

## Introduction

This translation seeks to make available to readers our finding that the Analects (Lún Yǔ 論語; LY) is not one text but *a series of texts* of different date, containing a few sayings that may go back to the historical Confucius, along with many others that were added in the next two centuries by his successors in what gradually became the Confucian school of Lǚ.<sup>1</sup> While thus preserving (as tradition has always held) an authentic glimpse of the historical Confucius, the Analects on this view acquires additional interest as a consecutive record of the progressive elaboration of Confucius's thought, and its interaction with other modes of thought, from the time of his death to shortly before the founding of the Chín Empire. Under the form of a set of sayings ascribed to Confucius, the Analects emerges instead as a *history of early Confucianism*, compiled from year to year by the Confucians of Lǚ. Approaching the text in this way permits the reader to follow the school's changing philosophical emphases, and, to a certain extent, to see how they may have related to the changing social and intellectual context of the Warring States period.

To make this new view of the work fully apparent, it is necessary to present the material in what we find to be *the order of its composition*. This entails some rearrangement of chapters (LY 1–3 were all preposed at different times during the course of the work, whereas LY 4–20 were added in that order), and of individual sayings (a quarter of which we find to be interpolations).<sup>2</sup> Such a rearrangement has thus been made the basis for the present version. At the same time, for the convenience of new and experienced readers alike, it has been thought well to maintain contact with the traditional sequence of the text, represented by the classic translation of James Legge,<sup>3</sup> which also contains a complete Chinese character text. The following conventions have been adopted to facilitate reader cross-consultation of that text: (1) The chapter numbers are retained, so that the nucleus of genuine Confucian sayings, which might logically be labeled as “LY 1,” still appears here as “LY 4.” (2) Readers who expect LY 1 at the beginning of this book and find LY 4 instead are directed (by a note in the righthand running head) to the pages on which LY 1, as well as LY 2–3, begin. (3) Passages, like chapters, have not been renumbered; nonconsecutive passage numbers, such as LY 4:16 directly following LY 4:14, will show that an interpolation (LY 4:15) has been removed. A full list of the interpolated passages, and the locations to which they have been reassigned, is given on page 329. (4) The Legge numbering is added in brackets at the end of all translated passages, whether interpolated or not, which are differently numbered in the present version.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For an introduction to the general Warring States text researches of which this finding is a part, see Brooks **Prospects** (these and other short citation forms are expanded in the list of Works Cited, at the end of the book). A schematic idea of the larger argument will be given later in this Introduction.

<sup>2</sup>The scholarly reader may wish to detour at this point to Appendices 1–3, where this view of the text is derived and illustrated in more detail.

<sup>3</sup>For this towering Sinological figure, see Ride **Biographical**. We are pleased to be informed that a full biography, by Norman Girardot and Lauren Pfister, is in preparation.

<sup>4</sup>Readers consulting other versions, including Legge's, are cautioned that most texts and translations vary slightly from each other in the division, and thus in the numbering, of passages. The present version follows the numbering of the 1929 concordance.

**Notes** following an Analects passage are cited by a suffixed n (as 9:5n), and the Reflections at the end of chapters by a suffixed r (as 9r). Interpolated passages are marked by a prefixed asterisk (as \*9:1), and by a suffixed superscript number for the chapter to which they have been appended (as \*9:1<sup>11</sup>, indicating that, in our best judgement, \*9:1 was composed shortly before or after the main body of chapter 11). The latter feature serves also as an approximate cross-reference, and should spare the reader constant recourse to the finding list of interpolations on page 329.

**Citations**, in both text and notes, are given in short form (Author Surname followed by **Title Keyword**). Some short forms will themselves be recognizable to scholars, thus making unnecessary a reference to the final listing of Works Cited on page 315, in which all short citations have been bibliographically expanded.

**Form.** The pairing of sayings, an important feature of the original, is indicated in the translation by symbols prefixed to the reference code: 𠄎 for the first of a pair, 𠄏 for the second, and 𠄐 for the unpaired final saying, or envoi, in some sections. Pairing is an aid in the identification of interpolations, which often interrupt the original pairing pattern. It also assists interpretation, by letting each of two paired sayings serve as a microcontext for the other. Some cryptic Analects sayings have been rendered even more obscure by the passage of time, but the Analects in its fully-interpolated form is made *needlessly baffling* by the loss of these pairing clues. Removing the interpolations thus makes the original Analects sayings less opaque. It also reveals a hitherto unsuspected formal beauty in some of the chapter layouts.

