Appendix 2
Developmental Patterns in the Analects

The essence of an accretional theory for any text is that it assigns different dates to different portions of the text, thus accounting for otherwise problematic variations in language, form, or content. In the previous Appendix, apart from a presumption about the progressive aggrandizement of Confucius himself, we have relied on *formal* criteria in defininin an accretional theory for the Analects. It is thus an independent test of that theory to explore its implications for *content*. Specifically, we wish to see if the Analects material, arranged as in Appendix 1, implies the developmental picture that we would expect from chronologically ordered evidence covering a 230-year span during a period known to be one of rapid technological and political change. In this Appendix, we apply that test by noting the distribution of terms and ideas in the basic chapter material, largely ignoring passages identified as interpolations. This is meant to show that the proposed chapter sequence is essentially sound, and superior to the integral theory in accounting for what we actually find in the text. For this purpose, we will limit ourselves to items of intellectual or material culture whose developmental direction is either intrinsically plausible or archaeologically attested. Once the developmental character of the text has been confirmed, it will also be useful to go on to examine a few developmental sequences whose outcome *cannot* be assumed. That is, at some point it becomes valid to look to the accretional Analects for new information about the period. Among topics of special interest for Analects readers are the implied histories of the supposedly ancient classics Shī, Shū, and Yì, which turn out to enter the awareness of the Lǔ Confucians later than the orthodox account of these texts would require, thus challenging the orthodox account itself.

An Overview

Before proceeding to specifics, we may notice a single, impressive feature of the distribution patterns. This is the occurrence of words and concepts which are proved by the respective school texts to have been associated with such rival trends of thought as the Dàuist, Legalist, and Mician movements. As the commentary to the main translation will show, we find in the 05c layers of the text persistent hints that the Lǔ Confucians were aware of a technique of meditation. There are also 05c indications of material progress, an interest in the ethics of salary, and of what might be called a popular morality of reciprocal responsibility. But there are no signs of any *organized advocacy groups* based on those or other concerns. If we draw, across our proposed Analects chapter sequence, a line after LY 3 and before LY 2 –

LY 4-5-6-7-8-9-10-11-3 / 12-13-2-14-15-1-16-17-18-19-20

– then *every* specific Analects textual resemblance to lines in the Dàu/Dý Jīng, the Gwǎndž, or the Mwòdž, and *every* unambiguous echo of the cosmological ideas now associated with Dzōu Yěn, or the military tactics of the mass army expounded in the Sūndž, falls *after* that line. There could be no neater demonstration that the age of philosophical interaction, the so-called Hundred Schools period, some at least of whose participants are agreed to be of 04c date, has *a definite point of onset* in the Analects. This pattern is very hard to explain on the theory that differences between the several Analects chapters are due to their having been compiled by different 05c disciples, with different 05c philosophical interests.

Confucius

We may begin by reviewing our initial assumptions, to see how consistently our expectation of gradual Confucian aggrandizement is fulfilled in the final theory.

Confucius's Rank. It is clear from the tone of LY 4 that Confucius was in real life steadfast in principle (4:6) but frustrated in practice (4:5); this is not the voice of a successful statesman. Later chapters never quite lose sight of this career failure, but they place it, so to speak, at increasingly higher levels:

4:5	Prefers integrity to success
5:21	Praises integrity over survival
5:8	Recommends disciples to the head of the Mvèng clan
6:8	Recommends disciples to the de facto ruler of Lŭ, Jì Kāngdž
6:3	Recommends disciples to the official ruler of Lŭ, Aī-gūng
7:14	Portrayed as observing ritual practice in Chí
9:15	Portrayed as transmitting ritual expertise from Wèı
11:8	Claims to rank just behind the Great Dignitaries
14:21	Urges Aī-gūng to invade Chí in response to assassination of its ruler
14:32	Criticized as going from place to place in search of a ministership
15:1	Leaves Wèı in a huff after its ruler asks the wrong question
17:4	Refuses office under a rebel leader
17:6	Tempted by office under a rebel leader
18:3	Received in Chí on a par with heads of Jì and Mvèng clans
18:4	Resigns Lŭ ministership in a huff after ruler becomes distracted

The transition from no rank to modest rank comes before LY 11, and the further promotion to a virtually ministerial rank comes before LY 14. Neither coincides with the "Hundred Schools" dividing line, which is before LY 12. This data set thus does not support the idea of a layer-type theory of the text with a break before LY 12. It implies two *additional* breaks. Still other breaks will be implicit in other data sets. The ultimate implication of *all* the data sets is the continuous-accretion theory.

