6. The People

Who were the people? Some were Sinitic, and some were not. The meeting of the two gave a rich cultural mixture, and we will look at some details of it.

As the new army came into being, the people, Sinitic or not, became soldiers and thus citizens: subject to the state's laws and able to earn rank and reward in its wars.[1] The importance of the people led the state to worry about revolutions. It also led some thinkers to define the state *in terms of* its people; this we call populism. They held that the people had an interest in government, that some were able to serve in government, and that all were entitled to express opinions about government, or even to influence the choice of a ruler.

The 04c state had a theory of human nature: people can be controlled by rewards and punishments. This developed into the 03c human nature debate, which has proved to be an important contribution to Chinese philosophy.

The 05th Century

At the beginning of the Jōu Dynasty, Lǔ was relocated to non-Sinitic territory east of the Shāng enclave at Sùng, to guard against future rebellions. Around Lǔ were several non-Sinitic states or settlements, some of them close to its capital Chyw̄-fù. It was not until Lǔ suppressed the nonstate Rúng people (**#1:22-1:34**) that it acquired boundaries, and became at last a territorial state. Other interactions with the non-Sinitic peoples were less drastic.

Words. In 0632, the Lǔ Prince's brother Mǎı was executed for failing to defend Wèı (#**1:11**). Mǎı 買 means "buy;" its derivative màı 賣 means "sell." But when grain was bought from Chí in 0666 (#**1:9**), a different word, dí 糴, was used. So what exactly is the Chinese word for "buy?"

Methodological Moment. An idea introduced from one culture into another tends to have connections in its home setting, but to be isolated in the new one. The chariot had a long history in West Asia, but it appears suddenly in Shāng, implying the directionality West Asia > Shāng. Similarly, the Sinitic word pair mǎı 買 "buy" / màı 賣 "sell" has a counterpart, two words distinguished by tone, in the Myáu language. Which has borrowed from which? In Chinese, "buy/sell" is a word family by itself, but the Myáu pair have cousins: they are related to the word for "have." The implied directionality is Myáu > Sinitic.[2]

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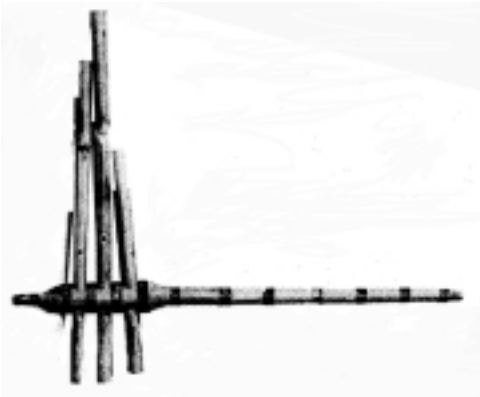
[1]For the creation of citizenship through military service, see Weber **Peasants** 292f.

[2]Haudricourt **Hmong** 304. For other Myáu words, see Schuessler **Etymological**.



Objects. Among the instruments in the classical Sinitic court orchestra was the shvēng 笙, a windchest base with many tuned tubes rising from it; it can play chords as well as single notes. Its role in Chinese music is limited. By contrast, in Southeast Asia the shvēng is found in many forms and varieties. It is the instrument most commonly mentioned in stories told by modern Myáu.[3] The implication is that the shvēng arose in a substrate culture whose descendants (among them the modern Myáu) can still be observed in and near south China.[4]

The Shī, the canonical collection of 305 poems, began as a collection of popular songs. The person responsible was probably the disciple Dž-syà, whom "Confucius" reproves in the following terms:

> **6:1** (LY 6:3, c0460). The Master said to Dž-syà, You should work on the rú 儒 of the gentleman, not the rú of the little people.

That is, the gentleman's concern is with elite values, not popular values. The poems against which Confucian disapproval has been consistently expressed are especially numerous in the section of the Shī devoted to Jvng.

[3]Among the Myáu of Sžchwān, as recorded by Graham, the shvēng, typically used with a drum at ceremonies, has six pipes and is called the lyòu-shvēng 六笙 "Six-[pipe] shvēng" (Graham **Miao** 93). There is an origin myth for it, involving six brothers who play single flutes at their father's funeral: ". . . After three years the sons thought . . . it will be best if we can take these tubes and bind them together and make a hole in each as we did in the tubes we were blowing, and use a hollow tube to put them in, and peach-tree bark to bind them together, and let one person play it . . . This custom we can pass on to later generations as a memorial service. The length of the [lyòu-shvēng] tubes differs because the ages and heights of the sons differ. The drum's shape is long and round because it illustrates the fact that the family will never desert the ancestors" (Graham **Miao** 21). Peach wood is credited by the Myáu with magical properties, and this association is also made in a number of what are now "Chinese" tales and customs.

[4]By no means all Sinitic borrowings from the substrate cultures are this peaceful. For the Myáu origin of the crossbow, and its modern Myáu tradition, see p106 n25.

Here is a late expression of that disapproval:

> **6:2** (LY 17:15, excerpt, c0270). The Master said, I hate the purple encroaching on the crimson. I hate the Songs of Jvng disturbing the classical music . . .

Some of those songs are indeed outrageous, from a conventional Sinitic point of view. They feature female sexual initiative, and even sexual promiscuity:

> **6:3** (Shr 86, Jvng #12, early 05c).
>
> 86A Yonder madcap boy, ah,
> Won't consent with me to meet, ah;
> It is all because of you
> That my food I cannot even eat, ah
>
> 86B Yonder madcap boy, ah,
> Won't consent with me to share a bite, ah;
> It is all because of you
> That my rest I cannot get at night, ah

. . . in which a girl unsuccessfully tries to attract a mate. Even worse is:

> **6:4** (Shī 87, Jvng #12, early 05c).
>
> 87A If you fondly think of me,
> Lift your robe and cross the Dzvn.
> If of me you do not think,
> Are you then the only one?
> – The craziest of crazy boys, is all you are!
>
> 87B If you fondly think of me,
> Lift your robe and cross the Wăı.
> If of me you do not think,
> Are you then the only guy?
> – The craziest of crazy boys, is all you are!

. . . where the girl threatens to go elsewhere if the boy is not interested, thus adding the threat of promiscuity to the confession of desire. None of this is proper in a Sinitic household. Nor is Jvng the only place such things turn up. Here is a piece from Chvn, in which a boy teases a girl about her lack of social standing (Jyāng and Dž are the ruling clans of Chí and Sùng, respectively):

> **6:5** (Shr 138, Chvn #3, excerpt, early 05c).
>
> 138B Why must the fish one eats
> have to be a River fāng?
> Why must the wife one weds
> have to be a Chí Jyāng?
>
> 138C Why must the fish one eats
> have to be a River lǐ?
> Why must the wife one weds
> have to be a Sùng Dž?

These are not poems, but templates for a song process; the song can go on as long as the singer can find rhymes to substitute in the otherwise identical frame.

It is characteristic of these template songs[5] that they are sung by a member of one sex to members of the other sex: they are invitations in real time. That songs *were* sung back and forth, as incidents in choosing a mate from across the river, or perhaps just for fun, comes from the next of the Chńn poems, which praises girls for their skill at this sort of poetic repartee:

6:6 (Shī 139, excerpt, early 05c).

139A The pond by the Eastern Gate
is good for steeping hemp.
That beautiful Shú-jī
Is good at answering songs . . .

This describes a culture of repartee without itself participating in that culture, but at least this stanza does seem to describe it. What do we do with it?

Granet, who visited China in the early 20c, discovered songs like these, implying gatherings of maidens and youths, which were responsive or literally antiphonal, and often sung in the vicinity of a river. Since the reports he cites mention similar customs among the modern Lolo and the modern Myáu, we probably have an area trait rather than a Sinitic trait.[6] Then the songs in our Shī are products of contact between Dž-syà's elite culture (which, as we have seen, disapproved of them) and one or another of these local cultures.

Chńn was destroyed by Chǔ in 0479. In that confusion or shortly before, the Confucian disciple Dž-jāng had come to Lǔ. With such an informant at hand, Dž-syà will have had no difficulty in obtaining material from Chńn. As for Jvng, the storm center of Spring and Autumn diplomacy, Lǔ remained in contact with it throughout the early 05c. There is no problem with sources.

So what was Dž-syà up to? He too probably disapproved of these songs, and gathered them precisely to show the cultural depravity of the states, on the theory that only culturally virtuous states could be strong enough to survive the wars of conquest that were already beginning.[7] This view of the Shī was still current in some circles late in the 04c, as witness comments made in a Dzwǒ Jwàn story by a visitor observing a complete performance of the Shī:

6:7 (DJ 9/29:13, excerpt, c0315) . . . They sang for him the [airs of] Jvng. He said, "Very beautiful. But the detail is excessive; the people will not be able to bear it. Will not [Jvng] be first to perish?" They sang for him the [airs of] Chí. He said, "Very beautiful. And what a great wind it is! The one who plants his staff on the Eastern Sea, was it not [Chí ancestor] Tàı-gūng? The future of this state is immeasurable . . ."

This might be called the elite political reading of the Shī.