**Dates.** The culturally parochial abbreviations BC and its variant BCE are here replaced by prefixed zero: 0479 is “479 BC” (479 = AD 479). A prefixed c (“circa”) means a *most likely* year, whether or not its name ends in a zero, 04c means “04th [pronounced oh-fourth] century,” 0548–0479 is the *span* from 0548 to 0479 inclusive, and 0315/0305 is a *range of possible dates*, also inclusive.<sup>5</sup>

**Chinese Words** are here spelled for maximum “guessability” by readers with English-alphabet reflexes. The rule is “consonants as in English, vowels as in Italian,” with a few special conventions, such as v (an analogue of the linguist’s *inverted* ʌ) for the central vowel of “gut,” plus æ as in “cat,” r as in “fur,” z as in “adz,” and yw (after l or n, simply w) for “umlaut u.” Tones are given as contours: hīgh, rising, lōw, or fālling. This system is compatible with the unproblematic one long established for Japanese; it is hoped that its use will help to dispel the “Oriental mystique” which several aggressively nonphonetic Chinese spelling systems have helped to promote.<sup>6</sup> An equivalence table for the systems most often encountered begins on page 325. The pronunciation represented is that of standard scholarly Mandarin, except that a few words which through sound change are now identical in Mandarin are distinguished by restoring lost consonants, among them the states Wèi 衛 and [Ng]wèi 魏, both now pronounced “Wèi.” Coordinate compounds are here distinguished from subordinating compounds by a slash rather than a hyphen joining their romanized forms, for example Chūn/Chyōu = Spring *and* Autumn, yīn/yáng = yīn *and* yáng, and Dàu/Dv Jīng = The Book of Dàu *and* Dv.

<sup>5</sup>Unless otherwise noted, our authority for historical dates is Chyén Kǎu.

<sup>6</sup>We join the plea of Boodberg **Comments** 23 for a system more accessible to generalists, and that of Kennedy **Biographies** 499f for one less hampering for scholars. The sense that one is unavoidably pronouncing the words wrong inhibits students in survey courses, and also tends to discourage dialogue between experts in different fields.

## The Spring and Autumn Background

When we meet Confucius in LY 4, his values are obviously under attack, but it is less obvious exactly what his values *are*. We must infer them from LY 4 and from whatever can be known of his own period, the end of the Spring and Autumn era. Our primary source for this period is the Lǚ court chronicle after which it is named, covering the years 0721–0479. It tells us something of ritual, diplomacy, and war, but tantalizingly little of anything else. Supplemented by archaeology, it suggests the following picture of the world out of which Confucius emerged.

Lǚ had been founded by the Jōu rulers as a buffer state west of Sùng, the home of a remnant of the Shāng people, whom the Jōu had replaced as the dominant force in the middle Yellow River valley. After one Shāng rebellion, Lǚ was relocated *east* of Sùng, strategically outflanking future revolts, and imposing a top layer on the indigenous population.<sup>7</sup> The Jōu lost power in 0771, and moved their capital eastward to a new site on the Lwò River. Thereafter, Lǚ took charge of its own affairs, including the keeping of its own chronicle, the building of its own palace, and the gradual accumulation of divination expertise and a series of state rituals.<sup>8</sup> It grew from a series of strongpoints to a continuous domain, control of which came to be disputed between the hereditary Prince<sup>9</sup> and the three collateral clans. Communications with other post-Jōu states were improved. Farming was extended at the expense of tree cover, and double-cropping further increased the food supply; hunting was gradually confined to forest preserves, and became an elite monopoly.

The core of this society was a warrior elite whose weapons were the compound bow and the horse-drawn chariot. They lived on separate farmholds and assembled for campaigns at the order of the Prince, but seem to have themselves controlled the perhaps indigenous people on their holdings.<sup>10</sup> They were trained in martial skills and a service ethic based on ideals of duty, courage, selflessness, and comradeship. Traces of such a heritage may be detected in Confucius's own value system.

Iron was known from at least 0493; its first effect was probably an increase in agricultural production. A shift in the relation of the state to its military elite, and (apparently from 0490) the direct taxation of their lands, undermined the old feudal-service pattern. The new bureaucracy was staffed in part by artisans and other palace-connected individuals with a profit rather than a service ethic. Thus began the merging of the lower order with the old elite.<sup>11</sup> It is this crass “lower” culture that we seem to see in the early Analects, as a resented rival of the older values.

<sup>7</sup>Jōu-style graves are found side by side with different-style graves (presumably those of the local population) throughout the archaeological history of Lǚ; Zhang **Lu** 58. For the later military suppression of the indigenous Rǔng peoples, see Brooks **Point**.

<sup>8</sup>For the post-0771 palace, see Zhang **Lu**; for the ritual cycle, see Brooks **Divination**.

