withdraws, when I survey his personal conduct, indeed he is ready to go forth. He’s no dolt!

2.10 The Master said: Look at the means he employs, observe the sources of his conduct, examine what gives him comfort – where can he hide? Where can he hide?

2.11 The Master said: A person who can bring new warmth to the old while understanding the new is worthy to take as a teacher.

2.12 The Master said: The *junzi* is not a vessel.

2.13 Zigong asked about the *junzi*. The Master said, “One who first tries out a precept and only after follows it.”

of four passages all related to ‘filiality’ (*xiao* 孝), which refers specifically to the way sons are to treat parents. Learning and accepting with devotion one’s duties as a son are keys to the Confucian *dao*. Filiality was a traditional value in Zhou era China; these passages attempt to pinpoint value beyond the tradition.

References to filiality concern sons. Although early Confucianism reveals little or no active prejudice against women (see 17.23 for an exception), it seems to tacitly assume that its readers, and the only people who matter in public society, are men. In this sense, it fails to escape the social norms of its time.

2.7 Ziyou 子游 is a junior disciple of some importance, but his personal character is not developed in detail in the *Analects*.

2.9 ‘Hui’ is Yan Hui 顏回 (or Yan Yuan 淵), Confucius’s most celebrated disciple. He is pictured in the *Analects* in sagelike ways, but dies before Confucius, to the Master’s dismay (see 11.8-11).

2.10 Note the resemblance in thinking to 1.11 and 2.9. The *Analects* is concerned with the art of reading character from conduct.

2.12 ‘Vessel’ connotes limited capacity, fit for only designated uses. This passage is often taken to be the background of 5.4.

2.14 The Master said: The *junzi* is inclusive and not a partisan; the small man is a partisan and not inclusive.

2.15 The Master said: If you study but don't reflect you'll be lost. If you reflect but don't study you'll get into trouble.

2.16 The Master said: One who sets to work on a different strand does damage.

2.17 The Master said: Shall I teach you about knowledge, Yóu? To know when you know something, and to know when you don't know, that's knowledge.

2.18 Zizhang wanted to learn how to seek a salaried appointment. The Master said, "If you listen to much, put aside what seems doubtful, and assert the remainder with care, your mistakes will be few. If you observe much, put aside what seems dangerous, and act upon the remainder with care, your regrets will be few. Few mistakes in speech, few regrets in action – a salary lies therein."

2.19 Duke Ai asked, "What should I do so that the people will obey?" Confucius replied, "Raise up the straight and set them above the crooked and the people will obey. Raise up the crooked and set them above the straight and the people will not obey."

2.20 Ji Kangzi asked, "How would it be to use persuasion to make the people respectful and loyal?" The Master said, "If you approach them with solemnity they will be respectful; if you are filial and caring they will be loyal; if you raise up the good and instruct

2.14 See 7.31 for an illustration of these issues.

The term 'small man', sometimes rendered as 'petty person', denotes someone of narrow ethical vision. The connotation of the term is configured by contrast with the term *junzi*.

2.16 A vague but much cited passage that seems to give teamwork priority over individual initiative.

2.17 'Yóu' is the personal name of the disciple Zilu 子路, the most senior of the longstanding disciples. Zilu is depicted as a man of military temper and self-assurance.

2.18 Zizhang 子張 was one of the junior disciples. This passage may be compared with 15.32.

2.19 Duke Ai (r. 494- 468 BCE) was the ruler of Confucius's home state of Lu. A number of *Analects* passages picture Confucius advising or tutoring men of power. In many such passages, and always when these men are legitimate rulers, Confucius is referred to not as 'the Master', but more formally, by his family name, Kongzi, 'Master Kong'.

On raising the straight over the crooked, compare 12.22.

2.20 In the state of Lu, real political power had fallen from the duke's house into the hands of three senior patrician clans, of which the most powerful was the Ji 季 family, whose leader is pictured in conversation with Confucius here.

There are, in the great war-

those who lack ability they will be persuaded.”

2.21 Someone addressed Confucius, saying, “Why do you not engage in government?” The Master said, “The *Documents* says, ‘Filial, merely be filial, and friends to brothers young and old.’ To apply this as one’s governance is also to engage in government. Why must there be some purposeful effort to engage in governance?”

2.22 The Master said: A person without trustworthiness, who knows what he may do? A carriage without a yoke strap, a cart without a yoke hook: how can you drive them?

2.23 Zizhang asked, “May one foretell ten generations from now?” The Master said, “The Yin Dynasty adhered to the *li* of the Xia Dynasty; what they added and discarded can be known. The Zhou Dynasty adhered to the *li* of the Yin Dynasty; what they added and discarded can be known. As for those who may follow after the Zhou, though a hundred generations, we can foretell.”

2.24 The Master said: To sacrifice to spirits that do not belong to you is to be a toady. To see the right and not do it is to lack courage

lord families of this era, interesting similarities to outlaw networks of a later time in the West, such as mafia ‘families’, although the warlord families differed in deriving their basic status from hereditary rights granted by rulers, and they were not outlawed (indeed, they were held in awe). Warlord families like the Ji exercised informal control over regions, inducing obedience through the threat of force; they sustained gangs of armed retainers and high advisors with no lineage connection; their behavior mixed emulation of patrician ethical and ritual codes with ruthlessness.

2.21 The *Documents* (*Shang shu* 尚書) is a collection of political texts, supposedly recording the words of sage kings of the past, from the legendary emperors Yao, Shun, and Yu, to the founding rulers of the Zhou Dynasty. It was treated by Confucians as a wisdom text.

2.23 In traditional history, the third of the great sage kings, ‘Emperor Yu’, was said to have founded a dynasty, known as the Xia. After several centuries, it was displaced by the Yin ruling house, more commonly known as the Shang. The last Shang king was overthrown by the Zhou founding ruler, King Wu, in 1045 BCE.

2.24 People had the right and duty to sacrifice to their own ancestors only. Feudal lords had generally been granted the right and duty to sacrifice to regional natural spirits. Some lords aggrandized themselves by presuming to sacrificial rights they had not been granted.

## Book III

3.1 The Ji family had eight ranks of dancers perform in the court of their family compound. Confucius said of this, “If one can tolerate this, one can tolerate anything!”

3.2 The three great families of Lu had the ode *Peace* performed at the clearing of sacrificial dishes in their family temples.

The Master said of this, “Just how does the lyric,

*The lords of the realm come to assist,*

*The Son of Heaven stands all solemn*

pertain to the halls of the three families?”

3.3 The Master said: If a man is not *ren*, what can he do with *li*? If a man is not *ren*, what can he do with music?

3.4 Lin Fang asked about the root of *li*. The Master said, “An important question! In *li* it would be better to be frugal than to be extravagant. In funeral ritual it would be better to be guided by one’s grief than simply to attend to the ritual stipulations.”

3.5 The Master said: The nomad and forest peoples who have rulers do not come up to the people of the civilized realm who do not.

3.6 The Ji family performed the great Lü sacrifice to mountains and rivers at Mt. Tai. The Master said to Ran Yǒu, “You were unable to prevent this?” Ran Yǒu replied, “I was unable.” The Master said, “Alas! Do they think Mt. Tai less perceptive than Lin Fang?”

## Notes

3.1 On the Ji family, see the note to 2.20. It was a great concern to Confucius that power in Lu 魯 (his home state) had devolved from the legitimate ruling duke into the hands of three warlord clans (the Ji, the Meng, and the Shusun), descendants of an earlier duke. The usurpation of power is linked to the matters of ritual usurpation discussed in 3.1-2. It should be understood that the ultimate problem concerns the loss of power by the Zhou kings themselves, whose control of the Zhou state passed into the hands of regional lords after 771 BCE. In 3.2, and elsewhere, “Son of Heaven” refers to the Zhou king.

3.4 Lin Fang 林放 was a disciple known for his rather slow wittedness.

3.5 Some commentary takes the phrase rendered here as ‘do not come up to’ simply to mean ‘unlike’, and read the message as censorious of the Zhou cultural realm.

3.6 The senior disciple Ran Yǒu (often referred to as Ran Qiu 冉求) was a court minister to the Ji family. Mt. Tai, the most prominent mountain in Northeast China, was a sacred place; only the Zhou kings and their deputies, the dukes of Lu, had the right to perform sacrificial rituals there. For Lin Fang, see 3.4.



3.7 The Master said: The *junzi* does not compete. Yet there is always archery, is there not? They mount the dais bowing and yielding, they descend and toast one another. They compete at being *junzis*!”

3.8 Zixia asked, “What is the meaning of the lines from the *Poetry*,

*The fine smile dimpled,*

*The lovely eyes flashing,*

*The plain ground brings out the color?”*

The Master said, “Painting follows after plain silk.” Zixia said, “Then is it that *li* comes after?” The Master said, “How Shang lifts me up! At last I have someone to discuss the *Poetry* with!”

3.9 The Master said: I can describe the *li* of the Xia Dynasty, but my description can’t be verified by its descendants in the state of Qǐ. I can describe the *li* of the Yin Dynasty, but my description can’t be verified by its descendants in the state of Song. Not enough documents survive; if they did, I could verify what I say.

3.10 The Master said: The way the great *di*-sacrifice is performed, from the point of the libation on I can’t bear to watch!

3.11 Someone asked about the explanation of the *di*-sacrifice. The Master said, “I don’t know. A person who knew that could manage the world as though it was open to his view right here.” And he pointed to his open palm.

NOTE: There is an unfortunate overlap of names between two major senior disciples who are frequently discussed together. One is most often called Ran Qiu, the other Zilu. Ran Qiu’s personal name was Qiu, but his public style name was Yǒu 有, and he is frequently referred to as Ran Yǒu. The family name of Zilu (a public style name) was Zhong and his personal name was Yóu 由. At times, the text speaks together of Ran Yǒu, whom Confucius addresses as Qiu, and Zilu, whom Confucius addresses as Yóu. I have added the modern Mandarin tonal diacritics to the otherwise indistinguishable names of these two disciples (Yǒu / Yóu) to try to minimize confusion.

3.7 This refers to the ceremonial archery competition, a common patrician ritual occasion.

3.8 Zixia’s personal name was Shang 商. This passage can be compared to 1.15.

3.9 The descendants of the ruling clans of the Xia and Yin (Shang) dynasties were settled on lands that provided enough income for them to continue sacrifices to their royal ancestors. These lands became the states of Qǐ and Song.

Qǐ 杞 was a minor state, different from Qi 齊, Lu’s powerful neighbor to the north.

3.10-11 The nature of the *di* 禘-sacrifice is unclear, but it appears to have been connected to worship of the deity Di 帝, sometimes pictured as a high god, or alternative term for Tian (on which, see 2.4).

3.12 “Sacrifice as though present” – sacrifice to the spirits as though the spirits were present.

The Master said: If I don’t participate in a sacrifice, it is as though there were no sacrifice.

3.13 Wangsun Jia asked, “What is the sense of that saying: ‘Better to appeal to the kitchen god than the god of the dark corner?’” The Master said, “Not so! If one offends against Tian, one will have no place at which to pray.”

3.14 The Master said: The Zhou could view itself in the mirror of the two previous ruling dynasties. How splendid was its pattern! And we follow the Zhou.

3.15 The Master entered the Grand Temple and asked about every matter. Someone said, “Who says this son of a man from Zou knows about *li*? Entering the Grand Temple, he asked about every matter.” Hearing of this, the Master said, “That is *li*.”

3.16 The Master said: The rule, “In archery, penetrating the target is not the object,” reflects the fact that men’s physical strengths differ.

3.17 Zigong wished to dispense with the sacrificial lamb offered at the ritual report of the new moon. The Master said, “Si, you begrudge the lamb, I begrudge the *li*.”

3.18 The Master said: If one were to serve one’s lord according to the full extent of *li*, others would take one to be a toady.

3.12 The most basic form of religious practice in ancient China was the ceremonial offering of food and drink to the spirits of one’s ancestors, who were pictured in semi-corporeal form, descending to partake. Commentators sometimes stress the phrase “as though” in the first clause, taking it to imply skepticism that spirits actually *are* present.

The first part of this passage seems to include both a cited maxim and a comment explaining it; it is unclear which, if any, portions are to be attributed to Confucius. The second part of the passage appears to be interpolated as commentary on the first part.

3.13 After failing to succeed in reforming the politics of his home state of Lu, Confucius journeyed from state to state in search of a worthy ruler. Here he is in the state of Wei, and the powerful minister of war is suggesting, by means of analogy with customary ideas of household gods, that he, rather than the duke of Wei, is the key to political access in Wei. (See 6.28.)

3.14 The translation here takes the final sentence as implying that the present may supersede the Zhou and improve upon it. Most translators read, “I follow the Zhou,” meaning that Confucius has chosen to accord with Zhou culture.

3.15 Confucius’s father was from the town of Zou, just south of Lu. Lu was viewed as a repository of authoritative knowledge of Zhou customs, while Zou had, until recently, been a non-Zhou cultural region, the former center of a state called Zhu, which was viewed as backward by the Zhou population in Lu. (See maps on pp. x-xi.) Here

3.19 Duke Ding asked, “How should a lord direct his minister and the minister serve his lord?” Confucius replied, “If the lord directs his minister with *li*, the minister will serve his lord with loyalty.”

3.20 The Master said: The poem *Ospreys*: happiness without license, anguish without injury.

3.21 Duke Ai questioned Zai Wo about the earthen altar of state. Zai Wo replied, “The lords of the Xia Dynasty planted a pine tree beside it; the people of the Yin Dynasty planted a cypress. The people of the Chou planted a chestnut (*li*) tree, saying, ‘Let the people be fearful (*li*).’” When the Master heard of this he said, “One does not plead against actions already done; one does not remonstrate about affairs that have concluded. One does not assign blame concerning matters of the past.”

3.22 The Master said, “Guan Zhong was a man of small capacities.” Someone said, “But wasn’t Guan Zhong frugal?”

The Master said, “Guan Zhong maintained three residences and allowed no consolidation of responsibilities among state officers. Wherein was this frugal?”

“Well, but did he not know *li*?”

The Master said, “When the lord of his state set up a screen at court, Guan Zhong gated his family courtyard with a screen. Because an earthen drinking platform is built when lords of states meet together to enhance their congeniality, Guan Zhong also built an earthen drinking platform. If Guan

we see Confucius’s cultural authority being questioned on the basis of his family background. (See also 10.18.)

3.19 Duke Ding (r. 509-495 BCE) was the ruler of Lu prior to Duke Ai, whom we encountered in 2.19 and again below in 3.21. Some commentators read Confucius’s reply here simply as two positive prescriptions, without any conditional relation.

3.20 The *Poetry* opens with the song *Ospreys*, which links the image of those birds to a lover’s longing for an ideal woman.

3.21 Zai Wo 宰我 was a disciple. He plays a minor role in the *Analects*, but is unique in that his role is unremittingly negative. He died in abortive coup attempt in his native state of Qi, and his treatment in the text may be connected to that.

The name of the chestnut tree (*li* 栗), happens to be part of a compound word that means ‘fearful’ (*li* 慄).

3.22 Guan Zhong was the prime minister of the state of Qi during the seventh century BCE. His wise counsel was said to have made his ruler the first of the great ‘hegemons’ of the chaotic ‘Spring and Autumn’ period of history (722-481 BCE). He was a hero to later generations in Northeast China, but Confucians were ambivalent about him, because they viewed the hegemonic power of the Duke of Qi and others like him as depriving the Zhou king of his rightful authority as Tian’s designated ruler.

Guan Zhong’s historical

Zhong knew *li*, who does not know *li*?”

3.23 The Master instructed the Music Master of Lu: “The pattern of music is something we can understand. Music commences with unison, and then follows with harmony, each line clearly heard, moving in sequence towards the coda.”

3.24 The keeper of the pass at Yi requested an interview. “I have never been denied an interview by any gentleman coming to this place.” The followers presented him. When he emerged he said, “Gentlemen, what need have you to be anxious over your Master’s failure? The world has long been without the *dao*. Tian means to employ your Master as a wooden bell.”

3.25 The Master said of the Shao music, “It is thoroughly beautiful and thoroughly good.” Of the Wu music he said, “It is thoroughly beautiful, but not thoroughly good.”

3.26 The Master said: One who dwells in the ruler’s seat and is not tolerant, one who performs *li* and is not reverent, one who joins a funeral and does not mourn – what have I to learn from any of these?

status and the intellectual importance of evaluating that role may be analogized to an American figure like Jefferson (although only in the sense that both were touchstones of political interpretation and controversy). The *Analects* presents alternative perspectives on Guan Zhong. For a view of Guan Zhong very different from 3.22, see 14.16-17.

3.23 Early Confucians were well versed in music and trained in performance; the particulars of this passage would have been of importance to them. For us, the primary interest may be that Confucius is pictured instructing the court music master.

3.24 The pass at Yi lay on the border of the state of Wei, where Confucius traveled but failed to find a welcome at court for his teaching. Here, as he leaves, the lowly keeper of the pass, clearly pictured as wise beyond his station, conveys to the disciples what he discerns as the true meaning of Confucius’s failure. A “wooden bell” was carried by night watchmen to arouse townsmen when danger was present.

3.25 The Shao music was an orchestral ballet said to have been composed by the legendary Emperor Shun, who was raised to the throne because of his virtue. The Wu music was a dance of the conquest in war of the evil last king of the Shang by the Zhou founder, King Wu. (‘*Wu*’, in both the name of the king and the name of the music, means ‘martial’.)

## Book IV

4.1 The Master said, To settle in *ren* is the fairest course. If one chooses not to dwell amidst *ren*, whence will come knowledge?

4.2 The Master said, Those who are not *ren* cannot long dwell in straitened circumstances, and cannot long dwell in joy. The *ren* person is at peace with *ren*. The wise person makes use of *ren*.

4.3 The Master said, Only the *ren* person can love others and hate others.

4.4 The Master said, If one sets one's heart on *ren*, there will be none he hates.

4.5 The Master said, Wealth and high rank are what people desire; if they are attained by not following the *dao*, do not dwell in them. Poverty and mean rank are what people hate; if they are attained by not following the *dao*, do not depart from them.

If one takes *ren* away from a *junzi*, wherein is he worthy of the name? There is no interval so short that the *junzi* deviates from *ren*. Though rushing full tilt, it is there; though head over heels, it is there.

4.6 The Master said, I have never seen one who loves *ren* and hates what is not *ren*. One who loves *ren* puts nothing above it. One who hates what is not *ren* will never allow that which is not *ren* to be part of his person.

Is there any person who can direct his strength to *ren* for an entire day? I have never seen anyone whose strength is not sufficient – most likely there is such a one, but I

## Notes

4.1 The passage employs the metaphor of choosing a neighborhood, which is explicit in the Chinese text. See 4.25.

4.2 The final phrases here have led some commentators to see the *ren* and the wise as very different types of people; others see these as complementary facets of the sage person.

4.3 / 4.4 These two passages seem contradictory, suggesting the *Analects*' complex editorial process. The last part of 4.4 could also mean 'there will be no bad aspect to him'.

4.5 There seem to be two different passages linked here. On the first, see also 7.12 and 7.16.

The second section is justly famous as a vivid illustration of what it means to be fully *ren*, and thus truly worthy of the name '*junzi*'.

4.6 Sarcasm is a device that appears regularly in the *Analects*, suggesting that it may indeed have been a feature of Confucius's speech.

have yet to see him.

4.7 The Master said, People make errors according to the type of person they are. By observing their errors, you can understand *ren*.

4.8 The Master said, In the morning hear the *dao*, in the evening die content.

4.9 The Master said, If a gentleman sets his heart on the *dao* but is ashamed to wear poor clothes and eat poor food, he is not worth engaging in serious discussion.

4.10 The Master said, The *junzi*'s stance towards the world is this: there is nothing he insists on, nothing he refuses, he simply aligns himself beside right.

4.11 The Master said, The *junzi* cherishes virtue, the small man cherishes land. The *junzi* cherishes the examples men set, the small man cherishes the bounty they bestow.

4.12 The Master said, If one allows oneself to follow profit in one's behavior, there will be many with cause for complaint.

4.13 The Master said, Can *li* and deference be employed to manage a state. What is there to this? If one cannot use *li* and deference to manage a state, what can one do with *li*?

4.14 The Master said, Do not be concerned that you have no position, be concerned that you have what it takes to merit a position. Do not be concerned that no one recognizes you, seek that which is worthy of recogni-

4.7 Sometimes the sense here is taken to be that by observing the pattern of a person's errors, one can understand his distance from *ren*.

4.8 A famous passage, puzzling because the Confucian stress on the *dao* as an instrument for political action runs counter to the passive tone of the beautiful rhetoric here.

4.9 'Gentleman' translates *shi* 士, a term applied to all well-born men, from rulers to lower aristocrats. It came to point more towards the lower levels, and then as a normative term, came to signify a person of basic moral attainments and culture, *worthy* of being treated as an aristocrat, regardless of birth. Confucians were among the earliest champions of treating people on the basis of their attainments of morality and culture, rather than on the basis of birth.

4.10 Beginning here, we encounter a string of passages aiming to portray the character of the *junzi*, often in terms of very specific attitudes delineated in contrast to his opposite, the 'small man'.

Right (*yi* 義) is a traditional concept, stressed by Confucians (particularly the second great Confucian, Mencius [fourth century BCE]). It is, in some ways, a complement to *ren*. At some points, *yi* is rendered here as 'righteousness'.

4.11 On 'virtue' (*de*), see 2.1 and the Glossary.

4.14 This passage resonates with

tion.

4.15 The Master said, “Shen, a single thread runs through my *dao*.”

Master Zeng said, “Yes.”

The Master went out, and the other disciples asked, “What did he mean?”

Master Zeng said, “The Master’s *dao* is nothing other than loyalty and reciprocity.”

4.16 The Master said, The *junzi* comprehends according to right, the small man comprehends according to profit.

4.17 The Master said, When you see a worthy, think of becoming equal to him; when you see an unworthy person, survey yourself within.

4.18 The Master said, When one has several times urged one’s parents, observe their intentions; if they are not inclined to follow your urgings, maintain respectfulness and do not disobey; labor on their behalf and bear no complaint.

4.19 The Master said, When one’s parents are alive, make no distant journeys; when you travel, have a set destination.

4.20 The Master said, One who does not alter his late father’s *dao* for three years may be called filial.

4.21 The Master said, One cannot fail to know the ages of one’s parents: on one hand, these are a source of happiness, on the other hand of fear.

1.1 and 1.16. There are many other instances in the text where this idea is central.

4.15 Many have noted that it would be odd if Zeng Shen (see 1.4), a very junior disciple, possessed the sort of esoteric understanding this passage suggests. Moreover, reference to this young follower as “Zengzi,” that is, “Master Zeng,” increases the probability that Zeng Shen’s role in the text has been crafted by his own disciples after his death in 436 BCE (see especially 8.3-7). His apparent wisdom here is probably due to their reverence. The passage can be compared with 15.3, which likely reflects more closely the earliest model of this exchange.

‘Loyalty’ is an imperfect translation. Later writers gloss it as ‘exhausting oneself’ in devoted effort. For ‘reciprocity’, see 15.24.

4.16 More literally, the sense is that the *junzi* will grasp points framed in terms of morals; to convey a point to a small man, talk in terms of profit.

4.18-21 A set of four passages on filiality.

4.20 Duplicated at 1.11 (see the discussion there). Three years was the ritual mourning period for one’s parents, during which a son was to withdraw from all social roles and entertainments (see 17.19).

4.22 The Master said, The ancients were wary of speaking because they were ashamed if their conduct did not match up.

4.23 The Master said, Rarely has anyone missed the mark through self-constraint.

4.24 The Master said, The *junzi* wishes to be slow of speech and quick in action.

4.25 The Master said, Virtue is never alone; it always has neighbors.

4.26 Ziyou said, If one is insistent in serving one's ruler, one will be disgraced. If one is insistent with friends, they will become distant.

4.22 and 4.24 appear originally to have been side by side.

4.25 Book IV is more consistent in form than any of the other books. All passages except 4.15 and 4.26 are simple aphorisms stated by the Master. Most interpreters believe the two exceptions represent late additions to the book. If this is the case, 4.25 was originally the end of Book IV, and it is in this light that we must note how closely it resonates with 4.1.

4.26 See also 12.23.



## Book V

5.1 The Master characterized Gongye Chang: “He is marriageable. Though he was in shackles, it was through no crime of his own.” And he wed his daughter to him.

5.2 The Master characterized Nan Rong: “If the *dao* prevailed in the state, he would not be discarded; if the *dao* did not prevail in the state, he would evade corporal punishment.” And he wed his elder brother’s daughter to him.

5.3 The Master characterized Zijian thus: “He is a *junzi*! If Lu truly lacks any *junzis*, where has he come from?”

5.4 Zigong said, “What am I like?” The Master said, “You are a vessel.”

“What vessel?”

“A vessel of ancestral sacrifice.”

5.5 Someone said, “Yong is *ren* but he has no craft in speech.”

The Master said, “Of what use is craft in speech? Those who parry others with glib tongues are frequent objects of detestation. I don’t know whether Yong is *ren*, but of what use is craft in speech?”

5.6 The Master gave Qidiao Kai leave to take up a position. He replied, “I’m not yet prepared to fulfill this faithfully.” The Master was pleased.

5.7 The Master said, “The *dao* does not prevail! I shall set out over the sea on a raft. I expect that Yóu will be willing to accompany

## Notes

5.1 Many passages in Book V comment on contemporary and historical figures. In many cases, we know little or nothing about them. Gongye Chang 公冶長 is elsewhere said to have been a disciple. It is unknown why he was imprisoned.

5.2 Nan Rong 南容 is also said to have been a disciple (see 14.5)

Other sources tell us Confucius’s father had another, elder son, born of a woman other than Confucius’s mother.

The basic rule that Nan Rong here follows is known as ‘timeliness’ (*shí* 時); it is a key Confucian concept, which grows in scope from the simple idea articulated here, to a broad vision of the dynamic application of ethical authority in ever-changing contexts (see the Glossary).

5.3 Zijian 子賤 was a disciple.

5.4 This passage is often thought to resonate with 2.12: “The *junzi* is not a vessel.” This idea is in tension with the sacred character of the sacrificial vessel.

5.5 Yong 雍 is the disciple Zhonggong 仲弓 (see 6.1). Compare 1.3, 4.22, and 4.24 with the message of this passage. The term for ‘craft in speech’ (or glibness), *ning* 佞, is a phonetic and graphic cognate for *ren* 仁. *Ren* sometimes carries the sense of ‘manliness’ (and, as an ethical term, may build on the concept of being a ‘real man’), while the character for *ning* adds the female signifier and may reflect a pejorative view of pleasing speech

me.”

Zilu heard of this and was pleased.

The Master said, “Yóu’s love of valor exceeds mine; there is nowhere to get the lumber.”

5.8 Meng Wubo asked, “Is Zilu *ren*?” The Master said, “I don’t know.”

When asked again, the Master said, “Yóu may be placed in charge of managing the military exactions for a state of a thousand war chariots. I don’t know whether he is *ren*.”

“What about Qiu?”

The Master said, “Qiu may be made steward of a city of a thousand households or a feudal estate of a hundred war chariots. I don’t know whether he is *ren*.”

“What about Chi?”

The Master said, “Girt with a sash and standing in court, Chi may be entrusted with the role of greeting visitors. I don’t know whether he is *ren*.”

5.9 The Master addressed Zigong, saying, “Who is superior, you or Hui?”

“How could I dare even to gaze up at Hui? When Hui hears one part, he understands all ten; I hear one and understand two.”

The Master said, “Yes, you do not come up to him. Neither you nor I come up to him.”

5.10 Zai Yu napped in his chamber during the day. The Master said, “Rotten wood cannot be carved; a wall of dung cannot be whitewashed. What point is there in blaming Yu?”

as ‘womanly’.

5.6 Qidiao Kai 漆彫開 is a disciple referred to only in this one *Analects* passage, but there is evidence his later influence was substantial (see Appendix 1).

5.7 The disciple Zilu (Zhong Yóu – personal name: Yóu) is portrayed as martial and impetuous throughout the *Analects* (see the next passage). Here, Confucius teases him. ‘Lumber’ (*cai* 材) is a pun on the word ‘talent’ (*cai* 才), a harsh comment on Zilu’s limited abilities. (Humor in the *Analects* can bite.)

5.8 Meng Wubo was a grandee in the state of Lu (see 2.5-6). Here, we are probably to assume he is seeking job references.

Qiu is the senior disciple Ran Qiu. Both he and Zilu served for a time as officers at the warlord Ji family court.

Chi is the disciple Gongxi Hua 公西華, from a patrician Lu family.

All these disciples did achieve some political stature in Lu.

5.8 should be read as the basis of the most elaborate passage in the *Analects*: 11.26.

5.9 ‘Hui’ refers to the disciple Yan Hui.

5.10 The only disciple in the *Analects* towards whom no type of approval or affection is shown is the senior disciple Zai Yu 宰予 (also known as Zai Wo 我; see 3.21). (It is possible that there is an error in the text here and that

The Master said, “It used to be that with people, when I heard what they said I trusted their conduct would match. Now I listen to what they say and observe their conduct. It is because of Yu that I have changed.”

5.11 The Master said, “I have never seen anyone who was incorruptible.” Someone replied by mentioning Shen Cheng. The Master said, “Cheng is full of desires. How could he be called incorruptible?”

5.12 Zigong said, “What I do not wish others to do to me, I do not wish to do to others.”

The Master said, “Si, this is a level you have not yet reached.”

5.13 Zigong said, The Master’s emblem of patterns is something we may learn of. The Master’s statements concerning our nature and the *dao* of Tian are things we may not learn of.

5.14 When Zilu heard something new and had not yet learned to practice it, his only fear was that he would hear something else new.

5.15 Zigong asked, “Why is Kong Wenzi referred to by the posthumous title of Wen?”

The Master said, “He was bright and loved learning, and unashamed to ask questions of those below him. That is why he is referred to as Wen.”

5.16 The Master characterized Zichan thus: “There were in him four aspects of the *dao* of the *junzi*. He was reverent in his com-

what Zai Yu is accused of is actually decorating the walls of his chamber [*hua qin* 畫寢] rather than sleeping in the day [*zhou qin* 晝寢].)

5.11 Nothing is known of Shen Cheng; some sources list him as a disciple.

5.12 Si was Zigong’s personal name.

This formula, a version of the Golden Rule, is important to the *Analects*, and is sometimes referred to as ‘reciprocity’ (see 15.24).

5.13 ‘Emblem of patterns’ (*wen-zhang* 文章) is a phrase that occurs again in 8.19 (see also 5.22). It likely refers to the practical style of conduct that was central to the Confucian ritualist school.

5.15 Kong Wenzi was a grandee in the state of Wei. After a senior patrician’s death, it was common to select an honorific name to use posthumously as a sign of respect. The name was intended to capture some aspect of character. In this case, the issue is most importantly a gloss on the meaning of the key term *wen* (patterned; see the Glossary).

portment, he was respectfully attentive in service to his superiors, he was generous in nurturing the people, he was righteous in directing the people.”

5.17 The Master said, Yan Pingzhong was good at interacting with people. Even after long acquaintance, he remained respectfully attentive.

5.18 The Master said, When Zang Wenzhong created a chamber for his great turtle, he had the beams painted with mountains, and the supporting posts with water plants. What wisdom he had!

5.19 Zizhang asked, “Chief minister Ziwen when thrice appointed chief minister showed no sign of pleasure; when thrice dismissed, he showed no sign of displeasure and duly reported to the new chief minister the affairs of the old. What would you say of him?”

The Master said, “He was loyal.”

“Was he *ren*?”

“I don’t know. Wherein would he be *ren*?”

“When Cuizi assassinated the ruler of Qi, Chen Wenzhi possessed ten teams of horses, but he cast all that away and took his leave. Arriving at another state, he said, ‘These men are like our grandee Cuizi,’ and took his leave. Arriving at yet another state, he said, ‘These men are like our grandee Cuizi,’ and took his leave. What would you say of him?”

The Master said, “He was pure.”

“Was he *ren*?”

“I don’t know. Wherein would he be *ren*?”

5.16 Zichan was an exemplary prime minister in the small state of Zheng, who died in 522 BCE, when Confucius was still young.

“Directing the people” refers to calling on corvée manpower obligations for war or labor projects.

5.17 Yan Pingzhong was a famous prime minister in the state of Qi. He lived well into Confucius’s lifetime, dying c. 506 BCE.

5.18 Zang Wenzhong was a famous prime minister in Lu three generations senior to Confucius. He procured for his clan a great turtle, of some sacred significance. The decor described here is said to have been the prerogative of the Zhou king, hence Confucius’s final sarcastic remark.

5.19 Another illustration of how difficult it is to earn the Master’s praise as *ren*.

Ziwen was chief minister in the state of Chu several generations before Confucius.

The assassination of Duke Zhuang of Qi took place about the time of Confucius’s birth. ‘Ten teams of horses’ clearly means only that Chen Wenzhi abandoned a lavish household to avoid association with Cuizi.

5.20 Ji Wenzi always pondered thrice before acting. The Master heard of this and said, “Twice is enough.”

5.21 The Master said, As for Ning Wuzi, when the *dao* prevailed in his state, he was wise; when the *dao* did not prevail, he was stupid. His wisdom may be matched; his stupidity is unmatchable.”

5.22 The Master was in Chen. He said, “Let us return! Let us return! The young men of our group are bold but simple. They weave an emblem but do not know how to trim it.”