Confucius's Travels. This development generally parallels that described above:

6:4	[Disciple makes chariot journey to Chí]
7:14	Confucius journeys [presumably by chariot] to Chí
7:19	[Disciple is present in Shvè (south of Lŭ)]
7:23	Confucius unafraid of enemy [in unspecified location]
9:5	Confucius unafraid of enemy in Kwáng [south of Lŭ]
9:15	Confucius returns [presumptively by chariot] from Wèı
11:2	Confucius is in Chvín [well south of Lŭ]
11:21	Confucius is alarmed in Kwáng [presumably en route to Chvín]
15:1	Confucius interviews the ruler of Wèı
15:2	Confucius undergoes hardship in Chvín

We note that travel both north and south is specified for disciples [in the passages bracketed above] before it is attributed to Confucius, and it would be possible to argue that Confucius himself never left Lŭ during his lifetime. In Appendix 4 we argue instead that Confucius visited Chí and Jìn in the period of Jāu-gūng's exile, and Sùng in the late years of Dìng-gūng, and feel that this modest core of fact better explains the particular form taken by the subsequent aggrandizing myth. The data here cited document the gradual expansion of the Chvín/Tsàı journey, with details being added to it, and previous claims being fitted in around it. By the 03c, this perilous episode was part of the public myth of Confucius, taken for granted both by his votaries (JZ 28:15, Watson 318f) and his detractors (JZ 20:4, Watson 213f).

Confucius's Chariot. Here again, it is probably a false clue that Confucius is initially portrayed as walking rather than driving; the likely situation is that the chariot was reserved for ceremonial or long-distance use:

7:22	Confucius portrayed as walking
7:14	Confucius journeys [presumably by chariot] to Chí
9:15	Confucius returns [presumably by chariot] from Wèı
9:2	Confucius sarcastically undertakes to perfect himself in chariot driving
[10:18f	Chariot etiquette is now now part of the gentleman's standard image]
11:8	Confucius owns, and by protocol cannot give up, a chariot
13:9	Confucius is [outridden?] in his chariot by Rǎn Yǒu
2:5	Confucius is driven in his chariot by Fán Chŕ
2:22	Confucius uses chariot metaphor
15:6	Confucius uses chariot metaphor
18:5	Confucius descends from chariot to talk to Madman

The only developmental aspect in the data is then an increased tendency to portray Confucius in his official role, which involves the chariot as an incident of that role.

Confucius's House. The data also show an increasing splendor of residence, starting with zero (in LY 4–6 he is seen at the homes of *others*, never at his own). Again, a grand house is credited to disciples before it is asserted of Confucius:

4:1–17	Confucius addresses individual disciples; no setting mentioned
5:1–28	Confucius sometimes addresses multiple disciples; no setting mentioned
6:10	Confucius visits a disciple at *the disciple's* house
6:11	Confucius describes a disciple's life in *the disciple's* house
7:29	Confucius receives a visitor while himself away from home
8:3	*Dzv̄ngdž* has disciples who frequent his "gate"
9:2	Confucius answers a criticism made on the criticizer's turf
[10:12f	Domestic etiquette prescribed for the ideal gentleman]
11:2	Confucius (cf 8:3) has disciples who frequent his "gate"
11:15	Contrast between outer hall and inner chamber
16:13	Confucius's house has a courtyard in which disciples meet
19:23	Confucius's palatial residence, complete with ancestral shrine, in Lǔ

What Confucius as a chariot warrior's heir probably did *not* have was a town house; it seems likely that the disciples who headed the posthumous school first achieved this degree of affluence, which was then projected back onto Confucius himself.