<sup>9</sup>Legge has accustomed English readers to the translation “duke” for gūng 公, here rendered “prince,” and to overly hierarchical treatment of other Spring and Autumn titles. Kennedy **Butterfly** 312–319 has exposed the latter fallacy. We here use, as more responsive to the early Chinese common-language usage of these terms, the equivalents gūng 公/ prince, hóu 侯 / lord, bwó 伯 / elder, dz 子 / master, and nán 男 / chieftain.

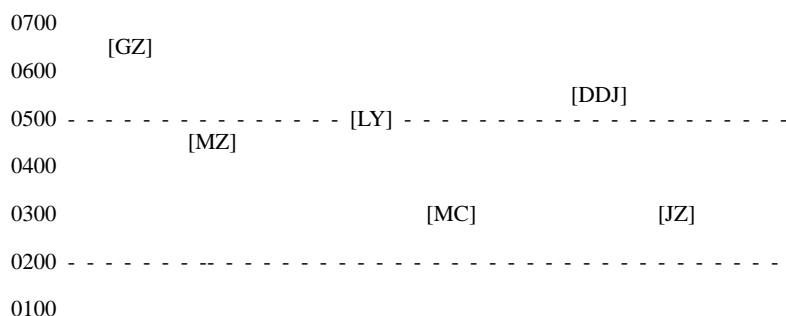
<sup>10</sup>This *indirect* or *nontransitive sovereignty* seems to us the most fruitful definition of the vexed term “feudal.” We adopt it here, following the discussion in Strayer **Idea** 4–5.

<sup>11</sup>For a brief summary of Warring States changes, see Bodde **Feudalism** 66–67.

## Sources of Warring States Thought

Warring States thought is preserved for us in some three dozen received texts, including the Analects, all of more or less disputed date. It is a matter of some urgency to re-examine this corpus, and to resolve the uncertainties as far as possible.

As a sample<sup>12</sup> of this process, consider six well-known texts: the Gwǎndǔ (GZ), Mwòdǔ (MZ), Analects (Lún Yǔ; LY), Mencius (MC), Lǎudǔ or Dào/Dǔ Jīng (DDJ), and Jwǎngdǔ (JZ). Each is associated with, and most are named for, an individual: (1) the Chí minister Gwǎn Jǔng (died 0645), (2) Mwò Dǐ, thought to be a generation after Confucius; (3) Confucius (died 0479); (4) Mencius, whose public career began in c0320; (5) Lǎudǔ, claimed as an older contemporary of Confucius; and (6) Jwǎngdǔ, a supposed contemporary of Mencius. If we begin by attributing these texts wholly to these figures, and plot them on a scale from the 0771 fall of Jōu to a point (0100) in early Hàn, with divisions at the 0479 death of Confucius (which we take as the beginning of the Warring States period)<sup>13</sup> and the 0221 Chín political unification (which ends it), we get the following picture:



Critical scholars now reject the connection of the GZ with Gwǎn Jǔng; Rickett dates its parts to a range from the 04c to early Hàn.<sup>14</sup> A wide range of dates in the MZ is also now recognized,<sup>15</sup> and many scholars would assign the DDJ to the 03c rather than the 06c.<sup>16</sup> The JZ is self-labeled as having “inner/outer/miscellaneous” strata; the latest seem to be from Hàn.<sup>17</sup> The drift of these opinions is (1) to reject some claims associating certain texts with early historical figures, and (2) to date those texts later than those associations would imply, sometimes to a *span* of dates rather than one single compositional date. The concept of a span of dates differs from that of a unitary text *composed at one time*, and implies a different process.

<sup>12</sup>From a lecture at the University of North Carolina in 1993. We are grateful to host Eric Henry and to members of the audience for their comments on that occasion. A more detailed overview of selected results can be found in Brooks **Prospects**.

<sup>13</sup>Lawton **Art** 9–10 surveys various endpoints assigned to the Warring States period; we here use 0479–0221 (and, for Spring and Autumn, 0771–0479).

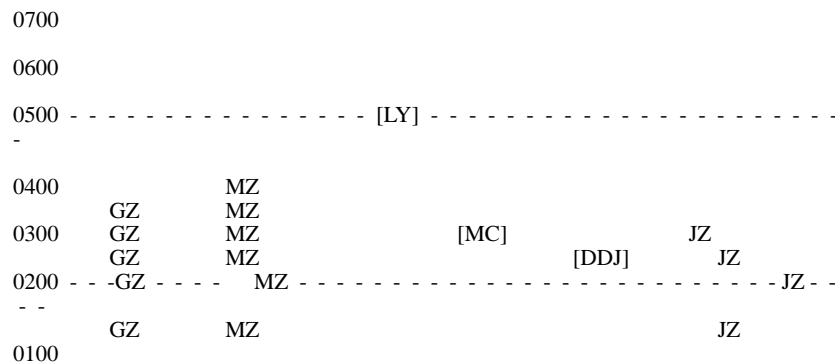
<sup>14</sup>Rickett **Guanzi** 1/3, 14–15; Rickett **Guanzi Xuekan** 201–204.