5.23 The Master said, Bo Yi and Shu Qi did not recite old wrongs. For this reason, their complaints were rare.

5.24 The Master said, Who says Weisheng Gao is straightforward. If someone asked him for vinegar, he would borrow it from a neighbor and give it.

5.25 The Master said, Crafty words, an ingratiating expression, obsequious conduct – Zuo Qiuming would be ashamed of such behavior, and I would be ashamed of it as well. To hide one’s resentment and befriend another – Zuo Qiuming would be ashamed of such behavior, and I would be ashamed of it as well.

5.26 Yan Yuan and Ji Lu were sitting in attendance. The Master said, “Why not each of us speak his heart’s desire?”

Zilu said, “Let me drive a team of horses and be dressed in a light fur jacket

5.20 Ji Wenzi was head of the powerful Ji warlord clan in Lu several generations before Confucius.

5.21 Ning Wuzi was a grandee in the state of Wei. Compare with 5.2. This is an example of the dry humor the *Analects* often imparts to its portrait of Confucius.

5.22 Chen was one of the states Confucius visited during his long exile from Lu. Here he imagines the activity of the disciples left behind using the metaphor of the cloth emblem of patterns (see 5.13).

5.23 Bo Yi and Shu Qi were two legendary brothers who retreated to the wilderness to escape the evil of the last Shang ruler. They returned upon hearing of the virtues of King Wen of the Zhou, but arrived as his son, King Wu, conquered the Shang. Seeing his war-making as no improvement, they retreated again, to die of hunger in the mountains.

The last phrase may be read to mean few complained against them.

5.24 Nothing is known of Weisheng Gao, or why Confucius devises this colorful characterization.

5.25 Zuo Qiuming is the name of the putative author of the *Zuo-chuan* (Zuo’s Commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*), the

side by side with friends; even were we all in tatters, we would be free of resentment.”

Yan Yuan said, “I would wish not to boast of my virtues nor cause others labor.”

Zilu said, “We would like to hear the Master’s wish.”

The Master said, “That the old are content with me, my friends trust me, and the young cherish me.”

5.27 The Master said, Enough! I have yet to see anyone who can recognize his own errors and bring changes against himself within.

5.28 The Master said, In a town of ten households, there will surely be one who is as loyal and trustworthy as I. But there will be none who loves learning as much!

great history of the early Classical period. Why Confucius characterizes him as he does here is not known.

5.26 Yan Yuan is the disciple Yen Hui. Ji Lu 季路 is the disciple Zilu. Like 5.8, this passage is likely an inspiration for 11.26.

## Book VI

6.1 The Master said, Yong may be permitted to sit facing south.

6.2 Zhonggong asked about Zisang Bozi. The Master said, “He was satisfactory; his style was simple.”

Zhonggong said, “To be attentively respectful when interacting at home but simple in conduct when approaching one’s people is indeed satisfactory. But is not being simple both at home and in conduct abroad to be too simple?”

The Master said, “Yong’s words are correct.”

6.3 Duke Ai asked which of the disciples loved learning. The Master said, “There was Yan Hui who loved learning. He never shifted his anger, never repeated his errors. Unfortunately, his life was short and he died. Now there is none. I have not heard of another who loves learning.”

6.4 Zihua was dispatched on a mission to Qi. Ranzi asked for an allotment of grain to provide his mother. The Master said, “Give her six measures.”

Ranzi asked for more.

“Give her nine measures.”

Ranzi gave her twenty-five measures.

The Master said, “When Chi traveled to Qi, he rode a sleek horse and wore a fine fur jacket. I have heard it said, ‘The *junzi* attends to the needy; he does not enrich the wealthy.’”

## Notes

6.1 Yong (Ran Yong) is the disciple Zhonggong.

The ruler’s throne faces south. This is extraordinary praise. No extensive lore praising Zhonggong exists, but in the *Xunzi*, the third great early Confucian text (third century BCE), Zhonggong is noted as a founder of a branch of the Confucian school.

6.2 Nothing certain is known of Zisang Bozi.

6.3 Essentially duplicated at 11.7, with Ji Kangzi as the interlocutor.

6.4 Zihua is the disciple Gongxi Hua (see 5.8). Ranzi is Ran Qiu.

6.5 Yuan Si was a disciple; he is

6.5 Yuan Si acted as steward of the Master's household. The Master set his salary at nine hundred measures. Yuan Si declined. The Master said, "No, you can give it to your neighbors and townsmen."

6.6 The Master characterized Zhonggong thus: If the calf of a plough ox has a sorrel coat and fine horns, though one wished not to sacrifice it, would the spirits of the mountains and rivers forego it?

6.7 The Master said, Hui would go three months without his heart ever departing from *ren*. As for the others, their hearts merely come upon *ren* from time to time.

6.8 Ji Kangzi asked, "Cannot Zhong Yóu be appointed to government position?"

The Master said, "Yóu is resolute. What difficulty would he have in governance?"

"Cannot Si be appointed to government position?"

The Master said, "Si has understanding. What difficulty would he have in governance?"

"Cannot Qiu be appointed to government position?"

The Master said, "Qiu is accomplished in arts. What difficulty would he have in governance?"

6.9 The Ji family sent word appointing Min Ziqian as the steward of Bi. Min Ziqian said, "Make a good excuse for me. If they send for me again, I will surely be found north of the River Wen."

more usually referred to by his personal name, Xian (see 14.1).

The lesson of this passage is clearly meant to be coupled with the last.

6.6 From this, we can infer that Zhonggong, who is so highly praised in Book VI, was of humble birth. (See 6.10.)

6.8 Ji Kangzi was head of the warlord Ji clan in Lu. Zhong Yóu is the disciple Zilu; Si is the disciple Zigong; Qiu is the disciple Ran Qiu.

This passage seems intended to identify key traits valuable in public roles. 'Resolute' carries a sense of following through in action; 'understanding' may also mean able to express ideas clearly.

6.9 Min Ziqian was a disciple. Bi was the walled city at the center of the of the Ji family domain.

'North of the River Wen' suggests an intent to flee beyond the borders of Lu.

6.10 Boniu (Ran Boniu) is the fa-



6.10 Boniu fell ill. The Master called upon him, grasping Boniu's hand through the window. He said, "There is nothing for it! It is fated. Yet for such a man to have such an illness! For such a man to have such an illness!"

6.11 The Master said, How worthy is Hui! A simple bowl of food and a dipperful of drink, living on a shabby lane – others could not bear the cares, yet Hui is unchanging in his joy. How worthy is Hui!

6.12 Ran Qiu said, "It is not that I do not delight in your *dao*, Master – my strength is insufficient."

The Master said, "Those with insufficient strength fall by the path midway. You are simply drawing a line."

6.13 The Master addressed Zixia, saying, "Be a *junzi* Ru; don't be a small man Ru."

6.14 Ziyu became the steward of Wucheng. The Master said, "Do you find good men there?"

"There is one called Tantai Mieming. He never takes shortcuts in his conduct, and if it is not upon official business, he never comes to see me in my chamber."

6.15 The Master said, Meng Zhifan was not boastful. When the army retreated, he held the rear, but as they approached the city gate he whipped his horse ahead, saying, "It's not that I dared to stay behind – my horse simply wouldn't go!"

ther of Zhonggong (Ran Yong). His polite name means "elder ox," which may explain the metaphor used in 6.6.

What Boniu's illness may have been is a matter of speculation. The word 'fated' (*ming* 命) also carried the sense of 'lifespan', and it was commonly believed that a limit of years was determined for each person by destiny.

6.12 'The path' simply translates *dao* in its original sense, in order to clarify the metaphor governing Confucius's reply.

6.13 'Ru' 儒 is the name by which the Confucian school was known (Confucianism is sometimes called Ruism in English). Its original meaning is disputed. This passage (the only one in the *Analects* to employ the term) suggests a split already existing in the school at the time the *Analects* was compiled. Clearly, the followers of Zixia believed their master was on the *junzi* side of the equation.

6.14 The final statement means he never seeks contact for private reasons.

6.15 Meng Zhifan was a contemporary grandee of Lu.

6.16 Confucius refers to the super-

6.16 The Master said, Without the glibness of Zhu Tuo or the handsomeness of Song Zhao, it is hard to escape in times like these.

6.17 The Master said, Who can go out except through the door? Why, then, does no one follow this *dao*?

6.18 When plain substance prevails over patterned refinement, you have a bumpkin. When patterned refinement prevails over substance, you have a clerk. When substance and pattern are in balance, only then do you have a *junzi*.

6.19 Men stay alive through straightforward conduct. When the crooked stay alive it is simply a matter of escaping through luck.

6.20 The Master said, Knowing it is not so good as loving it; loving it is not so good as taking joy in it.

6.21 The Master said, With men of middle level or higher, one may discuss the highest; with men below the middle rank, one may not discuss the highest.

6.22 Fan Chi asked about knowledge. The Master said, “To concentrate on what is right for the people; to be attentively respectful towards ghosts and spirits but keep them at a distance – this may be called knowledge.”

He asked about *ren*. “People who are *ren* are first to shoulder difficulties and last to reap rewards. This may be called *ren*.”

6.23 The Master said, The wise delight in water; the *ren* delight in mountains. The wise

fictional advantages of two minor figures from history to suggest the values of a debased age.

6.20 This may refer to any activity, but ‘it’ is probably best understood as the *dao*.

6.22 This and the following passage pair *ren* and knowledge (or wisdom) in the manner of 4.2.

are in motion; the *ren* are at rest. The wise are joyful; the *ren* are long lived.

6.24 The Master said, The state of Qi with one transformation could become the state of Lu, and the state of Lu with one transformation could reach the *dao*.

6.25 The Master said, A gourd that is not a gourd – is it a gourd? Is it a gourd?

6.26 Zai Wo asked, “If you were to say to a *ren* person that there was someone fallen down into a well, would he leap in to save him?”

The Master said, “What do you mean by this? A *junzi* may be urged, but he cannot be snared; he may be deceived, but he may not be made a fool of.”

6.27 The Master said, Once a *junzi* has studied broadly in patterns and constrained them with *li*, indeed he will never turn his back on them.

6.28 The Master had an audience with Nanzi. Zilu was displeased. The Master swore an oath: “That which I deny, may Tian detest it! May Tian detest it!”

6.29 The Master said, The Central Mean in conduct is where virtue reaches its pinnacle. Few are those who can sustain it for long.

6.30 Zigong said, “If one were to bring broad benefits to the people and be able to aid the multitudes, what would you say about him? Could you call him *ren*?”

The Master said, “Why would you call

6.24 Confucius privileges his home state of Lu here, but his optimistic view extends it its neighbor state Qi. The *Analects* maintains a balance between deploring how far the present time have fallen from the era of the sages, and envisioning the potential for rapid transformation, if only the political will is present.

6.25 Gourds were used as a certain type of wine vessel, called, therefore, ‘gourds’. This passage must refer to some irregularity of vessel usage, and, in doing so, raise the issue of the distortion of language to cover up unorthodox conduct. An implied meaning might be that a ‘ruler’ who does not properly ‘rule’ should not be called a ‘ruler’ – an idea that has come to be known as part of a doctrine called ‘the rectification of names’. (See also 17.11.)

6.26 This is one of many instances of tension between Zai Wo and Confucius (see 3.21, 5.10, 17.21).

6.27 Duplicated at 12.15 and in part at 9.11. ‘Patterns’ (*wen*) are usually pictured as forms of cultural refinement basic to the ritualized conduct of *li*. Here, the two are in tension, indicating that *li* denotes only those features of culture that sages have designed to promote perfect social communication and order.

6.28 Nanzi was the unsavory female consort of the Marquis of Wei. Confucius here denies Zilu’s suspicion that he was planning to conspire with Wei’s unethical

this a matter of *ren*? Surely, this would be a sage! Yao and Shun themselves would fall short of this.

“The *ren* person is one who, wishing himself to be settled in position, sets up others; wishing himself to have access to the powerful, achieves access for others. To be able to proceed by analogy from what lies nearest by, that may be termed the formula for *ren*.”

power brokers in order to gain a court position. (See 3.13.)

6.29 ‘Central Mean’ is capitalized here because the concept serves as the title of one of a famous early Confucian work, usually known as the *Doctrine of the Mean*. That text probably reached its present form no earlier than the late third century BCE, and it is possible that 6.29 was incorporated into the *Analects* only as the *Doctrine of the Mean* came together. Since the *Doctrine* includes a passage almost identical to 6.29, it is difficult to know which text may be quoting the other; both could also derive from a common source.

6.30 ‘Sage’ (*sheng* 聖) is a term generally reserved for great figures of legendary accomplishment. One may read this passage as saying either that sagehood is a type of ‘super-*ren*’ – *ren* with political achievements added on – or that these are two different types of issues, one having to do with power opportunities turned to advantage, and the other having to do with a habitual linkage of self and other – not unrelated matters, but still distinct.

The final sentence, which seems to describe a rule of thumb for the ordinary person striving to become *ren*, provides a clue to what, in practice, the ambiguous term may have meant to early Confucians. It stands in contrast to the almost unattainable goal expressed in 4.5.

## Book VII

7.1 The Master said, To transmit but not create, to be faithful in loving the old – in this I dare compare myself to Old Peng.

7.2 The Master said, To stay silent and mark something in the mind, to study without tiring, to instruct others without fatigue – what difficulty are these things to me?

7.3 The Master said, That I have not cultivated virtue, that I have learned but not explained, that I have heard what is right but failed to align with it, that what is not good in me I have been unable to change – these are my worries.

7.4 When the Master was at leisure, his manner was relaxed and easy.

7.5 The Master said, How far I have declined! Long has it been since I have again dreamed of the Duke of Zhou.

7.6 The Master said, Set your heart on the *dao*, base yourself in virtue, rely on *ren*, journey in the arts.

7.7 The Master said, From those who offer only a bundle of dried sausages on up, I have never refused to teach.

7.8 The Master said, Where there is no agitated attempt at thinking, I do not provide a clue; where there is no stammered attempt at expression, I do provide a prompt. If I raise one corner and do not receive the other three in response, I teach no further.

## Notes

7.1 There is no consensus about who Old Peng may have been. Some suggest this refers to Pengzu, a legendary figure comparable to Methuselah, but other than the descriptor ‘old’ nothing in this passage points to features in common with the legend.

Book VII is, by and large, a portrait of Confucius, in his own words or in the words of the *Analects* compilers.

7.5 The Duke of Zhou was a dynastic founder, younger brother of King Wu, famous for saving the newly established dynastic house through his wise regency after King Wu’s early death. He was also said to have devised the rituals of the Zhou government.

The passage may mean that Confucius has long given up hope of seeing a new sage arise.

7.6 ‘The arts’ refers to the gentlemanly arts of archery, charioteering, and writing, and the Confucian ritual arts of *li* and music.

7.7 The openness of Confucius’s ‘school’ to men of all classes is reflected here. Note ‘on up’: Confucius was a professional private teacher (often said to be the first), who seems to have lived largely off the largess of his wealthier pupils.

7.9 When the Master dined by the side of one who was in mourning, he never ate his fill.

7.10 If on a certain day the Master cried, he did not on that day sing.

7.11 The Master said of Yan Yuan, When put to use, act; when discarded, hide – only you and I are thus.

Zilu said, “Master, if you were put in charge of the three army divisions, then whom would you wish to have with you?”

The Master said, “Those who fight tigers with their bare hands, wade across rivers, and are willing to die without regret – I would not want their company. I would certainly want those who approach affairs with fearful caution and who like to lay careful plans for success.”

7.12 The Master said, If wealth may be well sought, though it be as lowly bearer of the whip I too would pursue it. If it cannot be well sought, I will follow what I love.

7.13 Things the Master was vigilant about: fasting, war, illness.

7.14 When the Master was in the state of Qi, he heard the Shao Music. For three months he did not know the taste of meat. He said, “I never imagined that the making of music could reach this level.”

7.15 Ran Yǒu said, “Will the Master become a partisan on behalf of the ruler of Wei?”

Zigong said, “Right – I’ll ask him.”

7.11 What is ‘put to use’ or ‘discarded’ may refer to rulers’ treatment of Confucius and Yan Yuan, or, more likely, to the *dao*. The initial passage here restates the doctrine of timeliness.

Classical era armies were typically divided into left, right, and central divisions.

Zilu’s eager valor is once again quashed here (see 5.7).

7.12 See the first part of 4.5 and 7.17. Confucius claims to desire what others desire – wealth – but here his desires seem superseded by what he ‘loves’.

7.13 ‘Fasting’ refers to dietary and other rules for purification appropriate prior to ancestral sacrifice rituals, during mourning periods, and so forth.

7.14 The Shao dance was said to have been composed by the sage emperor Shun. Other sources suggest this visit to Qi took place early in Confucius’s career.

7.15 Ran Yǒu is the disciple Ran Qiu.

The heir to the throne of Wei was exiled. Upon his father’s

He entered and said to the Master, “What sort of men were Bo Yi and Shu Qi?”

“They were worthies of ancient times.”

“Did they harbor complaints?”

“They sought *ren* and gained *ren* – what complaint could they have?”

Zigong exited. “The Master will not be a partisan in this,” he said.

7.16 The Master said, To eat coarse greens, drink water, and crook one’s elbow for a pillow – joy also lies therein. Wealth and high rank obtained by unrighteous means are to me like the floating clouds.

7.17 The Master said, Give me a few years, till fifty, in order to learn, and indeed I may be free of great flaws.

7.18 Those things for which the Master always employed court dialect: the *Poetry*, the *Documents*, the conduct of *li*. For all these, he employed court dialect.

7.19 The Lord of She asked Zilu about Confucius. Zilu could think of no response. The Master said, “Why did you not say: As a man, when agitated in thought he forgets to eat, joyfully forgetting his cares, not realizing that old age is near at hand?”

7.20 The Master said, I was not born with knowledge. I love what is old and am assiduous in pursuing it.

7.21 The Master did not speak of strange occurrences, feats of strength, political disruptions, and spirits.

death, his son was enthroned in his place, and he, the rightful ‘ruler’, planned to lead an army to retake the throne for himself. Confucius had made many contacts in Wei (see 3.13, 6.28), and Ran Qiu here wonders whether he will take advantage of the situation.

On Bo Yi and Shu Qi, see 5.23.

7.16 See 4.5 and 7.12.

7.17 The word rendered as ‘indeed’ (based on the reading of an alternative early version of the *Analects*) is also the title of the famous mantic work, *Yi jing* (Book of Changes). Most interpreters take Confucius to be saying here that he wishes to study that text, which is otherwise not mentioned in the *Analects*. (An oblique reference may appear at 13.22, however.)

7.18 Classical China was a patchwork of regions speaking different languages and dialects. Confucius likely spent his childhood in a region south of Lu that spoke a local language or dialect distinct from Zhou norms (see 3.15).

7.19 The Lord of She was a grandee of the state of Chu; She was his feudal estate.

7.20 See 16.9.

7.21 This should be understood in contrast to some other ‘wisdom’ schools, which claimed to under-

7.22 The Master said, When walking in a group of three, my teachers are always present. I draw out what is good in them so as to emulate it myself, and what is not good in them so as to alter it in myself.

7.23 The Master said, Tian has engendered virtue in me – what harm can Huan Tui do to me?

7.24 The Master said, My friends, do you believe I have secrets from you? I am without secrets. There is nothing I do that I do not share with you, my friends. That is who I am.

7.25 The Master taught by means of four things: patterns, conduct, loyalty, faithfulness.

7.26 The Master said, “Sages I have had no opportunity to see. You may say that I have been able to see *junks*.”

The Master said, “Good men I have had no opportunity to see. You may say that I have been able to see steadfast men. To treat having nothing as having enough, being empty as being full, being in tight constraints as being in luxury – it is hard enough to be steadfast!”

7.27 When the Master fished he did not use a net; when he hunted, he did not shoot at nesting birds.

7.28 The Master said, There may be some who invent without prior knowledge. I am not such a one. To listen to much, select

stand anomalies like earthquakes or comets, to be able to nurture super-human bodily capacities, to teach how to turn political turmoil to advantage, or to penetrate the world of spirit beings.

7.23 The Han period historical text *Shiji* offers context. Huan Tui was minister of war in the state of Song. Jealous of Confucius, he threatened him when Confucius and his disciples journeyed to Song. Confucius calmed his disciples with this statement. The *Shiji* account may preserve part of an oral teaching that was an original complement to the very terse *Analects* text. See 9.5 for what seems to be a different version of the same lesson.

7.25 ‘Patterns’ (*wen*) denotes the arts associated with the Confucian view of cultural excellence, such as *li* and music.

7.26 Two separate and somewhat contradictory passages seem to have been combined here. It may be that originally, different branches of the school developed variant texts on a common teaching theme, and the *Analects* editors simply juxtaposed them, rather than selecting between them.

7.28 Although the ‘inventors’ here are said to have no prior knowledge, the point seems to in-



what is good, and follow it; to observe much and to mark it in memory – these are second to knowledge.

7.29 The people of Hu Village were difficult to talk with. Confucius granted a village youth an interview and the disciples were doubtful.

The Master said, “To approve of him when he advances does not mean you’ve approved of his steps back. What is extraordinary in this? When a person purifies himself so as to advance, you approve his purity; you are not endorsing his past.”

7.30 The Master said, Is *ren* distant? When I wish to be *ren*, *ren* arrives.

7.31 The Minister of Crime in the state of Chen asked, “Did Duke Zhao understand *li*?” Confucius said, “He did.”

Confucius retired, and the Minister bowed to Wuma Qi, who entered. The Minister said, “I have heard that the *junzi* is not a partisan – is he indeed a partisan after all? Your former ruler married a woman from the state of Wu with the same surname as his own clan, but simply referred to her as ‘Mengzi of Wu.’ If your ruler understood *li*, who does not understand *li*?”

Wuma Qi reported this to the Master, who said, “I am lucky. When I make an error, others always know it.”

7.32 When the Master sang with others and they sang well, he would always wait and then ask them to repeat before joining in harmony.

volve the idea of ‘natural’ sages, men who somehow have innate wisdom (see 7.20, 16.9). Confucius denies being such a person, if such there are, but describes a practical path that comes closest to this imagined ideal.

7.30 It is probably an intentional paradox in the *Analects* that *ren* is pictured both as forbiddingly elusive and easily near at hand. (See, e.g., 7.34.)

7.31 Confucius is here pictured visiting Chen in his quest to find political employment.

Duke Zhao was a former duke in Lu. The Minister has put Confucius in the difficult position of choosing between telling the truth and being loyal to his state’s ruling house.

Wuma Qi appears to be a man of Lu traveling with Confucius, perhaps a minor disciple.

Marrying someone of the same surname was considered to be breaking an incest taboo. Had ‘Mengzi of Wu’ been referred to in an ordinary way, she would have been called ‘Madame Ji’, using the surname Ji 姬, which was the same as that of the dukes of Lu.

Confucius’s final remark is sarcastic. The Minister could have criticized him either way.

7.33 The Master said, In terms of unstinting effort, I can measure up to others, but as far as exemplifying the *junzi* in my personal conduct, I have not yet grasped it.

7.34 The Master said, “As for terms such as ‘sage’ or ‘*ren*’, how could I dare accept them? Rather, ‘tireless in pursuing it, unflagging in teaching others’ – that may be said of me.”

Gongxi Hua said, “That is just what we disciples cannot learn to be.”

7.35 The Master fell ill. Zilu requested permission to offer prayers. The Master said, “Is there precedent for this?” Zilu answered, “There is. In the liturgy it says, ‘Pray to the spirits above and below.’”

The Master said, “My prayers are longstanding.”

7.36 The Master said, Extravagance leads towards disobedience; thrift leads towards uncouthness. Rather than be disobedient, it is better to be uncouth.

7.37 The Master said, The *junzi* is free and easy, the small man always careworn.

7.38 The Master was warm, yet severe; awesome, yet never harsh; reverent, yet calm.

7.34 See 7.2.

7.35 For an alternative account, see 9.12.

One of the interesting puzzles of the early Confucian movement was its great emphasis on *li*, which included religious rituals, in which Confucians were professional specialists, and the frequent expressions of skepticism about the efficacy of those rituals to effect outcomes. So profound was this problem that the great adversaries of the Confucians, the Mohists, claimed that Confucians were in fact atheists, and described their commitment to religious ritual action as “casting nets into the sea while proclaiming that there are no fish.”

## Book VIII

8.1 The Master said, Taibo may be said to have possessed the utmost of virtue. Thrice he ceded the world to another. The people could find no words to praise him.

8.2 The Master said, If one is reverent but without *li* one is burdened; if one is vigilant but without *li* one is fearful; if one is valorous but without *li* one causes chaos; if one is straightforward but without *li* one causes affronts.

When the *junzi* is devoted to his parents, the people rise up as *ren*; when he does not discard his old comrades, the people are not dishonest.

8.3 Master Zeng fell ill. He summoned the disciples of his school. “Uncover my feet; uncover my hands! The *Poetry* says,

*All vigilance, all caution,  
As though nearing the edge of abyss,  
As though treading upon thin ice.*

“My young friends, from this point on, I know that I have escaped whole!”

8.4 Master Zeng fell ill. Meng Jingzi called upon him. Master Zeng said, “When a bird is about to die, his call is mournful; when a man is about to die, his words are good.

“There are three things a *junzi* cherishes in the *dao*. In attitude and bearing, keep far from arrogance; in facial expression, keep aligned close to faithfulness; in uttering words, keep far from coarse abrasiveness.

“So far as minor matters of ritual implements are concerned, there are functionaries to take care of those.”

## Notes

8.1 Taibo was an uncle of the future Zhou King Wen, and heir to the Zhou throne. Having seen how promising his nephew was, he ceded the throne to his brother so that his nephew would inherit it, and fled to the south, so no one could reverse his action. Ultimately, King Wen’s son, King Wu, established the Zhou Dynasty and so ruled the ‘world’.

Book VIII has an unusual structure; 8.1 was clearly, at some point, in a single group with 8.18-21, all being added late in such a way as to bracket the book.

8.2 This highly formulaic passage is more typical of the latter sections of the *Analects*, and partially duplicated in 17.8. The term ‘*junzi*’ in the second portion clearly refers to an exemplary ruler.

8.3 Set many years after Confucius’s death, when his youngest disciple is dying as an old man, this passage depicts Zeng Shen’s pride in evading the dangers of his age by following the doctrine of timeliness. (Because there is a tradition that Zeng Shen’s school stressed filial conduct, many interpreters read the remarks in 8.3 as pride in preserving whole the body bequeathed by parents.)

Passages 8.3-7 are all relics of the school of Zeng Shen, and represent a micro-text lodged within the *Analects*, a tiny ‘Book of Master Zeng’.

8.4 Zeng Shen’s school of Confucianism is believed to have stressed matters of inner sincerity over external *li*.

8.5 Master Zeng said, To be able, yet to ask advice of those who are not able; to have much, yet to ask advice of those who have little; to view possession as no different than lacking; fullness as no different than emptiness; to be transgressed against yet not to bear a grudge – in past times, I had a friend who worked to master these things.

8.6 Master Zeng said, A man to whom one can entrust a growing youth of middling stature and a territory a hundred *lǐ* square, who, nearing a great crisis, cannot be waylaid from his purpose – would such a man not be a *junzi*? Such a man would be a *junzi*.

8.7 Master Zeng said, A gentleman cannot but be broad in his determination. His burden is heavy and his road is long. He takes *ren* to be his burden – is the burden not heavy? Only with death may he lay it down – is the road not long?

8.8 The Master said, Rise with the *Poetry*, stand with *li*, consummate with music.

8.9 The Master said, The people can be made to follow it, they cannot be made to understand it.

8.10 The Master said, When one who loves only valor is placed under the stress of poverty, the result is chaos. If a person is not *ren*, placing him under stress leads to extremes, and chaos follows.

8.11 The Master said, If a person had ability as splendid as the Duke of Zhou, but was

8.5 Traditionally, the friend has been understood to be Yan Hui. The word ‘friend’ could also be plural, and refer to the group of original disciples.

8.6 The passage seems to refer to a minister entrusted by a dying ruler with the care of his minor heir and lands.

A *lǐ* is  $\frac{1}{3}$  mile, so the domain in question is of moderate size.

8.7 The word ‘road’ here translates *dao*.

8.8 ‘Rise’ is a technical term referring to an initial image used to set the tone of a poem, a convention employed by many of the songs in the *Poetry*. ‘Stand’ means to assume a social role. ‘Consummate’ is a technical term denoting the final coda of a musical piece or movement.

otherwise arrogant and stingy, the rest would not be worth a glance.

8.12 The Master said, A student willing to study for three years without obtaining a salaried position is hard to come by.

8.13 The Master said, Be devoted to faithfulness and love learning; defend the good *dao* until death.

Do not enter a state poised in danger; do not remain in a state plunged in chaos.

When the *dao* prevails in the world, appear; when it does not, hide.

When the *dao* prevails in a state, to be poor and of low rank is shameful; when the *dao* does not prevail in a state, to be wealthy and of high rank is shameful.

8.14 The Master said, When one does not occupy the position, one does not plan its governance.

8.15 The Master said, The overture of Music Master Zhi, the final coda of the song *Ospreys*, overflowing – how they fill the ear!

8.16 The Master said, Recklessly bold yet not straightforward; ignorant yet uncompliant; empty headed yet unfaithful – I wish to know nothing of such people.

8.17 The Master said, One should study as though there were not enough time, yet still feel fear of missing the point.

8.18 The Master said, Towering! – that Shun and Yu should have possessed the

8.12 The minimum term of discipleship was traditionally taken to be three years. There is a tension throughout the *Analects* between the goals of learning for its own sake and study in order to gain appointment. 1.1 leads the text with this issue.

8.13 This passage, particularly the latter portion, includes a suite of variations on the Confucian theme of “timeliness” (see the Glossary).

8.14 Duplicated (with comment) at 14.26.

8.15 Music Master Zhi was a famous past court musician of Lu (see 18.9). The ‘Ospreys’ is the initial song in the *Poetry*.

8.18 This passage picks up the historical theme begun in 8.1. Emperor Shun passed his kingdom to Yu, rather than to his son, and so did not treat the throne as belonging to his own lineage. This was not the case with Yu, however, and in the book *Mencius*, where this aphorism appears, Yu is not included.

8.19 Emperor Yao, in Confucian tradition the first of the sage rulers,

world yet treated none of it as their own.

8.19 The Master said, How grand was the rule of the Emperor Yao! Towering is the grandeur of Tian; only Yao could emulate it. So boundless the people could find no name for them – towering were his achievements! Glimmering, they formed an emblem of patterns.

8.20 Shun possessed five ministers and the world was ordered. King Wu said, “I have ten ministers to curtail the chaos.”

Confucius commented, “Talent is hard to find, is it not! In the times of Yao and Shun it was most abundant. And of the ten, one was a woman: it was merely nine.

“The Zhou controlled two-thirds of the empire, yet continued to serve the Yin. The virtue of the Zhou may be said to be the utmost of virtue.”

8.21 The Master said, I can find no fault in Yu. Yu was frugal in his own food and drink, but thoroughly filial towards the spirits; he wore shabby clothes, but ritual robes of the finest beauty; his palace chambers were humble, but he exhausted his strength on the waterways that irrigated the fields. I can find no fault with Yu.

was celebrated for sending members of his court to the four corners of the empire to map the heavens and create a calendar to regulate society. The last book of the *Analects* begins by quoting a lost text pertaining to Yao and the calendar (see 20.1)

Here, Yao’s achievements are pictured as the ideal form of civilized society, the emblem of pattern (see 5.13).

8.20 The first part of Confucius’s comment refers to a belief that King Wu’s wife served a key role in governance. The second part refers to the pre-conquest reign of King Wen, who forbore to conquer the Shang (Yin) Dynasty, although most of the empire had been swayed by his virtue to regard him as the true king.

8.21 Yu was celebrated as the ideal ruler by the Mohists, early adversaries of the Ruist, or Confucian school. His story was part myth – Yu was at some point a flood myth hero, and famous for single-handedly dredging the rivers of China and draining a world-threatening flood. The Mohists, who believed virtue lay simply in selfless effort for others and who regarded ritual (and Confucians) as wasteful extravagance, promoted Yu as an exemplar of thrift, simplicity, and self-sacrifice. In this passage, Confucius seems to ‘adopt’ Yu by picturing him as equally devoted to thrifty self-sacrifice and ritual perfection. This apparent effort to commandeer a competitor school’s chief exemplar probably marks the passage as a late insertion. The same motive may account for Yu’s somewhat puzzling appearance at 8.18.