Confucius's School. The format in which the Master's teachings are inculcated also changes systematically over time, in parallel with their architectural context:

4:1f	No implied contact among disciples; all maxims envision action
5:1f	Group contact among disciples, all aiming at public office
6:12	Rǎn Chyóu not strong enough to follow "the Master's Way"
7:1	First hint of transmitted rather than original content of teaching
7:5	Emphasizes continuity with Jōu dynasty
7:7	Tuition payments, open admissions; public office goal minimized
8:3	Dzv̄ngdž evidently presides over an organized, residential school
9:12	Confucius dies in the arms of his disciples; residential school implied
12:1f	Highly formal master/disciple format
1:1	Memorization of texts emphasized
16:13	Schoolyard portrayed; study of Shr̄ and ritual enjoined

The general picture is one of increasing formality, an increasing claim to base the school's teachings not on Confucius's wisdom but on a heritage from antiquity, and, finally, an increasing curricularization of that antiquity.

Material and Social Developments

Before further exploring the history of the Confucian school, we take up some topics whose probable developmental trajectory is known from archaeological or other evidence, and can thus confirm or refute the proposed chapter sequence.

Hunting and Animals. It is known that an older hunting culture was replaced in this millennium by a farming culture. The Analects shows evidence of this change in the replacement of fur by woven cloth for clothing and of game animals by domestic animals for food, and in the increasing rarity of wild or game animals:

6:4	Disciple wears fur robes on diplomatic errand
9:27	Poor disciple wears hemp robe; rich colleagues wear furs
10:5a	Last mention of fur as normal clothing for gentlemen, c0380
10:5c	Plant-fiber robe prescribed for sacrifice, probably for traditional reasons
11:14	Enlarging of government storehouse, implying central grain reserves
11:17	Increase in the rate of the government tax on the harvest
3:7	Highly ritualized (and thus perhaps partly symbolic?) archery contest
12:9	Proposal to go beyond a 20% tax rate on the harvest
13:4	State interest in the arts of plant husbandry
13:9	Population increase, presumably based on improved agriculture
15:6	Disciple writes saying on sash (necessarily of silk, not fur)
16:1	Reference to wild animals in zoos

The stylization or loss of the *skills* of the hunt (archery) and of *trophies* of the hunt (fur clothing) is counterpointed by an increase in farm production, and in state *concern* for efficient farm production and the revenues it produces. No single watershed date probably exists for this comprehensive change, but the above data suggest that the center of gravity shifted somewhere near the beginning of the 04c.

Silk has replaced older types of plant-fiber cloth even for ritual purposes in 9:3. To have made such inroads on ritual usage, silk production with its specialized mulberry-growing and weaving, and thus the displacement of hunting by farming, must have been advanced by the end of the 05c, thus refining the above conjecture.

Chì 器. Despite scholarly debate on details, there is no doubt that the Warring States increasingly used metal for utilitarian rather than ritual purposes. This change is reflected in the word chì, which in the early part of the text refers to a ritual vessel, either in itself or as a metaphor for the "capacity" of a minister. Later, the primary or default meaning of the word is instead an edged tool or weapon:

5:4	"You are a *vessel* [an elegant ritual vessel]," c0470
3:22	Gwǎn Jùng's *capacity* [as a minister] was small indeed," c0342
13:25	"He [the supervisor] takes account of their *capacity* [or *ability*]," c0322
2:12	"A gentleman is not to be used as an *implement*," c0317
*15:10	"Must first sharpen his *tools*," c0301 (terminus a quo, c0305)

There is little doubt that the first two usages have in mind a vessel, and that the last two intend a special-purpose edged tool such as a knife or chisel; the association of such specific function with lower-status persons, in contrast to the general ability of the minister, confirms this. 13:25, in the middle, might be taken either way; in view of the other examples, it is more likely to reflect the later usage. We thus have a change in denotation paralleling a development in material culture. From these examples, the linguistic shift might date from c0330. Given the innate conservatism of language, this might place the prior culture change in the early 04c or late 05c. All these developments thus cohere into a single, general material-culture change.