[5]For the term and further examples, see Brooks **Template**.

[6]Granet **Festivals**, Appendix III.

[7]For the geographical aspects, see Brooks **Political**.

This had its uses as political propaganda, but the wider culture was scandalized. The Shī poems were publicly performed by the court orchestras, and perhaps at wealthy private residences. In that context, they were felt to glamorize improper conduct to the more impressionable among the audience. Soon, new stanzas were added to the bantering poems, and new poems were written to stand beside the indecent poems, as better models for the elite young.

Thus, to the two-stanza teasing song **#6:5**, there was added a first stanza setting a tone of unworldly retreat and resignation, and removing the situation as far as possible from any suggestion of young love:

6:8 (Shī 138, excerpt, late 05c).

138A Beneath my simple doorway
I can be at ease;
From the flow of the spring
I can cure hunger.[8]

To further draw attention away from the indecent invitations of the floozies of Jvng, poems like this one were added to the Jvng section. It depicts a girl eager to devote herself to cooking and mending as the wife of a nobleman:

6:9 (Shī 75, Jvng #1, excerpt, late 05c).

75A Your black robe, how well it fits, ah!
When it is worn out, another I will stitch, ah!
I will go to your residence, ah!
and there I will serve you delicacies, ah!

75B Your black robe, it hangs just so, ah!
When it is worn out, another I will sew, ah!
I will go to your residence, ah!
and there I will serve you delicacies, ah! . . .

And this they put at the head of the whole Jvng section, where the modest and beautiful girl could have her maximum effect as a positive cultural example.

Rural Economy. The people on the land were grouped in villages and connected by larger-area arrangements called dǎng 黨[9] or associations. These were mutual-aid arrangements, as may be seen in a passage previously read:

6:10 (LY 6:5, c0460). Ywǽn Sz̀[10] was the Steward [of the Jì clan]. They were going to give him nine hundred measures of grain, but he declined. The Master said, Was there no way you could have given it to the neighboring village 鄰里 or the county association 鄉黨?

The association would then distribute it for him to those who could use it.

[8]More logically "thirst," but that would not rhyme.

[9]The modern term for a political party. In our period, it meant a political faction, and was a term of disapproval: people who together hold political opinions are subversive.

[10]Another Chvń disciple? The Ywǽn were, or had been, a prominent Chvń family.

Here is another aspect of the duty of the elite toward the commoners:

> **6:11** (LY 6:22, c0460). Fán Chŕ asked about knowledge. The Master said, Concern yourself with what is due the people 民, and be assiduous toward the ghosts and spirits so as to keep them at a distance – this can be called knowledge.

The mín 民, as here, are usually the common people.[11] Both parts of the answer involve participation at a distance: the "ghosts and spirits" were not the gods of the elite, who were chiefly the ancestors of the elite, but the local gods of the common people. Knowing how to manage such things, outside one's own culture, is knowledge needed by officers of the new society.

A later glimpse of the elite engaging with local ceremonies comes in these lines from an early 04c Analects chapter describing the basics of court protocol:

> **6:12** (LY 10:7b, c0380). When the country folk 鄉人 are drinking wine and the elders have left, he also takes his leave.
>
> **6:13** (LY 10:8, c0380). When the country folk are performing an exorcism, he takes his stand in his court dress on the formal stairs.

Here again are the religious observances of the lower populace, which the local elite watch over, but do not themselves perform.

Rural Welfare. The role of the association in distributing resources,[12] as above, and also responsibilities, comes through in a late Gwăndž passage, where an ideal welfare system is described. This part of it is about orphans:

> **6:14** (GZ 54:4, excerpt, 03c). "Pitying orphans" means that in the capital and all metropolitan areas there shall be officers in charge of orphans. When an officer or commoner dies and his orphan child is young, without parents to care for him and unable to provide his own livelihood, they shall assign him to the county association 鄉黨 or to acquaintances or friends. [Families] supporting one orphan shall have one son exempt from service; those supporting two orphans shall have two sons exempt from service; those supporting three orphans shall have the whole family exempt from service. The one in charge of orphans shall regularly inquire about them, and ascertain that they have adequate food and drink . . .

The unit of caring is a foster family. Costs are met, not by payment of state money, but by remission of state obligations. If no friend or acquaintance offers to provide foster care, the county association presumably assigns it. This is the county association in something like its original function, though by this time it has been absorbed into the structure of government, and works from above.

[11]The contrast is with rvń 人: freemen or officeholders. The verbal distinction is not consistent throughout the literature, but the social contrast is important.

[12]Such arrangements are very common. For mutual benefit associations among commoners in ancient Greece, especially in hard times, see Gallant **Risk** 143f, 171f.

The 04th Century

The Micians, though not themselves exactly commoners (they were the entrepreneurial sub-elite who later entered public service, and finally became assimilated to the Confucians), were near to ordinary life. Much of the impetus for what we call populism comes from them. Their influence as a movement, in this and other areas, begins to be felt in the 04c, and on the populism issue they are presently joined by the Dzwǒ Jwàn group.

Populism is the theory that the people are part of the state; that the state in fact exists for the people. First we need a model of the state in which the people have a secure and recognized place. This is provided by the Micians, at the time when they themselves began to enter state service, and were concerned to emphasize their own subordination to authority. But they also emphasize the requirements in the other direction. If the state is going to run by something other than total compulsion, there must be a ground of participation for those below. The Micians here transport the old military virtues jūng 忠 "loyalty" and syìn 信 "fidelity" into the social sphere. The people's loyalty must be earned by benefitting the people, and their trust must be gained by concern for their welfare, not sporadically, but consistently:

> **6:15** (MZ 21:1, excerpt, c0367). The reason wise kings and sages of antiquity could possess the world and bring order to the feudal lords, was that their love for the people was very loyal, and their benefits toward the people were very substantial. Loyalty 忠 led to trust 信, and was made manifest by benefit. Thus it was that the people all their lives did not flag, and til the end of the age they did not weary.

Rebellion. Minor incidents of popular unrest might be imagined by a nervous elite . . .

> **6:16** (DJ 9/23:2, excerpt, c0358). The people were repairing the walls [of the Chńn capital], and a plank fell down and killed someone. The workmen took cause together 相命 and each killed his overseer . . .

. . . but there were no popular rebellions. The people lacked the essentials for rebellion – organization, unity over distance, ideology, theoretical spokesmen.[13]

But populist theory did make a place for action from below against an evil ruler. Here is a Dzwǒ Jwàn story which turns on the idea that the ruler is liable to the judgement of the people, and that a ruler who fails that test is not properly a ruler at all. Such a theory was dangerous to express in direct terms, and the DJ makes its suggestion as a story about the past.[14]

[13]For these factors, see the German Peasant War of 1258 (Pirenne **Europe** 2/283f). When these factors came to exist in China, there followed the Yellow Turban Rebellion, which in effect brought the Latter Han Dynasty to an end (Levy **Yellow**).

[14]The sometimes populist Shū are of course stories about an even more remote past.

> **6:17** (DJ 9/14:6, excerpt, c0350). Master Kwàng was attending on the Lord of Jìn. The Lord of Jìn said, The people of Wèı have expelled their ruler, is this not too much? He replied, Perhaps it was the Wèı ruler who was too much. A good ruler will reward the good and punish the profligate; he will nourish the people as his own children, covering them like Heaven and supporting them like Earth. Then the people will uphold their ruler, loving him as their father and mother, looking up to him as to the sun and moon, reverencing him as the gods and spirits, fearing him as the thunder and lightning – how should they expel him? The ruler is the chief of the Spirits, the hope of the people . . .

This follows from the basic idea that the people are constitutive for the state, and that their welfare is the test of good government in the state.

Now appears the idea that the people are capable of advising government:

> **6:18** (DJ 8/5:4, excerpt, c0356). Lyáng-shān collapsed.[15] The Lord of Jìn sent word of it and summoned [Jìn noble] Bwó-dzūng. Bwó-dzūng found his path blocked by a heavy cart, and said, Make way. The carter said, Rather than wait for me, it would be faster to take a shortcut. Bwó-dzūng asked where he was from; he said, "I am from Jyàng [near Lyáng-shān]." He asked him about the affairs of Jyàng. The man said, "Lyáng-shān has collapsed, and they are summoning Bwó-dzūng to consult about what should be done."[16] He asked what should be done. He said, "When a mountain has a fault and collapses, what *can* be done? Mountains and rivers are the state's major concern, so when a mountain collapses or a river runs dry, the ruler accordingly has leaner repast, plainer robes, and slighter music; leaves his residence for a temporary one, makes prayers and invocations, and has the Astrologer write out a text for a ceremony. That is all. Even were there a Bwó-dzūng, what else could be done?" Bwó-dzūng asked permission to present him at court, but he would not permit it. Subsequently he reported all this, and the court followed it.

. . . or (add the Micians), even being in sole charge of the government:

> **6:19** (MZ 8, excerpt, c0340). Tāng [the founder of Shāng] raised Yī Yĭn from the kitchen and gave him charge of the government, and his plans were successful. Wv́n-wáng [the moral founder of Jōu] raised Húng Yāu and Tàı-dyĕn from their snares and nets and gave them charge of the government, and the Western Regions submitted . . .