<sup>15</sup>Graham **Later** 3, Graham **Mo Tzu** 337–338; see also Loewe **Crisis** 108.

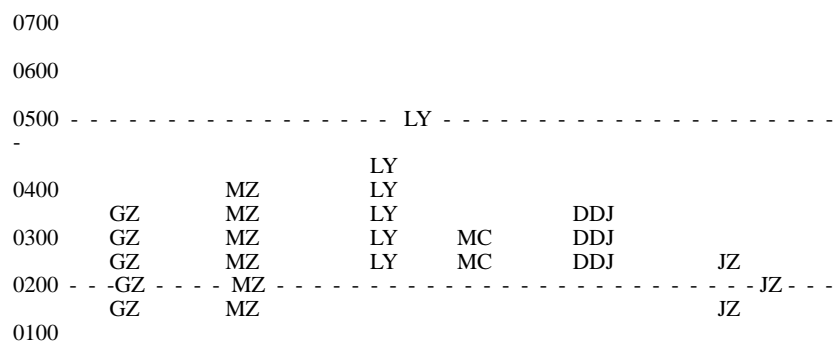
<sup>16</sup>The trend to the later date can be observed in motion from Hu **Recent** (1933) through Chan **Way** (1963) 61–63 to Boltz **Lau Tzu** (1993) 269–271.

<sup>17</sup>Watson **Chuang** 13–17; Roth **Chuang Tzu** 56–57.

Freed of the association with their authenticating *historical figures*, these accumulations of material then present, *as texts*, the following picture:



We note that two of the integral texts *are Confucian*, and that the accumulating texts cease with the Hàn establishment of Confucianism as the state ideology in 0136. Are the Confucian texts merely immune from critical scholarship which operates more freely on extinct-school texts?<sup>18</sup> Inconsistencies in LY and MC *do* imply an accretion process, as do those of the DDJ. Arguing thus, we arrive at:



in which another cutoff date emerges: the Lǚ texts LY, MC, and (surprisingly) DDJ all cease being compiled in 0249, the date of the Lǚ conquest. We infer that these *cumulative texts* were in the care of groups with an *ongoing advocational unity*, each continually updating its position as time passed, and ceasing when the military situation (in 0249) or the political climate (in 0136) became inhospitable.

So much for the *dating* of the texts. The next step is to *take the dates seriously*, by not treating an 04c and later text like the GZ as a primary source for the 07c. This second step has proved to be by far the more difficult for later investigators.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>So Gù Jyé-gāng on Tswēi Shù: Gù **Lùn Gǔ Shǐ** 1/59 (Gù **Ancient** #192).

<sup>19</sup>The implications of text dates are sometimes evaded by assuming oral transmission from earlier centuries. Studies of oral praxis (Ong **Orality** 34, 57–68; WSWG Q20, and letter from Walter J. Ong to the authors, 20 June 96) do not support such assumptions. The Confucian *school* did preserve its text intact in memory from 0249 to the end of the 0213–0191 Chín/Hàn ban on Confucian texts, but that interval is only two generations, and that degree of advocacy-group organization did not obtain in earlier periods.

## The World of Thought

The hint of different viewpoints contained in the above illustration can be expanded here, as an orientation to the opinion-context of the Analects.

**Confucianism.** As noted above, the root ideas of Confucius, and thus the starting-point of Confucianism, came out of the Spring and Autumn warrior ethos that was already obsolescent at his death in 0479. The Analects apparently preserves some actual sayings of Confucius, and many more by successive heads of the school which was founded after his death, and continued active until the conquest of Lǔ in 0249. This is the core tradition within the larger Confucian heritage. Confucians also established themselves in Wèi (and its geographic successor Ngwèi) and Chí. At the Chí court they produced in c0312 a work called the Dzwō Jwàn, ostensibly a commentary on the Lǔ chronicle Spring and Autumn, but in fact a prediction of, and a blueprint for, Chí domination of the other states. Mencius, a student in the Lǔ school, left Lǔ in 0320 for a career advising contemporary rulers in Ngwèi, Chí, and some lesser states. He founded his own school of Confucian thought (which later split into two subschools, both of which are represented in the present Mencius text). Still later, and wholly within the 03c, comes Sywǎndž, probably educated by the Confucians of Ngwèi, briefly prominent in Chí, but for much of his philosophical life employed as the civil administrator of conquered Lǔ, where he had his own influential school (documents of which survive as the Sywǎndž text). His Confucianism replaced other forms in the 03c, and remained dominant into the Hàn dynasty. It is much more compatible than other forms of Confucianism with the autocratic, divine-ruler, universal empire established by Chín in 0221.