The Army. Here again, experts differ over the exact timetable, but it seems not to be in doubt that the millennium saw a shift from an elite, chivalric warfare based on long-range archery and the horse-drawn chariot, in effect a warfare of encounter, to a mass army of maneuver, still with chariots but based on infantry and close-order weapons such as the sword. The latter phase is also characterized by the production of handbooks of strategy such as the Sūndž Bīng-fǎ, which themselves stress not only the power but the costs of the newer style warfare. Among the key phrases is sān-jyūn 三軍 "the three armies," which, whatever its meaning in earlier times, seems in the Warring States to denote a force trained to carry out simultaneous operations such as flank attacks or encirclement; unfortunately, all Analects occurrences of this term are in interpolated passages. Perhaps the central problem of the new army was how to get its low-status conscripts to die in its service:

13:29	Right government must precede leading the people to war, c0322
13:30	Must teach people before taking them to war
14:19	Refers to a commander of the armies 軍旅
15:1	Confucius refuses to discuss army 軍旅 matters

If we consult the contemporary Gwǎndž (see page 257), we find that this part of the Analects is in the middle of a wider debate on the place of the people in the state, particularly as respects their legal and military obligations. So far as it goes, the Analects evidence attests the new-style army as of the third quarter of the 04c.

The People. References to the mín 民 "populace" in the Analects do not always have the same sense; so also with jùng 衆 "masses." A third term, bǎı-syìng 百姓 "the Hundred [many] Families/Surnames" has a more limited distribution. In the list below, these terms are given in **bold** when they seem to evoke the new society:

6:2	Indulgence toward the mín
9:3	Jùng in the sense of a majority of the courtiers
10:7b–8	Village rituals are apart from, though witnessed by, the elite
11:23	The mín and their sacrifices are apart from those of the elite
3:21	Criticizes the overawing of the **mín** by funeral customs in ancient times
12:2	Treat the **mín** as though presiding at a sacrifice
12:7	The trust of the **mín** in the ruler is vital to government
12:9	Concern for the tax-paying **bǎı-syìng**
12:19	If the ruler loves what is good, the **mín** will be easy to govern
12:22	**Jùng** as a source of promotion to ministerships
13:4	The ruler influences the **mín** by the example of his own desires
14:41	If the ruler loves ritual, the **mín** will be docile
14:42	Ruler cultivates himself so as to ease the lot of the **bǎı-syìng**
15:28	Approval of the **jùng** is a factor in official evaluations
19:3	Esteem the talented, but include the **jùng**
20:1	If any of the **bǎı-syìng** do wrong, the ruler will take the blame

LY 4 already gave a vivid impression of a society in which court office had become newly available to a lower-status group, the "little people" of that chapter and the next. The text thus opens upon a society already in transition. The absence of this term in LY 7–9 suggests that the disdain which it implies later moderated. What the above data add to this impression is that by LY 3 (c0342), that is, by the mid 04c, the people at large had come to be more thoroughly integrated into society, with the ruler acknowledging an interest in, and in time even a responsibility for, their welfare and behavior. With allowances for the probable reluctance of the Analects to report military matters, it would seem that the transition to this new civil role closely parallels the separately attested transition to the new-style mass army.

Unpredictable Developments

These examples show that between the Analects chapters we have designated as early and those we have designated as late, there occur changes in material and social culture which are abundantly documented outside the text, and which on grounds of general historical plausibility could not in any case be conceived of as occurring *in the opposite direction*. Moreover, those changes themselves are easily seen as part of a single inclusive transition from one type of society and economy to another. Such changes carry their own conviction, and at some point the number of such historically plausible sequences will amount to a confirmation of the present accretion hypothesis. It will then be permissible to use the accretional Analects as a historical source in its own right, and to ask it questions to which we do not know the precise answers in advance. This section includes a few such questions, centering on the evolution of the teachings of the Confucian school itself.

