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Sayings of Confucius, Deselected

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SAYINGS OF CONFUCIUS, DESELECTED

Volume 1

Michael Justin Hunter

A DISSERTATION

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OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE

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Abstract

In this dissertation I set out to question the status of the *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語, or *The Selected Sayings*) as the most authoritative source of Confucius's teachings and, in the process, to rethink Confucius's place in early Chinese intellectual history.

Part one is a roadmap to the thousands of Confucius sayings preserved in the early corpus. It includes an in-depth discussion of Confucius quotation markers as well as a comprehensive list of texts that quote Confucius. In the course of the chapter, I argue that Confucius quotation before the advent of the *Analects* was a dynamic, creative practice in which authors treated Confucius sayings as venues for the re-performance of inherited wisdom.

Part two presents the main argument for revising the dating of the *Analects* based on a reverse chronological survey of Confucius quotation practice in the early period. I conclude the chapter with the argument that the *Analects* was compiled between the 150s and 130s BCE, roughly three centuries later than the traditional account would have it.

Part three brings the focus back to the *Analects* itself to read the text as a product of a Western Han political, intellectual, and textual milieu. The chapter develops as a series of nine case studies, each of which identifies a different compilation strategy employed by the *Analects* compilers.

In a concluding chapter, I synthesize the arguments of the first three parts and discuss the implications of my findings for the study of early Chinese thought. In an epilogue, I also develop one concrete scenario for the creation of a Western Han *Analects*.

For Catherine

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INTRODUCTION

The Kongzi Problem[1]

Open any introduction to Chinese civilization and you will find a section toward the beginning about Kongzi 孔子 (551–479 BCE), the figure known to Western audiences as Confucius.[2] You learn that Kongzi lived from the mid-sixth through the early fifth centuries BCE; that he was from the state of Lu 魯, one of the smaller of the "Warring States" (*Zhanguo* 戰國) struggling to defend itself against its more powerful neighbors in a time of constant warfare; that, try as he might, Confucius failed to find employment as an advisor to a lord; and that he taught a number of disciples who transmitted his teachings to later generations. Next comes philosophy: one is told that Kongzi was the first Chinese philosopher;[3] that he sought to revivify the ideals of the Zhou 周 sage-kings; and that he upheld *li* 禮 ("ritual") and *ren* 仁 ("benevolence") as the *Dao* 道 (Way) to bring order to a chaotic age. Kongzi is also said to have founded an -ism—"Confucian-ism"—that would become a cornerstone of East Asian culture, and he is credited with having created, edited, or otherwise inspired the "Confucian" classics, the foundational curriculum of elite Chinese education up until the twentieth century. Finally, you learn a methodology for studying Kongzi's thought: consult the *Lunyu* 論語 (*Analects*, or *Selected Sayings*), the oldest and most authoritative source of Kongzi's teachings.[4]

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1. This heading is inspired by Louis-André Dorion's 2011 essay, "The Rise and Fall of the Socratic Problem." See my conclusion, pp. 275–277, for additional discussion of the parallels between Socrates and Kongzi.

2. See, e.g., Ebrey 1996, pp. 42–43.

3. See, e.g., Nivison 1999, pp. 746 & 754.

4. See, e.g., Lau 2000, p. ix. An excellent illustration of the *Lunyu*'s dominance of Kongzi studies is Luo Anxian's 羅安憲 *Zhongguo Kong xue shi* 中國孔學史 (*A History of Kongzi Studies in China*), which devotes a mere thirteen pages to the question of "Kongzi sixiang shiliao 孔子思想史料" ("Sources of Kongzi's Thought"), eight of which

Complications arise when we ask the necessary question: how do we know what we think we know about Kongzi? What are our sources for the historical Kongzi, and how reliable are they?[5] Even a cursory review of the relevant texts reveals huge gaps in the historical record. The earliest extant biography of Kongzi, Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (d. ca. 86 BCE) "Kongzi shijia 孔子世家" ("Hereditary House of Kongzi"), is dated to the middle part of the Western Han 西漢 dynasty (202 BCE–9 CE), roughly three and a half centuries after Kongzi is supposed to have died.[6] The *Chunqiu* 春秋 (*Springs and Autumns*) chronicle, the text which anchors Kongzi's traditional chronology, only mentions Kongzi in a single, three-character biographical tidbit in its entry for 479 BCE: "Kong Qiu passed away" (*Kong Qiu zu* 孔丘卒).[7] While the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (*Zuo Traditions*) commentary to the *Chunqiu* fills in a few more biographical details, the dating of this text remains controversial.[8] Nor is the *Lunyu* itself a self-evidently ancient or authentic source of Kongzi's teachings. The earliest extant source to describe the *Lunyu* as a fifth-century text dates no earlier than the late Western Han period, more than four centuries after the fact.[9] Still other sources of Kongzi biography and doxography like the *Mengzi* 孟子 (*Mencius*) are of uncertain dating and/or were composed centuries after Kongzi's death.[10]

---

deal with the *Lunyu*. Zhu Weizheng (2002, p. 98) has observed that only a handful of the hundreds of scholarly articles on Kongzi's thought published between 1949 and the 1980s make use of non-*Lunyu* Kongzi material.

5. See especially Zhu Weizheng 1987 for a strong statement of the argument that one cannot discuss the history of Kongzi without also examining the problem of the sources of Kongzi's thought.

6. *Shiji* 47.1905–1948. For a translation, see Yang & Yang 1979, pp. 1–27. See also Wu Zhenxun 2009, pp. 227–28, for an appraisal of the place of the "Kongzi shijia" in Kongzi and *Lunyu* studies.

7. Ai 16 (*SBCK* 30/6b).

8. For this debate, see Pines 2002 and Schaberg 1999. Whereas Pines believes that the text accurately portrays Spring and Autumn-era realities, Schaberg places the text in the fourth century BCE based on parallels with the *Mengzi.*

9. For a discussion of this source, see p. 4 below.

10. On this point, see also Creel 1949, p. 11, and Haupt 2006, pp. 7–10.

Uncertain textual chronologies aside, textbook accounts of Kongzi also tend to downplay what is arguably Kongzi's greatest legacy, at least as far as early Chinese textual culture is concerned: the literally thousands of Kongzi sayings preserved throughout the early literature.[11] The phrase *Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 (Kongzi said) and its variants appear in received texts and excavated manuscripts from a range of genres that includes treatises, commentaries, imperial edicts, memorials, histories, and anecdote collections. The sheer number of extant Kongzi sayings, many of which have little to nothing in common with the received *Lunyu*, is itself a formidable challenge to the textbook Kongzi. Herein lies what I shall refer to as the "Kongzi problem": given the diversity and incommensurability of extant Kongzi material, how are we to distinguish the historically authentic material from the fictionalized material?[12] Without a reliable criterion of authenticity, any and all attempts to reconstruct Kongzi's thought are doomed to failure.

This is by no means an original insight. The earliest expression of the Kongzi problem is the opening of book 50 of the *Han Feizi* 韓非子, "Xian xue 顯學" ("Showing Off Learning"), a text traditionally dated to the third century BCE:

> Those who show off their learning nowadays are the Ru and Mohists. The Ru venerate Kong Qiu, the Mohists venerate Mo Di. Since the death of Kongzi there have been the Ru of Zizhang, the Ru of Zisi, the Ru of the Yan clan, the Ru of the Meng clan, the Ru of the Qidiao clan, the Ru of the Zhongliang clan, the Ru of the Sun clan, and the Ru of the Yuezheng clan. Since the death of Mozi there have been the Mohists of the Xiangli clan, the Mohists of the Xiangfu clan, and the Mohists of the Dengling clan. Thus after Kongzi and Mozi the Ru split into eight factions and the Mohists into three. What each faction included and excluded contradicted the others'. Nevertheless, they all claimed to be the true [heirs of] Kongzi and Mozi. Kongzi and Mozi cannot be resurrected, so who is to settle [the question] of learning nowadays?
>
> 世之顯學，儒、墨也。儒之所至，孔丘也。墨之所至，墨翟也。自孔子之死也，有子張之儒，有子思之儒，有顏氏之儒，有孟氏之儒，有漆雕氏之儒，有仲良氏之儒，有孫氏之儒，有樂正氏之儒。自墨子之死也，有相里氏之墨，有相夫氏之墨，有鄧陵氏之墨。

11. Haupt 2006, p. 15–16.

12. On this conundrum see also Tsuda 1946, p. 1 & 501ff, Zhu Weizheng 1987, p. 157, Haupt 2006, pp. 7–8, Weingarten 2010, p. 4, Csikszentmihalyi 2001, p. 242, and Csikszentmihalyi 2002, p. 134.

> 故孔、墨之後，儒分為八，墨離為三，取舍相反、不同，而皆自謂真孔、墨，孔、墨不可復生，將誰使定世之學乎？[13]

The "Xian xue" author was in a polemical mode when he composed this critique and thus might have exaggerated the intellectual factionalism of his day. But his challenge to contemporary Ru 儒 (and Mohists) still stands: how do we adjudicate conflicting claims about the historical Kongzi? How do we know which ideas, if any, were truly Kongzi's?

The traditional view of the Lunyu

For the last two millennia, the most common solution to the Kongzi problem has been what I refer to in this dissertation as "the traditional view of the *Lunyu*."[14] The earliest known expression of that view is a brief fragment attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BCE), the official charged by Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 33–7 BCE) in 26 BCE with creating the first catalogue of the Han imperial library:

> All twenty sections of the Lu *Lunyu* are fine sayings recorded by Kongzi's disciples.
>
> 魯論語二十篇皆孔子弟子記諸善言也.[15]

The account in the "Yiwen zhi 藝文志" ("Monograph on Arts and Letters"), the thirtieth chapter of Ban Gu's 班固 (32–92 CE) *Hanshu* 漢書 (*History of the [Former] Han*), drew from Liu Xiang's earlier catalogue while filling in a few more details:

> The *Lunyu* consists of Kongzi's responses to his disciples and contemporaries as well as conversations between his disciples and the words they themselves heard from the Master. At that time, [Kongzi's] followers each had his own record. After the Master died, his followers gathered [his sayings] together and selectively edited [the collection], thus calling it the *Selected Sayings*.

---

13. *Han Feizi* book 50 (*Sibu congkan* [hereafter *SBCK*] 19/7a).

14. See Csikszentmihalyi 2001 for an excellent overview of the traditional view of Kongzi, which he bases on the "Kongzi 孔子" entry in the *Ci yuan* 詞源 dictionary.

15. This fragment appears in the preface to the *Lunyu jijie* (*SBCK* 1/1a).

> 論語者，孔子應答弟子時人及弟子相與言而接聞於夫子之語也。當時弟子各有所記。夫子既卒，門人相與輯而論纂，故謂之論語。[16]

According to Ban Gu, the *Lunyu* collection postdated Kongzi's death and was compiled from individual collections of Kongzi's actual sayings as transcribed by his disciples. The disciples did not include all of Kongzi's recorded sayings but rather "selectively edited" (*lun zuan* 論纂) that material, preserving only the "fine sayings" (*shan yan* 善言). Liu Xiang and Ban Gu thus articulated a handy criterion for identifying authentic Kongzi sayings: a Kongzi saying is authentic if it appears in the *Lunyu*.

Here it must be admitted that talk of a single "traditional view" is something of a straw man. Even in the early period not all proponents of the traditional view agreed about every detail of the *Lunyu*'s history, as Wang Chong 王充 (27–100 CE) makes clear in his polemical account of Eastern Han *Lunyu* scholarship (Appendix 2:F).[17] Defenders of the traditional view have often disagreed over, e.g., the precise details of the text's composition and transmission, the identification of individual *Lunyu* "layers," and the question of which Kongzi disciple was ultimately responsible for its compilation.[18] Without accounting for all possible variations, a fully elaborated account of "the traditional view" is bound to misrepresent the opinions of large numbers of scholars both past and present.

Nevertheless, the traditional view as I understand it can be boiled down to a simple claim

---

16. *Hanshu* 30.1716. See chapter two, p. 156, for further discussion of this passage and Appendix 2:D for a complete translation.

17. For example, Wang Chong departs from the "Yiwen zhi" account when he assert that the *Lunyu* had been "lost" (*wang* 亡) at the founding of the Han dynasty (see Appendix 2:F). Zhu Weizheng (1986, p. 41) also notes that Liu Xiang and Kuang Heng (d. 30/29 BCE) seem to have disagreed about the content of the text, with Liu Xiang saying that it recorded "sayings" (*yan* 言) and Kuang Heng "sayings and deeds" (*yan xing* 言行).

18. Zhao Zhenxin 1961, pp. 11–16, and Makeham 1996, pp. 2–4, contain useful summaries of various theories of the composition of the *Lunyu* from the medieval period through to the twentieth century.

which lies at the heart of traditional *Lunyu* scholarship: the *Lunyu* is our best source for the sayings of Kongzi because only the *Lunyu* represents Kongzi's *ipsissima verba* as transcribed and edited by his disciples. Scholars at least as far back as the Western Han asserted Kongzi's involvement in the creation or transmission of the Five Classics, particularly the *Chunqiu* chronicle, and these texts have at various times and in various contexts trumped the *Lunyu* as sources of Kongzi's teachings.[19] But extracting Kongzi's wisdom from the *Chunqiu* entailed a convoluted hermeneutics whereby Kongzi's *weiyan* 微言 (subtle words) were decoded from the formulaic and laconic language of the chronicle; nowhere does the *Chunqiu* quote Kongzi directly.[20] Here the Han bibliographers' emphasis on *yan* 言 (sayings) and *yu* 語 (conversations) is crucial: when dealing with the *quotable* Kongzi, they tell us, there is no source more authoritative than the *Lunyu*.

The late Western Han and early Eastern Han view of the *Lunyu* was only reinforced in subsequent periods of Chinese history as the text came to be included among the Seven Classics (*qi jing* 七經), was eventually re-canonized by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) as one of the Four Books (*Si shu* 四書), and was among the very first texts translated by Jesuit missionaries for European audiences.[21] To this day, the *Lunyu* continues to dominate contemporary thinking about Kongzi and early Chinese philosophy the world over, including among contemporary scholars of early

19. To take but one example, *Mengzi* 3B/9 (*SBCK* 6/13a) treats the *Chunqiu* as the ultimate source of Kongzi's teachings: "Those who understand me do so because of the *Chunqiu*; those who criticize me do so because of the *Chunqiu*" (知我者其惟春秋乎。罪我者其惟春秋乎。). On the association of Kongzi with the *Chunqiu* in the early period, see Kern 2011.

20. However, the *Chunqiu* traditions of the *Zuozhuan*, *Gongyang*, and *Guliang* do make occasional use of Kongzi quotations.

21. Extracts from the *Lunyu* and the other Four Books (*Si shu* 四書) appeared in *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (*Confucius, Philosopher of the Chinese*), first published in 1687. For a recent account of this book's genesis, see Dew 2009, chapter five ("Printing Confucius in Paris").

China.[22] Pedagogical tradition has also played a role in perpetuating the *Lunyu*'s authority. Speaking from personal experience, the *Lunyu* is the very first work of Chinese philosophy I ever studied and the first classical Chinese text I read in the original, a choice encouraged by standard introductions to early Chinese philosophy and civilization.[23] Pedagogical primacy translated into historical and philosophical primacy as I came to read the language and ideas of other early texts against the *Lunyu*. Generations of scholars raised on the *Lunyu* have likewise read it as one of, if not *the*, core text of early Chinese thought.

Against the traditional view

My goal in the following pages is to demonstrate that the traditional view of the *Lunyu* is a flawed approach to the study of Kongzi and of early Chinese thought generally. My argument is both critical and constructive: in addition to showing the paucity of evidence in support of the traditional view, I develop my own theory of the *Lunyu*'s origins and model an entirely different approach to the study of early Kongzi sayings. I pursue this argument from three perspectives:

Chapter one is a roadmap to the thousands of non-*Lunyu* Kongzi sayings preserved in anecdote collections, commentaries, treatises, histories, imperial edicts, recently excavated manuscripts, and other sources from the early period. It includes an in-depth discussion of Kongzi quotation markers as well as a comprehensive list of texts that quote Kongzi. The centerpiece of the chapter is an overview of the diverse uses of Kongzi sayings in the early corpus supplement-

22. For a recent review of the place of the *Lunyu* in contemporary Kongzi studies in China, see Makeham 2011.

23. The *Lunyu* is the subject of chapter two in Chan 1963, chapter three in Schwartz 1985, chapter one in Graham 1989, and chapter one in Ivanhoe & Norden (eds.) 2001.

ed with a survey of early authors' reflections on Kongzi quotation practice.

Such a survey is itself a powerful, if indirect, demonstration of the inadequacy of the traditional view. The limitations of the *Lunyu*-centric approach to Kongzi become particularly glaring in light of the sheer number, diversity, and interest of non-*Lunyu* Kongzi sayings. (My own interest in this project stems from my accidental discovery of Sun Xingyan's 孫星衍 [1753-1818] *Kongzi jiyu* 孔子集語 *Collected Sayings of Kongzi*], an early nineteenth-century effort to compile early Kongzi material outside of the *Lunyu* and a handful of other canonical texts.[24]) In the course of the chapter I also venture an answer to the question of why early authors were so interested in Kongzi as a source of quotable wisdom. I argue that Kongzi quotation before the advent of the *Lunyu* was a dynamic, creative practice in which authors treated Confucius sayings as venues for the re-performance of inherited wisdom. Not until the Western Han period did authors regularly use Confucius sayings as independent teachings worthy of study in their own right. Moreover, hardly any Kongzi quoters in the pre-Han era evinced an interest in quoting a historically authentic Kongzi.

Chapter two introduces the argument for revising the standard dating of the *Lunyu* based on a reverse chronological survey of Kongzi quotation practice from 220 CE through the early part of the Warring States period. An analysis of the relative distribution of Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels versus those without reveals a clear pattern: whereas authors from the late Western Han and later periods tended to quote the *Lunyu* when quoting Kongzi, especially in authoritative

24. The edition of the *Kongzi jiyu* I have used in this project is the *Kongzi jiyu jiaobi* 孔子集語校補 (*Collected Sayings of Kongzi, collated and supplemented*), which supplements Sun Xingyan's collection with additional fragments as well as passages from the *Zuozhuan*, *Xiaojing*, *Zhouyi*, the Mawangdui *Yi* materials, the Dingzhou "Rujia zhe yan 儒家者言" manuscript, *Mengzi*, *Liji*, and the *Shiji* "Kongzi shijia" and "Zhongni dizi liezhuan" biographies. A similar resource is *Kongzi—Zhou Qin Han Jin wenxianji* (*Kongzi–Collected literature from the Zhou, Qin, Han, and Jin*), ed. Wu Genliang, Zhang Ronghua, and Jiang Yihua (1990).

contexts like imperial edicts, authors in the early Western Han and earlier periods rarely, if ever, used Kongzi sayings that paralleled those in the received *Lunyu.* Close readings of select Kongzi quotations in a wide range of early texts confirm that authors also did not begin to treat *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings as authoritative until ca. 100 BCE, beginning with Sima Qian's (died ca. 86 BCE) *Shiji* 史記 (*Grand Scribe's Records*). The evidence from *Lunyu* parallels as well as specific *Lunyu* mentions points to the beginning of Emperor Wu's reign (r. 141–87) as a likely date of compilation. This finding is corroborated, ironically enough, by an examination of Han accounts of the *Lunyu*'s history, including the "Yiwen zhi," which likewise point to Emperor Wu's reign as a crucial moment in the text's history.

- Chapter three shifts the focus onto the *Lunyu* itself to read the text as the product of a Western Han political, intellectual, and textual milieu. The chapter develops as a series of nine case studies, each of which identifies a different compilation strategy employed by the *Lunyu* compilers. These include claiming Kongzi's authorship of popular proverbs traditions, selecting sayings to serve as authoritative statements on whole sub-genres of Kongzi lore, and using Kongzi sayings to co-opt proverbs more closely associated with other texts, e.g., the *Laozi*. In this way, the *Lunyu* compilers asserted Kongzi's ownership of early proverb traditions at the same time as other Han scholars were asserting Kongzi's authorship of the Five Classics. I also note certain resonances between *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings and Han imperial edicts having to do with the recruitment of talented officials, parallels which suggest that the text was conceived in part as a handbook of character evaluation for imperial princes and aspiring officials alike.

In a final chapter, I summarize the findings of the first three chapters and explore their implications for the study of Kongzi and of early Chinese intellectual history generally. In an epilogue, I also develop a speculative yet historically plausible scenario for the compilation of the

Lunyu in the Western Han period.

*A tradition of critical Kongzi/*Lunyu *scholarship*[25]

The overlapping subfields of Kongzi and *Lunyu* studies have produced an ever-expanding ocean of scholarship. Compiling an exhaustive summary of this scholarship would be an unenviable task.[26] Organized geographically, it would consist primarily of Chinese and Taiwanese Kongzi and *Lunyu* scholarship with Japanese and Korean contributions taking up the bulk of non-Sinophone scholarship, followed by European, North American, and other non-East Asian scholarship in a variety of languages. Organized chronologically, it would begin with Han-era bibliographies and *Lunyu* commentaries and would include works from successive periods of Chinese history, eventually including the earliest Japanese and Korean works, the first translations into Western languages, and then adding an increasing number of studies with each passing century until the explosion of scholarship that attended the rise of the modern academy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Another way of organizing an exhaustive Kongzi/*Lunyu* bibliography might be according to whether a given author accepted the traditional view of the *Lunyu* as the most authoritative source of Kongzi's teachings. By that standard we would find that the vast bulk of Kongzi/*Lunyu* scholarship from its origins up to the present day occupied roughly 99% of our bibliography, leaving only a short list of authors at the end of the volume who subjected the traditional view to

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25. The introduction to Oliver Weingarten's recent 2010 dissertation contains a parallel review of the secondary literature on the *Analects*.

26. For a few recent efforts, see Fu Yunlung 1981, Zhongguo shehui kexue zhexue yanjiusuo 1987, Li Qiqian et al. 1991a & 1991b, Kunio 1992, and Shaheen 2002.

critical scrutiny. It is this sliver of skeptical *Lunyu* scholarship, and especially studies which have embraced the notion of a Western Han *Lunyu*, that I outline below.

The roots of the revisionist position might be traced to the observation, recorded as early as Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) *Si shu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集注 (*Collected Chapter-and-Verse Commentaries on the Four Books*), that the "latter ten books [of the *Lunyu*] contain many omissions and mistakes" (後十篇多闕誤).[27] The same observation motivated Japanese scholar Itō Jinsai's 伊藤仁齋 (1627–1705) distinction between the "upper" (*shang* 上) *Lunyu* of books 1–10 and the "lower" (*xia* 下) *Lunyu* of books 11–20, the latter half of which was thought to have been added subsequent to the text's original composition.[28] Working along parallel lines, Cui Shu 崔述 (1740–1816) refined the theory to argue that books 16–20 represent an even later addition within books 11–20.[29] The division of the text into upper and lower sections became a mainstay of *Lunyu* studies in the twentieth century, with prominent endorsements by H.G. Creel, Arthur Waley, D.C. Lau, and E. Bruce and A. Taeko Brooks among others, although scholars have often disagreed about which books belong in which strata.[30]

As noted above, the traditional view of the *Lunyu* as it emerges in the "Yiwen zhi" presents a ready criterion for distinguishing authentic Kongzi sayings from inauthentic sayings: a saying is

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27. *Sishu zhangju jizhu* 8.173. For this citation see also Bruce and Brooks 1998, pp. 201–202. John Makeham (1996, p. 6, n. 24) credits the Ming 明 dynasty commentator Luo Yuyi 羅喻義 with being the first to explicitly divide the text into upper and lower sections.

28. See Itō 1970. Itō's theory was later elaborated by Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728) and his student Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680-1747).

29. *Zhu Si kaoxin lu*, *juan* 4, pp. 28–29. For a brief summary, see Makeham 1996, pp. 9–10.

30. See Creel 1949, Lau 2000, Brooks & Brooks 1997, Waley 1938. Brooks & Brooks (1997, p. vii) write that the *Lunyu* "contains only a core of sayings by the historical Confucius, to which have been added layers of attributed sayings and conversations invented by his successors to update their heritage, and to address the new needs of changing times." For critiques of the Brooks' proposed chronology, see Slingerland 2000, Schaberg 2001, and Makeham 1999.

authentic if it appears in the *Lunyu*. By rejecting the "Yiwen zhi" criterion as overly simplistic, the notion of a layered *Lunyu* raised the bar for *Lunyu* studies: the most authentic Kongzi sayings are those which appear only in the earliest layers of the text. The challenge for *Lunyu* scholars then became to determine which sections of the text were truly early.[31] In our comprehensive bibliography of Kongzi/*Lunyu* studies, however, such theories would occupy a middle ground between traditional scholarship and more skeptical voices insofar as they maintain the assumption that at least *some* material in the received *Lunyu* is authentic. The notion of a core *Lunyu* has even strengthened the traditional view by justifying the exclusion of precisely those passages that challenge the perception of the text as a reliable historical record.

The earliest Chinese scholar to have challenged the traditional view directly was Zhao Zhenxin 趙貞信, who in his 1961 article "*Lunyu* jiujing shi shei bianzuan de 《論語》究竟是誰編纂的" ("Who exactly compiled the *Lunyu*?") argued that the text was first compiled in the early Han period during the reign of Emperor 文帝 (r. 180–157) or Jing 景帝 (r. 157–141).[32] Drawing on a critical tradition of Qing 清 dynasty scholarship exemplified by Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738–1801) and Cui Shu 崔述, Zhao argued that textual culture in the Warring States period did not allow for "private authorship" (*siren zhushu* 私人著述) of the sort posited by the traditional view. Not until the early imperial period did written texts become the primary mode of textual transmission, and it was at this time that the first *Lunyu* text was compiled from material selected from earlier oral traditions. Zhao supported this claim with a survey of Kongzi quotations

31. For a summary and critique of these efforts, see Weingarten 2010, pp. 29–56.

32. Zhao points to three sources for this claim: Zhao Qi's 趙岐 (129–82) statement in the preface to his *Mengzi* commentary (*SBCK* 序/4a) that an official *boshi* 博士 (erudite) position was first established for the *Lunyu* during Emperor Wen's reign; the statement in Liu Xin's 劉歆 (46 BCE–23 CE) *Hanshu* biography (*Hanshu* 36.1969) that "a great number of texts had emerged from all over the empire" (天下眾書往往頗出) during Emperor Wen's reign; and the list of *Lunyu* experts in the "Yiwen zhi," which includes only two experts from Emperor Wu's reign and none from previous reigns (see Appendices 2:D & 2:E).

and *Lunyu* parallels in the the *Mengzi*'s 孟子, arguing that the *Mengzi* author could not have drawn his Kongzi sayings from the *Lunyu*.[33] Although Zhao did not spell it out explicitly, the implication of his proposed dating was clear: the *Lunyu*'s "value as a historical source" (*shiliao jiazhi* 史料價值) of Kongzi's life and thought is not as great as is usually supposed. However, Zhao's work did not have any discernible impact on mainstream Kongzi/*Lunyu* studies in China or elsewhere.[34]

The most prominent Chinese scholar to argue along similar lines was Zhu Weizheng 朱維錚, beginning with his 1986 article "*Lunyu* jieji cuoshuo 《論語》結集脞説" ("Notes on the compilation of the *Lunyu*").[35] Although apparently unaware of Zhao's earlier work, like his predecessor Zhu framed his argument in terms of the *Lunyu*'s value as a source of Kongzi's thought. Noting the apparent absence of *Lunyu* quotations in Warring States texts (p. 43) and also the testimony of the *Han Feizi* 韓非子 quoted above,[36] Zhu placed the advent of the *Lunyu* to the "ancient text craze" (*gushu re* 古書熱) in the first part of the Western Han, specifically during the reigns of Emperors Jing 景帝 and Wu 武帝 (r. 141–87) when the demand for a collection of Kongzi's teachings became especially acute. Prior to that point, Kongzi material circulated in a more piecemeal and haphazard fashion. However, Zhu also admitted that his proposed theory of the text, like the traditional view, lacked sufficient supporting evidence, and that the "riddle" (*mi* 謎)

33. I deal with the relationship between the *Lunyu* and *Mengzi* in greater depth in chapter two (pp. 201–206).

34. In an apparent effort to justify his own critical stance toward the *Lunyu* and to establish a critical tradition of *Lunyu* scholarship, in 1969 Zhao edited the *Lunyu bian* 論語辨 (*Discriminations on the* Lunyu), a selection of critical writings on the *Lunyu* chiefly by Cui Shu 崔述 but also by Kang Youwei 康有為 and others. Zhao also published articles on the origin of the name of the *Lunyu* (1936) and on *Lunyu* book 20 (1962).

35. Zhu (1986, p. 42) traces the skeptical tradition of *Lunyu* scholarship back to Liu Zongyuan's 柳宗元 (773–819) argument in his *Lunyu bian* 論語辯 (*Disputations on the Lunyu*) that the *Lunyu* was compiled by Kongzi's second- or third-generation disciples. See *Liu Zongyuan ji* 4.110–11.

36. Zhu Weizheng 1986, p. 43.

of the *Lunyu*'s origins could not be settled.[37]

A single citation of Takeuchi Yoshio 武内義雄 in Zhao Zhenxin's 1961 article aside, neither he nor Zhu Weizheng seem to have been aware of the vibrant tradition of critical *Rongo* 論語 [=*Lunyu*] scholarship in Japan in the twentieth century,[38] the most important figure of which was undoubtedly Takeuchi Yoshio 武内義雄, whose *Rongo no Kenkyū* 論語の研究 (*Lunyu Studies*) elaborated the theory of a layered *Lunyu* in a way which strongly emphasized the Han context.[39] In his view, previously circulating independent collections of Kongzi material were first combined into an "ancient-text *Lunyu*" (*gu Lunyu* 古論語) in the early part of the Western Han. The earliest stratum of that text was *Lunyu* books 2–9, the so-called "Hejian 河間 *Lunyu*" attested by Wang Chong and first compiled at the court of Liu De 劉德, posthumously known as King Xian of Hejian 河間獻王 (r. 155–130/129 BCE), but it also included material from the "Qi *Lunyu*" (*Qi Lunyu* 齊論語) and "Lu *Lunyu*" (*Lu Lunyu* 魯論語) collections.[40] Other material was subsequently added to the collection over the course of the Han. Although Takeuchi preserved the core assumption of the traditional view insofar as he believed that some *Lunyu* layers could be ultimately traced back to Zengzi 曾子, traditionally one of Kongzi's chief disciples and the author of the *Xiaojing* 孝經 (*Classic of Filial Piety*), his emphasis on the Western Han context had a profound influence on subsequent *Rongo* scholarship.

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37. Zhu further explored the methodological challenges of reconstructing the historical Kongzi in a 1987 article.

38. For these Japanese sources I am indebted to Cameron Moore for his paper "*Rongo*: The State of the Field: A Review of Japanese Scholarship on the Composition and Transmission of the *Lunyu* in the Han," presented at the conference "The *Analects*: A Western Han Text?" held at Princeton University on November 4–5, 2011.

39. Moore (2011, p. 4) notes Takeuchi's debt to Kanō Naoki, his teacher at Kyōto University whose collected notes on the *Lunyu* were published in 1977. Kanō's writings included the observation that a Warring States-era *Lunyu* did not command the authority it did in later periods.

40. For Liu De, see pp. 268–269 and pp. 285–296 below. The "Yiwen zhi" (Appendix 2:D) identifies the "Qi *Lunyu*" (*Qi lun* 齊論) and "Lu *Lunyu*" (*Lu lun* 魯論) as two different *Lunyu* recensions in the Western Han.

Two major pre-war contributions that further refined and developed Takeuchi's conclusions were Watsuji Tetsurō's 和辻哲郎 (1889–1960) *Kōshi* 孔子 (Confucius) and Tsuda Sōkichi's 津田左右吉 (1873–1961) *Rongo to Kōshi no shisō* 論語と孔子の思想 (*The* Analects *and the Thought of Confucius*).[41] Tsuda in particular was the first Japanese scholar to use evidence from quotation patterns (specifically, those in the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳) to date the compilation of the *Lunyu* to the Western Han, specifically to the reign of Emperor Wen.[42] He argued that, prior to that point, the sayings of the *Lunyu* represented one among many sets of sayings circulating among competing groups of Ru, and that the boundaries between these smaller corpora and the larger corpus of Kongzi sayings were extremely fluid. Tsuda was also the first to seriously question the "Yiwen zhi" account of the *Lunyu*'s transmission in the Han period, arguing that the notion of an "ancient text" *Lunyu* was a fabrication and that the Qi and Lu versions differed relatively little from one another. His analysis of quotation patterns in the *Mengzi* and *Xunzi* also led him to question the traditional *Lunyu→Mengzi→Xunzi* chronology by suggesting that the *Mengzi* formed part of the source material for a Western Han *Lunyu*.

By far the most skeptical voice in twentieth century *Lunyu/Rongo* studies belonged to Kaneto Mamoru 金戶守, who in a series of articles from 1970 to 1981 articulated the theory that the *Lunyu* was first compiled in the latter part of the Western Han period from a range of sources that included the *Shiji* 史記 and Han imperial edicts.[43] In his view, the *Lunyu* Kongzi, like the *Shiji* Kongzi, was an amalgamation of pre-Han and early Han Kongzi traditions, and the *Lunyu*

41. Tsuda's work was published in 1946 but written in the early 1940s. See Moore 2011.

42. Tsuda also bases this dating on Zhao Qi's 趙岐 (129–82) claim in his late Eastern Han *Mengzi* commentary (*SBCK* 序/4a) that Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE) established an "erudite" (*boshi* 博士) position for the *Lunyu*.

43. Kaneto's main conclusions are conveniently summarized in his 1979 article.

text was in flux up until the end of the Western Han period. Like Tsuda, Kaneto also raised serious questions about the "Yiwen zhi" account of the *Lunyu*'s transmission, including a critique of the legend of an "ancient text" *Lunyu*. At the heart of Kaneto's study was a detailed comparison between the *Lunyu* and its *Shiji* parallels, in the course of which he endeavored to show (unsuccessfully, in my view) that the *Lunyu* version in every instance postdated the *Shiji*.

One crucially important detail unknown to all of the scholars listed thus far is the discovery of a *Lunyu* manuscript in a Han-era tomb excavated in 1973 near the city of Dingzhou 定州 in Hebei 河北 province. Although extremely fragmentary, having suffered from a tomb robbery and a fire sometime in the early period and then a major earthquake in 1976, the published transcription parallels the received *Lunyu* closely enough to place the advent of a text closely resembling the received *Lunyu* to no later than 55 BCE, the date the tomb was probably closed. The circulation of the *Lunyu* even in the far reaches of the Western Han empire has been confirmed by the recent discovery of a fragmentary *Lunyu* manuscript in a tomb outside of Pyongyang, North Korea, tentatively dated to 45 BCE.[44]

The next landmark contribution to endorse the theory of a Western Han *Lunyu* was John Makeham's 1996 article "The Formation of *Lunyu* as a Book." Basing his argument largely on the evidence from *Lunyu* mentions and the lack of significant overlap between *Mengzi* and *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings, Makeham concluded that the *Lunyu* was not treated as a book until after the discovery of the "ancient text" *Lunyu* ca. 150–140 BCE and the rise of state-sponsored Confucianism during Emperor Wu's reign. According to Makeham, this "ancient text" *Lunyu* had original-

44. The best introduction to the Dingzhou 定州 and Lelang 樂浪 *Lunyu* manuscripts is Van Els 2011. For a transcription of the Dingzhou manuscript, see Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo 1997. For the Lelang manuscript, see Lee et al. 2009 (in Korean), 2010 (Japanese), and 2011 (Chinese).

ly consisted of several disparate collections of Kongzi material which were not viewed as particularly authentic or authoritative in the pre-Qin period, when Kongzi material circulated in a variety of forms. As for the question of the *Lunyu*'s value as a source for the historical Kongzi, Makeham concluded that "it is perhaps best not to be too dogmatic, either in the affirmative or the negative," although "clearly there is a need to reconsider the status of other early records of Confucius' sayings and conversations with his disciples."[45]

One of the few Western scholars to take John Makeham's proposed dating seriously was Mark Csikszentimihalyi, who in a series of publications not only developed the theory of a Western Han *Lunyu* but also explored the implications of that theory for the study of pre-Han intellectual history. In a 2002 article on "Confucius and the *Analects* in the Han," he noted that the earliest mentions of the *Lunyu* in the *Hanshu* as well as the list of *Lunyu* transmitters in the "Yiwen zhi," most of whom served as tutors to imperial princes, points to the *Lunyu*'s use as a textbook for princes of the ruling Liu 劉 clan. In a 2001 chapter on "Confucius" he explored the implications of reading the *Lunyu* as a selection from earlier textual traditions, suggesting that the "principle of selection" was the primary determinant of the content of the text and not some pristine transmission lineage.[46] Csikszentmihalyi's 2004 book *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China* was also the first substantive attempt to model an approach to Warring States intellectual history that did not rely on the traditional view of the *Analects*. Writing that "[m]inimizing the authorship role of Kongzi has the effect of pulling the rug out from under the usual narrative of what is often called the 'history of thought' (*sixiang shi* 思想史) of early China," Csikszentmihalyi proposed that early Ru discourse was refracted through several mutually inde-

45. Makeham 1996, p. 24. Makeham revisited many of these conclusions in a 2009 review article.

46. Csikszentmihalyi 2001, p. 259.

pendent disciple traditions, and that untangling these traditions was a more productive approach than attempting to reconstruct an original, pristine Confucianism.

Two recent doctoral dissertations, one in German and one in English, were the first monograph-length studies in the West to challenge the traditional view of the *Lunyu* in a substantive way. In her 2006 thesis, "Und der Meister sprach...: Die Darstellung des Konfuzius in Texten der Zhanguo- und Frühen Han-zeit" ("And the Master Said...: Representations of Confucius in Warring States and Early Han-era Texts"), Christiane Haupt surveyed the evolving representations of Kongzi in four texts from the Warring States and early Han (the *Zuozhuan*, *Mengzi*, *Xunzi*, and *Hanshi waizhuan*), in each case analyzing these texts' *Lunyu* parallels to determine the extent of the *Lunyu*'s influence. The rarity of such parallels led Haupt to conclude that the the *Lunyu* did not become an authoritative source of Kongzi sayings until the Han period; prior to that point, the *Lunyu* was only one among many sources of Kongzi material. Noting that the number of *Lunyu* parallels in early texts increases over time, Haupt endorsed the theory that the *Lunyu* grew into its present form over many years as more and more sayings were added to the collection.[47] Although Haupt provides a number of arguments against automatically taking the *Lunyu* as a source for the historical Kongzi, she concluded her dissertation on a note of optimism about the possibility of distinguishing the authentic material from the inauthentic in the *Lunyu*.

In his 2010 doctoral dissertation, "Textual Representations of a Sage: Studies of Pre-Qin and Western Han Sources on Confucius (551–479 BCE)," Oliver Weingarten sought to reorient *Lunyu* studies "not so much on the Confucius figure itself, but rather on compositional features of texts that relate to it and their underlying editorial strategies."[48] After critiquing some of the most

47. Haupt 2006, pp. 171–178.

48. Weingarten 2010, p. 5.

well known efforts to identify individual *Lunyu* layers by internal criteria, Weingarten went on to show how close attention to *Lunyu* parallels, including those in non-canonical Kongzi materials, might illuminate the formation of individual *Lunyu* entries and even entire *Lunyu* books. He also used *Lunyu* parallels to highlight the generic or shared nature of Kongzi material in a number of early texts, including in the *Lunyu*. Arguing strongly against efforts to recover the historical Kongzi, he concluded that "the history of early Confucianism needs to be rewritten first and foremost as a textual and literary history that charts the mostly imaginary territory created in ancient times by anonymous authors and compilers."[49]

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The present study builds upon this tradition of critical *Lunyu* scholarship in a few respects. First, I believe it is the most comprehensive survey of Kongzi sayings and *Lunyu* parallels to date, covering more than 3,000 sayings in dozens received and excavated texts from the early period. The identification of these Kongzi sayings and *Lunyu* parallels would not have been possible without a computer database consisting of multiple digital editions of the early Chinese corpus, which has allowed me to sift through vast amounts of material in ways that would have been impractical, if not impossible, using traditional research tools.[50] Using this database, I marked and collected each and every quotation of Kongzi (or The Master [*zi* 子]) in the early literature, and this corpus formed the basis for chapter one's survey of Kongzi quotation practice in the early period.[51]

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49. Weingarten 2010, p. 201.

50. The program I used to build this database was BBEdit (Bare Bones Software, http://www.barebones.com/) for Mac OSX. Although designed primarily for computer programmers and website developers, it offers a number of tools for organizing and searching through numerous large text files.

51. Most of these Kongzi sayings had already been collected by the modern editors of the *Kongzi jiyu jiaobu* and *Kongzi—Zhou Qin Han Jin wenxianji* compilations. However, assembling this material in digital format allowed me

The same database tools also facilitated the study of *Lunyu* parallels by enabling "fuzzy" searching, i.e., the identification of parallel passages which are not simply word-for-word matches.[52] For instance, instead of searching for the simple search string *shu er bu zuo* 述而不作 (transmit without originating), the first four characters of the Kongzi saying at *Lunyu* 7/1, I was able to search for *shu* 述 within five (or ten or twenty) spaces of *zuo* 作, or *shu* 述 (or its phonetic and semantic variants *shu* 術 and *xun* 循) within a certain number of spaces of *zuo* 作, thereby yielding each and every passage in which *shu* 述 is coordinated with *zuo* 作 irrespective of the intervening text.[53] After running fuzzy searches for each and every phrase in the received *Lunyu* across the entire early corpus, I was able to compile a collection of more than one thousand *Lunyu* parallels from the earliest Warring States texts through the end of the Eastern Han period. This data facilitated the study of *Lunyu* parallels in chapters two and three.[54]

The second contribution of this dissertation is conceptual. In contrast to most of the studies listed above, this dissertation does not take Kongzi as its primary object of analysis.[55] Instead, I am concerned with "Kongzi quotation practice," my term for the loose set of conventions which dictated what kinds of material could be attributed to Kongzi in which contexts. One of the advantages of this approach is that it maintains the focus on what was arguably Kongzi's greatest appeal to early authors: his quotability. While Kongzi the man appears as a character and as a

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to run more targeted searches within the corpus of early Kongzi material.

52. This is the "grep" ("Global/Regular Expression/Print) search utility. For a general introduction, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grep (accessed 3/23/2012).

53. See Appendix 3:P for these *Lunyu* 7/1 parallels.

54. *Citations from the Zhouyi, Lunyu, and Mengzi to Be Found in Pre-Han and Han Texts* (2007) is an excellent resource that lists a number of early *Lunyu* parallels. However, it is not nearly as comprehensive as the list I was able to compile using fuzzy searching.

55. Weingarten (2010) also sets aside the figure of Kongzi to focus on Kongzi material itself.

symbol throughout the early literature, Kongzi was often quoted without reference to his biography, thereby making "Kongzi"—the man, the symbol, the legend—a projection of the words attributed to him. Focusing on Kongzi quotations is also useful insofar as the *Lunyu* compilers were interested primarily in Kongzi sayings as opposed to Kongzi anecdotes or Kongzi encomia.[56] One of the central arguments of this dissertation is that the creation and ascendancy of the *Lunyu* Kongzi must be understood against the backdrop of pre-*Lunyu* Kongzi quotation practice.

The third contribution is more a matter of emphasis than of substance. In contrast to the typical survey of the early period, chapter two's survey of Kongzi quotation practice begins in 220 CE in the last days of the Eastern Han dynasty and proceeds in reverse chronological order through the Xin, Western Han, and Qin empires before concluding in the Warring States period. Such an approach has a few advantages. First, an examination of the *Lunyu*'s standing in the Eastern Han, Xin, and late Western Han places the traditional view of the *Lunyu* in its proper context. The notion that the *Lunyu* and the *Lunyu* alone was compiled by Kongzi's closest disciples not long after their master's death was a fitting backstory for a text which, as we will see, had already been established as the pre-eminent source of Kongzi's sayings. Second, the contrast between Kongzi quotation practice in the Eastern Han period on the one hand and and pre-Han period on the other underscores the *Lunyu*'s dominance in the former and its profound lack of influence in the latter. Given the tendency to read the *Lunyu*'s authority back into the early Warring States period, such a contrast is itself a powerful reminder that its authority was not a historical constant. Third, beginning chapter two's survey in the Eastern Han reverses the tendency to privilege the seemingly foundational texts of Warring States-era thinkers over sources of early

56. Far and away the most common type of entry in the *Lunyu* is the standlone *zi yue* 子曰 (The Master said) saying. For this point, see p. 84.

imperial thought.[57] If the *Lunyu*, historically one of the most cherished sources of Warring States thought, is actually a product of the Western Han, then there may be a need to reconsider the chronology of other received texts traditionally dated to the Warring States period in light of the Han construction of pre-Han texts and ideas. By beginning chapter two's survey in the Eastern Han, I hope to encourage other students of early Chinese thought to consider the pre-Han corpus from a Han perspective.

The fourth respect in which this dissertation differs from previous studies (Kaneto Mamoru's and Mark Csikszentmihalyi's excepted)[58] is the extent to which it advances the theory of the *Lunyu* as a "Western Han text." Its deficiencies aside, the traditional view of the *Lunyu* does enjoy one significant advantage over the revisionist view. Generations of early Chinese scholars (myself included) learned classical Chinese and first studied the masterworks of early China under the assumption that the *Lunyu* pre-dates and thus influenced the Warring States masters and later authors. Not surprisingly, the vast bulk of early China scholarship has largely reinforced the standard view by interpreting Warring States and Han texts against the *Lunyu*, thereby giving the standard view an imposing aura of plausibility. When we encounter a *Lunyu* parallel in, e.g., the *Mengzi*, it simply makes sense to read it as a *Lunyu* quotation rather than as a *Lunyu* precursor. To argue that the *Lunyu* is a Western Han text, then, one must also demonstrate the plausibility of reading it as a product of the Western Han context. That is the challenge I take up in chapter three as well as in a "speculative epilogue" which develops one possible scenario for the *Lunyu*'s compilation.

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57. See especially Csiksentmihalyi 2006, pp. xx–xxiii, for a discussion of this problem.

58. See especially Kaneto's (1974) effort to read *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings with *Shiji* parallels as later than their *Shiji* counterparts.

* * *

The *Lunyu* edition used in this dissertation is that of the ICS Ancient Text Concordance Series (*Lunyu zhuzi suoyin* 論語逐字索引). Whenever possible, I have relied on a digital edition of the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (*Collected Publications of the Four Divisions*; hereafter abbreviated *SBCK*) for quotations of early received texts. For quotations of Kongzi sayings I have also made an effort to include citations of the *Kongzi jiyu jiaobu* 孔子集語校補 (*Collected Sayings of Kongzi, collated and supplemented*; hereafter *KZJY*). Old Chinese reconstructions are those of Baxter and Sagart 2011. All *Shi* 詩 (*Odes*) translations are after Waley 1996. All other translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

CHAPTER ONE:

An Introduction to Confucius Sayings

This chapter is an unconventional introduction to Kongzi, not the historical Kongzi but the Kongzi of *Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 (Kongzi says), that seemingly ubiquitous presence whose quotations pervade the early corpus. Ironically enough given Kongzi's familiarity in China and elsewhere, the Kongzi of *Kongzi yue* remains relatively unknown to the average student of early Chinese thought. This is due in part to the 2,000 year-old preoccupation with the supposedly authentic Kongzi of the *Lunyu*, although the logistical difficulties of reading the scattered corpus of Kongzi sayings has no doubt played a role. Whatever else, the *Lunyu* Kongzi is an eminently approachable and manageable Kongzi.

The Kongzi who emerges from this survey is, admittedly, a more protean and frustrating figure. He does not espouse an internally consistent philosophy, nor can his life can be mapped onto a definite timeline. But grappling with the irreducible messiness of early Kongzi sayings is the first step towards understanding the nature and evolution of this material in the early period and, ultimately, breaking out of the *Lunyu*-centric approach to the study of early Chinese thought. "Kongzi quotation practice," my term for the set of informal conventions which dictated how early authors invoked Kongzi, was far bigger, and far more interesting, than the *Lunyu*-centric view would suggest.

At the same time, the sheer abundance of early Kongzi material has led me to make numerous selections of my own in order to highlight what I take to be the most salient features of the corpus. These selections are by no means unbiased. Throughout this chapter I favor sayings which are more likely to be early—i.e., those found in pre-Han and early Western Han sources—

as well as those which amplify the inadequacies of the traditional view, especially with respect to the historicity of Kongzi material.[59] The traditional answer to the question of why early authors were interested in quoting Kongzi is simply that Kongzi was a sage of the highest order whose words conveyed timeless wisdom, and the answer to the question of what early authors (or at least pro-Kongzi authors) quoted is that they quoted teachings which had been faithfully transmitted by Kongzi's disciples. As I will argue below, neither of these assumptions is corroborated by the available evidence. Not only do Kongzi sayings provide very little evidence of faithful disciple transmission or of an interest in accurately representing the teachings of the historical Kongzi, a close analysis of the functions of Kongzi sayings reveal Kongzi quotation to have been a creative practice in which Kongzi sayings interacted dynamically with their contexts. This is in stark contrast to the *Lunyu*'s presentation of Kongzi sayings as independent, context-free dicta. Above all, I hope to show that the value of Kongzi sayings as sources of early Chinese thought lies not in what they imply about the historical Kongzi, but in the role they played within early intellectual discourse.

Let us begin with the basics.

What is a Kongzi saying?

The English word "saying" has a more general usage—something that is said or the act of speaking—and a narrower one—a pithy, self-contained expression. In this dissertation, the term

59. As we will see in chapter two, Kongzi quotation practice in the late Western Han, Xin, and Eastern Han periods was dominated by the Kongzi sayings of the *Lunyu*. Consequently, a study of late Western Han and later Kongzi sayings would tend to reinforce the *Lunyu*-centric approach to Kongzi.

"Kongzi saying" has the latter sense; consequently, not every word attributed to Kongzi will qualify as a "Kongzi saying." For instance, when Kongzi is asked at *Lunyu* 5/8 if his student Zilu 子路 is *ren* 仁 (humane), his three-word response—"I do not know" (*bu zhi ye* 不知也)—is not a "Kongzi saying" because it is not the kind of utterance that is quotable outside of a specific context. "I do not know" only makes sense within a "Kongzi anecdote," a self-contained story or dialogue within which utterances like "I do not know" acquire meaning.[60]

Like "saying," the classical Chinese equivalent *yan* 言 can refer either to the act of speaking or to the words that are spoken, but it also has a more specialized usage. At *Lunyu* 13/15, Kongzi answers Duke Ding's 定公 question about "a single *yan* which can make a state prosper" (一言而可以興邦): "People have a *yan*, 'Being a lord is difficult, and being a subject is not easy'" (人之言曰：為君難，為臣不易。).[61] As Kongzi's response shows, his interlocutor is not just asking for any string of words. He demands a *yan*, a memorable expression which can be repeated and quoted anew. Kongzi *yan* are a subset of a larger category that I refer to as "Kongzi material," which includes Kongzi anecdotes as well as "Kongzi testimonia," or authors' statements about Kongzi.

However, early authors' habitual disrespect for such distinctions cautions against taking the form of any given piece of Kongzi material as fixed in the minds of early authors. In particular, examples of saying→anecdote variability abound in early texts, as when a conversation between Kongzi and his disciple Zigong 子貢 in the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (*Mr. Lü's Annals*) appears

60. Not surprisingly, no early author seems to have quoted Kongzi with the words "I do not know." A passage from *Xunzi* book 29 ("Zi dao 子道" ["The Way of the Son"]) has Kongzi admitting his ignorance (*wu bu zhi ye* 吾不知也) in response to a student's question; however, it rationalizes Kongzi's response by pointing out an error in the question. See *Xunzi* 29 (*SBCK* 29/11b-12a; *Kongzi jiyu jiaobu* [hereafter *KZJY*] 9.31/p. 184).

61. *SBCK* 13/5b.

at *Lunyu* 7/2 as an independent saying,[62] or when Kongzi's response to a question from Ziyou 子游 at *Lunyu* 1/15 appears in the *Yantie lun* 鹽鐵論 (*Salt and Iron Discourses*) and the "Fang ji 坊記" ("Embankment Record") chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 as independent sayings.[63] Lifting a Kongzi saying from its context was apparently widespread enough to have been criticized by the author of the "Tan gong 檀弓" ("Sandalwood Bow") chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 (*Record of Ritual*). There Youzi 有子, a figure whose sayings also appear in the *Lunyu*, complains about the tendency of others to quote what the Master said without also mentioning "what the Master said it about" (夫子有為言 *fuzi you wei yan*), because the Master's words by themselves do not necessarily communicate his full intention.[64] Such decontextualization parallels the practice of *duan zhang qu yi* 斷章取義 ("breaking off stanzas and taking their meaning") in *Shi* 詩 quotation practice, whereby quoters decoupled rhymed couplets from their original contexts in order to imbue them with new meanings and apply them to new situations.[65] In both Kongzi and *Shi* quotation practice, an author's immediate rhetorical demands often trumped any concern to faithfully reproduce the original context of the words being quoted.

Early authors also seem to have invented contexts for Kongzi sayings and turned them into Kongzi anecdotes, as when the probably much later *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 (*Sayings of the House of Kongzi*) turned two *Zhongni yue* sayings from the earlier *Zuozhuan* into conversations between Kongzi and Zigong 子貢.[66] Youzi's complaint from the "Tan gong" provides one ratio-

62. See *Lüshi chunqiu* "Zun shi 尊師" (*KZJY* 1.23/p. 8; *SBCK* 4/7b) and *Lunyu* 7/2 (*SBCK* 7/1a).

63. See *Lunyu* 1/15 (*SBCK* 1/6a) and *Liji* 30 (*SBCK* 15/12b; *KZJY* p. 546).

64. *Liji* 3 (*SBCK* 2/15a; *KZJY* pp. 521–2). See p. 46 below for a translation of of this episode.

65. The *locus classicus* of this term is *Zuozhuan* Xiang 28 (*SBCK* 8/17a).

66. See *Zuozhuan* Xiang 25 (*SBCK* 17/14b; *KZJY* p. 415) and *Kongzi jiayu* (*SBCK* 9/18a), and *Zuozhuan* Xi 28 (*SBCK* 7/8b; *KZJY* p. 413) and *Kongzi jiayu* (*SBCK* 10/1a). The former saying is discussed on p. 55 below.

nale for such inventions: without its proper context, a Kongzi saying might be used in such a way as to undermine Kongzi's reputation as a supremely wise and virtuous figure. Another motivation is supplied by a saying preserved in the *Shiji* postface: "The Master said, 'My desire to record empty words does not compare to my desire to see a person's deeds in all their immediacy and vividness'" (子曰："我欲載之空言，不如見之行事之深切著明也。).[67] Sima Qian echoes this sentiment in a comment on his biography of Kongzi: "When I read the writings of Master Kong, I imagine that I see him as a man" (余讀孔氏書，想見其為人。).[68] Apparently, it was this interest in Kongzi "as a man" (*qi wei ren* 其為人) which led Sima Qian to situate Kongzi's potentially "empty words" within a biographical framework which is the most "vivid" portrayal of Kongzi known from the early period. In the *Shiji*, it is Kongzi's deeds that give the true measure of the man.

Another kind of variability is evident in a comparison between *Mengzi* 7B/37 and *Lunyu* 13/21, in which Mengzi's description of Kongzi in the former is represented as a *zi yue* saying in the latter:

<*Mengzi* 7B/37>Mengzi said, "Kongzi could not associate with [men of] the middle way..."

孟子曰：孔子不得中道而與之...

<*Lunyu* 13/21>The Master said, "When one cannot associate with [men of] the middle way..."

子曰：不得中行而與之...

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67. *Shiji* 130.3297 (*KZJY* 5.65, p. 86). The context of this attribution in the *Shiji* (as well as in the *Chunqiu fanlu* book 17, "Yu xu 俞序" [*SBCK* 6/3b; *KZJY* 5/67; p. 87]) is Kongzi's supposed authorship of the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals*). The same idea is echoed in a Kongzi saying at *Shiji* 47.1947 and again in *Huainanzi* book 13 (*SBCK* 13/3b): "Reciting the *Shi* and *Shu* of the former kings is not as good as hearing their words. Hearing their words is not as good as grasping why they spoke. Grasping why they spoke is to say what cannot be said" (誦先王之詩、書，不若聞得其言，聞得其言，不若得其所以言，得其所以言者，言弗能言也。).

68. An anecdote preserved in the "Kongzi shijia" (*Shiji* 47.1925) projects this desire onto Kongzi himself as he learns to play the zither. After his teacher tells him that he has mastered a certain piece of music and can go on to the next, Kongzi insists on practicing the old tune until he has "grasped [its composer] as a man" (得其為人). The composer turns out to have been King Wen 文王.

Modern editors tend to insert quotation marks around the *Lunyu* parallel in the *Mengzi* on the assumption that Mengzi knew, and thus had to have been quoting, the *Lunyu*.[69] But the fact remains that the *Mengzi* passage is not a direct quotation, and that the *Mengzi*'s description of Kongzi reads very differently from the prescription that the *Lunyu* attributes to him. Whatever the precise relationship between *Mengzi* 7B/37 and *Lunyu* 13/21 (see p. 199), the boundary between Kongzi testimonia and Kongzi sayings may have been equally porous.

These observations about the fluidity of different types of Kongzi material expose the arbitrariness of my own terminology. Consider again the example of *Lunyu* 13/15. From the perspective of Kongzi and Duke Ding, the only *yan* of interest is the anonymous saying "Being a lord is difficult, and being a subject is not easy." For the *Lunyu*'s audience, however, Kongzi's responses to Duke Ding might have also been read as "sayings" in their own right. On the other hand, the existence of parallel dialogues in other early texts would suggest that *Lunyu* 13/15 circulated not simply as a Kongzi saying but also as a Kongzi dialogue or anecdote.[70] Cases like *Lunyu* 13/15 simplify matters somewhat by suggesting their own terminology—*yan* 言 (saying)—and drawing their own boundaries. More often than not, however, parsing complex Kongzi anecdotes and labeling the "Kongzi sayings" therein is simply my way of marking what I take to be the most quotable elements of a given passage.

My decision to focus on the history of Kongzi sayings and not Kongzi anecdotes or Kongzi material generally reflects my interest in how early authors used Kongzi's words and, by extension, how we ourselves might use Kongzi's words as sources of early Chinese thought. But there

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69. See, e.g., *Mengzi zhengyi* 29.1026. D.C. Lau (1970, p. 202) also translates this line as a Kongzi quotation: "Mencius answered, 'Confucius [said], "If one fails..."'"

70. I have found no such parallels for *Lunyu* 13/15.

are also significant differences with respect to the circulation of Kongzi sayings versus Kongzi anecdotes and dialogues in the early period. Consider the story of Kongzi's travails "between Chen and Cai" (*Chen Cai zhi jian* 陳蔡之間), perhaps the most widely attested Kongzi anecdote in the early literature. According to the *Shiji* version of the story, the leaders of Chen and Cai sent soldiers to surround Kongzi and his disciples in order to prevent Kongzi from reaching Chu 楚, becoming an adviser to the Chu king, and thereby abetting Chu's hegemony.[71] As seen in Appendix 1:A, a dozen variations of the story can be found in at least eight texts through the Western Han period.[72]

One might be tempted to take these dozen parallels as evidence that the historical Kongzi really did encounter difficulties between Chen and Cai. However, for all their agreement on the broad outlines of the story, early authors do not seem to have agreed on the details because the Kongzi sayings which are the centerpieces of these episodes look substantially different from version to version.[73] Even among the versions at *Lüshi chunqiu* 14/6, *Zhuangzi* book 28, *Hanshi waizhuan* book 7, and *Shuiyuan* book 17, all of which feature Kongzi's disciples questioning the righteousness of their mission and Kongzi scolding them for their doubts, the core Kongzi sayings differ in both length and content. This would suggest that "between Chen and Cai" stories represent a sub-genre of Kongzi anecdote, in Jeffrey Riegel's words a "historical romance," whose details early authors were free to vary as they saw fit.[74] Thus the *Mozi* author who was

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71. *Shiji* 47.1930.