There can be no argument against success. Especially legendary success.

[15]This much is given in the CC entry for 0586. Bv̄ng 崩 "collapse" is the term for a mountain landslide. It is also the polite way to refer to the death of the King, and in the CC it is reserved for that situation; deaths of lesser persons have other verbs.

[16]The carter's insolence, and his uncanny knowledge of Bwó-dzūng's errand, are typical of these stories: humble persons are brash, and know more than elite persons. See also the Tsáu Gwèı story, **#6:25**, where the low character gives his counsel directly.

Non-Sinitic Persons could be sympathetically portrayed. In this story, a Jìn leader has accused his Rúng ally of leaking information; he excludes the Rúng chieftain from a meeting. The Rúng chieftain cites the fidelity of the Rúng in the Battle of Yáu (#**1:43**), and then notes the cultural gulf between them:

> **6:20** (DJ 9/14:1 excerpt, c0350). He replied, Of old, the men of Chín, relying on their greater numbers and being covetous of our territory, drove out us Rúng. [The former Jìn ruler] Hwèı-gūng, displaying his great virtue, and saying that, as we were the descendants of the Four Peaks and should not be thus cut off, bestowed on us lands on his southern border, where foxes dwelt and wolves howled. We Rúng cut down thorn and bramble, drove out fox and wolf, and became peaceable and loyal subjects of your former ruler, and until the present day we have remained faithful.
>
> Of old, Wv́n-gūng and Chín attacked Jvèng. The men of Chín secretly covenanted with Jvèng, and left guards behind, whence came the encounter at Yáu. Jìn engaged them from above, the Rúng beset them from below, and that the Chín host did not return was in truth due to us Rúng. As in catching a deer: the men of Jìn took it by the horns, the Rúng took it by the feet; together they laid it low. Why then have we not escaped [these accusations]? From that time on, the doings of Jìn, one after another through the ages, have always been in concert with us Rúng; we have followed its leaders, as in the time of Yáu; how should we have dared to keep apart? Now, the hosts under the leadership of your officers have made mistakes and antagonized the Lords, and yet you blame us Rúng.
>
> We Rúng differ in our food and clothing from the Sinitic 華 peoples, our fabrics and other products are not exchangeable, and our languages are not mutually intelligible – what evil, then, could we have committed?[17] If I do not take part in this meeting, it will be no disgrace to me.

Like Cooper's romanticized Mohicans,[18] or the speech of Logan,[19] this piece probably comes from a time when the Rúng were no longer a serious threat.

[17]That is, it is not possible for us to have had communication with other states.

[18]The last Mohican Indians began to leave the Hudson River Valley for Wisconsin in the early 1820's; Cooper's first "Leatherstocking" novel appeared in 1823.

[19]"I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countryman pointed as they passed, and said, Logan is the friend of the white men. I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully satisfied my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

We should not think that the Micians sympathized with non-Sinitic peoples. On the contrary, they deplored the cruel ways of the ancient Myáu, on which MZ 12 (c0322) quotes this account of legal history from the Shū:

> **6:21** (Shū 55:3, excerpt, c0330). The Myáu people did not use persuasion, but kept order by punishments. They made a penal code of Five Cruelties and called it Law . . .

Elsewhere, the Micians report with equal disapproval the savage customs of other clearly non-Sinitic peoples:

> **6:22** (MZ 25:14, excerpt, c0330). Now those who advocate lavish funerals and extended mourning say, If lavish funerals and extended mourning are really not the Way of the Sage Kings, why do the gentlemen of the Central States constantly practice them and unvaryingly follow them? Master Mwòdž said, This is what one calls "finding convenient what one is used to, and finding right what one is accustomed to." Long ago, to the east of Ywè, there was the Country of the Kaimuk 軠沐. When the first son was born, they dismembered and ate him, calling it "appropriate for his younger brothers." When the grandfather died, they carried away the grandmother and abandoned her, saying that the wife of a ghost could not be dwelt with.[20] This, the superiors regard as standard practice and the inferiors consider customary, to be done and not ceased; chosen and not discarded. But how is it truly the Way of Humanity and Justice? It is what one calls "finding convenient what one is used to, and finding right what one is accustomed to."

The Lord of the River (Hý-bwó 河伯). Local gods sometimes turn up in elite texts. This tale explains the defeat of the Chǔ general Dž-yẁ at the Battle of Chńg-pú (#**1:40**). Probably the original story showed that this was due to the general's refusing the God's request. It is here overlaid by a populist moral:

> **6:23** (DJ 5/28:4, excerpt, c0330). Before this, Dž-yẁ of Chǔ had made himself a carnelian cap with jade capstrings, but had never worn it. Before the battle, he dreamed that the River Spirit said to him, Give it to me, and I will give you the marsh of Mvèng-jū. But he would not do it.[21]
>
> Dà-syīn and Dž-syī had [their father] Rúng Hwáng remonstrate with him, but he would not listen. Rúng Jì said, If by your death you could profit the state, you would do it, how much more these bits of jade? They are dirt, and if by them you could bring the army through safely, why would you grudge them? But he would not listen. He came out and told his two sons, It is not this Spirit who will defeat the Director Intendant. He is not assiduous for the people, and in truth, he will defeat himself.

The people's gods and their political interest get all mixed up in these tales.

[20]A custom of exposing old women (not old men!) is remembered in Japan, and is the background for the Hokkaido writer Inoue Yasushi's story Obasute 姨捨 (1956).

[21]For the custom of offerings to the Lord of the River, see Waley **Nine** 48-52.

Methodological Moment. Another Dzwǒ Jwàn story includes both popular and elite versions *of the same incident* (the death of a Lord of Jìn in 0581). This time the two can be separated by observing a discontinuity in the DJ text. The elite version [here indented] shows the Lord nobly accepting his coming death and rewarding the doctor who predicted it. The popular version shows the Lord killing the sorcerer who had predicted it, and then meeting his own death in the most humiliating way imaginable. The element of rude humor is unmistakable:

> **6:24** (DJ 8/10:4a, excerpt, c0350). The Lord of Jìn dreamed he saw a great spectre, with its hair hanging down its back to the ground. It beat its breast, leaped up, and said, You have wrongfully killed my descendants, and I have been able to make my request to God. It broke through the great gate, went as far as the sleeping quarters, and entered. The Prince was afraid, and entered his private chamber, but it broke through the door. The Prince awoke, and summoned the Medium of the Mulberry Field. The Medium told him what had occurred in his dream. The Prince said, What will happen? He said, You will not eat of the new harvest.
>
> > (DJ 8/10:4b, c0330) The Prince fell ill, and sought a doctor from Chín. The Elder of Chín sent Doctor Hwǎn to treat him. He had not yet arrived when the Prince dreamed that his illness was two boys. One said, That is a good doctor; I am afraid that he will harm us. Where can we hide from him? The other said, If we go above the diaphragm and below the heart, what can he do to us? When the doctor arrived, he said, The illness cannot be treated. It is above the diaphragm and below the heart, and I cannot attack it. Probing would not reach it; medicine would have no effect on it. I cannot treat it. The Prince said, You are a good doctor, showed him great courtesy, and sent him back.
>
> In the sixth month, on day #43, the Lord of Jìn wanted wheat, and sent his bailiff to present some. His cook prepared it. He called the Medium of the Mulberry Field, showed it to him, and killed him. As he was about to eat it, he had to go to relieve himself, fell into the privy, and died . . .

The separation is easy, but what does it tell us about the formation history of the Dzwǒ Jwàn text? Since the elite story is an intrusion, it must be later, and so, for a certain length of time, this story consisted *only of its popular element:* a tale of revenge which was taken into the DJ with very little change.

Other DJ stories contain popular *elements;*[22] this is a complete specimen. But for these tales, we would not suspect that popular literature even existed.

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[22]The most celebrated case is a suspected saga of the wanderings of the future Jìn Wv́n-gūng; see Maspero **China** 358. We may notice, before leaving the subject, that all the tales so far mentioned have to do in one way or another with Jìn, and especially with the Jàu clan. Later literature continues to show strong sympathies with the Jàu clan.

Tsáu Gwèı. Here is a populist rather than a popular story, expressing sympathy from above with the common people. The point is that the people's gratitude for justice under the laws is their motive for serving the state in war:

> **6:25** (DJ 3/10:1, excerpt, c0328). The army of Chí invaded us, and the Prince was about to do battle. Tsáu Gwèı asked to be received. A fellow-countryman of his said to him, The meat-eaters[23] are discussing it, why should you intrude? Gwèı said, The meat-eaters are too limited; they are incapable of planning for the long term. He went in, and was received. He asked, On what basis do you propose to do battle? The Prince said, Such food and clothing as conduce to comfort, I dare not to monopolize; I always share them with others. He replied, That is a small kindness, and not yet general. The people will not follow you for that. The Prince said, Sacrificial animals, and offerings of jade and silk, I dare not to multiply, but I always keep my word [about promised sacrifices]. He replied, that is only a small sincerity, and not true candor; the spirits will not bless you for that. The Prince said, In criminal cases small or large, though I am not able to investigate fully, I always render my decision based on the facts. He replied, That is something like fidelity; you may undertake one battle. If you should do battle, I beg leave to follow you . . .