Book IX	Notes
<p>9.1 The Master rarely spoke of profit, fate, or <i>ren</i>.</p> <p>9.2 A resident of Da Lane said, “How great is Confucius! He has studied broadly, and has no accomplishment by which he is known.”</p> <p>The Master heard of it and said to his disciples, “What shall I master? Charioteering? Archery? I’ll master charioteering!”</p> <p>9.3 The Master said, The hemp ceremonial cap is what is called for in <i>li</i>. Nowadays plain silk is used. That is thrifty. I follow the general trend. To make one’s bows at the base of the steps is what is called for in <i>li</i>. Nowadays people bow after ascending. That is arrogant. Though it goes against the general trend, I make my bows below.</p> <p>9.4 The Master forbade four things: One must not act on guesses, one must not demand absolute certainty, one must not be stubborn, one must not insist on oneself.</p> <p>9.5 When the Master was in danger in the state of Kuang, he said, “King Wen is dead, but his patterns live on here in me, do they not? If Tian wished these patterns to perish, I would not have been able to partake of them. Since Tian has not destroyed these patterns, what harm can the people of Kuang do to me?”</p> <p>9.6 The Grand Steward asked Zigong, “Your Master is surely a Sage, is he not? He is skilled in so many things!” Zigong replied,</p>	<p>9.1 This probably means that Confucius rarely spoke of events, actions, or people in these terms, since many passages in the <i>Analects</i> record comments Confucius is said to have made on these general subjects.</p> <p>Like Book VII, Book IX is studded with short comments on Confucius and his style of teaching. In some respects, Books VII and IX appear to be variants on the same theme, developed by different branches of the school.</p> <p>9.3 This passage is often cited as expressing the view that the <i>li</i> are not frozen and may evolve with the times, but only when underlying principles are understood and followed.</p> <p>9.5 The Han history <i>Shiji</i> provides context, saying that the people of Kuang mistook Confucius for a well known political outlaw from Lu. ‘Patterns’ (<i>wen</i>) refers to the cultural forms that the sage King Wen was said to have ordained for the Zhou people: the <i>li</i> of the Zhou.</p> <p>This passage and 7.23 are likely variants of a single legend.</p> <p>9.6 The Grand Steward was probably an emissary from the state of Wu. In serving the state of Lu as a diplomat,</p>

“It is actually Tian which allows him to be a great Sage; he is skilled in many things besides.”

The Master heard of it. “What does the Grand Steward know of me?” he said. “When I was young I was of humble station, and so became skilled in many rude things. Is the *junzi* skilled in many things? No, not many.”

9.7 Lao said, The Master stated, “I was not tried in office, hence I became skilled in arts.”

9.8 The Master said, Do I have knowledge? No, I do not. If even a bumpkin asks a question of me, I am all empty. I simply tap at both ends of the question until I exhaust it.

9.9 The Master said, The phoenix does not arrive, the River does not produce its charts – I am finished!

9.10 Whenever the Master saw someone wearing mourning clothes, or a grandee dressed in court robes, or a person who was blind – even if they were young – upon catching sight of them, if seated he would stand, if walking past he would quicken his step.

9.11 Yan Yuan heaved a heavy sigh. “When I look up, it grows taller, when I bore into it, it grows harder. I see it before me and suddenly it is behind. The Master skillfully entices people forward, step by step. He broadens me with patterns and constrains me with *li* – I want to stop, but I cannot until my abilities are exhausted. He stands before me as

Zigong seems to have most commonly assisted in matters pertaining to the great southern states of Wu and Yue, whose non-Zhou language he appears to have known.

This discussion of what is essential in the *junzi* resonates with both 9.8 below and 15.3. It is structurally similar to 9.2.

9.7 The identity of Lao 牢 is disputed. It may be the personal name of the disciple Yuan Xian. This short passage appears to be a piece of later commentary on 9.6 that worked its way into the text.

9.8 If 9.7 is excluded as a late insertion, the rhetoric of the end of 9.6 and the start of 9.8 is in complementary balance.

9.9 The arrival of the legendary *feng*-bird (conventionally equated with the ‘phoenix’) and the appearance of magic diagrams from the Yellow River were believed to be signs of the coming of a new sage king, mandated by Tian. Reference to this sort of omenology probably marks this passage as a late addition.

9.11 The elaborate imagery here also suggests late authorship. Nowhere else in the text does the enigmatic Yan Hui speak at greater length.

Part of this passage is duplicated at 12.15.



though towering high, and though I wish to follow, I can find no route up.”

9.12 The Master fell ill. Zilu had the disciples act towards him as though they were retainers. When the illness eased, the Master said, “Long has Yóu practiced this deception! To have no retainers and pretend to have them, whom do I deceive? Do I deceive Tian? And moreover, rather than die in the hands of retainers, would I not prefer to die in your hands, my friends? Even though I may receive no great funeral, would I be dying by the side of the road?”

9.13 Zigong said, “Let’s say I have a precious gemstone; should I place it in a fine box and conceal it, or should I seek out a good merchant and sell it?”

The Master said, “Sell it! Sell it! I myself am waiting for a good price.”

9.14 The Master wished to dwell among the uncivilized tribes. Someone said, “What would you do about their crudeness?” The Master said, “When a *junzi* dwells among them, what crudeness could there be?”

9.15 The Master said, Only after I returned to Lu from Wei did the court odes and sacrificial hymns find their proper places.

9.16 The Master said, When abroad serving court grandees and ministers, when at home serving elders, not daring to fail in effort in matters of mourning, not becoming intoxicated with wine – what difficulty are these things to me?

9.12 An alternative account appears at 7.35.

‘Retainers’ (household officers) denotes the personal retinue of a patrician who has wealth and standing adequate to involve a grant of hereditary lands and court rank.

9.13 This passage seems designed to remind members of the school that although the doctrine of timeliness says to hide in times of danger, the goal is still to find political leverage to put the *dao* into practice.

9.15 The odes and hymns are sections of the *Poetry*. They were performed as parts of court and patrician ceremonies. In this passage, Confucius claims that only after he assigned the various songs to their appropriate ceremonies did the *Poetry* fulfill its proper usage in *li*. The idea complements the common belief that Confucius was responsible for the final editing and ordering of the *Poetry* anthology.

9.17 The Master stood on the banks of the river. “How it flows on, never ceasing, night and day!”

9.18 The Master said, I have yet to see a man who loved virtue as much as sex.

9.19 The Master said, Think of it as making a mountain. If, one bucketful short of completion, I stop, then I’ve stopped. Think of it as filling a pit. Though I’ve thrown in only a single bucketful, I’m progressing.

9.20 The Master said, “Instructing him, he was never lazy” – that would be Hui, would it not?

9.21 The Master characterized Yan Yuan thus: What a shame! I observed him advance; I never saw him stop.

9.22 The Master said, There are shoots that never come to flower, and there are flowers that never bear fruit.

9.23 The Master said, The younger generation must be held in awe – how can we know that the future will not match up to the present? But if a man reaches forty or fifty and nothing has been heard from him, he is no longer worthy of awe.

9.24 The Master said, Exemplary sayings: can one fail to follow them? Yet it is adapting them that is important. Lessons of obedience: can one fail to approve them with pleasure? Yet it is applying them to fit that is important. Those who approve without fitting and follow without adapting – I can do

9.18 Duplicated at 15.13.

9.19 This is a complex metaphor for pursuing the *dao*. It bears comparison with 6.12.

9.20 This and the following three passages all seem to be about Yan Hui, though he is only mentioned by name in the first two.

9.21 This passage was, perhaps, once the punch line of 9.19.

9.22 This passage was probably meant to be read as referring to Yan Hui.

9.23 Because of its celebration of sage eras of the past, Confucianism is often construed as reactionary, lamenting the world’s decline. This passage suggests a different view.

9.24 Confucian ethics lays great stress on rules, but equally on the need to apply rules with judgment to the unique specifics of life situations. Self-cultivation was seen as training ethical judgment to the point where it could be licensed to apply rules

nothing with such people.

9.25 The Master said, Take loyalty and trustworthiness as the pivot and have no friends who are not like yourself in this.

If you err, do not be afraid to correct yourself.

9.26 The Master said, One can seize the general in charge of the three army divisions, but one cannot seize the heart's intent of a peasant.

9.27 The Master said, If a man could wear a tattered cloth jacket and stand beside one wearing fox or badger furs without shame, it would be Yóu, would it not?

9.28 *Free of resentment, free of craving,  
In what way is he other than fine?*

Zilu constantly chanted this verse. The Master said, "What is so fine about the *dao* of this poem?"

9.28 The Master said, Only when the year turns cold can one see that pine and cypress are the last to wither.

9.29 The Master said, The wise are not confused, the *ren* are not beset with cares, the valorous are not fearful.

9.30 The Master said, One may study together with a man; that does not yet mean one can pursue the *dao* with him. One may pursue the *dao* together with a man; that does not yet mean one may take a stand with him. One may take a stand together with a man; that does not yet mean one may share author-

flexibly or even break them. This is an aspect of the principle of timeliness. (See, e.g., 14.17.)

9.25 Duplicated at 1.8.

9.26 The term 'heart's intent' (*zhi* 志) is often translated as 'will'. The term is key in passages such as 5.8 and 11.24, where disciples reveal their characters by describing their *zhi*: heart's desire or aspiration.

9.27 Yóu is the disciple Zilu. See 5.26.

9.28 Zilu has selected a passage from the *Poetry* to treat as a motto, and Confucius teases Zilu, as he so frequently does. Some interpreters read 9.27 and this passage together, so that it is Confucius who chants the poem, thus setting Zilu up for an even greater put-down, similar to 5.7.

9.30 This passage speaks of long processes of deepening trust, and works on many levels. 'Take a stand' refers to assuming a social role, with a court context as the image. 'Authority' also concerns official position, but it carries in addition the sense of making action choices on the basis of discre-

ity with him.

9.31 *The flowers of the cherry tree,  
How the petals wave and turn.  
How could it be I do not long for you?  
But your home is so far distant.*

The Master commented, “He couldn’t really have longed for her, could he – if he had, how could any distance have been too great?”

tionary judgment, rather than on the basis of strict rules. Only a true *junzi* possesses the moral authority to break the rules in order to carry out his ethical judgments.

9.31 Interpreters over the centuries have tried to figure out why this comment on a poem otherwise unknown merited inclusion in the *Analects*. Some have taken it to be part of 9.30, relating the ‘turning’ of the petals to some elusive feature of sharing authority with another. It is, of course, possible that it is included simply because it preserves an actual comment by Confucius – its irreverent tone tallies well with other remarks we encounter in the text.

### Book X

10.1 When Confucius was at home in his neighborhood, he was warm and courteous, and seemed as if he found it difficult to speak. In the ancestral temples or at court, he was articulate, his speech merely showing signs of caution.

10.2 At court, in conversation with the lower ranks of grandees, he was familiar; in conversation with the upper ranks of grandees, he was respectful. When the ruler was present, he walked with quick step, yet evenly.

10.3 When the ruler ordered him to greet a guest to court, he changed expression, as if flushing. His step became hurried. When he stood beside the guests, he bowed to them, putting first his left or right hand, as appropriate. His robes remained even in front and back. When stepping with them towards the throne, he walked with quickened step, his arms bent wing-like. When the guests had departed, he always returned to report, saying, "The guests have ceased to look back."

10.4 When he entered the duke's gate, he would draw his body in, as though the gateway would not accommodate his height. He never stood in the middle of a gateway; he never trod on the threshold. When he walked past his lord's position, his expression would be serious and he would step rapidly. He would speak as if it were difficult for him.

When he lifted the hem of his robe to ascend the hall steps, he would draw his body in and suppress his breath, as though he were not breathing. On departing, once he

### Notes

10.1 Book X is largely a portrait of the highly ritualized behavior that the Confucian school prescribed for a life lived according to *li*. Passages sketch this portrait through a picture of Confucius's own style of behavior in different contexts, beginning with a series depicting his style of conduct at court, and moving to matters of everyday life.

There exist a number of early Confucian ritual texts that include some of these items as rules, along with many others.

Book X can seem dull to modern readers because nothing general seems at stake in small issues of archaic ritual conduct. But in fact, at many points the particulars here convey nuanced aspects of the Confucian ideal with unusual vividness.

Most of the passages in Book X are grouped in thematic sections. For example, passages 10.1-5 can be read as a single series, conveying the image of court action as stylized ritual choreography and Confucius as virtuoso performer.

had stepped back down one level, he relaxed his expression as if in relief. Descending the last step, he would walk briskly forward, with his bent arms winglike, and resume his position with respectful bearing.

10.5 When he carried a jade tally of official business, he would draw his body in, as though he could not hold it up. When he held it high, it was as though bowing; when he held it low, it was as though about to confer it. His expression was serious, as though fearful, and he stepped as though he were following a line.

When participating in a ceremony of *li*, his expression was relaxed; when in a private meeting, he was genial.

10.6 The *junzi* does not hem his upper robes with crimson or maroon. He does not employ red or purple for leisure clothes. In hot weather, he always wears a singlet of fine or coarse hemp as an outer garment.

With a black robe he wears a lambskin jacket; with a plain robe he wears a fawnskin jacket; with a yellow robe he wears a foxskin jacket.

His leisure jacket is long, but the right sleeve is cut short.

He always wears sleepwear that is half again as long as his height.

Thick skins, such as fox and badger, are used at home.

Upon putting aside mourning clothes, he places no restrictions on the ornaments he may hang from his sash.

Apart from robes for sacrificial ceremony, the layers of his robes are cut to different lengths.

10.6 The subject of this passage on costume is 'the *junzi*'. While this may refer to Confucius, it is also possible that this passage is an insertion into the text of ritual code that has no bearing on Confucius personally. All other passages seem to refer back to the 'Confucius' of 10.1, with only 10.6 breaking this apparent consistency of subject.

For these reasons, this passage alone is rendered here in the present tense, treating it as a description of general rules rather than of the personalized ideal of Confucius.

He does not wear a lambskin jacket or black cap when making a condolence call.

On the first day of the new year, he always goes to court dressed in full court robes.

When undergoing purification, he always wears a robe of plain material. In fasting, he always alters his diet and alters from his usual seat when at home.

10.7 He did not demand that his rice be finely polished nor that his meat be finely diced. If rice had turned sour, he did not eat it. If fish or meat had spoiled, he did not eat it. He did not eat food of bad color or of bad odor. He did not eat food that was undercooked.

He did not eat except at the proper times. If food had not been correctly cut, he did not eat it. If the sauce was not proper to it, he did not eat it.

Though there might be much meat, he did not allow the amount of meat to exceed the amount of rice.

He had no set limit for wine, he simply never reached a state of confusion. He did not drink wine or eat meat purchased from the market.

He did not allow ginger to be dispensed with in his rice, but he did not eat a great deal of it.

When he participated in a sacrifice at the duke's temples, he did not allow the meat brought back to remain overnight. Common sacrificial meat he did not leave out three days. Once it had been left out three days, he did not eat it.

10.8 He did not speak while eating, nor when lying down to sleep.

10.7 This long passage and following shorter ones all seem to employ Confucius as a model to convey rules about diet and dining. Some of these illustrate a standard of moderation that is often thematic in Confucian ethics; others point to matters of dietary propriety or safety.

10.9 Though his meal was only greens and vegetable congee, he inevitably offered some in sacrifice, and always in ritual reverence.

10.10 He did not sit upon a mat that was not in proper position. When villagers gathered to drink wine, he left as soon as those bearing walking staffs departed.

10.11 When villagers mounted the annual exorcism procession, [the Master] stood in court robes at the eastern steps of his residence.

10.12 When sending his greetings to someone in another state, he would twice bow low as he sent the messenger off.

10.13 When Kangzi sent him medicine, he bowed as he received it, saying, "As I am unacquainted with its use, I dare not taste it."

10.14 When the stables burnt, the Master returned from court asking, "Was anyone hurt?" He did not ask after the horses.

10.15 When his ruler sent prepared food, he would always set his mat aright and be first to taste it. When his ruler sent uncooked food, he would always cook it and offer it in sacrifice. When his ruler sent him a live animal, he would always rear it. When he dined at his ruler's banquet, after the ruler had laid out the sacrificial foods, he would first taste the plain rice.

10.16 When he was ill, the ruler paid a visit. He lay with his head facing east, covered

10.11 The exorcism procession was a feature of popular, shamanic religion, far from the royal Zhou ritual framework celebrated by Confucians. It seems noteworthy that the *Analects* portrays Confucius according it full ritual respect.

10.13 Ji Kangzi was head of the warlord Ji family in Lu. This and most of the following passages through 10.17 employ Confucius to depict propriety in responding to a ruler or affairs of state outside the context of the court.



with his court robes, his sash laid across them.

10.17 When summoned by an order from his ruler, he set off without waiting for the horses to be yoked to the carriage.

10.18 Entering the Grand Temple, he asked about every item.

10.19 When a friend died, if there was no family to make arrangements, he said, "Let the coffin be prepared at my home."

10.20 When a friend sent a gift, unless it was of sacrificial meats, he would not bow, though it were so much as a horse or carriage.

10.21 When he slept, he did not assume the position of a corpse. When at leisure, he did not ornament his dress.

10.22 When he saw a person wearing clothes of mourning, though it was someone with whom he was very familiar, he would alter his facial expression. When he saw someone wearing a court cap or a blind person, though it was someone he encountered repeatedly, he would adopt a solemn bearing.

When riding in his carriage, encountering a person in mourning he would bow against the carriage bar, and he would bow also to those carrying documents of state.

When delicacies were served, he would always alter his expression and stand. At peals of thunder or gusts of wind, he would alter his expression.

10.18 This passage appears to be inserted as a rule of good conduct in response to 3.15.

10.19-20 Two passages illustrating friendship. The first portrays the ethical duty that loyal friendship entails; the second seems to signal the intimacy of friendship through the suspension of ritual formality.

10.23 When mounting a carriage, he always faced it squarely and grasped the mounting cord. Once in the carriage, he did not turn to look at those standing behind him; he did not speak rapidly; he did not point.

10.24 At the change of one's expression, they rise in the air, soaring up and then perching in a flock. [The Master] said,

*The hen pheasant by the mountain bridge,  
What timeliness! What timeliness!*

Zilu bowed towards them, but with three sniffs, they flew off.

10.24 This odd passage seems to read the lesson of timeliness from a chance encounter in the natural world. The stanza that seems to be quoted is otherwise unknown, and may simply be intended to be a poetic comment by Confucius.

## Book XI

11.1 The Master said, Those who first advanced in *li* and music were men of the wilds. Those who later advanced in *li* and music were *junzis*. If there were a chance to put them to use, I would follow those who advanced first.

11.2 The Master said, None of those with me in Chen and Cai had any access to men at court.

11.3 For virtuous conduct: Yan Yuan, Min Ziqian, Ran Boniu, and Zhonggong; for speech: Zai Wo and Zigong; for governance: Ran Yǒu and Ji Lu; for patterned study: Ziyou and Zixia.

11.4 The Master said, Hui is of no help to me. There is nothing in my words that fails to please him.

11.5 The Master said, How filial is Min Ziqian! No fault of his can be discerned in anything his parents or brothers say about him.

11.6 Nan Rong constantly repeated a refrain from the poem *White Jade Scepter*. Confucius married his older brother's daughter to him.

11.7 Ji Kangzi asked who among the disciples loved learning. Confucius replied, "There was Yan Hui who loved learning. Unfortunately, his lifespan was short and he died. Now there are none."

## Notes

11.1 A puzzling passage. It may refer to the more rough-hewn nature of the senior disciples, compared to junior disciples; it may refer to the early sages, compared to later kings. It may be that the earlier disciples were men from Zou, the region Confucius was raised in, which was not fully part of the Zhou cultural sphere, and so 'wild'.

In this passage, '*junzi*' carries only the sense of cultivated gentlemen, rather than representing an ultimate ethical ideal.

11.2 Confucius and his followers are reported in many early sources to have exhausted their resources and fallen into poverty while journeying in these two states. See 15.2.

11.3 There are a number of passages in Book XI devoted to the characterization of disciples. This is the most comprehensive: a famous assessment of ten disciples. Note that Ran Boniu and Zhonggong are father and son. This passage alone in the *Analects* may exhibit a positive attitude towards Zai Wo, though in light of 3.21 and the second portion of 5.10, it may equally be pointing to his talents in speech in a negative sense.

11.6 On Nan Rong, see 5.2.

11.7 This duplicates 6.3.

11.8-11 This group of passages

11.8 Yan Yuan died. Yan Lu asked for the Master's cart in order to use the wood for an outer coffin. The Master said, "Able or not, each man speaks well of his son. When my son Li died, there was an inner coffin, but no outer one. I would not go upon foot in order that he have an outer coffin. Because I follow behind the grandees, it is not fitting that I go upon foot."

11.9 Yan Yuan died. The Master said, "Oh! Tian destroys me! Tian destroys me!"

11.10 Yan Yuan died. The Master wailed for him beyond proper bounds. His followers said, "You have wailed beyond the proper bounds, Master."

The Master said, "Have I? If I do not wail beyond proper bounds for this man, then for whom?"

11.11 Yan Yuan died. The disciples wished to give him a lavish funeral. The Master said, "It is improper."

The disciples gave Yan Yuan a lavish funeral. The Master said, "Hui looked upon me as a father, but I have not been able to look after him as a son. This was not my doing! It was you, my friends."

11.12 Ji Lu asked about serving the spirits. The Master said, "While you are yet not able to serve men, how could you be able to serve the spirits?"

"May I ask about death?"

"When you do not yet understand life, how could you understand death?"

collects tales of Confucius's responses to the early death of his most promising disciple, Yan Hui.

11.10 Note that this passage specifically licenses transgressions of *li* in view of circumstances. 11.11 seems to constrain the range within which this may apply.

11.12 Ji Lu is the disciple Zilu.

11.13 When Minzi sat in attendance, he kept an upright posture, Zilu seemed to swagger, and Ran Yǒu and Zhonggong sat in a mild manner. The Master joked, “One like Yóu will not die in his bed!”

11.14 The people in Lu rebuilt the treasury storehouse. Min Ziqian said, “What would be wrong with repairing the old structure? Why must they build a new one?”

The Master said, “That man rarely says anything, but when he does, it always hits its target.”

11.15 The Master said, “What is Yóu’s zither doing at my gate?”

The disciples showed Zilu no respect. The Master said, “Yóu has advanced to the great hall, but has not yet entered the inner chamber.”

11.16 Zigong said, “Who is more worthy, Shi or Shang?”

The Master said, “Shi goes too far; Shang does not go far enough.”

“Then Shi is superior?”

“Too far is the same as not far enough.”

11.17 The Ji family was wealthier than the Duke of Zhou. Qiu assisted them in the collection of taxes and so enlarged their riches further.

The Master said, “He is no follower of mine! Young men, you have my permission to sound the drums and drive him away.”

11.18 Zhai was simpleminded; Shen was slow; Shi was puffed up; Yóu was coarse.

11.13 Both because of his bold temperament and his political engagement with the warlord Ji clan, Zilu’s relationship with Confucius was fraught with tensions. Disciple-readers of the *Analects* would recognize irony here: historical accounts report that Zilu (Yóu) was, in fact, killed during a coup d’état in the state of Wei, displaying brave loyalty to a ruler he knew had already been murdered.

11.15 Disciples played zithers (stringed instruments plucked in a horizontal position) when in attendance. (See 11.26.) Here, Zilu’s zither is being used as a trope for the man himself.

11.16 Shi 師 and Shang 商 are the disciples Zizhang and Zixia. Book XIX reveals that these two became rival school leaders after Confucius’s death.

11.17 The Duke of Zhou, a dynastic founder, is not known for great wealth, but this turn of phrase may reflect a saying in Lu, which was the fief granted to the Duke and his descendants.

Like Zilu, Ran Qiu’s service to the Ji clan created an ethical issue within Confucius’s group. See 16.1.

11.18 It is difficult to know what to make of this apparently harsh

11.19 The Master said, “Hui is just about there – and he is in frequent poverty. Si manages to make a profit without a merchant’s license; his speculations are frequently on the mark.

11.20 Zizhang asked about the *dao* of the good person. The Master said, “He does not tread in old tracks, but he does not enter the inner chamber.”

11.21 The Master said, Is a fervently held position correct? Is it held by a *junzi*, or one who is simply solemn in demeanor.

11.22 Zilu asked, “May one immediately put into practice what one has learned?”

The Master said, “When one’s father and elder brothers are alive, how could one immediately practice what one has learned?”

Ran Yǒu asked, “May one immediately put into practice what one has learned?”

The Master said, “Yes, one may.”

Gongxi Hua said, “When Yóu asked, ‘May one immediately put into practice what one has learned?’ you said, ‘Your father and elder brothers are still alive.’ When Qiu asked ‘May one immediately put into practice what one has learned?’ you said, ‘Yes, one may.’ I am confused, and presume to ask about this.”

The Master said, “Qiu holds back, and so I drew him forward; Yóu encroaches upon others, and so I drew him back.”

11.23 The Master was in danger in the state of Kuang. Yan Yuan fell behind. The Master said, “I thought you had died.”

Yan Yuan said, “While you are alive,

assessment, which includes some very prominent disciples. (The four are better known as Zigao 子羔, Zeng Shen [Zengzi], Zizhang, and Zilu.)

11.19 Late accounts say that Zigong (Si) became a wealthy merchant in later life.

11.20 The ‘good person’ seems to be a term of faint praise for someone who does not simply do whatever others have done, but still has attained little moral understanding.

11.21 Along with the previous passage, the issue here seems to be distinguishing between people who are morally authoritative and people who simply appear to be.

11.22 A number of *Analects* passages convey the message that in a teaching context, statements are only correct in relation to the student. None is clearer on this point than this one.

11.23 On the danger in Kuang, see 9.5.

Yan Yuan, of course, did die before Confucius, as every reader of this passage well knew.

Master, how would I dare to die?”

11.24 Ji Ziran asked, “Can Zhong Yóu and Ran Qiu serve as great ministers?”

The Masters said, “I thought you were asking about different men – can this be asked about Yóu and Qiu? A great minister serves his lord by means of the *dao*. If there is no prospect of doing so, he desists. Now, Yóu and Qiu can serve as part of a full complement of ministers at court.”

“In that case, are they men who will follow their orders?”

The Master said, “If it meant killing their fathers or rulers, they would indeed not follow orders.”

11.25 Zilu appointed Zigao to be the steward of Bi. The Master said, “You are stealing another man’s son!”

Zilu said, “There are people there; there are altars of state there – why must one first read texts and only then be considered learned?”

The Master said, “This is why I detest glib talkers!”

11.26 Zilu, Zeng Xi, Ran Yǒu, and Gongxi Hua were sitting in attendance. The Master said, “Put aside for now that I am so much as a day older than you. You are always saying, ‘My talents are unrecognized.’ If some person were to recognize and give you position, what ability could you offer?”

Zilu boldly replied first. “Let there be a state of a thousand war chariots, wedged between great neighboring states, harassed by invading armies and plunged in famine as a consequence. If I were given authority to

The poignant irony here resonates with 11.13.

11.24 Ji Ziran was presumably thinking in terms of service at the court of the Ji family, of which he was a senior member. Thus when Confucius refers at the close to an order to kill the ruler, he is thinking of the potential for the Ji clan leader to license assassination of the duke of Lu, nominally (and in Confucius’s view legitimately) the lord of the Ji and of other warlord families of Lu.

11.25 Zigao 子羔 was a junior disciple whom Confucius clearly considers unready for appointment. Zilu was acting in his role as a major officer of the Ji family, who dwelt in the capital city of Lu, but whose home fief, Bi, was an area well east of the capital (see map, p.xi).

Zilu seems to be invoking lessons Confucius himself taught, much like the ideas in 1.6-7, to confound Confucius himself, which is the basis of Confucius’s response.

11.26 This famous passage is clearly a late elaboration of themes introduced in 5.8 and 5.26, the former passage serving as its direct inspiration. The same three disciples who appear in 5.8 appear here, and they are portrayed in similar terms. This passage must be understood by comparison, noting in particular that the chief difference is the addition of Zeng Xi 曾皙

act, I would within three years endow that state with valor and a sense of purpose.”

The Master smiled at him. “Qiu, what about you?”

Qiu replied, “Let there be a territory sixty or seventy *li* square, perhaps fifty or sixty. If I had authority to act, I would within three years ensure that the people had sufficient means. As for *li* and music, they would have to await a *junzi*.”

“Chi, what about you?”

Chi replied, “I cannot say I would be able to do this, but I would like to try: At ceremonies in the ancestral temples or diplomatic meetings, wearing ceremonial cap and robes, I would wish to be a minor officer of ceremony.”

“Dian, what about you?”

The rhythm of his zither slowed, it rang as he laid it down and rose. “My thoughts differ from the others’,” he said.

“There is no harm in that,” said the Master. “After all, each of us is simply speaking his own heart.”

“In late spring,” said Zeng Dian, “after the spring garments have been sewn, I would go out with five rows of six capped young men and six rows of seven boys. We would bathe in the River Yi, and stand in the wind on the stage of the Great Rain Dance. Then chanting, we would return.”

The Master sighed deeply. “I am with Dian,” he said.

The other three disciples went out, but Zeng Xi lingered behind. Zeng Xi said, “What about the words of the other three?”

The Master said, “After all, each was simply stating his heart’s desire.”

“Why did you smile at Yóu?”

(Dian 點), traditionally identified as the disciple Zeng Shen’s father, but otherwise unknown in the *Analects*.

Zeng Xi refers to “capped” young men, meaning youths who have reached the age of the “capping ceremony,” a ritual among the Zhou elite that accompanied a young man’s entry into public life. The specific *li* of the spring lustration (ritual bathing) is not a ritual recorded in other early texts, but a custom of late spring excursion in the manner of this passage is well attested in later centuries, perhaps inspired by the much admired poetic imagery of Zeng Xi’s speech.

The portion of the passage that extends from the point at which the three other disciples exit is probably an addition made later still. This appendix does not seem to capture the interesting subtleties of the main portion of the passage.



“To manage a state one needs *li*, and his words showed no deference, that is why I smiled.”

“As for Qiu, he was not aspiring to manage a state, was he?”

“How can one see a domain of sixty or seventy square *li*, or even fifty or sixty, as other than a state?”

“As for Chi, he was not aspiring to manage a state, was he?”

“Ancestral halls and diplomatic affairs – what are these if not matters of a feudal state. Moreover, if Chi were a minor officer, who would be a major one?”

## Book XII

12.1 Yan Yuan asked about *ren*. The Master said, “Conquer yourself and return to *li*: that is *ren*. If a person could conquer himself and return to *li* for a single day, the world would respond to him with *ren*. Being *ren* proceeds from oneself, how could it come from others?”

Yan Yuan said, “May I ask for details of this?”

The Master said, “If it is not *li*, don't look at it; if it is not *li*, don't listen to it; if it is not *li*, don't say it; if it is not *li*, don't do it.”

Yan Yuan said, “Although I am not quick, I ask to apply myself to this.”

12.2 Zhonggong asked about *ren*. The Master said, “When you go out your front gate, continue to treat each person as though receiving an honored guest. When directing the actions of subordinates, do so as though officiating at a great ritual sacrifice. Do not do to others what you would not wish done to you. Then there can be no complaint against you, in your state or in your household.”

Zhonggong said, “Although I am not quick, I ask to apply myself to this.”

12.3 Sima Niu asked about *ren*. The Master said, “The person who is *ren* speaks with reluctance.”

“Reluctant in speech – may such a person, then, be called *ren*?”

The Master said, “When doing it is difficult, can one not be reluctant to speak of it?”

## Notes

12.1 This passage and the next are the most celebrated descriptions of *ren* in the *Analects*. Book XII is highly formulaic in its rhetoric, and is likely a later book, articulating more polished expressions of concepts that had become key to the early Confucian school.

A recently recovered bamboo manuscript, dating from c. 300 BCE, includes a variant of 12.1. By comparing it with the version in the received text translated here we can get some sense of the choices that may have been available to the editors of today's *Analects*. See Appendix 4, page 134.

12.2 The force of this passage lies principally in the concreteness of the first two parts of Confucius's response, followed by the generalized statement, close to the Golden Rule. We do not normally think of the Golden Rule in terms of the highly ritualized conduct described here. This linkage is what ties 12.1 and 12.2 together.

12.3 Sima Niu is identified as a disciple whose brother, Huan Tui, was Minister of War in the state of Song. In 7.23, we see Huan Tui as a threatening enemy.

12.4 Sima Niu asked about the *junzi*. The Master said, “The *junzi* is not beset with care or fear.”

“Not beset with care or fear – may such a person, then, be called a *junzi*?”

“Surveying himself within and finding no fault, what care or fear could there be?”

12.5 Sima Niu was beset with care. “All people have brothers, I alone am without one.”

Zixia said, “I have heard it said, ‘Life and death are preordained, wealth and rank are up to Tian. The *junzi* never lets slip his respectful vigilance: when with others, he is reverent and acts with *li* – in the world within the four seas, all men are his brothers.’ What concern need a *junzi* have that he is without brothers?”

12.6 Zizhang asked about discernment. The Master said, “When one is uninfluenced by slanderous statements about someone that reach a saturation point or by disputes that are brought before him that have a direct bearing on him, then he may be said to be discerning. He may also be said to be far-sighted.”

12.7 Zigong asked about governance. The Master said, “Provide people with adequate food, provide them with adequate weapons, induce them to have faith in their ruler.”

Zigong said, “If you had no choice but to dispense with one of those three things, which would it be?”

“Dispense with weapons.”

“If you had no choice but to dispense

12.4 Like 12.1 and 12.2, 12.3 and 12.4 are perfectly parallel in construction, reflecting well crafted teachings of a maturing school.

12.5 Sima Niu *did* have a brother: Confucius’s enemy Huan Tui. We must presume he means here a brother who acts like a brother.

Zixia’s response is the source of the famous phrase, “all men are brothers,” which has been much associated with Chinese culture in the West.

12.6 ‘Discernment’ translates a word (*ming* 明) that could also be rendered ‘enlightenment’. Either way, the term here is related to the idea of objectivity.

with one of those two things, which would it be?”

“Dispense with food. From ancient times there has always been death. If the people do not have faith, the state cannot stand.”

12.8 Ji Zicheng said, “Being a *junzi* is simply a matter of one’s plain substance. Of what use are patterns (*wen*)?”

Zigong said, “What a shame that you have described the *junzi* in this way – a team of horses is not as swift as the tongue! If patterns were like plain substance and plain substance like patterns, the pelts of tigers and leopards would be like those of hounds and sheep.”