72. For a collection of passages related to Kongzi's misadventures between Chen and Cai, see *Shanghai bowu guan cang Chu zhushu* vol. 8, pp. 130–136. See also Makeham 1998 for study of various extant versions of the legend.

73. See also Haupt 2006, p. 18, and Makeham 1998.

74. Riegel 1986, p. 13. In the same article, Riegel argues that these "literary remains of Confucius's life consist of bits and pieces of ancient poetry which in their origins had nothing to do with Confucius and even predated him" (p. 14). See also Haupt 2006, p. 88, for the observation that the story of Kongzi's wanderings roughly parallels that of Chong'er 重耳, the future Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公, in the *Zuozhuan*.

hostile to Kongzi could turn it into a story about Kongzi's hypocrisy, and the *Zhuangzi* book 20 author could turn it into an encounter scene with a mysterious sage figure who instructs Kongzi in "the Way of not dying" (*bu si zhi dao* 不死之道). If the "between Chen and Cai" legend provided a narrative framework flexible enough to accommodate whatever Kongzi sayings an author required, then it is the sayings themselves which reveal those authors' attitudes towards Kongzi and the boundaries of Kongzi quotation practice.

What I refer to in this dissertation as "the corpus of Kongzi sayings" is, admittedly, an artificial construct. I suspect that no early author conceived of a complete collection of extant Kongzi material as, for instance, Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 did in the early 19th century when he compiled the *Kongzi jiyu* 孔子集語 (*Collected Sayings of Kongzi*), a compendium of Kongzi material outside of the *Lunyu* and a few other canonical sources.[75] To the contrary, judging from the titles of early collections of Kongzi material, early compilers tended to draw lines between authoritative and less authoritative sayings. The *Lunyu* contained "selected" or "assessed" (*lun* 論) sayings, the *Kongzi jiayu* "sayings from the house of Kongzi," and the *Kong congzi* 孔叢子 "Kong family masters" sayings.[76] At the risk of anachronism, my focus on a complete corpus of Kongzi sayings is methodologically useful insofar as it frees me from having to make problematic distinctions between authentic and inauthentic, or more interesting and less interesting, sayings.

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75. In a preface to the work, fellow compiler Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762–1843) lists several texts whose Kongzi sayings Sun Xingyan excluded from the collection on the grounds that they were already widely available. These texts were the *Zhouyi*, *Liji*, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan*, *Xiaojing*, *Lunyu*, *Mengzi*, *Kongzi jiayu*, *Kong congzi*, and the "Kongzi shijia" and "Zhongni dizi liezhuan." See *Kongzi jiyu jiaobu* 1998, pp. 1–2.

76. It is interesting that, of these three collections, the *Lunyu* is the only text whose title does not invoke genealogy to assert its authenticity. Although not an early compilation, Liang Emperor Wu's 梁武帝 (r. 502–549) no longer extant *Kongzi zhengyan* 孔子正言 ("Correct Sayings of Kongzi") continued this practice of privileging some sayings over others. The earliest reference to this work is *Suishu* 32.937.

How are Kongzi sayings identified?

Kongzi sayings are typically marked by the phrase *Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 ("Kongzi says/said") or some variation thereof. The most common variations substitute a different name for Kongzi (e.g., Zhongni 仲尼 or Kong Qiu 孔丘)[77] and/or a synonym for *yue* 曰 (e.g., *yun* 云 or *cheng* 稱). The phrase *Lunyu yue* 論語曰 ("The *Lunyu* says") introduces Kongzi sayings found in the *Lunyu*, which is one of the very few sources of Kongzi sayings privileged in this way.[78] Early authors occasionally introduced sayings with the rhetorical question *Kongzi bu yun hu* 孔子不云乎 ("Did not Kongzi say...?"), a formulation which seems to assume the audience's familiarity with the saying in question.[79] Another common variation is the phrase *Kongzi wen zhi yue* 孔子聞之曰 ("Kongzi heard [or learned of] this and said"), which introduces Kongzi sayings as comments on historical (or pseudo-historical) anecdotes. Occasionally, early authors seem not to have cared whether they were quoting Kongzi or some other source so long as the quotations were backed by tradition, as shown by their use of the phrase "*zhuan yue*" 傳曰 ("a tradition has it that") to introduce sayings that appear elsewhere as Kongzi sayings.[80] Authors also occasionally quoted what Kongzi "wrote" (*shu* 書) rather than what he said, especially in the context of Kongzi's purported authorship of the *Chunqiu* chronicle, as in this example from the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書

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77. The earliest text to explicitly tie these names to a single figure is the "Kongzi shijia" (*Shiji* 47.1905–1948), which explains that "Kong" was his family name (*xing* 姓), "Qiuyun 丘云" his given name (*ming* 名), and "Zhongni 仲尼" his cognomen (*zi* 字). Earlier texts like the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Zuozhuan* corroborate the "Kongzi shijia" by using "Kongzi," "Zhongni," and "Qiu" interchangeably in the same passages. Christiane Haupt (2006, p. 50) has noted that all of the *Zhongni yue* sayings in the *Zuozhuan* appear in the *Kongzi jiayu* as *Kongzi yue*.

78. For other examples, see my discussion in chapter two (p. 152) of Kongzi quotation in the *Baihu tongyi* 白虎通義 (*The General Meaning of the White Tiger Hall Discussions*).

79. See, e.g., Emperor Ai's 哀帝 edict from 7 BCE discussed on p. 100 below.

80. See, e.g., Emperor Xuan's 宣帝 edict from 66 BCE at *Hanshu* 8.250. According to Schaberg (2001, p. 79), "[T]he speakers and writers who built inherited language into speeches during the Eastern Zhou were often uncertain of or indifferent to the provenance of that language." See also Schaberg 2005, pp. 4–6.

(*History of the Later Han*): "When Kongzi authored the *Chunqiu* he wrote 'the first month' to show his respect for the start of the year" (孔子作春秋，書正月者，敬歲之始也。).[81] But these examples do not begin to exhaust the variations one finds in Kongzi quotation markers.[82]

A substantial subset of Kongzi sayings are prefaced by the more ambiguous *zi yue* 子曰 and *fuzi yue* 夫子曰 markers. In texts like the *Lunyu*, *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語, and *Kong congzi* 孔叢子 whose interest in Kongzi is obvious, *zi* and *fuzi* refer unambiguously to "*The* Master," i.e., Kongzi. But the *zi* is not always synonymous with Kongzi. In the *Mengzi* 孟子, *Mozi* 墨子, and other master texts, *zi* and *fuzi* refer unambiguously to other masters.[83] Even in the *Lunyu*, Kongzi once refers to an interlocutor's lord as *fuzi*.[84]

In many other instances the referent of *zi yue*/*fuzi yue* is less obvious.[85] For example, neither of the manuscript versions of the "Ziyi 緇衣" ("Black Robes") nor the version included in the received *Liji* 禮記 (*Ritual Records*) mentions the name of the master whose sayings pervade that text.[86] Similarly, not one of the thirty *zi yue* sayings in the received *Zhouyi* 周易 (*Zhou Changes*)

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81. *Hou Hanshu* 30.1071. Other examples include *Shiji* 43.1791 ("Kongzi...wrote in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*..." 孔子...書春秋曰), *Hanshu* 93.3741 ("Zhongni wrote [in *Lunyu* 16/4], 'He who loses befriends three kinds of people'" 仲尼著損者三友), *Hanshu* 99.4089 ("Kongzi wrote in the *Classic of Filial Piety*" 孔子著孝經曰), and *Hou Hanshu* 61.2029 ("Kongzi criticized him and wrote" 孔子譏之書曰). However, my impression is that such examples are relatively rare.

82. In 20 CE Wang Mang 王莽 quoted Kongzi as "His Excellency the Resplendent Ni" (Xuan Ni gong 宣尼公), a shorthand for the posthumous title granted to Kongzi in 1 CE, "His Excellency the Resplendent Ni of Baocheng [i.e., Recompense for Perfection]" (*Baocheng xuan Ni gong* 褒成宣尼公). For Wang Mang's edict see *Hanshu* 99.4160 and p. 160 below; for the origin of this title, see *Hanshu* 12.351.

83. See, e.g., *Mengzi* 2B/13 (*SBCK* 4/15b), although the *fuzi yue* saying in that passage ("A noble man neither resents Heaven nor finds fault with other men" [君子不怨天，不尤人。]) also appears at *Lunyu* 14/35.

84. *Lunyu* 14/25.

85. Schaberg 2005, p. 15: "[T]he attribution of sayings to a *zi* is widespread, even in texts not explicitly associated with Confucius, and one wonders what other translations of *zi yue* 子曰 are possible, even correct: 'a master said'; 'my teacher said'; perhaps 'a teacher would say.' Depending on how one translates the framing gesture for aphorisms in the *Lunyu*, historical questions concerning retrospective attribution of newly fabricated sayings may be less pressing."

86. The authorship of "Ziyi" was apparently a controversial topic even in the early medieval period, with Liu Xian 劉獻 (434–489 CE) attributing it to Kongzi's disciple Gongsun Nizi 公孫尼子 and Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513) to

includes any information tying that *zi* to Kongzi or any other figure.[87] However, as with many early texts of anonymous origin, an author was eventually found for them, as when the authors of the *Hanshu* "Wuxing zhi 五行志" ("Treatise on the Five Phases") and *Qianfu lun* 潛夫論 (*Discourse of a Hidden Master*) in the Eastern Han period unambiguously attributed a *zi yue* saying from the *Xici zhuan* 繫辭傳 (*Commentary on the Appended Phrases*) to Kongzi.[88]

Complicating matters further, comparisons among parallel versions of Kongzi sayings in early texts indicate that the distinction between *Kongzi yue* and *zi yue* sayings was not consistently maintained. Two striking examples of this phenomenon are the Dingzhou *Lunyu* manuscript and the "Kongzi shijia 孔子世家" ("Hereditary House of Kongzi") chapter of the *Shiji* 史記. Not only do a handful of passages from the Dingzhou *Lunyu* manuscript have *Kongzi yue* where the received version has *zi yue* and vice versa,[89] in every instance where the "Kongzi shijia" overlaps with the *Lunyu* the former has *Kongzi yue* and the latter has *zi yue*.[90] Clearly, early authors did not adhere to a single standard when quoting either "Kongzi" or "The Master" (or perhaps "a master"). Given the frequency of *Kongzi yue*/*zi yue* overlap, in this dissertation I follow Sun Xingyan's lead and include *zi yue* sayings alongside *Kongzi yue* sayings, except where the con-

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Zisizi 子思子. Shen Yue 沈約 believed that the *Liji* was reconstituted following the Qin bibliocaust by Han Ru 儒 who pieced the text together from disparate sources, "none of which were the words of the sage" (皆非聖人之言). For Shen Yue's argument, see *Suishu* 13.288. For Lu Deming's 陸德明 (556–627) apparent endorsement of Liu Xian's view, see *Liji zhengyi* (*SBCK* 17/9b).

87. The one possible exception is a reference to *Yan shi zhi zi* 顏氏之子 ("the son of the Yan clan"), i.e., Kongzi's favorite disciple Yan Hui 顏回, in the "Xici zhuan" (*SBCK* 8/5b). However, the passage in question seems to treat Yan Hui as a famous exemplar rather than as a personal acquaintance of Kongzi. On the other hand, it is clear from some of the Mawangdui *Yi* materials that this master was felt to be Kongzi.

88. For the original saying from the *Xici zhuan*, see *SBCK* 7/5b; *KZJY* p. 445. For the *Hanshu* and *Qianfu lun* versions, see *Hanshu* 27.1376 and *Qianfu lun* 32 (*SBCK* 8/9a–b).

89. See Weingarten 2010 (pp. 45–48) for a more in-depth discussion of this issue, as well as the effort by some scholars to use the *zi yue*/*Kongzi yue* distinction to date the layers of the *Lunyu*.

90. This likely has something to do with the fact that there are many "masters" (*zi* 子) in the *Shiji*, so that referring to Kongzi simply as "The Master" would have invited confusion.

text demands otherwise. By this I do not mean to imply that all *zi yue* sayings were originally meant to be read as Kongzi sayings. Methodologically, one simply cannot appreciate the distribution and variability of Kongzi sayings if one excludes the overlapping corpus of *zi yue* sayings.

Statements attributed to the anonymous *junzi* 君子 (noble man) have also been read as Kongzi sayings by commentators from the Han period onwards. For instance, Wang Chong 王充 (27–100 CE) made this connection explicit when he observed of a *junzi* saying in the *Gongyang* that "'*junzi*' refers to Kongzi" (君子者，孔子也),[91] a conclusion which the *Gongyang* itself seems to encourage.[92] Whether pre-Han authors would have agreed with the association of Kongzi with the *junzi* is an open question. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is perhaps best to understand the *junzi* figure not as a specific persona but as a generic ideal type, or perhaps as a reference to a specific individual whose identity was not recorded.

Another problematic feature of Kongzi quotation practice (and early quotation practice generally) is the tendency of early authors to use Kongzi sayings without marking them as such. In the following passage from Wang Chong's 王充 (27–100 CE) *Lunheng* 論衡, the implicit quotation of *Lunyu* 3/5 is obvious given both the title of the treatise—"Wen Kong" 問孔 ("Interrogating Kongzi")—and the use of the word *yan* 言 ("[this] says") to introduce a clarifying comment on the quoted text:

> I ask: What gave rise to Kongzi's desire to go among the barbarians? It was because the Way was not followed in the central states that he wished to go among the barbarians. But if the Way was not followed in the central states, how could it be followed in barbarian lands? "Barbarians with a ruler cannot compare to Xia peoples without one" says that what is difficult for barbarians is easy for the Xia peoples. If the Way cannot be followed by those for whom it is easy, how can it be followed by those for whom it is difficult?
>
> 問之曰：孔子欲之九夷者，何起乎？起道不行於中國，故欲之九夷。夫中國且不行，安

91. *Lunheng* 27 (*SBCK* 8/15b).

92. The final entry of the *Gongyang* (*SBCK* 12/9b) follows a number of Kongzi sayings with the question, "Why did the *junzi* make the *Chunqiu*?" (君子曷為為春秋).

能行於夷狄？夷狄之有君，不若諸夏之亡。言夷狄之難，諸夏之易也。不能行於易，能行於難乎？[93]

Aside from the obvious word-for-word *Lunyu* parallel, the decision to insert quotation marks around the line "Barbarians with a ruler..." is also justified by Wang Chong's frequent use of the *Lunyu yue* 論語曰 (The *Lunyu* says) quotation marker to preface word-for-word *Lunyu* quotations elsewhere in the *Lunheng*. There is little reason to doubt that Wang Chong knew and quoted a text closely resembling the received *Lunyu*.

More often than not, however, the identification of implicit quotations is fraught with uncertainty because it depends on one's assumptions about the texts a given author might have been familiar with.[94] Consider the following line attributed to Sima Jizhu 司馬季主, a Chu 楚 diviner profiled in the *Shiji* "Rizhe liezhuan 日者列傳" ("Biography of the Hemerologists"): "To transmit without originating is the principle of the noble man" (述而不作，君子義也。).[95] For anyone familiar with the *Lunyu*, the first four characters immediately recall *Lunyu* 7/1: "Transmitting without initiating, trusting in and loving the ancient, I humbly compare myself to Old Peng" (述而不作，信而好古，竊比於我老彭). Nevertheless, these four characters are probably not a quotation of *Lunyu* 7/1. Even if we assume that Sima Qian had access to a *Lunyu* text, the characters following *shu er bu zuo* in this particular passage bear no resemblance to the *Lunyu* version.[96] Moreover, nowhere else in the *Shiji* (or in any other Western Han text, for that matter) is

93. *Lunheng* 28 (*SBCK* 9/10b).

94. Schultz 1999, p. 142: "[Q]uotation is an extremely complex phenomenon. Sometimes it is clearly marked by an introductory formula but more often it is left unmarked and its presence can be detected only by contextual features, such as archaic vocabulary, grammatical awkwardness, abrupt style change, or simply the recognition that the same passage appears elsewhere. The assessment is as difficult as the detection, for the quoter can be embracing, questioning, modifying, or even rejecting the original meaning of the passage."

95. *Shiji* 127.3218.

96. See pp. 182–187 for a discussion of the relationship between the *Lunyu* and the *Shiji*.

shu er bu zuo 述而不作 explicitly attributed to Kongzi.[97] As a general rule, one is justified in treating a passage as an implicit quotation if there is reason to think that (a) a given author was familiar with the source text in question, and (b) the candidate quotation closely parallels the version found in that particular source text.

Determining the precise length of a Kongzi saying can be equally problematic because early authors did not adhere to a single standard for punctuating their quotations. Although the length of most sayings is clear from the context, early texts abound with more frustrating examples. One of these is the aforementioned "Zi yi," which consists of a series of *zi yue* sayings capped with quotations from canonical texts, as in the first section of the received version:

> The Master said: If one loves accomplishment as in [the *Shi*] "Black Robes," and if one detests the detestable as in [the *Shi*] "Chief Eunuch," then ranks are not belittled and the people are spurred to be admiring. Although punishments are not used the people all submit. One of the *Greater Elegentiae* says, "Modeling themselves on King Wen, the myriad states act faithfully."
>
> 子曰：好賢如緇衣，惡惡如巷伯，則爵不瀆而民作愿，刑不試而民咸服。大雅曰：儀刑文王，萬國作孚。[98]

Does the *zi yue* quotation end before or after the *Shi* quotation marker? How we answer that question has important consequences for our understanding of the text. If before, then the "Zi yi" author deserves the credit for pairing it with the *zi yue* saying. One might then infer that the "Zi yi" author set out to buttress some master's teachings by pointing out certain convergences with the *Shi*. On the other hand, if the *zi yue* attribution includes the *Shi* quotation, then it is the unnamed master who demonstrates his mastery of the *Shi*.[99] When dealing with *Kongzi yue* sayings

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97. For *Lunyu* 7.1 parallels, see Appendix 3:P.

98. *Liji zhengyi* (*SBCK* 17/10a; *KZJY* p. 560).

99. My own view, which is based on the observation that certain recurring patterns fall between the *zi yue* quotation markers and the capping *Shi* and *Shu* quotations, is that the "Zi yi" author inserted a layer of comments between the *zi yue* material and the capping quotations. For this argument, see Hunter & Kern, forthcoming.

and attributed language generally, how one punctuates such passages has important interpretive consequences.

Where are Kongzi sayings found?

The following numbers provide only a rough sense of the scale of the corpus of Kongzi sayings. The *Kongzi jiyu jiaobu* 孔子集語校補 (*Collected Sayings of Kongzi, collated and supplemented*), a substantially revised edition of Sun Xingyan's original collection, contains over 1,700 entries culled from received and discovered texts from the early period.[100] Adding this to this the 500 *Lunyu* entries, 360 *Kongzi jiayu* entries, and 140 *Kong Congzi* entries yields a total of roughly 2700 Kongzi-related entries from the most important collections of early Kongzi material. This figure does not even include all of the *Kongzi yue* sayings found in manuscripts to date, quotations of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings, or instances like the *Lunheng*'s implicit quotation of *Lunyu* 3/5 discussed above. All told, early texts preserve somewhere between 3000 and 4000 instances in which an author explicitly attributed a piece of text to Kongzi.

Texts that cite Kongzi can be grouped into the following eight categories (with sources of *zi yue* sayings marked with an asterisk*):

● *Collections of Kongzi material*. Compilations of Kongzi material are far and away the largest sources of Kongzi sayings. The most important of these are the *Lunyu*, *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 (*Sayings of the House of Kongzi)*, and *Kong Congzi* 孔叢子 (*Kong Family Masters Anthology*); the "Kongzi shijia 孔子世家" ("Hereditary House of Kongzi") and "Zhongni dizi liezhuan 仲尼

100."Entry" is my (admittedly imprecise) term for a self-contained unit of Kongzi material and could refer to a saying, an anecdote or dialogue, with multiple Kongzi attributions, or a statement about Kongzi.

弟子列傳” (“Biographies of Zhongni’s Disciples) chapters of the *Shiji* 史記 (*Grand Scribe’s Records*); and the *Liji* 禮記 (*Records of Ritual*) chapters “Zengzi wen 曾子問” (“Zengzi asked”), “Ai Gong wen 哀公問” (“Duke Ai asked”), “Zhongni yanju 仲尼燕居” (“Kongzi at leisure”), and “Kongzi xianju 孔子閒居” (“Kongzi at rest”). Four additional *Liji* chapters—“Fangji 坊記” (“Embankment Record”)*, “Zhongyong 中庸” (“Doctrine of the Mean”)*, “Biaoji 表記” (“Exemplary Record”)*, and “Ziyi 緇衣” (“Black Robes”)* chapters—are major sources of *zi yue* sayings.

● *The Classics*. As one would expect from the traditional account of Kongzi’s life, Kongzi sayings do not appear in texts traditionally dated to the Western Zhou and early Spring and Autumn periods, i.e., the *Shi* 詩 (*Odes*), *Shu* 書 (*Documents*), and the core layers of the *Zhouyi* 周易 (*Zhou Changes*). Although Kong Qiu is mentioned only once in the text of the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals*),[101] Kongzi is quoted extensively in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (*Zuo Traditions*) and to a much lesser extent in the *Gongyang* 公羊 and *Guliang* 穀梁 traditions. Of the *san li* 三禮 (three ritual classics) texts, Kongzi sayings appear most frequently in the *Liji* (see above). The *Yili* 儀禮 (*Etiquette and Rituals*) includes just one *Kongzi yue* saying. The *Xiaojing* 孝經 (*Classic of Filial Piety*), traditionally attributed to Kongzi’s disciple Zengzi 曾子, consists of a lengthy dialogue between Zengzi and Kongzi. The following *Da Dai liji* 大戴禮記 (*The Greater Dai’s Ritual Records*] chapters also contain Kongzi material: “Zhu yan 主言” (“Mastering words”), “Ai gong wen wu yi 哀公問五義” (“Duke Ai asked about the five principles”), “Ai gong wen yu Kongzi 哀公問於孔子” (“Duke Ai asked Kongzi”), “Li cha 禮察” (“Ritual investigated”), “Wei jiangjun Wenzi 衛將軍文子” (“Wenzi, General of Wei”), “Wu di de 五帝德”

101. This is the famous line at Ai 16 (*SBCK* 30/7a) that announces Kongzi’s death: “Kong Qiu passed away” (*Kong Qiu zu* 孔丘卒).

(“The virtues of the five emperors”), “Quan xue 勸學” (“Encouraging learning”), “Zizhang wen ru guan 子張問入官” (“Zizhang asked about entering office”), “Qian sheng 千乘” (“One-thousand chariots”), “Si dai 四代” (“The four ages”), “Yu dai de 虞戴德” (“Shun donned his virtue”), “Gao zhi 誥志” (“Proclaiming intent”), “Xiao bian 小辨” (“Lesser discriminations”), “Yong bing 用兵” (“Using the military”), “Shao xian 少閒” (“A little rest”), and “Yi ben 易本” (“The root of the *Changes*”).

- *Commentaries*. Kongzi and *zi yue* sayings played a prominent role in early commentaries:
  - *Yi* 易 (*Changes*) texts. These include the “Wen yan 文言” (*Patterned Words*)* and “Xici zhuan 繫辭傳” (*Commentary to the Appended Phrases*)* of the received *Zhouyi* as well as the “Er san zi wen 二三子問” (“The Disciples Asked”), “Yi zhi yi 易之義” (“The Meaning of the *Changes*)*, “Yao 要” (“Essentials”)*, “Miaohe 繆和”*, and “Zhao li 昭力”* texts from the Mawangdui 馬王堆 find.
  - *Shi* 詩 (*Odes*) texts: the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 (*Outer Commentary on the Han Odes*), the Shanghai Museum “Kongzi shilun 孔子詩論” (“Kongzi’s Discussion of the Odes”), and both the Mao 毛 and Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) commentaries on the *Shi*.
  - *Shu* 書 (*Documents*) texts: the *Shangshu dazhuan* 尚書大專 (*Great Commentary to the Exalted Documents*) and the various *Shu* comments preserved in the “Lun shu 論書” (“Discussing the *Shu*”) chapter of the *Kong Congzi*.
  - *Chunqiu* 春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals*) texts: all three *Chunqiu* 春秋 commentaries (the *Zuo zhuan* 左轉*, Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳, and *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳).
  - *Li* 禮 (*Ritual*) texts: Zheng Xuan’s commentaries on the *Zhouli* 周禮 (*Zhou Rituals*), *Yili*, and *Liji*.
  - *Other extant commentaries from the Eastern Han period*. These include Wang Yi’s 王逸 (fl.

c. 115 CE) *Chuci* 楚辭 (*Verses of Chu*) commentary, Zhao Qi's (108–201 CE) *Mengzi* 孟子 commentary; He Xiu's 何休 (129–182) *Gongyang* commentary; the Xu Shen 許慎 (55–149 CE)/Gao You 高誘 (168–212) commentaries on the *Huainanzi* 淮南子; and Gao You's *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (*Mr. Lü's Annals*) commentary. The *Baihu tongyi* 白虎通義 (*General Meaning of the White Tiger Discussions*), the summary of a conference convened by Emperor Zhang 章帝 (57–88 CE) in 79 CE in order to discuss "agreements and disagreements among the Five Classics" (*wujing tongyi* 五經同異), also contains numerous Kongzi sayings.

◦ "*Prognostication*" (chen 讖) *commentaries*. "Yi chen 遺讖" ("Remnant apocrypha"), the thirteenth chapter of the *Kongzi jiyu*, contains a number of fragments from apocryphal commentaries to the *Yi*, *Shu*, *Shi*, *Chunqiu*, *Xiaojing*, and *Lunyu*.

● *Histories (shi* 史). Sima Qian's (d. c. 87 BCE) *Shiji* 史記 (*Grand Scribe's Records*), Ban Gu's (32–92) *Hanshu* 漢書 (*Han Documents*), and Fan Ye's (398–445) *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (*Later Han Documents*) preserve a large number of sayings in memorials (*zou* 奏), edicts (*zhao* 詔/zhi 制), monographs (*shu* 書), treatises (*zhi* 志), biographical narratives (*liezhuan* 列傳), and in the historians' own comments. The most important sources of Kongzi sayings in the early histories are the *Shiji* chapters "Kongzi shijia 孔子世家" ("Hereditary House of Kongzi") and "Zhongni dizi liezhuan 仲尼弟子列傳" ("Biographies of Zhongni's Disciples").

● *Eclectic* (*za* 雜) *compilations*. Large compilations like the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (*Mr. Lü's Annals*), *Huainanzi* 淮南子, *Shuiyuan* 說苑 (*Garden of Persuasions*), and *Xinxu* 新序 (*New Arrangement*) preserve a wealth of Kongzi material in various formats.

● *The texts of the masters (zi* 子). Not surprisingly, Kongzi sayings are most prevalent in master texts like the *Mengzi* 孟子and *Xunzi* 荀子 that are associated with the Ru 儒 tradition. Of these texts, the final five chapters of the *Xunzi* ("You zuo 宥坐" ["The Warning Vessel on the Right"],

"Zi dao 子道" ["The Way of Sons"], "Fa xing 法行" ["A Model for Conduct"], "Ai gong 哀公" ["Duke Ai"], "Yao wen 堯問" ["Yao Asked"]) contain a disproportionate number of Kongzi sayings (roughly fifty) in a list format that somewhat resembles the *Lunyu*. Other Ru texts which quote Kongzi include the *Yanzi chunqiu* 晏子春秋 (*Master Yan's Annals*), Lu Jia's 陸賈 *Xinshu* 新書 (*New Text*), Jia Yi's *Xinyu* 新語 (*New Sayings*), Dong Zhongshu's 董仲舒 *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 (*Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals*), Huan Tan's 桓譚 *Xinlun* 新論 (*New Discourses*), Ying Shao's 應劭 *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 (*Comprehensive Assessment of Contemporary Customs*), and Xu Gan's 徐幹 *Zhonglun* 中論 (*Discourses that Hit the Mark*). One also finds Kongzi sayings in a number of non-Ru texts, including the *Mozi* 墨子, *Han Feizi* 韓非子, and *Zhuangzi* 莊子. Kongzi sayings are noticeably absent from several other *zi* texts, e.g., the *Laozi* 老子*, Shangjun shu* 商君書 (*Writings of Lord Shang*), and *Guanzi* 管子. Other notable sources of Kongzi material are Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE) *Fayan* 法言 (*Model Sayings*), a text modeled after the *Lunyu*, and Wang Chong's 王充 (27–100) treatise "Wen Kong 問孔" ("Questioning Kongzi"), which critiques roughly a dozen passages from the *Lunyu.*

● *Manuscripts*. Whereas the vast majority of received Kongzi sayings are preserved in compilations of various kinds, Kongzi-related manuscripts tend to be shorter, unincorporated texts. The most significant finds are the Dingzhou 定州 *Lunyu*, an early manuscript version of the *Lunyu* dated to 55 BCE whose fragments correspond to roughly half of the entries in the received *Lunyu*; the Dingzhou "Rujia zhi yan 儒家之言" ("Sayings of the *Ru*") and "Ai gong wen wu yi 哀公問五義" ("Duke Ai asked about the five principles") texts;[102] the Shanghai Museum "Kongzi shilun 孔子詩論" ("Kongzi's Discussion of the *Odes*"), "Min zhi fumu 民之父母" ("Father and

102.For "Rujia zhe yan," see Hebei-sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 1981. The "Ai gong wen wu yi" manuscript has not yet been published.

Mother to the People"), "Zigao 子羔," "Lu bang dahan 魯邦大旱" ("The Great Drought of Lu"), "Zhong gong 仲弓", "Xiang bang zhi dao 相邦之道" ("The Way of Ministering a State"), "Ji Kangzi wen yu Kongzi 季康子問於孔子" ("Ji Kangzi asked Kongzi"), "Junzi wei li 君子為禮" ("The noble man in the conduct of ritual"), "Dizi wen 弟子問" ("The Disciples Asked"), "Kongzi jian Ji Huanzi 孔子見季桓子" ("Kongzi had an audience with Ji Huanzi"), "Zi dao e 子道餓" ("The Master spoke of starvation"), and "Yan Yuan wen yu Kongzi 顏淵問於孔子" ("Yan Yuan asked Kongzi") texts; the Mawangdui *Yi* 易 texts listed above; the list of Kongzi-related anecdote titles in the "Rujia zhe yan 儒家者言" ("Sayings of the Ru") manuscript from the Fuyang 阜陽 find; and the single fragmentary Kongzi quotation in the Fuyang "Chunqiu shiyu 春秋事語" ("Stories from the Spring and Autumn period") manuscript.[103] One additional *Lunyu* 19/17–18 fragment was discovered in the late Western Han Xuanquan 懸泉 find.[104]

● *Collectanea*. Encyclopedia collections from later periods, e.g., the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (*Categorized Collection of Arts and Letters*) and *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (*Imperial Survey of the Taiping Era*), preserve a number of Kongzi sayings that may have originated in the early period. Many of these fragments were included by Sun Xingyan in the *Kongzi jiyu.*

How are Kongzi sayings used in early texts?

There can be no simple answer to this question given the sheer size of the corpus of Kongzi sayings. For a small minority of texts—the collections of Kongzi material listed above—the compilation of Kongzi material was apparently an end in and of itself. But the Kongzi quotations in the

103.See Han Ziqiang 2004, p. 162.

104.*Dunhuang Xuanquan Han jian shicui* p. 175.

vast majority of early texts were instrumental: they were *used* for various purposes. Understanding those purposes is the first step towards understanding the form and content of Kongzi sayings and, ultimately, Kongzi's appeal as a source of quotable wisdom.

When Sun Xingyan compiled the *Kongzi jiyu* he grouped Kongzi sayings into fourteen categories based for the most part on common themes: "Quan xue 勸學" ("Encouraging learning"), "Xiao ben 孝本" ("Filiality is the root"); "Wu xing 五性" ("The Five Dispositions"),[105] "Liu yi 六藝" ("The Six Arts), "Zhu de 主德" ("Virtue is chief"), "Chen shu 臣術" ("The Art of the Minister"), "Jiao dao 交道" ("Associating in the Way"), "Lun ren 論人" ("Assessing others"), "Lun zheng 論政" ("Assessing government"), "Bo wu 博物" ("Knowledgeable about things"), "Shi pu 事譜" ("Biography"), "Za shi 雜事" ("Assorted matters"), "Yi chen 遺讖" ("Remnant prognostication texts"), and "Yu yan 寓言" ("Imputed words"). Sun Xingyan's preference for thematic typology suggests that he thought of Kongzi sayings primarily as teachings, as sources of Kongzi's thought. But Sun Xingyan did not read all Kongzi sayings in this way. Judging from the "Lun ren" and "Lun zheng" headings, he also thought of Kongzi sayings as performing certain functions or demonstrating certain skills. Still other Kongzi material, e.g., the entries of the "Shi pu" chapter, was deemed valuable primarily for its historical value, while the "Yu yan" entries were apparently not very valuable at all.[106]

The *Kongzi jiyu*'s mixed typology, though helpful, can be improved upon. Whereas Sun Xingyan thought of Kongzi sayings primarily as teachings, I have found it more useful to think

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105. The *wu xing* 五性have been defined in various ways, but the content of this chapter suggests that Sun Xingyan's list paralleled the definition found in the *Baihu tongyi* (*SBCK* 8/1a): "What are the 'five dispositions'? Humaneness, rightness, ritual propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness" (五常（性）者何？謂仁、義、禮、智、信也。).

106. The earliest extant text to use the phrase *yu yan* 寓言 is *Zhuangzi* book 27 (*SBCK* 9/11b). For a discussion, see pp. 104–108.

of them primarily in terms of their functions, as texts that do things. As we will see below, more than a few Kongzi sayings exhibit very little in the way of content, let alone a fully developed set of teachings or philosophy. But even these sayings have a function that can be described and analyzed, and these functions are crucial to understanding why early authors were so interested in quoting Kongzi. The categories outlined below do not begin to encompass all the uses of Kongzi sayings that one finds in received and excavated texts, nor do my examples represent anything more than a tiny fraction of the available material. They are only meant to illustrate what I believe to be the most common features of the corpus, and to provide a framework for further study.

- ○ Dependent Kongzi sayings, p. 47
  - – Kongzi comments, p. 47
    - • Comments on anecdotes, p. 48
    - • Comments on other sayings, p. 53
    - • Comments on people, p. 59
    - • Comments on natural phenomena, p. 67
  - – Kongzi commentaries, p. 68
    - • Amplifying commentaries, p. 71
    - • "Greater meaning" (*da yi* 大義) commentaries, p. 74
    - • "Clarifying" (*ming* 明) commentaries, p. 78
    - • Word and character glosses, p. 81
    - • Meta-commentaries, p. 82
- ○ Independent Kongzi sayings, p. 83
  - – Objects of commentary, p. 87
  - – Objects of criticism, p. 94
  - – Proof texts, p. 98
  - – Records of Kongzi's life and thought, p. 101
- ○ "Imputed words" (*yu yan* 寓言), p. 104

The largest division in my scheme is between "dependent" and "independent" Kongzi sayings. Dependent sayings respond to other texts; without a prompt text, a dependent Kongzi saying would not exist. Independent sayings, on the other hand, do not respond directly to other texts

and so are more likely to give the impression of being teachings or records of Kongzi's life and thought.

Although a useful tool for classifying and analyzing Kongzi sayings, my distinction between dependent and independent sayings, or between any other categories listed above, is not hard and fast. As the author of the "Tan gong 檀弓" ("Sandalwood bow") chapter of the *Liji* observed, Kongzi sayings which were properly understood as dependent responses to specific contexts could circulate as if they were independent teachings:

> Youzi asked Zengzi, "Did you ever ask the Master about losing one's position?" Zengzi said, "I learned that 'losing one's position one should wish for swift poverty; losing one's life one should wish for swift decay.'" Youzi said, "This is not the saying of a noble man." Zengzi said, "I heard it myself from the Master." Youzi again said, "This is not the saying of a noble man." Zengzi said, "I was with Ziyou when I heard it." Youzi said, "In that case, there was something the Master was saying it about."
>
> When Zengzi reported what Youzi had said to Ziyou, Ziyou said, "Astounding! Youzi's words resemble the Master's.[107] Previously the Master was dwelling in Song when he saw that Master of Horses Huan had a stone coffin made for himself which took longer than three years to finish. The Master said, 'What a waste! When he dies, the quicker he decays the better.' 'Losing one's life one should wish for swift decay' was said about Master of Horses Huan. Whenever Nangong Jingshu returned home he would always bring valuables to court. The Master said, 'What wealth! Once out of office, the quicker he becomes poor the better.' 'Losing one's position one should wish for swift poverty' was said about Nangong Jingshu."
>
> When Zengzi reported what Ziyou had said to Youzi, Youzi said, "Of course. I told you before that this was not the Master's saying." Zengzi said, "How did you know?" Youzi said, "The Master enacted a regulation in Zhongdu to the effect that the inner coffin should be four inches thick and the outer coffin five, and this is how I knew that he did not wish for swift decay. Previously, when the Master lost his position as Minister of Justice in Lu and was about to go to Chu, he first sent Zixia and then Ranyou ahead of him. This is how I knew that he did not wish for swift poverty."

> 有子問於曾子曰：問喪於夫子乎？曰：聞之矣。喪欲速貧，死欲速朽。有子曰：是非君子之言也。曾子曰：參也聞諸夫子也。有子又曰：是非君子之言也。曾子曰：參也與子游聞之。有子曰：然，然則夫子有為言之也。
>
> 曾子以斯言告於子游，子游曰：甚哉！有子之言似夫子也。昔者夫子居於宋，見桓司馬自為石槨，三年而不成。夫子曰：若是其靡也，死不如速朽之愈也。死之欲速朽，為桓司馬言之也。南宮敬叔反，必載寶而朝。夫子曰：若是其貨也，喪不如速貧之愈也。喪之欲速貧，為敬叔言之也。

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107. This Youzi is probably the disciple identified as You Ruo 有若 in the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan" (*Shiji* 67.2215), whose name translates as "having a resemblance." Thus, it is entirely possible that the use of the word *si* 似 (resemble) is a play on Youzi's name. For my discussion of the significance of puns on disciple names, see pp. 111–115.

曾子以子游之言告於有子。有子曰：然。吾固曰：非夫子之言也。曾子曰：子何以知之？有子曰：夫子制於中都，四寸之棺，五寸之槨，以斯知不欲速朽也。昔者夫子失魯司寇，將之荊，蓋先之以子夏，又申之以冉有，以斯知不欲速貧也。[108]

Youzi's critique of Zengzi's Kongzi quotation is a warning about the dangers of decontextualizing Kongzi sayings and treating them a generalized teachings. Deprived of its original frame of reference, a dependent Kongzi saying might cease to be worthy of a *junzi* 君子 (noble man). Considered in light of the present exercise, the episode is also a useful reminder that Kongzi quotation was a fluid practice, and that a Kongzi saying could be interpreted very differently depending on the context of its use. To label a given Kongzi saying as "dependent" or "independent," then, is simply to describe its use in the text in which it appears. Unlike Youzi, who was intent on defending Kongzi's reputation against inappropriate sayings, I do not mean these labels to imply anything about the original or authentic form of the material.

Dependent Kongzi sayings

● Kongzi comments

"Kongzi comments" are single-serving commentaries that respond to short, discrete texts like anecdotes and other sayings. Eric Henry has observed of *Zhongni yue* comments in the *Zuozhuan* that they are "brief and readily separable from the main text," and this observation holds for Kongzi comments generally.[109] I reserve the term "Kongzi commentary" for *Kongzi yue* sayings

108.*Liji* (*SBCK* 2/15a; *Kongzi jiyu jiaobu* 521–22). The *Kongzi jiayu* also contains a parallel account of Kongzi's doings in Song (*SBCK* 10/1a). For my argument that the Kongzi saying in question was composed for this specific anecdote, see p. 94 below.

109.Henry 1999, p. 126. See also Schaberg 2001, p. 179, on Kongzi comments in the *Zuozhuan*: "in his comments

attached to canonical texts, especially the the *Shi* 詩, *Shu* 書, and *Yi* 易. By virtue of their status and circulation in the early period, canonical texts prompted Kongzi sayings that were longer and more systematically organized than Kongzi comments on other kinds of material.

○ *Comments on anecdotes*

The following Kongzi comment from the *Lüshi chunqiu* (with a parallel version in the *Huainanzi*) is typical of the sub-genre:

> A certain Ci Fei from Chu acquired a prized sword at Gansui. On his return he was crossing the Yangzi when two flood-dragons surrounded his boat in the middle of the river. Ci Fei said to the boatman, "In the past when you saw two flood-dragons surrounding your boat, did you manage to survive?" The boatman said, "I have never seen such a thing before." Ci Fei then pulled up his sleeves and robes and drew his sword, saying, "This [body] is [but] a rotting bag of bones in a river. How could I care so much about it as to abandon my sword and save myself?" He then dove into the river and stabbed the dragons, and after killing them he got back into the boat. Everyone in the boat survived. The king of Chu learned of this and enfeoffed Ci Fei with the title "wielder of the jade scepter." Kongzi learned of this and said, "Excellent! Not 'abandoning his sword for his own rotting bag of bones'—may this be said of Ci Fei!"
>
> 荊有次非者，得寶劍于干遂，還反涉江，至於中流，有兩蛟夾繞其船。次非謂舟人曰：子嘗見兩蛟繞船能兩活者乎？船人曰：未之見也。次非攘臂袪衣拔寶劍曰：此江中之腐肉朽骨也。棄劍以全己，余奚愛焉！於是赴江刺蛟，殺之而復上船，舟中之人皆得活。荊王聞之，仕之執圭。孔子聞之曰：夫善哉！不以腐肉朽骨而棄劍者，其次非之謂乎！[110]

As is common with anecdotes capped with *Kongzi wen zhi yue* 孔子聞之曰 (Kongzi heard or learned of this and said), there is no obvious connection between Kongzi and the figures mentioned in the anecdote, nor is there any effort to explain how the Ci Fei story survived the realities of interstate communication in the late Spring and Autumn era (771–fifth century BCE) to

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[Kongzi] is normally as uninvolved in the events in question as the anonymous *junzi*."

110.*Lüshi chunqiu* 20/3.2 (*SBCK* 20/6b–7a; *KZJY* 9.48/p. 190). For the *Huainanzi* version, see *Huainanzi* 12 (*SBCK* 12/17b; *KZJY* 9.49/pp. 190–1).

reach Kongzi's ears. For the compilers of these anecdotes, historical realism was beside the point. What mattered was the judgment itself.[111]

The Kongzi comment in question introduces a number of elements typical of Kongzi comments generally, beginning with an explicit statement of approval—here *shan zai* 善哉 ("Excellent!"). *Shan zai* also figures prominently in exchanges between Warring States persuaders and rulers and typically expresses the approval of a superior for an inferior.[112] In the Ci Fei anecdote, the juxtaposition of Kongzi's praise with that of a Chu king implies a hierarchy of judgment in which the rewards bestowed by temporal political authorities are trumped by Kongzi's more enduring praise. By giving Kongzi the last word, the *Lüshi chunqiu* compilers seem to have indicated that his opinion mattered more than that of a long-dead king. But not all early authors who quoted Kongzi upheld Kongzi as the ultimate authority. The *Huainanzi* compilers in the early Western Han capped their version of the Ci Fei story with a Kongzi comment followed by a quotation from the *Laozi*, a choice consistent with the *Huainanzi*'s privileging of Laozi over Kongzi: "Thus Laozi said, 'It is better to act out of a disregard for life than to value life'" (故老子曰："夫唯無以生為者，是賢於貴生焉。).[113]

The nominalizing particle *zhe* 者 and the verb *wei* 謂 ("to refer to") are also typical of Kongzi comments and evince an interest in how anecdotes and their characters are labeled.

111.Schaberg 2001, p. 179: "Marked judgment always has about it a temporal ambiguity. One does not know if the speaker was a contemporary of the judged events or lived in some later time. His authority may derive from autopsy or from the high ground of retrospection." At least one Eastern Han author reflected the textual culture of his era when he reworked what was originally a *Zhongni yue* saying from the *Zuozhuan* with the words "Kongzi read this record and said" (孔子讀其志曰). See *Kongzi jiayu* 41 (*SBCK* 9/19a).

112.See, e.g., the dialogue between Mengzi and King Xuan of Qi 齊宣王 at *Mengzi* 1B/5.

113.In the *Huainanzi* chapter in which this anecdote appears, "Ying dao 應道" ("Responding to the Way"), every anecdote is similarly capped with an apposite *Laozi* quotation. No *Huainanzi* chapter privileges Kongzi sayings in the same way.

Kongzi comments do not simply evaluate the various situations and figures of Warring States anecdotal literature. They also call attention to the act of predication itself in a way that hints at the pedagogical motivations behind such comments.[114] Note the use of the particle *zhe* 者 in the following Kongzi comment from the *Han Feizi* (with a parallel in the *Lüshi chunqiu*):

> Duke Wen of Jin attacked Yuan. After packing provisions for ten days, he promised his grandees a ten-day campaign. On the tenth day he arrived at Yuan but the capital had still not fallen, so he announced a retreat and called an end to the fighting. Some men who had come out of Yuan said, "Yuan will fall in three days," and so Duke Wen's subjects and advisors remonstrated with him, saying, "Yuan's food supplies have been used up and its force is spent. My Lord should wait them out." Duke Wen said, "I promised the men a ten-day campaign. If I do not leave now, I will lose their trust. Winning Yuan and losing their trust—this I will not do." Thereupon he stopped the fighting and left. The people of Yuan heard of this and said, "How can we not go to a lord as trustworthy as he?" They then submitted to Duke Wen. The people of Wei heard this and said, "How can we not follow a lord as trustworthy as he?" They, too, submitted to Duke Wen. Kongzi learned of this and memorialized it, saying, "'Attacking Yuan and winning Wei' [depends on] trustworthiness."
>
> 晉文公攻原，裹十日糧，遂與大夫期十日。至原十日而原不下，擊金而退，罷兵而去。士有從原中出者曰：原三日即下矣！群臣左右諫曰：夫原之食竭力盡矣，君姑待之。公曰：吾與士期十日，不去，是亡吾信也。得原失信，吾不為也。遂罷兵而去。原人聞曰：有君如彼其信也，可無歸乎！乃降公。衛人聞曰：有君如彼其信也，可無從乎！乃降公。孔子聞而記之曰：攻原得衛者，信也。[115]

Here, too, *zhe* 者 highlights a specific topic or expression—the four-word phrase "attacking Yuan and winning Wei" (攻原得衛)—and tags it with a value—*xin* 信 (trustworthiness)—explicitly endorsed in the story. (As it happens, the *Lüshi chunqiu* version of the anecdote preserves the same comment but introduces it with *yue* instead of *Kongzi yue* and omits any mention of Kongzi.[116] Why Kongzi was felt to be an appropriate mouthpiece for the one comment but not the other is an open question.[117])

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114. Compare the Kongzi comment on an anecdote featuring Master Cheng of Hou at *Lüshi chunqiu* 20/8, "Guan biao 觀表" (*SBCK* 20/21a; *KZJY* 9.52/p. 192; translation adapted from Knoblock & Riegel 2000, p. 341): "When Kongzi learned of this he said, '[The saying about how] the wise can be told secrets and the humane can be entrusted with goods surely refers to Viscount Cheng of Hou" (孔子聞之曰：夫智可以微謀、仁可以託財者，其邰成子之謂乎！).

115. *Han Feizi* 32 (*SBCK* 11/10b; *KZJY* 6.34/p. 132).

116. *Lüshi chunqiu* 19/6 (*SBCK* 19/16a).

117. This disparity might indicate that Kongzi himself was not felt to be an integral part of the Duke Wen anecdote

A curious feature of these Kongzi comments is how little they contribute to our understanding of the events in question. Notice that the bulk of the Ci Fei comment is taken directly from the anecdote itself:

> <anecdote>Ci Fei then pulled up his sleeves and robes and drew his sword, saying, "This [body] is [but] a rotting bag of bones in a river. Why should I care so much about it as to abandon my sword and save myself?"
>
> 次非攘臂袪衣拔寶劍曰：此江中之腐肉朽骨也。棄劍以全己，余奚愛焉！
>
> <comment>Kongzi learned of this and said, "Excellent! 'Not abandoning his sword for his own rotting bag of bones'—may this be said of Ci Fei!"
>
> 孔子聞之曰：夫善哉！不以腐肉朽骨而棄劍者，其次非之謂乎？

Likewise, the Duke Wen comment simply reiterates a value—*xin* 信 ("trustworthiness")—that Duke Wen had already articulated within the anecdote itself. The derivative nature of the Kongzi comments is all the more striking when contrasted with the *Laozi yue* comment in the *Huainanzi* Ci Fei anecdote ("Thus Laozi said, 'It is better to act out of a disregard for life than to value life.'"), which helpfully pinpoints its moral with an apt quotation which does not merely copy Ci Fei's words. If explanation was not the goal of these Kongzi comments, then what was their value?

The answer to that question lies in the form of the quotation marker in the *Han Feizi* passage: "Kongzi learned of this and memorialized it, saying" (孔子聞而記之曰). In most contexts, *ji* 記 translates simply as "to note down" or "record."[118] But in this instance *ji* seems to refer more generally to the act of memorializing or commemorating a given situation or figure, here with an epitomizing phrase or idea. This usage of *ji* appears in another Kongzi saying from the *Lüshi*

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tradition. On this point see Schaberg 2005, p. 19: "the commonplaceness of many of the cited judgments [shows] that these had value first as words, and only secondarily as words associated with a particular individual."

118. The *Kongzi jiyu* includes a number of *Kongzi yue* sayings that begin or end with the phrase *dizi ji zhi* 弟子記之 ("Disciples take note"). See *KZJY* 2.6/p. 16, 10.54/p. 231, and 10.57/p. 232. Other formulations include *shi* 識之 and *mian zhi* 勉之.

chunqiu that follows an anecdote in which Kongzi wrongly suspects his disciple Yan Hui of having stolen some food:

> Confucius sighed and said, "What I believed was my eyes, but it appears that my eyes cannot be trusted; what I depended on was my mind, but it appears that my mind cannot be depended upon. Disciples, take note: knowing others is assuredly not easy."
>
> 孔子歎曰：所信者目也，而目猶不可信；所恃者心也，而心猶不足恃。弟子記之：知人固不易矣。[119]

Notice that Kongzi only commands his disciples to "take note of" the final six characters of the thirty-two-character saying. Translating *ji* as "record' would imply that the twenty-six preceding characters were somehow less important or less worthy of remembrance than the final six. But the point of *ji* is rather that Kongzi's disciples (and, by extension, the audience of the anecdote) should remember the final six characters as a handy tagline or catch phrase for the entire episode. Loosely translated, Kongzi is telling his followers, "File this under 'knowing others is assuredly not easy.'" The comments on Ci Fei and Duke Wen perform a similar function, singling out core phrases ("Not abandoning his sword for his own rotting bag of bones") or terms (*xin* 信) to stand as verbal insignia for these figures' exploits. Far from advancing any particular intellectual agenda, the comments seem to anticipate that such stories would have a life beyond the texts, and that audiences required some guidance in order to successfully process, remember, and quote these stories in new settings. In this way, they occupy the gap between understanding an anecdote and skillfully deploying that understanding in new contexts.[120]

119.*Lüshi chunqiu* 17/3 (*SBCK* 17/9b; *KZJY* 13.32/p. 289. Translation adapted from Knoblock & Reigel 2000, p. 418. For additional examples, including exhortations to "note" (*zhi zhi* 志之/*shi zhi* 識之) or "work on" (*mian zhi* 勉之), see Appendix 1:

120.Schaberg 2005, p. 2: "written anecdotal accounts, whether in the *Zuozhuan* or other works, suggest the usefulness of historical narration in elite conversation, persuasion, and commemoration. Written lore, wherever we find it in early China, bespeaks a widespread passion for substantiated judgment. This was not a devotion to historical knowledge itself; the problem of verification was seldom thematized. Instead it was a reflex of a rhetorical habit of adducing images of the past in support of present polemical needs."

The prevalence of the idea that "knowing others" (*zhi ren* 知人) is "not easy" (*bu yi* 不易) or "difficult" (*nan* 難) suggests another motivation for Kongzi's injunction to "take note" of his words: anchoring free-floating, widely circulating expressions to specific contexts.[121] Far from originating the observation that knowing others is difficult, the Kongzi of the *Lüshi chunqiu* comment perhaps deserves credit only for identifying a concrete instance of a widely circulating proverb. As we will see below, such proverbs frequently provided the raw materials for Kongzi sayings.

○ Comments on other sayings

Considered from the perspective of comments on anecdotes, the use of Kongzi sayings to comment on other sayings reflects a more general interest in controlling the interpretation of received textual traditions. Yet whereas anecdotes circulated as self-contained textual units to which *Kongzi yue* and other kinds of comments accrued, the sayings spotlighted by Kongzi comments were treated much more flexibly as wisdom which could be embedded, amplified, or edited as an author saw fit. Often that wisdom originated in canonical traditions like the *Shi*, as in these examples from the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Hanshi waizhuan*:

> <*Lüshi chunqiu*>A *Shi* says, "Holding the reigns like spinning silk." Kongzi said, "Examine this saying carefully—it can be used to rule the world."
>
> 詩曰：執轡如組。孔子曰：審此言也可以為天下。
>
> <*Hanshi waizhuan*>Kongzi understood that the Way was easy to follow, saying, "The *Shi* say, 'Guiding the people is very easy.' These are not empty words."

121.See, e.g., *Kongzi jiayu* 12 (*SBCK* 3/5a), *Da Dai liji* 60 (*SBCK* 6/4a; *KZJY* 9.16/p. 174), and *Shiji* 79.2416. The *locus classicus* may be the "Gao You mou 皋陶謀" ("Counsels of Gao Yao") chapter of the *Shangshu* (*SBCK* 2/7a).

孔子知道之易行，曰：詩云：牖民孔易。非虛辭也。[122]

Note the shift in terminology the *Lüshi chunqiu* example from labeling the four-character line a *Shi* to labeling it a *yan* 言 (saying). The two *Shi* in which this line appears, "Jian xi 簡兮" (#38, "So Grand") and "Da shu yu tian 大叔于田" (#78, "Shu in the Hunting-Fields"),[123] contain any number of four-character lines, but only this line qualifies as (a) a *yan* and (b) advice on universal rule. Here as elsewhere, Kongzi sayings highlight and then transform potent ideas and phrases into objects of contemplation and quotation.

Sometimes Kongzi comments responded to proverbs of unknown origin, as in this example from the *Lüshi chunqiu* (with parallels in the *Shuiyuan* and *Kongzi jiayu*):

> When Kongzi had an audience with Duke Ai of Lu, the Duke said, "Someone once said to me, 'One who would rule a state need only rule from the audience chamber.' I took this to be an absurd saying." Kongzi said, "This is not an absurd saying. I have heard that 'those who obtain it in themselves obtain it in others; those who lose it in themselves lose it in others.' Only someone who understands reverting to himself can bring order to the world without leaving his gates."
>
> 孔子見魯哀公，哀公曰：有語寡人曰：為國家者，為之堂上而已矣。寡人以為迂言也。孔子曰：此非迂言也。丘聞之：得之於身者得之人，失之於身者失之人。不出於門戶而天下治者，其唯知反於己身者乎！[124]

This is the second example considered thus far (the first was on p. 52) in which a Kongzi saying is part of an anecdote in which Kongzi also appears as a character. But the dialogical framework should not distract us from noticing that the core Kongzi saying essentially functions as a comment on another saying. Kongzi's explicit evaluation comes at the very beginning of the comment—"This is not an absurd saying" (*ci fei yu yan* 此非迂言)—just as *shan zai* 善哉 prefaced the comment on Ci Fei. It then introduces a second piece of received wisdom in order to clarify

122.*Hanshi waizhuan* 5 (*SBCK* 5/10b) and *Lüshi chunqiu* 3/3 (*SBCK* 3/7b; *KZJY* 5.4/p. 69).

123.*SBCK* 2/13b & 10/4a, respectively.

124.*Lüshi chunqiu* 3/3 (*SBCK* 3/7b; *KZJY* 6.40/p. 134). See also *Kongzi jiayu* 13 (*SBCK* 3/16b) and *Shuiyuan (SBCK* 7/3a; *KZJY* 6.41/p. 134).

the evaluation of the first, and it concludes with a pithy summary which cements the connection between the original saying and what Kongzi had previously "heard" (*wen* 聞). Here, too, we find that the added value of a Kongzi comment lies in the connections it makes among various ideas, but not necessarily the substance of the ideas themselves.

Although the following Kongzi comments from the *Zuozhuan* might be categorized as comments on anecdotes insofar as they are attached to narratives, they are also framed as responses to other sayings of anonymous origin:[125]

> Zhongni said, "There is an ancient motto that says, 'Suppressing oneself and returning to ritual is humane.' How truly excellent! If King Ling of Chu had been capable of this, how could he have been shamed at Ganxi?"
>
> 仲尼曰：古也有志：克己復禮，仁也。信善哉！楚靈王若能如是，豈其辱於乾谿。[126]
>
> Zhongni said, "There is a motto that says, 'the words are to be adequate to what is on the person's mind, and the patterning is to be adequate to the words.' If a person does not use language, who will know his aims? And if the language lacks patterning, it will not go far. When Jin was hegemon, Zheng's invasion of Chen would not have been successful had its words had not been patterned. Heed your words!"
>
> 仲尼曰：志有之：言以足志，文以足言。不言誰知其志？言之無文，行而不遠。晉為伯，鄭入陳。非文辭不為功。慎辭哉！[127]

Both *Zhongni yue* sayings mark the quoted material as *zhi* 志, a word which generally refers to a person's state of mind or intent but which is also glossed as *ji* 記 by a number of early commentators.[128] In this latter sense, *zhi* designates something "noted down," a written record or some-

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125. See Henry 1999 and Schaberg 2001, p. 397, n. 62, for a list of Kongzi comments in the *Zuozhuan*.

126. *Zuozhuan* Zhao 12 (*SBCK* 22/15b; *KZJY* p. 418). It is not entirely clear what the "shame at Ganxi" refers to here. Legge (1991, p. 649) notes a curious inconsistency between the *Chunqiu* and *Zuozhuan* accounts of King Ling's death. While the *Chunqiu* chronicle for the following year (Zhao 13, *SBCK*) states that Duke Ling was killed at Ganxi by a certain Gongzi Bi, the *Zuozhuan* records that the king's army was persuaded to switch sides at Ganxi and that the king committed suicide at another location. Du Yu 杜預 (222–285) attempts to square this contradiction by arguing that Ganxi marked the beginning of King Ling's downfall (*SBCK* 23/1a). However, the *Zuozhuan* account of King Ling's end begins earlier than the events at Ganxi. It is possible that the *Zhongni yue* comment's seeming agreement with the *Chunqiu* account of King Ling's demise indicates that its author was more familiar with the *Chunqiu* version than with the *Zuozhuan* version.

127. *Zuozhuan* Xiang 25 (*SBCK* 17/14b; *KZJY* p. 415).

128. See, e.g., a Zheng Xuan gloss preserved in the *Zhouli zhengyi* 周禮正義 (*SBCK* 6/47b).

thing that is worthy of being noted down or remembered, hence "motto."[129] In the first comment, which follows an anecdote about the failings of King Ling of Chu 楚靈王 (r. 540–529 BCE), it is the quoted *zhi* and not any person or action which elicits Kongzi's explicit approval (*shan zai* 善哉). Only in the second half of the comment is the motto applied to King Ling, whose "shame at Ganxi" and ultimate death are explained by his failure to grasp the motto's wisdom. As a result, "suppressing oneself and returning to ritual is humane" is presented as much more than a memorable saying. These are words to live by...or else.