The Prince granted this favor, and Tsáu Gwèı's directions led to victory. We may notice that this story rejects frugality and spirit piety (both basic to Mician populism), and makes justice the basis of the relation between ruler and people.

Confucian populism held that the people could advise government, criticize government, or even replace a government. Shū 32 tells how conflicting advice (from the ruler, his advisors, the people, bone divination, and Yì divination) is to be resolved. In sum, two divinations plus one human opinion are favorable, *even if the human opinion is that of the people:*

> **6:26** (Shū 32:29, excerpt, c0322) . . . If the common people are favorable and the turtle oracle is favorable and the stalk oracle is favorable, while you are opposed and the nobles and officers are opposed, it is fortunate.

Popular criticism of policy was sanctioned in this Dzwǒ Jwàn story:

> **6:27** (DJ 9/31:11, excerpt, c0322). Some people of Jvng had gone to a county school and were discussing the administration. Rán Míng said to [Jvng minister] Dž-chăn, How about eliminating these county schools? Dž-chăn said, What for? If people morning and evening go there to discuss the pros and cons of the administration, what they approve I will put into effect, and what they dislike I will change.[24] They are my teachers. How should I eliminate them? . . .

And the story ends in a word of approval from "Confucius."

[23]That is, the nobles, who alone (compare **#2:43**) regularly had meat in their diet.

[24]This near repeat of an Analects saying (#**5:30**) gives it a new political meaning.

Light Love. Along with these efforts to recognize a popular interest in the workings of government, elite wealth and leisure continued to grow. The old indecent poems of solicitation (**#6:3-5**) continued to be in the Shī, and though they offended some people, they amused others. For that amused public, a final poem was added to the already long Jv̀ng section. It picked up on the Dzv̄n and Wǎı Rivers from Shī 87 (**#6:4**), and on that basis constructed – yes, a two stanza poem, but one of sophisticated urban dalliance, rather than of rural seduction. It recreates the sexual potency, but in a more sophisticated guise:

6:28 (Shī 95, Jv̀ng #21, 04c).

95A
The Dzv̄n and eke the Wǎı
Are now at floodtime height, ah
The gallants and the girls
With sweetgrass are bedight, ah
A girl says, “Have you seen the sight?”
A gallant says, “I have indeed.
But shall we see again the sight?”
Out beyond the Wǎı
One may roam delightfully.
And so the gallant and the girl
Exchange a bit of pleasantry
And she presents him with a peony

95B
The Dzv̄n and eke the Wǎı
Are flowing very clear, ah
The gallants and the girls
In multitudes appear, ah
A girl says, “Have you seen the sight?”
A gallant says, “I have indeed.
But shall we see again the sight?”
Out beyond the Wǎı
One may roam delightfully.
And so the gallant and the girl
Exchange a bit of pleasantry
And she presents him with a peony

This must have maddened the moralists.

Dog. More primary as a popular influence on elite culture was continued input into basic vocabulary (compare page 151). Readers of this Dàu/Dv́ Jīng passage will probably guess, and most commentators remark . . .

6:29 (DDJ 5, excerpt, c0320).

Heaven and Earth are unkind:
they treat the Myriad Creatures like straw dogs;
The Sage is unkind:
he treats the common people like straw dogs . . .

. . . that the “straw dogs” are substitutes used in sacrifice and then discarded. Such a practice is confirmed by a Jwāngdž passage (JZ 14:4). So far so good.

That practice is unknown to the elite ritual texts, and probably belonged to popular culture "Straw" and "dog" (chú-gǒu 芻狗) have Austro-Asiatic affinities (the Myáu word for "dog" is related to gǒu). The Sinitic word for dog, chywǎn 犬, was being replaced by gǒu 狗 already in classical times.[25]

The lure of wealth also operated in the area of public policy. In the effort to attract and retain population, the state offered livelihood advantages:

6:30 (GZ 1:1, excerpt, c0322).

If the state has much wealth,	A
the distant will come;	A
If open land is plentiful,	B
the people will remain.	B

We have already (**#2:28**) met a piece of poetic propaganda for that idea, in which the supposed singers are those valuable specialists, the jade carvers:

6:31 (Shī 184, Syǎu Yǎ 24; c0325).

184A In ninefold marsh the crane-bird trills,
Its voice is heard upon the moor;
Fishes hide in watery lair,
Or they linger by the shore.
Pleasant is that garden there,
With timber trees all planted fair,
But all beneath the deadwood fills,
And the stones of other hills
Would suffice for making drills

184B In ninefold marsh the crane-bird trills,
Its voice is heard upon the air;
Fishes linger by the shore,
Or they hide in watery lair.
Pleasant is that garden there,
With timber trees all planted fair,
But all beneath the thornwood fills,
And the stones of other hills
Would suffice to show our skills

Methodological Moment. Having read Shī 95 (#**6:28**), we now see that a sophisticated poet is using the old two-stanza form to evoke a folk atmosphere. The methodological moral is that it helps to read the texts more than once.

[25]Chywǎn 犬"dog" is now obsolete, except in modern Fùjōu. In classical times, the Shī, the Analects, and Mencius and his northern successor school, use older chywǎn. The southern Mencians and Syẃndž use popular gǒu 狗. In mixed texts, gǒu is later or tends to imply a vulgar context. Synonyms were a problem for legal language, and the lexicographers assigned the meaning "puppy" to the newer word. That artificial distinction is already made in the Mician logical writings (Graham **Later** 218f).

Mencius held that rulers get the people's loyalty by benevolence, not by social engineering. He left Lǔ in 0320 to visit the King of Ngwèı:[26]

> **6:32** (MC 1A1, 0320). Mencius saw King Hwèı of Lyáng. The King said, Since the aged one[27] has not thought a thousand leagues too far to come, he will surely have something to benefit my state?
>
> Mencius replied, Why must the King speak of "benefit?" There is surely no more to it than rə́n 仁 and right 義. If the King says, Wherewith shall I benefit my state, the great dignitaries will say, Wherewith shall I benefit my family, and the officers and common people will say, Wherewith shall I benefit my self? When high and low compete in the search for benefit, the state will be in danger. In a myriad-chariot state, it will be the thousand-chariot families who will assassinate the ruler; in a thousand-chariot state, it will be the hundred-chariot families who will assassinate the ruler. A thousand in a myriad, or a hundred in a thousand, are not a small proportion, but if you put right last and benefit first, they will not be satisfied until they have snatched it all. There was never one who was rə́n but neglected his parents; never one who was rightful but put his ruler last. If the King would only speak of "rə́n and right," what need would he have to speak of "benefit?

The King says he has been using his "heart," by which he means his attention:

> **6:33** (MC 1A3a, 0320[28]). King Hwèı of Lyáng said, The way the Solitary One[29] deals with the state is to give it his full attention 心. If things are bad inside the River, I move people east of the River, and move grain inside the River. If things are bad east of the River, I do likewise. If I observe the governments of the neighbor states, none is as assiduous as the Solitary One. But the neighbor states' population does not decrease, and the Solitary One's population does not increase. Why is this?

The King is following a materialist version of populism, given in #**6:30**, above.

> Mencius said, The King is fond of war, and I ask leave to take an illustration from war. The drum rumbles, the swords cross – and then they cast off their armor and flee, trailing their weapons behind them. Some run a hundred paces before they stop, others fifty paces. If because he had run only fifty paces, someone should laugh at one who had run a hundred, how would that be? He said, It would not be right. It's just that he didn't run a hundred paces, but he too ran away.

[26]Or "King of Lyáng," from the city where his capital was located.

[27]A formula of respect. Mencius at this time was 65: younger than the King.

[28]We give only the original 0320 part of this text. An accusatory section was added later, emphasizing the hardships suffered by Hwèı-wáng's people. We omit MC 1A2 and 1A4, they too are later compositions (Brooks **Nature**). The followers of Mencius were not philosophically content with his actual speeches, and soon augmented them.

[29]A modest third-person self-reference, proper for this formal occasion.

> He said, Since the King understands this, he need not expect that his people will become more numerous than those of the neighbor states. If one does not miss the planting season, the grain will be more than can be eaten. If fine nets do not enter the pools and ponds, the fish and turtles will be more than can be eaten. If axes and hatchets enter the mountain forests only at the proper season, the timber will be more than can be used. When grain and fish and turtles are more than can be eaten, and timber is more than can be used, this will let the people nourish their living and mourn their dead without reproach [to their superiors].[30] When the people nourish their living and mourn their dead without reproach, this is the beginning of the Kingly Way.

The King, in effect, is taking too much from the people, and thus is causing the very hardships he is trying to relieve. This will not earn the people's gratitude, and only the people's gratitude can be the basis for true Kingship.