12.9 Duke Ai questioned You Ruo. “In years of famine, when I do not take in enough to meet my expenditures, what should I do?”

You Ruo replied, “Why not set taxes at the rate of one-tenth?”

“At the rate of two-tenths my income is not adequate – how could I manage at one-tenth?”

You Ruo replied, “When the people have sufficient means, who will not provide the ruler with what he needs; when the people do not have sufficient means, who will provide the ruler with what he needs?”

12.10 Zizhang asked about exalting virtue and discerning confusion. The Master said, “Taking loyalty and trustworthiness as the pivot and ever shifting to align with the right: that is exalting virtue. When one cherishes a person one wishes him to live; when one hates a person one wishes him to die –

12.8 Ji Zicheng was a grandee in the state of Wei. Presumably he interviewed Confucius during the latter’s sojourn in Wei.

The metaphor conveys the idea that one must be wary of speaking carelessly, as words once uttered can’t be called back.

Compare 6.18.

12.9 You Ruo is the disciple Master You (see 1.2), who is said to have for a short time succeeded Confucius as leader and teacher of the original group of disciples. (See Appendix 1.)

12.10 This passage has considerable overlap with 12.21, which is helpful as a gloss on the last section of this passage.

on the one hand cherishing and wishing him life, while on the other hating and wishing him death: that is confusion.

*Truly, it is not a matter of riches,  
Indeed, it is simply about discernment.*

12.11 Duke Jing of Qi asked Confucius about governance. Confucius replied, “Let the ruler be ruler, ministers ministers, fathers fathers, sons sons.”

The Duke said, “Excellent! Truly, if the ruler is not ruler, ministers not ministers, fathers not fathers, sons not sons, though I possess grain, will I be able to eat it?”

12.12 The Master said, “Able to adjudicate a lawsuit by hearing a single statement – would this not characterize Yóu?”

Zilu never postponed fulfillment of a promise overnight.

12.13 The Master said, In hearing lawsuits, I am no better than others. What is imperative is to make it so that there are no lawsuits.

12.14 Zizhang asked about governance. The Master said, “Fulfill your office untiringly, perform your duties with loyalty.”

12.15 The Master said, Once a *junzi* has studied broadly in patterns and constrained them with *li*, indeed he will never turn his back on them.

12.16 The Master said, The *junzi* perfects what is beautiful in people, he does not perfect what is ugly. The small man does just the opposite.

12.11 Confucius was said to have visited Qi several times. Duke Jing died before Confucius’s exile from Lu, and so this interview is set during Confucius’s relative youth.

This passage is often interpreted in light of 13.3.

12.12 An alternative translation, less charitable to Zilu, interprets the first sentence to be apparent sarcasm: “Able to adjudicate after hearing only one side.”

12.13 This passage is cited in *The Great Learning*, a text likely from the late Warring States or Qin periods, which notes that lawsuits permit those whose claims have no substance to use words to obscure what is so.

12.15 Duplicated at 6.27.

12.16 This passage resonates well with 7.29.

12.17 Ji Kangzi questioned Confucius about governance. Confucius replied, “Governance is setting things upright. If you lead with uprightness, who will dare not to be upright?”

12.18 Ji Kangzi was concerned about bandits, and asked advice of Confucius. Confucius replied, “If you yourself were truly not covetous, though you rewarded people for it, they would not steal.”

12.19 Ji Kangzi asked Confucius about governance, saying, “How would it be if I were to kill those who are without the *dao* in order to hasten others towards the *dao*?”

Confucius replied, “Of what use is killing in your governance? If you desire goodness, the people will be good. The virtue of the *junzi* is like the wind and the virtue of common people is like the grasses: when the wind blows over the grasses, they will surely bend.”

12.20 Zizhang asked, “When may a gentleman be said to have attained success?”

The Master said, “What do you mean by attaining success?”

Zizhang replied, “His name is renowned throughout his state and his household.”

The Master said, “This is to be renowned, not to be successful. Attaining success lies in being straightforward in basic substance and loving the right, being perspicacious when listening to others speak and observant of their facial expressions, and bearing in mind deference towards others. Such a person will surely attain success in

12.17 This passage embeds a significant pun. The words for ‘governance’ (*zheng* 政) and ‘upright’ (*zheng* 正) are homonyms that overlap in both graph forms and corresponding meaning.

12.18 This passage and the next express the Confucian faith in the great force of example presented by those in positions of power.

12.19 The last phrase of this passage is very famous. It is unclear, perhaps by design, whether ‘*junzi*’ in this instance refers to ethical exemplars or simply men in power.

12.20 The phrase ‘attained success’ here translates the same term rendered as ‘get through’ at 14.23 and 14.35. The basic sense of the term is to achieve recognition from those in authority, and so gain a visible social role.

In describing the man of renown, the notion of ‘household’ clearly goes beyond family. In Confucius’s era, men of renown were nobles with the wealth to maintain large establishments that included many well born retainers in service.

the state and in his household.

“As for being renowned, such a man gets a reputation for *ren* from appearances, though his conduct contravenes it, and he is free of self-doubt. His name is reknowned throughout his state and his household.”

12.21 Fan Chi accompanied the Master on an outing past the altar of the great rain dance. “May I ask about exalting virtue, reforming faults, and discerning confusion?”

The Master said, “Well asked! Be first to the effort and last to take reward – is that not exalting virtue? To set to work upon one’s own faults and not upon the faults of others, is that not the way to reform faults? In the anger of the moment to forget one’s safety and that of one’s parents, is that not confusion?”

12.22 Fan Chi asked about *ren*. The Master said, “Cherish people.” When he asked about knowledge, the Master said, “Know people,” and Fan Chi did not understand.

The Master said, “If you raise up the straight and place them over the crooked, they can make the crooked straight.”

Fan Chi took his leave and went to see Zixia. “Just now, I was with the Master and asked him about knowledge. He said, ‘If you raise up the straight and place them over the crooked, they can make the crooked straight.’ What did he mean?”

Zixia said, “How rich these words are! When Shun possessed the world he picked Gaoyao out from among the multitudes, and those who were not *ren* kept far distant. When Tang possessed the world, he picked Yi Yin out from among the multitudes, and

12.21 This passage seems to give alternative approaches to queries posed in 12.10.

12.22 In Zixia’s closing remark, he refers to figures from legendary and pre-Zhou history. Gaoyao was a sagely member of the court of the legendary Emperor Shun, variously reported to have been in charge of criminals and in charge of music. Tang was the founding king of the Shang Dynasty, and Yi Yin was his principal aide.

On raising the straight over the crooked, compare 2.19.

those who were not *ren* kept far distant.”

12.23 Zigong asked about friends. The Master said, “Advise them loyally and guide them well. If this does not work, desist. Do not humiliate yourself.”

12.24 Master Zeng said, A *junzi* attracts friends through his patterned behavior, and employs friends to assist him in *ren*.

12.23 This resonates with 4.26.



## Book XIII

13.1 Zilu asked about governance. The Master said, “Be first to the task and comfort others at their labors.”

When asked for more, he said, “Be tireless.”

13.2 Zhonggong was serving as steward for the Ji family. He asked about governance. The Master said, “Provide a leading example to your officers. Pardon minor offences. Raise up the worthy.”

“How can I recognize who has worthy abilities so I can raise them up?”

“Raise up those you recognize. As for those you don’t recognize, will the others let you do without them?”

13.3 Zilu said, “If the ruler of Wei were to entrust you with governance of his state, what would be your first priority?”

The Master said, “Most certainly, it would be to rectify names.”

Zilu said, “Is that so? How strange of you! How would this set things right?”

The Master said, “What a boor you are, Yóu! A *junzi* keeps silent about things he doesn’t understand.

“If names are not right then speech does not accord with things; if speech is not in accord with things, then affairs cannot be successful; when affairs are not successful, *li* and music do not flourish; when *li* and music do not flourish, then sanctions and punishments miss their mark; when sanctions and punishments miss their mark, the people have no place to set their hands and feet.

“Therefore, when a *junzi* gives things

## Notes

13.1 Many of the passages in Book XIII have to do with governance, as is true of the latter part of Book XII.

13.3 This states one facet of what is known as the doctrine of the “rectification of names.” There are many aspects to this idea. Passage 12.11, which stresses the need for people to perform their social roles properly, is often taken as a basic text for this doctrine. Passages 3.1 and 3.2, which concern usurpations of ritual prerogatives, are also sometimes linked to these ideas. Those passages stress the need to make one’s conduct match one’s social position. 13.3 stresses the need to align names to reflect the reality of circumstances; in this, it may resonate with 6.25.

Philosophical questions concerning the alignment of words and reality became central to fourth and third century BCE thought, and many interpreters believe that 13.3 is a product of that era or later.

names, they may be properly spoken of, and what is said may be properly enacted. With regard to speech, the *junzi* permits no carelessness.”

13.4 Fan Chi asked to learn about farming grain. The Master said, “Better to ask an old peasant.” He asked about raising vegetables. “Better to ask an old gardener.”

When Fan Chi left, the Master said, “What a small man Fan Xu is! If a ruler loved *li*, none among the people would dare be inattentive; if a ruler loved right, none would dare be unsubmitive; if a ruler loved trustworthiness, none would dare be insincere. The people of the four quarters would come to him with their children strapped on their backs. Why ask about farming?”

13.5 The Master said, If a man can recite from memory the three hundred odes of the *Poetry* but, when you entrust him with governance, he is unable to express his meaning, or, when you send him to the four quarters on diplomatic missions, he is unable to make replies on his own initiative, though he may have learned much, of what use is he?

13.6 The Master said, If he is upright in his person, he will perform without orders. If he is not upright in his person, though you give him orders, he will not carry them out.

13.7 The Master said, The governments of the states of Lu and Wei are like older and younger brothers.

13.8 The Master commented that Prince Jing of Wei handled possessing his residences

13.4 Confucius refers to the disciple Fan Chi by his personal name, Xu.

13.5 The *Poetry* had become, by Confucius’s time, a canonical collection of songs well known to the patrician elite, who would at times communicate subtle messages by chanting lines from the songs in place of straightforward speech (as one sees throughout the *Analects*). In this way, the authoritative text became a powerful tool to invoke ethical ideas associated with its lyrics. Memorizing the text was significant, but if one could not put the songs to use through creative citation in social action, mastery counted for nothing. It is for this reason that the *Poetry* was an important part of the Confucian ritual curriculum.

13.7 As the former fief of the Duke of Zhou and a repository of Zhou culture, Lu’s government was admired, though no longer under the control of the rightful duke. The

well. When he first possessed a home he said, “This is truly a good fit.” When he came to have some luxuries he said, “This is truly complete.” When he became wealthy he said, “This is truly beautiful.”

13.9 The Master traveled to the state of Wei. Ran Yǒu drove his chariot. The Master said, “How populous it is!”

Ran Yǒu said, “As Wei is already populous, what would you add?”

“Enrich them.”

“Once the people were enriched, what would you add?”

“Teach them.”

13.10 The Master said, If there were someone who would employ me, things would be in hand within a year on the. In three years, they would have come to success.

13.11 The Master said, “‘If good men governed for a hundred years, cruelty could indeed be overcome and killing dispensed with.’ How very true that saying is!”

13.12 The Master said, If there were one who reigned as a true king, after a generation, all would be *ren*.

13.13 The Master said, If one can make his person upright, then what difficulty will he have in taking part in governance? If he cannot make his person upright, how can he make others upright?

13.14 Ranzi came from court. The Master said, “Why are you late?” Ranzi replied, “There were matters of government.”

state of Wei was originally the fief of the Duke of Zhou’s younger brother, and here Confucius, who was hopeful of political opportunities in Wei, suggests that like Lu, Wei also possessed political virtues.

13.10 This and the following two passages share a theme in common with 13.29.

13.14 Ranzi is the disciple Ran Qiu (Yǒu). The court referred to is likely the Ji clan court, where Ran

The Master said, “Surely, these were affairs of the household. Were there matters of government, though I am not in office, I would be advised of them.”

13.15 Duke Ding asked, “Is there a single saying that can lead a state to flourish?”

Confucius replied, “No saying can have such an effect, but there is one that comes close: There is a saying, ‘It is hard to be a ruler; it is not easy being a minister.’ If one thus understood how hard it is to rule, would this not come close to a single saying leading a state to flourish?”

“Is there a single saying that can destroy a state?”

Confucius replied, “No saying can have such an effect, but there is one that comes close: There is a saying, ‘There is nothing I love more about being a ruler than that no one contradicts me.’ If a ruler were fine and none contradicted him, that would be fine indeed; if he were not a good ruler and none contradicted him, then would this not come close to a single saying destroying a state?”

13.16 The Lord of She asked about governance. The Master said, “Those nearby are pleased, those far distant come.”

13.17 Zixia served as steward of Jufu and asked about governance. The Master said, “Don’t seek quick results; don’t attend to matters of minor profit. If you seek quick results, you will not attain success; if you attend to matters of minor profit, you will not succeed in great affairs.”

Qiu served as steward. Confucius seems to be making a distinction between affairs of the Ji clan – which should rightly concern only matters of their hereditary domain, or household – and matters of state, which should rightly concern only the duke’s court.

13.18 The Lord of She instructed Confucius, saying, “There is an upright man in my district. His father stole a sheep, and he testified against him.”

Confucius said, “The upright men in my district are different. Fathers cover up for their sons and sons cover up for their fathers. Uprightness lies therein.”

13.19 Fan Chi asked about *ren*. The Master said, “Let your bearing be reverent when you are at leisure, be respectfully attentive in managing affairs, and be loyal towards others. Though you be among barbarians, these may never be cast aside.”

13.20 Zigong asked, “How must one be in order to deserve being called a gentleman?”

The Master said, “One who conducts himself with a sense of shame and who may be dispatched to the four quarters without disgracing his lord’s commission, such a one may be termed a gentleman.”

“May I ask what is next best?”

“When his clan calls him filial and his neighborhood district calls him respectful of elders.”

“May I ask what is next best?”

“Keeping to one’s word and following through in one’s actions – it has the ring of a petty man, but indeed, this would be next.”

“What are those who participate in governance today like?”

“Oh! They are men you measure by bucket or scoop – why even count them?”

13.21 The Master said, Those who cannot keep to the central path in their conduct but who are still worth some praise are surely the

13.18 This famous passage reflects the Confucian stress on filiality as an essential foundation for virtue, and an inalienable component of good character. In other texts, the ‘upright man’ in the Lord of She’s example is praised, disputing the valuation of family over state that Confucius articulates here.

13.21 ‘Things they are unwilling to do’ means there is a limit to the immoral acts they will take in order to please their lord.

reckless and the timid. The reckless are willing to advance towards the goal, and the timid have things that they are unwilling to do.

13.22 The Master said, “The people of the South have a saying: ‘A person without constancy may not be a shaman or a doctor.’ This is very fine!”

“If one is not constant in virtue, one may receive disgrace” – the Master said, “Simply do not divine.”

13.23 The Master said, The *junzi* acts in harmony with others but does not seek to be like them; the small man seeks to be like others and does not act in harmony.

13.24 Zigong asked, “If all the people of your village loved you, how would that be?” The Master said, “Not good enough.”

“If all the people of your village hated you, how would that be?”

“The Master said, “Not good enough. Better that the good people in your village love you and the bad people hate you.”

13.25 The Master said, The *junzi* is easy to serve and hard to please. If you do not accord with the *dao* in pleasing him, he is not pleased; when it comes to employing others, he only puts them to tasks they are fit to manage.

The small man is hard to serve but easy to please. If you do not accord with the *dao* in pleasing him, he is still pleased; when it comes to employing others, he demands they be able in everything.

13.22 It is difficult to parse this passage well. The second portion begins with a citation from the mantic text *Yi jing* (Book of Changes). Confucius’s final comment seems to pertain to it. However, an alternative reading lays stress on the word ‘constant’, shared by the ‘saying of the South’ and the *Yi jing* passage, and links those as a single unit.

Because of the passage quotes the *Yi jing*, Confucius’s final comment is sometimes also taken to refer to the *Yi*, and to suggest that the text should not be used for fortunetelling, but rather simply to understand how action consequences vary with contexts. That is the interpretation governing this translation.

13.26 The Master said, The *junzi* is at ease without being arrogant; the small man is arrogant without being at ease.

13.27 The Master said, Incorruptibility, steadfastness, simplicity, and reticence are near to *ren*.

13.28 Zilu asked, “How must one be in order to deserve being called a gentleman?”

The Master said, “Supportive, encouraging, congenial – such a man may be called a gentleman. Supportive and encouraging with his friends, congenial with his brothers.”

13.29 The Master said, If a good man were to instruct the people for seven years, they would indeed be ready to go into battle.

13.30 The Master said, Not to teach the people how to fight in war may be called discarding them.

13.29 A recently discovered text of the “Huang-Lao” (Daoist/Legalist) tradition of the third to second century BCE pictures the ideal ruler as nurturing a state for seven years to prepare it for battle. This passage and the next may reflect the influence of non-Confucian thought in those later times. 13.29 may be contrasted with what would seem the more purely Confucian position in 13.10-12.

## Book XIV

14.1 Xian asked about shame. The Master said, “When the *dao* prevails in a state, take office. To take office when the *dao* does not prevail – that is shame.”

“Overbearing, boastful, resentful – to wish to be none of these, is that *ren*?”

The Master said, “It is difficult. As for *ren*, I don’t know.”

14.2 The Master said, A gentleman who is attached to the amenities of his home is not worthy of being called a gentleman.

14.3 When the *dao* prevails in the state, speak as though in danger, act as though in danger. When the *dao* does not prevail in the state, act as though in danger, and make your speech compliant.

14.4 The Master said, A man who possesses virtue always has teachings to impart, but a man with teachings to impart does not always possess virtue. The man of *ren* will be valorous, but valorous men are not always *ren*.

14.5 Nangong Kuo questioned Confucius, saying, “Yi was a great archer and Ao was a great boatman, yet neither died a natural death. On the other hand, Yu and Ji were farmers in the fields and yet came to possess all the world.”

The Master did not reply. After Nangong Kuo went out, the Master said, “What a *junzi* this man is! What fine virtue this man has!”

## Notes

14.1 Xian was the personal name of the disciple Yuan Xian (原憲). In early literary convention, use of the personal name in a narrative context was a sign of first person voice, and this has led some interpreters to view this passage, and perhaps much of the chapter, as written by Yuan Xian, though others date these portions of the *Analects* considerably later. According to historical accounts, Yuan Xian became a recluse after Confucius’s death, and reclusion from society in dangerous times, an aspect of timeliness, is a recurrent theme in Book XIV.

14.5 Nangong Kuo was the disciple Nan Rong (see 5.2). He refers here to a series of legendary men. Tales of Yi and Ao celebrated the talents noted here. Yu refers to the Emperor Yu, founder of the Xia Dynasty. Ji (sometimes called Prince Millet) was the legendary forbear of the Zhou royal house. Both men were said to have been raised from commoner status by Emperor Shun.



14.6 The Master said, A *junzi* who is not *ren*, there are such people. There has never been a small man who is *ren*.

14.7 The Master said, If you cherish them can you not make them labor? If you are loyal to them, can you not instruct them?

14.8 The Master said, In crafting diplomatic documents, Pi Chen drafted them, Shi Shu commented upon them, envoy Ziyu embellished them, and Zichan of Dongli made them beautiful.

14.9 Someone asked about Zichan. The Master said, "He was a generous man." They asked about Zixi. "That one? That one?"

They asked about Guan Zhong. "He was a man! He seized from the Bo family its domain of three hundred households in Pian, and though the family head was reduced to eating greens for his meals, he lived out his years without uttering a word of resentment."

14.10 The Master said, To be poor and without resentment is hard; to be wealthy and without arrogance is easy.

14.11 The Master said, If Meng Gongchuo served as an elder at the courts of the Zhao and Wei families, he would be excellent. But he's unfit to be a grandee at court in the states of Teng and Xue.

14.12 Zilu asked about the complete man. The Master said, "If he were as wise as Zang Wuzhong, as free from desire as Gongchuo, as valorous as Zhuangzi of Bian, as accomplished in the arts as Ran Qiu, and patterned

14.8 These four men were officers in the court of Zheng during Confucius's youth. Chiefly on account of the prime minister, Zichan, this court enjoyed a reputation as unusually capable and ethical. Zichan is a subject of the following passage as well.

14.9 The Zixi named here was probably Zichan's successor, whose performance was not marked by success. Confucius's exclamation may be a protest to hearing him mentioned beside Zichan.

On Guan Zhong, see 3.22 and 14.16-17. Some interpreters read 'He was a man' (in the sense of a 'real man') as 'He was *ren*': 'man' (*ren* 人) and '*ren*' (仁) are cognate words, identical in sound and close in graph. But see the note on 14.16-17.

14.11 Meng Gongchuo was a grandee of Lu contemporary with Confucius. Zhao and Wei were great warlord families in the state of Jin (they later participated in dividing that major state into three and founding their own states). Teng and Xue were tiny states near Lu. The point is that Meng Gongchuo was suitable as a 'household' officer for even powerful families, but did not have the qualities to serve even the most

with *li* and music besides, then he may be called a complete man.”

He added, “But for someone to be deemed a complete man nowadays, what need does he have for all this? If, seeing profit, his thoughts turn to what is right, and, seeing danger, he is ready to risk his life, and if he can long endure hardship without forgetting the teachings that have guided his ordinary life, he may indeed be deemed a complete man.”

14.13 The Master asked Gongming Jia about Gongshu Wenzhi, saying, “Is it true that your master never spoke, never laughed, and never took anything?”

Gongming Jia replied, “That report was exaggerated. My master spoke, but only when it was timely; in that way, people did not tire of his words. He laughed, but only when he was joyful; in that way, people did not tire of his laughter. He took things, but only when it was righteous; in that way, people did not tire of his taking.”

The Master said, “Is that so? How can that be true?”

14.14 The Master said, Zang Wuzhong used Fang to bargain for continuation of his clan line in Lu. Though they say he did not coerce his lord, I do not believe it.

14.15 The Master said, Duke Wen of Jin was adept at expedient means but not upright; Duke Huan of Qi was upright but not adept at expedient means.

14.16 Zilu said, “When Duke Huan killed Prince Jiu, Shao Hu committed suicide for

powerless legitimate ruler. (He is, however, implicitly praised in the next passage.)

14.12 The term ‘complete man’ is not used elsewhere in the *Analects*.

Zang Wuzhong was head of a major Lu family a generation before Confucius, with a reputation for wisdom (see 14.14). The man identified as Confucius’s father was his an officer in his household. For Gongchuo, see the last passage. Zhuangzi (not the same man as the famous Daoist thinker) was reputed for feats of strength and battle bravery. Ran Qiu is Confucius’s disciple; his skill in arts is noted at 6.8.

14.13 Gongming Jia was a man of the state of Wei; Gongshu Wenzhi was a late grandee of Wei. Confucius seems skeptical of the glowing report he hears here, but in 14.18 Gongshu Wenzhi is praised without reserve.

14.14 Zang Wuzhong was leader of one of the great families of Lu; Confucius’s father was in his service (see 14.12). Zang fled into exile in 550 BCE, but prior to doing so, in return for allowing the Zang family to remain lords of their domain at Fang he offered the duke of Lu possession of his family’s sacred turtle (on Zang Wuzhong’s grandfather and this turtle, see 5.18).

14.15 This passage names the second and first of the ‘hegemon’

the death of his lord, but Guan Zhong did not. We can say of him that he was not *ren*, can we not?"

The Master said, "Duke Huan nine times brought the feudal lords into assembly without the use of weapons or war chariots. This was due to the efforts of Guan Zhong. Such *ren*! Such *ren*!"

14.17 Zigong said, "Surely, Guan Zhong was not a *ren* man. Duke Huan killed Prince Jiu and Guan Zhong was unable to die for his lord, and even served as prime minister to Duke Huan."

The Master said, "Guan Zhong served as prime minister to Duke Huan and Duke Huan became hegemon over the feudal lords. For a time, he set the world in order. To this day the people receive blessings from it. Were it not for Guan Zhong, we would wear our hair loose and button our jackets on the left. How would it have been proper for him to be faithful like a common man or woman, and slit his throat in a ditch where none would ever know?"

14.18 Gongshu Wenzhi's household officer, the grandee Zhuan, was promoted to service in the duke's court alongside Wenzhi. The Master, learning of this, commented, "He may rightly be called *wen*."

14.19 The Master spoke of how Duke Ling of Wei did not follow the *dao*. Kangzi said, "If that is the case, why does he not meet his downfall?"

Confucius said, "Zhongshu Yu attends to visitors of state, Zhu Tuo manages matters of the ancestral temples, Wangsun Jia com-

overlords of the Spring and Autumn era. Duke Wen was known for his craft in diplomacy and war; Duke Huan for a painful adherence to rules in order to win respect (a policy he was persuaded to follow by his prime minister, Guan Zhong; see below).

14.16-17 These passages reflect judgments of Guan Zhong, a former prime minister of the state of Qi and the most famous figure of seventh century BCE politics. His great achievement was guiding his lord, Duke Huan of Qi, to become the acknowledged leader of an extensive alliance of states, a position of 'hegemony' recognized officially by the King of the Zhou, whose protector Duke Huan became. The lavish praise of Guan Zhong in these passages stands in sharp contrast to 3.22.

Originally, Duke Huan competed with his brother, Prince Jiu, to become duke in Qi. Guan Zhong and Shao Hu were aides to Prince Jiu. When Prince Jiu was killed, Shao Hu acted as a gentleman and committed suicide. Guan Zhong was pardoned by Duke Huan, who was advised that only by appointing Guan Zhong as minister could the Duke hope to become a truly great ruler.

Confucius's judgment that Guan Zhong was *ren* in 14.16 is so surprising that many interpreters refuse to read the passage in that way, and render the final line as an inconclusive, 'But as for his being *ren* . . .'

14.18 'Wenzi' was the posthumous honorific given to the Wei grandee Gongsun Ba (see also 14.13). On the basis of the conduct reported here – recommending a talented

mands the armies. Given all this, how could he fail?"

14.20 The Master said, When words are uttered without modesty, living up to them is difficult.

14.21 Chen Chengzi assassinated Duke Jian of Qi. Confucius bathed and went to court, where he reported to Duke Ai, "Chen Heng has assassinated his ruler. I request he be pursued."

The duke said, "Report this to the three lords."

Confucius said, "Because I follow behind the grandees, I dare not make this report. My lord has said, 'Report this to the three lords.'"

He then went to the three lords to report. They denied his request. Confucius said, "Because I follow behind the grandees, I dare not make this report."

14.22 Zilu asked about serving a ruler. The Master said, "Do not deceive him, but be willing to offend him."

14.23 The Master said, The *junzi* gets through to what is exalted; the small man gets through to what is base.

14.24 The Master said, In the past men learned for themselves; now men learn for others.

14.25 Qu Boyu sent an emissary to Confucius. Confucius sat together with him and questioned him. "What does your master wish."

subordinate to equal standing at his duke's court – Confucius approves his having been granted the name Wenzi, honoring his patterned (*wen*: i.e. ethically cultivated) character.

14.19 Kangzi was head of the warlord Ji family in Lu. The other men named here were all ministers at Duke Ling's court. On Wangsun Jia, see 3.13.

14.21 Chen Chengzi (whom Confucius refers to by personal name Chen Heng in order to presume familiarity and thus indicate disapproval) was a grandee of Qi. His family ultimately usurped the throne of the dukes of Qi after Confucius's lifetime, as the authors of the *Analects* would have known.

The act of bathing was a step of ritual purification, indicating how seriously Confucius looked on this matter. It is unclear what role is implied by the phrase 'following behind the grandees' – it appears also at 11.8 – but the point is that Confucius made his appeal to the duke, who would have sole legitimate power to pursue and punish the assassin of a neighboring lord, and the duke deferred to the three warlord families, who were naturally unmoved by Confucius's moral stance.

14.23 This passage has resonance with 14.35. The word for 'get through' means 'to understand' or 'to master', but also 'to gain access to power holders'.

14.25 Qu Boyu was a grandee of the state of Wei. His reputation in Classical literature is very high (see 15.7.).

“My master wishes to reduce his errors and has not been able to do so.”

After the emissary left, the Master said, “What an emissary! What an emissary!”

14.26 The Master said, When one does not occupy the position, one does not plan its governance.

Master Zeng said, The thoughts of the *junzi* do not stray beyond his position.

14.27 The Master said, The *junzi* is ashamed when his words outstrip his actions.

14.28 The Master said, “There are three points to the *dao* of a *junzi* that I have been unable to reach: to be *ren*, and so not beset with cares, to be wise, and so not confused, to be valorous, and so not fearful.”

Zigong said, “Master, you have described yourself.”

14.29 Zigong spoke of others’ defects. The Master said, “How worthy Si is! As for me, I have no time for that.”

14.30 The Master said, Do not be concerned that others do not recognize you, be concerned about what you are yet unable to do.

14.31 The Master said, Without anticipating that others are being deceptive, without guessing that they will not keep faith, yet to sense these things in advance, is that not what being worthy is about?

14.32 Weisheng Mou said to Confucius, “Qiu, why do you go prattling about like

14.26 The first portion of this passage duplicates 8.14. The second portion is likely a later elaboration added to the text by Zeng Shen’s (Master Zeng) followers. Zeng Shen plays the role of a commentator on Confucius’s statements in 4.15 as well.

14.28 In the Chinese text, this passage fully embeds the language of 9.29, though the order of items is different.

14.29 Si was Zigong’s personal name.

14.30 This passage seems to be a prelude to 14.35.

14.32 Weisheng Mou was likely a personal intimate of Confucius,

this? Doesn't it just amount to so much glib talk?"

Confucius said, "I would not presume to attempt glibness. It is my anxiety about stubborn ignorance."

14.33 The Master said, A fine horse is not praised for its strength, but for its virtue.

14.34 Someone said, "To employ virtue to repay resentment, how would that be?"

The Master said, "What, then, would you employ to repay virtue? Employ straightforwardness to repay resentment; employ virtue to repay virtue."

14.35 The Master said, "No one recognizes me!"

Zigong said, "How is it that this is so?"

The Master said, "I do not complain against Tian, nor do I blame men. I study what is lowly and so get through to what is exalted. Is it not Tian who recognizes me?"

14.36 Gongbo Liao made accusations against Zilu at the Ji family court. Zifu Jingbo reported this, saying, "My master harbors uncertain feelings towards Gongbo Liao. My effort would still suffice to have his corpse splayed in the market and court."

The Master said, "Will the *dao* prevail? That is a matter of fate. Will the *dao* be cast aside? That is a matter of fate. What can Gongbo Liao do about fate?"

14.37 The Master said, Worthy are those who shun the world. Next are those who shun a particular place. Next best shun las-

and perhaps his senior, since he addresses Confucius by his personal name, Qiu.

14.33 The term 'virtue' (*de*), used here, is a key ethical term when applied to people, but its use was very flexible. Here, it seems to denote all the qualities that make a horse fine – temperament, proportions, and so forth.

14.35 It is a feature of many passages involving Zigong that they include a surprising twist of message. In this case, Confucius's initial statement, in light of passages such as 1.1, 1.16, 14.30, and others, takes Zigong by surprise. 'Recognition,' in all these passages involves both recognizing a person's talents and employing him at court. This passage reads well as a complement to 3.24.

Well as this passage fits Zigong, a recently recovered bamboo text includes a version of this exchange in which Ziyu is featured in Zigong's place (see Appendix 4, p. 141). Other early texts seem to align the senior disciple Zigong and the junior disciple Ziyu in such a way as to suggest that a single faction of Confucian followers may have particularly honored both.

14.36 The term here rendered as 'fate' (*ming* 命) also denoted an order, as well as a fixed span of life (thus 'fate' is an order pertain-

civiousness, and the next best shun speech.

The Master said, There have been seven able to do this.

14.38 Zilu stayed the night by Stone Gate. The morning gate keeper said, "Where are you coming from?"

Zilu said, "From the Kong home."

"Is that the man who knows it can't be done and keeps doing it?"

14.39 The Master was striking stone chimes in Wei. A man passed by his gate, shouldering baskets hung from a pole. He said, "What heart there is in the playing of these chimes!"

Then he said, "How uncouth, this clanking! If none recognize you, then simply give up.

*When it's deep, you wade straight through;*

*When it's shallow, you lift your skirts."*

The Master said, "Is it really so? There's nothing hard in that."

14.40 Zizhang said, "The *Documents* say, 'During Gaozong's period of mourning for his father, for three years he dwelt in his mourning hut and did not speak.' What does this mean?"

The Master said, "This did not necessarily apply only to Gaozong. All the ancients were thus. When the ruler died, the officers of state gathered themselves and for three years took their orders from the prime minister."

14.41 The Master said, When the ruler loves *li*, the people are easy to employ.

ing to our lifespan). The adversaries of Confucians, the Mohists, accused Confucians of 'fatalism', meaning the idea that predestination makes effort useless. This passage tends to support such a view, although it may be argued that the language here was simply meant to be understood as Confucius's way to avoid being lured into political intrigue.

14.37-39 The last part of Book XIV focuses on the issue of withdrawal from engagement with an immoral human world, which, in the *Analects*, Confucius seems both to praise and to fight against.

The theme is also a major one in Book XVIII.

14.38 Kong is Confucius's surname. The gate keeper's comment became a frequently used formula for characterizing Confucius.