Rýn vs Lǐ. The dispute over which of these values is central to the Analects is of long standing. The data show a pattern which is not linear, but still intelligible:

4:1–7	Rýn is central to Confucius's own idea of his value system
4:13	Mention of lǐ and ràng (deference) as intrinsic to government
5:19	Rýn is misunderstood by a disciple as meaning bureaucratic scruple
6:22	Disciple question about rýn
6:23	Poetic but cryptic contrast between rýn and jř (knowledge)
7:6	Rýn is described in instrumental terms
8:7	Rýn is described by Dzīngdž as a burden
9:29	Rýn is said to be inimical to sorrow
10:1–19	Ritual conduct manual; rýn is never mentioned
11:1–23	Rýn is never mentioned
3:1–26	Ritual theory treatise
3:3	Rýn is reintroduced as a sort of prerequisite to valid ritual practice
12:1–2	Rýn is literally redefined as conformity to ritual
12:22	Rýn in the ruler is equated with love (àı) of the people

We have here not an either/or situation, but a developmental sequence in which rýn, central to Confucius, was unclear to his earliest successors, and by the end of the 05c had become sentimental and obsolescent. In the 04c (it helps to know, on grounds explained in Appendix 4, that this is the start of the Kǔng family headship) an entirely new ethos, based on lǐ, suddenly supervenes, and rýn is at first banished, and later reintroduced as a detail in the lǐ system. It is then (in 12:22, which again, it is useful to know, shows Mician influence) once more redefined, and thereafter (and in the Mencian school, which splits off at this point from the Analects) has a number of meanings vaguely centering on the concept of "benevolence." The clear implication is that rýn in its original, stalwart sense was central to Confucius, whereas lǐ later replaced it as the central concept of Lǔ Confucianism.

Courage. Another martial value that fares ill in the later Analects is yǔng 勇 "courage." Suggestive landmarks in its evolution are:

9:29	The brave are never afraid (only positive mention in primary sense)
2:24	To see the right and not do it is to lack courage (moral reinterpretation)
14:12	Yǔng (presumably in new sense) is part of a gentleman's equipment
17:21	A gentleman will not approve of yǔng (in the sense of rowdyism)

We seem to have here a military virtue (05c) reinterpreted in moral terms (04c), and finally abandoned (03c). The first two phases parallel the case of rýn. The last, which may reflect the rise of "free sword" desperadoes in the 03c, is unique.

We may here go back to the point reached on page 251, and explore some less predictable aspects of the Confucian curriculum.

The Shī. No text is cited or mentioned in the original sayings of LY 4, or in those of LY 5–6, which have some claim to have been written within living memory of Confucius. Furthermore, the pedagogical focus in those chapters is on listening and reflecting, not reading or memorizing; neither of which terms occurs. There is thus no support in the Analects for the Hàn view that Confucius compiled or commented on any of the texts which became canonical in Hàn. Of the three "classic" texts quoted in the later Analects, the Shī has the longest pedigree:

6:13	Dž-syà should not attend to the learning of the little people (Fōng?)
8:3	Dzōngdž quotes something like Shī 196 (Yǎ)
9:15	Yǎ and Sùng sections of the Shī are mentioned as now properly placed
9:27	Dž-lù quotes Shī 33 (Fōng)
10:1f	No mention; Shī apparently had no role in ordinary court proceedings
11:6	Quotes Shī 256 (Yǎ) in a seemingly appropriate moral sense
3:8	Forced ritual reinterpretation of Shī 57 (Fōng) by Dž-syà
12:10	Confucius quotes from Shī 188 (Yǎ) to conclude a comment
13:5	Shī corpus mentioned as containing 300 poems
2:2	Shī 297 cited in forced interpretation as an epitome of all 300 poems
1:15	Remake of 3:8: Dž-gùng replaces Dž-syà as the ideal Shī interpreter
16:13	Shī study recommended to the young
17:16	Complains of the immorality of the Jòng Fōng (Shī 75–95)
17:8a	Gives a pedestrian rationale for Shī study

In effect the Shī is disapproved of at the beginning (6:13) and the end (17:16) of its association with the Analects. In the middle it becomes something of an authority, but the tension between its manifest meaning and most of the uses made of it in the Analects is suggestive. It would seem that the Shī gradually took shape between c0460 (LY 6:13) and c0322 (LY 13:5), close to, but not within, the Analects group.