**Micianism.** Also Anglicized as Mohism; this is apparently the ideology of a group at a lower social level than the Confucians, whose founder was the unknown Mwō Dí. It had become an organized movement by the early 04c, and competed successfully with the Confucians for positions at the Lǔ court, where its adherents compiled a sort of counter-Analects, now preserved as MZ 46–50 (see Appendix 3). The core of the Mwōdž is its ethical teachings; there are also sections on defensive warfare and logic. The Micians are the technocrats among the schools, and show a seemingly mercantile influence in their touchstone concept of profit or benefit,<sup>20</sup> which was highly offensive to the more aristocratic, more selfless, Confucians.

**Legalism.** This is the term conventionally applied to a range of thinkers whose only surviving early text is the Gwǎndž. They took a managerial approach, and worked to elaborate the ideal form of the new bureaucratic state and its economic and social structures, the whole being conceived largely in productive terms. This early Chí Legalism differs somewhat from the later and more draconic Chín version, which was less explained in texts than adumbrated in practice, and which contributed much to the final form of the universal Chinese state founded by Chín in 0221 and resumed, with variations, by the Hàn after 0206. The development of this western form of Legalism falls within a later time-frame than the Analects, and we shall not be much concerned with it in the present work. A Chín-sponsored encyclopedic compendium, the Lǔ-shè Chūn/Chyōu (LSCC) of 0239, with its two later strata, does preserve some useful information about earlier schools of thought.

<sup>20</sup>Graham **Later** 4–8; compare, with reservations, Jàu **Tān** 131–134.

**Dàuism.** The Dàuists do not form a *philosophical* group in this period; the root insight of many who later came to be included in that rubric is the technique of meditation, which was apparently known in Lǚ (and probably Chí) by the 05c. Its first textual representative is the Dàu/Dý Jīng (DDJ), a Lǚ work compiled over the period c0340–0250. Like the Micians, the DDJ group competed successfully with the Confucians at the Lǚ court; the later DDJ reflects their theories of statecraft. In the 03c, stimulated by the traumatic 0286 obliteration of Sùng by Chí, there arose a number of groups advocating lifestyles ranging from the primitivist through the transcendental. Some writings of these groups are preserved in the Jwāngdǔ. Their overall tone is anti-governmental, and their dialogue with the Analects group, who stoutly defend a more positive view of government service, is predictably bitter.

**Military Writers.** The defensive skills of the Micians were honed in symbiosis with those of the generals proper. The Sūndǔ Bīng-fǎ, or simply the Sūndǔ, a Lǚ or perhaps Chí work which accumulated over the latter part of the 04c, represents this vital expertise, which unsurprisingly also exerted its influence at the Lǚ court. The policy differences leading to the loss of Confucian court influence in c0302 seem to have been largely over the Lǚ state's military ambitions.

**The Cosmologists.** Another strand of thought, which became prominent in the last quarter of the 04c, was a philosophy of nature which related human institutions to a permanent, objective reality, especially astronomical and calendrical reality. The theories of yīn and yáng as constitutive forces, the associated Five Planets or wǔ-yíng 五行 theory of successive astral domination in terrestrial affairs, and above all the fascination with the predictability of astronomical phenomena, and the mapping of mundane phenomena on each other in numerical sets, offered an optimistic if also rigid view of an intelligible and controllable world. Dzōu Yěn of Chí is usually regarded as the leading figure in this line of thought, which is unfortunately not represented by surviving early texts, and must be glimpsed indirectly in other writings (both the yīn/yáng and astral correspondence theories are already reflected in the c0312 Chí text Dzwó Jwàn); see also Sivin **Naturalists**. Their contribution to the eventual theory of the autocratic state was profound.

**The Logicians.** The logical portions of the Mwòdǔ are the largest surviving trace of a late 04c and 03c interest in words and referents, the validity of statements and of chains of propositions, the technique of definition, and the art of verbal argument in general. Several rival schools of debate also existed. Concern for the reliability of statements underlay what Waley has called the “language crisis” of the late 04c.

**The Warring Classics.** One of the most effective stratagems in what is often called the Hundred Schools debate turned out to be not argument, but something that could silence argument: ancient authority. The false attribution of several texts, noted above, was undoubtedly motivated by the desire of rival schools to claim greater antiquity than that of the Confucians. Such competition led in the late 04c to widespread forgery of authenticating texts. The Confucians, not to be outflanked, also embodied their ideas in purportedly pre-Confucian texts. The first of these was the Shī, or Classic of Poetry, which had been begun already in the 05c; its progress to completion in c0325 is mirrored in the Analects. First heard from in the mid 04c, and part of the new rivalry, are several Shū, or Documents (purported speeches by ancient kings) and the Yì, or Changes, a divination text which is still a cult classic. In Ngwèi, a similar mania led to the forging of a chronicle, the Bamboo Annals, linking that state to the earliest of the mythical rulers, the so-called Yellow Emperor, who was also claimed as a progenitor by the ruling house of Chí.