The hard question, in a hard world, was approximately this: What is the people's gratitude *worth*, in practical military terms? Mencius did not shrink from answering this. His answer was given at the last of the three interviews:

> **6:34** (MC 1A5, 0320). Lyáng Hwèı-wáng said, Than the state of Jìn, none in the world was stronger, as the aged one is aware. But since it came to my humble self, on the east we were defeated by Chí and my eldest son died there; in the west we lost 700 leagues to Chín; in the south we have been humiliated by Chŭ. My humble self is ashamed of this, and wishes at one stroke to wipe it all out before he dies. How can this be done?
>
> Mencius replied, With a territory only 100 leagues square, one can still be a true King. If the King gives the people a benevolent government, being sparing of punishments and fines and frugal in imposing taxes and levies, they will plough deep and weed carefully, and their able-bodied in days of leisure will cultivate filiality, fraternity, loyalty and good faith. At home, they will thus be able to serve their fathers and older brothers; outside the home, they will be able to serve their elders and superiors. With nothing but sharpened sticks, one can use them to oppose the strong armor and sharp weapons of Chín and Chŭ.[31]

Lyáng Hwèı-wáng inquired no further of Mencius; he died shortly after this third interview. Given his long and not altogether successful experience of war, he might have wondered whether a grateful population armed with sharpened sticks could resist a well-equipped invading army, let alone invade other states. The defensive-war pacifism which lay at the root of Mencian political theory did not augur well for the effectiveness of that theory in practice.

[30]They do not lack food to feed their living, or coffin timber to bury their dead.

[31]The strong armor and sharp lances of Chŭ are noted by Syŵndž (SZ 15:4, c0250), in connection with the battle of 0300 (see p109), in which Chín defeated Chŭ.

The core of Mencian populism is a common (túng 同) interest, and feeling, between ruler and people. Here is Mencius' first meeting with the King of Chí:

> **6:35** (MC 1B1, excerpt, 0318). Jwāng Bàu saw Mencius, and said, When I saw the King, the King told me that he liked music, and I had nothing to say in return. He said, What about liking music? Mencius said, If the King liked music enough, would not the state of Chí be almost there? Another day, he was given an audience by the King, and said, The King once spoke to Master Jwāng about liking music. Was this true? The King blushed and said, This humble one is unable to appreciate the music of the Former Kings, he just likes the popular music of the present day.
>
> He said, If the King liked music enough, would not the state of Chí be almost there? The music of the present day is as good as the music of antiquity. He said, May I hear about this? [Mencius] said, To enjoy music alone, or to enjoy it with others, which is more enjoyable? He said, It is better with others. He said, With a few others or with many others; which is more enjoyable? He said, It is better with many.
>
> Your servant begs to speak to the King about music. Suppose the King is having a music performance, and the common people hear the sound of the King's bells and drums, the tones of his pipes and flutes; they all with aching heads wrinkle their brows and say to one another, Our King likes to perform music; how then can he bring us to this extremity, where father and son cannot meet, where elder and younger brother, wife and child, are separated and scattered? . . . This is for no other reason than that the King does not share his pleasure 同樂 with the people.
>
> But now suppose the King is having a music performance, and the common people hear the sound of the King's bells and drums, the tones of his pipes and flutes; they all are pleased, and with happy countenances say to one another, Our King must be in pretty good health, or how could he have a music performance? . . . This is for no other reason than that the King shares his pleasure with the people. If the King would share his pleasure with the common people, he would truly be a King.

To the tiny and militarily hopeless state of Tźng, at the end of his career, Mencius stressed this same ideal of togetherness between ruler and people:

> **6:36** (MC 1B13, c0312). Tźng Wźn-gūng asked, Tźng is a small state, between [the large states of] Chí and Chŭ. Should I serve Chí? Should I serve Chŭ? Mencius replied, That kind calculation is not something I am capable of. But if I must reply, there is one thing. Deepen these moats, heighten these walls, and stand guard over them with the people 與民. If at the point of death the people have not left you, then this is something that can be done.

Another possibility was later offered by Mencius to the Tźng ruler: the Jōu ancestor who left his city under pressure from enemies, and went elsewhere:

> **6:37** (MC 1B15, excerpt, c0310) . . . The people said, This is a benevolent man. We cannot lose him. And they followed him like crowds to market.

The 03rd Century

After Mencius, benevolence theory focused on the disposition, the "heart," of the ruler: his capacity to be concerned for others. This was first embodied in a later piece based on MC 1B1 (**#6:35**) and added to the genuine interviews:

> **6:38** (MC *1A7a, excerpt, c0302) . . . The King said, What must my virtue be like, so that I can be a true King? He said, Protect the people, and none can prevent you from being a true King. He said, Can such as this Solitary One really protect the people? He said, You can. He said, How do you know that I can?
>
> Your subject heard from Hú Hý that the King was sitting in his hall, and someone led an ox past in the lower part of the hall, and when the King saw it, he said, Where is the ox going? The reply was, It is going [to be sacrificed] to consecrate a bell. The King said, Let it go; I cannot bear its fearful look, like an innocent man going to the execution ground. The reply was, Shall we cancel the consecration of the bell? The King said, How can the consecration be canceled? Substitute a sheep for it. I don't know if this happened or not.
>
> The King said, It did.
>
> Mencius said, This feeling 心 is enough to make one a true King. The common people all thought that the King grudged it, but his subject is sure that it was because the King could not bear it.
>
> The King said, Yes. But did the people really 誠 think that? Cramped and small though the state of Chí may be, how should I grudge one ox? It was just that I could not bear its fearful look, like an innocent man going to the execution ground, so I substituted a sheep for it.
>
> Let the King not wonder that the people thought he grudged it. When he exchanged small for large, how should they understand? If the King felt it was like an innocent going to the execution ground, what was there to choose between an ox and a sheep?
>
> The King laughed and said, What really 誠 *was* my feeling 心? I did not substitute a sheep for it because I grudged its value. It was only fitting that the common people should have thought I grudged it.
>
> No harm. This is the way benevolence works: you had seen the ox and not seen the sheep. The gentleman's relation to animals is that if he has seen them living, he cannot bear to see them dead; if he has heard their cries, he cannot bear to eat their flesh . . .

"Mencius" goes on to argue that an empathy reaching as far as animals needs only to be employed on the common people, and the Way to Kingship is open.

Methodological Moment. Why is **#6:38** a "later" passage? Answer: The concordance (it is not necessary to know Chinese) tells us that it is several times longer than any other MC 1 interview, and only it uses the term 心, which is common in higher-numbered Mencius chapters. The anomalies coincide.

Vengeance. There are grateful people and there are resentful people, and the latter have their theory too. The Micians, aware of popular resentment of injustice, had insisted on the reality of avenging ghosts and spirits. In their third essay on that subject, they claimed support from official chronicles (there were no official chronicles, but the newly public Chūn/Chyōu plus certain tales in the associated Dzwǒ Jwàn had implied their existence). These imaginary chronicles the Micians promptly quoted for their own purposes:

> **6:39** (MZ 31:4, excerpt, c0298). Those who hold that there are no ghosts and spirits say, Those who have heard or seen such things as ghosts and spirits are innumerable, but who of them have really heard and seen whether ghosts and spirits exist? Our master Mwòdž says, If we want an instance where many have seen and many have heard, then in antiquity there is Dù Bwó. Jōu Sywǣn-wáng killed his minister Dù Bwó, though he was innocent. Dù Bwó said, My sovereign is going to kill me, though I am innocent. If the dead have no consciousness, there is an end. But if the dead *have* consciousness, then before three years, I will surely let my sovereign know about it. Three years later, Jōu Sywǣn-wáng was hunting in Pú-tyén with his feudal lords. Their carriages numbered in the hundreds; their escort, several thousand; the men filled the hunting fields. At noon, Dù Bwó, in a plain carriage drawn by white horses, wearing scarlet clothes and cap, holding a scarlet bow and carrying scarlet arrows, pursued Jōu Sywǣn-wáng; his shot went into the chariot, pierced his heart and split his spine, and spent itself in the chariot;[32] he slumped over his bow case and died. At that time, none of the Jōu escort party but saw it, and none of those further away but heard of it.
>
> It was written in the Jōu chronicle, for rulers to teach their ministers and for fathers to instruct their sons, with these words: "Be cautious, be careful: whoever kills the innocent will reap misfortune, so swift is the vengeance of the ghosts and spirits." If we consider what is written in this book, how can it be doubted that ghosts and spirits exist?

This popular proof of supernatural sanctions against wrongdoing (with claimed support from elite documentation) made no impression on elite thought.

Summoning the Soul. Funerals are one occasion where the everyday world comes into contact with whatever other world there may be. The Micians had always objected to the lavish funerals of the elite, but other factors are involved. If we look into the Confucians' rules for mourning . . .

> **Yí Lǐ** 儀禮 (YL) "Ceremonial Usages." Those for the gentleman are from the 03c; those for higher ranks are later. Translated by Steele.

. . . we find a seemingly anomalous feature, a "summoning:" Where could that be coming from? First, here is what it looks like:

[32]The King's body was entirely transfixed; a supernaturally mighty shot.