The insightful comment of the gate keeper recalls the keeper of the pass in 3.24. Many texts dating from the era of early Confucianism portray wise men who seek refuge from the dangers of a world without the *dao* by hiding themselves in positions of social obscurity. We see these figures in the *Analects*, and the gate keeper tale seems to borrow this trope.

14.39 Another instance of a wise man hiding in obscurity, in this case a man laboring as a common peddler or peasant. He interprets Confucius's aspirations from the sound of his chimes, and advises him by citing a line of the *Poetry* that echoes the doctrine of timeliness.

14.40 Gaozong was a Shang Dynasty king.

14.42 Zilu asked about the *junzi*. The Master said, “Cultivate in yourself respectful attentiveness.”

“Is that all there is to it?”

“Cultivate yourself to bring comfort to others.”

“Is that all there is to it?”

“Cultivate yourself to bring comfort to the people. Cultivating oneself to bring comfort to the people, even Yao and Shun themselves would fall short of that.”

14.43 Yuan Rang sat waiting with his legs crossed. The Master said, “As a youth disobedient and disrespectful to your elders, as an adult accomplishing nothing worth speaking of, old and still not dead – nothing but a thief!” And he struck him on the shin with his staff.

14.44 A boy from the Que district was acting as a messenger and someone asked about him. “Is he likely to improve?”

The Master said, “I have noticed that he seats himself in company and walks directly alongside his elders. He is not seeking improvement. He’s after quick results.”

14.42 The final phrase is also used at 6.30.

14.43 Yuan Rang is elsewhere reported to be an old friend of Confucius. If that is correct, this passage is probably meant to be humorous.

Sitting cross legged was highly informal, and thus not respectful.

14.44 The term rendered as ‘results’ also carries a sense of ‘grow to adulthood’, which appears to be what the boy was trying to take a shortcut to.



## Book XV

15.1 Duke Ling of Wei questioned Confucius about battlefield formations. Confucius replied, “When it comes to matters of sacrificial vessels, I have some learning. I have never studied military affairs.”

The next day he departed.

15.2 In Chen, the supplies of food were exhausted, and the followers fell so ill that none could rise from bed. Zilu appeared before the Master with a bitter expression. “May even a *junzi* fall to the depths of poverty.”

The Master said, “The *junzi* holds steadfast through poverty. When the small man falls into poverty, he will do anything.”

15.3 The Master said, “Si! Do you take me for one who studies a great deal and remembers it?”

Zigong replied, “Yes. Is it not so?”

“It is not. I link all on a single thread.”

15.4 The Master said, “Yóu, there are few who recognize virtue.”

15.5 The Master said, He did nothing and all was well ordered – this would describe Shun, would it not? What did he do? He simply composed himself with reverence and sat facing due south.

15.6 Zizhang asked about effective action. The Master said, “If your words are loyal and trustworthy and your conduct sincere and respectful, though you be in distant barbarian states, you will be effective. If your

## Notes

15.1 We have seen elsewhere (e.g., 3.13, 6.28) how Confucius pursued his political opportunities in Wei, always turning aside less than moral chances to gain access to power holders. Here we see him at last attain the audience with the duke he sought, only to walk away in disappointment. (See 14.19.)

15.2 The legend of Confucius’s travels in exile from Lu included many colorful episodes. Others are reflected in 7.23 and 9.5, but none is more widely reported than this one (usually said to have occurred in or between the two states of Chen and Cai). It is difficult to know how closely these tales reflect facts and how much is simply romance.

15.3 This passage may be compared to the more polished 4.15, which makes a somewhat different point on the same theme. Unlike that passage, 15.3, which is likely to be earlier, provides disciples with no formula for the “single thread.” See also 9.8.

15.5 Daoist philosophy celebrated the power of ‘natural’ action – action that involved no plan or striving: ‘non-action’ (*wuwei* 無為).

The Legalist thinker Han Feizi made non-action a hallmark of political perfection. Here, in what is probably a late insertion, the *Analects* appropriates *wuwei* to make its own exemplary sage the definitive model.

Traditionally, the throne of the ruler faced due south.

words are not loyal and trustworthy and your conduct not sincere and respectful, though you be in your own neighborhood or district, can you be effective? When you stand, let these thoughts appear before you; when you ride in your carriage, let them appear, leaning on the carriage bar beside you.”

Zizhang inscribed these words on his sash.

15.7 The Master said, How straight Shi Yu is. When the *dao* prevails in the state, he is like an arrow; when the *dao* does not prevail, he is like an arrow. A *junzi*!

With Qu Boyu, when the *dao* prevails in the state, he serves; when the *dao* does not prevail, he can roll it into a ball and hide it by his heart

15.8 The Master said, To fail to speak with someone whom it is worthwhile to speak with is to waste that person. To speak with someone whom it is not worthwhile to speak with is to waste words. The wise man wastes neither people nor words.

15.9 The Master said, The gentleman who is resolute and *ren* does not seek to live on at the expense of *ren*, and there are times when he will sacrifice his life to complete *ren*.

15.10 Zigong asked about *ren*. The Master said, “The craftsman who wishes to do his work well must first sharpen his tools. When you dwell in a state, serve those of its grantees who are worthy men, befriend those of its gentlemen who are *ren*.”

15.7 Shi Yu and Qu Boyu (also mentioned at 14.25) were patri-cians in the state of Wei.

The final imaginative phrase in this portrait of timeliness seems to picture the exemplary man rolling up the *dao* itself, to conceal and protect it within his jacket.

15.10 In passages such as this, the *Analects* seems to use the term ‘*ren*’ to mean little more than ‘moral’.

15.11 Yan Yuan asked about managing a state. The Master said, “Implement the calendar of the Xia, ride the carriages of the Yin, wear the ceremonial caps of the Zhou. For music: the Shao dance. Get rid of the melodies of Zheng, and keep crafty talkers at a distance – the melodies of Zheng are overwrought; crafty talkers are dangerous.”

15.12 The Master said, A man who does not think far ahead will have troubles near at hand.

15.13 The Master said, Enough! I have yet to see a man who loved virtue as much as sex.

15.14 The Master said, Did not Zang Wenzhong purloin his privilege of position? He was aware that Liuxia Hui was worthy, but would not raise him to office beside him.

15.15 The Master said, If one emphasizes enhancing one’s own qualities and curtails finding fault with others, one will keep resentments at a distance.

15.16 The Master said, Those who are not always saying, “What shall I do? What shall I do?” – I can do nothing with them.

15.17 The Master said, Those who sit in a group all day enjoying clever conversation without their talk ever touching on right – such men are difficult to deal with.

15.18 The Master said, The *junzi* takes right as his basic substance; he puts it into practice with *li*, uses compliance to enact it and faithfulness to complete it.

15.11 The Xia, Yin (Shang), and Zhou are the three early dynasties. Here the *Analects* makes clear that the *li* of the Confucian school is not merely Zhou ritual, but a composite of the finest traditions.

The Shao dance was said to have been composed by the legendary Emperor Shun. On the melodies of Zheng, see 17.18, which resembles this passage in some respects.

15.13 Duplicated at 9.18.

15.14 Zang Wenzhong was a high minister and head of a great patrician family in Lu (see 5.18). Liuxia Hui was head of a family of parallel descent. Zang Wenzhong is indicted in some texts for keeping the ruler from recognizing the talents of Liuxia Hui. For a contrasting example, see 14.18.

15.18-23 A particularly extended string of passages on a common theme: the *junzi*.

15.19 The Master said, The *junzi* blames himself for lacking ability; he does not blame others for not recognizing him.

15.20 The Master said, The *junzi* is apprehensive that he may leave the world without his name remaining praised there.

15.21 The Master said, The *junzi* seeks it in himself; the small man seeks it in others.

15.22 The Master said, The *junzi* bears himself with dignity but does not contend; he joins with others, but does not become a partisan.

15.23 The Master said, The *junzi* does not raise up a man because of his words, and does not discard words because of the man.

15.24 Zigong asked, “It there a single saying that one may put into practice all one’s life?”

The Master said, “That would be ‘reciprocity’: That which you do not desire, do not do to others.”

15.25 The Master said, In my appraisals of people, whom do I disparage, whom do I praise? If I praise a man, it is always on the basis of evidence. These are the people who guided the three eras to walk along the straight *dao*.

15.26 The Master said, In my time there were still recorders who left what they did not know blank and men with horses who lent them to others to drive. Now there are none.

15.24 See 5.12 and 12.2.

15.25 The ‘three eras’ of the final phrase refers to the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties.

15.26 ‘Recorders’ refers to those who kept records at court; the term may be rendered ‘historians’. An alternative interpretation reads the initial sentence as referring to recorders who lacked cultivation,

15.27 The Master said, Crafty speech disrupts virtue. Impatience in small matters disrupts great plans.

15.28 The Master said, If the masses hate someone, one must investigate the case; if the masses love someone, one must investigate the case.

15.29 The Master said, A man can enlarge the *dao*; it is not that the *dao* enlarges a man.

15.30 The Master said, To err and not change – that, we may say, is to err.

15.31 The Master said, I have spent whole days without eating, whole nights without sleeping, in order to think. It was useless – not like study!

15.32 The Master said, The *junzi* makes plans for the sake of the *dao*, not for the sake of eating. Ploughing: there is a starvation in it. Study: there is a reward in it. The *junzi* worries about the *dao*, not about poverty.

15.33 The Master said, If one's knowledge is adequate for it, but one does not possess the *ren* needed to preserve it, though one gets it, one will surely lose it. If one's knowledge is adequate for it and one possesses the *ren* needed to preserve it, if one is not solemn in dealing directly with them, the people will not show respect. If one's knowledge is adequate for it and one possesses the *ren* needed to preserve it, and one is solemn in dealing directly with the people, if one initiates action that does not accord with *li*, it will not yet be good.

and takes the loan of horses as a lapse of *li*, giving the passage a very different sense.

15.29 This passage makes best sense when 'enlarge a man' is taken in the sense of raising his rank or wealth.

15.31 The contrast between thoughtful reflection and active study is a theme of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE Confucian text *Xunzi*, which includes a similar passage.

15.32 There is interesting resonance with 2.18 here. From its very first passage, the *Analects* shows a concern with prioritizing learning over pursuit of wealth and status. It is likely that this was an issue Confucian teachers dealt with regularly in motivating their students (see 8.12).

15.33 In this passage, the meaning of the term *ren* seems reduced to 'benevolence', a non-comprehensive virtue that permits of varying degrees. The overall context clearly refers to those who come into possession of a state or domain.

15.34 The Master said, The *junzi* does not accept being known for petty talents, but accepts receiving great burdens. The small man does not accept receiving great burdens, but accepts being known for petty talents.

15.35 The Master said, *Ren* is of greater moment to the people than water or fire. I have seen people tread through water and fire and die; I have yet to see anyone tread through *ren* and die.

15.36 The Master said, When one acts with *ren*, one does not yield to one's teacher.

15.37 The Master said, The *junzi* is steadfast but not rigid.

15.38 The Master said, In serving a ruler, be attentive to affairs and consider salary a secondary matter.

15.39 The Master said, There is a teaching; there are no divisions.

15.40 The Master said, Do not make plans together with others whose *dao* differs from yours.

15.41 The Master said, Words should do no more than convey the idea.

15.42 Music Master Mian came to visit. When he reached the steps, the Master said, "Here are the steps." When he reached the mat, the Master said, "Here is the mat." When all were seated, the Master said to him, "So-and-so is here, so-and-so is there."

15.35 The word rendered 'tread' (*dao* 蹈) was most likely a play on words with *dao* 道, in the sense of the Way, or to 'walk the Way'. Thus 'tread through *ren*' could be understood as 'walk the Way of *ren*'. In this and the next passage, we see *ren* once again used to denote a comprehensive moral virtue.

15.36 This short passage makes an important statement about the attainment of moral authority and personal autonomy.

15.37 'Steadfast' implies ethical determination. 'Rigid' refers to narrow insistence on according with rules; the same term, in other contexts, denotes faithfulness in promise-keeping.

15.39 This may mean that the teaching is a whole, without divisions, but it is widely celebrated as saying that there is a single teaching, meant equally for all classes of persons – a radical notion for societies that traditionally regard one's birth as the basis of one's worth.

15.42 In ancient China, musicians were blind men.

After Music Master Mian left, Zizhang asked, “Is that the *dao* for speaking to a music master?”

The Master said, “Yes. It is indeed the *dao* of assisting a music master.”

## Book XVI

16.1 The Ji family was preparing to attack the territory of Zhuanyu. Ran Yǒu and Ji Lu appeared before Confucius and said, “The Ji family plans to launch an affair against Zhuanyu.”

Confucius said, “Qiu, would this not be your fault? In the past, the former kings appointed Zhuanyu to be in charge of East Meng Mountain. Moreover, it lies within the territory of this state, and is hence a subject at the state altars of Lu. What point is there is attacking it?”

Ran Yǒu said, “It is our master’s wish, not the wish of the two of us.”

Confucius said, “Qiu! Zhou Ren had a saying: ‘He who can marshal his strength in the effort should take his place in the ranks; he who cannot, should desist.’ What use to a blind man is an attendant who cannot steady him when the footing is treacherous or pull him up when he falls? Besides, your words are mistaken. When the tiger or rhino escape their cages, when the sacred turtle shell or precious stone are smashed while in their boxes, who should be held to blame?”

Ran Yǒu said, “At present, Zhuanyu is, in fact, very near to Bi. If it is not taken now, it will surely create trouble for the Ji clan descendants.”

Confucius said, “Qiu! The *junzi* detests those who cover up their desires by making excuses.

“I have heard it said that those who preside over states or family domains do not worry that they will have too few people, they worry that distribution of goods may be uneven; they do not worry about poverty,

## Notes

16.1 A number of Confucius’s senior disciples were men of importance in Lu, and several of them, most notably Ran Yǒu (Ran Qiu) and Ji Lu (Zhong Yóu; Zilu) were influential stewards at the court of the warlord Ji family (also called Jisun), the de facto power in the state of Lu.

In this passage, they report that the head of the Ji clan (Ji Kangzi) has decided to launch a military attack against a tiny state, Zhuanyu, whose small territory lay entirely within the borders of the state of Lu, in the region of a mountain called East Meng. Apparently, the lords of Zhuanyu had at some time been entrusted with keeping sacrifices to the spirit of this mountain, and granted a small domain to support them in this task. Zhuanyu was close to the large Ji family domain and stronghold at Bi, and Ji Kangzi seems to have found its independence an irritant.

This passage illustrates the perils of political engagement with immoral rulers. Ran Qiu exemplifies the behavior of a man vested in rationalizing immoral conduct by a power holder to whom he is beholden.

The Zhou Ren whom Confucius mentions is said in commentary to have been a historian of earlier times, although there is no confirming evidence that this is so.

In the middle section of Confucius’s final statement here, there may be some corruption of the text – the argument lacks the parallelism one would expect. In this discussion, Confucius refers to underpopulation. The scarcest good contended for by rulers dur-



they worry they will not bring peace. Is it not so that when distribution is even there is no poverty; when there is harmony there is no underpopulation; when there is peace there is no danger the ruler will topple? It is just in this spirit that if those who are distant do not submit, one must cultivate patterns and virtue to attract them. Once they have come, one must comfort them.

“Now you, Qiu and Yóu, attend your master, but those who are distant do not submit and you are unable to attract them, the state is split and crumbling and you are unable to protect it. Instead, you plot the use of weapons of war within the borders of the state. I fear that the troubles of the Jisun family lie not with Zhuanyu, but within their own walls.”

16.2 Confucius said, When the *dao* prevails in the world, *li*, music, and punitive military actions proceed on the order of the Son of Heaven. When the *dao* does not prevail in the world, *li*, music, and punitive military actions proceed on the orders of the feudal lords. Once they proceed from the feudal lords, it is rare that after ten generations those lords have not lost their power. Once they proceed from grandees, it is rare that after five generations those grandees have not lost their power. Once subordinate officers control the fate of the state, it is rare that after three generations they have not lost their power.

When the *dao* prevails in the world, governance does not lie in the hands of grandees. When the *dao* prevails in the world, the common people do not discuss governance.

ing this period was not land – there was plenty of land – it was people who could work the land and produce income for a ruler. Confucius here suggests two prudential reasons for treating people well: not only will those who are resisting submit, but those who are distant will come to dwell, providing a labor and tax pool. Virtue and the patterns (*wen*) of a culture ethically ordered by ritual constraint are more effective than coercion and violence in achieving the state goals of the ruler.

16.2 After 16.1, the remainder of Book XVI is, for the most part, highly formulaic, and clearly comes from a set of editorial hands different from other books. For example, passages begin “Confucius said” (Kongzi yue 孔子曰), rather than “The Master said” (Zi yue 子曰), and many passages are numbered lists (something observed also in parts of Book XVII). The book is not noted for profound insights.

The final sentence of 16.2 is a reminder that Confucian political ideals were not democratic in any modern sense. Governance in the interest of the people did not imply government by the people. The Confucian goal was an ethical authoritarian state, where authority was earned through virtue. That virtue included a commitment to care for all people. If successful, the people would not think to dis-

16.3 Confucius said, Control of appointments fell from the hands of the ducal house five generations ago. Governance has been in the hands of the grandees for four generations. Therefore, the descendants of the ‘three Huan’ families will live in obscurity.

16.4 Confucius said, There are three types of friends who improve you, and three types of friends who diminish you. Friends who are straightforward, sincere, and have learned much improve you. Friends who are fawning, insincere, and crafty in speech diminish you.

16.5 Confucius said, There are three types of delights that improve you, and three types of delights that diminish you. To delight in *li* and music, to delight in speaking of others’ good points, to delight in having many worthy friends – these improve you. To delight in arrogant pleasures, to delight in idle wanderings, to delight in banquet parties – these diminish you.

16.6 Confucius said, In attending a ruler there are three mistakes. To speak of something before an appropriate time has come is to be impetuous; to fail to speak of something when an appropriate time has come is to be secretive; to speak without gauging the ruler’s expression is to be blind.

16.7 Confucius said, The *junzi* has three cautions. When he is young and his blood and energy are not yet settled, he is cautious about sex. When he is in his prime and his blood and energy have newly achieved strength, he is cautious about combativeness.

cuss issues of policy. Popular interest in government was a sign of political failure. Thus political legitimacy derived from the ruler’s good character, expressed through good policy, not from participation of the people, whose character could not be expected to reflect wisdom. (This Confucian perspective remains a key factor in China to this day.)

16.3 Passage 16.2 set general rules concerning the rate at which power had been devolving in China. In 16.3, these rules are applied to the state of Lu, where power had long since passed into the hands of three great grandee families, the Ji, Meng, and Shusun families. All three traced their lineage origins to the younger sons of Duke Huan of Lu (r. 711-694 BCE), and therefore were known as the ‘three Huan’ families.

When he is old and his blood and energy are declining, he is cautious about acquisitiveness.

16.8 Confucius said, The *junzi* holds three things in awe. He holds the decree of Tian in awe, he holds great men in awe, and he holds the words of the Sage in awe. The small man does not know the decree of Tian and so does not hold it in awe, he is disrespectful towards great men, and he disgraces the words of the Sage.

16.9 Confucius said, Those who are born knowing are the best; next are those who study and come to know it; next are those who study it only in circumstances of duress. Those who do not study it even under duress, they are the lowest of people.

16.10 Confucius said, The *junzi* focuses his attention in nine ways. In observation, he focuses on clarity; in listening, he focuses on acuity; in facial expression, he focuses on gentleness; in bearing, he focuses on reverence; in words, he focuses on loyalty; in affairs, he focuses on attentiveness; in doubt he focuses on questioning; in anger, he focuses on troublesome consequences; in opportunities to gain, he focuses on right.

16.11 Confucius said, “‘When he sees the good, he seems rushing to catch up; when he sees the bad, he seems to have touched boiling water’: I have seen such men; I have heard this said of them. ‘He lives in reclusion to seek his heart’s desire; he practices right to spread his *dao*.’ I have heard this said of men; I have yet to see such a man.”

16.9 See 7.20.

16.12 Duke Jing of Qi had a thousand teams of horses, but on the day he died, the people could find no virtue to praise in him. Bo Yi and Shu Qi starved beneath Mount Shouyang, but the people praise them to this day. The saying, “It is not wealth that matters, but only having this difference,” most likely refers to this.

16.13 Chen Gang asked Boyu, “Has the Master imparted to you some different knowledge?”

Boyu replied, “No. Once he was standing alone as I hurried across the courtyard and he said to me ‘Have you studied the *Poetry*?’ I replied, ‘Not yet,’ and he said, ‘If you don’t study the *Poetry*, you will have nothing to speak.’ I withdrew and studied the *Poetry*.

“On another occasion he was standing alone as I hurried across the courtyard and he said to me, ‘Have you studied *li*?’ I replied, ‘Not yet,’ and he said, “If you don’t study *li*, you will be unable to take your stand.’ I withdrew and studied *li*.”

Chen Gang withdrew and said with pleasure, “I asked about one thing and learned three! I learned about the *Poetry*, I learned about *li*, and I learned that the *junzi* keeps some distance from his son.”

16.14 The principal wife of the ruler of a state is referred to by him as “Lady.” She refers to herself as “Little Lad.” The people of the state refer to her as “Lord’s Lady,” but when they are in other states, they refer to her as “Lowly Little Lord.” The people of other states refer to her as “Lord’s Lady.”

16.12 The ‘saying’ in this passage does not appear here in the text; it appears at the close of 12.10, where it makes no sense. I have followed medieval Song Dynasty commentary in moving it to this location.

16.13 Chen Gang is identified by commentators as the minor disciple Ziqin (子禽, see 1.10).

Boyu (伯魚) was Confucius’s son, Li (鯉) (see 11.8).

The notion that without study of the *Poetry* one will have nothing to speak (more literally, ‘no means of speaking’) refers to the practice of conveying points of ethical or political importance by chanting appropriate lines from that canonical anthology. See 13.5 and 17.10.

On the link between *li* and ‘taking one’s stand’, see 8.8 and 20.3.

16.14 No good explanation has ever been offered as to why this passage is included in the *Analects*, other than by editorial error.

## Book XVII

17.1 Yang Huo wished to have Confucius appear in audience, but Confucius would not appear. Yang Huo sent Confucius a suckling pig. Confucius timed a visit for a day when Yang Huo was not at home and went to pay his thanks, but encountered Yang Huo on the road.

Yang Huo addressed Confucius: "Come. I want a word with you.

"To conceal your treasure and let your state go astray, can this be called *ren*? No, it cannot. To be eager to engage in affairs but to repeatedly miss one's proper time, can this be called wisdom? No, it cannot.

"The days and months are rushing by; no extra years will be allotted to me."

Confucius said, "All right. It is my intent to serve."

17.2 The Master said, "By nature close to one another, through practice far distant."

17.3 The Master said, "Only the wisest and the stupidest do not change."

17.4 The Master went to Wucheng and heard the sound of zithers and singing. With a little laugh he said, "Does one chop up a chicken with a beef cleaver?"

Ziyou replied, "In the past I have heard the Master say, 'When a *junzi* studies the *dao* he cherishes people; when small men study the *dao* they are easy to direct.'"

The Master said, "My friends, Yan's words are correct. What I said before was merely in jest."

## Notes

17.1 Yang Huo (elsewhere known as Yang Hu) was a retainer of the Ji family when Confucius was young. Appointed steward of the Ji clan domain in Bi, Yang Huo took control of the city and rebelled against the Ji. In this sense, he usurped the power of a clan that had itself usurped the power of the dukes of Lu. He was regarded as an immoral adventurer.

In this passage, we see Confucius attempt to avoid associating with so unsavory a man, but when they meet, Yang Huo's eloquent use of the doctrine of timeliness gives him the appearance of morality – especially since he is seeking the service of a moral exemplar. There is no record that Confucius ever served Yang Huo.

The doctrine of timeliness is a major theme of both Book XVII and Book XVIII. 17.1 is echoed in 17.4 and 17.6.

17.2 This is the *Analects*' only use of the term '[human] nature' (*xing* 性), which becomes a central concern of philosophy from the fourth century on.

17.4 Yan 偃 is the personal name of the disciple Ziyou 子游, who was at this time managing the town of Wucheng. Here, he has apparently attempted to infuse the people of his town with Confucian ritual learning.

The terms '*junzi*' and 'small man' are clearly used here in the senses of a ruler and those who are ruled.

It is rare in the *Analects* that a disciple gets the best of Confucius, as Ziyou does here, and we may wonder whether the exchange

17.5 Gongshan Furao held the city of Bi in revolt. He summoned the Master, who wished to go to him. Zilu was displeased. He said, “Do not go. Why must it be Gongshan you go to?”

The Master said, “How can it be that he summons me for no good purpose? If there is one who will use me, I could make for him a Zhou in the east!”

17.6 Zizhang asked about *ren*. The Master said, “He who can enact five things in the world is *ren*.” When asked for details, he went on, “Reverence, tolerance, trustworthiness, quickness, and generosity. He is reverent, hence he receives no insults; he is tolerant, hence he gains the multitudes; he is trustworthy, hence others entrust him with responsibilities; he is quick, hence he has accomplishments; he is generous, hence he is capable of being placed in charge of others.”

17.7 Bi Xi summoned the Master, who wished to go. Zilu said, “In the past, I have heard the Master say, ‘The domain of one who has marked himself with wrongdoing the *junzi* does not enter.’ Bi Xi has used the town of Zhongmou as a base for revolt. How can it be that you would go there?”

The Master said, “I have indeed spoken as you say. But is it not said, ‘So hard, it is not worn down by grinding; so white, it is not blackened by pitch?’ Can it be that I am no more than a bitter gourd, to be hung up by a string and never eaten?”

17.8 The Master said, “Yóu, have you heard the six imperatives and the six related flaws of narrow vision?” Zilu replied, “No, I have

was not the invention of later disciples belonging to a teaching lineage associated with Ziyou.

17.5 After the revolt of Yang Huo (17.1) failed, his subordinate, Gongshan Furao, continued the attempt.

17.5 and 17.7, passages that portray Confucius’s attraction to the seamiest of usurpers, are puzzling, in that he is elsewhere portrayed as so scrupulously avoiding moral compromise with even legitimate rulers. However, 17.5 suggests that some situations reach an extremity of disruption that provides a moral opportunity to wipe the slate clean and construct a moral regime entirely anew. If that is, indeed, its implication, it extends the doctrine of timeliness in a new direction, implying that the Confucian sage should ‘appear’ even when the *dao* does not prevail, so long as chaos is pervasive. Indeed, in the second great Confucian text, the *Mencius*, timeliness comes to include this idea.

17.7 Bi Xi’s revolt occurred in the state of Jin, about the same time that Yang Huo and Gongshan Furao were leading revolts in Lu. All these revolts failed, and none of these men came to be viewed positively in history. The *Analects* seems to use these events to underline the tensions involved in the doctrine of timeliness – moral opportunity may present itself to the *junzi* amidst even the seamiest political adventurism.

17.8 The ‘six imperatives’ (more literally, the ‘six words’) are *ren*, knowledge, faithfulness, straight-

not.”

“Sit, and I’ll teach them to you. If, you love *ren*, but you do not love learning, the flaw is ignorance. If you love knowledge but you do not love learning, the flaw is unruliness. If you love faithfulness but you do not love learning, the flaw is harming others. If you love straightforwardness but you do not love learning, the flaw is offensiveness. If you love valor but you do not love learning, the flaw is causing chaos. If you love incorruptibility but you do not love learning, the flaw is recklessness.

17.9 The Master said, “Young friends, why do you not study the *Poetry*. By means of the odes one may inspire, one may reveal one’s thoughts, one may gather with others, one may voice complaints. Near at hand, they can guide you to serve your fathers; more distantly, they can guide you to serve a ruler – and you can learn the names of many birds and beasts, trees and grasses.”

17.10 The Master said to Boyu, “Have you learned the odes of the *Zhou-nan* and *Shao-nan*? A man who does not learn the odes of the *Zhou-nan* and *Shao-nan* is like a man standing with his face to a wall.”

17.11 The Master said, *Li, li* – is jade and silk all we mean by it? Music, music – are bells and drums all we mean by it?

17.12 The Master said, A fierce expression outside and cowardice within: if we seek an analogy among small men, such a one would be like a robber leaping over a wall or boring through it.

forwardness, valor, and incorruptibility.

‘Faithfulness’ (or ‘trustworthiness’) is literally keeping one’s word. To keep to one’s word without regard to changing circumstances can harm others (the word here is literally ‘thievery’, perhaps meaning you steal others’ welfare so no one can say you violated your promise).

This passage has much in common with 8.2.

17.9 On the uses of the *Poetry*, see 13.5.

The last line of this passage seems oddly out of tune with the rest. But it is true enough that the *Poetry* is filled with plant and animal names, and was probably used as a primer for these in ordinary education. Here, the comment may derive from some context in which it was intended as humor.

17.10 The *Zhou-nan* and *Shao-nan* are the first two collections of odes in the *Poetry*. Traditional interpretations gave them great weight of moral authority, although contemporary criticism views them principally as simple folk lyrics.

Boyu was Confucius’s son. See 16.13.

17.11 This seems very much like 6.25 in message.

17.12 Here ‘small men’ pictures the non-patrician world of commoners.

17.13 The Master said, The good men of the village are thieves of virtue.

17.14 The Master said, To repeat on the road what one has heard on the street is to throw virtue away.

17.15 The Master said, Can one serve a lord side by side with a vulgar person? Before he gets what he wants, he worries about getting it. Once he has it, he worries about losing it. Once he worries about losing it, there are no lengths to which he will not go.

17.16 The Master said, In former times the people had three weaknesses, but today these have disappeared. The reckless men of the past exceeded proper constraints; reckless men today are disruptive. The abrasive men of the past were haughtily pure; abrasive men today burst into fury. The ignorant men of the past were straightforward; ignorant men today are simply deceitful.

17.17 The Master said: Those of crafty words and ingratiating expression are rarely *ren*.

17.18 The Master said, I detest that purple has displaced crimson; I detest that the melodies of Zheng have disordered the music of court; I detest that crafty mouths have overturned states and households.

17.19 The Master said, “I wish to be wordless.”

Zigong said, “If you never spoke, then what would we disciples have to pass on?”

17.13 The ‘good men’ are those who use the prestige of age to protect their position without accepting any ethical challenge. They appear virtuous, but have no moral substance. It may be that 17.13 builds on the image of 17.12.

17.14 This is a comment on the urge to gossip.

17.15 Confucians are known as ‘meritocrats’ – in an aristocratic world of hereditary privilege they advocated for the advancement of men on the basis of merit, not birth. Yet there are times, as here, where there seems to be a sense of class disdain for unpolished men trying to rise fast in society.

17.16 This passage is constructed around sarcasm.

17.17 Duplicates 1.3, and seems to initiate a series of four passages concerning the misuse of speech.

17.18 The first two parts are examples of modish fashion destroying what the *Analects* sees as the purity of Zhou *li*. Purple, composed of threads of mixed dyes, had displaced the proper single-dyed ritual caps of court. The melodies of Zheng are frequently referred to as ‘overwrought’ (or lascivious). As is generally true of any series, it is the last item that is the ‘punch line’. The issue here is



The Master said, “Does Tian speak? Yet the seasons turn and the creatures of the world are born. Does Tian speak?”

17.20 Ru Bei came seeking an audience with Confucius. Confucius said to tell him he could not receive him because of illness. As the messenger went through the door, Confucius picked up his zither and began to sing, making sure Ru Bei would hear.

17.21 Zai Wo asked about the three year mourning period. “A full year is already a long time. If a *junzi* were not to participate in *li* for three years, surely *li* would decay; if he did not participate in music for three years, surely music will collapse. As the grain of the old year is exhausted, the grain of the new year is harvested, the cycle of firewood has gone round – a full year is enough.”

The Master said, “Would you feel comfortable eating rice and wearing brocaded clothes?”

“I would.”

“If you would be comfortable, do it. When the *junzi* is in mourning, fine foods are not sweet to him, music brings no joy, living in luxury brings him no comfort; therefore, he does not indulge in these things. Now, if you would be comfortable, do it.”

Zai Wo went out. The Master said, “Yu is not *ren*. A child has lived for three years before he leaves his mother’s arms. The three year mourning period is common to mourning throughout the world. Did not Yu receive three years love from his parents?”

misused speech.

17.20 The theme of wordlessness is continued from the previous passage. Ru Bei was apparently a man of influence in Lu (the text refers to ‘Confucius’ only when a power holder is present). Confucius conveys his disdain for him ‘wordlessly’, through the combination of the messenger and music making.

17.21 One of the most burdensome of *li* was the rule that upon the death of a parent, a man must withdraw from society for three years (actually twenty-seven months), eschewing all common pleasures to indulge in concentrated mourning.

Although in this passage Confucius refers to this as a worldwide custom, it was clearly a distinctive feature of Zhou culture. The reasons given for the custom here are not among the most cogent statements in the *Analects*.

Yu was the disciple Zai Wo’s personal name.

17.22 The Master said, To eat one's fill all day long and not exercise one's mind – that is hard to understand. Aren't there those who pass time with the games of *bo* and *yi*? Even they are more worthy.

17.23 Zilu said, "Does the *junzi* prize valor?"

The Master said, "The *junzi* gives righteousness the topmost place. If a *junzi* had valor but not righteousness, he would create chaos. If a small person has valor and not righteousness, he becomes a bandit.