The second Kongzi comment follows an anecdote about Zichan 子產, a famous minister of Zheng 鄭, and resembles the first insofar as it cites an anonymous saying which it applies to the situation at hand. But the comment does much more with its source material, refashioning it into a series of corollary aphorisms. The rhetorical question which follows the original saying—"If one does not speak, who will know his aims?" (不言誰知其志)—rephrases the first four characters of the source text, and the two parallel tetrametric phrases—"If a person does not use language, who will know his aims?" (言之無文，行而不遠)—rephrase the second four characters. And for anyone who fails to grasp the gist of the motto, the comment concludes with a pithy warning: "Heed your words!" (*shen ci zai* 慎辭哉). One might be tempted to treat such blatantly redundant amplification as mere window dressing for the comment's core concern—praising the rhetorical skills of Zichan. But the fact that it devotes more space to the motto's amplification than to its application suggests that "patterned" (*wen* 文) elaboration was precisely the point: it

129. The history of the word "motto" in Romance languages makes it a particularly apt translation. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* online (http://oed.com; accessed 2/21/11), a "motto" is "a word, sentence, or phrase attached to an impresa or emblematical design to explain or emphasize its significance. Later also: a short sentence or phrase inscribed on an object, expressing a reflection or sentiment considered appropriate to its purpose or destination; a maxim or saying adopted by a person, family, institution, etc., expressing a rule of conduct or philosophy of life."

demonstrates the motto's wisdom and rhetorical potential by making it "go far" (*yuan* 遠). Given this emphasis, one wonders whether the comment was designed to illuminate the story of King Ling, or whether it was attached to the King Ling story in order to illuminate the motto.

I have encountered no better example of the use of a Kongzi comment to create a memorable saying from pre-existing material than this episode from the "Gui gong 貴公" ("Esteeming impartiality") chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*:

> A man of Chu lost his bow and had no desire to look for it, saying, "A man of Chu lost it and a man of Chu will find it, so why look for it?" Kongzi heard this and said, "Get rid of 'of Chu' and it'll be fine." Lao Dan heard this and said, "Get rid of 'a man' and it'll be fine." Thus it was Lao Dan who was perfectly impartial.
>
> 荊人有遺弓者，而不肯索，曰：荊人遺之，荊人得之，又何索焉？孔子聞之曰：去其荊而可矣。老聃聞之曰：去其人而可矣。故老聃則至公矣。[130]

The anecdote presents itself as a statement on the difference between Kongzi and Laozi. But its author frames that difference not in terms of their worldviews or philosophies but in terms of rhetoric, treating Kongzi and Laozi sayings as two different strategies for enhancing the profundity and memorability of pre-existing material. Consider the progression from the anonymous man of Chu's saying to the Kongzi and Laozi versions:

> A man of Chu lost it and a man of Chu will find it, so why look for it?
> 荊人遺之，荊人得之，又何索焉？
>
> A man lost it and a man will find it, so why look for it?
> 人遺之，人得之，又何索焉？
>
> It was lost and it will be found, so why look for it?
> 遺之，得之，又何索焉？

The value prized in the anecdote is *gong* 公 ("impartiality"). The Kongzi version performs *gong* by eliminating words to create a shorter and more abstract saying, and Laozi shows himself to be "perfectly impartial" (*zhi gong* 至公), i.e., to have the broadest possible perspective, by applying

130.*Lüshi chunqiu* 1/4 (*SBCK* 1/9b–10a; *KZJY* 17.30/p. 405).

the same algorithm to Kongzi's version. (Tellingly, the *Lüshi chunqiu*'s praise of Laozi was not tolerated by Liu Xiang 劉向 [79–8 BCE], who in the *Shuiyuan* omitted the Laozi saying altogether and instead concluded the episode with a description of Kongzi as "greatly impartial" [*da gong* 大公].)[131] How the intended audience of the *Lüshi chunqiu* received this anecdote is an open question. But my hunch is that it might have read as a recipe for generating maximally pithy and memorable language à la Laozi or Kongzi.

Another example from the *Hanshi waizhuan* presents a Kongzi comment as part of a dialogue between Kongzi and three of his closest disciples:

> Zilu said, "When a person is good to me, I am then good to him. When a person is not good to me, I am not good to him." Zigong said, "When a person is good to me, I am then good to him. When a person is not good to me, I will simply draw him in and advance or retreat [as necessary]." Yan Hui said, "When a person is good to me, I am then good to him. When a person is not good to me, I am still good to him." The three followers each differed with respect to what they upheld, and so they consulted Kongzi. The Master said, "What You [=Zilu] says is a saying for Man and Mai [barbarians]; what Ci [=Zigong] says is a saying for friends; what Hui says is a saying for kin."
>
> 子路曰：人善我，我亦善之；人不善我，我不善之。子貢曰：人善我，我亦善之；人不善我，我則引之進退而已耳。顏回曰：人善我，我亦善之；人不善我，我亦善之。三子所持各異，問於夫子。夫子曰：由之所持，蠻貊之言也；賜之所言，朋友之言也；回之所言，親屬之言也。[132]

As with the "man of Chu" example from the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the contrived nature of the episode is evident in the overlap among the three sayings, which are identical save for a few variations:

> <Zilu>When a person is good to me, I am then good to him. When a person is not good to me, I am not good to him.
> 人善我，我亦善之；人不善我，我不善之。
>
> <Zigong>When a person is good to me, I am then good to him. When a person is not good to me, I will simply draw him in and advance or retreat [as necessary].
> 人善我，我亦善之；人不善我，我則引之進退而已耳。
>
> <Yan Hui>When a person is good to me, I am then good to him. When a person is not good to me, I am still good to him.
> 人善我，我亦善之；人不善我，我亦善之。

131.*Shuiyuan* book 14 (*SBCK* 14/6b; *KZJY* 17.31/p. 405).

132.*Hanshi waizhuan* book 9 (*SBCK* 9/4a; *KZJY* 8.2/p. 159). Here I have omitted the capping *Shi* quotation.

The Kongzi comment's strategy is to point out the disciple sayings' limitations as abstract principles, with each saying being appropriate only to a specific circumstance. Whereas the *Lüshi chunqiu* Kongzi comment performed *gong* by broadening the wisdom inherent in the earlier saying, here the comment's *gong*-ness is manifest in the breadth of Kongzi's perspective. Just as important as knowing how to craft memorable sayings was recognizing the situations in which those sayings could be appropriately deployed.

○ Comments on people

From comments on anecdotes and sayings it is but a small step to comments on people,[133] one of the most frequently encountered kinds of Kongzi saying. Sun Xingyan devoted an entire chapter of the *Kongzi jiyu*—"Lun ren" 論人 ("Evaluating others")—to this subgenre, whose most common marker is the question *he ren* 何人 or *he ru ren* 何如人 ("What sort of man is X").

To reiterate a point from the introduction to this section, whether we label a given Kongzi saying as a comment on a person or anecdote or saying matters relatively little. As we saw above, Kongzi's comments on the Ci Fei anecdote from the *Lüshi chunqiu* and the King Ling story from the *Zuozhuan* were also comments on Ci Fei and King Ling themselves. What distinguishes Kongzi comments on people as a distinct category of Kongzi sayings is an interest in the problems and possibilities of character evaluation itself, one of the core functions of Kongzi quotation practice in the early period.

133. The connection between famous sayings and the conduct of historical figures is also emphasized by this aphorism from the Xiang 象 commentary to the "Greater Accumulation" ("Da xu 大畜") hexagram of the *Zhou Changes*: "A noble man is familiar with many former sayings and past actions, and thereby accumulates his virtue" (君子以多識前言往行，以畜其德。). See *SBCK* 3/6b.

One gets an idea of the diversity of this category of Kongzi sayings from the following *Kongzi yue*/*Zhongni yue* comments in the *Zuozhuan*:

> Kongzi said, "A *Shi* says, 'When the people have so many iniquities, do not yourself establish iniquity.' This refers to Xie Ye."
>
> 孔子曰：詩云：民之多辟，無自立辟。其洩冶之謂乎。[134]
>
> Zhongni said, "There were three occasions when Zang Wenzhong displayed a lack of humaneness and three when he displayed a lack of wisdom. He kept Zhan Qin [=Liuxia Hui 柳下惠] in a lowly position; he removed the Six Gates; and he had his concubines weave rush mats [for sale]—these are the three instances of his lack of humaneness. He used items above his rank; he allowed a reverse-order sacrifice to go forward; and he sacrificed to the *yuanju* [a mysterious sea-bird]—these are the three instances of his lack of wisdom.
>
> 仲尼曰：臧文仲其不仁者三，不知者三：下展禽，廢六關，妾織蒲，三不仁也；作虛器，縱逆祀，祀爰居，三不知也。[135]
>
> When Kongzi learned of Zichan's death, he wept and said, 'The ancients' concern [for the people] was preserved in him.'"
>
> 及子產卒，仲尼聞之，出涕曰：古之遺愛也。[136]

The format of Kongzi's comment on Xie Ye, a "grandee" (*dafu* 大夫) executed by Duke Ling of Chen 陳靈公 (r. 613–599 BCE) after he dared to criticize the Duke's *yin* 淫 ("depravity"), should look familiar in light of the comments considered above. Here it is not an anonymous saying or a handy tagline but a *Shi* couplet which is invoked to commemorate Xie Ye.

In contrast, Kongzi's comment on Zang Wenzhong shows no interest in quoting other material. In his analysis of *Zhongni yue* and *Kongzi yue* comments in the *Zuozhuan*, Eric Henry pointed to this example to argue that Kongzi comments functioned as "global character assessments" in contrast to *junzi yue* 君子曰 (the noble man says) comments' focus on the rightness or wrongness of specific acts.[137] The Kongzi comment on Zang Wenzhong follows an anecdote about the

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134. *Zuozhuan* Xuan 9 (*SBCK* 10/11a; *KZJY* p. 414).

135. *Zuozhuan* Wen 2 (*SBCK* 8/5a; *KZJY* p. 413). For the translation, see Henry 1999, p. 138.

136. *Zuozhuan* Zhao 20 (*SBCK* 24/12b; *KZJY* 421).

137. Henry 1999, p. 139. See also Nylan & Wilson 2010, p. 81.

rearranging of ancestral tablets in the state temple, a gross violation of ritual propriety which occurred during Zang Wenzhong's tenure as minister. In Henry's analysis, the comment argues against the common perception of Zang Wenzhong as a virtuous man, in this way "alert[ing] the reader to the possibility of a response different from the one he has already formed; thus [such comments] serve a *corrective* or *enlarging* function in the text."[138] This corrective function appears elsewhere in the *Zuozhuan* in a Kongzi comment on Zichan: "Considering this, I do not believe it when people say that Zichan was not humane" (仲尼聞是語也。曰：以是觀之，人謂子產不仁，吾不信也。).[139] Henry's observations about *Zuozhuan* Kongzi comments closely parallel my discussion of the *ji* 記 function of Kongzi comments in other texts. Such comments are designed to epitomize historical figures just as other Kongzi comments epitomize individual anecdotes.[140]

Kongzi's eulogy of Zichan, a famous minister of Zheng 鄭, functions in a similar way but differs from the examples above insofar as it is prefaced by a description of Kongzi's non-verbal reaction to the news of Zichan's death. The brief, two-word statement *chu ti* 出涕 ([Kongzi] wept) turns what would otherwise be a simple saying into an emotionally charged mini-scene. Nonverbal cues like this one were a way to enhance the emotional intensity of Kongzi sayings and thereby imbue them with personality.[141]

Kongzi comments on people also extended to legendary figures from the distant past, as in

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138.Henry 1999, p. 148. See *Lunyu* 5/13 and 5/17 for two additional Kongzi criticisms of Zang Wenzhong.

139.*Zuozhuan* Xiang 31 (*SBCK* 19/16a; *KZJY* p. 416).

140.For an explicit *ji zhi* 記之 exhortation in a Kongzi comment on a person, see *Shuiyuan* book 7, "Zheng li 政理" (*SBCK* 7/5b–6a; *KZJY* 10.57/pp. 232–33): "Kongzi said, 'Disciples take note: Duke Huan was a lord-protector, and Guang Zhong was an accomplished assistant... (孔子曰：弟子記之，桓公，霸君也；管仲，賢佐也；猶有以智為愚者也...).

141.Kongzi's "sighs" (*tan* 歎) are used to similar effect in Kongzi sayings, e.g., at *Han Feizi* 36 (*SBCK* 15/2a; *KZJY* 6.36/pp. 132–33) and in the *Yanzi chunqiu* (*KZJY* 7.7/p. 148).

this comment on a *Zhuangzi* anecdote about King Wen, who is portrayed there as having fabricated a prophetic dream in order to persuade his officials to turn the state's management over to a lowly fisherman:

> Yan Yuan asked Zhongni, "Did King Wen fall short? Why did he use a [fake] dream to get his way?" Zhongni said, "Quiet! Do not speak. King Wen was perfect, so how can you evaluate and criticize him? He only used [the dream] to handle that particular situation."
>
> 顏淵問於仲尼曰：文王其猶未邪？又何以夢為乎？仲尼曰：默！汝無言。夫文王盡之也，而又何論刺焉？彼直以循斯須也。[142]

The Kongzi saying simply asserts King Wen's unimpeachability in response to the doubt raised by Yan Hui. King Wen was "perfect" (*jin zhi* 盡之), therefore he cannot be criticized. Here we see that Kongzi comments did not just provide objective evaluations of historical (or quasi-historical) figures. They also policed the stories behind those figures in order to maintain their reputations and symbolic authority. Of course, the fact that this anecdote appears in the *Zhuangzi* might indicate that it was meant as a satirical portrayal of Kongzi's dogmatic support of the ancient sages. However, Sima Qian in book 61 of the *Shiji* also credits Kongzi with rendering a similar service to other legendary figures: "Although Boyi and Shuqi were men of accomplishment, they needed the Master to make their names even more conspicuous" (伯夷、叔齊雖賢，得夫子而名益彰。). For Sima Qian at least, Kongzi deserved credit for preserving the memory of truly virtuous men, perhaps because Kongzi comments performed precisely this function.

One of the sources Sima Qian drew from in the course of compiling the *Shiji* was the "Wu di de 五帝德" ("Virtues of the Five Emperors") chapter of the *Da Dai Liji*, which features Kongzi responding to a series of questions about legendary sage rulers, beginning with the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi 黃帝):

> Zai Wo asked Kongzi, "Previously I had heard Rong Yi say that the Yellow Emperor lived for 300 years. May I ask, was the Yellow Emperor a man? Was he not a man? How could he have

142.*Zhuangzi* 21 (*SBCK* 7/38a–b; *KZJY* 17.15/p. 392).

lived for three-hundred years?

Kongzi said, "Yu [=Zai Wo]! [The doings of the Xia founder] Yu, [the Shang founder] Tang, [the Zhou Kings] Wen, Wu, Cheng, and the Duke of Zhou can be thoroughly observed. The Yellow Emperor is more ancient still—why would you [ask such a question]? Former masters spoke about him only with difficulty."

Zai Wo said, "Traditions about high antiquity, abstruse explanations, and discriminations of affairs long concluded only obscure and confuse [the truth of the matter]. Surely this is not the way of the noble man. That being so, my question is a natural one."

宰我問於孔子曰：昔者予聞諸榮伊，言黃帝三百年。請問黃帝者人邪？亦非人邪？何以至於三百年乎？

孔子曰：予！禹、湯、文、武、成王、周公，可勝觀也！夫黃帝尚矣，女何以為？先生難言之。

宰我曰：上世之傳，隱微之說，卒業之辨，闇昏忽之，意非君子之道也，則予之問也固矣。[143]

In reply, Kongzi offered a summary of the Yellow Emperor's virtues which concluded with the following statement:

[The Yellow Emperor] lived and the people reaped the benefits [of his rule] for 100 years. When he died, the people were in awe of his spirit for [another] 100 years. When that came to an end, the people used his teachings for [another] 100 years. Thus it is said [that he lived for] 300 years.

生而民得其利百年，死而民畏其神百年，亡而民用其教百年，故曰三百年。

"Wu di de" gives no explanation for its rejection of the Methuselah-esque legend of the Yellow Emperor aside from what is quoted here. (Interestingly, Kongzi's rationalizing account of the Yellow Emperor's longevity reflects spirit of *Lunyu* 7/21: "The Master did not talk about oddities, physical strength, chaos, or spiritual matters" [子不語：怪、力、亂、神。].) My suspicion is that the Kongzi saying's insistence on the Yellow Emperor's humanity might have been a way to preserve his status as an approachable exemplar of the traditional virtues, thereby wresting control of the Yellow Emperor legend away from those who would exploit his image for other purposes. To understand the Yellow Emperor's legacy, the text seems to suggest, we need only appreciate the potency of his virtue (*de* 德), not any spiritual or divine (*shen* 神) qualities he

143. *Da Dai Liji* 62 (*SBCK* 7/1a–b; *KZJY* 6.9/p. 117). For Sima Qian's use of this text, see concluding comment at *Shiji* 1.46.

might have possessed.

This is one respect in which Kongzi comments on people differ from other kinds of Kongzi comments. Many of the historical (or quasi-historical) figures who populated Warring States anecdotal literature were powerful symbols in their own right who transcended particular anecdote traditions. Some of these figures, including King Wen and even Kongzi himself, were claimed by particular intellectual lineages and thus acquired a special authority. Maintaining such figures' symbolic status was a far more pressing problem than whether this or that saying or anecdote was worthy of Kongzi's approval.

Some Kongzi comments thrust Kongzi's own character front and center as a standard against which to measure other figures, as in the following episode from the *Huainanzi*:

> Someone asked Kongzi, "What sort of man is Yan Hui?" Kongzi said, "He is a humane man. I am nothing like him." "What sort of man is Zigong?" "He is a well-spoken man. I am nothing like him." "What sort of man is Zilu?" "He is a courageous man. I am nothing like him." The guest said, "These three are all more accomplished than you, Master, and yet they serve you. Why is that?" Kongzi said, "I can be both humane and merciless, well-spoken and stammering, courageous and timid. I would not exchange my single Way for the abilities of these three disciples." Kongzi understood how to carry out [his Way].
>
> 人或問孔子曰：顏回何如人也？曰：仁人也。丘弗如也。子貢何如人也？曰：辯人也。丘弗如也。子路何如人也？"曰：勇人也。丘弗如也。賓曰：三人皆賢夫子，而為夫子役。何也？孔子曰：丘能仁且忍，辯且訥，勇且怯。以三子之能，易丘一道，丘弗為也。孔子知所施之也。[144]

Here Kongzi is made to evaluate three of his closest and most famous disciples, each of whom exemplifies certain admirable qualities. But they are all found wanting in comparison with their master, who embodies all of these qualities in the appropriate measure and thus demonstrates the *gong* 公-ness (impartiality) of his perspective. As I will argue in the conclusion to this chapter, it is tempting to imagine that the perception of Kongzi as a figure of exemplary virtue grew out

144.*Huainanzi* 18 (*SBCK* 18/14b; *KZJY* 3.22/pp. 34–35). These associations are attested in other sources, e.g., in *Lunyu* 11/3. For additional discussion, see pp. 112ff.

of the use of Kongzi comments to evaluate character, on the assumption that only a truly virtuous man could accurately assess the virtues of others.[145]

This perception of Kongzi may also account for the widespread use of Kongzi sayings to comment on the possibilities and problems of character evaluation itself. One of these sayings is the *Lüshi chunqiu* passage discussed above (p. 52) in which Kongzi enjoins his disciples to *ji* 記 (take note of) the lesson that "knowing others is not easy." Another is *Lunyu* 2/10:

> The Master said, "Examine what he relies on, observe what he follows, and investigate where he resides. How could a person hide? How could a person hide?
>
> 子曰：視其所以，觀其所由，察其所安。人焉廋哉？人焉廋哉？[146]

Chapter thirty-two of the *Zhuangzi* furnishes a more spectacular example of a Kongzi saying which explores the problems of knowing others:

> Kongzi said, "The hearts of others are more treacherous than mountains and rivers, and more difficult than knowing Heaven. Heaven has the phases of spring and autumn, winter and summer, dawn and dusk, but other people present an opaque appearance and bury their true feelings deep."
>
> 孔子曰：凡人心險於山川，難於知天。天猶有春秋冬夏旦暮之期，人者厚貌深情。[147]

The passage goes on to articulate the "nine proofs" (*jiu zheng* 九徵) by which a *junzi* evaluates others, e.g., "sending him far away to observe his loyalty" (遠使之而觀其忠) or "unexpectedly questioning him to observe his understanding" (卒然問焉而觀其知).[148]

Strictly speaking, the *Lunyu* and *Zhuangzi* examples count as independent sayings insofar as they do not respond to other texts or figures. But theoretical statements like these are not entirely

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145. In a few texts, Kongzi's ability to evaluate others was cast in an almost supernatural light, as in a passage from the *Hanshi waizhuan* in which Kongzi detects a man's virtue from the sound of him crying. See *Hanshi waizhuan* 9 (*SBCK* 9/2a; *KZJY* 2.5/pp. 15–16) and its parallel at *Shuiyuan* 10 (*SBCK* 10/17b–18a; *KZJY* 2.6/p. 16).

146. Stephen Owen (1992, pp. 19–22) has pointed to this saying as an example of the early hermeneutics of character which gave rise to Chinese literary theory. Comments like this one "promis to reveal the complex conditions that inform human actions and utterances."

147. *Zhuangzi* 32 (*SBCK* 10/19b; *KZJY* 9.41/p. 188).

148. Mattias Richter (2005) has pointed to this passage as one of several texts of a textual tradition dealing with the evaluation of official candidates. For additional discussion, see pp. 217–224 below.

independent of the practice of using Kongzi sayings to evaluate others. Kongzi may have been felt to be an appropriate mouthpiece for statements on the hermeneutics of character precisely because *Kongzi yue* sayings demonstrated over and over again Kongzi's skill at evaluating others. The authority of Kongzi the theoretician depended on Kongzi the master judge of character, and the abstract statements ascribed to Kongzi in turn fortified the authority of specific judgments.[149] Some Kongzi sayings even feature Kongzi abstracting theory from particular cases, as in this excerpt from the conclusion to "Wu di de" (with parallels in the *Han Feizi* and *Lunyu*):

> Kongzi said, "I once wished to evaluate people by their faces, but Mie Ming's [=Ziyu 子羽] faults changed that. Then I wished to evaluate people by their words, but Yu's [=Zai Wo 宰我] faults changed that. Then I wished to evaluate people by their demeanor, but Shi's [=Zizhang 子張] faults changed that."
>
> 孔子曰："吾欲以顏色取人，於滅明邪改之；吾欲以語言取人，於予邪改之；吾欲以容貌取人，於師邪改之。"[150]

Sayings like this one highlight the connection between the discrete judgments preserved in texts like the *Zuozhuan* and the theoretical statements of the *Zhuangzi* and *Lunyu*. The Kongzi of the *Da Dai Liji* comes to reflect on the difficulties and methodologies of "evaluating others" (*qu ren* 取人) by observing the "speech" (*yuyan* 語言) and "demeanor" (*rongmao* 容貌) of specific individuals. The theoretical and the practical are then united in a psychologizing description of Kongzi as having a persistent "desire" (*yu* 欲) to evaluate others.[151]

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149. An example of Kongzi articulating criteria for identifying *junzi* 君子 (noble men), *shengren* 聖人 (sages), and other ideal types is "Ai gong wen wu yi 哀公問五義" ("Duke Ai asked about the five principles"), book 40 of the *Da Dai liji* (*SBCK* 1/5a–7a; *KZJY* 9.14/pp. 172–3).

150. *Da Dai liji* 62 (*SBCK* 7/4a; *KZJY* 6.9/pp. 17–19). For parallels, see also *Han Feizi* 50 (*SBCK* 19/9a; *KZJY* 9.45/p. 189) and *Lunyu* 5/10.

151. Compare *Lunyu* 15/25: "The Master said, 'With respect to other people, who have I criticized and who have I praised? If I have praised another, I have examined him in some way. Such people are how the three dynasties [i.e., Xia, Shang, and Zhou] straightened and followed the Way" (子曰：吾之於人也，誰毀誰譽？如有所譽者，其有所試矣。斯民也，三代之所以直道而行也。).

○ Comments on natural phenomena

A smaller number of Kongzi sayings apply Kongzi's extraordinary powers of "hearing" (*wen* 聞) and judgment to natural phenomena like droughts, strange creatures, and artifacts. Sun Xingyan collected these sayings in the "Bo wu 博物" ("Knowledgeable about things") chapter of the *Kongzi jiyu*.

One of these comments is preserved in the "Bian wu 辨物" ("Discriminating things") chapter of the *Shuiyuan*:

> Ji Huanzi had a well dug and came across an earthen jar, inside which was a sheep. He then asked Kongzi about it, saying that he had come across a dog. Kongzi said, "According to what I have heard, it is a sheep, not a dog. The oddities of wood and stone are the *kui* and *wangliang*; the oddities of water are the *long* and the *wangxiang*; the oddity of earth is the *fen* sheep." Huanzi said, "Excellent!"
>
> 季桓子穿井得土缶，中有羊，以問孔子，言得狗。孔子曰：以吾所聞，非狗，乃羊也。木石之怪夔罔兩，水之怪龍罔象，土之怪羵羊也，非狗也。桓子曰：善哉！[152]

The episode is unusual in that Ji Huanzi does not question Kongzi out of a sincere desire for advice or judgment. His sole intention is to test Kongzi's knowledge, as if Kongzi's reputation as an expert on such matters was already established.

Another anecdote from the same *Shuiyuan* chapter features Kongzi extrapolating lessons about understanding natural phenomena:

> When King Zhao of Chu crossed the Yangzi there was an animal as big as a dipper that struck the king's boat head-on and stopped along the middle of the boat. King Zhao thought this exceedingly strange and so sent a messenger to ask Kongzi about it. Kongzi said, "Its name is 'duckweed fruit.' You can split it open and eat it. Only a hegemon can find it—it is an auspicious omen." Afterwards there was a flying bird in Qi with a single leg that perched before the palace and then stretched its wings and leapt up. The marquis of Qi thought this exceedingly strange and so sent a messenger to ask Kongzi about it. Kongzi said, "Its name is 'the Shang sheep' and it is anxious to inform the people to quickly repair the irrigation ditches because heaven will soon send a great rain." Just as Kongzi had said, heaven then sent a great

152. *Shuiyuan* 18 (*SBCK* 18/17b; *KZJY* 11.2/p. 243). For parallels, see also *Guoyu* "Lu yu xia 魯語下" (*SBCK* 5/8b; *KZJY* 11.1/p. 243), *Shiji* 47.1912, and *Kongzi jiayu* 16 (*SBCK* 4/11a).

rain that covered all the states in water, but Qi alone was safe. When Kongzi returned his disciples asked him about it. Kongzi said, "They were extraordinary events! Children have a nursery rhyme, 'The king of Chu crosses the Yangzi and finds duckweed fruit, big as a palm, red like the sun. Cut open and eaten it is as delicious as honey.' This is [heaven's] response to Chu. Two children will also hold hands and face each other while hopping on one leg, saying, 'When heaven is about to send a great rain, the Shang sheep will arise to dance.' Now Qi has found it—this, too, is [heaven's] response. After a nursery rhyme there always follows a response." Thus a sage does not only guard the Way, he also looks into the accounts of natural phenomena and soon finds their responses.

楚昭王渡江，有物大如斗，直觸王舟，止於舟中。昭王大怪之，使聘問孔子。孔子曰：此名萍實，令剖而食之。惟霸者能獲之，此吉祥也。其後齊有飛鳥，一足，來下，止於殿前，舒翅而跳。齊侯大怪之，又使聘問孔子。孔子曰：此名商羊，急告民，趣治溝渠，天將大雨。於是如之，天果大雨。諸國皆水，齊獨以安。孔子歸，弟子請問。孔子曰：異哉！小兒謠曰：楚王渡江得萍實，大如拳，赤如日，剖而食之美如蜜。此楚之應也。兒又有兩兩相牽，屈一足而跳，曰：天將大雨，商羊起舞。今齊獲之，亦其應也。夫謠之後，未嘗不有應隨者也。故聖人非獨守道而已也，睹物記也，即得其應矣。[153]

The *Shuiyuan* gives a decidedly ordinary explanation for Kongzi's seemingly extraordinary knowledge of natural phenomena. Just as the Kongzi of other Kongzi comments displays an amazing knowledge of various received traditions, here he is revealed as a master of nursery rhymes. Once again we find a Kongzi saying quoting a pre-existing tradition, extracting its wisdom, and applying that wisdom to new contexts. Kongzi's knowledge of the natural world is simply an extension of his general powers of *wen* 聞 (learning or hearing). As Duke Ai of Lu 魯哀公 is made to say in a dialogue with Kongzi from the *Xunzi*, "If not you, Master, then no one has heard of it" (非吾子無所聞之也。).[154]

● Kongzi commentaries

Kongzi commentaries are the other main sub-genre of dependent Kongzi sayings in my scheme.

153.*Shuiyuan* 18 (*SBCK* 18/17b; *KZJY* 11.12/p. 247)

154.*Xunzi* 31 (*SBCK* 28/21a; *KZJY* 6.23/p. 128). For a parallel discussion of Kongzi's knowledge of natural phenomena, see Nylan & Wilson 2010, pp. 89–91.

As noted earlier, the difference between a Kongzi comment and a Kongzi commentary lies in the nature of the texts that are commented on. When explicating the *Yi* 易, *Shi* 詩, and *Shu* 書, Kongzi sayings participated in textual genres that were far more prestigious than early anecdotal literature, and probably also more stable. The status, circulation, and archaic language of the classical traditions prompted Kongzi sayings which engaged their source texts in a much more sustained and systematic fashion.

From a Han perspective, Kongzi's role as commentator *par excellence* owed a great deal to the view that Kongzi had a hand in the creation of the Five Classics. According to the "Kongzi shijia" chapter of the *Shiji*, when Kongzi compiled the *Shi* he "discarded the duplicates and adopted those which could applied to ritual and propriety" (去其重，取可施於禮義); with the *Shu* and *li* 禮 (ritual texts) he "pursued the remnant rituals of the three dynasties [Xia, Shang, and Zhou] and ordered the traditions of the *Documents* in chronicle form from the time of Yao and Shun down to Duke Mu of Qin" (追跡三代之禮，序書傳，上紀唐虞之際，下至秦繆); with the *Music* he "united the tones of the 'Shao,' 'Martial Virtue,' *Elegentiae*, and *Eulogies*" (合韶武雅頌之音); and he "relied on scribal records to make the *Chunqiu*" (因史記作春秋).[155] For Han commentators, determining the true meaning of a classical text was a matter of understanding the lesson Kongzi had enshrined therein, as in a *Kongzi jiayu* episode prompted by an episode from the *Chunqiu* in which the virtuous hegemon Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公 summons the Zhou king to a meeting in an apparent breach of ritual propriety:

> <*Chunqiu*>Heaven's King [i.e., the King of Zhou] went on a hunt north of the He.
>
> 天王狩于河陽。[156]

155.*Shiji* 47.1935–6, 1943. On Kongzi's association with the *Chunqiu*, see Kern 2011.

156.Xi gong 28 (*SBCK* 7/3a). This same line is also mentioned in the "Kongzi shijia" (*Shiji* 47.1943) as an example of how Kongzi "restricted the phrasing [of the *Chunqiu*] to indicate widely applicable [lessons]" (約其文辭而指博).

<*Zuozhuan*>Zhongni said: As a subject to summon one's lord—this cannot be a model lesson. Thus was written, "Heaven's King went on a hunt north of the He," which still illuminates [Duke Wen's] virtue even though it was not the proper place [for a meeting between a duke and a king].

仲尼曰：以臣召君[*kun]，不可以訓[*huns]。故書曰：天王狩于河陽。言非其地，也且明德也。[157]

<*Kongzi jiayu*>Zigong asked Kongzi, "If Duke Wen of Jin really did summon the Son of Heaven and made the vassal lords pay court at the same time, then why did you say that 'Heaven's King went on a hunt north of the He' when you made the *Chunqiu*, Master?" Kongzi said, "As a subject to summon one's lord—this cannot be a model lesson. And [I] merely wrote that [Duke Wen] led the vassal lords to serve the Son of Heaven."

子貢問於孔子曰：晉文公實召天子，而使諸侯朝焉。夫子作春秋，云天王狩于河陽。何也？孔子曰：以臣召君，不可以訓。亦書其率諸侯事天子而已。[158]

The premise of Zigong's question in the *Kongzi jiayu*—"when you, Master, made the *Chunqiu*..."—is an explicit statement of the genre's appeal, at least from a Han perspective: Kongzi commentaries were a direct line to the ultimate source of the wisdom contained within the classics.

However, it is also important to note that the perception of Kongzi as the author/compiler of the Five Classics was virtually non-existent in pre-Han texts, the single glaring exception being *Mengzi* 3B/9, which credits Kongzi with the creation of the *Chunqiu*.[159] One striking passage from the Shanghai Museum "Ji Kangzi wen yu Kongzi 季康子問於孔子" ["Ji Kangzi asked Kongzi"] manuscript even has Kongzi quoting a certain Meng Ziyu's 孟子餘 views on the value of the *Shi* and *Shu*, as if Kongzi did not have the requisite authority to pronounce on canonical texts:

Kongzi said, "I have heard that Meng Ziyu said, 'The *Shu* make manifest the virtues of noble men; the *Shi* commemorate the intentions of noble men; the *Etiquette* (?) constrains the

157.*Zuozhuan* Xi 28 (*SBCK* 7/8b; *KZJY* p. 413).

158.*Kongzi jiayu* 42 (*SBCK* 10/1a).

159.*SBCK* 6/13a.

conduct of noble men.'..."

孔子曰：丘聞之。孟子餘曰：夫書者，以著君子之德也；夫詩也者，以誌君子之志；夫義(＝儀?)者，以謹君子之行也。[160]

Han-era authors invariably reserved such statements for Kongzi alone.

Rather than treat it as a single textual genre, it is perhaps more helpful to think of "commentary" as a collection of commentarial sub-genres distinguished by specific interpretive modes. Early authors borrowed Kongzi's voice for some of these modes more so than for others.

○ Amplifying commentaries

Kongzi's versatility as a source of canonical commentary is readily apparent in the so-called "Kongzi shilun 孔子詩論" ("Kongzi On the *Shi*") manuscript from the Shanghai Museum corpus, a text whose Kongzi sayings exhibit multiple commentarial strategies. One of these strategies emerges from a comparison of the text's multiple statements on the "Gan tang 甘棠" ("Sweet Pear-Tree") ode:

160.*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol 5, pp. 211–12.

“Kongzi shilun” strip #15:	“Kongzi shilun” strip #24:[161]
“Gan tang” longs for the man and respects and cares for his tree. Its protection is profound. The care of “Gan tang” is due to the Duke of Shao.	[Kongzi said:...] In “Gan tang” I obtain respect for the ancestral temple. People’s nature was ever thus: when they greatly esteem the man they invariably respect his position; when they delight in the man they are invariably fond of his actions. When they hate the man it is also thus [i.e., they disrespect his position and dislike his actions].”
甘棠〔思〕及其人，敬愛其樹。 其保厚矣。甘棠之愛，以邵公〔之故也。	[孔子曰：...]吾以（於）甘棠，得宗廟之敬。 民性固然：甚貴其人，必敬其位； 悦其人，必好其所為。惡其人者亦然。

Consider the two underlined eight-character lines from strips #15 and #24. Despite their differences, their parallel structure (X其人，敬其Y), parallel meaning (“long for” *si* 思 versus “esteem” *gui* 貴; “respect and care for” *jing ai* 敬愛 versus “respect” *jing* 敬), and joint association with the “Gan tang” ode hint at some sort of genetic relationship. Yet there is a crucial difference between them: the strip #24 version appears in a section prefaced by “Kongzi said” (*Kongzi yue* 孔子曰) but the strip #15 version does not. Moreover, parallels in a number of early texts generally confirm the attribution of the strip #24 line to Kongzi but not strip #15.[162]

Why was the strip #24 saying attributed to Kongzi but not the strip #15 saying? The answer to that question leads us to a key feature of *Kongzi yue* commentaries and of Kongzi sayings generally. Not only is the strip #24 version significantly longer than the strip #15 version, it also operates at a higher level of abstraction. The first such clue is the use of the word *bi* 必, whose

161.I follow Huang Huaixin’s (2004, pp. 18–22) reconstruction of the “Shilun” except where noted. Although I prefer 保 to Huang’s 報 in this line, this is not an obvious choice. As I read it, the more obvious interpretation is that the “protection” or “care” shown for the sweet pear-tree in the ode (“Do not lop it or knock it” 勿翦勿伐) mirrors the “protection” the Duke of Shao showed to his people. On the other hand, that mirroring is also a good example of “reciprocity” (*bao* 保).

162.For strip #15 parallels with no connection to Kongzi, see *Zuozhuan* Ding 9 (*SBCK* 28/4b) and *Zuozhuan* Xiang 14 (*SBCK* 28/4b), a Liu Xin 劉歆 memorial at *Hanshu* 73.3127, and Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄 commentary on the “Gan tang” ode (*SBCK* 1/15b).

insertion creates a general rule or maxim out of the more situation-specific version in strip #15: "when [people] greatly esteem the man they invariably respect his position" (甚貴其人，必敬其位) versus "'Gan tang' longs for the man and respects and cares for his tree" (〔思〕及其人，敬愛其樹). The *Kongzi yue* version also replaces *shu* 樹 ("tree") with *wei* 位 ("[official] position"), a metaphorical extension from "tree" to the notion of "where one plants oneself" or "where one takes one stand," i.e., one's official position. Another clue is the phrase "people's nature was ever thus" (*min xing guran* 民性固然), which inserts the word *xing* 性 (nature) to mark the maxim as an abstract statement.[163] The Kongzi saying then extracts the core structure of the original version to generate a new parallel saying: "when [people] delight in the man they are invariably fond of his actions" (悦其人，必好其所為。). Finally, it extends the saying's logic to include the opposite case: "when [people] hate the man it is also thus [i.e., they do not respect his position and they are not fond of his actions]" (惡其人者亦然。). The end result is a far more *gong* 公 (impartial or abstract) and rhetorically sophisticated version of the eight-character line from strip #15, which is then embedded in a longer paragraph with similarly structured and elaborated Kongzi comments.[164]

In sum, the "Kongzi shilun" author appears to have quoted Kongzi not for the content of the saying but for its abstraction, amplification, and integration in a sequence of equally abstract *Shi* commentary. The wisdom that is on display in the Kongzi saying is of a limited sort, a simple

163.This is section two in both Huang Huaixin's and Li Xueqin's reconstructions. For a translation of the latter, see Jiang Guanghui 2008; for a comparison of various proposed reconstructions, see Xing Wen 2008.

164.Not coincidentally, Kongzi's comments on three other "Bangfeng" 邦風 odes in the same section of the "Shilun" — "Ge tan" 葛覃 ("The Cloth-Plant Spreads"), "Mu gua" 木瓜 ("A Quince"), and "Di du" 杕杜 ("Tall Pear-Tree") — follow the same pattern, with a similarly structured saying following the phrase *min xing guran* 民性固然: "when [people] see something beautiful they invariably wish to trace it back to its root" (見其美，必欲反其本) for "Ge tan"; "hidden thoughts will invariably find some means of expression" (其隱志，必有以（俞）抒也) for "Mu gua"; "when [people] cleave to what they care for they invariably say, 'How can I abandon this?'" (離其所愛，必曰吾奚捨之) for "Di du."

generalization from the concrete situation of strip #15 to the abstract (or *gong* 公) lesson of strip #24. From a pedagogical perspective, it would seem that this type of Kongzi commentary teaches its audience not what to think about the *Shi*, but how to mine the *Shi* for generalizable lessons and human universals.

○ "Greater meaning" (*da yi* 大義) commentaries

The "Lun shu 論書" ("Assessing the *Documents*") chapter of the *Kong congzi* suggests a useful label for another sub-genre of commentary in a passage featuring Zixia 子夏 asking Kongzi to explain the *da yi* 大義 ("greater meaning") of the *Shu*:

> Zixia asked about the greater meaning of the *Shu*. The Master said, "In the *Canons of the Emperors* I see the sageliness of Yao and Shun; in the *Counsels of the Great Yu*, the *Counsels of Gao Yao*, and the *Yi Ji* I see the loyalty, diligence, achievement, and merit of Yu, Ji, and Gao Yao; in the *Luo Proclamation* I see the virtue of the Duke of Zhou. Thus, in the *Canons of the Emperors* one can observe excellence; in the *Counsels of the Great Yu* and the *Tribute of Yu* one can observe the handling of affairs; in the *Counsels of Gao Yao* and *Yi Ji* one can observe good governance; in the *Great Plan* one can observe due order; in the *Great Declaration* one can observe what is appropriate; in the *Five Proclamations* one can observe humaneness; and in the *Lu Punishments* one can observe prohibitions. When these seven things are comprehended, the greater meaning of the *Shu* is upheld.
>
> 子夏問書大義。子曰：吾於帝典見堯舜之聖焉；於大禹、皋陶謨、益稷見禹、稷、皋陶之忠勤功勳焉；於洛誥見周公之德焉。故帝典可以觀美，大禹謨、禹貢可以觀事，皋陶謨、益稷可以觀政，洪範可以觀度，泰誓可以觀義，五誥可以觀仁，甫刑可以觀誡。通斯七者，則書之大義舉矣。[165]

Unlike, say, the (pseudo-)Kong Anguo 孔安國 *Shangshu* commentary or the typical modern commentary, which assists one's reading of the text by glossing problematic words and phrases, this Kongzi commentary shows little interest in substantively engaging the content of the *Shu*. Instead, the "greater meanings" supplied by Kongzi establish interpretive guidelines for each *Shu*

165.*Kong congzi* 2 (*SBCK* 1/6a). The continuation of this particular passage includes more *da yi* commentary.

text, the core ideas which come to frame the interpretation of individual lines, phrases, and words. Although not labeled as such, the most well known example of a "greater meaning" commentary from the early period is perhaps the *Mao Shi* 毛詩 (*Mao Odes*). When the *Mao* preface to "Guan ju 關雎" ("Fish-hawks") states that the ode is about "the virtue of the consort" (*houfei zhi de ye* 后妃之德也),[166] it is no coincidence that the Mao commentary subsequently interprets individual words and phrases in keeping with the global evaluation, e.g., by understanding the binome *yaotiao* 窈窕 as a description of a virtuous woman.[167] Statements about a text's "greater meaning" do not derive from early interpreters' close readings of texts; they render interpretation a *fait accompli*.[168]

The appeal of "greater meaning" Kongzi commentaries in the Han likely owed something to the perception that the proliferation of commentarial traditions represented a corruption of canonical wisdom. Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE), an author whom the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (*History of the Later Han*) praised as "having simply explained the greater meaning without engaging in chapter-and-verse commentary" (不為章句，舉大義而已。)," explicitly connects Kongzi with the notion of "greater meaning" in the preface to the "Yiwenzhi 藝文志" bibliography:

> Formerly, after Zhongni passed away his subtle words were cut off, and after the seventy disciples died the greater meaning was distorted. Thus the *Chunqiu* was split into five [traditions], the *Shi* into four [traditions], and the *Yi* into traditions of several experts. Amid the strategic scheming of the Warring States the true and the counterfeit came into conflict and the words of the various masters became chaotic and confused.
>
> 昔仲尼沒而微言絕，七十子喪而大義乖。故春秋分為五，詩分為四，易有數家之傳。戰

166.*SBCK* 1/1b.

167.Kern 2007, pp. 783–87.

168.For other examples, see the *Zhouyi* "Xici zhuan" (*SBCK* 8/6b–7b; *KZJY* p. 450) and *Huainanzi* 18 (*SBCK* 18/2b; *KZJY* 4.34/p. 60). The nearly word-for-word parallels between Kongzi's *da yi* commentary on the *Shi* in the *Hanshi waizhuan* 2 (*SBCK* 2/17b; *KZJY* 4.43/pp. 63–64) and his *Shu* commentary in the *Shangshu dazhuan* (*SBCK* 5/13a–b; *KZJY* 4.44/pp. 64) and *Kong congzi* 2 (*SBCK* 2/7a) even suggests that it mattered little what corpus was being commented on so long as its meaning was said to be profound.

國從衡，真偽分爭，諸子之言紛然殽亂。[169]

The text goes on to lament the further fracturing of the "greater meaning" during the Warring States and Qin periods before praising Han emperors' efforts to reunify the tradition. Writing towards the end of the Eastern Han, Xu Gan 徐幹 (170–217) developed these ideas further when he argued for the superiority of *da yi* learning over a pedantic interest in terminology and word glosses:

> In learning, the greater meaning (*da yi* 大義) comes first and terminology comes after. Terminology follows after the elucidation of the greater meaning. Nonetheless, shabby Ru in their broad learning labor over terminology. They are particular about vessels and implements and they are boastful about their word glosses. They extract their chapter-and-verse commentaries without being able to synthesize the implications of the greater meaning and thereby grasp the heart of the former kings. This is no different from a woman or a scribe reciting the *Shi*, or a houseboy passing along orders. And so this leads scholars to exert their intellects on empty matters and to be ignorant of the Way, and to spend day and night in fruitless pursuits. Thus the noble man always chooses his teacher accordingly.
>
> 凡學者，大義為先，物名為後。大義舉而物名從之。然鄙儒之博學也，務於物名，詳於器械，矜於詁訓，摘其章句，而不能統其大義之所極以獲先王之心。此無異乎女史誦詩，內豎傳令也。故使學者勞思慮而不知道，費日月而無成功。故君子必擇師焉。[170]

From this perspective, Kongzi's *da yi* commentary acquires a greater intellectual historical significance. It is a genre which cuts through the accumulated clutter of recent textual traditions to articulate the original, core meaning of the classics. In contrast to the pedantic prolixity of Han "chapter-and-verse" (*zhang ju* 章句) commentaries, the pithiness and generality of "greater meaning" commentaries were markers of the ancient, the authentic, and the profound, all the more so when attributed to Kongzi.[171]

Although describing what is likely a late fourth-century BCE text in this way is probably

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169.*Hanshu* 30.1701.

170.*Zhonglun* 1, "Zhi xue 治學" (*SBCK* 4b–5a).

171.Yan Kejun's 嚴可均 (1762–1843) statement in the preface to the *Kongzi jiyu* that non-canonical Kongzi sayings also preserve Kongzi's "greater meaning" testifies to the longevity of this idea in the Chinese tradition. See *Kongzi jiyu jiaobu* pp. 1–2.

anachronistic, the "Kongzi shilun" contains several examples of what might be labeled "greater meaning" commentary, including the following:

> Kongzi said, "In 'Ge tan' I grasp thoughts of the clan's origins (?)...
> In 'Gan tang' I grasp respect for the ancestral temple...
> In 'Mu gua' I grasp the indispensability of money and silk...
> In 'Di Du' I grasp submission to rank (?)...
>
> 孔子曰：吾以（於）葛覃，得氏初之詩（志）。...
> 吾以（於）甘棠，得宗廟之敬。...
> 吾以（於）木瓜，得幣帛之不可去也。...
> 吾以（於）杕杜，得雀（爵）〔服之〕。...[172]

A similar formula appears elsewhere in "Kongzi shilun" in a passage which expresses Kongzi's personal responses to a series of *Shi*:

> Kongzi said, "'Wan qiu'—I praise it; 'Yi jie'—I delight in it; 'Shi jiu'—I trust it; 'Wen wang'—I find it excellent; 'Qing miao'—I respect it; 'Lie wen'—I am pleased by it..."
>
> 孔子曰：宛丘吾善之，猗嗟吾喜之，鳲鳩吾信之，文王吾美之，清廟吾敬之，烈文吾悦之...[173]

As Chen Tongsheng and Huang Huaixin have noted, the use of the formula "in [text X] I see Y" (*wu yu* X *jian* Y 吾於X見Y) in the "Kongzi shilun" and other texts hints at a tradition of *Kongzi yue* commentary from the Warring States through the Han period.[174] Direct engagement with the substance of these *Shi* texts seems to be beside the point. In the "Gan tang" ode, for instance, there is no mention of an "ancestral temple" (*zong miao* 宗廟) or any hint that Duke Shao was venerated as an ancestor. These are the commentarial equivalents of the global character assessments observed in Kongzi comments on people, statements which fix the interpretation of texts to an overarching value or concept.[175] Moreover, the association of that concept with a particular

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172. Huang Huaixin 2004, p. 19.

173. Huang Huaixin 2004, p. 21.

174. Huang Huaixin 2004, pp. 282–315; Chen Tongsheng 2004, pp. 220–21.

175. See Kern 2010, pp. 37–38, for the suggestion that the broad categories attached to specific *Shi* in the "Kongzi shilun" might explain "the confusingly wide range of situations to which the 'Airs' are applied in early historiography."

ode might have had less to do with the content of the ode itself than with the need to map a matrix or list of concepts onto the *Shi* as a whole.

The "Kongzi shilun" examples also share with the *Kong congzi* "greater meaning" commentary an insistent use of the first-person pronoun—*wu* 吾. But we need not conclude from this that *wu* 吾 was a mark of authenticity or a record of Kongzi's actual experience of the *Shi*.[176] By having Kongzi speak in the first person, the commentary establishes a more intimate connection between Kongzi and the *Shi*, thereby modeling the kind of affective relationship students were expected to have with these texts. To truly understand the *Shi*, the "Kongzi shilun" author seems to suggest, a student must experience for himself a properly regulated "joy" or "faithfulness" or the like.[177] By shifting the focus from the texts to the learner, these "greater meaning" commentaries revealed the study of canonical texts as an occasion for self-cultivation.

○ "Clarifying" (*ming* 明) commentaries

The *zi yue* sayings preserved in the "Wen yan 文言" ("Patterned words") commentary to the first two hexagrams of the received *Zhouyi* feature a more familiar commentarial strategy, at least from the perspective of the later tradition:

> The first *yang* says: "A submerged dragon does not act." What does this mean? The Master says: "This refers to one who has a dragon's virtue yet remains hidden. He neither changes to

176.Foucault's (1979, p. 152) comments on the diverse functions of the first-person pronoun are instructive in this context: "The self that speaks in a treatise on mathematics—and that indicates the circumstances of the treatise's composition—is identical neither in its position not its functioning to the self that speaks in the course of a demonstration, and that appears in the form of 'I conclude' or 'I suppose.' In the first case, the 'I' refers to an individual without an equivalent who, in a determined place and time, completed a certain task; in the second, the 'I' indicates an instance and a level of demonstration which any individual could perform provided that he accept the same system of symbols, play of axioms, and set of previous demonstrations." The function of Kongzi's "I" of the "Kongzi shilun" is close to this latter sense.

177.For a parallel reading of the hermeneutics revealed in early manuscripts, see Kern 2003 & 2007.

> suit the world nor seeks fulfillment in fame. He hides from the world but does not regret it, and though this fails to win approval, he is not sad. When he takes delight in the world he is active in it, and when he finds it distresses him he turns his back on it. One who is resolute in his unwillingness to be uprooted is a submerged dragon."
>
> 初九曰：潛龍勿用。何謂也？子曰：龍德而隱者也。不易乎世，不成乎名，遯世無悶，不見是而無悶，樂則行之，憂則違之，確乎其不可拔，潛龍也。[178]

In his third-century CE commentary to the "Wen yan," Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249) characterized this passage as follows: "This entire section uses the affairs of men to clarify [the text]" (此一章全以人事明之也。). *Ming* 明 ("to clarify") is an apt label for what distinguishes this Kongzi commentary from those discussed above because it is the first Kongzi commentary considered in this section which introduces a concrete concept—the *yinzhe* 隱者 (one who is hidden)—to anchor an enigmatic image—the *qian long* 潛龍 (submerged dragon])—to a specific context—the realm of human affairs. Here the choice of commentary probably reflects the nature of source material. The Ci Fei anecdote from the *Lüshi chunqiu* did not require a Kongzi comment in order to be understood because its content was more or less transparent. In contrast, the enigmatic line statements of the *Zhouyi* require some frame of reference before they could be made sense of and applied to real-world contexts.[179]

Another example of a clarifying commentary is Kongzi's discussion of the notion of "min zhi fumu 民之父母" (father and mother to the people) from the "Jiong zhuo 泂酌" ("At the Wayside Pool") ode, versions of which appear in the Shanghai Museum "Min zhi fumu" manuscript, the "Kongzi xianju 孔子閒居" chapter of the *Liji*, and the "Lun li 論禮" chapter of the *Kongzi jiayu*.

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178. *Zhouyi* (*SBCK* 1/4a; *KZJY* p. 440). Translation adapted from Lynn 1994, p. 132. Chen Tongsheng (2004, p. 60) also compares the "Kongzi shilun" Kongzi comments with the "Wen yan" to suggest that *Kongzi yue* statements represent "the principal form of an early stage of pre-Qin Ru canonical commentary" (先秦儒家早期解經的主要形式).

179. Another example is Mawangdui "Er san zi wen 二三子問" ("The disciples asked") text, in which Kongzi elucidates the recurring dragon image in the *Zhouyi*. See Csikszentmihalyi 2002, pp. 137–138, for a discussion of this passage. For a transcription, see Chen Songzhang & Liao Mingchun 1993.

Below are the first few lines of the *Liji* version:

> Kongzi was resting in leisure with Zixia in attendance when Zixia said, "May I ask about the *Shi* [#251] that says 'All happiness to our lord / Father and mother to the people?' What sort of person can be called 'father and mother to the people?'"
>
> Kongzi said, "The 'father and mother of his people' must have insight into the source of ritual and music, and must achieve the 'five reaches' and practice the 'three withouts.' Thus [his virtue] will pervade the world. When there is some loss within the four directions he will always know it in advance. Such a man is referred to as 'father and mother to the people.'"

> 孔子閒居，子夏侍。子夏曰：敢問詩云：凱弟君子，民之父母。何如斯可謂民之父母矣？孔子曰：夫民之父母乎，必達於禮樂之原，以致五至而行三無，以橫於天下。四方有敗，必先知之。此之謂民之父母矣。[180]

Here again, the Kongzi saying cherry-picks a single line from a canonical text and gives it a specific frame of reference. I shall have more to say about this example below (pp. 108–111).

The "Xici zhuan" commentary to the received *Zhouyi* furnishes another *zi yue* comment that, at first glance, resembles a clarifying commentary:

> *Tongren* [Fellowship, Hexagram 13] says: "First howling and wailing, but afterwards there is laughter." The Master said: "In the Way of the noble man,
>
> There's a time for going forth / And a time for staying still,
> A time to remain silent / And a time to speak out.
> When two people share their hearts, / Their sharpness severs metal,
> And the words of those who share their hearts, / Are fragrant like orchids.

> 同人：先號咷而後笑。子曰：君子之道。
> 或出或處(*k-hlaʔ) / 或默或語(*ŋaʔ)。
> 二人同心(*səm) / 其利斷金(*kəm)。
> 同心之言(*ŋan) / 其臭如蘭(g-rân)。[181]

There is sometimes a fine line between introducing a new concept in order to clarify a source text, and using a source text as a prompt to introduce a tangential idea. "Wen yan" and "Kongzi xian ju" walk this line more successfully than this "Xici zhuan" *zi yue* saying, whose only connection to the line statement in question seems to be the word *tong* 同 (same). This also happens to be the most ostentatiously rhymed *zi yue* saying in the entire *Zhouyi* and perhaps even in

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180.*Liji* 29 (*SBCK* 15/9b–11a; *KZJY* pp. 545–6). See also *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo chu zhushu* vol. 2, pp. 154ff and *Kongzi jiayu* 27 (*SBCK* 6/17b–18b).

181.*Zhouyi* "Xici zhuan 繫辭傳" (*SBCK* 7/6a; *KZJY* p. 445). Translation from Lynn 1994, p. 58.

the entire corpus of Kongzi sayings. One wonders if the compilers of the "Xici zhuan" cared less about explaining the canon than using it as a prompt for other texts they were interested in.

○ Word and character glosses

A series of *Kongzi yue* sayings preserved in the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (*Explanations of Simple and Complex Characters*) feature Kongzi engaged in yet another commentarial sub-genre, the explication of individual words and characters:[182]

> [The entry for *wang* 王:] Kongzi said, "'One' piercing 'three' makes 'king.'"
> 孔子曰：一貫三為王。[183]

> [The entry for *quan* 犬:] Kongzi said, "Looking at the character for *quan*, it resembles a drawing of a dog."
> 孔子曰：視犬之字，如畫狗也。[184]

> [The entry for *he* 貉:] Kongzi said, "The character *he* is pronounced like 'bad' (*e* 惡)."
> 孔子曰：貉之為言惡也。[185]

Without additional context it is impossible to know whether these Kongzi sayings had a context which has been lost to us. One possibility is that they were extracted from longer anecdotes, as in this dialogue from the "Ji yi 祭義" ("The Meaning of Sacrifice") chapter of the *Liji*:

> When Zhongni performed the autumn sacrifice he presented the offerings and advanced, in his person he was sincere and his movement was brisk with many steps. When the sacrifice was finished, Zigan [=Zigong] asked, "When you speak about the sacrifice, Master, [you say that one should be] *jiji* and *qieqie*. But in the sacrifice now you were neither *jiji* nor *qieqie*. Why is that?" The Master said, "*Jiji* has to do with demeanor; [it means] distant. *Qieqie* [also] has to do with demeanor; [it means] turning inward. When one's demeanor is distant it is as though one turns back into oneself. But how can one successfully relate to the spirits [in this way], and how can one be distant and turned inward [when conducting sacrifices]? After gifts are

182. Michael Nylan (Nylan & Wilson 2010, p. 88) mentions such glosses and notes "the popularity of punning glosses in Han times, visual and verbal, which are thought to exhibit the tight correspondences threading through all phenomenal existence."

183. *KZJY* 5.94/p. 93.

184. *KZJY* 5.102/p. 95.

185. *KZJY* 5.102/p. 95.

returned and the music has concluded the offering vessels are brought forth, the ritual and music is arranged, and there is a full complement of the hundred officials. If a *junzi* becomes *jiji* and *qieqie* then how can he lose himself in the sacrifice? How can my words have only one facet? Everything has that to which it is suited.

仲尼嘗：奉薦而進，其親也慤，其行也趨趨以數，已祭。子贛問曰：子之言祭，濟濟漆漆然。今子之祭，無濟濟漆漆。何也？子曰：濟濟者，容也，遠也。漆漆者，容也，自反也。容以遠，若容以自反也。夫何神明之及交？夫何濟濟漆漆之有乎？反饋樂成，薦其薦俎，序其禮樂，備其百官，君子致其濟濟漆漆。夫何慌惚之有乎？夫言豈一端而已？夫各有所當也？[186]

Given the scarcity of standalone *Kongzi yue* glosses outside the *Shuowen jiezi*, it is difficult to imagine these glosses circulating independently of episodes like this one.

○ Meta-commentaries

In my discussion of Kongzi comments on people I noted that a number of Kongzi sayings dealt with the practice, the problems, and the possibilities of character evaluation in a more general sense. In a few Kongzi commentaries one also encounters sayings which address the practice of commentary itself, as in the following examples from the "Xici zhuan" and "Kongzi shilun":

<"Xici zhuan">The Master said, "Writing does not completely express one's words, and words do not completely express one's meaning. This being the case, is the meaning of the sages opaque?" The Master said, "The sages established the figures [i.e. the hexagrams] to completely express their meaning, they set forth the hexagrams to completely express what is and what can be made to be, and they appended phrases to completely express their words"

子曰：書不盡言，言不盡意，然則聖人之意，其不可見乎？子曰：聖人立象以盡意，設卦以盡情偽，繫辭以盡其言。[187]

<"Kongzi shilun">Kongzi said, "*Shi* have no hidden intentions; Music[188] has no hidden emotions; patterned expression has no hidden words."

186.*Liji* 23 (*SBCK* 14/6a–b; *KZJY* pp. 538–39).

187.*Zhouyi* "Xici zhuan" (*SBCK* 7/10b; *KZJY* p. 447). The unnecessary repetition of *zi yue* in this passage is curious and may indicate that these markers were added after the the composition of the underlying treatise.

188.Here I follow Scott Cook's suggestion (1995, p. 21–22) in his translation of the "Yue ji" 樂記 ("Record of Music") to capitalize "Music" (*yue* 樂) in contrast with less morally edifying "music" (*yin* 音).