> **6:40** (YL 12, excerpt, c0290?). When he dies in his chamber, for a shroud they use a simple coverlet. The summoner (復者) takes his official cap and clothing and pins the skirt to the jacket. Throwing them over his left shoulder, he joins the collar to the sash and ascends from the east end of the house front. In the middle of the roof, he faces north and beckons to the garments, saying, I beg [name] to return. This he does thrice, then throws down the clothes, where they are received in a basket; they ascend by the eastern steps, and use them to clothe the corpse. The summoner descends by way of the back end of the west wall . . .

It was thought that the soul leaves the body in dreaming or when in a coma; calling it back was a sensible precaution against too early burial. Sentimentally, it avoided the impression that the family were hurrying to get the deceased into the ground. But the procedure was open to ridicule, and ridicule is what it got:

> **6:41** (MZ 39:1, excerpt, c0287). . . When a parent dies, they lay out the body but do not dress it for burial. They go up on top of the house, they climb down the well, they poke into ratholes and peek into washbasins, seeking for the person in them. If the person is really alive, then this is surely very stupid. If he has died, to insist on seeking him in these places is the greatest imaginable artificiality.

Whence this "summoning?" Summoning is used by the modern Myáu to convey the soul of an infant to earth, or see the soul of a deceased adult safe to the other world.[33] In our period, it was also characteristic of non-Sinitic Chǔ. In 0263, the Chǔ King fell ill. A crisis occurred: the heir was a hostage in Chín. Efforts were made to cure the King, among them this poetic one:

> **Chǔ Tsź 楚辭** (CT) "Poetry of Chǔ," a Latter Hàn anthology of 03c Chǔ court poetry and Hàn poems in Chǔ style. Translated by Hawkes.

> **6:42** (Chǔ Tsź, Jàu Hún, "Summoning the Soul," excerpt, 0263).
>
> O Soul, come back!
> Why have you left your wonted abode, for the Four Quarters, oh?
> Abandoning your delightful place, to go to the ill-omened, oh?
>
> O soul, come back! In the east you cannot sojourn, oh.
> Giants a thousand fathoms tall, and it is for souls they seek, oh.
> Ten suns rise in succession, liquefying metal and melting stone, oh.
> They are used to it, soul, but if you went there, you would perish, oh.
> O come back! In the east you cannot sojourn, oh . . .

The King died that autumn, but at least they had done what they could for him. His heir escaped from Chín and succeeded him as King.

[33]Symonds **Calling**; for a modern medical context, see NYT 20 Sept 2009 p21.

Replacing the Ruler. Can a subject kill his ruler? Quite apart from populist theory, that problem arose with the elite theory of dynastic transitions, when a former vassal kills an evil ruler and himself becomes the first ruler of a new dynasty. This violates the duty of the vassal to his lord. Is it then permissible? The Mencians solved this by redefining what we mean by "ruler:"

> **6:43** (MC *1B8, c0285). King Sywǣn of Chí asked, Tāng deposed Jyé 傑 and King Wǔ attacked Jòu 紂 – did these things actually happen? Mencius replied, It is there in the record. He said, For a subject to assassinate his ruler – is this permissible? [Mencius] said, He who steals benevolence [as a cloak for his evil acts] we call a "thief;" he who steals righteousness we call a "ruffian;" one who is both a ruffian and a thief we call a mere "fellow." I have heard of someone executing the "*fellow*" Jòu; I have not heard of anyone assassinating a *ruler*.

This makes the atrocities of the ruler an effective self-abdication by the ruler. The ruler is not defined by his having succeeded a previous ruler; he is defined by correctly representing the qualities that define him as a ruler, which are closely related to the ruler's duty to his people. *Duty is now reciprocal.*

The Three-Year Mourning. We now come to a case of culture conflict. Since the 04c, the Confucians had recommended an extended mourning period, since they felt that a true sincerity of feeling took years to be fully expressed. The Lǔ Micians argued for a more "natural" one-year mourning period:

> **6:44** (MZ 48:8, c0272). Our master Mwòdž said to Gūngmv̀ngdž, According to the rituals for mourning, when a ruler or parent, a wife, or an eldest son dies, mourning garments are to be worn for three years; for an uncle, a brother, or a clan member, five months; for an aunt, a sister, a cousin, or a nephew, several months. Some, during the mourning period, recite the 300 Shī, they play on instruments the 300 Shī, they sing the 300 Shī, they dance the 300 Shī. If we put your words into practice, when will the gentlemen ever attend to the business of government? When will the common people ever do their work?

This practical objection got a feeling-based response from the Lǔ Confucians:

> **6:45** (LY 17:19, c0270). Dzǎı Wǒ asked, Is not the three-year mourning period too long? If gentlemen for three years perform no ceremonies, ceremonies will be lost. If gentlemen for three years perform no music, music will vanish. When the old grain is gone and the new is piled high, when bow and tinder have changed the fire – that should suffice.
>
> The Master said, If you were to eat your rice and wear your brocades, would you feel comfortable with yourself? He said, I would. [The Master] said, If you would feel comfortable, then do it. But as to the gentleman's way of mourning: if he ate dainties, he would not find them sweet; if he heard music, he would not find it enjoyable; if he abode in his usual place, he would not be comfortable; therefore he does not do these things. But if you would be comfortable, then do them.

> Dzǎı Wǒ went out. The Master said, Such is Yẃ's lack of humane feeling (仁). Only when Yẃ had been alive for three years did he finally leave the bosom of his father and mother. Now, a three-year mourning is the universal custom of the world. Did not Yẃ receive three years of love from his father and mother?

This argument from emotion was promptly ridiculed by the Micians:

> **6:46** (MZ 48:13, c0272). Gūngmv̀ngdž said, I mourn for three years in imitation of the affection that a son shows his parents. Our master Mwòdž said, All an infant knows is to want its parents. When its parents cannot be found, it cries endlessly. And why? It is the ultimate stupidity. In what way is the wisdom of the Confucians any better than that of a baby?

Nice touch. But the elite side won this cultural war. It was ultimately about standardization, of individuals within a culture as well as between cultures. Here is Syẃndž, on the effort to produce standard results in the individual:

> **6:47** (SZ 8:11b, excerpt, c0279). Setting a goal and repeating it as a custom transforms one's nature 性. It becomes one thing and not two, and thus constitutes a personal resource 積.[34] Repetition of custom redirects the will, and if long continued, it can modify the inner reality 質.

Human Nature. The Jwāngdž Primitivists made a strong response to this, in the process setting off a long philosophical debate about the nature of man, in which it becomes obvious that the participants are focusing on elite man, and on the process of self-improvement by which he fully realizes his potential.

> **6:48** (JZ 8:4, excerpt, c0278). A minor confusion alters one's sense of direction; a major confusion alters one's nature . . . From the Three Dynasties on down, no one in the world but has altered their nature because of some external thing. The petty man will risk his life for profit; the officer will risk his life for reputation, the noble will risk his life for family advantage, the sage will risk his life for the world. So these several people have different intentions, and are known by various names, but in disfiguring their nature and risking their lives, they are the same . . .

Syẃndž appealed to a universally recognized standard of correctness:

> **6:49** (SZ 19:2d, excerpt, c0278). Compass and square are the perfection of square and round, as ritual is the ridgepole of the Way of Man . . .

He was again answered, from one corner in terms of a human argument:

> **6:50** (JZ 8:3, excerpt, c0277). And to rely on curve and plumbline, or compass and square, to make something right, is to scrape away its nature . . . to violate its character. So to use the bendings and bowings of Ritual and Music, the smiles and simperings of Benevolence and Righteousness, to comfort the hearts of the world, is to lose what is always so . . .

[34] Jī 積 "stored grain" is a technical term for what is accumulated by moral effort.

From another corner of the Jwāngdž came a more inclusive answer:

> **6:51** (JZ 9:2, excerpt, c0276). When horses live on the plain, they can drink from the stream. If pleased, they twine their necks and rub; if angry, they turn their backs and kick. This is all horses know how to do. But if you pile poles and yokes on them, and line them up in crossbars and shafts, they will learn to snap the crossbars, break the pole, and chew the reins . . . In the time of Hȕ Syȕ, people stayed home but didn't know what they were doing; went out but didn't know where they were going . . . Then the Sage came along with the bendings and bowings of Ritual and Music to reshape the form of the world, with the reachings and strivings of Benevolence and Righteousness to comfort the hearts of the world, and the people for the first time went on tiptoe for love of wisdom, fought and struggled with a view to profit, and they could not be stopped. This was all the fault of the Sage.

But for Syẃndž, only ritual standards can show the way to the ideal:

> **6:52** (SZ 19:5b, excerpt, c0276). Ritual trims what is too long and extends what is too short, eliminates excess and remedies deficiency . . .

This was less desirable to others differently situated, who accepted even the irregular as natural and therefore good:

> **6:53** (JZ 8:2, excerpt, c0275). He who makes Normality 正 his norm 正 does not lose sight of the conditions of his original nature. What is joined is not for him "webbed," what branches off is not "extra." What is long does not seem excessive; what is short does not seem deficient. Thus, the duck's legs are short, but to stretch them would hurt him; the crane's legs are long, but to cut them would pain him. So what is naturally long is not to be cut, what is naturally short is not to be stretched . . . I wonder if Benevolence 仁 and Righteousness 義 are really the nature of man?