17.24 Zigong said, "Does the *junzi* have things he hates?"

The Master said, "He does. He hates those who proclaim other men's faults; he hates those who occupy inferior positions but who slander their superiors; he hates those who are valorous but lack *li*; he hates those who are bold but lack understanding."

The Master went on, "Do you too have things you hate?"

"I hate those who think that having spied out things is wisdom; I hate those who think being uncompliant is valor; I hate those who think insulting others is straightforwardness."

17.25 The Master said, Women and small men are difficult to nurture. If you get too close to them, they become uncompliant, and if you stay too distant, they become resentful.

17.26 The Master said, If a man reaches the age of forty and has not earned the hatred of anyone, it is all over with him.

17.22 *Bo* and *yi* were board games. The rules of *bo* are no longer fully understood. *Yi* is today called *wei-qi*, though it is much better known by its Japanese name: *go*.

17.24 It is unusual that a disciple gets the last word when discussing issues of ethics with Confucius.

17.25 In early Confucian literature, this passage stands out as demeaning to women. 'Small men' here probably refers to minor male servants. The passage conflates issues of gender and class, and is the lament of elite males who worry that kindness leads their inferiors to forget their place. Whether a late addition or Confucius's own words, the best that can be said of it is that is atypical.

17.26 See 13.24.

## Book XVIII

18.1 Weizi left him; Jizi became his slave; Bigan remonstrated with him and died. Confucius said, “There were three *ren* men of Yin.”

18.2 When Liuxia Hui served as warden, he was thrice dismissed. People asked him, “Should you not leave for another state?”

“If one serves a lord by means of the straight *dao*, where could one go and not be thrice dismissed? To serve a lord by means of a crooked *dao*, why need one leave the country of one’s parents?”

18.3 Duke Jing of Qi received Confucius, saying, “To host him as I would the head of the Ji family, this I am unable to do. Establish him at a level between that used to host the Ji family and that used to host the Meng family.”

Then he further said, “I am old; I cannot employ him.”

Confucius departed.

18.4 The people of Qi made a present of female musicians. Ji Huanzi received them, and for three days he did not attend court.

Confucius departed.

18.5 A madman of Chu encountered the chariot Confucius was driving, and walking across its path, intoned:

*Phoenix, phoenix,  
How virtue has withered!  
What is past is beyond repairing,  
What is to come is still worth pursuing.*

## Notes

18.1 The three men named were relatives of the evil last king of the Shang (Yin), Zhòu. Weizi, an older half-brother, fled from the capital. Jizi, an uncle, finding his remonstrances useless, feigned madness and became a palace slave. Bigan was disemboweled as penalty for his advice.

18.2 Liuxia Hui was a minor grandee in Lu three generations before Confucius, around whom many legends grew. (See 15.14.)

18.3 Duke Jing had died by the time Confucius’s wanderings began, but this may not have been understood by the authors of this passage.

The Ji clan was the greatest warlord clan in Lu; the Meng clan was second to them. The duke was offering Confucius rather lavish treatment, but not at the highest level, thus indicating that he did not intend to follow Confucius’s *dao* in policy.

18.4 Huanzi was head of the Ji warlord clan in Lu. Confucius is here pictured as an advisor at court, who departs upon seeing the moral lapse induced by the gift from Qi. (Other sources say that at this time Confucius was Minister of Crime in Lu, a ducal appointment, secured for him by the Ji family.)

18.3-4 are clearly intended to establish that Confucius was recognized as a political power in the states of Qi and Lu, but found the environment too unethical to remain.

*Enough, enough!*

*Danger now for those at court.*

Confucius stepped down, wishing to speak with him, but the madman hurried to dodge away, and Confucius was unable to speak with him.

18.6 Chang Ju and Jie Ni were ploughing the fields in harness together. Confucius passed by and sent his disciple Zilu over to ask directions.

Chang Ju said, "Who is that holding the carriage reins?"

Zilu said, "That is Kong Qiu."

"Kong Qiu of Lu?"

"Yes."

"Why, then, he knows where he can go!"

Zilu then asked Jie Ni.

Jie Ni said, "And who are you?"

"I am Zhong Yóu."

"Are you a disciple of Kong Qiu of Lu?"

"I am."

"The world is inundated now. Who can change it? Would you not be better off joining those who have fled from the world altogether, instead of following someone who flees from this man to that one?"

Then the two of them went on with their ploughing.

Zilu returned to report to Confucius.

The Master's brow furrowed. "I cannot flock together with the birds and beasts!" he cried. "If I am not a fellow traveler with men such as these, then with whom? If only the Way prevailed in the world I would not have to try to change it!"

18.5 The next three passages deal in elaborate ways with the themes of reclusion and timeliness. The unusual characters whom they describe are the types of figures by later followers of Daoism, a philosophical standpoint that gradually took shape after Confucius's death. While Daoism became a rich and multifaceted philosophical approach, its earliest form may have grown from the examples of individual, educated men who chose to abandon the pursuit of social accomplishment amidst the dangerous chaos of centuries of warlord power and multi-state civil war.

Although the rejection of society that early Daoists promoted contrasts with Confucian engagement and social reformism, and there are many other areas where these two trends of thought clash, there are also respects in which they share common values and sentiments. This can be seen, for instance, in the way in which Yan Hui, Confucius's favored disciple and a model of perfection (see, e.g., 5.9), is portrayed as silent, impoverished, and entirely free of political entanglements, in many ways resembling Daoist models of perfection. Another example, the disciple Yuan Xian (see 14.1), is said to have chosen impoverished reclusion after Confucius's death. Such elements reflect a significant eremitic element in early Confucianism.

Passages 18.5-7 attempt to illustrate Confucius's full awareness of the Daoist critique of his political efforts - actually mounted long after his life. The understanding and sympathy with the standpoint of the recluse that these passages portray in Confucius is a way of blunting that cri-

18.7 Zilu fell behind. He encountered an old man with a staff, using his staff to carry a basket. Zilu asked him, “Have you seen my master?”

The old man said, “A man whose limbs have never moved in labor, who can’t tell one grain from another – who is your master?” Then he planted his staff in the ground and began weeding.

Zigong bowed and stood in place.

The old man had Zilu stop with him overnight. He killed a chicken and made a millet congee with it, and he fed Zilu, introducing his two sons to him afterwards.

The next day, Zilu caught up and reported all this. The Master said, “He is a recluse,” and he had Zilu take him back to see the old man. When they reached the place, the man had gone.

Zilu said, “It is unrighteous not to serve. The codes that govern the relation of old and young may not be discarded; how can the proper relation of ruler and minister be discarded? They want to purify their persons, but they disrupt the basic relationships among people. The service of a *junzi* is the enactment of right. That the *dao* does not prevail, this we already know.”

18.8 Those who withdrew from service: Bo Yi and Shu Qi; Yu Zhong, Yi Yi, and Zhu Zhang; Liuxia Hui and Shao Lian.

The Master said, “Never compromising their aims, never subjecting their persons to disgrace – would this not be Bo Yi and Shu Qi?”

He characterized Liuxia Hui and Shao Lian thus: “They compromised their aims

tique: the Confucius of Book XVIII embraces both standpoints, even while making the choice of political engagement. This is, in effect, the mirror image of the Confucius we see in passages like 17.1, 17.4, and 17.8: the man who is tempted to cooperate with illegitimate power holders in the hope that some good can be accomplished. Both elements illustrate issues connected with the doctrine of timeliness.

18.7 It seems likely that Zilu’s final words in this passage were added by a later editor who was uncomfortable with the positive portrait of recluses in these passages. The speech seems out of sympathy with what comes before. The mysteriousness and wry sense of humor that enliven the recluses portrayed here can hardly have been imparted to them here do not seem to reflect a wish that readers dismiss them out of hand, as Zilu’s final speech seems to do.

18.8 The seven men mentioned here may be those spoken of in 14.37.

For Bo Yi and Shu Qi, see 5.23. For Liuxia Hui, see 15.14 and 18.2. Yu Zhong was said to be a brother and companion of Taibo (see 8.1) in his flight away from the Zhou throne. Little or nothing is known about the other figures.

The key point to this passage – and it is an important one – lies in its structure and final phrases. All these exemplars abided by moral rules – captured in

and subjected their persons to disgrace. Speech always fitting the role, conduct always matching the plan – this they fulfilled, but no more.”

Of Yu Zhong and Yi Yi he said, “They hid themselves away and relinquished public comment. In one's person abiding in purity, in choosing retirement maintaining discretion.

“As for me, I differ from them all. I have no rule of what is permissible and what is not.”

18.9 Grand Music Master Zhi fled to the state of Qi; the master of the second course, Gan, fled to the state of Chu; the master of the third course, Liao, fled to the state of Cai; the master of the fourth course, Que, fled to the state of Qin; the drummer, Fangshu, fled up the Yellow River valley; the hand drum player, Wu, fled down the Han River valley; the Master's assistant, Yang, and the beater of the stone chimes, Xiang, fled out to sea.

18.10 The Duke of Zhou addressed the Duke of Lu, saying, “The *junzi* does not put aside his family; he does not allow his high ministers to become resentful that they are not used; he does not abandon old friends without great cause; he does not demand of any one man that he be skilled in all things.”

18.11 There were eight gentlemen of the Zhou: Boda, Bokuo, Zhongtu, Zhonghu, Shuye, Shuxia, Jisui, and Jiwa.

Confucius's descriptions – which led each into reclusion or engagement. The difference with Confucius is that he has no rule – his actions are governed entirely by his trained judgments of the times, and of the moral opportunities they may or may not present.

No passage more fully describes the doctrine of timeliness, which pictures sage judgment as transcending all ethical rules.

This passage has a parallel in the Confucian text *Mencius*.

18.9 In the legend of the Zhou conquest of the Shang, the final sign that the Shang king had lost his mandate to rule is depicted as the scattering of the Shang court musicians. The musicians listed here were those employed at the court of Duke Ai of Lu, who was on the throne when Confucius died. The editors who included this seemingly extraneous passage may have meant to imply that with Confucius's death, all legitimacy in Lu was lost.

This passage continues the theme of reclusion.

18.10 The Duke of Zhou was the founding duke of Lu. Because he had to remain at the capital in the west to assist the king, he deputed his son to be Duke of Lu and found the fief in his stead. This passage purports to be the elder duke's charge to his son.

18.11 A puzzling list of unknown men. ‘Bo’, ‘Zhong’, ‘Shu’, and ‘Ji’ are family age-rank markers, suggesting these are meant to be two sets of four brothers. Interpreters have claimed that this passage was meant to signify the richness of talent in the early Zhou.

## Book XIX

19.1 Zizhang said, A gentleman may be deemed satisfactory if he fulfills his orders in the face of mortal danger, bears righteousness in mind when faced with opportunities for gain, bears respect in mind when at sacrifice, and bears grief in mind when at mourning.

19.2 Zizhang said, If a man's grasp on virtue is not broad in practice and his faithfulness to the *dao* not profound, then his presence or absence in the world counts for nothing.

19.3 A disciple of Zixia asked Zizhang about social interactions. Zizhang said, "What does Zixia say?"

"Zixia says, 'Interact with those who are satisfactory, spurn those who are not.'"

Zizhang said, "This differs from what I have heard. The *junzi* honors the worthy and is tolerant of the ordinary multitude; he praises the good and takes pity on those who are not able to be. If I am worthy, of whom can I not be tolerant? If I am unworthy, others will spurn me, how would I be able to spurn others?"

19.4 Zixia said, Though a *dao* be minor, there is always something worth appreciating in it. But if one pursues it far, there is the fear of becoming bogged down. Therefore, the *junzi* does not take it up.

19.5 Zixia said, A man who daily assesses what he has yet to understand and who, month by month, does not forget what he has mastered may be said to love learning.

## Notes

19.1 Book XIX collects sayings of Confucius's disciples after the Master's death. Confucius himself does not appear. For this reason, some interpreters have viewed the book as a late addition to the text. In fact, it may be relatively early, since the impulse to celebrate or attack these men may have waned after their deaths, and many of the other books may not be as early as was traditionally thought.

Book XIX is our best evidence of the early factional divides within the Ruist (Confucian) school. The disciples whose voices are collected in this book include Zizhang, Zixia, Ziyu, Zeng Shen, and Zigong. (See Appendix 1 for more on these disciples.)

19.3 In this passage, we catch a glimpse of the competition among the original disciples. See also 19.12 and 19.15-16.

19.4 This passage employs the word '*dao*' in the sense of an art – as in, for example, 'the *dao* of archery'. Here, we may see the *junzi* as a man who follows the *dao*. It serves as a good reminder that to outsiders, the *dao* of the Ru school was just one set of arts and teachings among many.

19.6 Zixia said, To study broadly and deepen one's resolve, to question closely and reflect on things near at hand, *ren* lies therein.

19.7 Zixia said, Artisans of all types dwell in their workshops to master their crafts; the *junzi* studies to perfect his *dao*.

19.8 Zixia said, When a small man commits an error, he will always make excuses.

19.9 Zixia said, A *junzi* goes through three transformations. When you view him from afar, he is awesome; when you approach him he is warm; when you hear his words, he is demanding.

19.10 Zixia said, The *junzi* only labors his people once he has earned their trust. If he has not earned their trust, they will merely see him as demanding. Only after earning trust does he remonstrate with a lord. If he has not yet earned trust, the lord will take it as slander.

19.11 Zixia said, If, in matters of great import to virtue, one never oversteps the proper bounds, in minor matters of virtue it is acceptable to be flexible.

19.12 Ziyou said, "The disciples at Zixia's gate are well schooled when it comes to matters of sprinkling and sweeping, responding to orders and replying to questions, presenting themselves and withdrawing. These are details. When it comes to the basics in which they are rooted, they are at a loss."

Zixia heard of this and said, "Oh, how

19.10 The passage pictures the *junzi*'s conduct in the positions of both a superior, governing others, and an inferior, serving a lord.

19.11 This passage contrasts interestingly with the next, which pictures Zixia as deeply concerned about minor matters of training.

19.12 'Sprinkling and sweeping' concerns the most basic rules about proper housecleaning.

Ziyou's family name was Yan 言.



mistaken Yan You is! When it comes to the *dao* of the *junzi*, what is taught first determines who will weary last. This may be compared to trees and grasses; variances in the first shoots mark how they will be different. How can he slander the *dao* of the *junzi* in this way? It is, after all, only the sage who masters it from the beginning to the end.”

19.13 Zixia said, A man in service who is superior should study; a man who is superior in study should serve.

19.14 Ziyou said, In mourning, exhaust grief and then stop.

19.15 Ziyou said, My friend Zhang does things hard to do, but this is not yet *ren*.

19.16 Master Zeng said, Zhang is very imposing, but it is hard to pursue *ren* side by side with him.

19.17 Master Zeng said, I have heard it from the Master: A man may have exhausted himself in nothing else, but he must do so in mourning for his parents.

19.18 Master Zeng said, I have heard it from the Master: With regard to the filiality of Meng Zhuangzi, in all other respects he did only what others may do, but in retaining his father’s ministers and his father’s policies, he accomplished something difficult.

19.19 The Meng family appointed Yang Fu as warden. Yang Fu inquired of Master Zeng. Master Zeng said, “Those who rule have departed from the *dao* and the people

19.15 ‘Zhang,’ in this passage and the next, is the disciple Zizhang.

19.18 Meng Zhuangzi was the leader of the second most powerful warlord clan in Lu. This passage seems to illustrate the background of 1.11 and 4.20.

have long been left to their own devices. If you get to the true facts of a case, then react with commiseration and pity and never take pleasure in it.

19.20 Zigong said, The wickedness of Zhòu could not have been as extreme as they say. This is why the *junzi* hates to dwell downstream; all the world's evils are relegated there.

19.21 Zigong said, The errors of a *junzi* are like eclipses of the sun and moon: everyone sees them. Once he corrects them, everyone looks up to him.

19.22 Gongsun Chao of Wei asked Zigong, "Where did Zhongni acquire his learning?"

Zigong said, "The *dao* of Kings Wen and Wu had not yet crumbled, it lay within people. The worthy recalled its greater aspects, the unworthy recalled its lesser aspects. In nothing was there not something of the *dao* of Kings Wen and Wu. Where would the Master not have acquired learning, and yet what single teacher could there have been for him?"

19.23 Shusun Wushu said to the grandees at court, "Zigong is worthier than Zhongni." Zifu Jingbo reported this to Zigong.

Zigong said, "If one used walls surrounding a residence to make a comparison, my residence would have walls of shoulder height, so a passerby could peer over and see how fine the buildings and chambers were. The Master's walls would tower many yards higher – without entering through the gate, one could not see the beauty of the ancestral

19.20 Zhòu was the evil last ruler of the Shang Dynasty (see 18.1). Reflecting on the role of Zigong in the *Analects*, it is hard not to think that the actual person Zigong possessed considerable independence of mind.

19.21 This passage can be compared to 7.31. Zigong is associated both here and in other texts with traditions about Confucius that exalt him in near-supernatural terms (see, e.g., 19.23-24).

19.22 'Zhongni' was Confucius's 'style name', by which he was known to non-intimates. The sudden use of this name in the cluster of passages ending Book XIX suggests that they derive from a single tradition, different from other portions of the *Analects*.

As a man frequently in the diplomatic service of the lords of Lu, Zigong seems to have been highly regarded by courtiers of high rank. It appears likely that he used his influence to strengthen Confucius's reputation after the Master's death.

19.23 Shusun Wushu was a grandee of the state of Lu, as was Zifu Jingbo, whom we encounter in 14.36, at a time when Confucius was still alive. (In both his appearances in the *Analects*, Zifu Jingbo is pictured conveying news of things said at court.)

hall and the richness of the many buildings. Few seem to have found their way through the gate, so it is to be expected that people would say such things about the Master.”

19.24 Shusun Wushu disparaged Zhongni. Zigong said, “There is no point in it. Zhongni cannot be disparaged. The worthiness of others is like a hill; one may climb to the top. Zhongni was the sun and moon; there is no way to climb to them. Even if people wish to cut themselves off from them, what harm does this do to the sun and moon? At most, it simply shows they have no sense of scale.

19.25 Chen Ziqin said to Zigong, “You are a reverent man; how could Zhongni be worthier than you?”

Zigong said, “A *junzi* may be known as wise by a single phrase he utters, and by a single phrase he may be known as unwise. One cannot but be careful of what one says.

“The Master cannot be matched, just as there are no steps one can climb to reach the sky.

“Had the Master been entrusted with management of a state or a family domain, it would have been like the saying: ‘He set them up and they stood, he guided them and they walked, he comforted them and they came, he moved them and they were in harmony.’

“In life he was celebrated, in death he was mourned. How can he be matched?”

19.25 Nothing is known about Chen Ziqin. Although the name is identical with that of a minor Confucian disciple, commentators identify this man as a courtier in Lu. It is possible that the Ziqin with whom Zigong converses in 1.10 is, in fact, this man.

The structure of this passage resembles 12.8, which also involves Zigong.

## Book XX

20.1 Yao said, “Oh, Shun! The numbers of Tian’s calendar now fall to your person – hold well to their center. If the lands within the four seas are pressed to exhaustion, the emolument from Tian will be forever ended.”

With these same words, Shun charged Yu.

[Tang the Successful] said, “I, Lü, who am but a youth, dare to sacrifice this dark coated bull in clear declaration before the august Lord above. I dare not pardon those who have committed crimes, and thus I cannot make concealment for the Lord’s minister, for he has already been observed in the Lord’s heart. If I myself have committed a crime, do not hold the myriad regions of the land responsible, but if the myriad regions have committed a crime, let it fall on my person alone.”

The House of Zhou possessed a great treasure; good men were its riches. “Though I have my closest kin, it is better to have men of *ren*. If the people err, let it fall on my person alone.”

The Zhou standardized weights and measures, aligned laws and ordinances, restored offices that had been allowed to lapse, and governance proceeded in all the four quarters. They restored states that had been extinguished, extended their broken lineages, raised up to office those worthies who had fled to reclusion, and the people of the world responded to them in their hearts.

They gave priority to the people: their sustenance, funerals, and sacrifices.

Being tolerant, they gained the multi-

## Notes

20.1 Book XX, a short, atypical book that many regard as a late appendix of miscellaneous material, collects in its initial passage a series of texts concerning the founding of dynasties, beginning with the sages Yao, Shun, and Yu (the founder of the Xia Dynasty), and proceeding through Tang, founder of the Shang, to the Zhou.

Yao’s words place management of the calendar at the center of rulership, and in this way seem to shed light on 8.19. The ‘emolument from Tian’ refers to the Mandate to rule, and the ‘salary’ it entails.

The words quoted from Tang are said to be an oath he took upon launching his campaign against the evil last ruler of the Xia Dynasty, Jie, who is here referred to as the ‘Lord’s minister’. ‘Lord’ translates the term Di (帝), which is in many ways functionally equivalent to Tian (Heaven).

The rhetoric of the quote discussing kinsmen and moral men marks it as the speech of a king, and it is generally assumed that it purports to cite King Wu founding ruler of the Zhou Dynasty. The declared preference for men of *ren* over kin is transparently an anachronistic projection of late Zhou Confucian ideals.

The celebration of standardization – which was a policy of the post-Classical Qin Dynasty (221-208) – may mark this passage as very late. The remaining features of that section are aspects of the legend of the Zhou conquest of the Shang.

The final section may be an intrusive variant duplication of portions of 17.5.

tudes; being trustworthy, the people entrusted them with responsibility; being quick, they had accomplishments; being impartial, the people were pleased.

20.2 Zizhang asked Confucius, “What must a man be like before he may participate in governance?”

Confucius said, “If he honors the five beautiful things and casts out the four evils, then he may participate in governance.”

Zizhang said, “What are the five beautiful things?”

The Master said, “The *junzi* is generous but not wasteful, a taskmaster of whom none complain, desirous but not greedy, dignified but not arrogant, awe-inspiring but not fearsome.”

Zizhang said, “What do you mean by generous but not wasteful?”

The Master said, “To reward people with that which benefits them, is that not to be generous but not wasteful? To pick a task that people can fulfill and set them to it, is that not to be a taskmaster of whom none complain? If one desires *ren* and obtains it, wherein is he greedy? If he never dares to be unmannerly, regardless of whether with many or a few, with the great or the small, is that not to be dignified but not arrogant? When the *junzi* sets his cap and robes right, and makes his gaze reverent, such that people stare up at him in awe, is this not, indeed, to be awe-inspiring and not fearsome?”

Zizhang said, “What are the four evils?”

The Master said, “To execute people without having given them instruction is called cruelty; to inspect their work without

20.2 Like many passages in Books XVI and XVII, this includes a numbered list (actually two), elaborated in detail.

warning is called oppressiveness; to demand timely completion while having been slow in giving orders is called thievery; to dole out stingily what must be given is called clerkishness.”

20.3 The Master said, If you do not know your destiny, you cannot be a *junzi*. If you don't know *li*, you cannot take your stand. If you don't interpret people's words, you cannot interpret people.

20.3 'Destiny' translates the term *ming*, which in other contexts may mean 'fate', or Tian's 'mandate.' (See the Glossary.)

The second imperative is also found at 16.13. The term 'interpret' is the verb usually rendered 'know' or 'understand'.

The earliest known manuscript of the full *Analects* text, which was excavated from a grave that was closed in 55 BCE, ends with 20.2 and does not include this final passage.

## Appendix I: The Major Disciples of Confucius

The major Confucian disciples portrayed in the *Analects* are listed below by the names the text most frequently uses for them. In many cases, they are commonly referred to by their “public names.” This was a name a young man was given in adolescence, and it was used with or without his family surname to refer to him. Public names frequently began with the word *zi*, signifying gentleman status – names such as Zilu, Zixia, Zigong are all of this sort. Each of these men could also be referred to by the personal name they were given at birth: Zilu was named Yóu, and his family surname was Zhong, so he could be called Zhong Yóu. Confucius, his teacher, just calls him by his personal name, Yóu. He calls Zixia “Shang” and Zigong “Si” because their family and personal names were Bu Shang and Duanmu Si. Some disciples are referred to in the *Analects* by a combination of family surname and public name. For example, Yan Yuan is referred to in this way, but Confucius calls him Hui, which was the name his family used when speaking to him. The personal name that Confucius uses is in boldface below.

Although the dates given are approximate and uncertain, the order in which disciples are listed is generally from most senior to most junior. The names of particularly important disciples are underscored.

Zilu 子路 (Zhong **Yóu** 仲由, c. 542-480) The senior disciple – only nine years younger than Confucius – Zilu is pictured very distinctively as a brash and impulsive warrior, whose natural character Confucius is at pains to temper, often by making fun of him. Zilu served as steward (estate manager) for the most powerful warlord family of Lu, the Ji clan, and in that role, he comes under frequent criticism. In his last years, he took a court position in the state of Wei, just north of the Yellow River, not far from Lu. There, he was slain in a coup d’état one year before Confucius’s own death.

Min Ziqian 閔子騫 (Min Sun 閔損, c. 536 - ?) Min Ziqian is not a major actor in the *Analects*; he appears in only five passages. However, in four of these, he is singled out for praise or portrayed very positively. Not much younger than Zilu, he may have been a senior exemplar to junior disciples.

Ran Yǒu 冉有 (Ran **Qiu** 冉求, c. 522-462) Despite his high seniority in the Confucian group, Ran Yǒu is never very clearly delineated as a character in the *Analects*. He was, in fact, a prominent man in Lu, and served the Ji family in the same manner as Zilu; in this regard, he comes in for as much or more criticism than Zilu. The *Analects* tells us he was practiced in the “arts,” but in which arts is not clear. Historically, his battlefield accomplishments in Lu during the period of Confucius’s exile allowed him to plead successfully for permission to welcome his master back into the state for his final years. He does not seem to have played any role in the growth of Confucianism after the Master’s death, and it may be for that reason that he is so colorlessly portrayed in the *Analects*.

Zhonggong 仲弓 (Ran **Yong** 冉雍, c. 522- ?) The praise Zhonggong (Yong) receives in 6.1 is exceptionally high, and although he is a rare presence in the *Analects* he is nevertheless portrayed with high respect. The great Confucian Xunzi aligned himself with Zhonggong’s tradition of Confucianism and attacked the tradition of Zeng Shen’s disci-

ple Zisi and his later follower Mencius. Thus it seems likely that Zhonggong, of whom we know little, shaped a major strain of early Confucianism. Within the past few years, a bamboo text datable prior to 300 BCE has been recovered, purporting to record a conversation between Confucius and Zhonggong. Although the text is formulaic and by no means a record of a true conversation, it does confirm that Zhonggong was seen as an important Confucian figure at that early time. Zhonggong's father, Boniu, is also praised at several points in the *Analects*.

Yan Yuan 顏淵 (Yan **Hui** 顏回, c. 521-481) Sometimes viewed by later tradition as a sage second only to Confucius, Yan Yuan was a poor man who seems never to have aspired to social position or wealth – he is pictured as being devoted solely to Confucius's *dao*. In the *Analects*, others comment on him often, though he himself rarely has much to say. Confucius's mother's family name was Yan, and it is possible that Yan Yuan was a relation. The conversation in Book XI, between Confucius and Yan Yuan's father concerning Yan Yuan's coffin would make good sense in that context. Yan Yuan's early death is the great tragedy of the *Analects*.

Zai Wo 宰我 (Zai **Yu** 宰予, c. 520-481) Zai Wo was a native of the state of Qi whose involvement in political intrigues there ultimately cost him his life. He is the only disciple who is never portrayed in any but a negative light in the *Analects* – duplicitous, lazy, argumentative. It is hard to see from the text why he was accepted as a disciple at all; 5.10 suggests that Confucius regretted admitting him to the group. (Bear in mind that this may reflect the attitude of the text's compilers, since Zai Wo died young. It may be that it was his fellow disciples who disapproved of him, not his teacher.)

Zigong 子貢 (Duanmu **Si** 端木賜, c. 520-450) One of the most subtle and interesting figures in the *Analects*. Our sources tell us that Zigong became famous in Lu as a diplomat in state affairs while he was Confucius's disciple, and then went on to a career of great success as a merchant – an occupation that Confucians tended to denigrate. In the *Analects*, Zigong repeatedly appears in passages of great philosophical interest – when you see Zigong in a passage, it's always worthwhile to read it with special care. Although he is not known as the founder of a lineage of Confucian instruction, we see him in 19.22-25 hobnobbing with great lords of Lu and Wei, some of whom regard him as of greater authority than Confucius himself. When Confucius died, after the other disciples dispersed, Zigong, we are told, built a hut by the grave and mourned there for three years, the office traditionally performed by the eldest son. (Confucius's only son had died two years earlier.) Although the teaching traditions whose later influence is most noted in textual reports seem to have descended from disciples such as Zixia, Zengzi and the very young Zisi (Confucius's grandson, who does not appear in the *Analects*), during the generation after Confucius's death, Zigong's personal prominence and measured propagation of the Master's views may have been a key element in the establishment of the Confucian school.

You Ruo 有若 (called “Youzi”: Master You, c. 518-457) You Ruo is appears several times in Book I of the *Analects*, referred to as “Master You,” suggesting the authors of those passages were his students, but he appears almost not at all in other books. Early accounts tell us that after Confucius's death, the disciples took You Ruo to be their new



master, because something in his bearing reminded them of Confucius. But soon he disappointed their expectations, and they left him.

Fan Chi 樊遲 (Fan **Xu** 樊須, c. 515 - ? ) Little is known of Fan Chi, but he is recorded as a soldier in Lu and several times pictured in the *Analects* driving for Confucius in his chariot.

Yuan Si 原思 (Yuan **Xian** 原憲, c. 515? - ? ) Yuan Si, who appears to be the speaker-author of 14.1, referring to himself by his personal name, is best known for having withdrawn from society after Confucius's death, to live voluntarily the life of an impoverished hermit. An early source recounts the tale of an encounter between Yuan Xian and the now wealthy merchant Zigong, which leaves Zigong discomfited at Yuan Xian's superior wisdom and faithfulness to the Confucian *dao*.

Qidiao Kai 漆雕開 (c. 510-450) Although we see Qidiao Kai in only one *Analects* passage (5.6), he appears there in very good light, and an early source notes that one of eight early Confucian traditions was that of "Mr. Qidiao." This suggests that Qidiao Kai may have been an influential disciple whose followers took little or no part in compiling the *Analects*. It may also be, however, that a later group borrowed the unusual surname of an obscure disciple to cloak themselves in the authority of a direct link to the Master.

Gongxi Hua 公西華 (Gongxi **Chi** 公西赤, c. 509 - ? ) Although not much is known about Gongxi Hua, he appears to occupy a place among the disciples who were at once men of political notice in the state of Lu, such as Zilu and Ran Yǒu, and men subjected to a critical view by the *Analects* editors. This can be seen in his role in the mutually resonant entries 5.8 and 11.26, where he is linked with the other two men. In 11.26, he is ultimately compared unfavorably with the disciple Zeng Xi, Zeng Shen's father – likely a literary proxy for the much younger Zeng Shen himself.

Zixia 子夏 (Bu **Shang** 卜商, c. 507-420) Zixia was a younger disciple known for his scholarly bent. He is associated with the *Poetry* in the *Analects*, and was traditionally understood to be the man to whom Confucius conveyed his interpretations of that canonical work. After Confucius's death, Zixia received appointment as the court tutor in the great state of Wei (a new state carved from the massive state of Jin in 453). We can get a sense of the down to earth training he provided his own disciples in Book XIX.

Ziyou 子游 (Yan **Yan** 言偃, c. 506-445) Ziyou does not appear much in the *Analects*, but he occasionally is quoted directly, as an authority, and is pictured actually getting the best of Confucius in 17.4, where Confucius makes fun of his governance of a town. That passage suggests that he laid emphasis on ritual exactitude, but his criticisms of Zixia and other comments in Book XIX tend in the opposite direction.

Zeng Shen 曾參 (called "Zengzi," or Master Zeng, c. 505-436) No disciple likely had more influence on the shape of the emerging Confucian school than Zeng Shen, or Master Zeng (Zengzi). He became leader of a major Confucian community in Lu, numbering among his disciples Confucius's grandson Zisi. This was the tradition that was later led

by the great thinker Mencius. In the *Analects*, despite his youth, Zeng Shen speaks with great authority in several passages, such as 4.15, where he interprets Confucius to the other disciples. Passages 8.3 through 8.7 comprise a small “mini-book” of Zeng Shen’s later sayings, including his deathbed remarks.

Zizhang 子張 (Zhuansun **Shi** 顓孫師, c. 503-450) Zizhang seems to have founded a competing teaching lineage after Confucius’s death. In the *Analects*, although Zizhang appears frequently, his personality is not clearly drawn. However, in Book XIX, which portrays the disciples after Confucius’s death, he is shown in clear conflict with Zixia, Ziyou, and Zeng Shen; in 19.16-17, the comments attributed to Ziyou and Zeng Shen suggest he was pompous.

## Appendix 2: Glossary of Key Terms in the *Analects*

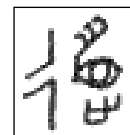
The following terms are considered in this Glossary

Dao  
*de* (virtue)  
 heart/mind (*xin*)  
*junzi* (True prince)  
*li* (ritual)  
*ming* (fate)  
*ren* (humanity)  
 the sage (*sheng*)  
 Tian  
 timeliness (*shí*)  
*wen* (pattern)  
*yi* (right)

### Dao 道

This term is often translated as “the Way,” but the increasing use of the Chinese term in contemporary English makes it better to leave the term untranslated. In ancient texts, the word Dao actually possesses a wide range of meanings.