### A Checklist of Texts

The texts mentioned above, and others which will be referred to in the notes to the translation, are here listed in the order of their short-citation codes. A list will also be found in the Works Cited section at the end of the book.

- **BA** (Bamboo Annals). A spurious Ngwèi chronicle composed in imitation of the CC but annexing all of Jōu and pre-Jōu history as well (the earliest portions claim to come from a time before writing was known in this part of the world); completed, by its own account, in 0299. Its 04c portions, being recent as of the time of compilation, are more accurate than such later sources as the SJ; they have been used by scholars to correct errors in the SJ. Translated in Legge **Shoo**.

- **CC** (Chūn/Chyōu, “Spring and Autumn”). The genuine court chronicle of Lǚ, covering the years 0721–0479. Translated in Legge **Ch’un**.

- **DDJ** (Dàu/Dv Jīng). The text of a Lǚ meditation group from c0350 on, later influential in Lǚ politics; its latter portion, DDJ 38–81, is especially rich in this “purposive” material. Translated from the oldest (Chín) version in Henricks **Te** and Mair **Tao**, and from the standard text in Waley **Way** and many others.

- **DJ** (Dzwō Jwàn). A supplement to the CC, begun in Lǚ in c0350; the present text is a Chí-adapted expansion of c0312. Gives a retrospective picture of Spring and Autumn life, apparently blended with details from the late 04c. Justly esteemed as a narrative, but must be used cautiously as a source. Translated in Legge **Ch’un**.

- **GY** (Gwó Yw̃). A c0306 imitation of the DJ: a set of stories without the CC framework (and with an emphasis on Jìn), and sometimes at odds with the DJ. There is at present no English translation; we have used Henry **Summaries**.

- **GZ** (Gwāndž). A compendium of the writings of several governmental theorists and advisors in Chí (including one strand which has a Mician character) and their successors from the early 04c to Hàn. Translated in Rickett **Guanzi**.

- **HNZ** (Hwái-nándž). An eclectic Dàuist work of early Hàn, commissioned and overseen by the Hàn king Lyóu Añ, and completed in its present form by 0139. Excerpts are translated in Morgan **Tao**, Major **Heaven**, and Ames **Rulership**.

- **HS** (Hàn Shū). A history of the Hàn dynasty, completed c90. Esteemed by later scholars for its stylistic elegance, but later than, and in parallel chapters never preferable to, the earlier SJ. Partially translated in Dubs **Han**.

- **JGT** (Jàn-Gwó Tsṽ; “Stratagems of the Warring States”). A Hàn conflation of six collections of tales, some wholly fictional but others apparently preserving a memory of Warring States events or conditions. Translated in Crump **Ts’e**.

- **JY** (Jūng Yūng; the “Doctrine of the Mean”). An 03c treatise with affinities to Mencius and echoes in the Analects. Translated in Legge **Analects**.

- **JZ** (Jwāngdž). A collection of Dàuist material of diverse viewpoints from several states, ranging in date from the early 03c to Hàn. Philosophically nihilistic and anti-governmental, but stylistically brilliant, and of enormous literary influence. Translated in Watson **Chuang** and in Mair **Wandering**.

- **KZJY** (Kūngdž Jyā-yw̃; “Family Traditions of Confucius”). A late text with some early material which may go back to an 04c Kūng tradition. These portions, though mythologically elaborated, are in parts useful for Confucius’s early life and personal circle. Ten later chapters are translated in Kramers **Chia Yü**.