Syẃndž finally had to directly insist that artifice (wèı 僞) is desirable:

> **6:54** (SZ 19:6, excerpt, c0275). And so I say, nature is the basic initial material; artifice 僞 is the elegant realization. If there were no nature, artifice would have nothing to augment. And if there were no artifice, nature would not be able to become beautiful of itself . . .

In Syẃndž's world, individual self-improvement needs guidance from outside. In the social realm, outside compulsion had long been the order of the day.

The Mencian theory of human nature went back to this early statement:

> **6:55** (MC 2A6, excerpt, c0300) . . . The reason I say that men all have a heart that cannot bear the ills of others [the psychological basis of the virtue of benevolence] is this: Suppose a man suddenly sees a baby about to fall into a well, he will inevitably experience feelings of concern and distress. This is not to get on good terms with the child's parents; it is not to be praised by neighbors and friends; it is not that he does it because he would hate the reputation of not doing it. Seen thus, if one lacks feelings of compassion he is not a man . . .

In the final Mencian view, virtue is instinctive. It includes an innate respect for parents and an innate fellow-feeling; the latter ultimately owes much to the Mician idea of universal love (#**4:4**). The Sage not only preserves intact this instinctual endowment, but develops it until it includes all humanity. Only the Sage has sympathies which can include all the people of a state, or the world; the All Under Heaven (Tyēn-syà 天下).

Syńdž disagreed. For him, human nature is fundamentally bad, and must be schooled into a human condition. Effort is necessary:

> **6:56** (SZ 23:4a, excerpt, c0274). The Sage's relation to ritual principles is just like that of the potter molding clay. How indeed could the principles of morality, resource, and acquired abilities be part of man's original nature? . . . This being the case, the Sage's relation to Ritual and Righteousness . . . is like that of the potter to his pots . . . Thus it is plain that human nature is bad, and any good is acquired by artifice 僞.

Syńdž was still living, and the Mencians referred to him under another name:

> **6:57** (MC 6A1, excerpt, c0274). Gàudž said, Nature is like the willow wood; Righteousness is like cups and bowls. To make man's nature into Benevolence and Righteousness is like making cups and bowls out of willow wood. Mencius said, Can you make cups and bowls out of willow wood by following the nature of the wood? You must do violence to the wood and only then can you make cups and bowls . . . Will you also have to do violence to men to produce Benevolence and Righteousness? What will lead the people of the world to see Benevolence and Righteousness as a calamity will surely be your words.

That is, the public reaction to philosophical statements must also be considered.

Syńdž restated his position:

> **6:58** (SZ 23:2a, excerpt, c0274) . . . Ritual and Righteousness come from the Sage's artifice, and not from man's nature. When the potter shapes clay to make the vessel, this is the creation of the potter's artifice, and not inherent in its nature . . .

And the Mencians recast it for purposes of discussion in this form:

> **6:59** (MC 6A2, excerpt, c0274). Gàudž said, Man's nature is like water whirling around: open a passage for it to the east, and it will flow to the east; open a passage for it to the west, and it will flow west. Man's nature is indifferent to good and bad. Mencius said, Water will flow indifferently east or west, but will it flow up or down? Man's nature is good, just as water tends to flow downward . . . by damming and directing, you can force it up a hill, but is that movement according to the nature of water? . . . When men are forced to do wrong, their nature is being dealt with in this way.

This introduces the factor of external conditioning, as an explanation of the seeming bad nature of some persons.

Syẃndž grants the point, but makes the circumstances themselves very early:

> **6:60** (SZ 23:1d, excerpt, c0274). Mencius says the nature of men is good, but that they are made to lose or destroy their original nature. I say that portraying men's nature like this goes beyond the truth. . . As soon as he is born, man begins to diverge from his original simplicity and childhood innocence, so that necessarily these are lost or destroyed.

We seem to have agreement about the *loss* of natural feelings. But then comes:

> **6:61** (SZ 23:1e, excerpt, c0274). It is the nature of men that when hungry they want something to eat, when cold he they want warm clothing, and when tired they want rest: these qualities are inherent in his nature . . . A son's deference to his father and a younger brother's deference to his elder brother, a son relieving his father of labor . . . these are contrary to men's nature. If we consider the implication of the facts, it is plain that human nature is bad, and any goodness is acquired by artifice.

Many theories of human nature were being proposed at this time. Here "Mencius" clarifies his own position:

> **6:62** (MC 6A6, excerpt, c0274). Gūngdūdž said, Gàudž says man's nature is neither good nor bad. Others say that nature can be either good or bad [as the people are good under good rulers and vice versa] . . . Still others say that the nature of some people is good, and that of other people is bad [as witness good people appearing under the reigns of bad rulers] . . . And now you say, Nature is good. Are all the others then wrong?
>
> Mencius said, The condition of men is that they can become good; this is what I mean by "good." If they do wrong, it is not the fault of their endowment. The capacity for compassion, all men have; the capacity for shame, all men have; the capacity for respect, all men have; the capacity for distinguishing true from false, all men have . . .

Syẃndž was not to be convinced. He sees the Sage not as resonating with the people, but as prescribing for them out of his superior ritual knowledge, a knowledge which also includes the fundamentals of the legal system:

> **6:63** (SZ 23:3a, excerpt, c0274). Mencius says that nature is good. I say it is not . . . Were that the case, what use would there be for the Sage Kings, and what need for ritual and moral principles? . . . The nature of man is bad. Thus in antiquity the Sages . . . established the authority of lords and superiors to supervise men, elucidated ritual and morality to transform them, set up laws and standards to make them orderly, and added penalties and punishments to restrain them . . .

Here the world of law and the world of lǐ (ritual) have come together. It is an argument from the status quo, and on behalf of those who serve the status quo or propose to do so, a group which included Syẃndž himself.

The argument climaxed on the nature of the people: political man at large. Yes, there are bad people in the world; is this really the deep nature of men?

The Mencians preferred to account for bad men by external circumstances, a view they expressed in this, the most beautiful passage in the Mencius:

> **6:64** (MC 6A8, c0274). Mencius said, The trees on Bull Mountain were once beautiful. But because it adjoins a great state, axes and hatchets assailed it, and could it remain beautiful? To be sure, what with the winds of day and night, and the moistening of rain and dew, shoots and sprouts did appear on it. But oxen and sheep came along and grazed on them, and thus it came to be bare. Men see how bare it is, and think there never were any timber trees 材 on it, but how is this the nature of the mountain?
>
> And if we consider men, how can they be without feelings of kindness and justice? The way they lose these better feelings is like the axes and hatchets and the trees: morning after morning they hack at them, and can they remain beautiful? With the winds of day and night, and in the air of dawn, their loves and hates are near to those of other men, but these feelings are only faint, and with what happens during the day, they are fettered and destroyed. And when they are fettered again and again, the air of night is not strong enough to preserve them, and when the air of night is not strong enough to preserve them, they become little different from animals. People see that they are like animals, and think there never was any potential 才[35] there, but how is this the condition of man?
>
> And so, if it gets its nourishment, there is no creature but grows; if it loses its nourishment, there is no creature but declines. Confucius said,
>
> Hold it and it remains;
> Release it, and it is gone.
> Its coming and going have no season;
> No one knows its home.
>
> Was he not speaking about the heart?

Thus did the Mencians explain the inhumane. The theory of innate goodness is saved – but not as a description of the world in which we live.

The Analects people, watching this from the sidelines, allowed themselves a comment on the issue. After all, if new Confucius sayings are going to be invented, who more qualified than themselves?

> **6:65** (LY 17:2a, c0270). The Master said, By nature 性 they are near each other; by habitual action 習 they become further apart.

And they added this comment on the malleability of human nature in general:

> **6:66** (LY 17:2b, c0270). The Master said, It is the highest wisdom and the lowest stupidity that do not change.

The Analects school had always emphasized an effort at self-improvement, and they here attribute the possibility of change (that is, betterment) to most men. However, they reserve a place for the Sage, who is outside that process.

[35]Note the echo between tsái 材 "timber trees" and tsái 才 "talent, human potential."

Gods. If non-Sinitic Chǔ should conquer the world, what religion would it impose on its northern subjects? Chǔ gods were summoned by a shaman; what if northern gods were included in a mixed shamanic pantheon? Some Chǔ poet wrote nine hymns to show how this would go. At the head of the set came the principal god of the Chǔ people. The part here italicized is where the shaman's wooing is successful, and the spirit, drawn by food and music, actually comes:

6:67 (Chǔ Tsź, Nine Songs #1, 太一 "The Great Unity," c0260).

A lucky day, ah; the stars are auspicious;
Solemn we come to please, ah, the August on High.
I grasp the long sword, ah, by its hilt of jade,
My sash pendants sound, ah, they clink and chime.

The jeweled mat, ah, is weighted with jade,
Why not now take up, ah, the rare incense?
Meats cooked in lotus, ah, on a bed of orchid,
I lay out cassia wine, ah, and pepper sauce.