孔子曰：詩無隱志，樂無隱情，文無隱言。[189]

Neither of these sayings articulates a fully developed hermeneutics or theory of commentary. But attached to other *Kongzi yue* and *zi yue* commentaries, the confident assertion of the readability of the *Zhouyi* and "Kongzi shilun" enhances the authority of the commentator and the wisdom of his commentary. If canonical texts "completely express [the sages'] meaning" (*jin yi* 盡意) and "have nothing to hide" (*wu yin* 無隱), then students can hope to unlock the wisdom of these texts with the proper guidance.[190] The pervasiveness of *Kongzi yue*/*zi yue* comments and commentary made Kongzi an altogether appropriate cheerleader for the commentarial endeavor and traditional learning generally.[191] Such statements may have also been an antidote to the Zhuangzian criticism that received textual traditions were merely "the dregs of the ancients" (古人之糟魄), faint shadows of the sages' original ideas.[192]

Independent Kongzi sayings

In most of the examples considered thus far, a *Kongzi yue* or *zi yue* saying is contingent on the text it amplifies, epitomizes, or explicates. As we have seen, "dependent" sayings are often rather uninformative insofar as they guide the audience's response to a source text without introducing

189. Whether or not the strip numbered #1 by Ma Chengyuan 馬承源 (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhaoguo Chu zhushu* vol. 1, p. 123) truly belongs at the head of the "Kongzi shilun," its placement there seems reasonable given that the idea expressed in this saying lays the theoretical groundwork for *Shi* interpretation just as the *zi yue* comments in the "Xici zhuan" licenses that text's interpretation of the *Yi* hexagrams.

190. However, the reconstruction of the character I read as *yin* 隱 is problematic. Here again I follow Huang Huaixin (2004, pp. 267–68).

191. Although not a commentary per se, see also p. 90 below for Kongzi's assertion in *Zhuangzi* book 22 that "the ancient resembles the present" (*gu you jin* 古猶今), a statement which underwrites the study of ancient models.

192. *Zhuangzi* 13 (*SBCK* 5/34a).

new ideas of their own. In contrast, "independent" Kongzi sayings do not respond to other texts, and the lack of pretext lends independent sayings an air of authority, as if they were worthy of being recorded and remembered simply because Kongzi said them. *Kongzi yue* or *zi yue* is the only context such sayings require.

Far and away the most famous independent Kongzi sayings are those found in the *Lunyu*. Consider *Lunyu* 1/1:

> The Master said, "To regularly practice what one has learned—is this not a pleasure? To have friends come from afar—is this not a joy? To not resent going unrecognized by others—is this not noble?"
>
> 子曰：學而時習之，不亦說乎？有朋自遠方來，不亦樂乎？人不知而不慍，不亦君子乎？

As is typical, the *Lunyu* makes no effort to explain what might have prompted this Kongzi saying or why it was deemed important enough to be the first entry in the entire collection. For the *Lunyu* compilers and their audience alike, Kongzi did not require an introduction more elaborate than "The Master said," presumably of their overriding interest in Kongzi himself. By my count, 219 of the 513 (43%) *Lunyu* entries consist of independent sayings like *Lunyu* 1/1. Another 110 entries (21%) feature Kongzi responding to questions from disciples or other interlocutors. However, forty-three of these entries follow a simple format in which the interlocutor asks a simple indirect question (e.g., *Lunyu* 2/6: "Meng Wubo asked about filial piety" 孟武伯問孝。) as a prompt for Kongzi's views on various topics. While such mini-dialogues are vaguely reminiscent of dependent Kongzi comments, in fact they seem to serve a very different purpose. Less important than the "independent" and "dependent" labels themselves is how we answer the question, "What is a given saying for?" If the answer is "to present Kongzi's ideas" and not "to assist one's understanding of another text," then the saying is best understood as an "independent" saying.

The following example from *Lüshi chunqiu* 26/2, "Wu da 務大" ("Striving after the great"), is the longest independent Kongzi saying in any ostensibly pre-Han text:

> Confucius said, "Swallows compete for good nesting sites beneath the eaves. Mother birds feed their fledglings, which coo happily to one another and feel themselves secure. If there is a crack in the chimney, the fire will spread along the rafters. Yet the swallows will not change their manner—why is that? Because they are unaware that disaster is about to overtake them. Is this not stupid? Rare is the ministerial officer who avoids being such a birdbrain. Most officials increase their titles, emoluments, fortunes, and honors. Fathers and sons, older and younger brothers, form cliques within a single state, cooing happily to one another, and thereby endanger their altars to the soil and grain. They are unaware of how close they are to a crack in the chimney, and so in the final analysis their wisdom is no greater than that of swallows. Therefore it is said: When the whole world is in a state of total anarchy, no country is safe; when a whole state is in utter chaos, no family is secure; and when the whole family is in total disorder, no individual is secure; and when the whole family is in total disorder, no individual is secure. This expresses my meaning. Therefore, the safety of the small inevitably depends on that of the large, and the safety of the large inevitably depends on that of the small. Only when the small and the large, noble and base, cooperate by assisting each other will all find happiness."
>
> 孔子曰：燕爵爭善處於一屋之下，母子相哺也，區區焉相樂也，自以為安矣。灶突決，上棟焚，燕爵顏色不變，是何也？不知禍之將及之也，不亦愚乎！為人臣而免於燕爵之智者寡矣。夫為人臣者，進其爵祿富貴，父子兄弟相與比周於一國，區區焉相樂也，而以危其社稷，其為灶突近矣，而終不知也，其與燕爵之智不異。故曰：天下大亂，無有安國；一國盡亂，無有安家；一家盡亂，無有安身，此之謂也。故細之安，必待大；大之安，必待小。細大賤貴，交相為贊，然後皆得其所樂。[193]

This saying is very different from the dependent sayings considered above, both with respect to its length and its rhetorical strategy. None of our earlier examples *argue* as this one does, articulating a position *ex nihilo* by first introducing it with a colorful analogy and then reinforcing it with an apt quotation. And unlike the *zi yue* sayings of the *Lunyu*, whose striking lack of argumentation fuels the impression that Kongzi's ideas are authoritative simply by virtue of being Kongzi's, this saying seems to derive its authority not from *Kongzi yue* but from the argument itself.

As it happens, the same saying also has a word-for-word parallel in section 13/7 of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, "Yu da 諭大" ("Illustrating the great"). However, there it is attributed not to Kongzi but

193.*Lüshi chunqiu* 26/2 (*SBCK* 26/3b–4a; *KZJY* 7.21/p. 153). Translation from Knoblock & Riegel 2000, p. 648.

to a certain Jizi 季子: "Jizi said, 'Swallows compete for good nesting sites beneath the eaves...'" (季子曰：燕雀爭善處於一屋之下...).[194] Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 has argued from a comparison with Jizi material in the *Han Feizi* that the quotation was mistakenly attributed to Kongzi by some later *Lüshi chunqiu* editor.[195] The merits of Chen Qiyou's argument aside, the relative scarcity of argumentative Kongzi sayings in pre-Han texts is further reason not to trust its attribution to Kongzi.

The presentation of Kongzi sayings in some texts likewise indicates that their authors were sensitive to the quotability of their texts. Recall that Youzi's critique in the "Tan gong" (p. 46) lent some support ot my distinction between dependent and independent Kongzi sayings. Also consider the Shanghai Museum "Lu bang da han 魯邦大旱" ("There was a great drought in Lu") manuscript (Appendix 1:C), which frames its Kongzi sayings as responses to a series of questions posed by two interlocutors: Duke Ai of Lu 魯哀公, who seeks Kongzi's advice on ending a drought, and the disciple Zigong 子貢, who asks Kongzi to justify that advice. One can easily imagine some of these sayings circulating independently, perhaps as statements on the importance of rectifying punishments and virtue or on the ignorance of the masses. But "Lu bang da han" solves the problem of what to quote by having Kongzi offer his own moral in the conclusion: "Ah, Ci [=Zigong]! I will tell you: a *junzi* considers supplication to be a matter of patterning, whereas the masses consider it a matter of the spirits" (賜也，我告爾：命也者，君子以為文，庶民以為神。). Probably not coincidentally, the very same maxim happens to appear in book 17 of the *Xunzi*, "Tian lun 天論" ("Discussing heaven"), as an anonymous saying.[196] As

194.*Lüshi chunqiu* 13/7, "Yu da 諭大" ("Illustrating the Great") (*SBCK* 13/13b–14a).

195.*Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi* 13.733–34, n. 22.

196.*Xunzi* book 17 (*SBCK* 11/22b).

with the Kongzi comments discussed above in which Kongzi enjoins his disciples to *ji* 記 (take note of) or memorialize some lesson (p. 51), here the Kongzi saying reveals the "Lu bang da han" author's in supplying his audience with an quotable, independent dictum

The contrast between the Kongzi sayings of "Lu bang da han" and Zigong's critique of those sayings is also instructive. Zigong, a disciple with a reputation for verbal artistry,[197] presents an argument in support of the view that sacrifices are entirely unnecessary, and thus unwarranted. Ironically enough given the respect accorded Kongzi in the episode, Zigong's perfectly balanced speech at 98 characters is longer than all of Kongzi's statements combined. By comparison, the Kongzi sayings themselves are short, pithy, and less overtly crafted. Their relative simplicity is perhaps one indication that the "Lu bang da han" author thought of Kongzi as an authority whose ideas did not require ornamentation. True authorities delivered pronouncements; mere persuaders crafted arguments.

● Objects of commentary

Kongzi sayings as objects of commentary stand in stark contrast to Kongzi comments and commentary. When used as an object of commentary, it is the Kongzi saying which creates the occasion for explication or amplification, and this function determines the form and even the content of the saying. Generally speaking, Kongzi comments and commentary had to be readily comprehensible in order to be effective, otherwise they contributed nothing to the understanding of the

197.See, e.g., *Lunyu* 11/3 and also the definitive statement in the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan" (*Shiji* 67.2195) that "Zigong was a silver-tongued and clever speaker 子貢利口巧辭." An extended anecdote from the same chapter (*Shiji* 67.2197–2201) also provides a clear demonstration of Zigong's powers of persuasion.

text being commented on. In contrast, Kongzi sayings as objects of commentary have to challenge the audience's comprehension in some way in order to justify the commentary, as when the terms *jiji* and *qieqie*, two examples of the notoriously impenetrable class of vocabulary of reduplicating binomes, prompted Kongzi's glosses in his dialogue with Zigong in the *Liji* (p. 81).[198] Of course, many Kongzi sayings eventually received commentaries by virtue of having been included in prestigious texts like the *Lunyu* or *Liji*. But certain sayings anticipated their own explication more than others.

The impenetrability of some Kongzi sayings did not go unnoticed in the early period. In the discussion of *Lunyu* 14/25 in his treatise "Wen Kong 問孔" ("Interrogating Kongzi"), Wang Chong wondered aloud about Kongzi's failure to properly explain himself:

> <*Lunyu* 14/25>Qu Boyu sent a messenger to Kongzi. Kongzi sat with the messenger and said, "How does your master fare?" The messenger responded, "My master desires to minimize his errors but is unable to do so." After the messenger had departed, Kongzi said, "That messenger! That messenger!"
>
> 蘧伯玉使人於孔子。孔子與之坐而問焉，曰：夫子何為？對曰：夫子欲寡其過而未能也。 使者出。子曰：使乎！使乎！
>
> <*Lunheng*>There was a point to Kongzi's criticism. But without clarifying the error he merely said, "That messenger! That messenger!" Later generations suspected that Kongzi was confused because they did not understand how the messenger had erred. Han Feizi said, "When the writing is spare the followers spar." Why was Kongzi so sparing when he said, "That messenger!"?
>
> 所非猶有一實，不明其過，而徒云使乎使乎！後世疑惑，不知使者所以為過。韓子曰：書約則弟子辨。孔子之言使乎，何其約也？[199]

Wang Chong's quotation of the *Han Feizi* is fitting in this context. There the relevant passage reads:

> When writing is spare the followers spar; when the laws are abridged the people litigate. This is why a sage's writings are always clearly expounded and an enlightened ruler's laws are always meticulously detailed.

198. A definitive statement on the reduplicating binome is is Knechtges 1987, pp. 1–13. Martin Kern (2007, p. 784) has described these terms as "more volatile than any other kind of word in early texts."

199. *Lunheng* 28 (*SBCK* 9/15a).

書約而弟子辯，法省而民訟簡。是以聖人之書必著論，明主之法必詳事。[200]

Wang Chong went on to argue that Kongzi's response—"That messenger! That messenger!"—was actually a criticism of the messenger's willingness to reveal his master's failings. But Wang Chong's real target in this passage was Kongzi, who deserved some blame for not having stated his critique more clearly. For those familiar with the context of Wang Chong's *Han Feizi* quotation, the implication must have been obvious: Kongzi was not speaking like a true sage when he uttered these words.

For an author like Wang Chong who prized clear and simple prose, inscrutable language and the verbal wrangling it encouraged were things to be avoided. But many other early authors seem to have realized the potential of "sparing" language to engage audiences and consciously cultivated a laconic style. Some, like the author of the following *Huainanzi* episode (with parallels in the *Lüshi chunqiu*, *Wenzi*, *Shuiyuan*, and *Liezi*), even celebrated such language as an ideal form of communication known as *weiyan* 微言 (subtle speech):

> Duke Bai asked Kongzi, "Is it possible for men to use subtle speech?" Kongzi did not respond. Duke Bai said, "What about throwing a rock into water?" Kongzi said, "The divers of Wu and Yue could get it." Duke Bai said, "What about throwing water into water?" Kongzi said, "At the confluence of the Zi and Sheng rivers, Yi Ya could taste the water and tell them apart." Duke Bai said, "If so, then is it not the case that men inherently cannot share subtle speech?" Kongzi said, "Why say they cannot? Only those who understand the meaning of words [can share subtle speech]. Those who understand the meaning of speech do not speak with words. Those who wrangle fish get wet, and those who chase after animals must run—it is not because they enjoy it. Thus the highest speech eschews speaking, and the highest action is non-action. Those who shallowly understand what it is they're wrangling for are worthless." Duke Bai did not grasp this, and so he died at Yushi.
>
> 白公問於孔子曰：人可以微言？孔子不應。白公曰：若以石投水中，何如？曰：吳越之善沒者能取之矣。曰：若以水投水，何如？孔子曰：蓄潤之水合，易牙嘗而知之。白公曰：然則人固不可與微言乎？孔子曰：何謂不可？誰知言之謂者乎！夫知言之謂者，不以言言也。爭魚者濡，逐獸者趍，非樂之者也。故至言去言，至為無為。夫淺知之所爭者末矣。白公不得也，故死於浴室。[201]

200.*Han Feizi* 47 (*SBCK* 18/7a).

201.*Huainanzi* 12 (*SBCK* 12/1b–2a; *KZJY* 16.24/pp. 371–2). For the *Lüshi chunqiu* parallel, see *Lüshi chunqiu* 18/3

The anecdote is both an endorsement and an illustration of *weiyan*. After Kongzi declines to respond to Duke Bai's straightforward question, the duke must resort to metaphor to elicit Kongzi's thoughts on the subject, to which Kongzi responds with some metaphors of his own. (In the *Lüshu chunqiu* version of the anecdote, the final Kongzi saying ends with the line "Only those who understand the meaning of words [can share subtle speech]" and so does not attribute the conclusion to Kongzi. In the later *Huainanzi*, the concluding comment of the *Lüshi chunqiu* compilers migrated into the Kongzi saying itself.) The moral of the anecdote, that "the highest speech eschews words" (至言去言), brings to mind Kongzi's and Laozi's advice from the "man of Chu lost his bow" anecdote (p. 57) to "get rid of" (*qu* 去) specific words in the original sayings. This was a fitting ideal for authors who sought to harness the rhetorical potential of enigmatic language.[202]

Also note that the failure to "grasp" (*de* 得) Kongzi's words reflects poorly on the interlocutor. In a Kongzi anecdote from book 22 of the *Zhuangzi*, *weiyan* similarly functions as a test of the hearer's "spirit" (*shen* 神):

> Ran Qiu asked Zhongni, "Can [the time] before heaven and earth be known?" Zhongni said, "It can. The ancient resembles the present." Ran Qiu dropped his questioning and retired but the next day he again came to see [Kongzi], saying, "Master, yesterday when I asked whether [the time before] heaven and earth could be known you said, 'It can. The ancient resembles the present.' Yesterday I understood it clearly but now it is unclear. May I ask what you meant?" Zhongni said, "Yesterday it was clear because your spirit had already accepted it. Today it is unclear because you seek it without using your spirit...."
>
> 冉求問於仲尼曰：未有天地可知邪？仲尼曰：可。古猶今也。冉求失問而退。明日復見，曰：昔者吾問未有天地可知乎？夫子曰：可。古猶今也。昔日吾昭然，今日吾昧然。敢問何謂也？仲尼曰：昔之昭然也，神者先受之；今之昧然也，且又為不神者求

(*SBCK* 18/7a–b; *KZJY* 16.23/p. 371). I read *wei* 唯 for *shei* 誰 in the line 誰知言之謂者乎 in keeping with the *Lüshi chunqiu* version.

202.Compare also *Lunyu* 7/8 with its claim that Kongzi "would not repeat himself if, after raising one corner, [his student] could not respond with the other three" (舉一隅不以三隅反，則弗復也。). See also *Laozi* 70 (*SBCK* 下/16b–17a): "When those who understand me are few then I am honored. Thus a sage dresses shabbily and hugs his jade tight" (知我者希，則我者貴，是以聖人被褐懷玉。).

邪！[203]

In the continuation of the dialogue Kongzi goes on to explain the meaning of the three-word statement that "the ancient resembles the present" (*gu you jin* 古猶今). More important for our purposes than the substance of Kongzi's explanation is the fact that Kongzi's meaning is opaque without it. Once again we find non-comprehension presented as the mark of an uncultivated mind, a notion which places the onus on the audience to make sense of opaque *weiyan*.

Three additional examples of Kongzi sayings as objects of commentary can be found at *Lunyu* 2/5, 4/15, and 15/3:

> <*Lunyu* 2/5>When Meng Yizi asked about filial piety, the Master said, "Nothing disobedient." The Master reported this exchange to his driver, Fan Chi, saying, "When Mengsun asked me about filial piety, I responded, 'Nothing disobedient.'" Fan Chi said, "What did you mean?" The Master said, "While alive, serve [one's parents] with ritual; after they have died, bury them with ritual and make offerings to them with ritual."
>
> 孟懿子問孝。子曰：無違。 樊遲御，子告之曰：孟孫問孝於我，我對曰：無違。樊遲曰：何謂也？子曰：生，事之以禮；死，葬之以禮，祭之以禮。
>
> <*Lunyu* 4/15>The Master said, "Zengzi! My Way has a single thread running through it." Zengzi said, "Indeed." After the Master had left his followers asked Zengzi, "What did he mean?" Zengzi said, "The Master's way is nothing but loyalty and empathy."
>
> 子曰：參乎！吾道一以貫之。曾子曰：唯。子出，門人問曰：何謂也？曾子曰：夫子之道，忠恕而已矣。
>
> <*Lunyu* 15/3>The Master said, "Ci, do you suppose that I know what I do because I have studied many kinds of things?" He replied, "I do. Is that not the case?" "It is not. I bind it all together with a single [thread]."
>
> 子曰：賜也，女以予為多學而識之者與？對曰：然，非與？曰：非也，予一以貫之。

In our discussion of Kongzi sayings as commentary we saw that the question *he wei ye* 何謂也 (What does it mean?) often prefaced Kongzi comments on canonical texts. Here the same question explicitly marks Kongzi's words—"nothing disobedient" and "My Way has a single thread running through it"—as statements requiring explication. But in fact the question is entirely

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203. *Zhuangzi* 22 (*SBCK* 7/54a–b; *KZJY* 17.18/p. 394).

redundant. Particularly in *Lunyu* 4/15 and 15/3, the mere mention of a single idea that unlocks the secret of Kongzi's Way raises the question: what is it? Kongzi's unnamed disciples in *Lunyu* 4/15 voice the only possible response to Kongzi's cryptic utterance.[204] Wang Chong seems to have realized this when he observed of *Lunyu* 2/5, "If Fan Chi had not asked for an explanation of 'nothing disobedient,' then he would not have understood" (使樊遲不問，毋違之説，遂不可知也。).[205] We can restate Wang Chong's point even more strongly: the Kongzi sayings are essentially, and probably intentionally, incomprehensible without additional clarification.

The following passage from the *Han Feizi* (with parallels in the *Kongzi jiayu*, *Shuiyuan*, and *Shangshu dazhuan*) features Kongzi commenting on his own sayings in order to defend himself against the charge of inconsistency:

> When Zigao, the Duke of She, asked Zhongni about governance, Zhongni said, "Governance depends on pleasing those nearby and attracting the distant." When Duke Ai asked Zhongni about governance, Zhongni said, "Governance depends on selecting accomplished men." When Duke Jing of Qi asked Zhongni about governance, Zhongni said, "Governance depends on moderating expenses." When the three dukes had departed, Zigong asked, "The three dukes all asked the same question about governance, so why did you give different answers?" Zhongni said, "The capital of Ye is large but the state is small and its people have rebellion in their hearts. That is why I said that governance depends on pleasing those nearby and attracting the distant. Duke Ai of Lu has three great ministers. Outside his borders he is obstructed by the vassal lords and neighboring armies, and within he is beset by those who

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204.Contrast this approach with that of Bryan Van Norden (2002, pp. 222–3), who puzzles over the "anomalies" of *Lunyu* 4/15: "To begin with, Confucius announces summarily that his Way has 'one thread,' and when Zengzi concurs, Confucius walks out of the room. Immediately, disciples rush up to ask Zengzi for an interpretation. I find this somewhat off in itself for a simple reason: Zengzi was not an especially bright guy. Indeed, he is described in 11:18 as 'stupid' (*lu* 魯). In general, if we look at passages other than 4:15, Zengzi seems to have a strong personal commitment to the Way, but he never comes across as someone who was particularly acute intellectually. There is never, for example, a passage in which Zengzi is commended by Confucius for his insight, in the manner that Confucius does commend Zixia 子夏 (3:8) or Zigong (1:15). Why, then, does Confucius throw something patently cryptic at Zengzi, and then leave the room? And why do the other disciples assume that Zengzi will know what the Master meant? Finally, note that Confucius says his Way has '*one* thread.' However, when asked what Confucius meant, Zengzi mentions *two* things. Interpreters tend to assume that the 'one thread' has two aspects, but it is odd that Zengzi never made clear what the 'one thread' was." Van Norden eventually concludes that Zengzi's explanation was a later interpolation, a conclusion which finds some support in my discussion of *Lunyu* Zengzi material in chapter three (pp. 261–265). But Van Norden's "anomalies" vanish when one ceases to treat *Lunyu* 4/15 as a realistic depiction of an actual historical event and instead consider the rhetorical imperatives at work in this and similar scenes.

205.*Lunheng* 28 (*SBCK* 9/2b).

would make a fool of their lord. It is surely these three ministers who will ensure that the ancestral temple is not maintained and that the state altars go without sacrifices. That is why I said that governance depends on selecting accomplished men. Duke Jing of Qi built the Yong Gate and the Luqin Tower, and in one morning he gave land worth three-hundred chariots to three people. That is why I said that governance depends on moderating expenses."

葉公子高問政於仲尼，仲尼曰：政在悅近而來遠。哀公問政於仲尼，仲尼曰：政在選賢。齊景公問政於仲尼，仲尼曰：政在節財。三公出，子貢問曰：三公問夫子政一也，夫子對之不同，何也？仲尼曰：葉都大而國小，民有背心，故曰政在悅近而來遠。魯哀公有大臣三人，外障距諸侯四鄰之士，內比周而以愚其君，使宗廟不掃除，社稷不血食者，必是三臣也，故曰政在選賢。齊景公築雍門，為路寢，一朝而以三百乘之家賜者三，故曰政在節財。[206]

Kongzi's response to Zigong's quite reasonable question echoes Youzi's distinction in "Tan gong" between what the Master said and what he said it about (p. 46). As in "Tan gong," the key to resolving the apparent contradiction lies in understanding that these seemingly independent sayings are actually dependent comments on the failings of the three dukes. In effect, Kongzi argues that his sayings should not be interpreted as independent, generally applicable statements on governance.

In his discussion of this and similar examples, Oliver Weingarten has argued that the episode's author "sought to resolve the contradiction that arises from the co-presence of the various statements by integrating an explanation into the narrative of the text in the form of an utterance that he laid into the Master's mouth."[207] This is a plausible account of the motivation behind the anecdote. Parallels of the saying "governance lies in moderating expenses" appear in a number of anecdotes involving Kongzi and Duke Jing of Qi, including in *Lunyu* 13/16, which might suggest that these sayings did indeed circulate independently in the early period before being

206. *Han Feizi* 38 (*SBCK* 16/2b; *KZJY* 10.41/p. 226–27). For a parallel, see *Shuiyuan* 7 (*SBCK* 7/9b). Weingarten (2010, pp. 116ff) discusses this example in his analysis of *Lunyu* 11/22, which also features Kongzi resolving apparent contradictions between sayings.

207. Weingarten 2010, p. 130.

brought together in the *Han Feizi* anecdote.[208] On the other hand, the phrases "pleasing those nearby and attracting the distant" (悦近而來遠 *yue jin er lai yuan*), "selecting accomplished men" (*xuan xian* 選賢), and "moderating expenses" (*jie cai* 節財) are so widespread in the early corpus that they are perhaps best read as stock concepts of early intellectual discourse (Appendix 2:U). Rather than read the episode as an effort to resolve contradictions among pre-existing Kongzi sayings, the utterly generic nature of the sayings in question might suggest that they were attributed to Kongzi by the author of this anecdote precisely in order to create the perception of contradiction. Like *Lunyu* 4/15, the episode might have been designed in order to prompt comment.

● *Objects of criticism*

Kongzi sayings as objects of criticism are functionally similar to Kongzi sayings as objects of commentary insofar as authors who criticized Kongzi also tended to treat his words as independent sayings, which they then used to prompt discussions of various kinds. However, these Kongzi sayings differ from the types discussed above insofar as they challenge the image of Kongzi as a figure of supreme wisdom and virtue.[209]

The Kongzi saying disputed by Youzi in "Tan gong" (p. 46) may be one instance of a Kongzi saying designed to be criticized: "losing one's position one should wish for swift poverty; losing one's life one should wish for swift decay" (喪欲速貧，死欲速朽). As Ziyou 子游 explains, the offending Kongzi saying derives from two dependent Kongzi comments:

208.See *Shiji* 47.1911 and *Kongzi jiayu* 13 (*SBCK* 3/16a).

209.Regier (2010, p. 39) labeled this phenomenon "weaponized" quotation.

When he dies,
the quicker he decays the better.
死不如速朽之愈也。

Once out of office,
the quicker he becomes poor the better.
喪不如速貧之愈也。

Losing one's position one should wish for swift poverty;
losing one's life one should wish for swift decay.
喪欲速貧，死欲速朽。

Ziyou's argument is bolstered by the observation that the two Kongzi comments appear independently in the *Kongzi jiayu*,[210] which might indicate that the resulting Kongzi saying was created by mashing the Kongzi comments together into a single parallel couplet. But as Youzi's critique indicates, the end result is simply too bizarre to be taken seriously. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) put this point succinctly in his commentary to "Tan gong": "poverty and decay are not what people desire" (貧、朽，非人所欲。).[211] Given Youzi's and Zheng Xuan's responses, my suspicion is that the saying in question was designed precisely in order to elicit a negative reaction.

The *Han Feizi* passage above in which Kongzi explains his seemingly contradictory responses to the three lords is a more obvious example of a Kongzi saying created as an object of criticism. Although the episode itself is not critical of Kongzi, the *Han Feizi* follows it with harsh critique of Kongzi's advice: "There are those who say, 'Zhongni's responses were state-ruining sayings'" (或曰：仲尼之對，亡國之言也。).[212] The *Han Feizi* author goes on to suggest his own "single saying which could have removed the three dukes' troubles: 'know your underlings'" (一言而三公可以無患，知下之謂也).[213] The episode's polemical context might suggest that what ultimately motivated the anecdote was a desire not to defend Kongzi, but to make him look foolish.

210.*Kongzi jiayu* 42 (*SBCK* 10/1a–2a).

211.*Liji* 3 (*SBCK* 2/15a).

212.*Han Feizi* 38 (*SBCK* 16/2b).

213.*Han Feizi* 38 (*SBCK* 16/4a).

The *Mozi* 墨子 is another text that does not shy away from criticizing Kongzi and his teachings, as seen in the following episode:

> Zigao the Duke of She asked Zhongni about governance, saying: "What sort of person is good at governing?" Zhongni responded, "Someone who is good at governing attracts the distant and renews the old." Mozi learned of this and said, "Zigao did not understand what to ask, and Zhongni did not understand how to answer. How could Zigao not know that those who are good at governing attract the distant and renew the old? He should have asked how this is accomplished. [Kongzi] didn't tell [Zigao] what he didn't know, he told him what he knew. That is why Zigao did not understand what to ask, and Kongzi did not understand how to answer."
>
> 葉公子高問政於仲尼曰："善為政者若之何？"仲尼對曰："善為政者，遠者近之，而舊者新之。"子墨子聞之曰："葉公子高未得其問也，仲尼亦未得其所以對也。葉公子高豈不知善為政者之遠者近也，而舊者新是哉？問所以為之若之何也。不以人之所不智告人，以所智告之，故葉公子高未得其問也，仲尼亦未得其所以對也。"[214]

Here Mozi fills the role usually assigned to Kongzi, the authority who somehow "learns of" (*wen* 聞) and subsequently comments on happenings which he could not have witnessed firsthand.[215] But the Kongzi saying in question is too generic to be taken seriously. Sayings built on the *yuan* 遠/*jin* 近 (near/far) polarity pervade early texts, including in the "Shang xian 尚賢" ("Exalting accomplished men") chapter of the *Mozi*: "those nearby, keep them content; those far away, make them come home to you" (近者安之，遠者歸之).[216] The prevalence of that idea in the early literature leads me to suspect that the author of this passage attributed an extremely conventional saying to Kongzi precisely in order to accuse him of "not understanding how to answer" (未得其所以對).

The "Fei Ru 非儒" ("Against the Ru") chapter of the *Mozi* attributes another contrived saying to Kongzi as part of an anecdote about his travails between Chen and Cai:

> When Kong Qiu was in dire straits between Cai and Chen, he had only simple broth without any grain. After ten days, Zilu boiled a pig for him, and Kong ate it without asking where the

214.*Mozi* 46 (*SBCK* 11/14b–15a; *KZJY* 13.21/p. 281).

215.This use of Mozi is rather rare, even within the *Mozi*. For the two other instances of "Mozi learned of this and said" in that text, see *Mozi* book 49 (*SBCK* 13/4b & 13/9a).

216.*Mozi* 10 (*SBCK* 2/18a).

meat came from. Zilu stole another's clothing and sold it to buy wine, and Kong Qiu drank it without asking where it came from. But when Duke Ai received Kongzi, he refused to sit on a mat that was not properly arranged and refused to eat meat that was not correctly cut. Zilu came forward to ask, "Why do you act differently now compared to when you were between Chen and Cai?" Kong Qiu said, "Come, I shall tell you: at that time we were worried about our survival, and now we are worried about what is proper."

While starving and destitute he did not refuse what was wrongly acquired in order to stay alive, and when full and well off he faked his conduct in order to make a show of himself. What could be more depraved and hypocritical than this?!

孔丘窮於蔡陳之間，藜羹不糂，十日，子路為享豚，孔丘不問肉之所由來而食；號人衣以酤酒，孔丘不問酒之所由來而飲。哀公迎孔丘，席不端弗坐，割不正弗食，子路進，請曰：何其與陳、蔡反也？孔丘曰：來！吾語女：曩與女為苟生，今與女為苟義。夫飢約則不辭妄取，以活身，贏飽則偽行以自飾，汙邪詐偽，孰大於此！[217]

One need not be told that Kongzi's response to Zilu appears nowhere else in the extant literature to see that the author of this passage likely fabricated a blatantly hypocritical Kongzi saying for polemical purposes.

Other authors were more subtle about their irreverence for Kongzi, opting for parody over outright polemic. One such example is this exchange between Yan Hui and Zhongni from chapter six of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, "Da zongshi 大宗師" ("The Great Ancestral Teacher"):

Yan Hui said, "I have progressed." Zhongni said, "What do you mean?" Yan Hui said, "I have forgotten humaneness and propriety." Zhongni said, "Fine, but you are not there yet." Another day Yan Hui again came to see Zhongni and said, "I have progressed." Zhongni said, "What do you mean?" Yan Hui said, "I have forgotten ritual and music." Zhongni said, "Fine, but you are still not there." Yet another day Yan Hui came to see Zhongni and said, "I have progressed." Zhongni said, "What do you mean?" Yan Hui said, "I sit and forget." Zhongni looked troubled and said, "What do you mean by 'sitting and forgetting'?" Yan Hui said, "I let my limbs and body fall away and my awareness slip away. Leaving my body and losing my wits, I share in the great interpenetration [of things]. This is what I mean by 'sitting and forgetting.'" Zhongni said, "Sharing in [the great interpenetration of things] you have no preferences, and being in flux you have no constancy. Thus you have become accomplished. Please allow me to become your follower."

顏回曰：回益矣！仲尼曰：何謂也？曰：回忘仁義矣。曰：可矣，猶未也。它日復見曰：回益矣。曰：何謂也？曰：回忘禮樂矣。曰：可矣，猶未也。它日復見曰：回益矣。曰：何謂也？曰：回坐忘矣。仲尼蹴然曰：何謂坐忘？顏回曰：墮枝體，黜聰明，離形去知，同於大通，此謂坐忘。仲尼曰：同則無好也，化則無常也，而果其賢乎？丘也請從而後也。[218]

217. *Mozi* 9 (*SBCK* 9/22a).

218. *Zhuangzi* 6 (*SBCK* 3/26a–b; *KZJY* 16.31/p. 378). For a parallel, see *Huainanzi* 12 (*SBCK* 12/14a; *KZJY* 16.31/

For anyone familiar with the depiction of Kongzi in the *Lunyu*, a text for which *ren* 仁 (humaneness), *yi* 義 (propriety), *li* 禮 (ritual), and *yue* 樂 (music) are core concepts, Kongzi's advice to "forget" (*wang* 忘) these values is the first clue that the anecdote might fall outside mainstream Kongzi quotation practice. Another is Kongzi's repetition of the question "What do you mean?" (*he wei ye* 何謂也). As noted in the discussion of Kongzi sayings as objects of commentary, Kongzi's interlocutors typically posed this question to Kongzi, not the other way around. But here it is Yan Hui's cryptic utterances, especially *zuo wang* 坐忘 ("sitting and forgetting"), that must to be explained to Kongzi. The final clue is the anecdote's ironic conclusion, which inverts the Kongzi/Yan Hui relationship and turns master into disciple and disciple into master.[219]

At the same time, the *Zhuangzi* anecdote also shares certain features with mainstream Kongzi sayings and anecdotes. At no point does the anecdote question Kongzi's status as an exemplary judge of character. Three times Yan Hui reports his progress to Kongzi, and three times Kongzi offers an accurate assessment. Even in the conclusion, Kongzi displays an extraordinary humility and talent for character evaluation in the course of recognizing and submitting to Yan Hui's superior wisdom. The not-entirely-unsympathetic portrayal separates this parody from the crude caricatures of the *Mozi*.

● *Proof texts*

A "proof text" is a quotation designed to enhance the persuasiveness or authority of the quoting

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p. 378).

219. An anecdote from *Zhuangzi* 28 (*SBCK* 9/26a; *KZJY* 1.22/p. 8) ends with a similar result. Jean Levi (1995, pp. 41–65) in an article on the "subversive" use of citation in classical Chinese literature points to another example from *Zhuangzi* book 14 (*SBCK* 5/49a–51a).

text. Proof texts qualify as independent sayings insofar as their content is not contingent on some other text; in order to be useful as a proof text, a saying had to be detachable from its earlier context. Consequently, quoting authors typically ignored Youzi's advice and treated Kongzi sayings as maxims of general applicability.

The only Kongzi proof text in the entire *Zuozhuan* appears in the entry for the sixteenth year of Duke Ai's 哀公 reign (r. 494–477 BCE), the year of Kongzi's death:

> Summer. The fourth month. *Jichou*. Kong Qiu died. The Duke eulogized him as follows: "Merciful heaven does not come to my aid, nor does it leave me even one old man to support me, The One Man, in my position. Grievously I mourn. Woe is me! Alas! Father Ni, there is no one to guide me." Zigan [=Zigong] said, "Duke Ai shall not meet his end in Lu! The Master had a saying, 'Erring in ritual matters breeds ignorance, and erring in titles breeds transgression.' Erring in your aims is [also] ignorant, and error is the root of transgression. While [The Master] was alive [my lord] could not employ him, but in death he eulogizes him. This is not ritually proper. He refers to himself as 'The One Man,' but this is not his proper title. My lord is doubly in error."
>
> 夏，四月，己丑。孔丘卒。公誄之曰：旻天不弔，不憖遺一老，俾屏余一人以在位，煢煢余在疚。嗚呼！哀哉！尼父無自律。子贛曰：君其不沒於魯乎。夫子之言曰：禮失則昏，名失則愆。失志為昏，失所為愆。生不能用，死而誄之，非禮也。稱一人，非名也。君兩失之。[220]

As we have seen, the received *Zuozhuan* often appeals to Kongzi as a source of comments on anecdotes and people. But Zigong's speech here is the first and only instance in the text in which a character invokes Kongzi as an authority in his own right. Not coincidentally, it is also the only Kongzi saying in the *Zuozhuan* which is not directed at a specific narrative. Zigong's speech marks the passing of Kongzi as a master judge and virtuoso of applied wisdom, and the emergence of Kongzi as a venerable source of quotable wisdom. On the one hand, Kongzi's death heralds the end of the more dynamic practice of commenting on contemporary affairs; on the other, it crystallizes his sayings as authoritative teachings of general import.[221]

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220. *Zuozhuan* Ai 16 (*SBCK* 30/7a; *KZJY* p. 426).

221. For a parallel discussion of this episode, see Schaberg 2001, pp. 307–10.

The most spectacular use of *Kongzi yue* proof texts in the early corpus appears in a set of memorials ostensibly submitted to Han Wudi 漢武帝 in ca. 134 BCE by Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BCE).[222] The sixteen Kongzi sayings woven into these texts create the impression that Dong Zhongshu's advice meshed seamlessly with Kongzi's teachings, as in the following excerpt which features a word-for-word quotation of *Lunyu* 13/12 :

> Your subject has heard that when Yao received the mandate, the entire world was his concern and he never took delight in his position. Thus he executed and expelled disorderly subjects and he strived to find accomplished men and sages. This is how he obtained Shun, Yu, Ji, Xie, and Gao Yao. All sages supplemented his virtue and accomplished and capable men assisted him in his duties. His enlightening influence marched greatly onward, and the world was harmonious. The myriad peoples were at peace in humaneness and delighted in propriety. All obtained their proper places, their every action was in keeping with ritual, and they kept to the Way with ease. Thus Kongzi said, "If there is a true king, it will take a generation before [the people] become humane." This is what [I] mean.
>
> 臣聞堯受命，以天下為憂，而未以位為樂也，故誅逐亂臣，務求賢聖，是以得舜、禹、稷、卨、咎繇。眾聖輔德，賢能佐職，教化大行，天下和洽，萬民皆安仁樂誼，各得其宜，動作應禮，從容中道。故孔子曰如有王者，必世而後仁，此之謂也。[223]

"This is what [I] mean" is my translation of *ci zhi wei ye* 此之謂也, a standard proof text marker which highlights the convergence between the quoting and quoted texts, a connection reinforced by the insertion of *gu* 故 (thus) immediately before *Kongzi yue*. Dong Zhongshu's agreement with Kongzi is not coincidental or superficial; at least rhetorically, the implicit claim is that he has tapped into the thinking which motivated Kongzi to utter this saying in the first place.

Imperial edicts were the most prominent texts to use Kongzi sayings as proof texts. The first edict below dates to 7 BCE during the reign of Emperor Ai 哀帝 (r. 7–1 BCE), and the second to 26 CE during the reign of Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (r. 25–57 CE):

> <Emperor Ai>It is when worldly customs become decadent and extravagant that the melodies of Zheng and Wei arise. When decadent, those below are disobedient and the state is impoverished. When baroque, too many people chase after trivialities and neglect what is essential. When the melodies of Zheng and Wei arise, licentious and wicked influences spread.

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222. For a discussion of the authenticity of these documents, see pp. 177–181.

223. *Hanshu* 56.2508.

> In these circumstances desiring the people to be simple and frugal is akin to demanding a pure stream when the source has been muddied. How could that not be difficult? Did not Kongzi say, "Do away with the melodies of Zheng. The melodies of Zheng are licentious." Let the Music Bureau be abolished.
>
> 惟世俗奢泰文巧，而鄭衛之聲興。夫奢泰則下不孫而國貧，文巧則趨末背本者眾；鄭衛之聲興則淫辟之化流，而欲黎庶敦樸家給，猶濁其源而求其清流，豈不難哉？孔子不云乎：放鄭聲，鄭聲淫。其罷樂府官。[224]
>
> <Emperor Guangwu>When We think of the cruelty inflicted by oppressive officials—their extreme use of punishments and their imprisonment of many wrongly accused people—We are greatly grieved. Did not Kongzi say, "When punishments are wrongly applied the people have nowhere to place their hands and feet"? Let those with a salary of at least 2,000 *shi*, the various grandees, and the court deliberators discuss a reduction of punishments.
>
> 惟酷吏殘賊，用刑深刻，獄多冤人，朕甚愍之。孔子不云乎：刑罰不中，則民無所措手足。其與中二千石、諸大夫、博士、議郎議省刑法。[225]

It is no accident that the Kongzi sayings quoted in these edicts also appear in the *Lunyu*. Proof texts presumably had to have achieved a certain level of recognizability and authority before they could function as proof texts. As we will see in the next chapter, tracking the use of Kongzi sayings as proof texts in edicts and similar contexts is one way to gauge the relative authority of the sources of Kongzi sayings.

● *Records of Kongzi's life and thought*

Kongzi sayings as records differ from the Kongzi sayings discussed above insofar as a text's perceived value as a historical source depends as much, if not more, on its reception as on any intrinsic features.[226] A Kongzi saying as comment or proof text is a comment or proof text by

224.*Hanshu* 22.1072–3.

225.*Hou Hanshu* 1.29.

226.Owen 2007, p. 7: "If we think of 'authorship' as a property of a text, like a title, then we can see that in many cases it was something added by inference, just as titles so often were."

virtue of its function in the text in which it appears. But a Kongzi saying could become a historical "record" simply if later readers chose to treat it as such. An example of this phenomenon is book ten of the *Lunyu*, which has been read as a "record of Kongzi's words and deeds while in the villages of Lu" (記孔子在魯國鄉黨中言行).[227] Were it not for the fact that (a) this material appears in the *Lunyu*, and (b) "Kong" and "zi" are the first two characters of *Lunyu* 10/1, one would struggle to discern any connection whatsoever to Kongzi, let alone evidence that book ten was a historical record of some sort.[228]

Nevertheless, some sayings raise the issue of historicity more directly. After the *Lunyu*, the one text most often appealed to as a source for the historical Kongzi is *Shiji* book 47, the "Kongzi shijia 孔子世家." The secondary status of the "Kongzi shijia" in Kongzi studies is ironic given that, of these two texts, only the "Kongzi shijia" actually presents itself as a biography which ties Kongzi's doings and utterances to a definite and realistic timeline. The concluding comment to the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan" biography of Kongzi's disciples also casts Sima Qian as a critical historian who assessed various ideas about Kongzi against the available sources in order to "get close to the truth" (*jin shi* 近是).[229] Earlier I observed that the biography reflected Sima Qian's interest in depicting Kongzi "as a man" (*qi wei ren* 其為人) and thus anchored Kongzi sayings to specific moments in Kongzi's life (p. 28). That intent is also evident in the contrast between, e.g., *Lunyu* 7/23 and its "Kongzi shijia" parallel:

> <*Lunyu* 7/23>The Master said, "Heaven birthed the virtue in me, so what is Huan Tui to me?"
>
> 子曰：天生德於予，桓魋其如予何？

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227. This is the Xing Bing's 邢昺 (931–1010) sub-commentary on the title of *Lunyu* book 10. See *Lunyu zhengyi* 10/1a (p. 86).

228. Weingarten 2009, p. 5.

229. For this quotation, see p. 184.

<"Kongzi shijia">When Kongzi left Cao and went to Song, he practiced rituals under a great tree with his disciples. Sima Huan Tui of Song wished to kill Kongzi, and so he pulled up [Kongzi's] tree. Kongzi's disciples said, "We should [leave] quickly." Kongzi said, "Heaven birthed the virtue in me, so what is Huan Tui to me?"

孔子去曹適宋，與弟子習禮大樹下。宋司馬桓魋欲殺孔子，拔其樹。孔子去。弟子曰：可以速矣。孔子曰：天生德於予，桓魋其如予何！[230]

Although the *Shiji* version of the Kongzi saying parallels *Lunyu* 7/23 word-for-word, it also contextualizes the saying in a way that makes the *Lunyu* version seem an altogether inadequate record: nowhere does the *Lunyu* explain Huan Tui's identity or his desire to kill Kongzi. It is possible that the lack of context reflects the story's popularity at the time of the *Lunyu*'s compilation, in which case the *Lunyu* compilers did not see a need to explain its details. On the other hand, while a number of early texts mention the incident of "the tree being chopped down in Song" (*fa shu yu Song* 伐樹於宋) in connection with Kongzi, the *Shiji* is the earliest extant text I am aware of to cast Huan Tui as a principal character in the story. In any event, the comparison with the *Shiji* reveals the *Lunyu* compilers' relative disinterest in matters of historical context, as if providing a historical record was not their primary motivation.

Lunyu 7/1, 15/6, and 17/19 raise the issue of historicity in a very different way:

<*Lunyu* 7/1>Insofar as I transmit without initiating and trust in and love the ancient, I would humbly compare myself to Old Peng.

子曰：述而不作，信而好古，竊比於我老彭。

<*Lunyu* 15/6>Zizhang asked about following [the Way]. The Master said, "If your words are loyal and trustworthy and your actions sincere and respectful, then you will follow it even in foreign lands. But if your words are not loyal and trustworthy and your actions are not sincere and respectful, then will you follow it even in your local area? While standing you must see it facing you, while riding you must see it on the handle-bar. Only then will you follow [the Way]." Zizhang wrote this down on his sash.

子張問行。子曰：言忠信，行篤敬，雖蠻貊之邦，行矣。言不忠信，行不篤敬，雖州里，行乎哉？立則見其參於前也，在輿則見其倚於衡也，夫然後行。子張書諸紳。

230.*Shiji* 47.1921. Other references to this event state that Huan Tui "chopped down" (*fa* 伐) the tree, which seems likelier than the *Shiji* version. See, e.g., *Lüshi chunqiu* 14/6 (*SBCK* 14/17b; *KZJY* 13.28/p. 287).

> <*Lunyu* 17/19>The Master said, "I want to do without words." Zigong said, "But if you do not speak, Master, then what will your followers transmit?" The Master said, "What does Heaven ever say? The four seasons march onward and the hundred things continue to be born. What does Heaven ever say?"
>
> 子曰：予欲無言。子貢曰：子如不言，則小子何述焉？子曰：天何言哉？四時行焉，百物生焉，天何言哉？

All of these passages have been cited as evidence in support of the Han bibliographers' view that the *Lunyu* was compiled by closest Kongzi's disciples from their own records of Kongzi's teachings. *Lunyu* 7/1 and 17/19 have been read as expressions of an ideological commitment to "transmit" (*shu* 述) the Master's teachings verbatim,[231] and *Lunyu* 15/6 as an example of a saying actually recorded by one of Kongzi's followers.[232] However, references to disciples writing down and transmitting Kongzi's words are by no means unique to the *Lunyu*. As noted elsewhere (p. 51 & Appendix 1:B), a number of extant anecdotes in a range of early texts feature Kongzi urging his followers to "take note of" (*ji* 記/*zhi* 誌) his words. It seems just as reasonable to treat such passages as generic features of the representation of master-disciple relations in the early literature, not as evidence of reliable textual transmission.

*"Imputed words" (*Yu yan 寓言*)*

As noted earlier, Sun Xingyan in the final section of the *Kongzi jiyu* included a number of Kongzi anecdotes under the label "imputed words" (*yu yan* 寓言), the implication being that their authors were unconcerned with questions of historical accuracy and simply used Kongzi as a vehicle for their own ideas. In so doing, Sun Xingyan did not just undermine the value of these

231.Liu Xinfang 2003, p. 4.

232.Chen Tongsheng 2004, p. 51.

particular sayings and anecdotes; he also indirectly guaranteed the historical value of the rest of the *Kongzi jiyu*. The first step towards creating a purified corpus of authentic material is excluding the inauthentic material.

Early authors also recognized that Kongzi attributions could be motivated by something other than a sincere desire to accurately represent Kongzi's teachings. One early author in particular is famous for having owned up to the fictionalized nature of his attributions:

> The imputed words that are nine-tenths [of this text] make use of outside [figures] in their discussions. The father does not act as his own son's matchmaker—it is better for someone who is not the father to praise [a potential wife] than for the father to do it himself. This is not my fault, it is the fault of others. People respond to those who resemble themselves and they turn away from those who differ. They approve of those who are similar and they blame those who are different.
>
> 寓言十九，藉外論之。親父不為其子媒。親父譽之，不若非其父者也；非吾罪也，人之罪也。與己同則應，不與己同則反；同於己為是之，異於己為非之。[233]

This passage from the "Yu yan 寓言" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* is the *locus classicus* for the term "imputed words" (*yu yan* 寓言). The author of the "Xiu wu 修務" ("Striving to cultivate oneself") chapter of the *Huainanzi* justified the practice of imputing words in similar fashion:

> Vulgar men typically respect the ancient and belittle the new, and so when advocating something one must attribute it to the Divine Farmer or Yellow Emperor before one can venture a persuasion [or explanation]...Now if we were to take some new "writings of the sages" and attribute them to Kongzi or Mozi, there would be many followers who would pick over every phrase and accept the text [as authentic].
>
> 世俗之人，多尊古而賤今，故為道者必托之於神農、黃帝而後能入說。...今取新聖人書，名之孔、墨，則弟子句指而受者必眾矣。[234]

Interestingly, both of these authors acknowledged that putting words in the mouths of famous figures like Kongzi was a less than ideal form of writing. But they placed the ultimate responsibility for the practice on contemporary audiences who were too vulgar to appreciate texts that

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233.See the "Tian xia 天下" ("All Under Heaven") chapter of the *Zhuangzi* (*SBCK* 9/12a) for the explicit association of Zhuang Zhou 莊周 with "imputed words." The *Shiji* biography of Zhuang Zhou (*Shiji* 63.2143) also uses the phrase in its description of Zhuang Zhou's writings.

234.*Huainanzi* 19 (*SBCK* 19/11a). Mark Csikszentmihalyi (2004, p. 24) has identified this as "an ancient example of what Michel Foucault called the 'authorship function.'"

were not associated with legendary personas.

Other authors were far more critical of the practice of attributing words to figures for rhetorical purposes. One of these was Huan Tan 桓譚 (43 BCE-23 CE), who in his *Xinlun* 新論 (*New Discourses*) charged Zhuangzi with taking the practice of "imputing words" to an extreme:

> Zhuang Zhou imputed words, and so he said, 'Yao asked Kongzi.'...This is why people often say that his is a deficient and useless text.
>
> 莊周寓言，乃云堯問孔子...故世人多云短書，不可用。[235]

Huan Tan's criticism is probably exaggerated. The received *Zhuangzi* contains no such anecdote, nor do early texts preserve any examples in which Kongzi is placed in conversation with a legendary figure like Yao. (This is as ridiculous a scenario as a conversation between Abraham and Jesus in the Biblical context or between Socrates and Julius Caesar in the Greco-Roman context.) But Huan Tan might have singled out any number of Kongzi anecdotes in the *Zhuangzi* to make the same point. Indeed, the *Zhuangzi*'s playful irreverence toward Kongzi marks a number of episodes as blatantly fictionalized accounts, including the episode discussed above in which Yan Hui ends up as Kongzi's master (p. 97). Other examples include Kongzi's meeting with the infamous "Dao Zhi 盜跖" (Robber Zhi) and his encounter with the sagely "Yu fu 漁夫" ("Fisherman") in chapters 29 and 31, respectively. The former episode ends with Kongzi again asking to be his interlocutor's disciple,[236] the latter with a chastened and shaken Kongzi admitting that he had "barely escaped the tiger's jaws" (幾不免虎口哉).[237]

At least one pro-Kongzi author also hinted that his Kongzi sayings were perhaps less than perfectly authentic. Consider this passage from the *Kong congzi*, which tackles the Kongzi prob-

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235. *Quan Hou Han wen* 13/2a, p. 537.

236. See *Zhuangzi* 31 (*SBCK* 10/5a–12a) and *Zhuangzi* 29 (*SBCK* 9/32b–47b).

237. *Zhuangzi* book 29 (*SBCK* 9/41a).

lem head-on in a dialogue between Zisi 子思, Kongzi's grandson, and Duke Mu of Lu 魯穆公:

> Duke Mu said to Zisi, "There are those who suspect that the Master's sayings recorded in your writings are actually your very own words." Zisi replied, "Among the sayings of my grandfather recorded in my writings are some which I have personally heard and some which were brought to my attention by others. So even though my writings consist of words which are not precisely the Master's, they do not fall short of the Master's ideas. What is it that you doubt?" The Duke said, "The content [of your writings] is faultless." Zisi said, "It has no errors because it consists of my forefather's ideas. But let us suppose that what you just said is correct and that they are my own words. Since my words are faultless, they would still be worthy of honor. But since it is not the case [that Kongzi's words are really my own], why doubt it?"
>
> 穆公謂子思曰：子之書所記夫子之言，或者以謂子之辭。子思曰：臣所記臣祖之言，或親聞之者，有聞之於人者。雖非其正辭，然猶不失其意焉。且君之所疑者何？公曰：於事無非。子思曰：無非所以得臣祖之意也。就如君言以為臣之辭，臣之辭無非，則亦所宜貴矣。事既不然，又何疑焉？[238]

Zisi's admission that some of his Kongzi attributions "are not precisely the Master's" is striking, as is his acknowledgement of the possibility that some quotations were actually his own words. Also notice how Zisi hedges his bets by arguing that his Kongzi sayings are still "worthy of honor" (*yi gui* 宜貴) even if invented. Zisi is clearly unwilling to admit to "imputing words" outright as the *Zhuangzi* author does. But the coy, half-hearted defense of his Kongzi sayings suggests that the author of this dialogue, like the *Zhuangzi* author, was writing for an audience too sophisticated to accept just any Kongzi attribution as a record of the Master's actual teachings.

Early authors' occasionally explicit but typically implicit embrace of "imputed words" raises the possibility, troubling for defenders of the traditional view, that early authors generally used Kongzi as a puppet for their own views (or as a straw man for the views they wished to criticize). Perhaps the *Zhuangzi* differs from other early texts only insofar as its "imputed words" flaunted the conventions of mainstream Kongzi quotation practice by undermining Kongzi's authority. Perhaps early authors generally sought to represent Kongzi's "ideas" (*yi* 意) instead of quoting

238.*Kong congzi* 9 (*SBCK* 3/5a). Translation adapted from Ariel 1989, p. 117.

his sayings verbatim. Of course, determining whether a given Kongzi saying was created by the quoting author or copied more or less faithfully from some earlier source is usually impossible. Most early authors were far less honest than the "Yu yan" author about their fictions, and even a Kongzi saying that was originally fabricated might have been transmitted and quoted anew by those who did not doubt its authenticity. Nevertheless, the patently fantastic or contrived nature of some Kongzi sayings does allow some conjectures about the circumstances of their creation.

Consider the "Kongzi xianju 孔子閒居" chapter of the *Liji* (with close parallels in the *Kongzi jiayu* and the "Min zhi fumu 民之父母" manuscript from the Shanghai Museum corpus), which I discussed earlier as an example of a Kongzi commentary:

> Kongzi was resting in leisure with Zixia in attendance when Zixia said, "May I ask about the *Shi* [#251] that says 'All happiness to our lord / Father and mother to the people?' What sort of person can be called 'father and mother to the people?'"
>
> Kongzi said, "The 'father and mother of his people' must have insight into the source of ritual and music, and must achieve the 'five reaches' and practice the 'three withouts.' Thus [his virtue] will pervade the world. When there is some loss within the four directions he will always know it in advance. Such a man is referred to as 'father and mother to the people.'"
>
> Zixia said, "Now I have heard about the 'father and mother to the people.' May I ask what the 'five reaches' refer to?"
>
> Kongzi said, "Where the mind reaches the *Shi* reach, too; where the *Shi* reach ritual reaches, too; where ritual reaches music reaches, too; where music reaches sorrow reaches, too. Sorrow and joy give birth to each other. This is why when we look with clear eyes we cannot see it, and when we cock our ears and listen for it we cannot hear it. When one's mind and *qi* fill heaven and earth, this is called the 'five reaches.'"
>
> Zixia said, "Now I have heard about the 'five reaches.' May I ask what the 'three withouts' refer to?"
>
> Kongzi said, "Music without sound, ritual without body, and mourning without dress—these are the 'three withouts.'"
>
> Zixia said, "Now I have heard about the 'three withouts.' May I ask which *Shi* approximate them?"
>
> Kongzi said, "'Day and night he buttressed the charge' [Mao 271]—this is music without sound; 'I have borne myself correctly / In rites more than can be numbered' [Mao 26]—this is ritual without body; 'When any of your people were in trouble / I crawled on my knees to help them' [Mao 35]—this is mourning without attire."
>
> Zixia said, "Your words are great and beautiful and magnificent."

孔子閒居，子夏侍。子夏曰：敢問詩云：凱弟君子，民之父母。何如斯可謂民之父母矣。孔子曰：夫民之父母乎，必達於禮樂之原，以致五至而行三無，以橫於天下。四方有敗，必先知之。此之謂民之父母矣。子夏曰：民之父母，既得而聞之矣。敢問何謂五至？孔子曰：志之所至，詩亦至焉；詩之所至，禮亦至焉；禮之所至，樂亦至焉；樂之所至，哀亦至焉。哀樂相生，是故正明目而視之，不可得而見也；傾耳而聽之，不可得

而聞也。志氣塞乎天地，此之謂五至。子夏曰：五至既得而聞之矣。敢問何謂三無？孔子曰：無聲之樂，無體之禮，無服之喪，此之謂三無。子夏曰：三無既得略而聞之矣。敢問何詩近之？孔子曰：夙夜其命宥密，無聲之樂也。威儀逮逮，不可選也。無體之禮也。凡民有喪，匍匐救之，無服之喪也。子夏曰：言則大矣美矣盛矣。[239]

"Kongzi xian ju" reads as a *Kongzi yue* commentary in the form of a conversation between Kongzi and Zixia. Earlier I labeled it a "clarifying" commentary insofar as it provides a specific frame of reference—*li* 禮 (ritual) and *yue* 樂 (music)—for a *Shi* couplet which is otherwise open to interpretation. Zixia's follow-up questions also mark Kongzi's initial statement as an object of commentary in its own right. "What do you mean?" (*he wei ye* 何謂也) is the only natural response to Kongzi's odd notions of the "five reaches" (*wu zhi* 五至) and "three withouts" (*san wu* 三無), odd because they turn two words typically used as verbs—*zhi* 至 (to reach) and *wu* 無 (to not have)—into countable nouns.[240] The "five reaches" and "three withouts" seem to have been designed in order to prompt explanation.

Beyond this, there is something rather artificial about the presentation of the dialogue, beginning with its emphatic and repetitive section-marking. Kongzi's statements conclude with the phrase "this is what X means," which makes Zixia's interjections ("Now I have heard about X. May I ask about Y?") segueing from the end of one section to the beginning of the next entirely redundant. I take this as a sign that the anecdote was designed to be something other than a realistic depiction of an actual conversation.