The Shū. Apart from interpolated passages, nothing is heard of anything like the present Shū until c0317:

2:21	Confucius quotes (as "the Shū") from something like Shū 49
14:40	Disciple quotes (as "the Shū") from the present Shū 43
20:1	[Composition in the style of a Shū document]

The Micians seem to have been the first to use the device of citing supposedly ancient documents. The one accepted as an authority in LY 2:21 is evidently from this Mician repertoire; in the present inventory it is an "old script" piece, all of which are now agreed to be later forgeries (Shaughnessy **Shu** 377). It is uncertain who produced the first of the Confucian counter-Shū, such as that quoted seven years later in LY 14:40. It is not until c0250 (LY 20:1) that we find the Analects itself composing texts in the Shū style.

The Yì. All undisputed Analects mentions of or quotations from the Yì are interpolations, a privileged level of the book which seems to have been a haven for new material which for whatever reason could not readily be accommodated in the main text. The Yì, like the Shū, is absent from the Analects horizon until c0317, when a pair of sayings which we date to that period refer to it:

*13:22a	Approves (quoting Yì 32) of folk saying about diviners needing stability
*13:22b	Advises active, not passive, consultation of the oracle

Like the Shū, but even more completely, the Yì vanishes from the Analects after this lone late 04c quotation. It never becomes part of the Analects expository ethos.

Orality vs Literacy. There is little doubt that there is a general Warring States trend from oral toward written modes of text retention and transmission, but it is of interest to ask whether a transition from one to the other can be observed in the Analects. Nothing in the character of the original LY 4 core sayings suggests that they were recorded when first delivered; hence our assumption of a posthumous compilation. The parallelistic, mnemonic form of these sayings (see pages 17–18) supports this inference. By contrast, at the other end of the text, the final saying in the book (20:3) is known only in the Gǔ written text, and not in the Lǔ version which supposedly represents a memorized version. It would appear that, in c0249, the school head would first *write* a new saying, and only later assign it for memory by students. In between must come an indication that writing had begun to be the primary mode of retention. One such sign is:

15:6 Disciple writes just-heard saying on the sash of his robe, c0305

but mention of the completed Shī in 13:5, and Mician citation of supposed ancient documents from about that period, would seem to push the transition further back. It seems safest to suppose that the shift took place nearer to the mid 04c.

Philosophical Maturity. As a final exploration, this time including evidence from interpolations, we note a change in how the Analects tradition viewed itself.

4:1f	Collection of apparently ad hoc maxims, but thematically arranged
11:23	Confucius resents literalistic disciple application of a former remark
3:4	Disciple asks for an underlying explanatory principle of ritual
12:1–4	First definitions of terms
13:15	Ruler asks for a saying that could compass the rise or fall of the state
*15:24[15a]	Disciple asks for a maxim applicable in all circumstances
*15:3[15a]	Disciple told that Confucius's sayings have a linking principle
*4:15[1]	Disciple reveals the linking principle as jūng 忠 and shū 恕
17:6	Confucius protests being trapped by his former remark
*11:20[17]	Confucius insists on the situational relativity of his maxims

Apart from the implicit systematizing impulse latent in the thematic arrangement of the core LY 4 sayings, there does not seem to be a conscious push toward viewing doctrine as coherent until 11:23, a protest against consistency, implies the issue. The idea that a doctrine is the better for having fundamental (3:4) or well-defined (12:1f) or uniquely efficacious (13:15) or nonsituational (*15:3) or linking (*15:24, *4:15) principles becomes evident in the middle and late 04c, at about the literacy transition, but then once more subsides, and is replaced by an impatience with consistency (17:6, *11:20). As with the brief flirtation with the Shū and Yì in the same period, or the even briefer dalliance with cosmology in 2:1, one feels that philosophical rigor is another Analects enthusiasm that in the end did not "take." The genius of Confucianism, as perceived by itself, seems ultimately to have been in situational flexibility: scope for applying general principles to specific cases.

Summary. Like many of the observations made in the foregoing pages, there is nothing new in this conclusion. That should perhaps be seen as a recommendation for the validity of the present theory, not as a failure in its application. It was not to be expected that later tradition would be wholly wrong in its estimation of the character of the Confucian movement, or that if it *should* be in error at some particular points, that critical scholars would not have raised questions about just those points. We would then claim, as the main contribution of these conclusions, not that they are surprising, but that they put the unsurprising in a more precise, and thus a more historically actionable, chronological framework.