Raise the drumsticks, ah, and strike the drums –
To a stately measure, ah, the song is quiet,
Add the pipes and strings, ah, the melody rises –
The Spirit moves, ah, in rich apparel,
A pungent fragrance, ah, fills the hall.
The Five Notes mingle, ah, in rich concord,
The Lord is happy, and shows his pleasure.

The eighth Song is in the words of a girl who is being sacrificed to the northern Lord of the River (page 160) by setting her adrift on a raft. She drowns as the raft is overturned, and her search (she is her own shaman) is consummated:

6:68 (Chǔ Tsź, Nine Songs #8, 河伯 "The Lord of the River," c0260).

With you I wander, ah, the Nine Rivers.
A wind rises, ah, and whips up waves;
I ride a water chariot, ah, with lotus canopy;
I drive a pair of dragons, ah, with water-serpents.

I ascend Kūnlún, ah, and look in all directions,
My heart takes wing, ah, in anticipation.
The sun is about to set, ah; I am sad, with no thought of return:
Only for that far shore, ah, do I sleeplessly long.

Fish-scale chamber, ah, and dragon hall;
Purple shell gates, ah; a palace of pearl.
What is the Sprit doing, ah, amid the waters?
Astride a white turtle, ah, he pursues spotted fishes.

With you shall I wander, ah, the river isles,
The current swells, ah; I now come below.

She folds her hands, ah, as she journeys east;
We send off the lovely one, ah, to the southern cove.
The waves come surging up, ah, to be my welcome;
Fishes in shoals, ah, accompany me.

These songs are part of a Chǔ-centered Chinese history that never happened.

Again Replacing the Ruler. Ruler abuses are denounced by the Mencians in one imaginary interview (#**2:48**, c0273); a justification for killing rulers had been stated in another (**#6:43**, c0282). At about the same time, we have this:

> **6:69** (MC 5B9, excerpt, c0275) . . . [Mencius] said, If the ruler has a great fault, [the ministers who are his kinsmen] will remonstrate. If they do so repeatedly and he does not listen, they will make a change in the position. The King looked uncomfortable; his countenance changed. Mencius said, Let the King not take it amiss: the King asked about ministers, and his subject did not dare but answer truthfully . . .

Such passages would later cause the Mencius text to be banned or expurgated in China, Japan, and Korea. In the mid 03c, this concept was again expressed, in an almost casual way. So unimportant is the ruler in the populist scheme of things that his replacement seems little more than routine normal maintenance:

> **6:70** (MC *7B14, excerpts, c0253). Mencius said, The people are the most honorable, the altars of soil and harvest are the next, and the ruler is the least . . . When a prince endangers the altars of soil and harvest, he is changed, and another is put in his place . . .

Commoners might be honorable in theory, but there were limits to how high commoners could reach; thus, the wise but humble carter of **#6:18** refused to appear at court. This late Mencian anecdote reveals disdain for the officer of common origins who cannot really escape his common way of doing things:

> **6:71** (MC *7B23, excerpt, c0252) . . . In Jìn there was a man, Fźng Fù, who was good at taking on tigers barehanded. In the end, he became a good officer 善士. But once when he went to the wild country, there was a crowd pursuing a tiger which had holed up in a cranny. Nobody dared approach it. Seeing Fźng Fù, they hurried to welcome him. Fźng Fù, baring his shoulders, got down from his chariot. The crowd were pleased, but those who were really officers 爲士者 laughed at him.

Theory is all very well, but do we *really* want these people as colleagues?

Non-Sinitic Persons are especially unlikely to be envisioned as leading the government. Some, in real life, reached a level of *cultural* authority . . .

> • Chún'yźw Kūn 淳于髡, whose surname comes from a non-Sinitic town on the western end of Chí, was one of the six given stipends by the King of Chí, with a mandate to investigate the rise and fall of states.[36]
>
> • Gvnmóudž 根牟子, or "the Master from [non-Sinitic] Gvnmóu," is listed before Syźndž in the transmission genealogy of the Shī; he was probably the music master of Lŭ with whom Syźndž studied.

. . . but there was a difference between intellectual prestige and political power.

[36]SJ 74, our best source, specifies that the Jì-syà stipendiaries (c0313, p136) had no role in administration, but were limited to the task of producing new political theory. There was a clear divide between the merely professional and the fully governmental.

When the main Confucian and Mician centers, and the DDJ group, were shut down by Syẃndž in 0249 (page 114), some of their members went to Chí, where they continued to produce text. Others went to Chín, where they were welcomed by Lẅ Bù-wéı, the Chín minister whose merchant background inclined him toward mild government policies. The Lẅ-shr̀ Chūn/Chyōu, compiled under his patronage, thus came to have, especially in some chapters, a distinctly Mencian or Mician tinge. At the beginning, we find the Mencian idea of attracting the people and winning their loyalty: Here LSCC advises the future Emperor how to proceed in his contest with the rulers of rival states:

> **6:72** (LSCC 2/5:4, excerpt, c0241). When the Great Cold has come, the people value warmth; when the Great Heat is ascendant, the people flock to the cool. For this reason, the people have no permanent location: when they see a benefit, they gather, and when it there is none, they leave. If one would be Son of Heaven, where the people go must be studied. In the present age, when it turns cold or hot the people do not move, because if they chose something it would be no different. If one would be Son of Heaven, what is displayed to the people must be different . . .

Lẅ Bù-wéı died in exile not long afterward. But some of his team stayed on, and under the unified Chín Empire, they put out an extension of the LSCC:

> **Lẅ-shr̀ Chūn/Chyōu: Lăn 覽** (LSCC 13-20). Added to the LSCC in the First Emperor's reign, probably by some of those who had worked under Lẅ Bù-wéı in the 0240's. Translated by Knoblock and Riegel.

This continuation of the work confronts an entirely different world. There is no longer an interest in attracting people; Chín already possesses all the people of the world. The only theoretical issue is how to use them correctly.

> **6:73** (LSCC 19/4:4, c0211). In the time of Yẅ [Syà], there were a myriad states in the world. When it came to Tāng [Shāng], there were more than three thousand. All those that have not survived to the present time were unable to use their people. That the people were not used is because rewards and penalties were not adequate. Tāng and Wŭ merely took over the people of Syà and Shāng, but they had discovered how to use them. Gwăn [Jùng] and [Lord] Shāng likewise merely took over the people of Chí and Chín, but they had discovered how to use them. There is a secret to using the people, and if one finds that secret, the people can always be used . . . What do the people want and not want? They want honor and profit, and they hate disgrace and injury. So disgrace and injury are how one makes penalties adequate, and honor and profit are how one makes rewards functional. If rewards and penalties are adequate and functional, then among the people there will be none who cannot be used.

This is the reward-and-punishment theory, the core idea of 04c Chí statecraft. By those classic Pavlovian means, the people can be controlled in ordinary life, to the point where they can be used in military service. Dependably.

Still later, under the incompetent Second Emperor, when the Chín Empire was rapidly unraveling, populist ideas have still further diminished.

> **Lw̌-shr̀ Chūn/Chyōu: Lùn 論** "Essays" (LSCC 21-26). These six chapters were probably written during the Second Emperor's reign (0209-0207). The taboo on the personal name of the First Emperor is rigidly observed (it was only *sporadically* observed during his lifetime, in the Jì and Lăn). Translated by Knoblock and Riegel.

First comes the establishment of social fixity. An old Gwăndž rule, briefly echoed by the 04c Analects, reappears, as much as to say that there shall be no more ministers arising from the ranks:

> **6:74** (LSCC 25/5:1, excerpt, c0207). In governing, the first thing is to establish social distinctions 定分. The ruler being a ruler and the minister a minister; the father being a father and the son a son, the husband being a husband and the wife a wife – when these six occupy their proper places, the lowly do not overstep limits and the high do not act wrongly. The young are not fractious and the adults are not arrogant . . .

There shall be no such thing as personal initiative, however virtuous:

> **6:75** (LSCC 25/5:5, c0207). Suppose someone acts on his own arrogant authority and saves his native state. He had taken account of possible consequences with complete accuracy, he had laid out his lines as though with a compass and straightedge. This would be skillful; it would even be artful. But it would not be enough to make it lawful. Law is that under which all are equal, that to which worthy and base alike devote their efforts. If some plan arises from what cannot be generally used, or if some action comes from what cannot be a common rule; this is what the Former Kings would have discarded.

And there shall be no personal ideas about what is virtuous in the first place:

> **6:76** (LSCC 26/3:1, excerpt, c0206). That in which the Sage Kings of antiquity led their people was a primary concern with agriculture. When commoners farm, they not only work to realize the potential benefits of the earth, they set store by having this as their goal. When commoners farm, they are simple, and when they are simple, they are easy to use. When they are easy to use, the borders are secure and the ruler's position is honored. When the commoners farm, they are solid, and when they are solid, they rarely hold private ideas of what is right 私義. When they rarely hold private ideas of what is right, then the universal law 公法 is established, and all efforts are as one . . .

That about covers it. Populism, the idea that the people should have a role in government, or even the right to an *opinion about* government, is now dead. What lives on is the state.

Though as it turned out, in the specific case of Chín, not for very long.