Suppose that we excised all of Zixia's questions from the anecdote—would that impair our understanding of the text? No, because the repetition of the phrase "This is what X means" al-

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239.*Liji* 29 (*SBCK* 15/9b–11a; *KZJY* pp. 545–6). See also *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo chu zhushu* vol. 2, pp. 154ff and *Kongzi jiayu* 27 (*SBCK* 6/17b–18b). For present purposes, I set aside a number of significant differences among these versions. *Shi* translations from Waley 1996. For other instances of "enumeration" in Warring States rhetoric, see Schaberg 2001, p. 47.

240.See *Lunyu* 20/2 for a similarly structured dialogue that unpacks the concepts of the *wu mei* 五美 (five excellences) and *si e* 四惡 (four evils).

ready signals the transitions in Kongzi's commentary. Let us go one step further and remove the *Kongzi yue* markers while keeping the opening *Shi* quotation—what remains? The answer, I think, is a perfectly well-structured piece of Warring States rhetoric:

> A *Shi* says, "All happiness to our lord / Father and mother of his people?" The "father and mother of his people" must have insight into the source of ritual and music, and must achieve the five reaches and practice the three withouts. Thus [his virtue] will pervade the world. When there is some loss within the four directions he will always know it in advance. Such a man is referred to as "father and mother of his people."
>
> Where the mind reaches the *Shi* reach, too; where the *Shi* reach ritual reaches, too; where ritual reaches music reaches, too; where music reaches sorrow reaches, too. Sorrow and joy give birth to each other. This is why when we look with clear eyes we cannot see it, and when we cock our ears and listen for it we cannot hear it. When one's mind and *qi* fill heaven and earth, this is called the "five reaches."
>
> Music without sound, ritual without body, and mourning without dress—these are the "three withouts."
>
> "Day and night he buttressed the charge"—this is "music without sound"; "I have borne myself correctly / In rites more than can be numbered"—this is "ritual without body"; "When any of your people were in trouble / I crawled on my knees to help them"—this is "mourning without attire."
>
> 詩云：凱弟君子，民之父母。夫民之父母乎，必達於禮樂之原，以致五至而行三無，以橫於天下。四方有敗，必先知之，此之謂民之父母矣。志之所至，詩亦至焉；詩之所至，禮亦至焉；禮之所至，樂亦至焉；樂之所至，哀亦至焉，哀樂相生。是故正明目而視之，不可得而見也；傾耳而聽之，不可得而聞也。志氣塞乎天地，此之謂五至。無聲之樂，無體之禮，無服之喪，此之謂三無。夙夜其命宥密，無聲之樂也。威儀逮逮。不可選也，無體之禮也。凡民有喪，匍匐救之，無服之喪也。

In this reading, Zixia's questions are artificial because they were motivated primarily by pedagogical concerns, with the dialogical, catechistic framework facilitating the analysis and memorization of the material. If we ask what the ultimate lesson of "Kongzi xian ju" might have been, one (admittedly speculative) possibility is that it was intended as teaching tool for composing well-structured speeches out of quotations from canonical texts. The rhetorical template would run as follows: open with a quotation from a *Shi*; use that quotation to introduce one's main ideas (in this case, the "five reaches" and "three withouts"); for every main idea, add another section which expands upon that idea; finally, conclude with a canonical quotation or two (or, in this case, three) to show that one's conclusions are consistent with the canon.

In any event, my suspicion is that the intended audience of "Min zhi fumu" would have understood *Kongzi yue* as a marker of the text's pedagogical function without also seeing it as a mark of authenticity.[241] This interpretation also casts the framing of the passage—*Kongzi xian ju* 孔子閒居 (Kongzi was resting in leisure), a formula which introduces similar dialogues in the *Liji*, *Kongzi jiayu*, *Hanshi waizhuan*, and *Shuiyuan*—in a new light.[242] Prefacing a Kongzi dialogue in this way might have signaled that the discussion was not prompted not by a specific occasion or political context as in "Lu bang da han 魯邦大旱." The formula's apparent allusion to the "Bei shan 北山" ("Northern Hills," #205) ode—"Some people sit quietly at home, / Others wear themselves out in serving their state" (或燕燕居息，或盡瘁事國)—would seem to support this reading.[243] In keeping with the image of "sitting quietly at home," the Kongzi of these anecdotes addresses topics of general interest without engaging contemporary political affairs. However, the absence of the *Kongzi xian ju* 孔子閒居 line in the "Min zhi fumu" manuscript might suggest that it developed in a later period as a way of marking and categorizing this sub-genre of Kongzi dialogue.

The use of Kongzi disciples as stand-ins for certain themes or concerns is another hint that at least some early authors thought of disciples more as convenient props or symbols than as actual historical figures, e.g., in this Kongzi comment from the *Yanzi chunqiu* 晏子春秋 which follows an anecdote about Yanzi's frugal mourning rituals for his deceased father:

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241. Weingarten (2010, p. 140) makes a parallel argument about a sub-genre of Kongzi dialogue revolving around water and mountains: "Confucius and one of his disciples act as dramatis personae; they flesh out the purely textual functions of the preceding versions."

242. See the "Zhongni yan ju 仲尼燕居" chapter of the *Liji*, chapter 27 of the *Kongzi jiayu*, chapter 37 of the *Da Dai liji*, and *Hanshi waizhuan* 7 (*SBCK* 7/14b–15a; *KZJY* 8.6/pp. 160–61) and 8 (*SBCK* 8/13a–b; *KZJY* 1.8/p. 4). All of these variants (e.g., *yan ju* 燕居 and *xian ju* 閒居) rhyme on *-en.

243. *SBCK* 13/7a. See also Zheng Xuan's gloss on the title of the "Kongzi xianju" chapter of the *Liji*: "retiring and avoiding others is called 'resting in leisure'" (退燕避人曰閒居).

> When Zengzi asked Kongzi about it, Kongzi said, "Yanzi can be said to have been 'able to keep harm far from himself.' He did not rebuff another's error with his own correctness but avoided blame through deferential speech. What propriety!"
>
> 曾子以聞孔子，孔子曰：晏子可謂能遠害矣。不以己之是駁人之非，遜辭以避咎，義也夫！[244]

The Kongzi comment is typical in that it suggests a tagline for the virtue displayed by Yanzi in the anecdote—*neng yuan hai* 能遠害 (being able to keep harms at a distance)—and evaluates Yanzi's actions according to some abstract principle, here "propriety" (*yi* 義). As we have seen, many Kongzi comments are framed as conversations with disciples. But Zengzi's mention in this instance is probably not accidental. As attested in the first section of the *Xiaojing*, among other texts,[245] Zengzi was more closely associated with the value of *xiao* 孝 (filial piety) than any other Kongzi disciple. Mentioning Zengzi in conjunction with the Kongzi comment was a way of signaling that the episode could be categorized under the heading "filial piety" or "relations between fathers and sons." Tellingly, Zengzi himself does not even need to speak to fulfill this role. His mere mention is enough to mark the comment in a certain way.

Scattered passages in the *Mengzi*, *Lunyu,* and elsewhere indicate that Zengzi was not the only figure to be thought of in symbolic terms:

> <*Lüshi chunqiu* 17/7>Lao Dan prized pliancy; Kongzi prized humaneness; Mo Di prized integrity; Guan Yin prized purity; Zi Liezi prized emptiness; Chen Bing prized equanimity; Yang Sheng prized himself; Sun Bin prized strategic positioning; Wang Liao prized being first; Ni Liang prized being last.
>
> 老耽貴柔，孔子貴仁，墨翟貴廉，關尹貴清，子列子貴虛，陳駢貴齊，陽生貴己，孫臏貴勢，王廖貴先，兒良貴後。[246]

244.*KZJY* 9.29/p. 184. Translation adapted from Schaberg 2005, p. 16.

245.Zengzi is also the most widely quoted authority in the "Xiao xing 孝行" ("Filial conduct") chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* (14/1; *SBCK* 7/5b ff) and the "Zengzi ben xiao 曾子本孝" ("Zengzi makes filial piety the root"), "Zengzi li xiao 曾子立孝" ("Zengzi establishes filial piety"), "Zengzi da xiao 曾子大孝" ("Zengzi aggrandizes filial piety"), and "Zengzi shi fumu 曾子事父母" ("Zengzi served his father and mother") chapters of the *Da Dai Liji* (books 50–53).

246.*SBCK* 17/18a; *KZJY* 14.39/p. 316.

<*Mengzi* 2A/2>"Zai Wo and Zigong are good at persuasion and fine phrases. Ran Niu, Minzi, and Yan Yuan are good at speaking about virtuous conduct."

宰我、子貢善為説辭；冉牛、閔子、顏淵善言德行。[247]

<*Lunyu* 11/3>Virtuous conduct: Yan Yuan, Min Ziqian, Ran Boniu, Zhonggong. Speaking: Zai Wo, Zigong. Government affairs: Ran You, Ji Lu [probably Zilu]. Refinement and learning: Ziyou, Zixia.

德行：顏淵、閔子騫、冉伯牛、仲弓。言語：宰我、子貢。政事：冉有、季路。文學：子游、子夏。

There are at least two ways of interpreting such lists, most obviously as descriptions of these figures' primary virtues as they emerge in early anecdotal literature. From this perspective, the *Lüshi chunqiu* author was simply noting that Kongzi often spoke about "humaneness" (*ren* 仁), the *Lunyu* 11/3 author that Yan Yuan was often represented as a paragon of virtue, etc. But we might also read them as suggestions or even prescriptions for generating new sayings attributed to Kongzi, Kongzi disciples, or other masters.[248] An author who wanted to buttress his argument about "pliancy" (*rou* 柔) with an appeal to authority should find or create a relevant Laozi saying. Someone who wanted to create a Kongzi dialogue on the theme of "virtuous conduct" should cast Yan Hui (or Min Ziqian or Ran Boniu or Zhonggong) as Kongzi's interlocutor. And so on.

Puns on disciple names are another indication that Kongzi disciples were thought of in symbolic, not historical, terms. Consider the following examples from the *Lunyu*:[249]

<*Lunyu* 2/9>The Master said, "I can talk to Yan Hui [*ɢwʕəj] all day long without him disagreeing [*ɢwəj] with me, as if he was stupid..."

子曰：吾與回言終日，不違，如愚。...

<*Lunyu* 5/4>Zigong asked, "What am I like?" The Master said, "You are a vessel." "What

247.*SBCK* 3/8b; *KZJY* p. 510.

248.A clear example of this possibility in the *Lunyu* 12/1. For a discussion, see chapter three, pp. 245–249.

249.Some of these puns are pointed out in Brooks & Brooks 1998, pp. 22–23.

kind of vessel?" "A jade vessel."

子貢問曰：賜也何如？子曰：女、器也。曰：何器也？曰：瑚璉也。

<*Lunyu* 6/7>The Master said, "Yan Hui [*ɢwʕəj] can go three months without disobeying [*ɢwəj] in his heart. The rest of them only manage it for the occasional day or month."

子曰：回也，其心三月不違仁，其餘則日月至焉而已矣。

<*Lunyu* 9/12>When the Master was gravely ill Zilu sent his retainers to serve him as a subjects. After his illness had lessened Kongzi said, "Zilu [*Cə.rʕak-s)] has been deceitful [*tsʕrak-s] for some time now! Who am I fooling by [pretending] to have subjects although I have none? Am I fooling heaven? Wouldn't I rather die under the care of my disciples than these subjects? And even if I cannot have a great funeral, will I die along some road [*Cə.rʕak-s)]?"

子疾病，子路使門人為臣。病間，曰：久矣哉，由之行詐也！無臣而為有臣。吾誰欺？欺天乎！且予與其死於臣之手也，無寧死於二三子之手乎！且予縱不得大葬，予死於道路乎！

<*Lunyu* 19/25>Chen Ziqin said to Zigong [*kʕoŋ-s], "You are reverential [*k<r>oŋ] indeed—how could Zhongni be more accomplished than you?"

陳子禽謂子貢曰：子為恭也，仲尼豈賢於子乎？

Both *Lunyu* 2/9 and 6/7 juxtapose the "Hui 回" of Yan Hui with the homophone *wei* 違 (disagree or disobey), just as *Lunyu* 19/25 juxtposes the "gong 貢" of Zigong with *gong* 恭 (reverential). *Lunyu* 9/12 not only rhymes "Zilu" with "deceitful" (*zha* 詐), it also echoes Zilu's name in the final word, "road" (*dao lu* 道路). To an early Chinese ear, the last line might have even read as "Will I die leading [Zi]lu?" or perhaps "Will I die speaking to [Zi]lu?" Finally, *Lunyu* 5/4 plays on the fact that Zigong's style name includes the word *gong* 貢, meaning "to offer [i.e., as in a sacrifice]," and describes him as a precious sacrificial vessel. Of course, there is nothing to preclude the possibility that the historical Kongzi himself enjoyed the occasional pun, as Cristoph Harbsmeier has suggested.[250] But we should also consider the possibility that the frequent appearance of specific disciples in early Kongzi dialogues and anecdotes reflects neither the origi-

250.On humor in the *Lunyu*, see Harbsmeier 1990.

nal circumstances of Kongzi's instruction nor the social context of a later intellectual lineage (*jia* 家). Rather, the rotating cast of colorful characters may be nothing more than a set of literary conventions for marking, categorizing, and enlivening early Kongzi sayings.

How did early authors conceive of Kongzi quotation practice?

I have already discussed several passages in which early authors commented on the practice of Kongzi quotation. Youzi's criticism of Zengzi's Kongzi quotation in "Tan gong" showed that Kongzi sayings were subject to critical standards; the "man of Chu lost his bow" episode indicated that Kongzi (and Laozi) sayings were designed to be maximally *gong* 公 (general or abstract); the "Yu yan" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* called attention to the practice of imputing words to famous figures (p. 104); a passage from the *Kong Congzi* described Kongzi's *Shu* commentary as having explained the "greater meaning" of the *Shu* (p. 74); and Wang Chong wondered how Kongzi's words at *Lunyu* 14/25 could be so "sparing" (*yue* 約) and opaque (p. 88). Such examples do not begin to exhaust early authors' reflections on Kongzi and the sayings attributed to him.

The following passage from the *Mozi*, the most stridently anti-Kongzi text from the early period, ironically provides the clearest demonstration of Kongzi sayings' importance within early intellectual discourse:

> Master Mo was engaged in disputation with Master Cheng when he cited Kongzi. Master Cheng asked him, "How can you criticize the Ru and cite Kongzi?" Master Mo said, "This is a case of something being both appropriate and unalterable. Now when birds learn of vexing heat and drought they fly up high, and when fish learn of vexing heat and drought they swim downward. In situations like these even the best-laid plans of Yu and Tang could not alter this. Although birds and fish can be called foolish, even Yu and Tang would follow them at times. Now should I never cite Kongzi?
>
> 子墨子與程子辯，稱於孔子。程子曰："非儒，何故稱於孔子也？"子墨子曰："是亦當

而不可易者也。今鳥聞熱旱之憂則高，魚聞熱旱之憂則下，當此雖禹湯為之謀，必不能易矣。鳥魚可謂愚矣，禹湯猶云[251]因焉。今翟曾無稱於孔子乎？”[252]

Although he elsewhere accuses Kongzi of being a rank hypocrite (p. 96) and a purveyor of banal wisdom (p. 96), here Mozi nevertheless acknowledges the “appropriateness” (*dang* 當), and “unalterability” (*bu ke yi* 不可易) of quoting Kongzi. Kongzi sayings were apparently so ubiquitous that not even Kongzi’s detractors could do entirely without them.[253]

Authors who, like Youzi in “Tan gong,” sought to police the corpus of Kongzi sayings and defend Kongzi against spurious quotations are particularly fruitful sources for early quotation practice. The *Kong congzi* includes two episodes in which Kongzi’s disciple Zigao 子高 debunks rumors about his master, in the first that Kongzi was a heavy drinker and in the second that he met inappropriately with two women (Appendix 1:D). Zigao’s strategy for dealing with these “inciting and provocative words” (勸厲獎戲之辭) and “gossip” (流言) is instructive. He begins by insisting that, as a sage, Kongzi must have acted sagely; ergo, he could not have been a drunk: “it was by means of the Way and virtue that worthies and sages surpassed others, not through food and drink” (賢聖以道德兼人，未聞以飲食也). In the second instance, he simply asserts that Kongzi was not someone who “did not grasp [the rites]” (夫子亦弗獲已矣), thus he would not have violated ritual propriety in order to meet with two women. Zigao also draws an ethical contrast between himself and those who “love to drink” (嗜酒者), who use Kongzi sayings to “incite and provoke” (勸厲), and who “fake [stories] in order to further their own motives” (假其類以行其心者). In the second example, Zigao then presents an alternate history of Kongzi’s ad-

251.Understanding *yun* 云 as *huo* 或. See *Mozi jiangu* p. 278.

252.*Mozi* book 48 (*SBCK* 12/13b–14a)

253.Compare Denecke 2004, p. 154: “The attempted belittling of Confucius cannot conceal that Mozi recognizes his words as common sense.”

ventures in Wei which leaves no room for an improper meeting with the Duke of Wei's wife. Taken together, Zigao's critiques provide a sense of what was required to maintain Kongzi's integrity and the integrity of Kongzi quotation practice: consensus about Kongzi's status as a "sage" (*sheng* 聖), agreement about the details of Kongzi's biography, and a shared commitment not to "fake" (*jia* 假) new stories or sayings. If the *Kong congzi* is any indication, the effort to defend Kongzi quotation practice may have been an uphill battle.

The author of *Mengzi* 5A/8 encountered a similar problem as Zigao in the *Kong congzi* (Appendix 1:E) and also adopted a similar strategy for refuting spurious rumors: attack those who fabricated the stories, present an alternate biography, and appeal to the image of Kongzi as the kind of figure who, by definition, would not have compromised his integrity. The phrasing of the rhetorical question which concludes the episode—"If Kongzi had stayed with an ulcer doctor and the servant Qi Huan, how could he have been Kongzi?"—shows which of these arguments carried the most weight.[254] Mengzi simply could not entertain the possibility that Kongzi was less than perfectly virtuous.[255] In the end, the demands of the Kongzi brand trumped all else.

A similar exchange takes place between Mengzi and Xian Qiumeng 咸丘蒙 at *Mengzi* 5A/4:

> Xian Qiumeng asked, "A saying has it that 'a lord cannot make a minister out of a man of flourishing virtue, nor can a father make him a son.' Shun stood facing south and Yao led all the vassal lords to face north at court. Shun's father Gu Sou also faced north at court. When Shun saw Gu Sou he furrowed his brow. Kongzi said, 'At that time the world was endangered and teetering on the edge.' I do not know if this saying is true or not."
>
> Mengzi said, "No, this is not the saying of a noble man. It is the saying of a rube from eastern Qi. When Yao was an old man Shun took over the government. The *Canon of Yao* states that 'after 28 years the Meritorious One [i.e., Yao] passed away, and the people grieved as if they had lost a parent, and all within the four seas gave up music for a time.' Kongzi said,

254. The question *he yi wei Kongzi* 何以為孔子 (How could he have been Kongzi?) is echoed in the *Yantie lun* by one of the Ru 儒 debaters who counters the criticism that the Ru are neither *junzi* nor"worthy man of service" (*xian shi* 賢士). *Yantie lun* 59 (*SBCK* 10/16a).

255. This recalls Kongzi's defense of the King Wen from the *Zhuangzi* (p. 62): "King Wen was perfect, so how can you evaluate and criticize him? He only used [the dream] to handle that particular situation" (夫文王盡之也，而又何論刺焉).

> "Heaven does not have two suns; the people do not have two kings.' If Shun was already the Son of Heaven and also led all the vassal lords to mourn Yao for three years, there would have been two Sons of Heaven."
>
> 咸丘蒙問曰：語云，盛德之士，君不得而臣，父不得而子。舜南面而立，堯帥諸侯北面而朝之，瞽瞍亦北面而朝之。舜見瞽瞍，其容有蹙。孔子曰：於斯時也，天下殆哉，岌岌乎！[256]不識此語誠然乎哉。孟子曰：否；此非君子之言，齊東野人之語也。堯老而舜攝也。堯典曰：二十有八載，放勛乃徂落，百姓如喪考妣，三年，四海遏密八音。孔子曰：天無二日，民無二王。舜既為天子矣，又帥天下諸侯以為堯三年喪，是二天子矣。[257]

In the continuation of the dialogue, Xian Qiumeng quotes the "Bei shan 北山" ("Northern Hills") ode to ask Mengzi whether Shun's father served Shun as his subject, the implication being that Shun's position as emperor compromised his filial piety and vice versa.[258] In his defense of Shun, Mengzi refutes Xian Qiumeng's reading ("This is not what this *Shi* means" [是詩也，非是之謂也]) and goes on to establish some guidelines for *Shi* interpretation generally: "those who would explain a *Shi* should not use the [interpretation of its] words to impair the [interpretation of its] phrasing, or the [interpretation of its] phrasing to impair the [interpretation of its] intent" (說詩者，不以文害辭，不以辭害志。).

The contrast between Mengzi's handling of Xian Qiumeng's Kongzi attribution and his handling of the *Shi* quotation is instructive. Xian Qiumeng's mistake with the *Shi* is one of misinterpretation, of misconstruing a text which both men acknowledge is legitimate. Since Mengzi cannot reject the quotation itself, he must contradict Xian Qiumeng's understanding of it. In contrast, when Mengzi disagrees with a Kongzi saying ("At that time the world was at risk and teetering on the edge") he rejects it outright ("this is not the saying of a *junzi*") and replaces it with an entirely different saying that better supports his argument ("Heaven does not have two

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256. A variant of this saying appears at *Han Feizi* 51 (*SBCK* 20/1b; *KZJY*), where it is also criticized.

257. *SBCK* 9/6b–8a; *KZJY* pp. 513–14.

258. The quotation reads: "Everywhere under Heaven / Is no land that is not the king's. / To the borders of all those lands / None but is the king's slave" (普天之下，莫非王土；率土之濱，莫非王臣。). See *SBCK* 13/6b.

sons; the people do not have two kings"). Herein lies one of the key differences between *Shi* and Kongzi quotation practice in the early period, at least until the *Lunyu* was established as the pre-eminent source of Kongzi sayings. In the absence of a clearly delineated set of authoritative Kongzi sayings, authors had to defend their own Kongzis and dispute others' Kongzis as the situation demanded.

In this respect, the challenges of Kongzi quotation practice reflected a more general anxiety in the period about the integrity of received textual traditions. Here we might recall Mengzi's advice at *Mengzi* 7B/3: "Mengzi said, "It is better to go without *Shu* than to trust them completely. I only accept two or three strips out of [the *Shu* text] 'Martial Virtue Perfected'" (盡信書，則不如無書。吾於武成，取二三策而已矣。). The *Lüshi chunqiu* compilers expressed a similar sentiment when they urged others not to accept "traditions" (*zhuan* 傳) uncritically:

> Received sayings must be scrutinized. After several transmissions white turns into black and black turns into white. A dog looks like an ape, an ape looks like a monkey, and a monkey looks like a person, but there is a huge difference between a dog and a man. This is how stupid people make big mistakes. To examine what one hears leads to good fortune. But it would be better not to have heard something than to fail to examine what one has heard.
>
> 夫得言不可以不察，數傳而白為黑，黑為白。故狗似玃，玃似母猴，母猴似人，人之與狗則遠矣。此愚者之所以大過也。聞而審則為福矣，聞而不審，不若無聞矣。[259]

The authors quoted in this section clearly took the *Lüshi chunqiu*'s advice to heart. According to the traditional view of the *Lunyu*, Kongzi's teachings were "recorded" (*ji* 記) and "edited and compiled" (*ji er lun zuan* 輯而論纂) by Kongzi's students before being transmitted faithfully by generations of devoted disciples. But the examples considered here reveal that the early authors who championed Kongzi did not simply transmit the Master's words. Sometimes they encountered sayings that contradicted their own views of Kongzi, and disagreements over Kongzi attri-

259.*Lüshi chunqiu* 22/6 (*SBCK* 22/10b). I follow Knoblock & Riegel (2000, p. 582) in emending the first *de* 得 (obtain) to *zhuan* 傳 (transmitted or received).

butions forced them to adopt a more critical approach to Kongzi traditions.[260] In the apparent absence of a Kongzi canon, they developed strategies for limiting spurious attributions, including by filling in the details of Kongzi's biography or insisting on Kongzi's exemplary status. Not until the advent of the *Lunyu* as an authoritative collection of Kongzi's teachings were pro-Kongzi authors freed from having to actively police Kongzi's reputation.

Conclusions

Even after more than one-hundred pages and several dozen Kongzi sayings, this introduction has only scratched the surface of the topic. Kongzi quotation practice in the early period was a decidedly messy phenomenon, so much so that one might reasonably wonder whether Kongzi was nothing more than a cipher who parroted whatever ideas an author wished to attribute to him. But while *Kongzi yue* sayings were certainly a flexible medium, they were not infinitely flexible. Close attention to the functions of Kongzi sayings reveals a handful of common threads and interests which, taken together, illuminate their distinctive role within early intellectual discourse:

(1) *Kongzi sayings are highlighters*. This is one feature of Kongzi sayings that sets them apart from other kinds of quotable material. Dependent Kongzi sayings focused attention on texts their authors deemed worthy of comment, be they historical anecdotes, other sayings, or canonical texts. Especially in large compilations like the *Zuozhuan* and *Lüshi chunqiu*, Kongzi comments singled out particular episodes from among hundreds of others, thus ensuring that this material received special consideration from early audiences.

260.For another example, see *Zhuangzi* book 27 (*SBCK* 9/13b; *KZJY* 13.20/pp. 280–81) and *Xunzi* book 8 (*SBCK* 4/12b).

(2) *Kongzi sayings "transmit without originating."* This is another feature that distinguishes Kongzi sayings from other quotable material. Kongzi sayings frequently quoted other sources of received wisdom, from the anonymous "mottos" (*zhi* 志) quoted by *Zuozhuan* Kongzi comments (p. 55) to the *Shi* quotations of "Min zhi fumu" (p. 108) or the nursery rhymes of the *Shuiyuan* (p. 67). This aspect of Kongzi quotation practice is perhaps best captured by the *Lunyu* 7/1 phrase, "transmitting without originating" (*shu er bu zuo* 述而不作). Although intended in the *Lunyu* as a description of Kongzi's reverence for the ancients, it is also an apt characterization of the function of Kongzi sayings in early textual culture: invoking and adapting received wisdom to contemporary concerns without necessarily introducing new ideas of their own.

(3) *Kongzi sayings are venues*. An even more accurate description of Kongzi sayings might be "transmit *and* create" (*shu er zuo* 述而作), because some Kongzi sayings did much more than simply highlight and transmit other texts. Kongzi sayings were also a dynamic genre through which early authors reworked earlier texts and maximized their rhetorical potential. *Kongzi yue* could signal a performance of rhetorical artistry, an occasion for introducing a bit of "patterning" (*wen* 文) to make words "go far" (*yuan* 遠), to paraphrase a Kongzi saying from the *Zuozhuan* (p. 55).

(4) *Kongzi sayings are verbal insignia*. Han authors in particular prized Kongzi's role as the source of the "greater meaning" (*da yi* 大義) of the canon, i.e., the original, pristine wisdom prior to its corruption in the Warring States and Qin periods (p. 74). In practice, the "greater meaning" was not a commentary so much as a handy tagline or motto which captured a text's core lesson, that controlled its interpretation, and that fixed its place in the early Chinese textual universe. The precursors of "greater meaning" statements were the emblematic ideas or phrases that Kongzi comments affixed to specific anecdotes and figures in Warring States anecdotal

literature.

(5) *Kongzi sayings are teaching texts*. The pedagogical motivation behind many Kongzi sayings is apparent in numerous *Kongzi yue* comments and commentaries, from the way that Kongzi modeled a direct, personal connection with canonical learning (p. 77), and in the use of a Kongzi dialogue as a rhetorical exercise (p. 108). The framing of so many Kongzi sayings as scenes of instruction involving Kongzi's disciples or other interlocutors likely also reflects a pedagogical context.

(6) *Kongzi sayings promote the canon*. This is true in a concrete sense insofar as *Kongzi yue* commentaries on the *Shi*, *Shu*, and *Yi* trumpet the value of the canon. But Kongzi sayings also demonstrate that value by abstracting lessons from specific canonical texts.[261] In his study of early canonical commentaries, John Henderson identified six fundamental assumptions about canonicity from a number of ancient textual traditions: the canon is supposed to be "comprehensive," "well ordered and coherent," "self-consistent," "moral," "profound," and "clear and accessible."[262] One can find all of these assumptions at work in the corpus of Kongzi sayings. As we have seen, the *Kongzi yue* meta-commentaries of the "Kongzi shilun" and *Zhouyi* (p. 82) insist on the clarity and accessibility of the *Shi* and *Yi*; the amplifying commentary of the "Kongzi shilun" demonstrates the profundity of the *Shi* (p. 72); the "Wen yan" provides an ethical frame of reference which makes the enigmatic line statements of the *Zhouyi* accessible (p. 78); and the self-consistency, coherence, and comprehensiveness of, e.g., the various royal speeches that make up the early *Shu* collection are demonstrated in the "greater meaning" Kongzi commentary

261. One fine example of this tendency is a dialogue between Kongzi and Zigong from *Xunzi* book 27 (*SBCK* 19/20a–b; *KZJY* 1.9/pp. 4–5) that features Kongzi extracting lessons from various *Shi* couplets.

262. See Henderson 1991, pp. 100–133.

from the *Kong congzi* (p. 74), which pigeonholes the speeches within a matrix of traditional virtues.

One way to characterize the relationship between Kongzi sayings and canonical traditions is with a term borrowed from the title of the *Han Shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 (*Outward Commentary on Mr. Han's Odes*), a compilation of anecdotes capped with quotations from the *Shi*.[263] Instead of explicating a source text, an "outward commentary" (*wai zhuan* 外傳) demonstrates its didactic and rhetorical potential by applying its quotations to superficially unrelated material. Considered as a whole, the corpus of Kongzi sayings might also be described as an "outward commentary" of sorts insofar as Kongzi sayings often demonstrate the quotability of received textual traditions in various contexts. The myriad intersections between *Kongzi yue* sayings and canonical traditions may have also helped to create the impression that these disparate texts formed a single, internally coherent tradition anchored to Kongzi. Kongzi sayings were among threads that bound the tradition together. Little wonder, then, that Han authors looked to Kongzi as the creator of the Classics.

(7) *Kongzi sayings are prompts.* The independent Kongzi sayings I have labeled "Kongzi sayings as objects of commentary" functioned very differently from dependent Kongzi sayings. These brief, enigmatic nuggets of wisdom demand explanation in ways that dependent sayings do not, and thus reflect the perception that a sage like Kongzi needed to sound sagely. Unlike other sayings, prompt sayings seem to have been consciously designed to seem profound.

(8) *Kongzi sayings are shared intellectual property.* It comes as no surprise that the *Mengzi*

263. Hightower's (1952) translation of the title—*Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the* Classic of Songs—makes the same basic point. See also Hightower's entry on the *Hanshi waizhuan* in Loewe (ed.) 1993, p. 125.

孟子, *Xunzi* 荀子, and other texts retrospectively labeled "Ru 儒" frequently quoted Kongzi, whom they upheld as a sage. More surprising is the fact that intellectual rivals of the Ru, i.e., the thinkers retrospectively labeled as "legalist" (*fajia* 法家), "Mohist" (*mojia* 墨家), and "daoist" (*daojia* 道家), also made frequent use of Kongzi sayings.[264] Even in the *Mozi*, the Warring States text most critical of Kongzi and his teachings, we find Mozi himself defending his appeal to Kongzi as a source of quotable wisdom (p. 115).[265] Quoting Kongzi was clearly not an esoteric practice.

* * *

Let us also dwell for a moment on what my survey has left out. Unlike Sun Xingyan, who grouped Kongzi sayings in the *Kongzi jiyu* into fourteen chapters based largely (although not exclusively) on their content, I have not built philosophical or thematic considerations into my typology. Was this a mistake?[266]

Earlier I established a distinction between dependent sayings—sayings that exist in order to comment on or elaborate other texts—and independent sayings—those that present ideas worthy of consideration in their own right. An example of a dependent saying was the Kongzi comment on the Ci Fei anecdote in the *Lüshi chunqiu* which praises Ci Fei with language lifted directly from the anecdote itself (p. 48). My reluctance to focus on Kongzi's philosophy or doxography stems from my inability to discern any philosophical content whatsoever in the Ci Fei comment and similar sayings. In such instances, authors did not quote Kongzi for the content of his teach-

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264. See Nylan & Csikszentmihalyi 2003 for a critique of this taxonomy, whose earliest expression is *Shiji* 130.3288–3292. For a useful counterpoint, see Klein 2010, p. 45, n. 1.

265. The antagonists of the Ru depicted in the *Yantie lun* 鹽鐵論 (*Salt and Iron Discussions*), probably a late Western Han text, also regularly cited Kongzi to buttress their arguments.

266. For the argument that philosophy is crucial to understanding the genesis of the *Lunyu*, see Slingerland 2000 and Goldin 2011.

ings.[267] A *Kongzi yue* comment was a way to mark, to evaluate, and to expand upon another text. Here we might recall the "man of Chu lost his bow" episode from the *Lüshi chunqiu* which expressed the difference between Kongzi and Laozi primarily in terms of competing rhetorical strategies. Kongzi sayings deal with human universals and Laozi sayings with cosmological universals, and an early author could invoke either figure depending on the degree of "impartiality" (*gong* 公) or abstractness he was looking to express. To be clear, I do not deny that the ideas of Kongzi sayings mattered to Kongzi quoters. But demanding "philosophy" (however we define it) from Kongzi sayings prejudges the corpus by assigning uninformative sayings a secondary status.

What of Kongzi himself? Has my reluctance to tackle Kongzi biography disadvantaged my survey in any way?

Early Chinese texts preserve any number of Kongzis, not all of whom are familiar from the perspective of the later tradition.[268] The challenge facing those who would argue that early texts preserve at least *some* reliable information about the historical Kongzi is to determine which of these myriad Kongzis is the real one. Certainly nothing in this chapter rules out the possibility. But I hope to have demonstrated here that we need not commit ourselves to recovering the historical Kongzi in order to appreciate why early authors were so interested in quoting Kongzi. Kongzi sayings were valuable rhetorical resources in their own right irrespective of their relationship to the historical Kongzi.

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267. Denecke 2004, p. 143: "...Confucius did not matter so much for his arguments, but for his personal stature. The vast corpus of lore about the master seems more interested in rendering his charisma as a person rather than in transmitting a circumscribed and unified body of his teachings."

268. Compare Gu Jiegang's statement (1982, p. 130) that "each age has its very own Kongzi, and in each age there are all sorts of different Kongzis" (各時代有各時代的孔子，即在一個時代中也有種種不同的孔子呢). For the same point see Nylan & Wilson 2010, pp. 25–26.

On the other hand, even a Kongzi agnostic like myself has to acknowledge that many early authors professed a belief in Kongzi's historicity and in the accessibility of his teachings. One of these authors was Sima Qian, who described his personal view of Kongzi in a comment on the "Kongzi shijia":

> The Grand Scribe says, "There is a *Shi* that says, 'I gaze up at the lofty mountain, / I travel the great road.' Although I cannot reach him, my heart goes towards him. When I read the writings of Master Kong, I long to see him as a man. When I went to Lu, I saw Zhongni's temple, carriage, clothes, and ritual vessels, and various masters frequented his house practicing rituals. I left there only with great reluctance. Many are the lords and accomplished men who were renowned in their time yet died [and were forgotten]. Kongzi was a common man who for more than ten generations has been revered by scholars. From the Son of Heaven and the enfeoffed kings and lords, all those in the central states who speak of the Six Arts take Kongzi as their guide. He can be said to be a perfect sage."
>
> 太史公曰：詩有之：高山仰止，景行行止。雖不能至，然心鄉往之。余讀孔氏書，想見其為人。適魯，觀仲尼廟堂車服禮器，諸生以時習禮其家，余祗迴留之不能去云。天下君王至于賢人眾矣，當時則榮，沒則已焉。孔子布衣，傳十餘世，學者宗之。自天子王侯，中國言六藝者折中於夫子，可謂至聖矣。[269]

As Sima Qian's description of his travels reveals, Kongzi was much more than a purely textual presence at this moment in the Western Han. The figure of Kongzi united an entire community of ritual practitioners whose attachment to the historical Kongzi was presumably no less intense than Sima Qian's.

That same attachment seems to have motivated the following episode from the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan":

> After Kongzi died his disciples missed him dearly. Youruo resembled Kongzi and so Kongzi's disciples together set him up as their master and attended to him just as they had attended to Kongzi. One day the disciples entered to ask, "Previously when the Master was about to depart he had us carry rain gear, and before long it rained. A disciple asked him, 'How did you know that it would rain, Master?' The Master said, 'Does not the *Shi* say, "When the moon is in the Hyades there will be torrential rains."'[270] Last night wasn't the moon in the Hyades?'

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269. *Shiji* 47.1947. It should be noted that Huan Tan 桓譚 (43 BCE–28 CE) doubted the authenticity of *Taishigong yue* 太史公曰 (The Grand Scribe says) comments like this one, arguing in a fragment preserved in the *Quan Hou Han wen* (15/4b; p. 549) that they were authored by Dongfang Shuo 東方朔, an official active during Emperor Wu's reign.

270. Note that, once again, Kongzi's seemingly preternatural knowledge derives from his decidedly mundane familiarity with texts.

> Another day, the moon was in the Hyades but it didn't rain. Shang Que was old and childless and his mother arranged another wife for him. Kongzi sent him to Qi but his mother begged him not to. Kongzi said, 'Do not worry! Shang Que will have five sons after he is forty.' Sure enough Kongzi turned out to be right. We ask you, how did the Master know these things?" Youruo was silent and could not answer. The disciples all arose and said, "Master You should retire. This is not your seat!"
>
> 孔子既沒，弟子思慕，有若狀似孔子，弟子相與共立為師，師之如夫子時也。他日，弟子進問曰：昔夫子當行，使弟子持雨具，已而果雨。弟子問曰：夫子何以知之？夫子曰：詩不云乎？月離于畢，俾滂沱矣。昨暮月不宿畢乎？他日，月宿畢，竟不雨。商瞿年長無子，其母為取室。孔子使之齊，瞿母請之。孔子曰：無憂，瞿年四十後當有五丈夫子。已而果然。問夫子何以知此？有若默然無以應。弟子起曰：有子避之，此非子之座也！[271]

The episode's appeal for the intended audience of Sima Qian's Kongzi biography, who, like Kongzi's disciples, may have "dearly missed" Kongzi, seems clear. Yet it is striking that Kongzi's disciples fail miserably in their attempt to set up Youruo 有若, whose name translates as "Having a Likeness," in Kongzi's place. Like Sima Qian, who "could not reach [Kongzi] although his heart went toward him" (雖不能至，然心鄉往之), Kongzi's disciples could not "reach" (*zhi* 至) him despite presumably having first-hand knowledge of his words and deeds. In a shorter version of the story at *Mengzi* 3A/4, Zengzi scolds the other disciples for failing to understand that Kongzi's "brilliance could not be outdone" (皜皜乎不可尚已). The greater Kongzi's perceived virtue, the greater his unattainability.[272] By definition, Kongzi had to be much more than the sum of his sayings, a figure who transcended the limitations of ordinary human comprehension.

Other Han authors also struggled with their inability to adequately express Kongzi's magnificence. A dialogue from *Hanshi waizhuan* book eight and a number of parallel dialogues in *Shuiyuan* book eleven, "Shan shui 善説" ("Good at persuading"), feature interlocutors asking

271.*Shiji* 67.2216.

272.*SBCK* 5/14a; *KZJY* pp. 511–12.

Zigong to explain "what [Kongzi] was like" (*he ru* 何如) and Zigong answering that he "does not know" (*bu zhi* 不知).[273] In the *Hanshi waizhuan* version, Zigong then compares describing Kongzi to ascertaining the height of heaven, the breadth of the earth, or the depth of the oceans. Zigong's reputation as the most rhetorically gifted Kongzi disciple (e.g., in *Lunyu* 11/3) allows us to Zigong's failure not simply as a personal shortcoming but as a comment on the inadequacy of human language to capture Kongzi's greatness. In a similar vein, *Lunyu* 17/19 (p. 104) has Kongzi lamenting the need to rely on "sayings" (*yan* 言) to communicate his ideas. At the risk of imputing a modern obsession to ancient authors, I would suggest that such passages reflect a certain pessimism about the prospects of understanding Kongzi from the sayings and stories associated with him.

Nevertheless, early authors did venture descriptions of Kongzi, and I suspect that Kongzi quotation practice significantly shaped early Kongzi encomia, as in the following passage from *Hanshi waizhuan* book five:

> Kongzi had the heart of a sage. He moved about in the realm of the Way and of virtue and he wandered in the province of the formless. He relied on heavenly principles, observed human particulars, understood the beginnings and ends of things, and comprehended success and failure. Truly he made humaneness and propriety flourish and suppressed opportunism and profit-seeking; in so doing he maintained and nourished his [sage-heart]. In his time the House of Zhou was failing and the Kingly Way had been broken off. The feudal lords governed by force, the strong robbed the weak, the rich oppressed the poor, the people had no peace, and no one made rules for them. Ritual and propriety being destroyed, human relationships were not regulated. Whereupon Kongzi "From the west to the east / from the south to the north / crawled on his knees to help them."
>
> 孔子抱聖人之心，彷徨乎道德之域，逍遙乎無形之鄉，倚天理，觀人情，明終始，知得失。故興仁義，厭勢利，以持養之。於時周室微，王道絕，諸侯力政，強劫弱，眾暴寡，百姓靡安，莫之紀綱，禮儀廢壞，人倫不理。於是孔子自東自西，自南自北，匍匐救之。[274]

273.See *Hanshi waizhuan* 8 (*SBCK* 8/9a–b) and *Shuiyuan* 11 (*SBCK* 19a–20a).

274. *Hanshi waizhuan* 5 (*SBCK* 5/1b; *KZJY* 13/1; p. 274). Translation adapted from Hightower 1952, p. 160 (5/1). For a similar passage that stresses Kongzi's authorship of the *Chunqiu*, see *Chunqiu fanlu* 17, "Yu xu 俞序" (*SBCK* 6/5a).

Given that the *Hanshi waizhuan* is likely an early Western Han text at the earliest,[275] one obviously cannot take this passage as a first-person account of the historical Kongzi. But let us suppose that the *Hanshi waizhuan* represents a standard view of Kongzi in the Western Han period—what was *this* Kongzi based on? Perhaps what the *Hanshi waizhuan* described was, at least in part, the textual phenomenon called "Kongzi," i.e., the Kongzi of *Kongzi yue*. In other words, the encomium may be a description of the figure who must have existed in order to legitimize Kongzi quotation practice.

For instance, the claim that Kongzi "relied on heavenly patterns" (*yi tianli* 依天理) may be another way of saying that Kongzi sayings articulated principles of universal relevance. "Observed human particulars" (*guan renqing* 觀人情) is a useful motto for Kongzi comments on people, just as the phrase "understanding the ends and beginnings of things, and comprehending success and failure" (*ming zhongshi*, *zhi deshi* 明終始，知得失) might describe Kongzi comments on early anecdotal literature. The phrase "Making humaneness and propriety flourish and suppressing opportunism and materialism" captures the moral concerns of so many Kongzi sayings. The section beginning "the Kingly Way had been broken off" is a clichéd account of Spring and Autumn or Warring States history, the socio-political background for the anecdotes that so many Kongzi comments were attached to. And the *Shi* citation which expresses Kongzi's concern for the people might reflect the pervasiveness of Kongzi sayings in early texts. Kongzi did not belong to any one region or group because Kongzi quotation practice was an inter-state phenomenon.[276] Finally, the *Hanshi waizhuan* ties this praise together with a bit of psychologizing:

275.For the dating of the text, see Loewe (ed.) 1993, pp. 125–128.

276. Compare the *Han Feizi* book 49 *(SBCK 19/3a)* description of Kongzi as "a sage of the world" (*tianxia shengren* 天下聖人); the *Lüshi chunqiu* book 14/7 description of Kongzi as having "traveled throughout the world" (孔子周流海內); Kongzi's self-description in the *Liji*'s "Tan gong" (*SBCK* 3/2b; *KZJY* p. 518) as "a man of the north, south, east, and west" (東西南北之人); the *Shuiyuan*'s statement (*SBCK* 14/7b) that Kongzi "had no fixed

"Kongzi had the heart of a sage" (孔子抱聖人之心).

In a roundabout way we have hit upon an insight associated with Michel Foucault in his seminal essay "What is an Author?":

> [The author] does not develop spontaneously as the attribution of a discourse to an individual. It is, rather, the result of a complex operation which constructs a certain rational being that we call "author." Critics doubtless try to give this intelligible being a realistic status, by discerning, in the individual, a "deep" motive, a "creative" power, or a "design," the milieu in which writing originates. Nevertheless, these aspects of an individual which we designate as making him an author are only a projection, in more or less psychologizing terms, of the operations that we force texts to undergo, the connections that we make, the traits that we establish as pertinent, the continuities that we recognize, or the exclusions that we practice. All these operations vary according to periods and types of discourse.[277]

Translated into early Chinese terms, statements about Kongzi were, at least in part, a by-product of statements attributed to Kongzi. "Kongzigraphy"—my term for the representation of Kongzi—was contingent on the practice of Kongzi quotation. Occasionally, an author even drew attention to this contingency with his handling of a Kongzi saying, as in the following *Huainanzi* passage:

> When Zilu saved a drowning man and received an ox as thanks, Kongzi said, "The people of Lu will always love to to save others from calamity." When Zigong ransomed someone but did not accept payment from the state treasury, Kongzi said, "The state of Lu will not ransom anyone again." Zilu received something and encouraged virtue, whereas Zigong declined something and put a stop to goodness. Kongzi's perspicacity was such that he used the small to understand the great and the near to understand the far, and was thereby penetrating in his assessments.
>
> 子路撜溺而受牛謝，孔子曰："魯國必好救人於患。"子贛贖人，而不受金於府，孔子曰："魯國不復贖人矣。"子路受而勸德，子贛讓而止善。孔子之明，以小知大，以近知遠，通於論者也。[278]

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dwelling" (無定處); and Huan Tan's (*Quan Hou Han wen* 14/5a) rhetorical question in the *Xinlun*: "In the past how could Zhongni have only been the Kongzi of the state of Lu? He was also the sage of Qi [in the east] and Chu [in the south]" (昔仲尼豈獨是魯孔子？亦齊、楚聖人也。). But note the *Zhuangzi*'s (SBCK 5/43b; KZJY 17.1/pp. 384–86) typically contrarian assertion that Kongzi was simply "an accomplished man from the north" (北方之賢者也).

277. Foucault 1979, p. 150. David Schaberg (2005, p. 15) reaches a similar conclusion about such judgments: "From one point of view, writings of this sort are loving records of an intellectual ancestor's views. From another, however, they amount to personifications of the rhetorical function described above. A judgment that enjoyed some currency—that was perhaps not quite a commonplace, but close to it—was matched with the figure of an important personage, and thenceforth personage and saying enjoyed a sort of synergy."

278. *Huainanzi* 11 (*SBCK* 11/2a; *KZJY* 10/47; p. 229).

Kongzi was "perspicacious" and "penetrating in his assessments" because his two sayings were "perspicacious" and "penetrating." The sayings themselves were the clearest proof of Kongzi's acuity.

At the same time, to claim that representations of Kongzi were completely contingent on Kongzi quotation practice goes too far. In determining the precise relationship between Kongzi sayings and the figure of Kongzi we face a chicken-and-egg conundrum**.** Before the first author invoked a *Kongzi yue* saying he presumably would have had some familiarity with a "Kongzi" as well as an expectation that his audience would recognize this figure. But from that point forward, the representation of Kongzi must have evolved in a dynamic relationship with Kongzi sayings. Innovations in Kongzi attributions expanded the imagination of Kongzi, which then produced more Kongzi attributions, which then expanded that imagination even further.

Another way that Kongzi sayings influenced attitudes about Kongzi was by challenging those attitudes.[279] As we have seen, authors whose ideological commitments required a certain image of Kongzi sometimes had to refute Kongzi quotations that challenged those commitments. In the course of those refutations, they developed strategies for defending and promoting their own versions of Kongzi, who came to stand above and beyond the words attributed to him. This phenomenon corroborates another of Foucault's insights:

> The author is the principle of thrift in the proliferation of meaning...[T]he author is not an indefinite source of significations which fill a work; the author does not precede the works, he is a certain functional principle by which, in our culture, one limits, excludes, and chooses; in short, by which one impedes the free circulation, the free manipulation, the free composition, decomposition, and recomposition of fiction. In fact, if we are accustomed to presenting the author as a genius, as a perpetual surging of invention, it is because, in reality, we make him function in exactly the opposite fashion. One can say that the author is an ideological product, since we represent him as the opposite of his historically real function...The author is therefore

279.Nyaln & Wilson 2010, p. 29: "Without his critics, Confucius would be nothing. Like a portrait bust sculpted by subtraction, the face of Kongzi emerging in the Han and pre-Han sources is defined by swift strikes aimed at the Master by his many detractors."

> the ideological figure by which one marks the manner in which we fear the proliferation of meaning.[280]

While the diversity of Kongzi sayings in the early period testifies to the vibrancy of the genre, that diversity was also a threat to those like the *Mengzi* author who sought to promote a purer, more predictable Kongzi. In the next chapter I chart the rise of the *Lunyu* Kongzi and the attendant disciplining of Kongzi quotation practice.

280. Foucault 1979, p. 159.

CHAPTER TWO:

A Brief History of Confucius Quotation Practice, 220 CE–4th century BCE

A crucial element missing from my survey of Kongzi sayings in chapter one is the historical perspective. Although useful for illustrating the breadth and diversity of early Kongzi sayings, the modern compiler's luxury of treating individual Kongzi sayings as members of a single, synchronic corpus also distorts the picture in various ways. Not every kind of Kongzi saying was available for quotation in every period or every context, either because the evolving image of Kongzi constrained Kongzi quotation practice in new ways or because of the shifting fortunes of the texts which served as sources of Kongzi sayings. How did Kongzi quotation practice change over the course of the early period? What triggered those changes? And what role did specific texts play in these developments?

Kongzi quotation practice in the last two millennia has been dominated by the *Lunyu* and to a lesser extent by Kongzi material contained in the Five (or Six or Seven or Nine or Thirteen) Classics.[281] When one looks back at this tradition of Kongzi quotation and the countless authors who peppered their texts with *Lunyu* quotations, references, and allusions, be they emperors or statesmen, commentators or philosophers, poets or proselytizers, it can seem as though the *Lunyu* is as old as the Chinese tradition itself.

But the *Lunyu*'s authority was not a historical constant. To demonstrate this point, in this chapter I survey early quotation practice beginning from the end of the early period and moving backwards through the Eastern Han (25–220), Xin 新 (9–23), Western Han 西漢 (205 BCE–9

281. The term "Seven Classics" (*qi jing* 七經), i.e., the Six Classics plus the *Lunyu*, first appears in the Eastern Han period. For references, see p. 156 below.

CE), and Qin (221–206 BCE) empires before concluding in the Warring States period (5th century–221 BCE). I argue that Kongzi quotation practice can be divided into two distinct phases: a post-*Lunyu* phase in which authors regularly invoked the *Lunyu* when quoting Kongzi, and a pre-*Lunyu* phase in which Kongzi quotations exhibit little to no overlap with *Lunyu* sayings. The more familiar textual milieu from the perspective of the later tradition is the Eastern Han, Xin, and late Western Han, a time when the authority of both Kongzi and of the *Lunyu* was well-established. But as our survey moves into the early Western Han, Qin, and Warring States periods the familiar will give way to the unfamiliar as the *Lunyu*'s influence becomes difficult if not impossible to detect, even when Kongzi's authority as a source of masterful sayings remains constant.

Kongzi quotation practice in the early period: The Big Picture

The graphs on pages 139–141 summarize the results of my survey of early Kongzi sayings. Graph 1 lists the most significant sources of Kongzi quotations from the Eastern Han (25–220 CE) period, graph 2 those from the Western Han (205 BCE–9 CE), and graph 3 from the pre-Han era.[282] Blue (or dark grey if not viewed in color) bars represent the total number of Kongzi attributions in a given text, green (or light grey) bars represent Kongzi quotations which have close parallels in the *Lunyu* and thus might be considered *Lunyu* quotations. Numbers within the diamonds indicate Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels as a percentage of the total number of Kongzi quotations in a given text. Graded yellow (or graded grey) bars indicate the number of

282. By "significant sources" I mean texts that quote Kongzi more than once or twice.

explicit *Lunyu* attributions, i.e., quotations marked by *Lunyu yue* 論語曰 ("the *Lunyu* says") or some variation thereof.

I have made every effort to arrange texts in chronological order from bottom to top. However, the uncertain dating and heterogeneous nature of so many early texts makes this difficult, if not possible.[283] For texts whose chronology is relatively certain I have included tentative dates to serve as points of reference.[284] However, the near certainty that many of these texts evolved into their present form over the course of the early period and beyond makes all such dates extremely provisional. For a few large compilations, e.g., the *Liji* and *Shiji*, I have listed the data for specific chapters as well as for the entire text.

My method for counting Kongzi attributions and for identifying attributions with *Lunyu* parallels will become clearer in my discussion of specific examples below, but a few points should be noted at the outset. First, my data for Kongzi attributions and *Lunyu* parallels include explicit attributions (i.e., sayings prefaced by *Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 and its variants) as well as possible implicit attributions, e.g., when *Mengzi* 7B/37 describes Kongzi with words attributed to Kongzi in the *Lunyu*: "Mengzi said, 'Kongzi could not find men of the middle Way to associate with...'" (孟子曰：孔子不得中道而與之...).[285] Even without the *Kongzi yue* quotation marker, here the explicit association with Kongzi at least marks it as a possible *Lunyu* quotation. Unattributed *Lunyu* parallels that do not at least mention Kongzi in some way have not been included in my

283. Although it is in need of revision, Michael Loewe's (ed.) *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* is still the best introduction to the chronology of early received texts.

284. My (rather cautious) approach here might be contrasted with that of Paul Fischer in his 2009 article "Intertextuality in Early Chinese Masters-Texts: Shared Narratives in *Shi Zi*." Despite his thoughtfulness on the question of parallels, Fischer seems to take for granted that early masters-texts can be dated according to the lifespan of their eponymous authors.

285. *Mengzi* 7B/37 (*SBCK* 14/16a–b; *KZJY* pp. 516–17). I discuss *Mengzi* 7B/37 in greater detail on p. 204.

data set. I address such parallels at the conclusion of the chapter.

As a general rule, the criteria for determining whether or not two texts are "parallel" will vary according to the interests of the surveyor.[286] Since I am primarily concerned with determining the extent of the *Lunyu*'s influence and circulation in the early period, the phrase "*Lunyu* parallel" will mean "a piece of text which is similar enough to the *Lunyu* that one might plausibly interpret it as a quotation of the *Lunyu*." Here the word "might" is crucial: a *Lunyu* parallel is only a candidate *Lunyu* quotation.[287] As I will argue below, there were *Lunyu* parallels long before there were actual *Lunyu* quotations.

In my terminology, a "*Lunyu* parallel" is both verbally and syntactically similar to a *Lunyu* saying.[288] It will share at least three words with a *Lunyu* entry (although graphic and semantic variants are permissible) and those words will be related to one another in a similar way.[289] Similar themes or ideas will not count as "parallels" unless they are expressed in similar language. For instance, book 22 of the *Xunzi*, "Zheng ming 正名" ("Rectifying names"), contains four instances of the two-word phrase *zheng ming* 正名, which also appears at *Lunyu* 13/3 ("I would invariably rectify names!" [*bi ye zheng ming hu* 必也正命乎]). But since the specific context in the

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286.Fischer 2009, p. 4: "Judging which passages are 'similar enough' to warrant being counted as 'parallel' is a subjective matter and will always be problematic."

287.Schultz 1999, p. 142: "[N]ot every parallel is a quotation or involves some type of literary dependence. Formulae and stereotypical phrases often appear to be similar to quotations, but simply reflect standardized expressions for describing characteristics, gestures, common actions, as well as repeated natural phenomena. Proverbs are also problematic since they combine striking formulation with a complete, though often generally applicable, thought. Proverbs may be considered to be a type of quotation, since similar introductory formulae are sometimes used. Yet the ideas of origin or authorship and of context, which are inherent elements of true quotation, are lacking."

288.Here I follow Schultz (1999, p. 222).

289.Compare Schultz (1999, p. 19, 217) on "verbal parallels." For Schultz as well, verbal parallelism does not imply "verbal dependence," i.e., quotation proper. He prefers to restrict quotation to instances "in which an exegetical purpose in reusing earlier material can be demonstrated or where an understanding of the earlier text and context is helpful, if not essential, for a proper interpretation of the new text" (p. 221ff). Christiane Haupt (2006, p. 22) in her study of *Lunyu* parallels uses a four-character standard.

Xunzi looks nothing like the *Lunyu* version, I do not count the phrase *zheng ming* 正名 as a "parallel."[290]

The high degree of variability among parallel Kongzi sayings has forced me to make numerous subjective decisions about whether a given Kongzi quotation truly counts as a *Lunyu* parallel. In the case of Eastern Han texts, for which the question of the *Lunyu*'s influence can be answered straightforwardly, it matters relatively little whether one among hundreds of possible *Lunyu* quotations counts as a *Lunyu* parallel. But for the Warring States and early Western Han, periods for which the existence of the *Lunyu* is very much in doubt, a great deal hinges on the analysis of a handful of parallels. Consequently, when identifying possible *Lunyu* parallels in Warring States and Western Han texts I have used a much laxer standard than for later texts, with the result that my data for *Lunyu* parallels in Graph 3 also include Kongzi attributions which vary significantly from their *Lunyu* counterparts.

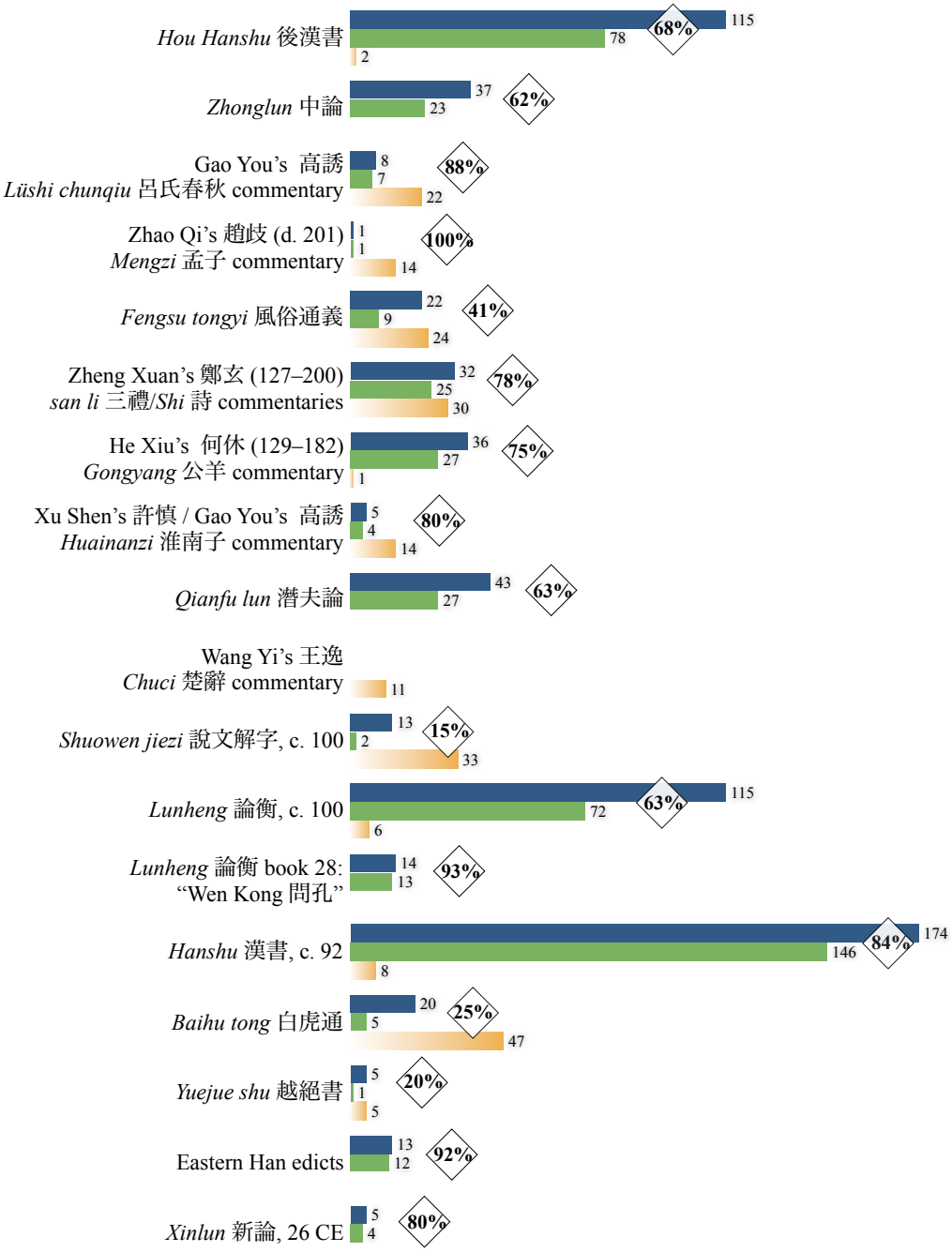
Consider the parallels to *Lunyu* 13/18 listed in Appendix 2:A. In the progression from the late third-century *Lüshi chunqiu* passage to the Western Han *Hanshi waizhuan* and Eastern Han *Baihu tongyi* we see a typical example of *Lunyu* parallel variability. Even when Warring States-era parallels can be found for a given *Lunyu* passage, those parallels tend to have more numerous and more significant variants than parallels from later periods. Although the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Lunyu* versions share a similar context (the Upright Self story) and interest (father-son relations and the question of "honesty" [*xin* 信] or "uprightness" [*zhi* 直]), the differences between them (e.g., using the Duke of She as an interlocutor instead of the king of Chu) and the accompanying Kongzi sayings are substantial enough to make the *Lüshi chunqiu* version seem an unlikely *Lun-*

290. See Fischer 2009 for a list of 24 kinds of intertextuality in early Chinese texts. Since my goal in this chapter is to date the *Lunyu* and not to study intertextuality per se, I am not concerned with such fine-grained distinctions.