- **LJ** (Lǐ Jì). A Hàn compilation of texts relating to ritual (including JY), some of them reflecting pre-Hàn traditions which may go back to the late 04c, and others being little more than schematic fantasizing. Translated in Legge **Li**.
- **LSCC** (Lǚ-shì Chūn/Chyōu). An eclectic compendium of 0239 and later, commissioned by the Chín statesman Lǚ Bū-wéi. It is apparently an attempt to synthesize major Warring States schools of thought as a basis for the universal state. An English translation by Jeffrey Riegel and John Knoblock is in preparation.
- **LY** (Lún Yǚ; the *Analects*). Sayings of Confucius and his successors in the school of Lǚ, 0479–0249. Translated below; the standard English version of the traditional neo-Confucian interpretation remains Legge **Analects**. Waley **Analects** attempts to get behind this “scriptural” reading to an earlier, Hàn-dynasty one.
- **MC** (Mencius). Mencius’s interviews with rulers from 0320 on make up part of MC 1; the rest is of 03c date, and stems from the activity of two posthumous schools: a politically focused southern one, and an ethically focused northern one. Translated in Legge **Mencius**, Lau **Mencius**, and other versions.
- **MTJ** (Mù Tyēndž Jwàn). A spurious record of the western travels of the 010c King Mù of Jōu, composed in Ngwèi c0310 and reflecting a late 04c interest in foreign peoples and distant travels. Translated in Cheng **Mu** and Mathieu **Mu**.
- **MZ** (Mwòdž). The text of an 04c–02c school which claimed as its founder the unknown figure Mwò Dí. It seems to reflect the interests of small property-owners and entrepreneurs; its key concept is profit, and its cultural agenda emphasizes utility and social consistency. The ethical and anecdotal portions are translated in Mei **Ethical**; the logical ones in Graham **Later**.
- **SBF** (Sūndž Bīng-fǎ, or Sūndž’s Art of War). A treatise on the 04c art of war, written during c0345–c0272. Considered the greatest of the early military treatises. Translated in Griffith **Sun** and, with other military texts, in Sawyer **Seven**.
- **Shf** (The [Classic of] Poetry). Compiled (and, we argue, mostly written) from the middle 05c to the late 04c; one can watch from the evolving *Analects* as it reaches its final 305-poem size. Translated in Legge **She** and Waley **Songs**.
- **Shū** (The [Classic of] Documents). Purported speeches of ancient rulers, the earliest written in the middle 04c by the Micians and other rivals of the Confucians. The extant *Shū* contains the Confucian school documents plus later forgeries of the lost Mician ones. Translated in Legge **Shoo**; for numbering, see Brooks **Shū**.
- **SJ** (Shǐ Jì). A history of China through early Hàn, largely complete by c090. Its use is unavoidable but problematic, since it is a synthesis of pre-Imperial thought traditions which are not otherwise preserved. Partly translated in Watson **Records**; a complete translation, Nienhauser **Records**, is currently in progress.
- **SSSY** (Shr̀-*shwō* Syīn Yǚ; “New Stories of the Age”). Anecdotes illustrating the style and character of noted Six Dynasties personalities; compiled c430. Shows the place of the *Analects* in the post-Hàn high culture. Translated in Mather **Yü**.
- **SZ** (Syw̄ndž). As Director of Chŭ-occupied Lǚ from 0254, Syw̄ndž had power over contemporary Lǚ thought; his influence may be detected in late layers of the *Analects* and Mencius. These school writings are translated in Knoblock **Xunzi**.
- **Yi** (The [Classic of] Changes), a divination text not referred to, and probably not written, before the middle 04c. Translated from the oldest (Chín) version in Shaughnessy **I**, and from the received text in Wilhelm **I** and many others.

## Prolegomena to LY 4

We here provide, for readers about to encounter Confucius in LY 4, what we feel can be plausibly deduced from early sources about his life and career.<sup>21</sup>

**Family.** Confucius's father Shú (or Shúlyáng) Hv̄ was descended from Kǔng Fáng-shú, a warrior refugee from Sùng who had settled to the east of the Lǔ capital after a Sùng military defeat under Hwà Ywǎn in 0607. Fáng-shú and his son had no great success in Lǔ (Hwà Ywǎn remained prominent in Sùng, and twice visited Lǔ in later years). His grandson Hv̄, born c0592, abandoned the surname Kǔng and moved to Dzōu, south of the capital, to seek a better fortune. He distinguished himself in a battle of 0563, and led a raid in 0556, probably receiving a capital-area farmhold for the latter service.<sup>22</sup> In c0552 he married Yén Jv̄ng-dzài, daughter of a family that may have been involved in trade.<sup>23</sup> A first son was born crippled, and the couple prayed at Ní Mountain, southeast of the capital, for the health of the second. That second son, Chyōu (“Hill”), or Jv̄ng-ní (from “Ní Mountain”), born in 0549, was the future Confucius.