The earliest known forms of the graph for Dao include elements showing a foot, a crossroads, and an eye decorated with an elaborate eyebrow, an element that represents the word *shou* 首: head. The head element may have served only to denote the phonetic value of the word *dao* (the two words were related phonetically in Old Chinese), but the graph may also have been designed to convey semantic information, indicating an early use connected with magical incantations and dances performed by a shaman (a person able to communicate with the world of spirits) as he or she purified a pathway to be used in a religious procession. If so, then from this pathway connection, the word Dao derives its modern meaning of a path or way; from the formula of the dance, the word derives a meaning of “formula,” “method”; from the spoken element of the incantation, the word derives the meaning of “a teaching,” and also serves as a verb “to speak.”



All ancient schools of philosophy referred to their teachings as *daos*. Confucius and his followers claimed that they were merely transmitting a Dao — the social methods practiced by the sage kings of the past: “the Dao of the former kings.”

Texts in the tradition of early thought that came later to be called “Daoist” used the word in a special sense, which is why the Daoist tradition takes its name from this term. Daoists claimed that the cosmos itself followed a certain natural “way” in its spontaneous action. They called this the “Great Dao,” and contrasted it to the *daos* of other schools, which were human-created teachings, and which they did not believe merited the name Dao in their special sense.

## *De* 德 (character, power, virtue)

*De* is a difficult word to translate; its meaning varies considerably with context. Its early graph shows an upward looking eye next to a half-crossroad, and the significance of this form has been much debated without much result. In its early uses, *de* seems to refer to the prestige that well-born and powerful aristocrats possessed as a result of the many gifts they dispensed to loyal followers, family members, and political allies (rather like the prestige associated with a Mafia godfather). Later, the term came to be associated with important attributes of character. Although it can be used to refer to both positive or negative features of person, it usually refers to some form of personal “excellence,” and to say that someone has much *de* is to praise him.



The concrete meaning of this term varies among different schools. Confucians use it most often to refer to a person’s moral dispositions (moral according to Confucians, at any rate), and in this sense, the word is often best rendered as “character” or “virtue.” Daoists, however, speak of *de* as an attribute of both human and non-human participants in the cosmos, and they often describe it as a type of charismatic power or leverage over the limits of nature that the Daoist sage is able to acquire through self-cultivation. As such, it may be best rendered as “power.” The title of the famous book, *Dao de jing* (attributed to an equally famous though probably mythical author named Laozi) means “The Classic of the Dao and De,” and in this title, *de* is best understood as a type of power derived from transcending (going beyond) the limits of the human ethical world.

## Heart/Mind (*xin* 心)

In Chinese, a single word was used to refer both to the function of our minds as a cognitive, reasoning organ and its function as an affective, or emotionally responsive organ. The word, *xin*, was originally represented in written form by a sketch of the heart. Whenever you see the word “mind” or “heart” referred to (the translation will vary according to the context), it’s important to understand that there are really four aspects fused in that term. The heart/mind thinks rationally, feels emotionally, passes value judgments on all object of thought and feeling, and initiates active responses in line with these judgments. Sometimes, the heart/mind is contrasted with “unthinking” aspects of people, such as basic desires and instinctual responses, but other times, these are pictured as part of the heart/mind.

## *Junzi* 君子 (True Prince)

This is a compound word composed of two written characters which separately mean “ruler’s son.” The ancient character for “ruler” (*jun*) showed a hand grasping a writing brush with a mouth placed by the side, illustrating the modes by which a ruler issued orders (the word *zi* basically meant “child/son,” the written character being simply a picture of a child; it also served as an honorific suffix meaning “master” in names like Kongzi, that is, Confucius, or Master Kong). In pre-philosophical writings, the word *junzi* was used to refer to someone who was heir to a ruling position by virtue of his birth. Under the changing social conditions of the Warring States period, the concept of birthright was replaced by the notion of an “aristocracy of merit,” and in the Confucian school, the term

*junzi* came to denote an “ethical aristocrat” rather than a future king. Because in this sense of the term, there is an underlying sense that “real” princeliness lies in moral accomplishments rather than the chance circumstances of family position, the term might be translated not as “prince,” but as True Prince. For Confucians, the hallmark of the *junzi* was his complete internalization of the virtue of *ren* and associated qualities, such as righteousness (*yi*) and full socialization through ritual skills. A parallel normative term, *shi* 士 (gentleman), is frequent in Confucian texts as a type of prefiguration of the *junzi* ideal in a man of aspiration. Originally probably denoting a man of good birth, in the Warring States era the term *shi* comes to denote a man whose character exemplifies the social accomplishments once associated with birth – a change of meaning paralleling the evolution of the term *junzi*. In general, the term

### *Li* 禮 (Ritual)

Commitment to ritual was the distinguishing characteristic of the Confucian School. By “ritual,” or *li*, the Confucians meant not only ceremonies of grand religious or social occasions, but also the institutions of Zhou Dynasty political culture and the norms of proper everyday conduct. Although accordance with ritual was, in some senses, a matter of knowing the codes of aristocratic behavior (and knowing them better than the debased aristocrats of the later Zhou era), it was more importantly a manner of attaining full mastery of the style or pattern (*wen*) of civilized behavior. Confucians viewed these patterns as the essence of civilization itself. The great sages of the past had labored era after era to transform China from brutishness to refinement through the elaboration of these artistic forms of social interaction, and in the Confucian view, the epitome of human virtue was expressed only through these forms. Mastery of the outer forms was the path to inner sagehood. The ancient character for *li* shows a ceremonial vessel filled with sacrificial goods on the right, with an altar stand on the left.

### *Ming* 命 (fate, destiny, command, lifespan)

The root meaning of *ming* is a command or order, and early on it became associated with the term Tian in the phrase we translate as “the Mandate of Heaven.” The original graph shows an open mouth directed down over a kneeling figure (a second mouth element was added later and is reflected in the modern character). The notion of “what is ordained” was carried over into a meaning of *ming* that conveys a limited sense of one’s personal fate: “lifespan.” The notion of “lifespan” conveys an association of *ming* with human limits (one cannot exceed one’s *ming*/lifespan, regardless of one’s actions, although one may, through dangerous behavior, meet one’s end prematurely). The notion of the political mandate, however, carried a strong prescriptive dimension, derived from the original sense of a command — Tian’s mandate is a charge to act, and so expresses not limits but obligations and opportunities. The double-edged sense of *ming* as unavoidable “fate” (a negative, limiting sense) and as one’s social “destiny” (which conveys a positive, exhortatory sense) introduces complexity into certain debates in early Chinese thought, centered around a charge made by the Mohist school that Confucianism was “fatalistic.”

## Ren 仁 (Humanity; Goodness)

No term is more important in Confucianism than *ren*. Prior to the time of Confucius, the term Humanity does not seem to have been much used. In those pre-philosophical days, the word seems to have meant “manly,” an adjective of high praise in a warrior society. Confucius, however, changed the meaning of the term and gave it great ethical weight. He identified “manliness” (or, in non-sexist terms, the qualities associated with constructive social leadership) with the firm disposition to place the needs and feelings of others and of the community before one’s own. The written graph of this term is a simple one; it combines the form for “person” on the left with the number “two” on the right; a person of Humanity, or *ren*, is someone who is thoroughly relational in their thoughts, feelings, and actions. (The happily illustrative graphic etymology is, unfortunately, undercut by recently unearthed manuscript texts of the late fourth century BCE, which consistently render the term with the graph for “body” placed over the graph for “heart/mind”; this may, however, have been a local scribal tradition confined to the southerly region of Chu.) Confucians often pair this term with Righteousness, and it is very common for the two terms together to be used as a general expression for “morality.” Other schools also use the term *ren*, but they usually employ it either to criticize Confucians, or in a much reduced sense, pointing simply to people who are well-meaning. The term is closely linked in Confucian discourse with the ideal of the *junzi* (*Analects* 4.5: If one takes *ren* away from a *junzi*, wherein is he worthy of the name?).

## The Sage 聖 (*sheng*)

All of the major schools of ancient Chinese thought, with the possible exception of the Legalists, were essentially prescriptions for human self-perfection. These schools envisioned the outcome of their teachings — the endpoint of their Daos — in terms of different models of human excellence. A variety of terms were used to describe these images of perfection, but the most common was *sheng*, or *shengren* 聖人, which we render in English as “sage person” or, more elegantly, “sage.”

The original graph includes a picture of an ear and a mouth on top (the bottom part merely indicates the pronunciation, and was sometimes left out), and the early concept of the sage involved the notion of a person who could hear better than ordinary people. The word is closely related to the common word for “to listen” (*ting* 聽). What did the sage hear? Presumably the Dao.

The word “sage” is one of a group of terms denoting excellence. In Confucian texts, the phrase True Prince often performs the same function as Sage, though sometimes the sage is pictured as a more complete term, incorporating not only ethical perfection but also success in politics. Daoist texts speak of the sage often, but also use other terms, such as “Perfect Man” to refer to their ultimate ideal.

## Tian 天 (Heaven)

Tian was the name of a deity of the Zhou people which stood at the top of a supernatural hierarchy of spirits (ghosts, nature spirits, powerful ancestral leaders, Tian). Tian also means “the sky,” and for that reason, it is well translated as “Heaven.” The early graph is an anthropomorphic image (a picture of a deity in terms of human attributes) that shows a

human form with an enlarged head. Heaven was an important concept for the early Zhou people; Heaven was viewed as an all-powerful and all-good deity, who took a special interest in protecting the welfare of China. When the Zhou founders overthrew the Shang Dynasty in 1045, they defended their actions by claiming that they were merely receiving the “mandate” of Heaven, who had wished to replace debased Shang rule with a new era of virtue in China.

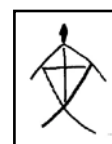
All early philosophers use this term and seem to accept that there existed some high deity that influenced human events. The Mohist school was particularly strident on the importance of believing that Tian was powerfully concerned with human activity. They claimed that the Confucians did not believe Tian existed, although Confucian texts do speak of Tian reverently and with regularity. In fact, Confucian texts also seem to move towards identifying Tian less with a conscious deity and more with the unmotivated regularities of Nature. When Daoist texts speak of Heaven, it is often unclear whether they are referring to a deity, to Nature as a whole, or to their image of the Great Dao.

### Timeliness (*shí* 時)

Timeliness is the English rendering of *shí*, which basically means “time” or “season,” and which plays an important philosophical role in Confucianism. In the *Analects*, the term rarely appears, though the elements of the doctrine are clearly stated in passages such as 8.13, which reads, in part, “When the *dao* prevails in the world, appear; when it does not, hide.” The general idea is that for Confucians, the man of full ethical insight (the *junzi*) does not act according to rule alone, but always in light of the contextual possibilities presented by changing circumstances. A more practical instance, which uses the term *shí* explicitly, occurs in 17.1, where Confucius’s reluctance to take office under a usurper prompts the remark, “To be eager to engage in affairs but to repeatedly miss one’s *proper time* (*shí*), can this be called wisdom?” As the conditions denoted by the term *shí* always are in potential states of change, the term is intrinsically dynamic. In the intellectual arena of the era, the term was paired with a near homonym: *shì*: “configuration,” “strategic position.” (These terms are transcribed with the same Latin letters, but their sounds are distinguished in Chinese by tonal intonation, indicated here by the diacritic marks.) The two terms are not related etymologically, but they play parallel conceptual roles in early thought (*shì* [strategic position], however, does not appear in the *Analects*). They were, in effect, temporal and spatial correlates of a single concept – the shifting circumstances of the experienced world which form the actual field for all applied learning. While certain concepts and values essential to right action can be learned through study, the skillful practitioner must develop the aesthetic sense that allows a perception of and responsiveness to the ever-emerging configurations of relationships in time, space, hierarchy, and so forth that create the field of objective constraints on successful application of learning in action.

### Wen 文 (pattern, style, culture)

The word *wen* denoted the opposite of brutishness in appearance and behavior. A person of “pattern” was a person who had adopted the many cultivated forms that characterized Chinese culture at its best, in contrast to the “barbaric” nomadic peoples who surrounded China. Confucians believed that the pat-



terms of Chinese civilization had been initially inspired by the patterns of the Heavens and the seasons, and that they represented a Heaven-destined order that human beings needed to fabricate within the sphere of their own activity, so that they could join with Heaven and earth in the process of creation and order. The original character appears to have pictured a costumed dancer, and music, sound, and dance were essential emblems of the Confucian portrait of the civilized society. Such patterns were the basis of ritual *li*. For Daoists, pattern symbolized the fall of the human species from its origins in the natural Dao. The *Dao de jing* attacks pattern and culture through its two most striking metaphors for the Dao: the uncarved block of wood and the undyed piece of cloth.

### Yi 義 (right, righteousness, appropriateness)

In its earliest uses, *yi* refers to an aesthetic or artistic appropriateness of appearance (the early graph provides little clue of the word's early meaning: it shows a sheep above – a graph form common in value-positive words – and “me” below, a graph element which here seems to serve only as a phonetic marker). Powerful leaders are sometimes said to possess “awesome *yi*,” meaning that their outward demeanor included some element of personal charisma or excellence. Later, the sense of “what is appropriate” came to carry a high ethical content – appropriateness, what fits, was seen as an essential element of correctness or moral rightness.

For Confucians and Mohists in particular, *yi* was a central concept. It frequently denotes both propriety and ethical right in action, and those two schools argued pointedly about what the practical content of “righteousness” involved. For Confucians, *yi* was closely linked to ritual prescripts; for Mohists, the righteousness of an act was determined by its welfare consequences in the human world without regard for its aesthetic or ritual form.



## Appendix 3

### An Analysis of *Analects*, Book VIII

(August 2010)

This short analysis was originally written in 1996 as part of a project undertaken by the Warring States Working Group, directed by Bruce Brooks. It was intended for publication with comments by Bruce and Taeko Brooks included. When this revision was prepared publication was still pending, but the original version became available in 2012 in *Warring States Papers* 1 (dated 2010), 93-99. This 2010 revision was prepared for online course use in order to refine a few points and to make it clearer for those who may read it as an example of the way this type of textual analysis is pursued. The Brooks' analysis of the *Analects* (published as *The Original Analects* [NY: Columbia, 1999]) is based on an interesting model of the text as a single collection of bamboo strips, growing over time through accretion of discrete new books and ongoing modification by means of insertions in existing books. Their model permits them to date every book and passage with precision, although the dates rely heavily upon the validity of their premise. My view is that the text is likely a composite of multiple evolving micro-texts belonging to Confucian disciple groups separated by geography and by teaching traditions, thus I don't adopt the Brooks' premise and, more globally, I don't believe the *Analects* and its components are datable in the manner the Brooks' propose, at least not on the evidence we currently have. Nevertheless, much in their analysis is excellent, including discussions of relative (and even occasionally absolute) dates. Since this piece was prepared as part of a conversation within their project, I refer to the Brooks' dates at many points.

I am including this short piece in the online teaching translation (Version 2.1, 2012) for the first time as an illustration of the way text analysts approach the *Analects* with regard to dating. Although the argument and documentation are rather technical, the general approach may make clear why it is important never to regard the *Analects* as if it were an accurate historical report, composed through a unified editorial process.

As Kimura Eiichi\* and others (including Bruce and Taeko Brooks\*\*) have noted, *Analects* Book VIII has a tripartite structure. If we label the three sections A, B, C, the ranges are: A: 1, 18-21; B: 2, 8-17; C: 3-7.

A	1
B	2
C	3-7
B	8-17
A	18-21

\* Kimura Eiichi 木村英一, *Kōshi to Rongo* 孔子と論語 (Tokyo: 1971).

\*\* When this was originally written, the Brooks's positions were being circulated in unpublished form. Ultimately, their model of the *Analects*' formation was published as *The Original Analects* (New York: 1999).

The general nature of these sections can be described as: *A*: reflections on past sage kings; *B*: collected sayings of Confucius; *C*: collected sayings of Zengzi (Master Zeng).

The Brooks have focused on *C* as the key to dating the book, as it includes the deathbed utterances of Zengzi. Hence the content of these passages can be dated, using Qian Mu's chronology of early thinkers, to a terminus a quo of 436 BCE. The Brooks envision VIII as a memorial text, composed shortly after Zeng Shen's death. They thus date the book to c. 435. *A* and *B* (and also 8.4, which they reasonably view as a late insertion into the Zengzi core) are taken to be intrusions, added later to an essentially integrated book of the *Analects* text.

I do not wish to quarrel with the Brooks's dating of 8.3,5-7. The problem seems to me to be that the 435 BCE book includes only four entries: a mini-book, to use the Brooks's term. I don't know what a mini-book (about four bamboo strips? perhaps one per passage?) would be, and I'm not sure how to picture what the Brooks's proposal implies. I think we need a fuller discussion of what *Analects* VIII is.

### Analysis of the three major components of Book VIII

Let's deal with *A* first. If we reunite the various passages in *A* and tweak them a bit, they show elements of thematic, lexical, and logical continuity. Here's how they stand (I have divided 19 and 20 into two parts; the division in 19 concerns the parallel with the *Mencius* described below; 20 appears to link distinct passages):

#### *Section A\**

**1** The Master said, Taibo may be said to have possessed the utmost of virtue. Thrice he ceded the world to another. The people could not find words enough to praise him.

**18** The Master said, Towering! – that Shun and Yu should have possessed the world yet treated none of it as their own.

**19** The Master said, How grand was the rule of the Emperor Yao! Towering is the grandeur of Tian; only Yao could emulate it. So boundless the people could find no name great enough for him.

**19b** Towering were his achievements. Glimmering, they formed an emblem of patterns.

**20a** Shun possessed five ministers and the world was ordered. King Wu said, "I have ten ministers to curtail the chaos." Confucius commented, "Talent is hard to find, is it not! In the times of Yao and Shun it was most abundant. Of the ten, one was a woman, it was merely nine.

**20b** "The Zhou controlled two-thirds of the empire, yet continued to serve the Yin. The virtue of the Zhou may be said to be the utmost of virtue."

**21** The Master said, I can find no fault in Yu. Yu was frugal in his own food and drink, but thoroughly filial towards the spirits; he wore shabby clothes, but ritual robes of the finest beauty; his palace chambers were humble, but he exhausted his strength on the waterways that irrigated the fields. I can find no fault with Yu.

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\* I am using translations of the *Analects* from my online teaching translation (version 2.0, 2010), but there are some places where wording differs because of changes in meaning when the text is reanalyzed in this way.

1. Celebrates Taigong's insistent renunciation of birthright.
18. Celebrates Shun and Yu for renouncing [self-]interest in their realms.
- 19a. Celebrates Yao for emulating Tian
- 19b. Adds comments on his success & culture.
- 20a. Numbers the ministers of Shun and King Wu; Confucius comments.
- 20b. Celebrates the virtue of the Zhou, who renounced the opportunity to rule.
21. Celebrates Yu's combination of simplicity and ritual care.

8.18-19a appear nearly verbatim in *Mencius* 3A.4; however, Yu is not included and the sequence is reversed:

**3A.4** . . . Confucius said, 'How grand was the rule of the Emperor Yao! How grand is Tian alone, only Yao could emulate it. So boundless was he the people could find no name for him. What a ruler Shun was! Towering! He possessed all the world, but treated none of it as his own.' . . .

There is substantial lexical overlap among the passages of A: the opening phrase of 8.1, which is followed by a phrase headed with the number three, appears as the close of 8.20b, preceded by a phrase headed with the number three; the closing phrase of 8.1 seems to reappear in 8.19a only slightly altered; both 8.18 and 8.19 share an exclamatory phrase. 20a and 21, however, do not seem to share the features of the other passages.

I think that we should look at 8.1, 18, 19a, and 20b as originally a single text, cut, modified, and rearranged in the *Analects*. Since we seem to have a post-Mencian emendation in 8.18, the text date would be later than 300 BCE. The consistent theme is renunciation, with, perhaps, a prologue remark about Yao's emulation of Tian as the source of renunciation. The ur-text would look something like this (preferring the *Mencius* text to LY):

#### *Ur-text A*

大哉，堯之為君！唯天為大，為堯則之。蕩蕩乎！民無能名焉。君哉，舜也！巍巍乎！有天下而不與焉。[X哉，泰伯也！Y Y 乎]三以天下讓，民無得而稱焉。Z哉，文王也！A A 乎！]三分天下有其二，以服事殷。其可謂至德也矣。

How grand was the rule of the Emperor Yao! How grand is Tian alone, only Yao could emulate it. So boundless was he the people could find no name great enough for him. What a ruler Shun was! Towering! He possessed all the world, but treated none of it as his own. How X was Taibo! So Y! Thrice he ceded the world to another. The people could not find words enough to praise him. How Z was King Wen! So A! Thrice divide the world, he possessed two parts yet continued to serve the Yin. He may be said to have possessed the utmost of virtue.

There are, of course, other possibilities. This reconstruction: a) omits Yu in 8.18, regards 8.19b as embellished, perhaps by the authors of 5.13 (where Tian and *wenzhang* are in opposition), b) makes all passages parallel, c) interprets Zhou as King Wen, and d) takes 20a to be an insertion yet later. 8.21 is regarded as an attempt to coopt the Mohist paragon Yu (in extremely grudging language that essentially says that although he seems like a Mohist miser-ruler, in fact he followed the Confucian norm of lavishness in ritual life), added together with the insertion in 8.18.\*

This reconstruction of A produces a text with only one rough parallel, which appears in *Analects* 20.1. In that passage (regarded by the Brooks as an importation into a book they date to 249 BCE), we also see Yao linked with Shun, and the connecting theme is the product of Yao's *ze*-Tian activity – that is, the action in which he emulated Heaven – creation of the calendar. Again, there is an intrusion in this late text: at the mention of Yu there is a break in the text and a passage associated with the Shang founder Tang (parallel to *Mozi*, “Universal Love” III) appears, before the text moves on to the Zhou. In this manner, we have a parallel slant in the intrusions in VIII A and 20.1. (Note that if VIII A and 20.1 are removed from the *Analects*, so are all substantive passages concerning Yao and Yu, and Shun then appears substantively only in 12.22 and 15.5.)

Turning to B, we see the following array:

### Section B

(passages with parallels in Book XVII marked ■ ;

13b/c are indicated as late insertions [see below])

- 2a The Master said, If one is reverent but without *li*, one is burdened; if one is vigilant but without *li*, one is fearful; if one is valorous (*yong* 勇) but without *li*, one causes chaos (*luan* 亂); if one is straightforward (*zhi* 直) but without *li*, one causes affronts (*jiao* 絞).
- 2b When the *junzi* is devoted to his parents, the people (*min* 民) rise up (*xing* 興) as *ren*; when he does not discard his old comrades, the people are not dishonest.
- 8 The Master said, Rise up (*xing* 興) with the *Poetry*, stand with *li*, consummate with music.
- 9 The Master said, The people (*min* 民) can be made to follow it, they cannot be made to understand it.
- 10 The Master said, When one who loves only valor is placed under the stress of poverty, the result is chaos. If a person is not *ren*, placing them under stress leads to extremes, and chaos follows.
- 11 The Master said, If a person had ability as splendid as the Duke of Zhou, but was otherwise arrogant and stingy, the rest would not be worth a glance.
- 12 The Master said, A student willing to study for three years without obtaining a salaried position is hard to come by.
- 13a The Master said, Be devoted to faithfulness and love learning; defend the good *dao* until death; do not enter a state poised in danger and do not remain in a state plunged in chaos.
  - 13b When the *dao* prevails in the world, appear; when it does not, hide.
  - 13c When the *dao* prevails in a state, to be poor and of low rank is shameful; when the *dao* does not prevail in a state, to be wealthy and of high rank is shameful.
- 14 The Master said, When one does not occupy the position, one does not plan its governance.

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\* I am not going to pursue the overlap between *Mencius* 3A.4 and *Analects* 14.5.

- 15 The Master said, The overture of Music Master Zhi, the final coda of the song “Ospreys”: overflowing – how they fill the ear!
- 16 The Master said, Recklessly bold (*kuang* 狂) yet not straightforward, ignorant yet uncompliant, empty headed yet unfaithful, I wish to know nothing of such people.
- 17 The Master said, One should study as though there is not enough time and still feel fear of missing the point.

- 2a. Formulaic text noting necessity of *li* to four modes of goodness.
- 2b. The *junzi* sticks by family and old acquaintances.
8. The importance of poetry, *li*, music.
9. People can be led but may not understand.
10. Courage may lead to excess.
11. Nothing can make up for arrogance.
12. Students rarely long delay employment in favor of study.
- 13a. Defend the *dao* through faithfulness and learning and timeliness.
- 13b/c. Two alternative formulations of timeliness.
14. Do not interfere in others’ responsibilities.
15. Music criticism
16. Formulaic text noting necessity of mitigating virtues for faults.
17. Encouragement to study hard.

There are interesting parallels with Book XVII.

- 8.2a and 17.7 pair the words *zhi* 直 & *jiao* 絞 (the only instances of latter term in the *Analects*) and the words *yong* 勇 & *luan* 亂 in formulas that substitute love of learning for possession of *li* 禮. (The *yong*, *li*, *luan* set occurs also in 17.21-22.)
- 8.8: the phrase rising up with the *Shi* (*Book of Poetry*) is close to 17.8: The *Poetry* may be employed to rise up. (Rise up, [*xing* 興] occurs in 8.2a as well; the other four instances in the *Analects* do not employ this intransitive-verbal sense with regard to people.)
- 8.10, which picks up the *yong/luan* link of 8.2a, is quite close to 17.21, which also states this in two stages.
- 8.16 and 17.14 both bemoan faults unmitigated by positive qualities, and name strings of faults that begin with *kuang* 狂.

Let’s hypothesize that these passages (2a, 8, 10, 16) were initially independent of the other sections of *B* (note that 2a and 16 form a balanced bracket for the four). If we remove them, we will see that 2b and 9 are linked by a concern with the people: *min* 民; 11 and 12 concern failures of talented people (arrogance; ambition); 13a and 14 concern pursuing the *dao* while keeping clear of unnecessary entanglements (let 13b/c be a later intrusion, but with no agenda separate from 13a); 15 and 17 celebrate music and Confu-

cian study. This is a cogent paired structure, a pattern identified as regular by the Brooks. Perhaps we can label these two portions of *B*, *B1* and *B2*.

<i>B1</i>	2b, 9, 11, 12, 13a, 14, 15, 17
<i>B2</i>	2a, 8, 10, 16

The merger of *B1* and *B2* works well in some regards. 8.8 picks up the *xing* of 8.2b, and is presumably placed where it is for that reason. 8.10-12+13c form a group that concerns the balance of ambition for wealth and position with the goodness and the doctrine of timeliness (I am taking the reference to the Duke of Zhou's mettle to include his reputation for wealth, cf. 11.17). 8.2a and 8.16 would serve as good brackets on the theme of balance, and it may be that 16 & 17 were reversed in order at a later point. As far as dating goes, we might date *B2* in terms of contemporaneity with XVII. I have no real proposal for *B1*. There may be some resonance with *Analects* I; 2b may say what the murky last phrases of 1.13 mean, 9 includes vocabulary and an issue related to 1.12 (both these are You Ruo passages), and the association of wealth and arrogance is an issue in 1.15 (a Zigong passage). As a provisional theory, perhaps we can speculate that *B2* is produced by the group that produced Book XVII, *B1* by the group that produced Book I. In the Brooks's scheme, this would place the dates for both rather close (though the Brooks do not include 1.12 among Book I ur-passages), c. 301/272 BCE; let us say, then, that by the Brooks dating scheme, *B1* was created c. 301, and *B2* interpolated c. 272. *A*, then, would have come to bracket them post-249.

Why would *A* bracket *B*? We might suspect two reasons. First, if *B* were bound strips, there would be plenty of room for more: *B* totals only 11 passages, all short, apart from the composite 8.2 & 13. Even if *C* had been incorporated earlier (which I'll suggest below), the book would still be shorter than most. Second, there is thematic resonance between the renunciationist interest of *A*, which focuses on *rang* 讓 (yielding position) and the theme of timeliness and renunciation of ambition in *B* (8.11-14).

The theme of timeliness is the theme of 8.3 also (Zeng Shen's display of his bodily integrity, proof that he escaped the danger of the times); it leads off *C*, and is presumably its point of compatibility with *B*. The final passage of *B* does not deal with timeliness, but creates a link with 13a on the theme of the Dao followed till death.\*

### Section C

3 Master Zeng fell ill. He summoned the disciples of his school. "Uncover my feet; uncover my hands! The Poetry says, *All vigilance, all caution / As though nearing the edge of abyss, / As though treading upon thin ice.* "My young friends, from this point on, I know that I have escaped whole!"

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\* We may also note that 8.14 recurs at 14.26 with an amplifying comment from Zengzi (though taking it in a direction somewhat different from the one I'm giving 8.14 here).

- 4 Master Zeng fell ill. Meng Jingzi called upon him. Master Zeng said, “When a bird is about to die, his call is mournful; when a man is about to die, his words are good. “There are three things a *junzi* cherishes in the *dao*. In attitude and bearing, keep far from arrogance; in facial expression, keep closely aligned to faithfulness; in uttering words, keep far from coarse abrasiveness. So far as minor matters of ritual implements are concerned, there are functionaries to take care of that.”
- 5 Master Zeng said, To be able, yet to ask advice of those who are not able, to have much, yet to ask advice of those who have little, to view possession as no different than lacking, fullness as no different than emptiness, to be transgressed against yet not to bear a grudge – in past times, I had a friend who worked to master these things.
- 6 Master Zeng said, A man to whom one can entrust a growing youth of middling stature and a territory a hundred *li* square, who, nearing a great crisis, cannot be waylaid from his purpose – would such a man not be a *junzi*? Such a man would be a *junzi*!
- 7 Master Zeng said, A gentleman cannot but be broad in his determination. His burden is heavy and his road (*dao*) is long. He takes *ren* to be his burden – is the burden not heavy? Only with death may he lay it down – is the road not long?

Thus, the most likely formula representing the growth of *Analects*, Book VIII would run like this. *C* (Brooks, 435 BCE) wrapped by *B* (Brooks c. 272) wrapped by *A* (after 249), with *B1* (c. 301) having been previously wrapped in *B2*.

So how do we date *Analects* VIII? Is it conceivable that in the accretion ordering scheme proposed by the Brooks, the tiny *C* remained sandwiched between IV-VII (479-450) and IX-X (405-380), and then later amidst II-XV (added 356-308), and perhaps I and XVI (301-284), until at last the generation of XVII joined with texts of the generation of I and wrapped *C* c. 272, *C* having remained a tiny, isolated bundle in the midst of the growing *Analects* bulk for over 150 years? I don’t think that will work – the wrapping would have been too obvious. Had VIII been confined to *C* all that time, it would have been the most conspicuous of all the books for a century: the Zengzi book. The human logic of any generation of disciples collectively hiding that text within an unremarkable collection of Confucius quotes is too elusive – whatever the motive, would there not surely have been someone with a copy or a memory of the text who would have said, Hey! What did you do with Zengzi!? An explanation would be required even without the Zengzi problem – how could a book in the VIII position be completely repackaged by the A-level wrapping at the close of the Zhou?

My own view of the development of Book VIII differs from the Brooks’s, and lacks any precision in dating, which is, in any event, only relative in my analysis. I regard, in a rather traditional fashion, Books III-VII, excluding late intrusions, as one core *Analects* text (the original “upper text” [*shanglun* 上論], a term that ultimately came to denote Books I-X), with passages sorted into books by topic. I see Book VIII, perhaps originally only section *B1*, as an 8-passage appended miscellany. Since I view Books IX and X as pre-edited importations developed by a separate editorial stream, perhaps quite early, but incorporated into the current text relatively late, Book VIII could have remained as a final book, un-“sandwiched,” for some time. On this model, *B2* would be seen as probably added next, with the Zengzi section *C* finding a home within this 12-passage book, but slipped in after the initial 2a-b compound so that the book was not “headlined” as a

Zengzi-book, but rather, like other *Analects* books, a book of the Master's sayings with some sayings of disciples included. The move to wrap the book in A, originally an entirely different type of Confucian text, would probably have been made quite late, perhaps even after Book IX was added (since the 16 passages of B+C would no longer have made Book VIII seem like a mere appendix), but perhaps not after the "lower text," Books XI and up, were merged with the "upper text," or at least not after Books XVIII and XX was incorporated in the "lower text," since those would seem more eligible locations for A than Book VIII.

### Additional notes on *Analects VIII*

8.2: The word *luan* appears in 8.2a; as noted, it resonates with passages in Book XVII. In fact, the word *luan* appears in only thirteen *Analects* passages: four are in B (and twice in 8.10), one in A, and four more in *Analects* I (1) and XVII (3), the two books I've suggested are linked to *Analects VIII*. The senses of *luan* in *Analects VIII* vary, and the significance of these concordance-obsessed statistics is tenuous, but it's unusual that 60% of all *Analects* passages including *luan* appear in Books VIII and XVII.

8.3: The *Liji* "Tan Gong" chapter gives background to an alternative explication. The tale there concerns Zengzi's deathbed command to lift him off a bed mat that he viewed as dishonorable – it was a gift from the Jisun family. In that (and all other) versions of the story, *shou* 手 (hands) is replaced by *shou* 首 (head), and the command is not to "expose" his limbs (by lifting covers), but to lift his dying body (grasping from the head and feet). Zengzi's mat-removal was a close call, so the "Tan Gong" tale goes: his son opposed it on the grounds that so sick a man should not be moved, but Zengzi was insistent. He dies shortly after lying back down.