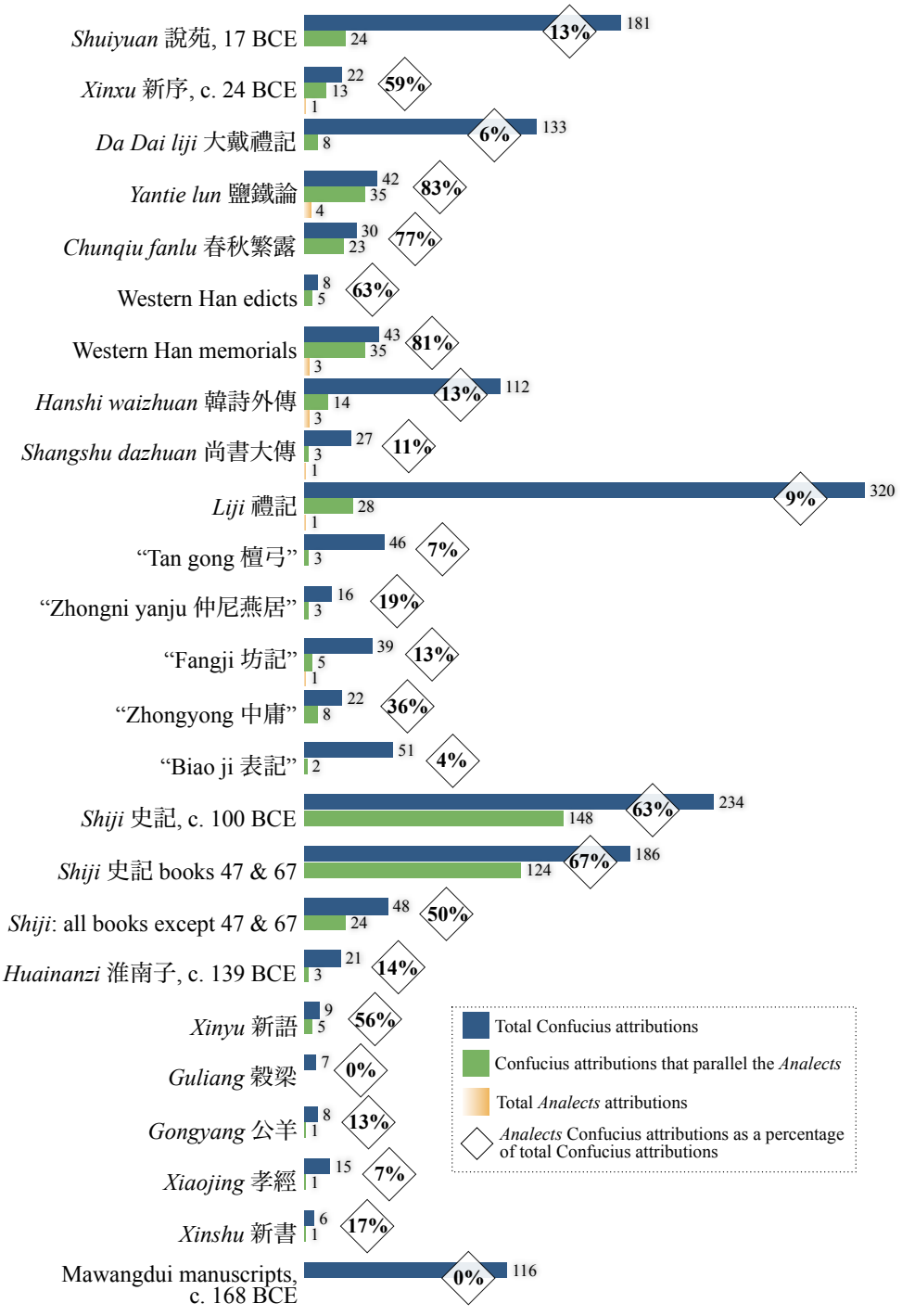
yu quotation. In contrast, save for a slight variation in the order of its Kongzi saying ("sons and fathers" instead of "fathers and sons") the *Hanshi waizhuan* version is a word-for-word quotation of *Lunyu* 13/18. The even later *Baihu tongyi* not only corrects the variant in the *Hanshi waizhuan*, it removes any doubt about the origin of the saying by naming its source: "The *Lunyu* says" (*Lunyu yue* 論語曰). In my survey of Kongzi quotations, all three versions count as "*Lun-yu* parallels" even though the *Lüshi chunqiu* version is probably not a "*Lunyu* quotation," i.e., a conscious borrowing from a *Lunyu* text.

* * *

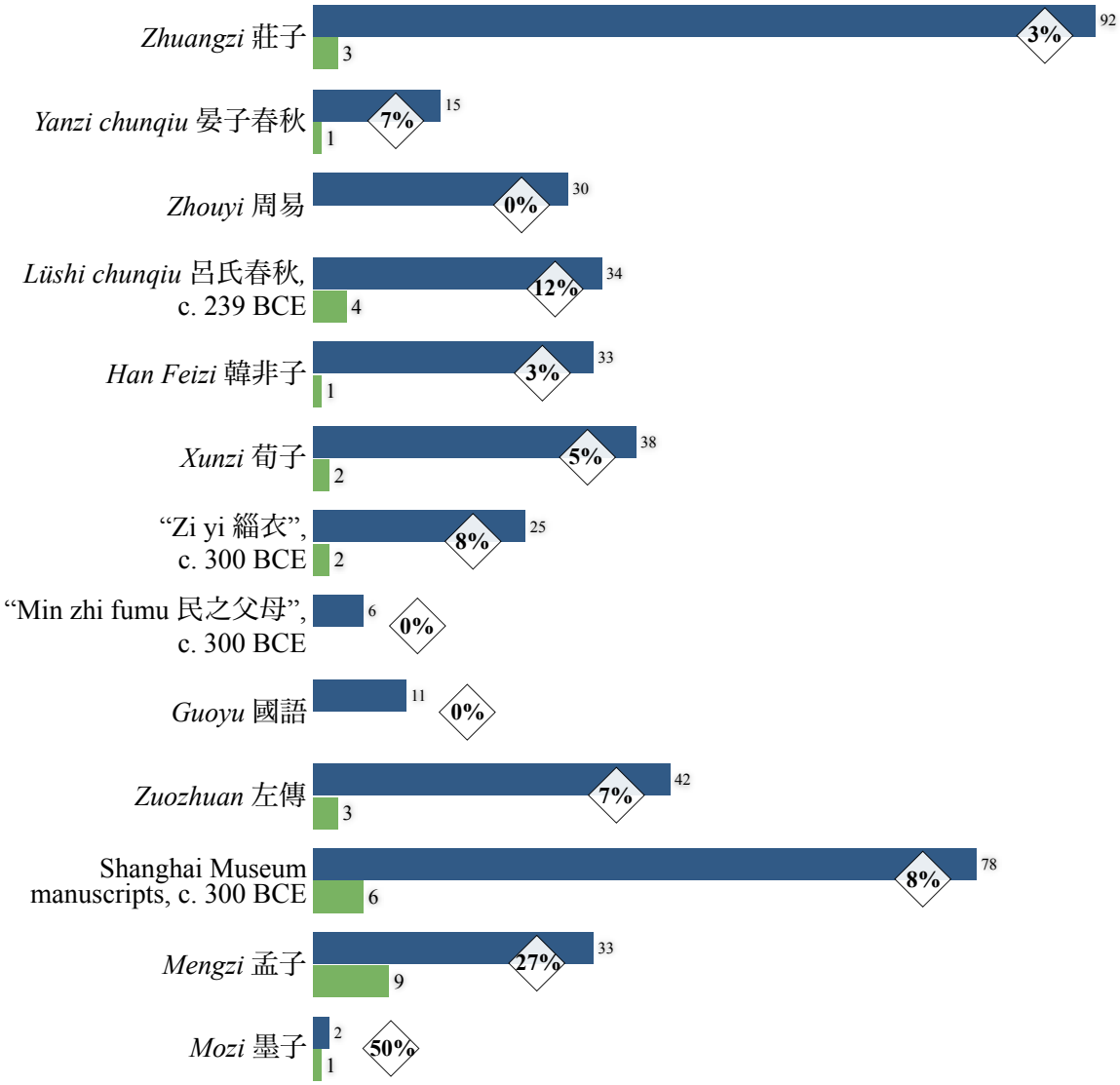
Graph 1: Kongzi sayings in Xin and Eastern Han texts (9 CE–220 CE)



Graph 2: Kongzi sayings in Western Han texts (205 BCE–9 CE)



Graph 3: Kongzi sayings in pre-Han texts (5th century–205 BCE)



* * *

A significant shift in Kongzi quotation practice is evident in the contrast between the Eastern Han (graph 1) and pre-Han eras (graph 3). Although a wealth of texts in both periods quote Kongzi and/or the anonymous Master, Warring States texts contain zero instances in which an author explicitly attributes something to the *Lunyu*. Even more remarkably, Warring States texts include a much lower percentage of Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels compared to Eastern Han texts. By my (very rough) count, roughly 70% of Eastern Han Kongzi attributions parallel the *Lunyu* as opposed to 9% in the pre-Han era. Keep in mind that the 9% figure is significantly inflated because it also includes parallels with substantial variants like the *Lunyu* 13/18 parallel in the *Lüshi chunqiu* discussed above.

If the Warring States and Eastern Han periods represent two extremes of Kongzi quotation practice, the Western Han period falls somewhere in between. Some texts, e.g., the *Shiji*, look more like Eastern Han texts insofar as they include a relatively high percentage of *Lunyu* parallels. On the other hand, texts like the *Huainanzi* and *Liji* do not appear to privilege *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings over non-*Lunyu* sayings. The *Shiji*/*Huainanzi* comparison is particularly striking. Both texts are very large compendia (just under 600,000 characters for the *Shiji* and over 130,000 characters for the *Huainanzi*), both were conceived as comprehensive *summa*, and both were compiled (at least in part) during the reign of Emperor Wu (141–87 BCE). Nonetheless, these two texts use *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings to very different degrees very differently to *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings, with 63% of the *Shiji*'s Kongzi sayings having parallels in the *Lunyu* compared to 14% of the *Huainanzi*'s. Thus it would seem that the few decades between the submission of the *Huainanzi* in 139 BCE at the beginning of Emperor Wu's reign and the compilation of the *Shiji* towards the end of Emperor Wu's reign marked a turning point in the influence of *Lunyu* Kongzi

sayings. Early Western Han texts (with the possible exception of Lu Jia's 陸賈 [d. c. 140 BCE] *Xinyu* 新語)[291] do not appear to privilege *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings, whereas late Western Han texts make frequent use of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings and also quote the *Lunyu* explicitly.

But these numbers can only take us so far. As we will see below, post-*Lunyu* authors did not just quote the *Lunyu* more often than pre-*Lunyu* authors, they also treated it as if it was an authoritative and recognizable text. The *Lunyu*'s absence in the pre-Han era is felt just as keenly in the way that pre-Han authors handled Kongzi sayings compared to post-*Lunyu* authors.

The Eastern Han (25–220 CE)

• Edicts

Let us begin with the event that formally ended the Eastern Han period, Cao Pi 曹丕's (187–226) accession in 220 CE as Emperor Wen of the Wei dynasty 魏文帝 (r. 220–226). Even though the Liu 劉 clan had long since lost de facto control of the empire, declaring an end to the Han dynasty was no trivial matter. Cao Pi's father, the warlord Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220), had begun laying the groundwork for this transition in the years leading up to his death on March 15, 220. Having already seized the nominal Han Emperor Xian 漢獻帝 (r. 189–220) in 196, in 216 he declared himself King of Wei 魏王 besides assuming a number of other imperial prerogatives.[292] Cao Pi's official accession on December 11th, 220, was preceded by a month-long rhetorical ex-

291. The dating of this particular text is extremely problematic. See Loewe (ed.) 1993, pp. 171–177, for critiques of its authenticity.

292. Goodman 1998, p. 56, has a useful summary of these steps.

change in which Emperor Xian and Cao Pi's officials cited various omens and historical precedents to urge him to ascend the throne as emperor,[293] and Cao Pi, in turn, coyly refused, professing his inferior virtue and his reverence for heaven's mandate (*tian ming* 天命).

The Cao Pi accession materials are a veritable sourcebook of dynastic legitimacy detailing the precedents, political theories, and textual authorities that truly mattered to Cao Pi and his multiple constituencies. Not surprisingly, one of the more frequently invoked authorities in these materials was Kongzi.[294] On November 23rd, 220, a group of officials headed by Investigator of the Army and Palace Assistant Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179–251), who in 249 would wrest control of the Wei dynasty from the Cao clan, submitted a memorial which included this quotation of *Lunyu* 9/9:

> We subjects have heard that when the era of Yao went into decline the mandate of heaven was then to be found in Shun. When Shun's era declined the mandate was to be found in Yu. This being the case, the numinous power of heaven and earth, calendrical cycles, and omens concerning the dismissal and appointment of [rulers] depend solely on virtue. Thus Kongzi said, "The phoenix does not come, the river gives forth no chart. It is all over with me!"
>
> 臣等聞有唐世衰，天命在虞，虞氏世衰，天命在夏；然則天地之靈，曆數之運，去就之符，惟德所在。故孔子曰：鳳鳥不至，河不出圖，吾已矣夫！[295]

Even by this time, the memorial's core argument—that rulers like Cao Pi should respect heaven's mandate—was one of the oldest clichés in the Chinese tradition. But its invocation of Kongzi was rather artful. According to one early commentator, *Lunyu* 9/9 expressed Kongzi's "grief that he could not see" (*shang bu de jian* 傷不得見) a sage-ruler in his lifetime whose virtue was great enough to trigger the auspicious omens of the phoenix and river chart.[296] Sima

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293. According to the *Sanguo zhi* (2.62), the event that precipitated this exchange was Emperor Xian's 漢獻帝 determination on November 19th that "the hopes of the masses depend on Wei" (*zhong wang zai Wei* 眾望在魏).

294. Cao Pi also established regular sacrifices to Kongzi in an edict dated to 221. See *Sanguo zhi* 2.77–78.

295. *Sanguo zhi* 2.66. Translation adapted from Goodman 1998, p. 112. In another memorial begging Cao Pi to take the throne, his Three Excellencies (*san gong* 三公) explicitly cited *Lunyu* 16/8 to remind him that "the *Lunyu* says that 'the *junzi* fears Heaven's mandate'" (論語云：君子畏天命). See *Sanguo zhu* 2.73.

296. This is the *Kong yue* 孔曰 layer of the *Lunyu jijie* 論語集解 (*Collected Explications of the Lunyu*). See *Lunyu*

Yi used *Lunyu* 9/9 to contrast Kongzi's situation with his own: unlike Kongzi, Cao Pi's subjects could rejoice that they lived under a ruler as virtuous as Cao Pi—provided, of course, that Cao Pi would actually acknowledge his virtue and claim the mandate.

In his reply to Sima Yi et al., Cao Pi quoted *Lunyu* 4/14 to rebut *Lunyu* 9/9:

> What this age lacks is the Way and propriety, but it has negligence and foolishness in abundance. The average person is predisposed to belittle what he lacks and to value what he has in abundance. Thus it is said, "One does not worry about lacking an official position; one worries about having the means to establish oneself." Since I have little virtue, I hope to avoid the average person's [fault of] valuing [what he has in abundance].
>
> 世之所不足者道義也，所有餘者苟妄也；常人之性，賤所不足，貴所有餘，故曰：不患無位，患所以立。孤雖寡德，庶自免于常人之貴。[297]

Against Sima Yi's invocation of Kongzi as an authority on the virtue of rulers Cao Pi pointed to Kongzi as a model for prioritizing the cultivation of personal virtue over official service. Kongzi may have urged the rulers of his day to heed the mandate of heaven, Cao Pi argued, but he also urged individuals to "establish" (*li* 立) themselves before all else. Cao Pi appealed to this Kongzi again when he concluded the same memorial with a quotation of *Lunyu* 9/26: "Thus it is said, 'One can rob the Three Armies of their general but one cannot rob a commoner of his will.' How can I be robbed of this will of mine?" (故曰：三軍可奪帥，匹夫不可奪志。吾之斯志，豈可奪哉？).[298] The *Lunyu* was apparently a natural choice to communicate Cao Pi's modesty and steadfastness in the face of his officials' flattery, a pose which ultimately enhanced his image as a uniquely virtuous ruler.[299]

Cao Pi was breaking with the Han dynastic tradition at this moment, but in his use of the

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jishi p. 589.

297.*Sanguo zhi* 2.66–67.

298.*Sanguo zhi* 2.67.

299.While the *Lunyu* dominated Kongzi quotation practice at the imperial level, it was not the only text that emperors appealed to when quoting Kongzi. Cao Pi in another document referenced a Kongzi anecdote from the *Zhuangzi* in which Kongzi is said to have taken a certain Wang Tai 王駘 as his teacher. See *Sanguo zhi* 2.69.

Lunyu he certainly did not break with Han rhetorical tradition of invoking Kongzi and the *Lunyu* on the imperial stage. Cao Pi's father Cao Cao and several Eastern Han rulers before him were accustomed to quoting Kongzi and the *Lunyu* in their official proclamations, just as their officials quoted Kongzi and the *Lunyu* in their memorials. According to one early source, quoting Kongzi was not simply a matter of rhetorical ornamentation. A 31 CE memorial submitted by Zhu Fu 朱浮 (d. 57), one of Emperor Guangwu's 光武帝 (r. 25–57) closest allies in the wars which preceded the establishment of the Eastern Han, urged the emperor to commit himself to the imperial academy (*taixue* 太學) and the selection of erudites (*boshi* 博士) "so as to ensure that the sayings of the sage Kongzi are transmitted without end" (使孔聖之言傳而不絕。).[300] Judging from extant Eastern Han edicts, Guangwu and later emperors took this advice to heart (see Appendix 2:B). All told, of the eighteen extant Eastern Han edicts which quote or explicitly reference Kongzi, sixteen draw their Kongzi quotations from the *Lunyu*.[301] Eastern Han emperors' near exclusive use of the *Lunyu* when quoting Kongzi is one of the surest proofs of its authority in the period. Not even the Kongzi sayings preserved in the Five Classics could compete with *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings on an imperial stage.[302]

This edict issued by Emperor Zhang 章帝 (r. 57–88 BCE) in 80 CE quoted *Lunyu* 13/3, the very same Kongzi saying invoked by Emperor Guangwu in 26 CE (p. 101):

> <A>Kongzi said, "When punishments are wrongly applied the people have nowhere to place their hands and feet." <B>Nowadays many officials are immoral. They arrogate authority and act only for their own gratification or out of anger. When handling cases some disregard

300.*Hou Hanshu* 33.1144.

301.A handful of other sayings incorporated *Lunyu* sayings without attribution. See the edicts of 70 CE (*Hou Hanshu* 2.117) and 79 CE (*Hou Hanshu* 10A.414).

302.The *Hou Hanshu* records that three Eastern Han emperors, Emperors Ming 明帝 (r. 58–75), Zhang 章帝 (r. 75–88) in 85, and An 安帝 (r. 106–125), personally sacrificed to Kongzi. See *Hou Hanshu* 2.118, 3.149–150, and 5.238. In 178 CE, paintings of Kongzi and his seventy-two disciples were placed in the Hongdu Palace 鴻都門 (*Hou Hanshu* 50b.1998). On the development of the cult of Kongzi in the Han, see also Shryock 1966, Huang Jinxing 1994, pp. 185–246, and Nylan & Wilson, pp 72–73.

> suspects' guilt or innocence, and they oppress the innocent to the point that those driven to suicide in a single year outnumber those who receive a verdict. This is certainly not what is meant by "being a father and mother to others."[303] <C>Let the appropriate authorities debate the impeachment of such officials.
>
> 孔子曰：刑罰不中，則人無所措手足。今吏多不良，擅行喜怒，或案不以罪，迫脅無辜，致令自殺者，一歲且多於斷獄，甚非為人父母之意也。有司其議糾舉之。[304]

The edicts preserved in the Han histories typically consist of three sections: (A) a statement of principles, (B) a critique of contemporary circumstances (usually marked with *jin* 今 [nowadays]) in light of those principles, and (C) the final command (marked with the modal particle *qi* 其).[305] Kongzi sayings were not specific or relevant enough to describe contemporary affairs, and only the emperor's own words had the requisite authority to serve as commands. But Kongzi sayings were tailor-made sources for the general principles which ostensibly motivated imperial policy-making. Put simply, emperors' Kongzi quotations were proof texts, quotations which corroborated the thinking behind the policies. This is precisely how the quotation of *Lunyu* 13/3 functions in Emperor Zhang's edict above. Juxtaposed with his description of contemporary judicial practices, the Kongzi saying underlined Emperor Zhang's dissatisfaction with the status quo and cast his policy announcement as a sincere effort to bring contemporary governance in line with classical ideals.[306] When uttered by emperors, quotations like this one must have also rein-

303. This is a reference to the *Mao Shi* #251, "Jiong zhuo 泂酌" ("At the Wayside Pool").

304. *Hou Hanshu* 3.140. Loewe 2004, pp. 522–46, is an excellent overview of Han imperial edicts. One must always keep in mind when dealing with Han edicts that "with some very few exceptions, the texts of decrees that are included in the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* are abbreviated versions of original documents" (p. 528). Moreover, "not all the decrees that an emperor or his advisors issued were included in the histories" (p. 548).

305. However, see Sanft 2007–2008 for a study and translation of a late Western Han edict discovered on the wall of an outpost at Xuanquan 懸泉, Dunhuang 敦煌 commandery. If this document, "the sole example of a more or less complete, Han-era imperial edict" (p. 126), is at all representative of actual edicts from the period, then the received edicts preserved in the histories must have originally consisted of many more sections.

306. Loewe 2004, p. 522: "Citing as they do from texts that were coming to be revered as sacred, or referring as they may to the ethical ideals ascribed to the masters, some decrees reveal a growing respect for the authority and lessons of the past."

forced the *Lunyu*'s status as a uniquely authoritative source of Kongzi sayings.

• Commentaries

The proliferation of *Lunyu* commentaries in the Eastern Han is yet another index of the text's prestige in the period. The *Lunyu jijie* 論語集解 (*Collected Explications of the Lunyu*), a text thought to have been compiled by He Yan 何晏 (190–249) not long after the fall of the Eastern Han,[307] preserves selections from eight Han-era *Lunyu* commentaries.[308] Less important for our purposes than the substance of these commentaries is the mere fact that the *Lunyu* had attracted so much scholarly interest by the end of the Han. Two of these *Lunyu* commentators, Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166) and Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), were among the most illustrious scholars of their time.[309]

Commentaries on other texts are in many ways a more revealing measure of the *Lunyu*'s influence because they show the extent to which it had come to permeate Eastern Han scholarly discourse. The table at Appendix 2:C describes the distribution of Kongzi sayings in nine extant commentaries from the Eastern Han, all of which regularly attribute quotations to both Kongzi

307. See Makeham 1999 for the argument that the *Lunyu jijie* was not the work of a single compiler.

308. According to the *Lunyu jijie* preface (*SBCK* 1/1a–3a; *Shisan jing zhushu* 11.2454ff), these are: Kong Anguo's 孔安國 (fl. Emperor Wu's reign, 141–87 BCE) *xunjie* 訓解 (glosses and explanations), the *zhangju* 章句 (chapter-and-verse commentary) of Mr. Zhou 周氏 and Bao Xian 包咸 (d. 65 CE), Ma Rong's (79–166) *xunshuo* (glosses and explanations), Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (127–200) *zhu* 注 (commentary), and the *yishuo* 義說 (explanations of the meaning) of Chen Qun 陳群 (d. 236), Wang Su 王肅 (195–256), and Zhousheng Lie 周生烈 (195–256). With the exception of Kong Anguo, all of these men lived during the late Western Han or later. But the identification of the *Kong yue* 孔曰 (Kong said) layer of commentary with Kong Anguo is problematic. The "Yiwen zhi" bibliography (*Hanshu* 30.1716–17) preserves no mention of a Kong Anguo bibliography even though it elsewhere credits Kong Anguo, a supposed descendent of Kongzi, with having "obtained" (*de* 得) and "submitted" (*xian* 獻) several Kongzi-related texts.

309. For brief biographies of Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan, see de Crespigny 2007, pp. 648–49 & 1126–28. For a study of Zheng Xuan's *Lunyu* commentary, see Makeham 1997.

and the *Lunyu*. While 64 (78%) of their 82 *Kongzi yue* sayings are likely *Lunyu* quotations, they also explicitly quote the *Lunyu* in 94 instances.[310]

In contrast to Eastern Han emperors, Eastern Han commentators used Kongzi sayings not as proof texts but as useful points of reference. For commentator and audience alike, the *Lunyu* was a reliable touchstone for contextualizing the language and ideas of the texts commented on. In this respect, it was valued first and foremost as a source of recognizable language and concepts, not as a source of Kongzi's teachings. This function also helps to explain the form of commentators' *Lunyu* quotations, which are often abbreviated and thus rather opaque for readers unfamiliar with the source.

Consider the following examples from Wang Yi's 王逸 (fl. c. 120 CE) *Chuci* commentary, the Xu Shen 許慎 (c. 55–c. 149)/Gao You 高誘 (c. 168–212) *Huainanzi* commentary,[311] and Zhao Qi's 趙岐 (129–82) *Mengzi* commentary:

Li sao 離騷 (*Encountering Sorrow*)	*Wang Yi's commentary*
It is the reckless pleasure of the cliques.	"Cliques" are companions. *Lunyu* [15/22] says, "Be companionable without being cliquish." "Reckless" means careless.
惟夫黨人之偷樂兮...	黨，朋也。論語曰：朋而不黨。偷，苟且也。[312]

310.Zhao Qi's preface adds four more Kongzi sayings (three of which parallel the *Lunyu*) and He Xiu's *Gongyang* preface adds one additional Kongzi saying of unknown origin.

311.The Xu Shen/Gao You commentaries were woven together at some point in their transmission history, making the identification of distinct layers. See Loewe (ed.) 1993, pp. 190–191.

312.*SBCK* 1/9a.

Huainanzi 16, "Shui shan 說山" ("Mountain of Persuasions") Thus people hate nothing more than inconsistent actions. 故人莫惡於無常行。	*Xu Shen/Gao You commentary* "Inconsistent actions" is like *Lunyu* [13/22]: "An inconsistent person cannot be a medium or doctor." This is why the text says [such actions are] hateful. 無常行猶論語：人而無恆，不可作為巫醫。故曰惡矣。[313]
Mengzi book 5 title, "Wan Zhang 萬章"	*Zhao Qi commentary* Wan Zhang [in the first episode of *Mengzi* book 5] asks about the filiality of Shun just as Yan Yuan asks [Kongzi] about humaneness in [the first episode of] *Lunyu* [book 12], and because of this ["Wan Zhang"] was used as the chapter title. 萬章問舜孝，猶論語顏淵問仁，因以題其篇也。[314]

In the first example, Wang Yi references *Lunyu* 15/22 ("The Master said, 'The noble man is serious without being quarrelsome, he forms groups without being cliquish" [子曰：君子矜而不爭，群而不黨。]) in order to pin down the meaning of the word *dang* 黨 (clique). His point is a semantic one: *dang* and *peng* 朋 (companion) are roughly synonymous except that *dang* in the *Li sao* is the morally problematic or pejorative counterpart of *peng*, just as it is in the *Lunyu*. While the Master of *Lunyu* 15/22 is in a prescriptive or moralizing mode when he distinguishes these words, Wang Yi seems to care little about ethics. His point is simply that familiarity with *Lunyu* 15/22 makes this particular *Li sao* line more comprehensible.

The use of the word *you* 猶 (to be like) in the second and third examples perfectly captures the appeal of *Lunyu* quotations for Eastern Han commentators, who did not set out to defend the reasoning behind a given line so much as point out an illuminating convergence. The quotation of *Lunyu* 15/22 rendered the *Huainanzi* line more intelligible, and the reference to the title of

313.*Huainanzi* 16 (*SBCK* 16/14a).

314.*Mengzi* 5a/1 (*SBCK* 9/1a).

Lunyu book 12 helped to contextualize the choice of a chapter title in the *Mengzi*. The *Lunyu*'s appeal for Xu Shen as author of the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (*Explanations of Simple and Complex Characters*) also seems to have had more to do with its recognizability than its substance, e.g., in this *Shuowen jiezi* entry on the character *fen* 份:

> *Fen* 份: the patterning and substance are complementary. [The character form] follows *ren* 人 and it sounds like *fen* 分. The *Lunyu* says, "The patterning and substance are *fenfen*."
>
> 份：文質備也。從人分聲。論語曰：文質份份。[315]

To explain snippets of language like this one Xu Shen needed a well known text, not an authority. These are *Lunyu* quotations first and Kongzi sayings second.

For Zhao Qi, however, *you* 猶 seems to have indicated something more than superficial similarity. In the preface to his *Mengzi* commentary we find this passage:

> After Kongzi returned to Lu from Wei, true music was rectified and the *Elegentiae* and *Eulogies* [divisions of the *Shi*] each obtained their proper place. Then Kongzi edited the *Shi* and *Shu*, appended [commentaries] to the *Yi*, and composed the *Chunqiu*. When Mengzi returned from Qi and Liang he transmitted the way of Yao and Shun and composed writings thereby. This was an instance of a man of great worth composing in imitation of a sage. The seventy disciples gathered the Master's sayings together and made the *Lunyu*. The *Lunyu* is the linch-pin of the Five Classics and the mouthpiece of the Six Arts. When Mengzi wrote his text he modeled it on and imitated the *Lunyu*. When Duke Ling of Wei asked about military formations, Kongzi answered with ritual vessels; when King Hui of Liang asked about benefiting his state, Mengzi answered with humaneness and propriety. When Huan Kui of Song wanted to harm him, Kongzi said, "heaven birthed the virtue in me"; when Zang Cang slandered him, Mengzi said, "How could the son of the Zang clan have caused me not to meet with [an opportunity to serve as an advisor to the Duke of Lu]?" There are many examples like these in which Kongzi's and Mengzi's meaning and intentions are in agreement.
>
> 孔子自衛反魯，然後樂正，雅、頌各得其所，乃刪詩定書，繫周易，作春秋。孟子退自齊、梁，述堯、舜之道而著作焉，此大賢擬聖而作者也。七十子之疇，會集夫子所言，以為論語。論語者，五經之錧鍵，六藝之喉衿也。孟子之書，則而象之。衛靈公問陳於孔子，孔子答以俎豆；梁惠王問利國，孟子對以仁義。宋桓魋欲害孔子，孔子稱天生德於予；魯臧倉毀鬲孟子，孟子曰：臧氏之子焉能使予不遇哉！旨意合同，若此者眾。[316]

The *Lunyu* for Zhao Qi was much more than a useful point of reference. Although references to

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315.*SBCK* 15/3b. This *Lunyu* quotation happens to be a variant of *Lunyu* 6/18 (文質彬彬，然後君子。). Reduplicative binomes are highly unstable in early texts so it is not surprising to find such variations even in Eastern Han texts. On this point see Knechtges 1987, pp. 1–13, and Kern 2007, p. 784.

316.See the front matter to the *SBCK* edition, pp. 3a–3b.

and quotations from a *Mengzi* text can be found in some texts from the Han era,[317] the *Mengzi* did not enjoy anything like the *Lunyu*'s authority or visibility in the period. By noting the similarities between the *Lunyu* and his version of the *Mengzi*, and between Kongzi and Mengzi themselves, Zhao Qi apparently hoped that his text would ride the *Lunyu*'s coattails.[318]

Although not a commentary per se, another text which confirms the *Lunyu*'s authority in scholarly circles is the *Baihu tongyi* 白虎通義 (*General Meaning of the White Tiger Hall [Conference]*), ostensibly a digest of a conference convened in 79 CE by Emperor Zhang in order to "discuss and debate the points of agreement and disagreement in the Five Classics" (講議五經同異).[319] One of the most meticulously sourced texts from the early period, the *Baihu tongyi* explicitly quotes the *Lunyu* in 47 instances and includes twenty more unsourced Kongzi attributions, five of which originated in the *Lunyu* and eleven in the *Liji*. Another twenty sourced quotations (including eight *Xiaojing yue* 孝經曰 and eight *Liji yue* 禮記曰) cite sayings which are attributed to Kongzi in the source texts themselves, as in the following *Xiaojing* quotation:

> <*Baihu tongyi*>The *Xiaojing* says, "The former kings saw that their teachings could transform the people."
>
> 孝經曰：先王見教之可以化民。[320]
>
> <*Xiaojing*>The Master said, "...The former kings saw that their teachings could transform the people."
>
> 子曰：...先王見教之可以化民也。[321]

317.For a more or less complete list of these quotations, see *Citations from the Mengzi to Be Found in Pre-Han and Han Texts* (2007).

318.Zhao Qi's *Mengzi* is not the only example of a text modeled on the *Lunyu*. Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 *Hou Hanshu* biography (35.1212) also records that "his retainers together wrote up Zheng Xuan's responses to his disciples' questions about the Five Classics, and following the *Lunyu* composed the *Mottos of Zheng* in eight sections" (依論語作鄭志八篇). 門人相與撰玄荅諸弟子問五經，依論語作鄭志八篇。).

319.*Hou Hanshu* 48.1599.

320.*Baihu tongyi*, "San jiao 三教" (*SBCK* 7/10a).

321.*Xiaojing* 7, "San cai 三才" (*SBCK* 1/5a).

Here as elsewhere, the *Baihu tongyi* compiler was quoting Kongzi without explicitly acknowledging that fact. By this time, the widespread view that Kongzi was ultimately responsible not just for the *Lunyu* but also for the content of the *Liji*, *Xiaojing*, and other canonical texts meant that the quotation of any one of these amounted to a quotation of Kongzi. Such precise, source-based attribution was only possible in a milieu of well-defined and widely circulating written texts.

• Master (*zi* 子) texts

The *Lunyu* figures just as prominently in Kongzi quotations from Eastern Han master (*zi* 子) texts. One of these was Wang Fu's 王符 (c. 90–145 CE) *Qianfu lun* 潛夫論 (*Discussions of a Recluse*), which explicitly quotes Kongzi in eighteen instances, twelve of which are direct quotations of the *Lunyu*. But the *Lunyu*'s influence is felt just as keenly in the implicit *Lunyu* quotations which pervade the text. The first chapter alone, entitled "Zan xue 贊學" ("In Praise of Learning") in apparent emulation of *Lunyu* book 1 ("Xue er 學而" ["Learning and"]), adds seven implicit *Lunyu* quotations to its two explicit quotations. By Wang Fu's time, the language and ideas of the *Lunyu* permeated Eastern Han intellectual discourse.

One of the most valuable sources of Kongzi quotation practice is Wang Chong's 王充 (27–100) *Lunheng* 論衡 (*Balanced Discourses*). In addition to eight explicit *Lunyu* attributions, Wang Chong included 115 Kongzi quotations in the *Lunheng*, 72 of which derived from the *Lunyu*. Ever the contrarian and critic, Wang Chong reveled in pointing out popular misconceptions, in the course of which he revealed his attitudes about the trustworthiness of various texts and authorities. When it came to critiquing Kongzi sayings, no text was more authoritative for Wang

Chong than the *Lunyu*. Not only is the *Lunyu* the only source of Kongzi sayings to be explicitly cited in the *Lunheng*, Wang Chong also used it to question the authenticity of non-*Lunyu* Kongzi traditions like this one:

> Some transmitted writings say that Yan Yuan and Kongzi together climbed Mt. Tai in Lu. When Kongzi surveyed the southwestern view, there was a white horse tethered outside the Wu palace gates [hundreds of miles distant]. He pointed this out to Yan Yuan, saying, "Do you see the Wu palace gates?" Yan Yuan said, "I do." Kongzi said, "What is outside the gates?" "Something that looks like roped silk." Kongzi rubbed his eyes and corrected himself, whereupon they both came down the mountain. Afterwards, Yan Yuan's hair turned white, his teeth fell out, and he eventually died of illness. This was likely due to the fact that his vital spirit could not compare to Kongzi's. By exerting his strength to the utmost he exhausted his vitality and thus died young.
>
> Everybody nowadays who hears this believes it. But if you really assess it, it is surely an empty saying. If you consult the text of the *Lunyu*, you will not find these words; if you examine the traditions of the Six Classics, they also do not have this story.
>
> 傳書或言：顏淵與孔子俱上魯太山，孔子東南望，吳閶門外有繫白馬，引顏淵指以示之，曰：若見吳昌門乎？顏淵曰：見之。孔子曰：門外何有？曰：有如繫練之狀。孔子撫其目而正之，因與俱下。下而顏淵髮白齒落，遂以病死。蓋以精神不能若孔子，彊力自極，精華竭盡，故早夭死。
>
> 世俗聞之，皆以為然。如實論之，殆虛言也。案論語之文，不見此言；考六經之傳，亦無此語。[322]

This was not Wang Chong's only objection to the Mt. Tai anecdote. In typical fashion, Wang Chong went on to point out the story's inherent implausibility. But the first test he subjected it to was whether it was corroborated by the *Lunyu*.

Chapter 28 of the *Lunheng*, "Wen Kong 問孔" ("Interrogating Kongzi"), provides the clearest evidence of Wang Chong's respect for the *Lunyu*. Aside from the *Lunyu* commentaries preserved in the *Lunyu jijie*, "Wen Kong" engages the *Lunyu* more directly than any other extant text from the Eastern Han period. Perhaps because criticizing Kongzi and the *Lunyu* was controversial in his time, in the introduction to the chapter Wang Chong preemptively defended his intent to "criticize Kongzi" (*nan Kongzi* 難孔子) and "interrogate Kongzi's words" (*wen Kongzi zhi yan* 問孔子之言) by claiming that he simply followed "the way of interrogating and raising

322.*Lunheng* 16 (*SBCK* 4/2a–b; *KZJY* 16.3/pp. 360–61). For a similar example, see *Lunheng* 26 (*SBCK* 8/4b).

objections" (*wen nan zhi dao* 問難之道) in order to reveal the "truth" (*shi fei* 是非) of Kongzi's teachings. Without such questioning, he argued, the wisdom of Kongzi's teachings would go unappreciated. He then proceeded to critique fourteen Kongzi sayings,[323] all but one of which are word-for-word quotations of the received *Lunyu*.[324]

One of Wang Chong's targets was *Lunyu* 5/10:

> Zai Wo fell asleep during the day. The Master said, "Rotten wood cannot be carved; dung soil cannot be smoothed. What reprimand is there for Zai Yu?"
>
> 宰予晝寢。子曰：朽木不可雕也，糞土之牆不可杇也；於予與何誅？

As Wang Chong noted, the problem with the saying is its apparent contradiction with *Lunyu* 11/3, which includes "Zai Wo 宰我" (probably a variant name for Zai Yu 宰予) among those Kongzi followers who were especially skilled at speaking. He then asked,

> If Zai Wo's character was as bad as rotten wood and dung soil, it wasn't proper for him to have entered Kongzi's gates [as a student] or to be numbered among the four classes [of exemplary disciples in *Lunyu* 13/3].
>
> 使宰我性不善，如朽木、糞土，不宜得入孔子之門，序在四科之列。[325]

Setting aside the question of whether Wang Chong's critique is a valid one, Wang Chong clearly expected a certain degree of consistency from *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings. The reference to *Lunyu* 11/3 in a discussion of *Lunyu* 5/10 shows that Wang Chong was thinking of the *Lunyu* as a single, ostensibly coherent text and not just as a source of discrete sayings. By implication, non-*Lunyu* sayings did not accurately represent Kongzi's teachings and so did not lend themselves to this kind of analysis.

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323. See chapter one, p. 88, for Wang Chong's treatment of *Lunyu* 14/25.

324. The lone exception is a Kongzi saying from the "Tan gong 檀弓" ("Sandalwood bows") chapter of the *Liji*. For the *Lunheng* reference, see *SBCK* 9/13a. For the *Liji* original, see *SBCK* 2/9b; *KZJY* p. 520.

325. *SBCK* 9/5b.

• Bibliography

The earliest extant bibliography in the Chinese tradition, the *Hanshu* "Yiwen zhi 藝文志" ("Monograph on Arts and Letters"), is an early Eastern Han version of Liu Xin's 劉歆 (46 BCE–23 CE) digest of an imperial catalogue initiated in 26 BCE by his father, Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BCE), at the behest of Emperor Cheng 成帝.[326] The complicated history of the "Yiwen zhi" makes determining whether a given passage was penned by Liu Xiang in the Western Han, his son in the Western Han or Xin, or Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE) in the Eastern Han next to impossible. But we will be on relatively safe ground if we read it as a *summa* of early Eastern Han knowledge about received textual traditions.

The first division of the "Yiwen zhi," titled "Liu yi 六藝" ("The Six Arts"), relates the history of the most prestigious and authoritative texts in the period and is arranged in the following order: the *Yi* 易 (*Changes*), *Shu* 書 (*Documents*), *Shi* 詩 (*Odes*), *Li* 禮 (*Ritual*), *Yue* 樂 (*Music*), *Chunqiu* 春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals*), *Lunyu*, *Xiaojing* 孝經 (*Classic of Filial Piety*), and various elementary learning (*xiao xue* 小學) texts. There is certainly nothing remarkable about the placement of the Five Classics plus the *Music* classic atop this list. What is remarkable is the *Lunyu*'s inclusion immediately after these texts, presumably because the *Lunyu* was perceived as the most authoritative text after the Six Classics. References to the "Seven Classics" (*qi jing* 七經), i.e., the Six Classics plus the *Lunyu*, appear first in texts dated to the Eastern Han.[327] Perhaps this honorific had something to do with Ban Gu's (or Liu Xiang's or Liu Xin's) catalogue.

326.Liu Xiang's text was called the *Bie lu* 別錄 (*Catalogue*) and Liu Xin's *Qi lüe* 七略 (*Seven Summaries*). Yan Kejun collected the extant fragments of the *Bie lu* and *Qi lüe* in the *Quan Han wen* (38/1a–8b, pp. 336–339, and 41/4b–7a, pp. 351–53).

327.See, e.g., *Hou Hanshu* 35.1196 and *Quan Hou Han wen* 75, p. 881a.

Judging by the rhetoric of the "Yiwen zhi" and the kinds of texts invoked in its historical survey of early textual culture, the *Lunyu*'s rhetorical value was rivaled only by that of the *Zhouyi*, no doubt thanks to Kongzi's perceived role as the author, compiler, and editor of the Five Classics.[328] As the opening lines of the "Yiwen zhi" state:

> Formerly, after Zhongni passed away his subtle words were cut off, and after the seventy disciples died the greater meaning [of his teachings] was distorted. Thus the *Chunqiu* was split into five [traditions], the *Shi* into four [traditions], and the *Yi* into traditions of several experts. Amid the strategic scheming of the Warring States the true and the counterfeit came into conflict and the words of the various masters became chaotic and confused.
>
> 昔仲尼沒而微言絕，七十子喪而大義乖。故春秋分為五，詩分為四，易有數家 之傳。戰國從衡，真偽分爭，諸子之言紛然殽亂 。[329]

Note the strong claim implied by the use of the connective *gu* 故 (thus). Confusion about canonical texts arises from a confusion about Kongzi's original teachings, and ignorance of those teachings creates opportunities for inferior "experts" (*jia* 家) and "masters" (*zi* 子). According to this interpretation of early intellectual history, the key to resolving confusions about the canon is recovering Kongzi's "subtle words" and "greater meaning." If the dozen *Lunyu* quotations in the text are any indication, the *Lunyu* filled this need more directly than the coded language of the *Chunqiu* or *Shi* and more authoritatively than the Kongzi sayings of the *Liji*.

Like the *Lunyu jijie*, the "Yiwen zhi" records a number of *Lunyu* companion texts that together attest to scholarly interest in the *Lunyu* (see Appendix 2:D). The particulars of the "Yiwen zhi" account need not concern us at the moment. What is relevant for the present discussion is that none of the *Lunyu* transmitters and commentators named in the entry pre-date the reign of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 141–87 BCE) (see Appendix 2:E).[330] One wonders if the "Yiwen zhi" did

328. By my count, the "Yiwen zhi" quotes the *Lunyu* and *Zhouyi* a dozen times apiece, the *Xiaojing* and *Shu* x3, and *li* 禮 texts x2.

329. *Hanshu* 30.1701.

330. For this observation, see Zhao Zhenxin 1961, p. 24, and Makeham 1996, p. 19. Zhao Zhenxin concludes from

not list earlier *Lunyu* experts because there was no *Lunyu* to be an expert in.

Regardless, the *Hanshu* "Yiwen zhi" is not the only source of Eastern Han *Lunyu* bibliography. In chapter 81 of the *Lunheng*, "Zheng shuo 正説" ("Rectifying explanations"), Wang Chong criticizes popular misconceptions about the Five Classics as well as the *Lunyu* and *Mengzi* (see Appendix 2:F). In its broad outlines, Wang Chong's polemical account of the *Lunyu*'s history does not depart significantly from the "Yiwen zhi." One key difference has to do with textual loss, a theme which grounds Wang Chong's criticisms of contemporary *Lunyu* commentators. He complained that scholars of his era did not understand why their received *Lunyu* looks the way it does because earlier recensions—the Qi 齊, Lu 魯, and Hejian 河間 versions–were no longer extant. Scholars were equally ignorant of the *Lunyu*'s physical format in the pre-Han era due to its having been lost prior to its rediscovery during the reign of Emperor Wu (141–89 BCE). How Wang Chong arrived at these views is a mystery—perhaps it reflects a bibliographic tradition which did not find its way into the Liu Xiang–Liu Xin–Ban Gu catalogues. Nonetheless, it is striking to find an Eastern Han author in a decidedly post-*Lunyu* milieu pointing out significant gaps in the history of the *Lunyu* text, gaps which happen to coincide with the big picture of Kongzi quotation practice outlined above.[331]

The Xin period (9–23 CE)

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this observation that the *Lunyu* was first compiled during Emperor Wen or Jing's reign.

331.Zhao Qi's preface to his *Mengzi* commentary also happens to include the statement that a *boshi* 博士 (erudite) position was established for the *Lunyu* and the *Mengzi* by Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 180–157). However, the fact that this claim is not corroborated by any earlier source suggests to me that it reflects an Eastern Han as opposed to an early Western Han conception of the *Lunyu*'s authority. As we have seen, Zhao Qi sought to present his *Mengzi* as a *Lunyu* copycat text, so it is easy to imagine Zhao Qi inventing such a story in order to cement the relationship between the texts. On this point see also Kaneto 1980, pp. 21–22.

Lunyu Kongzi sayings featured just as prominently in the rhetoric leading up to Wang Mang's (46 BCE–23 CE) overthrow of the Liu clan and his establishment of the short-lived Xin 新 dynasty (9–23 CE) as they did in the Cao clan's establishment of the Wei dynasty. Much like Cao Pi's officials in the month before his accession, Wang Mang's officials repeatedly extolled his virtues in the years leading up to 9 CE. One of these men was Chen Chong 陳崇, a high official who celebrated Wang Mang in a 3 CE memorial punctuated with quotations from the *Shi*, *Shu*, *Yi*, and especially the *Lunyu*:[332]

> ...[*Lunyu* 1/15] Kongzi said, "It is better to be poor yet joyful, rich yet loving ritual." This refers to the Duke [i.e., Wang Mang].
>
> ...孔子曰：未若貧而樂，富而好禮，公之謂矣。
>
> ...[*Lunyu* 17/6] Kongzi said, "If he acts with alacrity he will produce results." This refers to the Duke.
>
> ...孔子曰：敏則有功，公之謂矣。
>
> ...[*Lunyu* 4/13] Kongzi said, "Being able to run a state with ritual and deference—what [problem] can there be with that?" This refers to the Duke.
>
> ...孔子曰：能以禮讓為國乎何有，公之謂也。
>
> ...[*Lunyu* 1/14] Kongzi said, "He eats without seeking to be full; he dwells without seeking rest." This refers to the Duke.
>
> 孔子曰：食無求飽，居無求安，公之謂矣。

Through his *Lunyu* Kongzi quotations, Chen Chong invited his audience to think of Wang Mang as the incarnation of the *Lunyu* Kongzi's ideal ruler.

Wang Mang himself appealed to the *Lunyu* Kongzi on at least two occasions. On January 6th, 9 CE, Wang Mang issued a memorial to his aunt, the Grand Empress Dowager, requesting that he be acknowledged as "Emperor" (*huangdi* 皇帝) in his day-to-day management of the

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332.*Hanshu* 99a.4053–4063. The *Hanshu* records that this memorial was drafted by Zhang Song 張竦 (d. 23 CE).

realm. A quotation of *Lunyu* 16/8, which was also invoked by Cao Pi's highest officials in 220,[333] anchored Wang Mang's arrogation of imperial authority to a widely recognized Kongzi saying:

> Kongzi said, "Fear the Mandate of Heaven, fear the great, and fear the sayings of the sages." How can your servant [Wang] Mang presume not to obey? Your servant begs that when respectfully serving the spirits and the ancestral temples and when memorializing to the Grand Empress Dowager and the Filial Emperor Ping he be allowed to call himself "the Acting Emperor," [but] when announcing proclamations or ordinances to the empire or when receiving memorials from the realm he should not be called "Regent" [and should simply be called "Emperor"].
>
> 孔子曰：畏天命，畏大人，畏聖人之言。臣莽敢不承用！臣請共事神祇宗廟，奏言太皇太后、孝平皇后，皆稱假皇帝。其號令天下，天下奏言事，毋言攝。[334]

After becoming emperor, Wang Mang quoted Kongzi again in 20 CE after a "great wind" (*dafeng* 大風) had destroyed a palace building, an inauspicious event which led Wang Mang to admit to various failures of his rule. One of these was a failure to "correct names" (*zheng ming* 正名) in keeping with the advice at *Lunyu* 13/3:

> "[My son Wang] Lin is called the Crown Prince even though he has an older brother—this is a case of names not being correct. His Excellency the Expansive Ni [=Kongzi] said, "If names are not correct then speech does not accord [with reality]," and this amounts to "punishments not being appropriate and the people having nowhere to place their hands and feet."
>
> 臨有兄而稱太子，名不正。宣尼公曰：名不正，則言不順，至於刑罰不中，民無錯手足。[335]

"His Excellency the Expansive Ni" (*Xuan Ni gong* 宣尼公) is an abbreviated form of "His Excellency the Expansive Ni of Baocheng" (*Baocheng Xuan Ni gong* 褒成宣尼公), a posthumous title (*shi* 謚) bestowed on Kongzi in 1 CE by the puppet Emperor Ping 平帝 (r. 1 BCE–6 CE).[336] Presumably, Wang Mang's use of this honorific was meant to communicate his profound respect for Kongzi and everything he represented. However, later rulers did not adopt the convention,

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333. *Sanguo zhi* 2.73.

334. Translation adapted from Dubs 1955, 2.251–2. Wang Mang concluded his memorial with a promise to relinquish authority to the young emperor Liu Ying 劉嬰 (r. 6–8 CE).

335. *Hanshu* 99c.4160.

336. *Hanshu* 12.351.

perhaps because of its association with Wang Mang.

Wang Mang's use of *Lunyu* 13/3 also communicates his respect for Kongzi by demonstrating his commitment to the precise text of the *Lunyu*. The relevant section of *Lunyu* 13/3 reads as follows:

> The Master said, "What a rube you are, Zilu! A noble man when dealing with matters he does not understand should keep silent. When names are not correct speech does not accord; when speech does not accord affairs are not completed; when affairs are not completed ritual and music do not flourish; when ritual and music do not flourish punishments are not appropriate; when punishments are not appropriate the people have nowhere to place their hands and feet. A noble man is never lax about his speech."
>
> 子曰：野哉由也！君子於其所不知，蓋闕如也。名不正，則言不順；言不順，則事不成；事不成，則禮樂不興；禮樂不興，則刑罰不中；刑罰不中，則民無所錯手足。故君子名之必可言也，言之必可行也。君子於其言，無所苟而已矣。

Rather than quote the entirety of one of the longest Kongzi sayings in the *Lunyu*, Wang Mang quoted only the initial and final sections (highlighted in dark gray) of the causal chain beginning with "when names are not correct" (*ming bu zheng* 名不正). He then abbreviated the intervening links (highlighted in light gray) with the phrase "and this amounts to" (*zhi yu* 至於). Although one might be tempted to take the variation as evidence that Wang Mang was quoting a *Lunyu* variant and not the *Lunyu* itself, in fact the form of the quotation seems to indicate a high degree of fidelity to the *Lunyu* text. Apparently, Wang Mang (or the official who drafted the document) was loathe to pick and choose phrases from *Lunyu* 13/3 without acknowledging the omissions.

Wang Mang's last words as reported in his *Hanshu* biography, like so many famous last words, should be interpreted more from a literary than a historical perspective. Regardless of their provenance, it is significant that they were inspired by *Lunyu* 7/23: as the Han armies closed in on his position, Wang Mang supposedly exclaimed, "Heaven birthed the virtue in me, so what can the Han army do to me?" ([王莽]曰：天生德於予，漢兵其如予何！).[337] In the ap-

337.*Hanshu* 99c.4190. *Lunyu* 7/23 reads: "The Master said, 'Heaven birthed the virtue in me, so what can Huan Tui

praisal (*zan* 贊) which concludes his Wang Mang biography, Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE) went on to write,

> Formerly, the Qin burned the *Shi* and *Shu* in order to sow selfishness and dissension, and Wang Mang chanted the Six Arts in order to embellish treacherous speech. They both "returned to the same place but along different paths" and thereby met with destruction.[338]
>
> 昔秦燔詩書以立私議，莽誦六藝以文姦言，同歸誅塗，俱用滅亡。[339]

In Ban Gu's mind, Wang Mang's use of *Lunyu* 7/23 seems to have represented yet another instance of a usurper "chanting the Six Arts in order to embellish treacherous speech." The choice of a *Lunyu* allusion as opposed to an allusion to one of the Five Classics is yet another indication of the *Lunyu*'s symbolic authority in the period, one that recalls Zhao Qi's description of the text as "the linch-pin of the Five Classics and the mouthpiece of the Six Arts" (五經之錧鍵，六藝之喉衿也。).[340] Although not initially considered a classic (*jing* 經) in its own right, as the pre-eminent source of Kongzi sayings it provided direct access to the mind which had created the classics.

The late Western Han period (100 BCE–9 CE)

• Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE)

Even though its single explicit Kongzi attribution makes it a poor source of Kongzi quotation

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do to me?" (子曰：天生德於予，桓魋其如予何？). According to the "Kongzi shijia" (*Shiji* 47.1921), Huan Tui tried to kill Kongzi on his travels to the state of Song 宋.

338. The line "returned to the same place but along different paths" is a quotation from the *Zhouyi* "Xici zhuan xia 繫辭傳下" (*SBCK* 8/3b).

339. *Hanshu* 99c.4194.

340. For this passage, see p. 151 above.

practice, Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE) *Fayan* 法言 (*Model Sayings*) testifies to the *Lunyu*'s importance as a model for authors in the period. According to Yang Xiong's *Hanshu* biography,

> Yang Xiong saw that the various masters each with his own wisdom railed against the other, and that the bulk of them slandered the sages. They engaged in the strange and the esoteric, they split hairs with their disputations and beguiled with their phrases and thereby disrupted contemporary affairs. Although the scale of their disputations was small, in the end they destroyed the great Way and confused the masses by drowning them in hearsay and making them unaware of their own errors. Even His Excellency the Grand Scribe [i.e., Sima Qian] in his record of the Six Kingdoms down to Chu and Han stopped with the [capture of the] *lin* [just as Kongzi did in the *Chunqiu*]. But his record was not in agreement with the sages, and his morality strayed to a certain extent from the classics. And so when people in his day asked Yang Xiong questions he often used [the sages'] models in reply. These he compiled into a thirteen-chapter text which he called the *Model Sayings* in imitation of the *Lunyu*.
>
> 雄見諸子各以其知舛馳，大氐詆訾聖人，即為怪迂，析辯詭辭，以撓世事，雖小辯，終破大道而或眾，使溺於所聞而不自知其非也。及太史公記六國，歷楚漢，（記）〔訖〕麟止，不與聖人同，是非頗謬於經。故人時有問雄者，常用法應之，譔以為十三卷，象論語，號曰法言。[341]

What did it mean for the *Fayan* to have been written "in imitation of" (*xiang* 象) the *Lunyu*? Consider the opening lines of *Fayan* book one, which is itself entitled "Xue xing 學行" ("Learning in practice") in apparent emulation of *Lunyu* book one, "Xue er 學而" ("Learning and"):

> To learn and practice [what one has learned] is best. To speak of [what one has learned] is second best, and to teach others [what one has learned] is next best. The masses can do none of these things.
>
> 學，行之，上也；言之，次也；教人，又其次也。咸無焉，為眾人。[342]

While Yang Xiong quotes neither Kongzi nor the *Lunyu* in this passage, an audience trained in the *Lunyu* would not have missed the homage to *Lunyu* 16/9:

> Kongzi said, "To know something from birth is best. To know it by learning is second best. To have learned it after experiencing some difficulty is next best. To have experienced difficulty but not to have learned anything—the people who do this are the worst.
>
> 孔子曰：生而知之者上也，學而知之者次也；困而學之，又其次也；困而不學，民斯為

341.*Hanshu* 87.3580.

342.*SBCK* 1/1a.

下矣。

What Yang Xiong borrowed from *Lunyu* 16/9 was not its content but its structure. In Yang Xiong's hands, *Lunyu* 16/9 became a template for producing new sayings based on the formula "X is best; Y is next best; and Z is the worst." Quoting *Lunyu* 16/9 word-for-word would have been derivative; treating it as a model (*fa* 法) signaled his respect for Kongzi while also giving Yang Xiong the freedom to create a new text of his own. The other respect in which Yang Xiong imitated the *Lunyu* was in the compactness of the *Fayan*'s language. The *Fayan* version removes extraneous conjunctions (e.g., *er* 而), nominalizing particles (*zhe* 者), and object pronouns (*zhi* 之) in an effort to maximize the line's pithiness. Presumably, such compression lent the text an archaic, or perhaps a transparently archaicized, air.[343]

• Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BCE)

As the official charged in 26 BCE with collating and cataloging the imperial collection, Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BCE) was in a position to shape the transmission of early textual traditions more profoundly than any other figure from the period. Earlier I noted that Liu Xiang compiled the first imperial catalogue, the *Bie lü* 別錄 (*Catalogue*), which survives in abridged form as the "Yiwen zhi" (as well as in a few fragments). A prolific compiler, Liu Xiang was also responsible for three significant compendia: the *Shuiyuan* 說苑 (*Garden of Persuasions*), *Xinxu* 新序 (*New Arrangement*), and *Gu lienü zhuan* 古列女傳 (*Biographies of Ancient Women*).