**Confucius.** Chyōu's father died when he was three. He grew up in poverty, doing low-level jobs that were not the ordinary lot of an heir to a military holding. He probably retained from this period an emphasis on will and self-improvement, and a willingness to learn from low as well as high. Early hardship accelerated his maturity (he married at nineteen in c0531; his son Lǐ “Carp” or Bwó-yw̄, “Fish,” was born in c0530) but delayed his career cycle. It may not have been until he was thirty, in c0518, that he entered on his military service. Jāu-gūng, the reigning Lǔ Prince, attempted to overthrow the rival Jì clan in 0517, and, failing, went into exile that fall, quite possibly with Confucius in his military escort, wandering from Chí on the north to Jìn on the west; he died there in 0510. His brother (Dìng-gūng) was allowed to rule in Lǔ, but those like Confucius who had supported Jāu-gūng were initially excluded from court. We may see here the root of Confucius's legitimist political position, and his personal resentment. With the 0494 accession of Aī-gūng, who took a bolder line against the Jì, Confucius may have received a modest post at court; it was perhaps then that he resumed the surname Kǔng. He last attended court in 0481; his withdrawal may have been occasioned by the death of his son Bwó-yw̄, who was then in his fiftieth year. Bwó-yw̄'s death may have had other consequences: the process of the creation of deities in Chinese popular religion can begin with the lack of an heir to perform the ancestral rites for a deceased man, and thus the formation of a cult to permit veneration of him by non-kin outsiders.<sup>24</sup> Confucius himself died in the fourth month of 0479, in his seventieth year.

<sup>21</sup>For a more detailed discussion of Confucius and his circle, see Appendix 4.

<sup>22</sup>As an example of how newcomers make their way in a hereditary military tradition, we note that some WW2 German generals were descended from centuries-old Prussian military-nobility families (Barnett **Generals** 175 [von Rundstedt], 422 [von Manteuffel]); others received an endowment as a reward for outstanding service during the war itself (Barnett 216 [von Reichenau]).

<sup>23</sup>The word yén 顏 means “face” or “complexion,” and might be the occupational surname of a cosmetics preparer or purveyor. There is also a phonetically compatible Syūngnú word for “rouge” (Boodberg **Sino-Altaica III** 144–146).

<sup>24</sup>Suggested by Alvin P. Cohen, 25 January 1996; see further Cohen **Coercing** 257f. For the mythic implications of Confucius's fatherlessness, see Jensen **Wise**.

**Confucius's Circle.** These were, properly speaking, his official protégés (the term “disciples” implies a relationship which arose only later, as the Confucian school became more organized): young men whom he had been guiding in the early years of a civilian court career. There may have been a secondary relationship with the relatives of these protégés, or with others for whom Confucius may have functioned as a social conduit (see Appendix 4); there are, for example, besides the well-known protégé Yén Hwéi, a veritable cloud of other, unknown Yéns, all presumably Confucius's maternal relatives. Confucius probably began to function as a mentor for those entering on court careers late in the reign of Dīng-gūng, with enhanced visibility from 0494 on under the new regime of Aī-gūng. Some of his protégés were of good social or economic background (they are distinguished in the text by the Dž- or “Young Master” prefix in their personal names); others were obscure. Members of both groups seem to have held or been offered responsible positions. The general impression is one of genuine opportunity, in which ability, apart from status, counted for something.

The early Analects sayings imply tensions within the group, largely due to political differences: several of the earliest and most promising protégés took service under the illegitimate Jì clan, while others, on the average less successful, were like Confucius firmly loyal to the princely line. Another type of tension which can be seen in the early Analects layers is that between the old warrior elite, who had once monopolized most court positions, whose social ideal was the jywǎndž 君子 or “gentleman,” the code of those who were born to rule others, and what the text calls the syāu-rǎn 小人 or “little people,” newcomers of artisan or entrepreneurial origin, with the value system of those who survive by wit rather than force: know-how, personal charm, ingratiating speech, avoiding rather than facing danger, and a keen eye for the bottom line. Their managerial skills probably helped them to compete with the warrior elite for positions at the court or with the clans. The position of the warrior elite was that, while still called on for military *service* (even the new-style mass army of the 04c would need a large number of chariot officers), they apparently had to rely for *income* on civil posts in the emerging new bureaucracy; that is, they were subject to an ethos that no longer guaranteed them a livelihood.<sup>25</sup> The Prince underwent a comparable evolution: having been in Spring and Autumn a remote feudal overlord, he evolved in the 05c into something like a head of state; the ruler not of the land, but of the people.

### LY 4 Itself

The reader may now turn to LY 4. It has been customary to regard all of the Analects as reflecting Confucius, yet its inconsistencies, of which even a beginning reader soon becomes aware, tend to undermine one's confidence in its authenticity. Some recent scholars have doubted that *any* of the book can be said to reflect Confucius. If our theory is correct, however, the LY 4 sayings *are* literally authentic sayings of Confucius, transcribed after his death, preserving something like his actual voice, and embodying the austere code of the warrior, adjusted but not bent to the different needs of the new-society courtier.

<sup>25</sup>Lattimore *Frontiers* 397–399 rightly locates Confucius at the end of feudalism, but, by combining *all* the Analects sayings, sees him also as a prophet of postfeudal society. The LY 4 sayings, undiluted, tend to show that Confucius *detested* postfeudal society.

**Bronze Sword with Gold Inscription**

*Length 55 cm (21.7 in). Early 05c. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art (29-19)*