Now the complete "Tan Gong" is probably a Han Dynasty product, but I think the anecdote fits the text extremely well as a contextualizing teaching-tradition. The need to import Zengzi's filial reputation into an exegesis disappears. What he has evaded is not bodily harm and dishonor to his parents, but the dishonor of obligation to an illegitimate warlord – a dishonor which would have reflected upon him and upon his school, and which was almost accrued through inattention, mitigated only through alertness comparable to that of one walking by the edge of cliff or on thin ice.

This explanation requires an additional text emendation. The problematic word *qi* 啟, never well explained ("expose," the usual gloss, has, I believe, no parallel) must be replaced by *qi* 起: "lift up." By Axel Schuessler's reconstruction of Old Chinese,\* this emends \*khî? with \*khə?; not as close as we might want, but consideration of the strange phrase in 3.8 (He who *bears me up* is Shang) suggests that the reverse loan occurs there

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\* *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese* (Honolulu: 2009).



(He who *enlightens* me is Shang). A further oddity links 3.8 and 8.3, and suggests that the use of 起/啟 in those passages may be related: the pronoun *yu* 予 ('me') appears as the object of the verb in both. There are only fourteen passages with this pronoun form in the *Analects*; two are in cited *Shangshu*-like contexts (8.20a; 20.1), another in cited speech (13.15), another by a self-styled ruler (17.1), indicating the use of *yu* as mock-humble, six others in Tian-related contexts, which indicate humble form. This leaves four passages, including 3.8 and 8.3, with similar attached verbs.

All of this involves allowing "Tan Gong" a certain priority over the *Analects*. It assumes that "Tan Gong" has an independent source more transparent than the *Analects* – clearly, the "Tan Gong" anecdote could not be derived directly from the *Analects* as we have it, with "hand" for "head." This somewhat undermines the notion of the canonicity of the *Analects* Zengzi fragments for the Zengzi teaching tradition (which surely lies behind "Tan Gong"), and suggests overall a rather more fluid picture of the core Confucian texts during the period 479-c. 150 BCE than we might prefer.

## Appendix 4

### How Did the *Analects* Come to Be? – Manuscript Evidence

Since the Qing Dynasty scholar Cui Shu (1740-1816) first applied systematic text critical analysis to consider the possibility that the *Analects* was not a unitary work, scholars have increasingly recognized that the text is the process of a long period of composition by many hands. (See the brief discussion in the Introduction, pp. iii-vi, and Appendix 3.) Very recently a new window on the origins of the text has opened: since the 1990s, manuscripts written in ink on bamboo strips, recovered from tombs in southern areas such as Hubei (once part of the ancient state of Chu) and datable to the late fourth century BCE, have revealed a range of previously unknown texts (and some early versions of familiar ones) that were circulating during the Warring States era. Some of these may bear on our understanding of the *Analects*, particularly a few that resemble the *Analects* in form and that recount short conversations or narratives concerning Confucius and his disciples.

Two of these texts, published by the Shanghai Museum in 2005, include a number of passages that resemble to various degrees passages in the *Analects* as we know it, and this suggests that they may have played a role in or reflect the long editorial process that yielded the current text. They may reproduce texts that were early direct sources of the *Analects*, or they may be variants of early versions of the book, teachings that were altered by Confucian masters before the *Analects* became a fixed text, essentially unalterable because of its growing doctrinal authority.

The two texts were published under the names “The *Junzi* Practices Ritual” (*Junzi wei li*) and “The Disciples Asked” (*Dizi wen*). Although the content of the two texts shared much in common, the original editor of the texts, Zhang Guangyu 張光裕, believed that the calligraphic style of the two was distinct enough that they were written by different hands or at different times. Such judgments are always provisional in the case of recovered bamboo texts, since they are encountered in tombs only as loose strips embedded in soil, and a major editorial task is sequencing the strips and sorting different texts. Two outstanding scholars, Chen Jian 陳劍 and Huang Ren'er 黃人二, have argued that the strips in this case all belong to a single text and have devised cogent reconstructions on that basis. My own view is that close examination of character forms and calligraphic style confirms Zhang's original analysis: the slip groups originally sorted as distinct texts do (with one exception of a mis-sorted strip) show clear evidence of two different calligraphic hands, not merely the use of variant forms by a single hand. Characteristic traits of each hand (visible in graphs such as *ye* 也 and *bu* 不, and elements such as *hu* 虎 and *you* 又), appear in consistent patterns on individual slips. Consequently, any argument for a unified text must assume composition by two scribes, and the specific theories proposed would further require that these scribes alternated slips within contiguous passages in a random pattern. While this is not impossible, to adopt such a model would require much more compelling evidence of improved textual coherence than these theories offer.

This appendix offers translations and comments on these two texts, which are the best current examples of a new type of evidence that will surely change our view of the *Analects* in the years to come. It does not include fully scholarly analysis, and although I have interspersed (in blue typeface) comments on the text and notes (occasionally de-

tailed) on some technical issues, I have not addressed many arguments concerning the order in which the bamboo slips should be presented and readings of individual characters. Apart from the original editor's ideas, discussion of these texts has appeared in print and online publications, and I list at the end of this introduction items I have consulted in preparing this translation (which is significantly modified from the preliminary 2007 version included as Appendix 3 in the 2010 version of this teaching translation [2.0]).

For both texts, I have included a transcription of the Chinese text as well as translation. This reconstruction numbers the sequence of individual passages in each text: the numbering is speculative because we don't know the original order of the bamboo slips; moreover some slips are clearly missing, many sections are fragmentary and difficult to reconstruct. In some cases, a passage number stands by a single orphan character, signifying that we can infer that a passage including the character existed, but it is otherwise lost (there may be other lost passages for which no remnant characters survive). In both the Chinese transcription and the translation, individual bamboo strips ends are indicated by arrow-brackets (◀ . . . ▶), with ellipsis dots indicating where one end or another may be broken, signifying likely lost text. Original text marks are indicated by the form ■; all other punctuation is added. The original strip numbers assigned in the Shanghai Museum edition are included (my numbered rearrangements will be evident).\*



*This photograph reproduces what the translation below takes to be the initial bamboo strip of the text “The Junzi Practices Ritual.” The three segments are actually a single strip divided for the purpose of high-resolution publication. The top of the strip is the segment on the right. As is evident, the bottom of the strip at the lower left is actually broken mid-character; only about forty percent of the original strip survives.*

\*The texts are based on *Shanghai Bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書, vol. 5 (Shanghai: 2005), 81-123. (The illustration is from page 90.)

Selected published and online analyses of *Junzi wei li* and *Dizi wen*

- Chen Jian 陳劍, “Tantan ‘Shangbo (wu)’ de zhujian fenpian, pinhe yu bianlian wenti” 談談《上博 (五)》的竹簡分篇、拼合與編連問題 [Concerning the division of passages and conjoining of slips in “Shangbo” vol. 5], *bsm* (www.bsm.org.cn), 2006.2.19
- Chen Wei 陳偉, “‘Dizi wen’ ling shi” 《弟子問》零釋 [A few explications of “The Disciples Asked”], *bsm* (www.bsm.org.cn), 2006.2.21
- , “‘Dizi wen’ ling shi (xu)” 《弟子問》零釋 (續) [A few explications of “The Disciples Asked” (continued)], *bsm* (www.bsm.org.cn), 2006.3.6
- , “‘Junzi wei li’ jiuhaojian de zhuihe wenti” 《君子為禮》9 號簡的綴合問題 [Concerning the recombination of fragments in Slip 9 of “The *Junzi* Practices Ritual”], *bsm* (www.bsm.org.cn), 2006.3.5
- He Youzu 何有祖, “Chujian zhaji erze” 楚簡札記二則 [Analysis of two items concerning Chu bamboo slips], in *Zhongguo jianboxue guoji luntan 2006 lunwenji* 中國簡帛學國際論壇 2006 論文集 (Wuhan University, 2006), 349-51
- , “Shangbo wu ‘Dizi wen’ jiaodu zhaji” 上博五《弟子問》校讀札記 [Text critical notes on “Shangbo” vol. 5, “The Disciples Asked”], *bsm* (www.bsm.org.cn), 2008.4.1
- Huang Ren'er 黃人二, “Shangbo cangjian (wu) ‘Junzi wei li’ yu ‘Dizi wen’ shishi” 上博藏簡 (五) 《君子為禮》與《弟子問》試釋 [A tentative interpretation of *Junzi wei li* and *Dizi wen* on Chu bamboo slips volume V, collected by the Shanghai Museum], *Zhongguo Guojia Bowuguan guankan* 中國國家博物館館刊 2011.6, 65-79
- Liu Hongtao 劉洪濤, “‘Shangbo wu, Dizi wen’ xiaokao liang ze” 《上博五·弟子問》小考兩則 [Two minor point on “Shangbo” vol. 5, “The Disciples Asked”], *bsm* (www.bsm.org.cn), 2006.5.28
- Zhang Guangyu 張光裕, “Junzi wei li” and “Dizi wen” commentary, in *Shanghai Bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書, vol. 5 (Shanghai: 2005), 253-83

## Manuscript A

**The Junzi Practices Ritual** (*Junzi wei li* 君子為禮)

1. ◀昔者仲尼箴徒三人，弟徒五人，荒<sup>時</sup>之徒 . . . ▶ [10]

◀ In the past, Confucius had three intimate followers, five junior followers . . . supporting followers . . . ▶ [10]

Comment: The published version of *The Junzi Practices Ritual* and all scholarship on it that I have seen reconstruct the order of slips as beginning with Slip 1, which leads the next passage below. I have placed Slip 10 at the head of the text instead. Both Slips 1 and 10 have intact initial ends that record the beginning of a passage. The Slip 10 passage appears to be fully narrative, and I interpret it as an overall introduction to a text that, in its full form, collected passages related to Confucius's three "best" disciples. The extant slips show clearly that Yan Yuan and Zigong would have been two of the three, but if my interpretation is correct, the identity of the third was specified on slips now lost.

Notes: The reading "intimate" construes the unknown graph <sup>箴</sup> as a word related to *zhen* 箴 (needle) and *qian* 箴 (sharp; penetrating). The second unknown graph is rendered <sup>貸</sup> by Zhang and other scholars. I tentatively interpret it as a version of *dai* 貸 (to fund [in this case via tuition]).

2. ▶顏淵侍於夫子。夫子曰：韋。君子為禮，以依於仁。顏淵作而答曰：韋不敏，弗能少居也。夫子曰：坐，吾語女。言之而不義，▶ [1] ◀口勿言也。視之而不義，目勿視也。聽之而不義，耳勿聽也。動而不義，身毋動焉。顏淵退，數日不出 . . . ▶ [2] ◀之曰：吾子何其<sup>賤</sup>也。曰：然。吾親聞言於夫子，欲行之不能，欲去之而不可。吾是以<sup>賤</sup>也■

◀Yan Yuan was attending the Master. The Master said, "Hui, the *junzi* practices ritual in order to cleave to *ren*." Yan Yuan stood up and replied, "I am not quick; I cannot grasp this in the slightest." The Master said, "Sit and I will instruct you. That which is not righteous to speak, ▶ [1] ◀ one's mouth must not utter; that which is not righteous to see, one's eyes must not look at; that which is not righteous to hear, one's ears must not listen to; that which is not righteous to act, one's body must not do." Yan Yuan retired, and for several days he did not emerge . . . ▶ [2] ◀ [said to] him: "How gaunt you seem, Sir!" [Yan Yuan] said, "Indeed, it is so. I have recently received instruction from the Master: if I wanted to follow it I could not, and if I wanted to reject it I could not. This is why I appear gaunt." ■

Comment: This passage is clearly an alternative tradition for *Analects* 12.1.

Notes: Throughout the Chu slips, the personal name of Yan Yuan is rendered *wei* 韋 rather than the conventional *hui* 回. The graph *shu* 數 (several) transcribes an unknown graph 𠄎. There have been no viable suggestions offered from the unknown graph, but commentators have generally adopted the reading *shu* on the basis of context.

3. 顏淵侍於夫子。夫子曰：➤ [3] ◀ 韋。獨智人之所惡也；獨貴人之所惡也獨富人之所惡 [也] . . . ➤ [9a] ◀. . . [顏]淵起，逾席曰：敢問何謂也。夫子曰：智而比信，斯人欲其 . . . ➤ [4] ◀. . . 也。貴而能讓口，斯人欲其長貴口。富而 . . . ➤ [9b-c]

Yan Yuan was attending the Master. The Master said ➤ [3] ◀ “Hui, wise men who remain aloof are detested by others; men of high rank who remain aloof are detested by others; wealthy men who remain aloof are detested by others . . . ➤ [9a] ◀ . . . [Yan] Yuan rose and stepped away from his mat, saying, “May I ask what you mean?” The Master said, “If one is wise and keeps faith, others will wish . . . ➤ [4] ◀ . . . If one’s status is high but one is able to defer [to others] . . . , then others will wish that he long enjoy high status . . . [If one is] wealthy . . . ➤ [9b-c]

Notes: The split of Slip 9 into separate slips follows Chen Wei (the three fragments of Slip 9 had been conjoined by the Museum’s collation team). The reading *bi* 比 (“cleaves to,” used in the phrase “keeps faith”) is suggested by Huang, and is at least consistent with the unclear original graph.

4. ◀. . . 頸而秀；肩毋廢毋疇；身毋偃毋倩；行毋眊毋搖；足毋墜毋高。其在 . . . ➤ [7] ◀. . . 廷則欲齊齊； 其在堂則 . . . ➤ [8] ◀. . . 正，見毋昞視。凡目毋遊，定見是求。毋欽毋去，聲之疾徐，稱其眾寡 ➤ [6] ◀ 好。凡色毋憂、毋佻、毋忤、毋謠、毋. . . ➤ [5] ◀. . . 毋有柔教，毋有首猷，植. . . ➤ [The Disciples Asked, 3]

◀ . . . neck and elevated: your shoulders must not droop or hunch, your torso must not be bent or slack, your strides must not seem too considered or uncertain, your feet must not stumble or rise too high. When in . . . ➤ [7] ◀ . . . [when in] the court, you must be strictly formal; when in the main hall . . . ➤ [8] ◀ . . . straight, your gaze must not glance sidelong. As for your eyes, don’t let them wander; a settled gaze is what you seek. Moving neither closer nor further, the pace of your speech should match the numbers you address ➤ [6] . . . ◀ preference. As for your expression, show no anxiety, no furtive glance, no startled look, no wavering, no . . . ➤ [5] ◀ . . . offer no vacillating counsel; do not be first to offer a plan; establish . . . ➤ [The Disciples Asked, 3]

Comment: It is possible that the damaged slips strung in series here were not originally contiguous, but the subject and rhetoric are so closely related that they work well as a single passage. The content suggests a further development of passage 2, elaborating the manner in which ritual is enacted so as to fulfill the criteria of *ren*. It is possible that they should be placed immediately after Slip 3. However, the succession of Slips 3 and 9a are equally persuasive as a unit. Nothing quite resembling this passage appears in the *Analects*, although there are examples in other early texts, and Book X reflects similar concerns.

Notes: Many of the readings of specific graphs in this string of slips are speculative. I have relied on readings by Zhang, He, and Huang. This slip from “The Disciples Asked” is consistent in both rhetoric and calligraphy with “The *Junzi* Practices Ritual,” and appears to have been incorrectly assigned by the team that initially sorted the strips. It is the only such transposition that seems to me supported by both content and calligraphy. My reading of *sheng* 聲 (sound [speech]) on Slip 6 differs from that of other commentators, who read *ting* 聽 (listen); I believe the issue of this series of slips concerns demeanor and the context requires that the graph denote some form of action. The editors take the severely frayed beginning of Slip 5 to be the intact tip, but the published photograph of the slip is inconclusive in this respect. If the editors are correct, and the order proposed here is accurate, there must have been a lost strip that intervened between Slips 6 and 5. It seems possible that what has been lost is actually the beginning of Strip 5.

5. . . . ◀非子人。

. . . . ◀ does not others as his children.

Notes: I treat these three graphs as the fragmentary close of a passage whose content is not knowable. Huang emends these graphs by reading *fei* 非 (not) as *xing* 行 (to travel) and treating *zi* 子 as an intrusion in the text. He links the resulting phrase, “the envoy,” to the following text, identifying the interlocutor there as “the envoy [from Zheng] Ziyu,” noting that a figure of that rank, name, and state appears in the *Zuozhuan*. This would account for the possessive reference to “our Zichan” (the late prime minister of Zheng) that appears in the text, but which I alter in passage 6 to simple “Zichan” by treating *wu* 吾 as an intrusion. Huang’s solution is reasonable, but I have not followed it because, apart from the reading of *xing* being less consistent with the graph form of the manuscript, the intrusion of *zi* seems to me less likely than a scribal intrusion of *wu*, since *wuzi* 吾子 (our Master) might easily have occurred to a scribe transcribing text concerning two disciples referring to Confucius, especially since the graph appearing before *wu* was a near homophone.

6. 子羽問於子贛曰：仲尼與吾子產孰賢？子贛曰：夫子治十室之邑亦樂，治萬室之邦亦樂。然則 . . . ▶ [11] ◀. . . 矣。與禹孰賢？子贛曰：禹治天下之川. . . ▶ [15] ◀. . . 口，以為己名。夫 . . . ▶ [13] ◀. . . 子治詩書 . . . ▶ [16] ◀. . . 非以己名。然則賢於禹也。與舜▶ [14] ◀孰賢？子贛曰：舜君天下 . . . ▶ [12]

Ziyu asked Zigong, “Between Confucius and Zichan, which is superior?” Zigong said, “The Master would be as much at ease regulating a state of ten thousand households as he would be regulating a town of ten households. Hence . . . ➤ [11] ◀ . . . Compared to Yu, who is superior?” Zigong said, “Yu regulated the rivers of the world . . . ➤ [15] ◀ . . . did it for his own fame. The . . . ➤ [13] ◀ . . . the Master regulated the *Poetry* and *Documents* . . . ➤ [16] ◀ . . . did not promote his own fame. Hence he was superior to Yu.” “Compared to Shun, ➤ [14] ◀ who is superior?” Zigong said, “Shun was lord to all the world . . .” ➤ [12]

Comment: The theme of comparisons between sages or among individuals appears in several texts; for example, in *Analects* 19.23 and 19.25, where Confucius and Zigong are compared. Those passages are members of a group of four which are the only entries in the *Analects* to refer to Confucius by his cognomen, Zhongni. That is the name by which he is referred to here, as well as in passage 1 above, suggesting that there may be commonality in the traditions behind this text and *Analects* 19.22-25. Like this passage, that string of *Analects* entries characterizes Confucius in extravagant terms.

Note: Ziyu is the cognomen of a minor disciple named Tantai Mieming 澹臺滅明 (see *Analects* 6.14). Chen Jian moves Slip 22 of “The Disciples Asked” to the close of this passage, thus ending the passage with a disclaimer by Confucius himself. As noted above, I do not believe the calligraphy warrants the transposition of slips between these two texts (apart from the single instance in passage 4 above). Chen’s proposal also ignores the internal punctuation in Slip 22 and the apparently unrelated content that follows the disclaimer.

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## Manuscript B

*The Disciples Asked* (*Dizi wen* 弟子問)

1. ◀子曰：前陵季子，其天民也乎。生而不因其浴。吳人生在口。 . . . ▶ [2] ◀. . . 而口口口乎其口，前陵季子僑而弗受。前陵季子，其天民也乎■

◀The Master said: “Is Yanling Jizi not one of Heaven’s people? From birth he did not follow custom. The people of Wu lived in . . . ▶ [2] ◀. . . and . . . on his . . . Yanling Jizi remained aloof and would not accept it. Is Yanling Jizi not one of Tian’s people?” ■

Comment: The rhetoric and structure of this passage suggest a common tradition with the framing passages of *Analects* Book VIII (see Appendix 3). Yanling Jizi (Lord Ji of Yanling) is a title for the Wu prince Ji Zha 季札, active during the second half of the sixth century. Texts tell us that although he was only the fourth son of Shoumeng, king of Wu, Ji Zha was offered the throne as a young man, his three older brothers ceding to him in accord with the wish of his late father, who recognized the exceptional virtue of his youngest son. Ji Zha, however, like his ancestor Tai Bo (*Analects* 8.1), resolutely declined, and withdrew to his estate in Yanling. Despite the supposed Zhou origins of the Wu royal house, Wu was considered remote and barbarian, which may be the topic of the truncated end of Slip 2. Tales of Ji Zha’s virtue and of his political prescience as an envoy touring the courts of northern China made him a natural object of admiration for Ru.



Two problematic graphs from Slip 1 (see Notes).

Notes: All commentators have followed Zhang in equating *qian* 前 with *yan* 延 in the name Yanling Jizi, and in reading *yu* 浴 (bathe) as *su* 俗 (custom). My reading of *zai* 在 (in) differs from the usual reading of *qi* 七 (seven). The cluster of four unidentified characters near the beginning of Slip 1 has drawn a variety of suggestions from scholars, including an intriguing proposal by Chen Jian that the last of these, which he reasonably argues should be read *ying* 膺 (chest; to receive), concerns the ancient Wu custom of tattooing, which Ji Zha is praised for rejecting. Chen’s suggestion notwithstanding, it seems more likely that Ji Zha is being celebrated for repeatedly declining the throne. The “custom” in question may concern passing the throne from elder to younger brother, which applied in Ji Zha’s generation: his final abdication came only after the death of his third elder brother, when his succession would have been regular. I suspect that the first two graphs in this series (pictured at left) represent this brother’s name, which is rendered in traditional orthography as Yumei 餘昧. The first graph appears to include the element 食 (as in 餘); the latter may include the phonetic element *mo* 𠂔 (Old Chinese \*mət), close to the later phonetic element *wei* 未 (\*mäs) in *mei* 昧, while the unknown element at the upper left may have reduced to 目 in later orthographic renderings of Yumei’s name. (This argument, however, is speculative enough that I have not adjusted the translation to reflect it.)

2. 子貢. . . ➤ [1] ◀. . . 子聞之曰：賜■不吾智也。口興夜寐以求聞➤ [22]

Zigong . . . ➤ [1] ◀ . . . When the Master heard of it he said: “Si! ▪ How little he knows me. I am up [early] and to bed late at night in order to seek learning. ➤ [. . .] [22]

Note: I have relocated Slip 22 here, because of the resemblance to *Analects* 9.6, in which Zigong’s conversation with an officer – likely a man from Wu, as was Yanling Jizi in the previous passage here – prompts Confucius to begin remarks with the formula, “Does [he] know me?” (Only the common reference to Zigong links Slips 1 and 22.) The manuscript’s punctuation after Si (Zigong’s name) disambiguates, specifying, “Si! [He] does not know me,” rather than “Si does not know me,” an interpretation followed by Chen Jian, who transposes this strip to the close of “The *Junzi* Performs Ritual,” 6.

3. ◀. . . 焉。

◀. . . therein.”

4. 子曰：貧賤而不約者，吾見之矣。富貴而不驕者，吾聞而➤ [6] ◀. . . 士，吾見之矣。事而弗受者，吾聞而未之見也。

The Master said, “Men who are poor or of low station and unable to live within constraints, such as these I have seen. Men who are wealthy or of high station and without arrogance, such as these I have heard of ➤ [but never yet have I seen them.] [6] ◀ . . . *shi* (gentlemen), such as these I have seen. Men who serve without accepting in return, such as these I have heard of, but never yet have I seen them.”

Comment: A number of *Analects* passages echo aspects of this entry: 4.2 and 4.6 would be examples.

Note: The words inserted between the slips in the translation are suggested by Zhang Guangyu and doubtless part of the missing text, most likely the lost initial portion of Slip 9.

5. 子曰：人而下臨猶上臨也. . . ➤ [9]

The Master said, “When a man can approach those beneath him in a manner similar to that with which he approaches those above him . . .” ➤ [9]

6. ◀吾未見華而信者，未見善事人而憂者。今之世. . . ➤ [21]

◀ I have never seen a man of flowery speech who was trustworthy; I have never seen a man good at serving others beset with worries. In today's generation . . . ▶ [21]

Note: I rely here on He Youzu's emendations, particularly in the case of *hua* 華 (flowery), which renders a graph I cannot read clearly from the published photograph. He's argument relies on parallels with similar passages in other texts.

7. ▶. . . 也，此之謂仁■

◀. . . this is what is called *ren*.” ■

8. 宰我問君子：[子]曰：余，女能慎始與終，斯善矣為君子乎. . .  
▶ [11] ▶. . . 也，求為之言；又夫言也，求為之行。言行相近，然後君子■

Zai Wo asked about the *junzi*. The Master said, “If you, Yu, were able to be cautious about beginnings and endings, would this not constitute acting well as a *junzi*? ▶ [11] ▶. . . [when you act], seek to match your action to what you have said; when you speak, seek to match your speech to what you will do. When words and deeds are close, only then is one a *junzi*.” ■

9. 子. . . ▶ [12]

The Master . . . ▶ [12]

10. ▶就人，不曲方以去人■

. . . ▶approach others; do not act in devious ways and put others at a distance.” ■

11. 子曰：君子亡所不足，無所又餘，則. . . ▶ [13]

The Master said, “There is no respect in which the *junzi* is not sufficient, no respect in which he is excessive, thus . . .” ▶ [13]

12. ▶. . . 從。吾子皆能有待乎？君子道朝，然則夫二三子者▶ [14]

◀. . . follow. Do you gentlemen all have means to rely on? The *junzi* treats the court as his *dao*. However, you gentlemen . . . ▶ [14]

Note: The two instances of the phrase “you gentlemen” actually reflect different forms; the first is respectful, the latter is intimate and one generally employed in passages where Confucius addresses a group of disciples, which thus appears to be the context here.

13. ◀. . . 女弗智也乎，繇？夫以眾犯難，以親受祿，勞以成事，見以佞官，士苟以力則然，以▶ [10] ◀. . . 弗王善矣；夫安能王人，繇！■

◀. . . don't you know it, You? Those who take risks because their numbers are great, who accept a stipend on account of their parents, who strive to bring affairs to success, who present themselves in order to obtain (?) office: when one is a *shi*, then if one relies on strength, these are the results; if one relies on . . . ▶ [10] ◀. . . cannot rule over the good; how can he rule over others, You!" ■

Notes: "You" (由) is the personal name of the disciple Zilu. The character that appears here could be interpreted as a simple sentence ending exclamation, but I follow other commentators in treating it as Zilu's name because passage 14 below makes it clear that this unusual use of a disciple's personal name to conclude a phrase is a characteristic of the rhetoric of this text. Zhang proposes and others accept that the unfamiliar character flagged by a question mark in the translation signifies the word *shan* 擅: "usurp." I have seen no convincing rationale for this specific reading, and translate "obtain" as a neutral default within the passage context.

14. 子過曹口. . . ▶ [17] ◀. . . 口淵馭。至老丘有農植其耨而歌焉。子乘乎軒而. . . ▶ [20] ◀. . . 口風也。亂節而哀聲，曹之喪其必此乎，韋！

The Master passed through Cao . . . ▶ [17] ◀. . . [Yan] Yuan was his driver. When they reached Lao Hill, there was a farmer who was singing as he weeded with a wooden implement. The Master leaned forward on the carriage bar and . . . ▶ [20] ◀ " . . . local song style. The cadence is rhythmic and the tone is mournful – does this not surely portend the loss of Cao, Hui!"

Comment: Familiar *Analects* settings are combined here. The trope of a disciple driving Confucius's carriage during his travels appears at *Analects* 13.9, with Ran Qiu as the driver. The trope of passing farmers tending fields appears in 18.6, with Zilu as the relevant disciple. I have translated the last portion as a comment on the recluse's song and its portentous significance. There seems to be a play on words; the passage can equally well be read: ". . . custom. When the codes are disrupted there are mournful cries: surely this must be a Cao funeral, Hui!" My suspicion is that both renderings are valid, and that the missing section would have suggested why this ambiguity was appropriate and clever.

15. 子嘆曰：烏！莫我智也夫。子游曰：有是之謂乎？子曰：㊟▶ [4]

The Master sighed, saying: "Ah! No one recognizes me!" Ziyou said, "How can it be that you would say this?" The Master said, "(?) ▶ . . . [4]

Comment: This passage is clearly a version of the tradition reflected in *Analects* 14.35, but this manuscript features the disciple Ziyou, rather than Zigong, who appears in the *Analects*. (The final graph is unknown.)

16. ◀. . . 曰：韋，來。吾告女其阻絕乎。雖多問而不友賢，其▶ [15]

[The Master] ◀said: “Hui, come. Shall I instruct you [how to avoid] being impeded or cut off? Though you may have much learning, if you do not befriend the worthy” ▶ . . . [15]

17. ◀. . . 者可逢而告也。

◀. . . may be told even as they are encountered.”

Comment: The third graph is problematic. My reading suggests that the topic is achieving a level of foresight that events merely confirm.

18. 子曰：小子來，取余言。登年不恆至，耆老不復壯。賢者愴▶ [5]

The Master said, “Children, come! Take note of what I say. Harvest seasons will not come for you forever; once old, the vigor of youth will never return. The wise feel urgency about▶ . . .” [5]

19. ◀. . . 曰：吾聞父母之喪 . . . ▶ [7] ◀. . . 食肉如飯土，飲酒如澆，信乎？子贛曰：莫親乎父母。死不顧生，可言乎其信也。▶ [8]

◀. . . (?) said, “I have heard that the funeral of one’s parents . . . ▶ [7] ◀. . . eat meat as though one were dining on dirt, and drink wine as though it were sludge. Is this [not] faithfulness?” Zigong said, “None is nearer than one’s parents. When they die, not to attend to one’s own living is a testament to faithfulness.” ▶ [8]

Comment: Zhang Guangyu reads this as Zigong’s forgiveness of excessive indulgence during mourning. My interpretation would be that treating food like dirt and wine like sludge concerns the mourner’s insensitivity to pleasure due to grief.

20. ◀. . . 焉終？

◀. . . wherein end?”

21. 子曰：寡聞則沽，寡見則肆；多聞則惑，多見則 . . . ▶ [16]

The Master said: “Those who have heard too little will be crude; those who have observed too little will be impulsive. Those who have heard too much will be confused; those who have observed too much will be . . .” ➤ [16]

Comment: This type of formula is loosely parallel to *Analects* passages such as 1.8 and 2.18.

Notes: Zhang’s suggestion that the graph *gu* 沽 (dried up) be read as *gu* 孤 (alone) has generally been accepted, but I interpret it as a loan for *gu* 固 (as in 1.8), which is closer phonetically.

22. ◀. . . 者，皆可以為諸侯相矣。東西南北不倚. . . ➤ [18]

◀. . . type of man, can in all cases serve as advisors to a lord of state. Whether north, south, east or west, he will not be partial to . . . ➤ [18]

Note: The left portion of the final graph is indecipherable, but I have read the graph as related to *yi* 倚 (rely on; be partial towards).

23. ◀. . . 長巨白玉止乎？子臙= 如也。其聽子路往乎？子噩= 如也。如戰. . . ➤ [19]

◀. . . would [the Master] encourage Qu Boyu holding back? He would be all mildness. Would the Master allow Zilu to proceed? He would be all severity. If one contends (?) . . . ➤ [19]

Comment: The theme appears to concern Confucius’s context-driven approach to ideals of personal conduct. Compare, for example, *Analects* 11.20.

Notes: The name of the figure mentioned in the initial phrase is rendered by the graphs 簗伯玉 in received texts. In *Analects* 15.7 Confucius praises this man for his ability to serve or withdraw according to timeliness. Suggestions for the first unknown graph include *dun* 惇 (deeply sincere) and *chun* 淳 (simple and honest); the graph is duplicated by a “ditto mark” (as is *e* 噩 below), consistent with its adverbial use. I see no particular preference between these alternatives, and I have glossed it by context, contrasted with *e’e*, which follows. The meaning of the final graph is unclear; I have interpreted it as signifying the word *dou* 鬥 (fight).

24. ◀. . . 口口之有■

◀. . . to be.” ▪

25. 子曰：列乎其下，不折其枝，食其實. . . ➤ [23]

The Master said: “If one dwells beneath, one does not break off the branches [above]; if one eats the fruit . . .” ➤ [23]

Comment: Liu Hongtao has shown that this approximates a homily common to a number of texts: “If one sits in the shade of a tree, one does not break its branches; if one eats another’s food, one does not break his serving vessels.” The lesson, then, is about loyalty to one’s patrons. In the Han texts that Liu cites, the saying is attributed to an obscure master other than Confucius. Such instances can alert us to the possibility that many of the more generic sayings in the *Analects* may have been appropriated from the broader culture to enhance the teachings of Confucius and his followers.

26. ◀. . . 曰考言 𠄎 色，未可謂仁也。口者其言口而不可 ➤ [附]

[The Master] ◀. . . said: “Clever words and ingratiating looks cannot be called *ren*. The words of those who are . . . are . . ., but they cannot ➤ [Appended]

Comment: The initial sentence has parallels in *Analects* 1.3 and 17.17.

Note: The fourth graph is unknown, but the meaning “ingratiating” is inferred from the parallel texts, which employ the word *ling* 令. Zhang Guangyu labeled this slip “appended,” although it was originally sorted with this text by the Shanghai Museum collation team. It appears that the designation simply indicates that Zhang felt it was unclear where in the text this particular strip should be located.

27. ◀. . . 女焉能也 ■ ➤ [24]

◀. . . how could you be able? ■ ➤ [24]

Note: Slip 24, as photographed, is almost entirely illegible. I follow Zhang’s reading.