The largest of these was the *Shuiyuan*, a text of 107,000 characters with a total of 194 total

343. On the language of the *Fayan*, see Schilling 2006.

Kongzi attributions. Despite the likelihood that Liu Xiang was ultimately responsible for the *Lunyu*'s privileged place in the imperial catalogue, only twenty-four (13%) of the *Shuiyuan*'s Kongzi attributions have parallels in the *Lunyu*, a much smaller percentage than for any text discussed in this chapter thus far. Unlike, say, Wang Chong, Liu Xiang did not rely exclusively on the *Lunyu* for his Kongzi quotations, nor did he explicitly privilege the twenty-four Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels sayings over the 160 Kongzi sayings without.

However, Liu Xiang's handling of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings does suggest that he valued them more than Kongzi sayings from other sources.[344] For instance, only *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings (with one exception)[345] function as exordia, i.e., as jumping-off points for expositions of various sorts. Such quotations are typically followed by a statement prefaced by the particle *fu* 夫, which marks the general principle or lesson to be drawn from the quotation.[346] In addition, only *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings are explained or commented on, e.g., when a quotation of *Lunyu* 12/19 (Kongzi said, "The virtue of the noble man is wind and that of the petty man is grass. Grass in wind always bends" [君子之德，風也；小人之德，草也；草上之風必偃。]) is followed by the comment, "this is to say that [the noble man] merely makes his transformative influence shine forth" (言明其化而已矣).[347] Apparently, Liu Xiang did not believe that non-*Lunyu* Kongzi sayings deserved such close attention.

In one passage from *Shuiyuan* book 19, "Xiu wen 修文" ("Cultivating Patterning"), Liu Xi-

344. This observation is also an important reminder that the quantitative approach to Kongzi quotation practice only takes us so far. In my experience, we learn just as much, if not more, about the relative authority of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings from the ways that early authors handled this material.

345. This is the saying "Kongzi said, 'I follow indirect remonstrance'" (孔子曰：吾其從諷諫乎。) from book nine, "Zheng jian 正諫" ("Correct remonstrance"). See *SBCK* 9/1b.

346. For this usage of *fu* 夫, see Graham 1972, pp. 107–108..

347. *Shuiyuan* 7 (*SBCK* 7/1b).

ang even provides a full-fledged commentary on *Lunyu* 6/2 (see Appendix 2:G for a translation). The received text of *Lunyu* 6/2 is introduced with a question from one of Kongzi's disciples: "Zhonggong asked about Zisang Bozi. The Master said, 'He is acceptable for his simplicity'" (仲弓問子桑伯子。子曰：可也簡。). Kongzi's comment in the *Lunyu* is then followed by a saying attributed to Zhonggong on the subject of *jian* 簡 (simplicity), and the entire entry ends with Kongzi expressing his approval of Zhonggong ("Yong's [=Zhonggong's] words are right" 雍之言然). But the *Lunyu* provides no background whatsoever about Zisang Bozi, the situation that prompted Kongzi's evaluation, or the relevance of the Zhonggong saying to Zisang Bozi aside from the shared use of *jian* 簡. Without this background, the logic of the *Lunyu* saying remains entirely opaque.[348]

Liu Xiang stepped into this information vacuum with his discussion of *Lunyu* 6/2. After glossing *jian* 簡 (simplicity) as *yi ye* 易野 (unsophistication), he relates a Kongzi anecdote that provides the backstory for *Lunyu* 6/2:

> Kongzi went to see Zisang Bozi, who was sitting in his residence without a cap. A disciple said, "Master, why would you see such a man?" [Kongzi] said, "His substance is fine though he is unrefined. I wish to persuade him to refine himself." After Kongzi left Zisang Bozi's retainers were unhappy and said, "Why would you see Kongzi?" [Zisang Bozi] said, "His substance is fine though he is excessively refined. I wish to persuade him to unrefine himself."
>
> 孔子見子桑伯子，子桑伯子不衣冠而處，弟子曰：夫子何為見此人乎？曰：其質美而無文，吾欲説而文之。孔子去，子桑伯子門人不説，曰：何為見孔子乎？曰：其質美而文繁，吾欲説而去其文。[349]

348.See Weingarten 2010, pp. 151–154, for a parallel discussion of this passage. He concludes that "the *Shuoyuan* passage was based on a text in which the passages corresponding to *Lunyu* paragraphs 6/1 and 6/2 already followed one another." His main evidence for thinking that Liu Xiang was quoting a *Lunyu* source text and not the *Lunyu* itself is the presence of a *Lunyu* 6/18 variant ("One who cultivates his patterning and substance is called a 'noble man,' and one who has substance but no patterning is called a 'simple rustic.'") prefaced by *gu yue* 故曰 (thus it is said).

349.It is curious that this episode gives Zisang Bozi the final word with a mirror-image evaluation that reveals the one-sidedness of Kongzi's perspective. This leads me to suspect that the original version of this episode was not designed to enhance Kongzi's image, but that Liu Xiang framed it as a critique of Zisang Bozi in order to explain *Lunyu* 6/2.

In a comment immediately following the anecdote, the *Shuiyuan* labels someone like Kongzi who "cultivates his patterning and substance" (*wen zhi xiu zhe* 文質修者) a noble man (*junzi* 君子), whereas someone like Zisang Bozi who rejects "cultivation" (*xiu* 修) is a "simple rustic" (*yi ye* 易野). Earlier we saw that Liu Xiang went out of his way to declare Kongzi the sole winner of the "man of Chu lost his bow" episode by cutting out Laozi altogether (p. 57). Given this interest in presenting Kongzi as an unrivaled authority, it is curious that the present anecdote gives Zisang Bozi the last word without any comment or criticism from Kongzi. The juxtaposition of Kongzi's evaluation with that of Zisang Bozi seems to highlight the one-sidedness of the masters' perspectives, as if both represented two sides of the same coin. This is a decidedly less *gong* 公 (impartial) Kongzi than observed in other texts

In any event, in the conclusion of the section Liu Xiang goes on to point out that Zhonggong's perspicacity in *Lunyu* 6/2 explains Kongzi's praise of Zhonggong at *Lunyu* 6/1 ("The Master said, 'Yong [=Zhonggong] can be made to face south" [子曰：雍也可使南面。]). Like Wang Chong, Liu Xiang used one *Lunyu* Kongzi saying to comment on another, presumably because he was used to thinking of the *Lunyu* as a single, internally consistent source. At the same time, his willingness to use a non-*Lunyu* Kongzi anecdote to explain the genesis of a *Lunyu* Kongzi saying reveals an openness towards non-*Lunyu* Kongzi material that we did not observe in, say, Wang Chong's writings. Liu Xiang's more accommodating approach is one of the first signs that the *Lunyu*'s pre-eminence in the Eastern Han did not necessarily extend to earlier periods.

• Edicts

Kongzi attributions in late Western Han edicts look much the same as they do in the Xin and Eastern Han insofar as late Western Han emperors invoked the *Lunyu* Kongzi roughly as often as their Eastern Han successors. However, the picture begins to look very different as we move beyond the reign of Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r. 49–33 BCE) (see Appendix 2:H), the first emperor we know of who used the words *Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 (Kongzi said) in an extant imperial communication. That document, an admonishing letter to Liu Yu 劉宇, the wayward King of Dongping 東平王 (d. 20 BCE), concludes with the most menacing Kongzi quotation in the early corpus:

> Kongzi said, "To err without reforming is called a [true] error" [*Lunyu* 15/30]. You, King, must deeply consider and thoroughly reflect on this. Do not go against Our will."
>
> 孔子曰：過而不改，是謂過矣。王其深維孰思之，無違朕意。[350]

The distribution of Kongzi quotations in Western Han edicts happens to coincide with what Michael Loewe has described as an "age of transition" in which the "modernist" policies of Emperor Wu's reign gave way to "reformist" policies during the reigns of Emperors Zhao 昭帝 (87–74 BCE) and Xuan 宣帝 (74–49 BCE).[351] In their effort to scale back the excesses of Emperor Wu's reign, late Western Han reformists frequently invoked Zhou 周 dynasty precedents, a rhetorical strategy eventually co-opted by Wang Mang in spectacular fashion in the run-up to the Xin dynasty. Writing of roughly the same period, Martin Kern has also noted the advent of a "ritual classicism" anchored to "the texts of the gradually emerging state-sponsored canon."[352] For reformist politicians like Kuang Heng 匡衡 (d. 30/29 BCE),[353] this classicism was an antidote to the elaborate state rituals instituted during Emperor Wu's reign, rituals whose ideology derived

350.*Hanshu* 80.3321.

351.Loewe 1986, pp. 185ff.

352.Kern 2001, p. 66. The lens through which Kern discusses these issues is a shift in the meaning of *wenzhang* 文章 from ritual practice to ritual canon.

353.For a discussion of Kuang Heng's role in promoting this classicism, see Kern 2001, pp. 61–73.

from non-canonical sources. (Fukui Shigemasa's argument that the earliest reliable mention of the term "The Five Classics" [*wu jing* 五經] dates to 51 BCE, not the early part of Emperor Wu's reign as is usually supposed, is relevant in this context.)[354] Considered from this perspective, the uptick in imperial Kongzi quotations beginning in Emperor Yuan's reign is an index of larger trends in Western Han political culture. Kongzi was a natural ally for the late Western Han statesmen and scholars who sought to build a political program atop the Five Classics.

The first explicit mention of Kongzi in an edict dates to 123 BCE, eighteen years into Emperor Wu's 武帝 reign:

> We have heard that the Five Emperors did not continue their predecessors' rituals and the three dynasties did not share the same models. Although they followed different paths the virtue they established was the same. Kongzi replied to Duke Ding that he should attract the distant, to Duke Ai that he should assess his subjects, and to Duke Jing that he should moderate his expenses. It was not that their desires were different, it was that their problems demanded different solutions.
>
> 朕聞五帝不相復禮，三代不同法，所繇殊路而建德一也。蓋孔子對定公以徠遠，哀公以論臣，景公以節用，非期不同，所急異務也。[355]

It is possible that the edict's Kongzi quotation derived from *Lunyu* 13/16, an exchange between Kongzi and the Duke of She in which Kongzi advises the Duke to "attract the distant" (*yuanzhe lai* 遠者來). However, nowhere in the *Lunyu* does Kongzi urge a lord to "assess subjects" (*lun chen* 論臣) or "moderate expenses" (*jie yong* 節用) as he is said to here.[356] In fact, a much better match for Emperor Wu's Kongzi attribution is a passage from book 38 of the received *Han Feizi*, "Nan san 難三" ("Objections, part 3") (see Appendix 2:I). The *Han Feizi* version is not a perfect parallel because it differs with respect to the first interlocutor (Zigao versus Duke Ding) and its advice to Duke Ai (*xuan xian* 選賢 [selecting the worthy] versus *lun chen* 論臣 [assessing sub-

354.Fukui 1994, 1995, & 1997.

355.*Hanshu* 6.173. Translation adapted from Dubs vol. 2, pp. 55–56.

356.*Lunyu* 1/5 uses the phrase *jie yong* 節用 but not in reference to a lord.

jects]). Whether or not the *Han Feizi* was the actual source of Emperor Wu's Kongzi attribution, the comparison with the *Han Feizi* makes it much harder to read the edict as a quotation of the received *Lunyu*.

Three additional edicts, one by Emperor Xuan in 66 and two more by Emperor Wu in 112 and 128, include unattributed parallels which might be interpreted as *Lunyu* quotations:

> <Emperor Xuan in 66 BCE>A tradition says, "Filial piety and brotherly respect are surely the roots of humaneness."
>
> 傳曰：孝弟也者，其為仁之本與。[357]
>
> <Emperor Wu in 112 BCE>We have heard to repay virtue with virtue and to repay wrong with rectitude.
>
> 朕聞報德以德，報怨以直。[358]
>
> <Emperor Wu in 128 BCE>In a village of ten houses there is always [someone who is] loyal and trustworthy. Among three men traveling together there will be one who can be my teacher."
>
> 夫十室之邑，必有忠信；三人並行，厥有我師。[359]

The *zhuan yue* 傳曰 (a tradition says) attribution in Emperor Xuan's edict is a close parallel to *Lunyu* 1/2, Emperor Wu's first edict opens with a variant of *Lunyu* 14/34, and the *fu* 夫 particle in Emperor Wu's second edict prefaces a two-part statement which combines parts of *Lunyu* 5/28 and *Lunyu* 7/22. Without more specific quotation markers it is impossible to tell whether Emperors Xuan and Wu (or, more accurately, the officials who drafted their edicts) intended these passages to be recognized as *Lunyu* quotations. But even if we accept these passages as legitimate *Lunyu* quotations, the first sign of the *Lunyu*'s influence on Han imperial rhetoric would date no earlier than 128 BCE.

357.*Hanshu* 8.250

358.*Hanshu* 58.2627.

359.*Hanshu* 6.166.

The earliest explicit mention of the *Lunyu* by a Han emperor, and one of the earliest descriptions of anyone actually using a "*Lunyu*" text, is this edict issued in 82 BCE by Emperor Zhao when he was only thirteen years old:

> We with Our insignificant person have obtained [the opportunity] to protect the [imperial] ancestral temples. Tremblingly and circumspectly we have risen early and gone to bed late [in order to] cultivate [Ourself] in the practices of the ancient lords and kings. [Although We] have been made acquainted with the *Xiaojing*, the *Lunyu*, and *Shangshu* through the teaching of [Our Grand] Guardian and [Grand] Tutor, [We can]not say that [We] have any perfect understanding [of them].
>
> 朕以眇身，獲保宗廟，戰戰栗栗，夙興夜寐，修古帝王之事，通保傅，傳孝經、論語、尚書，未云有明。其令三輔太常舉賢良各二人，郡國文學高第各一人，賜中二千石以下至吏民爵各有差。[360]

The *Hanshu* elsewhere records that Emperor Zhao's father, Emperor Wu, had selected a prince in 91 BCE to serve as King of Guangchuan 廣川, his recorded qualifications including that he had "received instruction in the *Yi*, *Lunyu*, and *Xiaojing*, all of which he had mastered" (師受易、論語、孝經皆通).[361] For emperors in this period the *Lunyu* was much more than a source of memorable quotations. By Emperor Zhao's reign a text called "*Lunyu*" was being used as a textbook for the education of the Han royal family, and its value as a textbook was apparently so well recognized that it could be invoked as a symbol of studiousness and virtue alongside the *Shangshu* or *Zhouyi*.

Such symbolism mattered especially to Emperor Zhao and his handlers no doubt due to the succession crises which marked the last few years of Emperor Wu's reign. Liu Fuling 劉弗陵, the future Emperor Zhao, was designated crown prince only after Liu Ju 劉據 (128–91), Emperor Wu's long-time heir apparent, died in fighting which had broken out between rival court fac-

360.*Hanshu* 7.223. Translation adapted from Dubs 1955, 2.159–60.

361.*Hanshu* 53.2428. The prince in question was Liu Qu 劉去. However, instruction in the *Lunyu* was no guarantee of virtue: "Few figures in Han history have been reported to have been so evil minded as Liu Qu" (Loewe 2000, p. 348).

tions in 91 BCE.[362] The disgruntled prince Liu Dan 劉旦, an older son of Emperor Wu, went so far as to question Emperor Wu's paternity of Liu Fuling and even planned a *coup d'état* in 86 BCE. He survived the plot's discovery only to stage another failed coup in 80 BCE, after which he committed suicide.[363] In 82 BCE, a man claiming to be Liu Ju 劉據, the former heir apparent, presented himself at the palace gates and was subsequently executed.[364] In 78 BCE, a memorial submitted by an official named Sui Hong 眭弘 urged the young Emperor Zhao to yield the throne to a true *xianren* 賢人 (man of accomplishment). Sui Hong was promptly executed for the suggestion.[365] Given this turmoil, Emperor Zhao's handlers may have felt some pressure to justify Liu Fuling's selection as emperor as well as their own stewardship.

Significantly, the *Lunyu*'s use as a textbook for the royal family continued through the end of Western Han and beyond. As Mark Csikszentmihalyi has observed, "the fact that both authors of commentaries to the *Analects* in the first century BCE and four of the text's six experts [mentioned in the "Yiwen zhi"] served as grand tutors to the Heir Apparent shows that the text was closely associated with the education of minors."[366] One of these experts was Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝, who composed a *Lunyu shuo* 論語説 (*Explanations of the* Lunyu) text during the early part of Emperor Xuan's 宣帝 reign while serving as Grand Tutor (*taifu* 太傅) to the crown prince.[367]

362.For a summary of this episode, see the entry for Liu Ju in Loewe 2000, pp. 321–322.

363.For Liu Dan's biography, see Loewe 2000, p. 287–89.

364.For a summary of this episode, see the entry on Cheng Fangsui 成方遂 in Loewe 2000, p. 45.

365.*Hanshu* 75.3153–54. For Sui Hong's (aka Sui Meng 眭孟) biography, see Loewe 2000, p. 496. The immediate stimuli for Sui Hong's memorial were a series of strange and inauspicious phenomena

366.Csikszentmihalyi 2002, p. 146. Csikszentmihalyi also connects this development with the rise of Han book culture (p. 148): "Although books had economic value to individuals, the collection of books by the state likely reflected their increasing educational value as, among other things, textbooks for use in educating both the Heir Apparent and prospective civil servants."

367.*Hanshu* 75.3159.

Two additional *Lunyu* experts, Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 (ca. 107–47) and Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成 (d. 36), served as Grand Tutors from 59–49 and 49–43, respectively. The *Hanshu* biography of Zhang Yu 張禹 records that he wrote a *Lunyu zhangju* 論語章句 (chapter-and-verse *Lunyu* commentary) for the benefit of Liu Ao 劉驁, the future Emperor Cheng 成帝, who had reportedly asked him numerous questions about the text.[368] To this list one might also add the Eastern Han scholar and *Lunyu* commentator Bao Xian 包咸 (8 BCE–65 CE), who taught the *Lunyu* to the Crown Princes Liu Qiang 劉彊 (25–58 CE) and Liu Zhuang (28–75), the future Emperor Ming 明帝. Bao Xian's son Bao Fu 包福 likewise tutored the young Emperor He 和帝 (r. 88–105).[369] The discovery of the Dingzhou *Lunyu* manuscript from the tomb of Liu Xiu 劉脩 (d. 55 BCE), the king of Zhongshan 中山, further testifies to the *Lunyu*'s circulation within the royal clan in the latter part of the Western Han.[370]

• Memorials

While imperial edicts by no means tell the whole story of Kongzi quotation practice among the

368.*Hanshu* 81.3352.

369.*Hou Hanshu* 79b.2570. The *Hou Hanshu* only mentions these two figures because their tutors were also well-known scholars. Elsewhere in the *Hou Hanshu*, the Empress (and later Empress Dowager) Deng Sui 鄧綏 (81–121) is described as having "mastered" (*tong* 通) the *Lunyu* by the age of 12. The Empress (and later Empress Dowager) Liang Na 梁妠 (116–150) was reported to have mastered it by the age of nine (*Hou Hanshu* 10b.438).

370.The *Hanshu* (1b.76) also records that Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 202–195 BCE), the Han founder, performed the *tailao* 太牢 sacrifice to Kongzi in 195 BCE while passing through the state of Lu. However, as Nylan and Wilson (2010, pp. 71–72) have argued, "[i]f he did so—this is not an event inserted into the historical record until centuries after 195 BCE—it seems unlikely that Gaozu intended by this act to signal a special alignment between his ruling house and Kongzi, since the standard histories for Han show a throne intent upon establishing its ritual supremacy in the customary way, by supporting and co-opting as many local cults as it could reach out to. Quite inexplicable, if we buy the standard line, are two curious facts: (a) no descendant of Kongzi was awarded high rank purely on the basis of his descent from Kongzi until 1 CE; and (b) no sacrifices, so far as we know, were offered to Kongzi outside of Kongzi's hometown for the first two centuries of Western Han rule (206 BCE–8 CE)."

Han elite, they are a crucial part of the story. Once confirmed as an important text by Western Han emperors (or, perhaps more accurately, by their handlers), the *Lunyu* was virtually guaranteed to circulate more broadly in elite society. Those who were most sensitive to the intellectual and literary fashions at court were the officials with the education to compose memorials and the access to submit them to the throne. Not only do early histories preserve a far greater number of memorials than edicts, ruler-directed texts also represent a far more diverse array of interests and intellectual perspectives than ruler-produced texts, which tend to be relatively conservative in their outlook. Memorials are also invaluable sources of Kongzi quotation practice insofar as they can be dated with a relatively high degree of accuracy. Some can be tied to specific days or months or years, others to specific reigns or reign periods. That is not to say that all extant memorials are authentic sources of the figures and occasions they represent. As we will see below, serious doubts can be raised about some of the earliest Han memorials to quote Kongzi and the *Lunyu*.

The "Guardian" (*bao* 保) mentioned by Emperor Zhao in his 82 BCE edict was Huo Guang 霍光 (d. 68 BCE), a powerful official selected by Emperor Wu on his deathbed to act as regent for Emperor Zhao.[371] In 74 BCE, Huo Guang himself mentioned the *Lunyu* in a memorial submitted during the succession crisis which followed Emperor Zhao's death. Just twenty-seven days after being crowned as emperor, Liu He 劉賀 (b. 92), a grandson of Emperor Wu, was deposed by Huo Guang and other top officials on the grounds that he had acted in a "depraved and disorderly" (*yin luan* 淫亂) manner.[372] In his place, Huo Guang nominated Liu Bingyi 劉病已, a great-grandson of Emperor Wu who would become Emperor Xuan, in a memorial which extolled

371.See Loewe 2000, pp. 170–71 for this episode.

372.*Hanshu* 8.238.

his nominee's virtues:

> [Concerning] the great-grandson of Filial Emperor Wu, [Liu] Bingyi, there was an imperial edict [ordering] that he be reared and cared for in the Lateral Courts. At present, he is in his eighteenth year. His teachers have taught him the *Shi*, the *Lunyu*, and the *Xiaojing*. He has held to moderation and economy in his conduct and he is kind and humane and loves others, [so that] he is capable of serving as an heir to Filial Emperor Zhao, of worshipping and serving the founder of the house and his successors, and of treating [the people of] the ten-thousand families as his children.
>
> 孝武皇帝曾孫病已，有詔掖庭養視，至今年十八，師受詩、論語、孝經，操行節儉，慈仁愛人，可以嗣孝昭皇帝後，奉承祖宗，子萬姓。[373]

Here again we find an official document invoking the *Lunyu* in order to telegraph an imperial candidate's qualifications. The juxtaposition of Liu Bingyi's educational program (the *Shi*, *Lunyu*, and *Xiaojing*) with his virtues (moderation, humaneness, aptitude for service) is no accident: these texts were perceived as embodying the very qualities a virtuous ruler was expected to exhibit.

In a memorial submitted to Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 33–7 BCE) in the early part of his reign, the Chancellor (*chengxiang* 丞相) Kuang Heng 匡衡 (d. 30/29 BCE) defined the *Lunyu*'s value in relation to the Classics as follows:

> Your subject has heard that the Six Classics are the means by which the sages unified the hearts of heaven and earth, manifested a return to morality, illuminated the lots of fortune and misfortune, comprehended the rectification of the way of man, and prevented others from going against their original nature. Thus when one examines the intent of the Six Arts, the principles of men and heaven can be harmonized and the plants and animals can be cultivated. This is the eternally changeless way. As for the *Lunyu* and *Xiaojing*, they are the essentials of the sages' words and conduct. One should investigate their meaning.
>
> 臣聞六經者，聖人所以統天地之心，著善惡之歸，明吉凶之分，通人道之正，使不悖於其本性者也。故審六藝之指，則人天之理可得而和，草木昆蟲可得而育，此永永不易之道也。及論語、孝經，聖人言行之要，宜究其意。[374]

Just as in the "Yiwen zhi," in Kuang Heng's memorial we find a division between canonical and non-canonical texts, with the *Lunyu* and *Xiaojing* occupying some middle ground between them.

373.*Hanshu* 8.238. Translation adapted from Dubs 1955, vol 2, p. 204.

374.*Hanshu* 81.3343.

While Kuang Heng reserved his loftiest praise for the Six Classics, leaving his comments on the *Lunyu* and *Xiaojing* almost as afterthoughts, he recommended studying them as sources of the "essentials" (*yao* 要) of the sages' teachings. It is tempting to imagine that the *Lunyu*'s appeal for its elite audience was as a kind of shortcut text, something which promised direct access to Kongzi's teachings in a form that was both easily digestible and eminently quotable.

The perception of the *Lunyu* as an "essentials" text might have also motivated this passage from a memorial submitted ca. 48 BCE by Jia Juanzhi 賈捐之 (fl. c. 48 BCE), the great-grandson of Jia Yi 賈誼 (c. 201–169 BCE):

> Your subject has heard that Yao and Shun were the most illustrious sages and that Yu entered the realm of the sages but did not surpass them. Thus Kongzi praised Yao as "truly great" [in *Lunyu* 8/19], the *Shao* [music of Shun] as "thoroughly good" [in *Lunyu* 3/25], and Yu as "faultless" [in *Lunyu* 8/21].
>
> 臣聞堯舜，聖之盛也，禹入聖域而不優，故孔子稱堯曰大哉，韶曰盡善，禹曰無間。[375]

The fact that these *Lunyu* quotations appear in three different chapters of the received *Lunyu* indicates that, like Liu Xiang and Wang Chong, Jia Juanzhi was thinking of the *Lunyu* as a single, internally consistent text. More significantly, Jia Juanzhi looked to the *Lunyu* Kongzi to pronounce on Yao and Shun rather than quoting Yao and Shun speeches from the *Shangshu.* Perhaps the *Lunyu* Kongzi's evaluations were the kinds of "essential" ideas praised by Kuang Heng in his memorial, quotations which captured the core virtues of Yao and Shun more pithily than the Classics themselves.

If we step back to consider the role of Kongzi and the *Lunyu* within the corpus of extant Han memorials, we find additional evidence for a shift in Kongzi quotation practice in the middle part of the Western Han. The following table presents the results of my survey of Western Han, Xin, and Eastern Han memorials as collected by Yan Kejun in the *Quan Han wen* 全漢文 (*Complete*

375.*Hanshu* 64b.2831.

Texts of the [Former] Han) and *Quan Hou Han wen* 全後漢文 (*Complete Texts of the Later Han*):[376]

	total Kongzi attributions	*Kongzi attributions that parallel the* Lunyu	*explicit* Lunyu *attributions*	*# of memorialists who cited Kongzi*	*# of memorials that cite Kongzi*
Quan Hou Han wen memorials	57	37 (65%)	2	37	45
Quan Han wen memorials	66	53 (80%)	5	23	30

In the aggregate, there is little to distinguish Western Han and Eastern Han memorials with respect to Kongzi and *Lunyu* quotation. But a closer look at the chronological distribution of memorials with *Lunyu*-related Kongzi attributions reveals a familiar pattern (see Appendix 2:J). Above we saw that Emperor Zhao was the first emperor to mention the *Lunyu* in an edict and that Emperor Yuan was the first emperor to attribute a *Lunyu* saying to Kongzi. Most Kongzi and *Lunyu* attributions in Han memorials likewise post-date Emperor Zhao's reign.

Three documents buck this trend: a memorial supposedly submitted by Jia Yi 賈誼 (c. 201–c. 169) sometime between 174 and 169, Dong Zhongshu's 董仲舒 (c. 179–c. 104) responses to a series of questions posed by Emperor Wu in ca. 134, and a memorial submitted between 124 and 121 by Yuqiu Shouwang 吾丘壽王, who served as Grand Counsellor of the Palace (*Taizhong dafu* 太中大夫) during Emperor Wu's reign. The Jia Yi memorial credits Kongzi with a word-for-word parallel of *Lunyu* 12/13 ("Kongzi said, 'In hearing suits I am like other men, but I always make it so that there is no suit'" 孔子曰：聽訟，吾猶人也，必也使毋訟乎！) and the Yuqiu Shouwang memorial quotes a close parallel of *Lunyu* 9/2 ("Kongzi said, 'What should I

376. The *Quan Han wen* compilation also includes documents from the Xin 新 dynasty (9–23 CE). In addition to "memorials" (*zou* 奏), my survey includes any and all texts labeled by Yan Kejun as having been "sent up" (*shang* 上) to the emperor. See Zhang Zuwei 2008 for a parallel effort to tabulate *Lunyu* quotations in the three histories.

take up? Should I take up archery?'" 孔子曰：吾何執？執射乎？).[377] Dong Zhongshu's responses to Emperor Wu incorporate one explicit *Lunyu* attribution and sixteen *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings in what is the most spectacular use of Kongzi sayings in a Han memorial, and perhaps even in any Han text.[378] On the face of it, these documents would seem to indicate that the *Lunyu* circulated during the reigns of Emperors Jing and Wu.

However, the authenticity of the Jia Yi and Dong Zhongshu memorials cannot be taken for granted. Neither of these documents can be found in the *Shiji*, whose compilers Sima Tan (d. 110 BCE) and Sima Qian (d. c. 86 BCE) were contemporaries or near-contemporaries of Jia Yi and Dong Zhongshu and thus might be expected to have been familiar with their writings. The earliest source for the memorials—indeed, the earliest source for *all* Western Han memorials that quote Kongzi—is Ban Gu's 班固 (32–92 CE) *Hanshu*, which was compiled well into the Eastern Han period. The gap between the compilation of the *Hanshu* in the Eastern Han and the early Western Han context raises the very real possibility that these documents did not originate in the period they purport to represent. Indeed, Michael Loewe has noted that Dong Zhongshu's second memorial lists Kangju 康居 (Bactria) and Yelang 夜郎 (modern-day Guizhou 貴州 province) among the regions which had submitted to the Han imperium even though these lands were not incorporated into the Han empire until the Eastern Han period.[379] This and other considerations have led Loewe to conclude that "Chapter 56 of the *Hanshu* [i.e., Dong Zhongshu's biography]

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377. For Jia Yi's memorial, see *Hanshu* 48.2253; for Jia Juanzhi's memorial, see *Hanshu* 64a.2796.

378. The first memorial is at *Hanshu* 56.2498–2505; the second is at 56.2508–2513; the third is at 56.2514–2523. The *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings in the first memorial are (in order) *Lunyu* 15/29, 7/14, 4/25, 12/19, 19/25, 20/2, 9/9, and 5/10; in the second memorial 13/12, 3/25, 3/25, 7/36, and 2/3; and in the third memorial 20/3, 15/5, 2/23. The third memorial also includes a *Kongzi yue* saying which appears in the *Xiaojing* as a *zi yue* attribution: "Kongzi said, 'Of all the natures between heaven and earth, man's is noblest" (孔子曰："天地之性人為貴). See p. 100 for an excerpt from one of these documents.

379. Loewe 2001, pp. 77–80. For the mentions of Bactria and Guizhou, see *Hanshu* 56.2525.

does not necessarily include Dong Zhongshu's ipsissima verba, but what Ban Gu saw as being his opinions and which suited the intellectual climate of the time and Ban Gu's own purposes....Dong Zhongshu, a Chinese Pericles, may not himself have been as impressive a writer as his biographer, a Thucydides."[380]

Questions about authenticity aside, the sole *Lunyu* attribution in Dong Zhongshu's memorials is probably a later interpolation.[381] As Kaneto Mamoru observed, the quotation in question—"Your subject has heard that *Lunyu* [19/12] says, 'Only a sage has both a beginning and an end'" (臣聞論語曰：有始有卒者，其唯聖人虖！)—breaks the quotation pattern of the three memorials, which prefer *Kongzi yue* in every instance except this one.[382] It also happens to be the only example I have found in any early text in which a saying is prefaced by the mixed quotation marker "Your subject has heard that the *Lunyu* says" (*chen wen Lunyu yue* 臣聞論語曰). *Chen wen* was itself a common quotation marker which did not require additional clarification. My guess is that the words "*Lunyu*" or "the *Lunyu* says" were added by some later editor who sought to clarify the source of what was to him an obvious *Lunyu* quotation.

I suspect that Yuqiu Shouwang's relative obscurity made him an unlikely target for later admirers/forgers. But interest in Jia Yi in the Han period was driven by his close association with Qu Yuan 屈原, the tragic hero and supposed author of the *Li sao* 離騷 (*Encountering Sorrow*) and "Huai sha 懷沙" ("Embracing sand"), two works in the *Chuci* 楚辭 (*Verses of Chu*) collec-

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380.Loewe 2011, p. 121. However, Loewe also notes (2011, p. 87) that the *Hanshu* elsewhere (66.2896) preserves a quotation attributed to "Master Dong" (Dong sheng 董生) which appears in the third of Dong Zhongshu's memorials (56.2521). Loewe also ultimately concludes (p. 336) that "[t]he three essays that Dong Zhongshu presented in response to imperial rescripts are probably to be taken as some of the most authentic expressions of his views," despite the "signs of editorial work that was presumably accomplished by Ban Gu."

381.Kaneto 1978, pp. 18–21. See also Makeham 1996, p. 12.

382.*Hanshu* 56.2514.

tion. According to his *Shiji* biography, Jia Yi also wrote a "Diao Qu Yuan fu 弔屈原賦" ("Lament for Qu Yuan") after suffering the slander of jealous officials and being dismissed from the imperial court to serve a cruel regional king in Qu Yuan's homeland.[383] Like the *Li sao*, the "Diao Qu Yuan fu" was read as a record of a virtuous official's frustration at being unable to win the favor and trust of his lord. In this way, Jia Yi was elevated as a latter-day Qu Yuan in the Han imagination, and that reputation probably explains Ban Gu's statement in his *Hanshu* evaluation (*zan* 贊) of Jia Yi that Emperor Wen 文帝, another figure retrospectively elevated in the Han imagination as a counterweight to the perceived excesses of Emperor Wu's reign, had devoted himself to virtue thanks to Jia Yi's influence.[384]

Somewhat suspiciously, the Jia Yi memorial in question appears only in Jia Yi's *Hanshu* biography, which closely tracks his *Shiji* biography except that it inserts an "abridged" (*da lüe* 大略) version of the memorial in question which it introduces as follows: Jia Yi "frequently submitted memorials to explain government affairs because there were many things he wished to correct and establish" (數上疏陳政事，多所欲匡建).[385] The failure to mention a specific occasion or policy question is itself suspicious: extant memorials tend to have more clearly defined contexts. But even if we take Jia Yi's memorial at face value, a single *Lunyu* Kongzi saying would be insufficient proof of the *Lunyu's* existence in Jia Yi's time given the possibility that both Jia Yi and the *Lunyu* compilers might have drawn from a shared tradition.

Given these doubts, Yuqiu Shouwang's memorial from the late 120s BCE that attributes an

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383.*Shiji* 84.2491.

384.*Hanshu* 48.2265.

385.*Hanshu* 48.2230. Doubts have also been raised about the trustworthiness of Jia Yi's *Shiji* biography. *Shiji* book 83, which includes the biographies of Qu Yuan 屈原 and Jia Yi, is one of several chapters to use the character *tan* 談, Sima Qian's father's name and a taboo character observed throughout the bulk of the *Shiji*. For this observation see Bodde 1938, pp. 101–111. See also Kern 2003, pp. 306–07.

abbreviated version of *Lunyu* 9/2 to Kongzi should perhaps stand as the earliest memorial to reflect the possible influence of the *Lunyu* Kongzi.

• Histories

The edicts and memorials discussed above are invaluable sources insofar as they demonstrate the *Lunyu*'s reach among the Han political elite. But memorials' importance as sources of early Chinese history pales in comparison to the compilations in which most of these documents appear, Sima Qian's *Shiji* (*Records of the Grand Historian*), Ban Gu's *Hanshu* (*History of the Han*), and Fan Ye's 范曄 (398–445) *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (*History of the Later Han*). These three histories together supply so much of our knowledge about the early period that any biases in their treatment of Kongzi and Kongzi sayings become magnified in modern studies of the early period. What do these texts, and the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* in particular, tell us about the evolution of Kongzi quotation practice in the Han period?

	Kongzi attributions	*Kongzi attributions with* Lunyu *parallels*	Lunyu *attributions*
Hou Hanshu (686,000 characters)	115	78 (68%)	2
Hanshu (808,000 characters)	174	146 (84%)	8
Shiji (588,000 characters)	231	152 (66%)	0

At first glance, it would appear that the compilers of the three histories were all familiar with the received *Lunyu* or something like it, with the *Hanshu* privileging the *Lunyu* slightly more than the others. But these numbers mean relatively little in the aggregate. Significant differences between the *Shiji*'s and *Hanshu*'s use of Kongzi sayings emerge when we compare the internal distribution of Kongzi sayings and *Lunyu* parallels.

The *Hanshu* looks much like a typical Eastern Han text from the perspective of its Kongzi

quotations, which appear in fifty-five of the one-hundred chapters of the *Hanshu*. All but one of the ten monographs (*zhi* 志) and half of the biographies (*liezhuan* 列傳) contain at least one Kongzi saying with a *Lunyu* parallel, with the most *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings (19) appearing in *Hanshu* 56, the biography of Dong Zhongshu. *Hanshu* Kongzi quotations also have parallels in all twenty chapters of the received *Lunyu* without favoring any particular chapters (see Appendix 2:K). It would seem, then, that Ban Gu and the authors of his sources drew liberally from the entirety of the received *Lunyu* or something closely resembling it.

In contrast, the distribution of Kongzi attributions in the *Shiji* is far less even. Two of the *Shiji*'s 130 chapters—chapter 47, the "Kongzi shijia 孔子世家" ("Hereditary House of Kongzi"), and chapter 67, the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan 仲尼弟子列傳" ("Biographies of Kongzi's Disciples")—together account for 186 (81%) of *Shiji* Kongzi quotations and 124 (82%) of its Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels. The other 128 chapters contain only 45 Kongzi attributions, or 19% of the total, of which 28 (62%) have *Lunyu* parallels. The "Kongzi shijia" and "Zhongni dizi liezhuan" excepted, Kongzi quotations have a much smaller presence in the *Shiji* than in the *Hanshu*.

We can take this analysis one step further. Generally speaking, the *Shiji* might be said to consist of two kinds of text: the *compiled* material which Sima Qian (or Sima Tan 司馬談) drew from in the course of arranging the *Shiji*, and the *authored* material which was composed specifically for the *Shiji* by Sima Qian. Of course, this distinction is not hard and fast, because Sima Qian seems to have edited or even rewritten his sources as he saw fit, and he certainly did not create new material *ex nihilo*. Generally speaking, however, determining when Sima Qian speaks to us in his own voice and when he allows his sources to speak for themselves presents few difficulties. Examples of compiled material include edicts and memorials, treatises like Han Fei's 韓

非 “Shui nan 説難” (“The Difficulties of Persuasion”) or Sima Tan’s 司馬談 discussion of the *liu jia* 六家 (six schools of thought), excerpts from or summaries of canonical texts like the “Yao dian 堯典” (“Canon of Yao”), and the numerous historical narratives woven together (one presumes) from earlier chronicles and anecdotal traditions. Examples of authored material include Sima Qian’s “Zi xu 自序” (“Self-narration”) in which he explains the genesis of the *Shiji*, the eight *shu* 書 (treatises) on topics ranging from ritual (*Shiji* 23) to currency (*Shiji* 30), the chapter introductions which explain Sima Qian’s interest in his historical subjects, and the *Taishi gong yue* 太史公曰 (The Grand Scribe says) comments which purport to provide Sima Qian’s own thoughts on various topics and figures.[386] In these sections of the text, Sima Qian speaks directly to his audience in order to shape their understanding of early history.

What proportion of *Shiji* Kongzi attributions are found in compiled versus authored materials? Remarkably, there are zero Kongzi attributions with *Lunyu* parallels in *Shiji* compiled material.[387] All *Lunyu* and most non-*Lunyu* Kongzi sayings appear exclusively in *Shiji* authored material.[388]

386.For example, the Kongzi saying discussed on p. 28 above (“The Master said, ‘My desire to record empty words does not compare to my desire to see a person’s deeds in all their immediacy and vividness’”) appears in the *Shiji* “Zi xu” and is thus an example of a Kongzi saying in authored material.

387.There are two possible exceptions. One is in a speech attributed to the Warring States-era persuader Cai Ze 蔡澤 (*Shiji* 79.2422), which attributes a close parallel of *Lunyu* 7/16 to an anonymous “sage” (*shengren* 聖人) who might have been Kongzi. However, since the speech does not mention Kongzi, it does not meet my minimum qualifications for a Kongzi saying. The other exception is a Kongzi dialogue from the “Yue shu 樂書” (“Treatise on music”) (*Shiji* 24.1226–30). Although the voice of the compiler dominates that chapter, the anecdote in question seems to have been included as a self-contained text and thus could be considered “compiled” material.

388.By my count there are thirteen Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels in *Taishigong yue* comments; four in the treatises (*shu* 書); two in chapter introductions; one in an evaluation of a historical figure; and five in *Shiji* book 61, the biography of Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊, the very first *Shiji* biography and the text which explains Sima Qian’s interest in biography generally. There are also a handful of Kongzi sayings without *Lunyu* parallels in *Shiji* compiled material, but in all of those examples the Kongzi saying is appended to a narrative and functions like a *Zuozhuan* Kongzi comment insofar as it steps out of the narrative to evaluate the historical figure in question. One of these sayings (*Shiji* 39.1675) also appears at *Zuozhuan* Xuan 2 (*SBCK* 10/4a; *KZJY* p. 414): “Kongzi learned of this and said, ‘Dong Hu is a good scribe in the ancient mould. In writing [in accordance with] the law he hid nothing. Xuanzi is a fine grandee, and for the sake of the law he accepted blame. How unfortunate! He would have escaped [punishment] had he left the borders [of his state]’” (孔子聞之，曰：董狐，古之良史也，書法不隱。宣子，良

This is an important result with major implications both for the study of Kongzi and for early Chinese history generally. The *Shiji* Kongzi is the historiographer's Kongzi, an authority appealed to in order to make sense of and evaluate the various figures and events in the text. *Shiji* Kongzi sayings were overlaid on top of early Western Han and pre-Han sources; by and large, they were not part of the sources themselves. Consequently, there is little reason to assume that Sima Qian's Kongzi would have been familiar to the authors of Sima Qian's sources. Perhaps we even overestimate the importance and visibility of the *Lunyu* Kongzi in the pre-Han context because of his prominence in *Shiji* authored material. Moreover, the use of Kongzi sayings primarily within authored material, presumably the last layer to have been added to the *Shiji*, is consistent with the theory that the *Lunyu* did not begin to circulate until some point during Sima Qian's lifetime. If the *Lunyu* circulated prior to Sima Qian's lifetime, we might expect to find *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings quoted more widely in Sima Qian's sources.

What was the precise relationship between the *Shiji* and *Lunyu*? As noted above, *Lunyu* parallel sayings account for roughly 66% of all Kongzi attributions in the *Shiji* with the remaining 44% deriving principally from the *Zuozhuan* and other unknown sources. Considered on its own, the 66% figure is prima facie evidence for treating *Lunyu* parallel sayings as actual *Lunyu* quotations, a conclusion encouraged by the *Taishigong yue* comment to the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan":

> His Excellency the Grand Scribe said, "Scholars often refer to the seventy disciples. Those who praise them sometimes go beyond the facts, and those who criticize them sometimes miss the truth of the matter. When I weigh [these accounts, I see that such scholars] assessed [the disciples'] sayings without having observed their comportment.[389] The disciple records came out of the ancient writings of the Kong clan—they are close to being correct. Using these I took all of the disciples' various names from the disciple questions in the *Lunyu* and arranged them together into a single chapter, while omitting the suspect passages.
>
> 太史公曰：學者多稱七十子之徒，譽者或過其實，毀者或損其真，鈞之未睹厥容貌則論

大夫也，為法受惡。惜也，出疆乃免。).

389. This point echoes the Kongzi saying from *Shiji* book 130 discussed in chapter one (p. 28).

言。弟子籍出孔氏古文，近是。余以弟子名姓文字悉取論語弟子問并次為篇，疑者闕焉。[390]

However, Kaneto Mamoru 金戶守 has argued that this comment cannot be taken at face value because the *Lunyu* could not have been the primary source for the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan."[391] The chapter names seventy-seven of Kongzi's disciples with each entry including information about a disciple's names, birthplace, and age in relation to Kongzi. Consider the entry for Zeng Shen 曾參, aka Zengzi 曾子, the purported author of the *Xiaojing* and one of the most prominent disciples in the *Lunyu*:

> Zeng Shen was a man of southern Wucheng and his style name was Ziyu. He was younger than Kongzi by 46 years. Kongzi believed that he was capable of mastering the Way of filial piety and so imparted his teachings to him. He authored the *Xiaojing* and he died in Lu.
>
> 曾參，南武城人，字子輿。少孔子四十六歲。孔子以為能通孝道，故授之業。作孝經。死於魯。[392]

Curiously, the *Lunyu* does not include any information about Zengzi's birthplace, style name (*zi* 字), age, authorship of the the *Xiaojing*, or death,[393] and this problem is by no means exclusive to Zengzi's biography. The received *Lunyu* mentions only thirty of the seventy-seven disciples in the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan," and for those thirty it supplies little to no information about their names, birthplaces, etc. and no information whatsoever about their ages. Assuming that Sima Qian's *Lunyu* resembled our own, it simply cannot be the case that Sima Qian "took all the disci-

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390.*Shiji* 67.2226. Nienhauser 1995 understands *dizi ji* 弟子籍 as the title of a text called "The Register of Disciples." However, I see no need to read *dizi ji* as a named text instead of as a generic label for a collection of writings, nor is there any evidence to suggest that such a text existed prior to the *Shiji*'s compilation. On the other hand, book 38 of the *Kongzi jiayu*, "Qishier dizi jie 七十二弟子解" ("Explicating the Seventy-two Diciples"), consists of a number of Kongzi disciple biographies and might conceivably reflect a pre-*Shiji* tradition of Kongzi disciple records.

391.Kaneto 1974, pp. 17–19. Here we might recall Huan Tan's 桓譚 (43 BCE–28 CE) claim, preserved in a fragment collected by Yan Kejun in the *Quan Hou Han wen* (15/4b; p. 549), that the *Taishi gong yue* comments in the *Shiji* were authored by Dongfang Shuo 東方朔.

392.*Shiji* 67.2205

393.However, *Lunyu* 8/3 and 8/4 open with the lines "Zengzi had a serious illness" (曾子有疾).

ples' various names from the *Lunyu* disciple questions."

More problematic still is the fact that not one of the fourteen sayings attributed to Zengzi in the *Lunyu* appears in the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan" or anywhere else in the *Shiji*,[394] despite Zengzi's prominence in the received *Lunyu*.[395] As we have seen (p. 91), *Lunyu* 4/15 famously credits Zengzi with having identified the single idea which runs through Kongzi's teachings. But the sole Zengzi-related *Lunyu* passage with a parallel in the *Shiji* is *Lunyu* 11/18, which criticizes a certain Shen 參, presumably Zeng Shen or Zengzi, as being *lu* 魯 (obtuse).[396]

The complete absence of Zengzi sayings in the *Shiji* supports Kaneto's argument that the received version of the *Lunyu* postdates the *Shiji* and, in fact, drew from the *Shiji* for its Kongzi and Kongzi disciple sayings. This view commits Kaneto to arguing that the *Lunyu* mention in the *Taishigong yue* comment to the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan" is a later interpolation, one that contradicts Sima Qian's statement that the "disciple records [which] came out of the ancient writings of the Kong clan" (弟子籍出孔氏古文) were his primary sources for the chapter. Kaneto's theory aside, if we assume that Sima Qian had access to a *Lunyu* text, the lack of *Lunyu* Zengzi parallels plus the distribution of *Shiji* Kongzi parallels in the *Lunyu* might indicate that Sima Qian's *Lunyu* looked significantly different from our own. The *Shiji* includes no parallels from *Lunyu* 16, 19, and 20 and only one parallel from *Lunyu* 8 (see Appendix 2:L); perhaps these chapters, like *Lunyu* Zengzi material, were added to the *Lunyu* at some point after the compilation of the "Kongzi

394. There is one possible exception, an unattributed parallel to *Lunyu* 8/4 which appears at *Shiji* 126.3208. However, that quotation is prefaced by "a tradition says" (*zhuan yue* 傳曰) and not "Zengzi says."

395. These are *Lunyu* 1/4, 1/9, 4/15, 8/3, 8/4, 8/5, 8/6, 8/7, 12/24, 14/26, 19/16, 19/17, 19/18, 19/19.

396. *Shiji* 67.2185. In addition, an anecdote from *Mengzi* 3A/4 featuring Zixia, Zizhang, Ziyou, You Ruo, and Zengzi appears at *Shiji* 67.2216 but without any mention of Zengzi. In the *Mengzi* version of the anecdote, Zengzi criticizes the other disciples for setting up You Ruo 有若 (i.e., "He who has a resemblance") as their master after Kongzi's death.

shijia" and "Zhongni dizi liezhuan."

Unfortunately, Kaneto was unaware of the Dingzhou manuscript find when he developed his theory of a post-*Shiji Lunyu*, otherwise he might have been more willing to consider the possibility that the *Shiji* drew from a *Lunyu* text. If a text closely resembling the received *Lunyu* was already circulating among the Han elite by 55 BCE, it is not hard to imagine Sima Qian having access to a *Lunyu* text a few decades earlier. That problem aside, it is worth noting that the *Shiji* is the first text encountered in this survey about which it has been argued that the *Lunyu* compilers drew from it rather than the other way around.

Interlude: Searching for signs of the Lunyu

Thus far I have discussed various signs of the *Lunyu*'s presence, influence, and authority in the early period. These include:

● *Explicit mentions*. A text called "*Lunyu*" is mentioned throughout Eastern Han texts and to a lesser extent in Western Han texts. Emperors listed it as one of the texts they had studied, officials encouraged emperors to see it as a record of "the essentials of the sages' words and deeds," and bibliographers ranked it alongside the Six Classics.

● *Explicit attributions*. Numerous Han authors attributed Kongzi sayings (and Kongzi disciple sayings) to the *Lunyu* itself. For some Eastern Han commentators, it seems to have mattered less that a given *Lunyu* quotation originated with Kongzi than that it appeared in a widely circulating, and thus widely recognizable, text like the *Lunyu*.

● *High fidelity to the* Lunyu *versions of Kongzi sayings*. Not only did the Han authors considered

thus far quote extensively from the *Lunyu*, they also strayed very little from the *Lunyu* versions of Kongzi sayings. Most of the examples considered above are word-for-word *Lunyu* quotations. One exception that proves the rule is Wang Mang's quotation of *Lunyu* 13/3 in a 20 CE edict which abbreviated the Kongzi saying in a way that acknowledged the abbreviation.

● *Reliance on the* Lunyu *as the primary source of Kongzi sayings*. Even if Han texts had not preserved a single mention of a "*Lunyu*" text, one could infer its presence from the ratio of Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels to those without. By my count, *Lunyu* parallel sayings outnumber non-*Lunyu* Kongzi sayings by a ratio of approximately 3½:1 in the Eastern Han. (That figure jumps to more than 6½:1 if one includes explicit *Lunyu yue* quotations together with *Kongzi yue* quotations.) The predominance of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings in the texts considered here is the surest indicator that authors in the period did not just pay lip service to the *Lunyu*. They also *used* the text as if it was most authoritative source of Kongzi sayings.

● *Use of the entire* Lunyu. Earlier I noted that the *Hanshu* took its *Lunyu* quotations from all twenty chapters of the received *Lunyu* without privileging any single chapter or set of chapters. Such consistent quotation suggests that Ban Gu's *Lunyu* looked much like our own.

● *Reliance on the* Lunyu *as a point of "reference" (*an 案/按*) for suspect textual traditions.* This was how Wang Chong used the text, pointing out that certain Kongzi sayings or anecdotes were spurious because they did not appear in the *Lunyu* (or in the Five Classics).

● *Use as proof text*. Most of the Kongzi attributions considered thus far, and all Kongzi quotations in Han edicts and memorials, were meant to buttress the arguments of the quoting authors. *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings would not have suited this purpose so well if the *Lunyu* was not viewed as an authoritative source.

● Lunyu *commentaries*. The commentaries preserved in the *Lunyu jijie* and listed in the "Yiwen

zhi" are clear proofs of the *Lunyu*'s importance in the period. In the *Shuiyuan*, a text with a relatively high ratio of non-*Lunyu* Kongzi sayings to *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings, Liu Xiang's interest in explaining *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings indicates the *Lunyu*'s authority relative to other sources of Kongzi sayings.

● *Inspiration for new texts.* Authors like Yang Xiong and Zhao Qi sold their texts as "imitations" (*xiang* 象) of the *Lunyu*. Texts like Wang Fu's *Qianfu lun* also included first chapters on the subject of *xue* 學 (learning) in apparent imitation of *Lunyu* book 1. Such imitators established the *Lunyu* as a text worthy of emulation.

● *Pedagogical and symbolic value.* The *Lunyu* was mentioned alongside the *Shi*, *Shu*, and *Xiaojing* as one of the few texts a crown prince or underage emperor was expected to have studied. The *Lunyu* could also be invoked as a symbol of studiousness, scholarly aptitude, and virtue. In Ban Gu's account of Wang Mang's demise, his adaptation of a *Lunyu* Kongzi saying symbolized his perversion of canonical texts more generally.

This analysis of Kongzi quotation practice in the latter part of the early period will focus our survey as we move further back in time. Can any of these indices of the *Lunyu*'s authority, influence, or circulation be found in early Western Han and pre-Han texts? My answer to that question is (a qualified) no. Not only do early Western Han and pre-Han texts preserve no explicit *Lunyu* mentions or attributions, they also provide very few if any indications that *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings were treated differently compared to non-*Lunyu* Kongzi sayings.

The early Western Han period (203–100 BCE)

From this point backwards, the dating of so many texts traditionally dated to the early Western Han and pre-Han periods becomes harder and harder to verify. One exception is the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, a text in twenty-one chapters and approximately 131,000 characters which was compiled under the auspices of Liu An 劉安 (179–122 BCE), the King of Huainan 淮南, and presented to the newly enthroned Emperor Wu in 139 BCE.[397] As noted earlier, compared to the *Shi-ji* and later compilations of comparable scale, the *Huainanzi* exhibits a relatively small proportion of Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels. Although somewhat larger than Liu Xiang's *Shuiyuan*, the *Huainanzi* contains only twenty-one Kongzi sayings, or roughly 10% of the *Shuiyuan*'s total. Only three of these sayings (14%) parallel the *Lunyu*. Nowhere does the *Huainanzi* explicitly mention a *Lunyu* text.

Two of the *Huainanzi*'s three Kongzi sayings are word-for-word parallels of *Lunyu* 13/6 and 9/30 (see Appendix 2:M, parallels 1 & 2). The first saying corroborates the idea that a ruler need only rectify himself in order to be obeyed by his people, and the second introduces a *Kongzi yue* proof text which is then elaborated much as Liu Xiang elaborated *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings in the *Shuiyuan*. While their use as proof texts hint at the *Huainanzi* compilers' awareness of, and respect for, a *Lunyu* text, there is a crucial difference between the *Huainanzi*'s handling of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings compared to later texts': the *Huainanzi* does not reserve such treatment for *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings alone. Consider the following quotations from *Huainanzi* books 10 and 11:

> <*Huainanzi* book 10>Learning of the good is easy, using it to correct oneself is difficult. When the Master saw the three transformations of grain [from seed to sprout to mature plant] he let out a great sigh and said, "The fox dies facing his den, but my head [droops like] grain." Thus when the noble man sees the good he suffers in himself. If he corrects himself embracing the distant is easy. Thus a *Shi* [#191] says, "One who is not personally involved or affectionate will not be trusted by the people."

397.For an introduction to the *Huainanzi*, see Major et al. 2010, pp. 1–13. Vankeerberghen 2001 is an excellent treatment of the text's political background.

聞善易，以正身難。夫子見禾之三變也，滔滔然曰：狐鄉丘而死，我其首禾乎！故君子見善則痛其身焉。身苟正，懷遠易矣。故詩曰：弗躬弗親，庶民弗信。[398]

<*Huainanzi* book 11>Human nature is both the Great Dipper and the North Star for mankind. When one has some way to see himself he does not lose [his grasp of] the underlying dynamics of things; when one has no way to see himself he is confused and entrapped with every movement...Kongzi said to Yan Hui, "I serve you by forgetting [me], and you serve me by forgetting [me]. Nonetheless, even though you forget me there is still something unforgotten which is preserved." Kongzi understood the root.

夫性，亦人之門極也。有以自見也，則不失物之情；無以自見，則動而惑營。...孔子謂顏回曰："吾服汝也忘，而汝服於我也亦忘。雖然，汝雖忘乎吾，猶有不忘者存。孔子知其本也。[399]

The juxtaposition of a non-*Lunyu* Kongzi saying with a *Shi* proof text in the first example is telling. In the *Shuiyuan* and later texts only *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings functioned as proof texts. But the author of *Huainanzi* book 10 treated this non-*Lunyu* Kongzi saying as a proof text no less authoritative than the *Shi*. In the second example, a non-*Lunyu* Kongzi saying is used both as a proof text and as evidence of Kongzi "understanding the root" (*zhi ben* 知本). In contrast to Wang Chong, the author of *Huainanzi* book 11 was apparently content to rely on non-*Lunyu* material to arrive at conclusions about Kongzi's character.[400]

The third Kongzi saying with a *Lunyu* parallel, a variant of *Lunyu* 2/19 from *Huainanzi* book 16, differs so much from its *Lunyu* counterpart as to make it an unlikely *Lunyu* quotation (see Appendix 2:M, parallel 3). Despite their shared interest in distinguishing "raising the crooked" (*ju wang* 舉枉) from "raising the straight" (*ju zhi* 舉直), it is the differences between these parallels that stand out. Whereas the *Lunyu* version casts the saying as advice to Duke Ai, the *Huainanzi* version has no interlocutor and instead treats it as Kongzi's defense of his involvement with the Jisuns 季孫, one of three clans who wrested effective control of Lu away from the

398.*Huainanzi* 10 (*SBCK* 10/4b; *KZJY* 3/29, p. 37). Translation adapted from Major et al. 2010, p. 361.

399.*Huainanzi* 11 (*SBCK* 11/4a; *KZJY* 17/12, p. 391). Translation adapted from Major et al. 2010, p. 404.

400. For another example, see the Kongzi saying discussed in the conclusion to chapter one (p. 130).

royal family. I shall have more to say about the relationship between these two Kongzi sayings in chapter three (p. 233). In any event, the case for seeing the *Huainanzi* as a post-*Lunyu* text would seem to rest solely on the parallels to *Lunyu* 9/30 and 13/6, which together account for only thirty of the roughly 16,000 characters in the received *Lunyu* (0.2%).

The *Huainanzi* is by no means an outlier in the early Western Han period. The Mawangdui 馬王堆 corpus, a collection of manuscripts excavated in the early 1970s from a tomb dated to 168 BCE, contains over one hundred *Kongzi yue* and *zi yue* sayings within a number of texts related to the *Yi* 易. None of these sayings parallel the *Lunyu*. Likewise, the list of Kongzi-related anecdote titles written on a wooden board discovered in the Fuyang 阜陽 find, a tomb closed in 165 BCE, contains not a single entry with an obvious *Lunyu* parallel. A number of other texts thought to date to the Western Han period, including the *Guliang* 穀梁 commentary to the *Chunqiu*, the *Xiaojing* 孝經 (*Classic of Filial Piety*), and Jia Yi's 賈誼 *Xinshu* 新書 (*New Writings*), contain no *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings or *Lunyu* mentions.[401] In this period one struggles to find evidence of the *Lunyu*'s existence, let alone its authority.[402]

Two important compilations with possible origins in the early to mid-Western Han complicate this conclusion. These are the *Liji* 禮記 (*Ritual Records*) and the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 (*Outward Commentary on the Han Odes*). Although the pre-Han origins of a few *Liji* chapters have been confirmed by recent manuscript finds and/or the presence of substantial parallels in other pre-Han texts,[403] determining the chronology of most of the 45 chapters of the *Liji* presents

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401. The *Guliang* and *Xinshu* have no *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings. For the *Xiaojing*'s *Lunyu* 17/21 parallel, see *SBCK* 1/13b.

402. See also Takeuchi 1972, p. 80 for the observation that early W Han texts sometimes parallel the *Lunyu*, sometimes not.

403. Of particular importance are the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscript versions of "Zi yi 緇衣" ("Black Robes") and the Shanghai Museum version of "Kongzi xianju 孔子閒居" ("Kongzi resting in leisure"). For the Guodian "Zi yi," see *Guodian Chu mu zhujian* pp. 126–137; for the Shanghai Museum "Zi yi" and "Min zhi fumu,"

tremendous difficulties.[404] The *Hanshi waizhuan* is traditionally attributed to Han Ying 韓嬰, an erudite (*boshi* 博士) during the reign of Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE) and Grand Tutor (*Taifu* 太傅) to a regional king during the reign of Emperor Jing 景帝 (r. 157–141 BCE).[405] One of the most widely paralleled texts from the period, the *Hanshi waizhuan* shares a significant amount of material with the *Xunzi*, *Liji*, *Da Dai liji*, *Shuiyuan*, *Xinxu*, and *Lienü zhuan,* among other texts.[406] The high degree of intertextuality creates an impression of a collection cobbled together from disparate sources, quite possibly at different stages throughout the Western Han or later.[407]

Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels account for only 30 (9%) of the 320 Kongzi attributions in the *Liji* and 14 (13%) of the 112 Kongzi attributions in the *Hanshi waizhuan*, well below the average in the *Shiji* and later texts. By my count only three of the 28 *Lunyu* parallel sayings in the *Liji* do not exhibit significant variants,[408] and the *Liji* does not appear to privilege *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings over non-*Lunyu* sayings. On the other hand, the majority of *Lunyu* Kongzi say-

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see *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 1, pp. 169–200, and vol. 2, pp. 151–180. *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 1, pp. 201–213, contains a comparison of the Guodian and Shanghai Museum "Zi yi" manuscripts. The *Liji* chapter "Yue ling 月令" ("Monthly ordinances") overlaps with the *Lüshi chunqiu*, and "San nian wen 三年問" ("Asking about the three-year [mourning period]" and "Yue ji 樂記" ("Record of music") have substantial parallels in the *Xunzi*.

404. On the dating of the *Liji*, see Loewe (ed.) 1993, pp. 293–297, although Jeffrey Riegel's entry there does not include information on recent manuscript finds.

405. For a summary of what is known about Han Ying, see Loewe 2000, p. 151.

406. Hightower 1952, p. 3.

407. Riegel (1986, p. 20) also questions the traditional dating of the *Hanshi waizhuan* as well as the "Fang ji." Contrast this approach with that of Haupt (2006, pp. 104–107) and Makeham (1996, pp. 12–13), who take for granted that the *Hanshi waizhuan* can be dated to Han Ying's lifetime.

408. For these three sayings, see the *Lunyu* 17/21 parallel in "San nian wen 三年問" ("Questions about the three-year mourning period") (*SBCK* 18/12b), the *Lunyu* 12/13 parallel in "Da xue 大學" ("The Great Learning") *(SBCK* 19/9b), the *Lunyu* 3/7 parallel in "She yi 射義" ("The principles of archery") (*SBCK* 20/11a), and the *Lunyu* 6/29 parallel in "Zhong yong 中庸" ("Doctrine of the Mean") (*SBCK* 16/1b). This list does not include a number of parallels to *Lunyu* book 10, which are not prefaced by *zi yue* 子曰. For a list of book 10 parallels, see Appendix 2:V and Weingarten 2009.

ings in the *Hanshi waizhuan* are fairly close parallels of their *Lunyu* counterparts,[409] and the handling of some of these sayings indicates that they were considered relatively authoritative. Consider this *Lunyu* 20/3 parallel from *Hanshi waizhuan* book 6:

> The Master said, "Without knowing the mandate one has no way of being a noble man." This says that everything heaven gives life to has a heart of humaneness, rightness, ritual, knowledge, conformity, and goodness. If you do not know how heaven commands life then you do not have a heart of humaneness, rightness, ritual, knowledge, conformity, and goodness. One who does not have a heart of humaneness, rightness, ritual, knowledge, conformity, and goodness is called a "petty man." Thus it is said, "Without knowing the mandate one has no way of being a noble man."
>
> 子曰：不知命，無以為君子。言天之所生，皆有仁義禮智順善之心，不知天之所以命生，則無仁義禮智順善之心，無仁義禮智順善之心，謂之小人。故曰：不知命，無以為君子。[410]

It is probably no coincidence that the author of this passage, like Liu Xiang in his explanation of *Lunyu* 6/2, chose to elaborate a *Lunyu* Kongzi saying; no non-*Lunyu* Kongzi sayings in the *Hanshi waizhuan* is featured in this way.[411] But it also happens to break the only discernable organizational principle in the *Hanshi waizhuan*, a text in which nearly every section is capped with at least one *Shi* quotation. The lack of *Shi* quotation in this instance might hint at some sort of textual corruption, in which case the *Lunyu* Kongzi saying might not reflect an early Western Han context.

The four *Lunyu yue* attributions in the *Liji* and *Hanshi waizhuan*, one in the "Fang ji 坊記" ("Embankment Record") chapter of the *Liji* and one each in books two, five, and six of the *Han-*

409.However, Haupt (2007, p. 107) has observed that the *Hanshi waizhuan Lunyu* parallels consist only of short phrases that appear in very different contexts. They also never include the entirety of a *Lunyu* entry. For instance, in *Hanshi waizhuan* 2/16, the *Lunyu* parallel is confined to the last eleven characters of a 63-character saying and follows an anecdote in which Zilu questions Kongzi on the propriety of his meeting with a certain Cheng Benzi of Qi 齊程本子, a context with no parallel in the *Lunyu*.

410.*Hanshi waizhuan* 6 (*SBCK* 6/9a). Translation adapted from Hightower 1952, p. 206.

411.See Haupt 2006, pp. 101–107, for her discussion of the question of whether the *Lunyu* was a source for the *Hanshi waizhuan*. Her conclusion (pp. 135–140) is that a proto-*Lunyu* collection of Kongzi sayings was probably available to the *Hanshi waizhuan* compiler.

shi waizhuan,[412] are among the candidates for the earliest mentions of a "*Lunyu*" text in the extant literature.[413] However, the fact that the "Fang ji" *Lunyu* quotation is the only such quotation in the whole of the *Liji* is reason enough to suspect its authenticity.[414] The three *Hanshi waizhuan* *Lunyu* attributions, on the other hand, cannot be dismissed so easily. Consider this passage from *Hanshi waizhuan* book five:

> Kongzi was sitting in attendance on the Jisuns when Prime Minister Tong said, "If the lord sends someone to acquisition a horse, should it be given to him?" Kongzi said, "I have heard that when a lord takes something from his subject he calls it an 'acquisition,' not a 'borrowing.'" The Jisuns realized this and so instructed Prime Minister Tong, saying, "Henceforth when the lord acquisitions something it will be called an 'acquisition,' not a 'borrowing.'" When Kongzi rectified the words 'borrowing a horse' the principle of ruler-subject [relations] was settled. The *Lunyu* said, "I would invariably rectify terminology." A *Shi* says, "A noble man does not make light of his words."
>
> 孔子侍坐於季孫。季孫之宰通曰：君使人假馬，其與之乎？孔子曰：吾聞君取於臣，謂之取，不曰假。季孫悟，告宰通曰：今以往，君有取，謂之取，無曰假。孔子曰正假馬之言，而君臣之義定矣。論語曰：必也正名乎。詩曰：君子無易由言。[415]

This is the only example I have encountered in any early text in which a *Lunyu* quotation caps a non-*Lunyu* Kongzi saying. While the substance of the *Lunyu* quotation is entirely consistent with Kongzi's advice to the Jisun clan, the statement that Kongzi "rectified the words 'borrow a horse' and thereby settled the principle of lord-subject relations" (孔子曰正假馬之言，而君臣之義定矣。) echoes *Lunyu* 13/3 so closely as to make the *Lunyu* quotation seem redundant in context. This leads me to suspect that the *Lunyu* quotation might have been added by a later editor who also noticed the parallel with *Lunyu* 13/3. Perhaps the same argument could be made of the

412.*SBCK* 15/15a.

413.Makeham 1996, p. 10–13.

414.It also bears mentioning that the "Fang ji" is a mess of a text. Although it contains hints of systematic organization (e.g., the repetition of the phrase "use this as a dyke for the people" [以此坊民]), those hints are not consistent and the logic of the chapter is far from obvious. My suspicion is that the *Lunyu* attribution crept into the text after the earlier, more coherent organization was disrupted. See Kern 2005 for a description of a similar phenomenon in the manuscript and received versions of the "Zi yi 緇衣" ("Black Robes") chapter of the *Liji*.

415.*Hanshi waizhuan* 5 (*SBCK* 5/17b). Following Hightower (1952, p. 190), I have omitted the *yue* 曰 of *Kongzi yue zheng jia ma* 孔子曰正假馬 in keeping with the *Xinxu* (*SBCK* 5/9a) version of this passage.

two other *Lunyu* attributions in the *Hanshi waizhuan*.[416]

In any event, my suspicion is that both the *Liji* and the *Hanshi waizhuan* consist of multiple layers and multiple layers within layers, some of which were added by authors or editors who were already familiar with a *Lunyu* text. This would make using them as sources for early Western Han or pre-Han Kongzi quotation practice extremely problematic.

The Pre-Han Period

• The Easy Cases

Signs of the *Lunyu*'s influence become even fainter as we move backward into the pre-Han period. Nine prominent texts typically dated to the pre-Han period contain fewer than five Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels apiece (for these parallels, see Appendices 2:N–W):

	Total Kongzi attributions	*Kongzi sayings with* Lunyu *parallels*	Lunyu *attributions*
Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋 (c. 239 BCE)	34	4 (12%)	0
Gongyang zhuan 公羊傳 (3rd c. BCE?)	8	1 (12%)	0
Han Feizi 韓非子 (Han Fei 韓非, c. 280–c. 233 BCE?)	33	1 (3%)	0
Xunzi 荀子 (Xun Qing 荀卿, d. c. 250 BCE?)	38	2 (5%)	0
Zhouyi 周易 (3rd century?)	30	0 (0%)	0
Yanzi chunqiu 晏子春秋	15	1 (7%)	0
Zhuangzi 莊子 (Zhuang Zhou 莊周, c. 369–286 BCE?)	92	3 (3%)	0

416.One of these is a quotation of *Lunyu* 10/27 in *Hanshi waizhuan* book 2 (*SBCK* 2/12b), the other is a quotation of *Lunyu* 13/3 in *Hanshi waizhuan* book 6 (*SBCK* 6/4a). To my eye, both quotations seem just as tacked on as the *Lunyu* 13/3 quotation, although I readily admit the subjective nature of such judgments.

Zuozhuan 左傳 (4th century?)	42[417]	3 (7%)	0
Mozi 墨子 (Mozi 墨子, c. 470–391 BCE?)	3	2 (66%)	0

Strikingly, only fifteen (6%) of the 250 Kongzi sayings in these nine texts have parallels in the *Lunyu*, and only two of these—a *Lunyu* 11/23 parallel from the *Lüshi chunqiu* (appendix 2:N, parallel 1) and a *Lunyu* 11/9 parallel from the *Gongyang*—are word-for-word *Lunyu* parallels. The seventeen other *Lunyu* parallel sayings all exhibit significant variants when compared with their *Lunyu* counterparts.

The scarcity of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings in the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Zuozhuan* is particularly noteworthy. The *Lüshi chunqiu* is a large compilation (roughly 100,000 characters) whose authors aimed to produce a comprehensive *summa* of received wisdom as a guide for rulers. Even if the *Lüshi chunqiu* authors were aware of a *Lunyu* text, they did not treat its Kongzi sayings as especially authoritative. Consider the *Lunyu* 9/28 parallel from the "Shen ren 慎人" ("Being mindful of others") section of the *Lüshi chunqiu* (see Appendix 2:N, parallel 4). That parallel ("When the extreme cold arrives...") is but one line in an extended dialogue between Kongzi and his disciples, and the dialogue gives no indication that this particular line was more important than any other. I discuss this example at length in chapter three (p. 231).

A text of roughly 196,000 characters, the *Zuozhuan* is almost twice as large as the *Lüshi chunqiu* but contains fewer *Lunyu* parallels among its Kongzi sayings. Perhaps the most striking parallel is a saying which appears at *Lunyu* 12/1 and in the *Zuozhuan* entry for the twelfth year of Duke Zhao's 昭公 reign (see Appendix 2:T, parallel 1). Although both versions feature the same core aphorism ("Overcoming oneself and returning to ritual is humaneness" 克己復禮，仁也),

417.In contrast, Haupt (2006, pp. 127–128) finds two of twenty-six Kongzi sayings in the *Zuozhuan* have parallels in the *Lunyu*.

the *Lunyu* presents it as Kongzi's words whereas the *Zuozhuan* Kongzi attributes it to "an ancient maxim" (*gu ye you zhi* 古也有志). One presumes that the author of the *Zuozhuan* comment would not have framed it in this way had he been quoting the *Lunyu*.

Another ostensibly pre-Han *Lunyu* parallel appears in *Mozi* book 46, which features Mozi criticizing Kongzi for his advice to Zigao, the Duke of She 葉公子高, to "attract the distant and renew the old" (遠者近之，而舊者新之。). This passage has been cited as evidence that the *Mozi* was written by someone with knowledge of a *Lunyu* text, and specifically *Lunyu* 13/16:[418]

> <*Lunyu* 13/16>The Duke of She asked about governance. The Master said, "Please those near at hand and attract those far away."
>
> 葉公問政。子曰：近者説，遠者來。
>
> <*Mozi* book 46>Zigao, the Duke of She, asked Kongzi about governance, saying, "What about successful governance?" Zhongni responded, "Successful governance entails attracting the distant and renewing the old." Mozi learned of this and said, "Zigao, the Duke of She, did not understand what to ask, and Zhongni did not understand how to respond."
>
> 葉公子高問政於仲尼曰：善為政者若之何？仲尼對曰：善為政者，遠者近之，而舊者新之。子墨子聞之曰：葉公子高未得其問也，仲尼亦未得其所以對也。[419]

However, as noted in chapter one (p. 96), the idea of "pleasing the near and attracting the distant" appears in a number of early texts, including the *Xunzi* 荀子, *Guanzi* 管子, *Wenzi* 文子, and *Hanshu* 漢書, without any association with Kongzi (see Appendix 2:U). It is even attributed to Mozi himself in *Mozi* books 10 and 35:

> <*Mozi* book 10>Pacify those near at hand and attract those far away.
>
> 近者安之，遠者歸之。[420]
>
> <*Mozi* book 35>Pacify the governance of those near at hand and attract those far away to your

418.Goldin 2001, pp. 94–95. Goldin notes that "[m]ost scholars consider the 'Mohist Analects' [book 46] a reliable collection of material dating from the turn of the fifth century B.C.E. and earlier; indeed, it is by far the least problematic part of the entire *Mozi*."

419.*Mozi* book 46, "Geng zhu 耕柱" (*SBCK* 11/14b).

420.*Mozi* book 10, "Shang xian xia 尚賢下" (*SBCK* 2/18a).

virtue.

近者安其政，遠者歸其德。[421]

Rather than read Kongzi's advice to the Duke of She as a stable Kongzi saying or *Lunyu* quotation, the frequency of the "please the near and attract the distant" cliché in the early literature suggests that the *Mozi* attributed it to Kongzi precisely in order to accuse him of being a purveyor of hackneyed wisdom.

• The Hard Cases

Two additional corpora, the received *Mengzi* 孟子 and the Shanghai Museum bamboo manuscript collection, contain more than five Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels apiece (see appendices 2:T & 2:U):

	Total Kongzi attributions	*Kongzi sayings with* Lunyu *parallels*	Lunyu *attributions*
Shanghai Museum manuscript corpus	78	8 (10%)	0
Mengzi (Meng Ke 孟軻, c. 372–289 BCE?)	35	12 (34%)	0

Although the percentage of *Lunyu* parallel sayings in these texts is still much lower than in late Western Han, Xin, and Eastern Han texts, the *Mengzi* together with the Shanghai Museum (and Guodian) "Zi yi 緇衣" ("Black Robes"),[422] "Zhonggong 仲弓," "Junzi wei li 君子為禮" ("The noble man in his performance of ritual"), and "Dizi wen 弟子問" ("The disciples asked") manuscripts are the best evidence we have for dating the *Lunyu* to the pre-Han period.[423]

421.*Mozi* book 35, "Fei ming shang 非命上" (*SBCK* 9/3b).

422.A "Zi yi" manuscript was also discovered among the Guodian materials. See *Guodian Chu mu zhujian*, pp. 127–137. However, in the present discussion I only consider the Shanghai Museum version.

423.Wojciech Simson (2006, pp. 36–39, and 2011) in particular has pointed to *Mengzi* 7B/37 as proof that the *Mengzi* author was familiar with the *Lunyu*. Tsuda (1946, pp. 79–81) concluded that Kongzi sayings from the

But the evidence from the Shanghai Museum corpus is mixed, to say the least. On the one hand, the language of six of its eight *Lunyu* parallel sayings (see Appendix 2:V, parallels 1, 2, 3, 6, 7) is not so far removed from the text of the received *Lunyu*. On the other, in no Shanghai Museum manuscript is a *Lunyu* parallel saying treated as particularly authoritative. In "Zi yi," for instance, the *Lunyu* parallels are simply two among the twenty-three *zi yue* sayings in the text (see Appendix 2:V, parallels 1 & 2). In "Dizi wen," a *Lunyu* 14/35 parallel ("The Master said, 'There is no one who recognizes me!'" 子曰：莫我知也夫！) is followed by a question from Ziyou instead of Zigong as it is in the *Lunyu* (Appendix 2:V, parallel 6).

The "Zhonggong" manuscript (Appendix 2:V, parallel 3) with its parallels to *Lunyu* 13/2 is a more complicated case. Although the Shanghai Museum editors were only able to reconstruct a portion of the manuscript, the surviving fragments reveal a text whose structure roughly parallels that of the Shanghai Museum "Min zhi fumu 民之父母" ("Father and Mother to the People") manuscript discussed in chapter one (pp. 108–111), with Kongzi dispensing pithy advice that is subsequently unpacked in the course of the dialogue. In "Zhonggong," the initial instruction includes a fragment which parallels *Lunyu* 13/2: "treat the elderly as elderly and be kind to the young. Put office-holders first, promote the worthy and talented, and forgive transgressions and crimes" (老老慈幼，先有司，舉賢才，宥過與罪。). In both "Zhonggong" and *Lunyu* 13/2, Zhonggong then asks Kongzi to clarify the nature of "promoting the worthy and talented" (*ju xian cai* 舉賢才). But the manuscript version also seems to have elaborated the notions of "treating the elderly as elderly and being kind to the young" (*lao lao ci you* 老老慈幼), "putting office-holders first" (*xian yousi* 先有司), and "forgiving transgressions and crimes" (*you guo yu*

Mengzi were added to the *Lunyu* subsequent to its initial compilation.

zui 宥過與罪) without privileging any one of these elements over the other. The relative complexity, length, and detail of the "Zhonggong" version has led one scholar to characterize it as an "unabridged" (*fanben* 繁本) version of the "abridged" (*jieben* 節本) *Lunyu* episode.[424] I shall have more to say about these parallels in chapter three (p. 217). For present purposes, it suffices to point out that "Zhonggong" cannot have been a straightforward quotation of *Lunyu* 13/2.[425]

The evidence from the *Mengzi* is even less straightforward (see Appendix 2:W).[426] Several parallels seem to support the conclusion that the *Mengzi* author(s) was familiar with a *Lunyu* text. *Mengzi* 2A/7 (parallel 2), 4A/14 (parallel 5), and 5B/7 (parallel 7), all of which are word-for-word or nearly word-for-word *Lunyu* parallels, can be read as commentaries on *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings, which might suggest that they were felt to be relatively authoritative. The most sustained commentary on a *Lunyu* Kongzi saying is *Mengzi* 7B/37 (parallel 8). The passage opens with a question to Mengzi about a variant of *Lunyu* 5/22, and in his response Mengzi quotes variants of *Lunyu* 13/21 and 17/13 before quoting a variant of *Lunyu* 17/18 in order to explain the meaning of the 17/13 variant.[427] By invoking *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings to explain other *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings, *Mengzi* 7B/37 provides the best evidence for the conclusion that the *Mengzi* was compiled in a post-*Lunyu* milieu.[428]

424.Chen Tongsheng 2006.

425.Tsuda (1946, pp. 76–77) writes that his original impression was that the *Mengzi* postdated the *Lunyu*, but after considering the evidence from *Lunyu*-*Mengzi* parallels he concluded that some *Mengzi* Kongzi sayings were sources for the *Lunyu*.

426.See Zhao Zhenxin 1961 (pp. 16–20) for a parallel discussion of the evidence from the *Mengzi*. Pp. 17–19 includes a list of 32 Kongzi attributions in the text. Zhao also comes to the conclusion that the *Lunyu* had not yet been compiled at the time of the *Mengzi*'s composition. Haupt (2006, pp. 53–70) finds 85 Kongzi mentions and 29 Kongzi attributions, of which only seven have parallels in the *Lunyu*. Haupt also counts a total of 13 passages in the *Mengzi* with parallels to 16 *Lunyu* passages, with only three word-for-word parallels.

427.As an example of how subjective identifying parallels can be, Simson (2006, pp. 36–37) identifies more *Lunyu* parallels in *Mengzi* 7B/37 than I have.

428.For this argument, see Simson 2011 & 2006.

Can these examples be reconciled with the theory that the *Lunyu* was compiled in the Western Han period at the earliest? It bears repeating that the *Mengzi* and Shanghai Museum manuscript parallels are exceptional. Of the more than 400 Kongzi attributions I have counted in ostensibly pre-Han texts, only 37 (9%) might be considered *Lunyu* parallels, and a number of these exhibit variants significant enough to rule out the possibility that their authors quoted straightforwardly from the *Lunyu*. A number of these sayings are also prefaced by *zi yue* instead of *Kongzi yue*, an observation which raises the possibility that they are quotations of someone other than Kongzi.[429] But let us suppose that, instead of *Kongzi yue* or *zi yue*, pre-Han authors had introduced these quotations with the phrase *Lunyu yue* 論語曰, thereby enabling us to reconstruct a pre-Han *Lunyu* from among the corpus of pre-Han Kongzi sayings. Even then we would only be able to reconstruct fragments of thirty or so *Lunyu* entries, or approximately 500 (3%) of the 16,000 characters of the text. The macro view of pre-Han Kongzi quotations cautions against automatically reading the *Mengzi* and Shanghai Museum manuscript parallels as quotations of the *Lunyu*.

Also recall my discussion in chapter one of *Mengzi* 5A/4 and its handling of a supposedly spurious Kongzi saying (pp. 117–119). Unlike Wang Chong in the Eastern Han, Mengzi did not cite the *Lunyu* or any other authoritative collection in order to deny the saying's authenticity. Instead, he attacked the saying on two fronts: first, he asserted that "it was not the saying of a *junzi*" (此非君子之言); second, he cited a substitute Kongzi saying to override the first. Strikingly, the second, Mengzi-approved Kongzi saying has no parallel in the received *Lunyu*. *Mengzi* 5A/4's handling of spurious Kongzi material also stands in sharp contrast to his handling of a misin-

429. These are the *Lunyu* parallels in the Guodian and Shanghai Museum "Zi yi" manuscripts.

terpreted *Shi* quotation. Mengzi and his interlocutor disagree over how to interpret the *Shi*; neither figure questions the authenticity of the line in question. However, Mengzi's critique of his interlocutor's Kongzi quotation reveals a lack of agreement over what Kongzi actually said, the problem of interpretation simply does not arise for Mengzi as it did for Liu Xiang or Wang Chong. This is not a problem that would have arisen had the *Lunyu* or any other collection of Kongzi sayings been regarded as authoritative when *Mengzi* 5A/4 was composed. The author of *Mengzi* 5A/4 apparently had no recourse to a fixed text which would have settled the dispute once and for all. In other words, the *Mengzi* Kongzi seems to have had a reputation but not a canon. Here we might also note *Mengzi* 1A/7's assertion that Kongzi's disciples did not transmit any of his teachings about the hegemons Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 and Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公 even though that claim is blatantly contradicted by the *zi yue* sayings at *Lunyu* 14/15, 14/16, and 14/17.[430]

Differences in the attributions of a number of *Lunyu* parallel sayings in the *Mengzi* also seem to point to a pre-*Lunyu* milieu. In *Mengzi* 2A/2 (parallel 1), a *Lunyu* 11/3 variant is attributed to Mengzi's student Gongsun Chou; in *Mengzi* 2B/9, a Zengzi saying from *Lunyu* 12/21 appears as a Mengzi saying; in *Mengzi* 3A/2 (parallel 3), a Kongzi saying from *Lunyu* 12/19 is attributed to Mengzi and a Kongzi saying from *Lunyu* 2/5 is attributed to Zengzi; in *Mengzi* 4B/29 (parallel 6), a *Lunyu* 6/11 parallel appears in an unattributed passage which prefaces a Mengzi comment; in *Mengzi* 5B/7 (parallel 7), *Lunyu* 10/20 appears as Mengzi's student Wan Zhang's description of Kongzi, whereas in *Mengzi* 2B/2 the same line appears as a *li yue* 禮曰 (The rituals say) quotation; and in *Mengzi* 7B/37 (parallel 8), a Kongzi saying at *Lunyu* 13/21 is attributed to Mengzi

430.On this point see also Makeham 1996, p. 100, n. 74.

as a description of Kongzi. Such discrepancies in the attributions of *Lunyu* parallels was not a feature of Eastern Han quotation practice.

Also significant is the fact that the *Mengzi* does not appear to discriminate between *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings and non-*Lunyu* Kongzi sayings. Consider *Mengzi* 3B/9 and 4B/18:

> <3B/9>Mengzi said, "...When the world declined and the Way waned, wicked persuasions and violent deeds arose. There were subjects who killed their lords and sons who killed their fathers. Kongzi was fearful and made the *Chunqiu*. The *Chunqiu* [records] the affairs of the son of heaven. That is why Kongzi said, "Those who understand me do so only because of the *Chunqiu*; those who blame me do so only because of the *Chunqiu*."
>
> 孟子曰：...世衰道微，邪説暴行有作，臣弑其君者有之，子弑其父者有之。孔子懼，作春秋。春秋、天子之事也；是故孔子曰：知我者其惟春秋乎！罪我者其惟春秋乎！[431]
>
> <4B/18>Xuzi said, "Zhongni often praised water, saying, "Water! Water!" What did he apprehend in water?" Mengzi said, "It gushes forth from a spring, ceaselessly day and night, advancing after filling the hollows, expanding across the four seas. Things with roots are like this, and this is what [Kongzi] apprehended in water. If something has no roots, then in the rains of July and August it fills the gutters and ditches but dries up while you stand there watching it. Thus the noble man is ashamed if his reputation exceeds his actual substance."
>
> 徐子曰：仲尼亟稱於水，曰：水哉，水哉！何取於水也。孟子曰：原泉混混，不舍晝夜，盈科而後進，放乎四海。有本者如是，是之取爾。苟為無本，七八月之間雨集，溝澮皆盈；其涸也，可立而待也。故聲聞過情，君子恥之。[432]

It is hard to imagine a more definitive description of Kongzi and his importance than the non-*Lunyu* saying at *Mengzi* 3B/9, which happens to be one of the very few statements on authorship in any text from the pre-Han period.[433] *Mengzi* 4B/8 indicates that the *Mengzi* author did not reserve commentary for *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings alone. Indeed, the appearance at *Mengzi* 7A/24 of another episode featuring Kongzi "observing water" (*guan shui* 觀水) suggests that the *Mengzi* attached particular importance to this non-*Lunyu* Kongzi tradition (see p. 239 below).

The one passage in any ostensibly pre-Han text which seems to provide unequivocal evi-

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431.*SBCK* 6/13a.

432.*SBCK* 8/6a.

433.Kern 2011.

dence for the existence of a pre-Han *Lunyu* is *Mengzi* 7B/37. That passage, the second-to-last episode in the entire *Mengzi*, which features a number of Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels (albeit with significant variants) in succession, two of which it treats as objects of commentary. But one cannot overstate how truly exceptional *Mengzi* 7B/37 is within the pre-Han corpus, which contains no other passage in which *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings are juxtaposed with other *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings in this way. The very uniqueness of 7B/37 coupled with its placement in the latter half of *Mengzi* book seven, far and away the most heterogeneous book in the entire *Mengzi* collection, is reason to suspect that it is a later addition.[434] An even bigger problem is that *Mengzi* 7B/37 appears in a text whose pre-Han origins cannot be taken for granted. Pre-Han and early Western Han texts preserve very few Mengzi quotations with which to verify the existence of a *Mengzi* text, and even some of these quotations have no parallel in the received *Mengzi*.[435] The mix of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings and non-*Lunyu* sayings in the *Mengzi* would also fit a scenario in which the text continued to evolve over the course of the early period until its boundaries were fixed by Zhao Qi 趙岐 (d. 201 CE) in the late Eastern Han. As we have seen, Zhao Qi consciously exploited the numerous parallels between the *Mengzi* and *Lunyu*, and between Mengzi and Kongzi, in order to enhance the authority of his own text. Such a compiler would have had a

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434. According to Erik Maeder's (1992, pp. 27–28) "looseleaf ring binder" theory whereby an existing text could be "rearranged, shortened or expanded" as subsequent compilers saw fit, we might expect the final sections of received texts to be be relatively disorganized and heterogeneous. However, Matthias Richter (2011) has argued persuasively that early Chinese book formats do not explain the content of early texts.

435. For example, although the *Xunzi* "Xing e 性惡" ("Human nature is bad") chapter attributes to Mengzi the view that human nature is good, the *Mengzi yue* 孟子曰 attributions themselves do not match up with the received *Mengzi*. For these quotations, see *Xunzi* 23 (*SBCK* 17/3a, 17/6b, & 17/8a). In the *Shiji*, the only attested passage is *Mengzi* 1A/1 (*Shiji* 74.2343). However, Sima Qian also says that he chose "not to discuss the traditions [of Mengzi and other masters']" (不論其傳) because "many people nowadays have their writings" (世多有其書). *Shiji* 74.2349. For Mengzi sayings that were not included in the received *Mengzi*, see Li Diaoyuan's 李調元 (1734–1803) *Yi Mengzi* 逸孟子 (*Congshu jicheng chubian* vol. 502) and Ma Guohan's 馬國翰 (1794–1857) *Yuhan shanfang jiyi shu* pp. 1780–1830.

strong motivation to pepper his text with *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings and thereby cement its association with the *Lunyu* Kongzi. Another possibility is that the Western Han *Lunyu* compilers looked to the *Mengzi* as a source of Kongzi material. Indeed, the *Mengzi*'s interest in weeding out spurious Kongzi material might have made it an extremely useful resource for those looking to establish an authoritative collection of Kongzi sayings.

Lunyu *parallels outside the corpus of Kongzi sayings*

This chapter's survey of Kongzi quotation practice has covered thousands of Kongzi sayings in dozens of texts spanning more than half a millennium of early Chinese history. But there remains one final kind of evidence to consider: parallels to *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings which are not Kongzi sayings themselves. As we have seen, relatively few *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings circulated as Kongzi sayings in the pre-Han and early Western Han periods. But many more *Lunyu* sayings seem to have circulated as unattributed material or as sayings attributed to other figures (see Appendix 2:X). Whereas only 36 *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings have parallels in pre-Han and early Western Han *Kongzi yue* material, by my count roughly 150 *Lunyu* entries have parallels whose attributions differ from the *Lunyu*'s.[436]

Could it be that these parallels are actually implicit *Lunyu* quotations? Eastern Han authors routinely borrowed or alluded to *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings without citing Kongzi or the *Lunyu*, so it is at least possible that some of the parallels listed in Appendix 2:X were inspired by the *Lunyu* or a *Lunyu* precursor text. Indeed, a number of these sayings are attributed to Kongzi disciples or

436. Here I have only counted parallels in texts through the end of the Western Han.

to Kongzi partisans like Mengzi, who might be expected to have borrowed liberally from the Master.

Such a theory accounts less well for *Lunyu* parallels in the *Guanzi* (x14 entries),[437] *Mozi* (x5),[438] *Zhuangzi* (x4),[439] or other texts not written in obvious sympathy with Kongzi. More significantly, the majority of the 150 parallels identified in Appendix 2:X are not attributed to anyone at all, an observation which points to the generic or anonymous nature of this material. As Richard Schultz observed in his landmark study of quotation practice in the Biblical, Near Eastern, and Western literary traditions,

> The comparative material makes it abundantly clear that it is precisely those parallels that display close correspondence which often are *not* quotations but are rather formulaic, idiomatic or proverbial in origin and whose wording is so well established that it resists modification...[440]

As parallels in Eastern Han texts attest, *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings were eventually quoted *as Kongzi sayings* in the latter part of the early period due of the *Lunyu*'s pre-eminence.[441] But the same cannot be said of the pre-Han period. By attributing *Lunyu* parallel sayings to other sources or to no sources at all, pre-Han and early Han authors revealed their ignorance of—or, at the very least, their indifference to—Kongzi's or the *Lunyu*'s association with those sayings.

Conclusion: The Lunyu *as Western Han text*

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437. These are *Lunyu* 1/2, 1/3, 1/16, 5/12, 9/9, 11/16, 12/2, 12/11, 12/16, 12/17, 13/16, 15/21, 15/30, and 17/24.

438. *Lunyu* 1/6, 1/15, 9/9, 13/20, and 13/29.

439. *Lunyu* 2/14, 5/19, 12/4, and 19/1.

440. Schultz 1999, p. 224. See also Schultz 1999, p. 215: "...[M]ost lists of alleged quotations should be greatly reduced, eliminating proverbs, clichés, idioms, refrains, figures of speech and topoi." Li Ling (2004, p. 204, n.3) makes a similar point about the early Chinese context.

441. An excellent example of this trend is *Lunyu* 7/1, which is discussed in chapter three (p. 249–254).

This survey of Kongzi quotations from the late Eastern Han through the pre-Han era has revealed an unmistakeable pattern. When late Western Han, Xin, and Eastern Han authors quoted Kongzi they tended to quote the *Lunyu*, particularly in contexts like edicts and memorials in which a Kongzi quotation needed to be authoritative. Post-*Lunyu* authors also used, referenced, praised, elaborated, and commented on *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings more often than on non-*Lunyu* sayings. Sometimes they even rejected Kongzi sayings precisely because they did not appear in the *Lunyu*. In contrast, when early Western Han and pre-Han authors quoted Kongzi they tended not to quote the *Lunyu* or to privilege *Lunyu* sayings over non-*Lunyu* sayings. Even when they did credit Kongzi with sayings that resembled *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings, those quotations tended to vary significantly from their *Lunyu* counterparts.

How are we to account for the disparity between earlier and later Kongzi quotation practice? One possible solution was suggested by Wang Chong: the *Lunyu* really was compiled in the pre-Han period by Kongzi's disciples but was subsequently lost at some point prior to the Western Han. The biggest problem with this theory is its reliance on the legend of the "ancient script-" (*guwen* 古文) *Lunyu* in twenty-one sections supposedly recovered from the walls of Kongzi's ancestral home in Lu.[442] According to the legend, a cache of ancient script-texts was discovered after Liu Yu 劉餘, King Gong of Lu 魯恭王 (r. 154–128), set out to demolish Kongzi's house in order to clear space for his own palace. (According to the [pseudo-]Kong Anguo 孔安國 preface to the *Shangshu* 尚書, the king then called off the demolition after entering Kongzi's house and "hearing tones of metal and stone and silk and bamboo" [聞金石絲竹之音], i.e., the sound of ancient music.[443]) However, Tsuda Sōkichi and Kaneto Mamoru has argued persuasively that re-

442. See Appendices 2:D and 2:E for these references.

443. *SBCK* 1/3a. See also *Hanshu* 53.2414.

ports of an ancient script-*Lunyu* are likely the product of the late Western Han or Eastern Han context.[444] Not only does the roughly contemporaneous *Shiji* make no mention of an ancient script-*Lunyu*, Liu Xiang's son Liu Xin in a memorial dated to ca. 25 BCE also fails to mention the *Lunyu* in his seemingly exhaustive list of "ancient script-" (*guwen* 古文) texts discovered in the walls of Kongzi's house.[445] Kaneto also notes a number of discrepancies among the multiple versions of the ancient-text *Lunyu* legend. For instance, while the "Yiwen zhi" dates the incident to the "latter part of Emperor Wu's reign" (*Wudi mo* 武帝末) (r. 141–87),[446] the *Hanshu* biography of Liu Yu records that he was appointed King of Lu in 154 BCE during the reign of Emperor Jing 景帝 (r. 156–141) and died twenty-eight years later in 128 BCE, a mere thirteen years into Emperor Wu's fifty-four year reign.[447]

Extant accounts of the discovery of an ancient script-*Lunyu* are too fanciful to be read as historical fact.[448] It is tempting to speculate (as Kaneto does) that Ban Gu or someone like him expanded the legend of the "ancient script" texts to include the *Lunyu*, probably in order to enhance the text's authority by establishing its ancient provenance.[449] Such a theory would also explain

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444. Tsuda 1947, pp. 97–101, and Kaneto 1973.

445. *Hanshu* 36.1969. In this memorial Liu Xin urges Emperor Cheng 成帝 (33–7 BCE) to establish an official chair for the study of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳. The only ancient script-texts it mentions are "remnant ritual texts" (*Yi li* 逸禮) in thirty-nine sections and *Documents* (*Shu* 書) texts in sixteen sections.

446. This line can be found in the "Yiwen zhi" section on the *Documents*. See *Hanshu* 30.1706.

447. *Hanshu* 53.2414. In chapter 81 of the *Lunheng*, the section on the *Lunyu* dates the incident to Emperor Wu's reign but the section on the *Shangshu* dates it to Emperor Jing's.

448. For a discussion of various problems with the legend, see Pelliot 1916, cited in Nylan 1994, p. 88 n. 14. See also Nylan 1994 for the argument that the *gu wen* designation was far less meaningful in the Han period than it has been for modern commentators, and for the conclusion that "[i]t is difficult to determine what *gu wen* and *jin wen* (modern script) meant to Han intellectuals precisely because extant Han texts provide us with so little relevant information" (p. 91).

449. Kaneto 1973. Nylan 1994, p. 88: "[T]he list of books associated with [Kong Anguo 孔安國 and King Xian of Hejian 河間獻王, who supposedly played major roles in the recovery of ancient-script texts] grows ever longer over time in a most suspicious fashion." According to a fragment of Liu Xiang's original *Catalogue* (*Bie lu* 別錄) preserved in the preface to the *Zhengyi* 正義 (*Correct Meaning*) sub-commentary to the *Shangshu*, "At the end of Emperor Wu's reign one of the common people obtained a copy of the "Great Oath" [*Documents* text] from inside

why the "Yiwen zhi" lists several experts for the Qi and Lu *Lunyu* recensions but not a single expert for an ancient script-*Lunyu*.

Another possible explanation of the Kongzi quotation patterns observed in this chapter is that the *Lunyu* (or parts of it) was compiled by Kongzi's earliest disciples but was transmitted esoterically in the pre-Han period before being popularized during Emperor Wu's reign.[450] In this view, the *Lunyu* really did exist in the early Warring States period but was not accessible to pre-Han authors (with the possible exception of the *Mengzi* author[s]). Although nothing in this chapter entirely precludes the esoteric transmission theory, I see little evidence that Kongzi's teachings were transmitted only within a small group of Kongzi disciples.[451] As I argued in chapter one, extant Kongzi sayings from pre-Han and early Western Han texts reveal Kongzi quotation practice to have been a widespread phenomenon, and the function of many of these sayings as dependent comments also seems to point to exoteric applications. Texts like the "Kongzi shilun" and *Lüshi chunqiu* treated *Kongzi yue* sayings as venues for the re-performance of received wisdom, and particularly the wisdom found in widely circulating canonical traditions. Kongzi sayings do not present themselves as closed teachings to be passed down verbatim from one generation to the next. Moreover, the early literature preserves countless instances in which Kongzi and his disciples shared Kongzi sayings with rulers, officials, rivals, and various other outsiders. Presumably,

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the walls [of his home] and submitted it to the throne. [Emperor Wu] gave it to the Erudites to transcribe and explain, which took them several several months to complete. It was then circulated in order to instruct others" (武帝末，民有得泰誓書於壁內者，獻之。與博士使讀說之，數月皆起，傳以教人。). This much more plausible story might have been the inspiration for the King Gong legend.

450. Csikszentmihalyi 2001, p. 245: "During this gap [between Kongzi's death and the biographical accounts of the Han], narratives about the sage were passed down from master to disciple as part of an esoteric transmission centered in Confucius's temple in the small state of Lu."

451. The Shanghai Museum "Wu wang jian zuo 武王踐阼" ("King Wu ascended the throne") manuscript provides one model of an esoteric text with its description of a "cinnabar writings" (*dan shu* 丹書) text and the various rituals that must be performed before King Wu could be exposed to its teachings. See *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 7, pp. 148ff.

esoteric knowledge would not have had such an exoteric presentation. As Sima Qian wrote in the "Kongzi shijia,"

> The patterned expressions Kongzi uttered while serving as an official or hearing cases could be shared with others—there was nothing exceptional about them. As for the *Chunqiu*, when it was appropriate to write he wrote and when it was appropriate to delete he deleted, so that Zixia's followers could not add a single word. When he instructed his disciples in the *Chunqiu*, he said, "Later generations will know me by the *Chunqiu*, and they will also condemn me by the *Chunqiu*."
>
> 孔子在位聽訟，文辭有可與人共者，弗獨有也。至於為春秋，筆則筆，削則削，子夏之徒不能贊一辭。弟子受春秋，孔子曰：後世知丘者以春秋，而罪丘者亦以春秋。[452]

Sima Qian's implication is that only Kongzi's judgments as encoded in the *Chunqiu* were a special brand of knowledge reserved exclusively for his disciples, the only people who possessed the key to extracting Kongzi's teachings from the text. Kongzi sayings, by contrast, were not "exceptional" and "could be shared with others." It is tempting to suppose that Sima Qian's distinction between the *Chunqiu* and Kongzi's "patterned expressions" (*wenci* 文辭) reflects an actual distinction between the truly esoteric Kongzi of the *Chunqiu* and the more accessible Kongzi of Kongzi quotation practice.

A much simpler explanation for the disparity between earlier and later Kongzi quotation practice is that the *Lunyu* simply did not exist prior to the Western Han period. Not only do we find little to no evidence of the *Lunyu*'s existence in the pre-Han era, the remarkable diversity of Kongzi quotations in the period reflects a milieu in which no source of Kongzi sayings was deemed authoritative. Pinning down a precise date of compilation is a matter of speculation, especially given the very real possibility that the *Lunyu* evolved into its present form over the course of the Western Han (see pp. 261–265). Nevertheless, the *Lunyu*'s apparent lack of influence on texts up to and including the *Huainanzi*, a text presented to Emperor Wu in 139 BCE,

452.*Shiji* 47.1944.

plus the fact that the first memorials (and possibly the first edicts) to quote the *Lunyu* date to the reign of Emperor Wu (r. 141–87 BCE) at the earliest, plus the exclusive use of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings in the latest layer of the *Shiji*, suggest a date of compilation of ca. 150–130 BCE. In the next chapter, I explore the implications of this conclusion for the study of the *Lunyu* itself.

CHAPTER THREE:

How the *Lunyu* was *lun*-ed: Nine Theories on the Compilation of the *Analects*

Accepting that the *Lunyu* did not exist prior to the early Western Han, the biggest obstacle to reading it as an artifact of the Western Han is our ignorance of its compilers' identity, their circumstances, and their motivations. The Western Han was a time when more and more texts were acquiring named authors and even postfaces which explained the circumstances of their creation.[453] Unfortunately, the *Lunyu* compilers were not so helpful. They do not tell us, for instance, whether they believed that their sayings accurately reflected the teachings of the historical Kongzi, or whether, like Zisi in the *Kong congzi*, they simply believed that their text "did not fall short of [Kongzi's] ideas" (不失其意) (see p. 107). Did they view their compilation as an act of veneration towards an intellectual ancestor, or did they consciously "impute words" (*yu yan* 寓言) to Kongzi so that their audience would take their ideas more seriously? The text is silent on these questions.

Aside from the content of the *Lunyu* itself, perhaps the only hint the *Lunyu* compilers left of their intentions is the text's title, "The Selected Sayings." (This assumes, of course, that the title was not added by some later editor. Wang Chong credits a certain Fu Qing of Lu 魯人扶卿, who served as Inspector [*cishi* 刺史] of Jingzhou 荊州 during the latter part of Emperor Wu's reign, with having named the text.[454]). Parsing the *yu* 語 ("sayings" or "conversations") of "*Lunyu*" is unproblematic. But what did the *Lunyu* compilers mean to communicate when they characterized

453.See, e.g., the "Yao lüe 要略" chapter of the *Huainanzi* (book 20) and the "Zi xu 自序" of the *Shiji* (book 130).

454.Provincial inspectors (*cishi* 刺史) were first appointed in 106 BCE so Fu Qing likely reached this rank in the latter part of Emperor Wu's reign. On provincial inspectors, see Bielenstein 1980, p. 10. For my translation of Wang Chong's take on the *Lunyu*, see Appendix 2:F.

these sayings as having been *lun* 論-ed?[455]

In the previous chapter I presented a number of arguments against the Han bibliographers' view of the *Lunyu* as a fifth-century BCE text. But the bibliographers nevertheless suggest an interpretation of *lun* which agrees with the big picture of Kongzi quotation practice. The "Yiwen zhi 藝文志" records that Kongzi's disciples "selectively compiled" (*lun zuan* 論纂) their respective records of Kongzi's teachings, and Wang Chong writes that the text originally consisted of "several dozen to a hundred sections" (數十百篇) which were whittled down to thirty by the early Western Han. In other words, both Ban Gu and Wang Chong conceived of the received *Lunyu* as but a subset of an originally much larger corpus. Let us assume that a literate Western Han audience would have also grasped one of the main conclusions of chapter one, that *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings represented only a small fraction of circulating Kongzi material in the period. In that case, a Western Han reading of the *Lunyu*'s title might have been: "This is a text whose sayings have been carefully selected (*lun* 論) from among the myriad sayings which have been, or might possibly be, attributed to Kongzi and his disciples."

The challenge for those who would decode the interests and motivations of the *Lunyu* compilers is to understand why these particular sayings were selected for inclusion in these particular formats and in this particular arrangement.[456] The only way to analyze *Lunyu* sayings as selections is to determine the range of options that confronted the *Lunyu* compilers and then compare what was included with what was left out, an approach that requires careful attention to the evi-

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455. Here I read *lun* 論 and *yu* 語 as a verb–object construction as opposed to noun-noun, i.e., as "discourses and sayings" or perhaps "assessments and sayings." However, this does not seem to be how the title was understood by Ban Gu and Wang Chong, both of whom seem to have understood *lun* 論 as a verb.

456. On the notion of the *Lunyu* as a selection see Csikszentmihalyi 2001, Csikszentmihalyi 2002, pp. 144–45, p. 256, Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 30, and Li Ling 2004, pp. 298-299, 324.

dence from *Lunyu* parallels.[457] If, as I have argued, the *lun*-ing of the *Lunyu* took place at some point in the early Western Han, then our focus should be on parallels in texts which might have been available to early Western Han compilers. Roughly contemporaneous texts like the *Shiji*, *Huainanzi*, *Hanshi waizhuan*, and *Liji* will be especially invaluable sources insofar as a comparison with their authors' handling of parallel Kongzi material might illuminate the editorial decisions which shaped the *Lunyu*.

Complications arise when we consider the ways in which a Kongzi saying might have been *lun*-ed. As we have seen, the variability of Kongzi material in the period meant that a given Kongzi saying could exist in multiple formats: as an independent saying, as part of a dialogue or anecdote, or even as a third-person description of Kongzi. Once the *Lunyu* compilers determined that a given saying was worthy of inclusion, they also had to decide whether to preserve the earlier context or to create a new one. The clustering of *Lunyu* sayings around certain themes and tropes indicates that individual sayings were not viewed in isolation, and that the arrangement of a Kongzi saying within the text was also a kind of *lun*-ing.[458] Thus, internal evidence, and especially the arrangement and contextualization (or lack thereof) of *Lunyu* sayings, is a necessary complement to the picture which emerges from textual parallels.

These considerations highlight the inadequacy of the phrase "the *Lunyu* compilers," as if all of the people ultimately responsible for the form and content of the received *Lunyu* were (a) en-

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457. Contrast this approach with that of D.C. Lau (2000, p. 264): "It seems clear that even if we could restore the *Lunyu* to the original form of any of the three versions [i.e., the Qi, Lu, and ancient text versions] we would be doing no more than restoring it to what it was in the Western Han and that is unlikely to add very much to our knowledge of the work. If our aim is to find out something about the composition of the *Lunyu*, the only possible approach is to examine the text itself."

458. Weingarten (2010, chapter two) in a study of *Lunyu* books one and seven has shown how close attention to the arrangement of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings might illuminate the sources that of individual *Lunyu* books. Hu Zhikui 1978 is a particularly useful structural analysis.

gaged in more or less the same activity at more or less the same moment in time, and (b) in agreement with one another about the purpose(s) their text was supposed to serve. In this chapter, the term "*Lunyu* compilers" should be understood as referring to the unknown persons ultimately responsible for the form and content of the *Lunyu* as we have it today, either through original composition, selective compilation, editing, arrangement, or rearrangement. I take it as given that the heterogeneity of the *Lunyu* is a mark of multiple authorship, and I strongly suspect that successive "*Lunyu* compilers" may have revised the text in ways that obscured the contributions of earlier "*Lunyu* compilers."[459]

This exercise also has a number of limitations. The promise of *Lunyu* 4/15 and 15/3 to the contrary, I do not believe that there is a single thread running through a text as disorganized and unsystematic as the *Lunyu*. As we will see below, no single compilation strategy explains the form and content of the *Lunyu* as we have it. A frustrating lack of evidence also precludes a unified theory of the *Lunyu*. While there are numerous *Lunyu* parallels in the early literature, enough to hazard a few educated guesses about the compilers' motivations, not all *Lunyu* sayings have informative parallels. Most problematically of all, my effort to reconstruct the textual milieu of the *Lunyu* compilers is necessarily tentative given our profound ignorance of the Western Han context. Given these limitations, all conclusions in this chapter should be taken with a healthy dose of skepticism. Less important for my purposes than proving any single argument is demonstrating what I believe is a more fruitful approach to the study of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings, one that privileges the evidence from textual parallels.

Finally, a caveat: the nine case studies of this chapter do nothing to advance the argument

459.On this point see also Loewe (ed.) 1993, p. 314: "The heterogeneous nature of the *Lunyu* as received precludes the hypothesis that there was a single author."

that the *Lunyu* is a Western Han text. To date I have not come across any set of parallels in which the *Lunyu* version of a Kongzi saying considered in and of itself is obviously later than, say, its *Zuozhuan* or *Mengzi* counterpart. My argument for reading the *Lunyu* as a Western Han text rests solely on the evidence presented in chapter two, and my goal in the present chapter is simply to demonstrate the plausibility of the revised dating by placing the text squarely within a Western Han textual, intellectual, and political context. Thus, in the following pages I take it for granted that the *Lunyu* was first put together in the Western Han in order to ask how we might read the text profitably as a Western Han text. Below I outline nine possible answers to that question, each of which highlights a different aspect of the *lun*-ing of the *Lunyu*.

• *Section #1:* Lunyu *13/2 and "promoting the worthy and talented"*

In chapter two we encountered a close parallel between the brief dialogue at *Lunyu* 13/2 and the much longer dialogue in the Shanghai Museum "Zhonggong 仲弓" manuscript (Appendix 2:V, parallel 3). Both versions feature Kongzi dispensing advice to Zhonggong upon his appointment as chief steward of the Ji 季 clan, one of three ministerial lineages which had come to dominate the state of Lu 魯 in the late Spring and Autumn period. In the manuscript version, that advice consists of four elements—"treating the elderly as elderly and being kind to the young, putting office-holders first, promoting the accomplished and talented, and forgiving transgressions and crimes" (老老慈幼，先有司，舉賢才，宥過與罪。)—which are then elaborated in the course of the dialogue. But *Lunyu* 13/2 features only three elements in a different order—"putting office-holders first, forgiving lesser transgressions, and promoting the accomplished and talented" (先有司，赦小過，舉賢才。)—of which only "promoting the accomplished and talented" is

expanded upon.

Judging from the close parallels in the wording and structure of the two texts, *Lunyu* 13/2 seems to have had a history which extended at least as far back as the late fourth century BCE (assuming that estimates of the dating of the Shanghai Museum corpus are correct).[460] Of course, it is impossible to say for sure whether the *Lunyu* compilers had access to a text like the Shanghai Museum "Zhonggong" manuscript when they included *Lunyu* 13/2, or whether "Zhonggong" had already been condensed into its "abridged" version (to borrow Chen Tongsheng's term) prior to the compilation of the *Lunyu*.[461] But the comparison suggests that at some point someone, quite possibly the *Lunyu* compilers, made a conscious decision to emphasize "promoting the accomplished and talented" by rearranging the core Kongzi saying and excising the explanations of the other elements.[462] The preservation of the other elements in *Lunyu* 13/2 as vestiges of the longer, unabridged version is one hint that the *Lunyu* compilers in the Western Han were at least aware of the earlier dialogue, and were perhaps even responsible for the abridgment. If so, then in *Lunyu* 13/2 we have an example of the *Lunyu* compilers having expressed a clear preference in the course of selecting from an earlier Kongzi tradition.

Why would the *Lunyu* compilers value "promoting the accomplished and talented" over the other elements in the saying? Part of the answer to that question lies in the observation that *Lunyu* 13/2 is by no means the only entry in the text to indicate that "promoting" (*ju* 舉) or "recognizing men of accomplishment and talent" (*zhi xian cai* 知賢才) was of interest to the *Lunyu*

460. The dating of the Shanghai Museum manuscripts to ca. 300 BCE is supported by comparison with the Guodian materials. For the dating of Guodian, see Li Xueqin 2000; for a dissenting view, see Wang Baoxuan 2000 and the other papers cited in Allan 2009, p. 117, n. 6. See also *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 1, p. 2.

461. Chen Tongsheng 2006.

462. For similarly structured passages in the *Lunyu* see 12/21 and 20/2. In neither instance do enumerated elements go unelaborated as they do in 13/2, an observation which highlights the truncated nature of *Lunyu* 13/2.

compilers. The term "understanding" or "recognizing others" (*zhi ren* 知人) appears in four sayings across four different books, in *Lunyu* 1/16, 4/7, 12/22, and 20/3. *Lunyu* 12/22 in particular specifies that the most important kind of "understanding" (*zhi* 知) is "understanding others" (*zhi ren* 知人). A number of other *Lunyu* sayings feature Kongzi commenting on the virtues, vices, strengths, and weaknesses of his disciples and various historical figures. Such comments especially predominate *Lunyu* book 5, the first half of book 6, book 11, and the middle section of book 14, and are prefaced by questions such as "what is So-and-so like?" (X也何如) (*Lunyu* 5/4, 5/8), "is So-and-so humane?" (*ren* 仁) (*Lunyu* 5/19, 6/30, 12/3, 14/1, 14/16, 14/17, 17/1), and "can So-and-so be charged with the conduct of government?" (可使從政也與) (*Lunyu* 6/8). Still other passages deal with the problem of identifying "teachers" (*shi* 師) (*Lunyu* 2/11), "stewards" (*zai* 宰) (*Lunyu* 5/8), "noble men" (*junzi* 君子) (e.g., *Lunyu* 8/6 and 14/5), and those who "understand ritual" (*zhi li* 知禮) (*Lunyu* 3/15, 3/22, 7/31). Considered in isolation, such sayings are single-serve judgments on (from a Han perspective) long-dead individuals; taken together, they reveal a pervasive interest in the problems, the possibilities, and the rhetoric of character evaluation generally.

Also significant is the way the *Lunyu* treats character as a decidedly transparent object of contemplation, most obviously at *Lunyu* 2/10:

> See how he acts, observe what he follows, and examine where he rests. How could the man hide? How could the man hide?"
>
> 視其所以，觀其所由，察其所安。人焉廋哉？人焉廋哉？[463]

In chapter one I labeled a pair of Kongzi sayings from the *Xici zhuan* and the "Kongzi shilun" manuscript "meta-commentaries" because they laid the theoretical groundwork for *Yi* and *Shi* in-

463.Stephen Owen (1992, pp. 19–20) opens his survey of Chinese literary thought with this saying, observing that "Chinese literary thought began its development around this question of knowledge, a special kind of knowing as in 'knowing a person' or 'knowing the conditions of the age.'"

terpretation, respectively (p. 82). There I characterized the sayings' confidence in the readability of the classics as a kind of commentarial conceit, without which the commentarial endeavor, and the pursuit of traditional learning generally, is subject to the Zhuangzian criticism that such texts are merely "the dregs of the ancients" (古人之糟魄).[464] By asserting the essential readability of character, *Lunyu* 2/10 likewise guarantees the value of learning how to "understand others" (*zhi ren* 知人). Likewise, the cumulative effect of Kongzi's character judgments is to present character evaluation as unproblematic, at least when conducted in the proper fashion. In this respect, the *Lunyu* Kongzi differs from the *Lüshi chunqiu* Kongzi, who instructs his followers to remember that "knowing others is assuredly not easy" (知人固不易矣) after he mistakes Yan Hui for a thief (p. 52).

It is probably no accident that *Lunyu* 2/10 parallels also appear in a range of sources identified by Matthias Richter as "characterological" texts, i.e., texts having to do with the evaluation of official candidates.[465] Another example is the phrase "crafty in speech and contrived in appearance" (*qiao yan ling se* 巧言令色) from *Lunyu* 1/3, 5/27, 17/17, and 15/25, a phrase which also appears in the "Zengzi lishi 曾子立事" ("Zengzi establishes affairs") and "Wen wang guan ren 文王官人" ("King Wen evaluates people for office") chapters of the *Da Dai Liji*,[466] the "Guan ren 官人" ("Evaluating people for office") chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 (*Remnant Zhou Writings*),[467] and the "Lun ren 論人" ("Assessing others") chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*,[468] all of

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464.*Zhuangzi* 13 (*SBCK* 5/34a).

465.Richter 2005. For *Lunyu* 2/10 parallels, see *Yi Zhoushu* 58, "Guan ren" (*Yi Zhoushu jiaobu zhuyi* 58.333), *Lüshi chunqiu* 3/4, "Lun ren 論人" (*SBCK* 3/9a), *Da Dai Liji* 72, "Wen wang guan ren 文王官人" (*SBCK* 10/4a), *Huainanzi* 13, "Fan lun 氾論" (*SBCK* 13/16b, in a passage prefaced by the line "thus the Way of assessing others..." [故論人之道]), and *Shuiyuan* 16, "Tan cong 談叢" (*SBCK* 16/5a).

466.*Da Dai Liji* 49 (*SBCK* 4/4a) and *Da Dai Liji* 72 (*SBCK* 10/3b).

467.*Yi Zhoushu jiaobu zhuyi* 58.331.

which address the problem assessing official candidates. On the basis of these parallels, Richter has argued persuasively that characterological traditions formed part of the *Lunyu*'s source material.

Character evaluation in the *Lunyu* is as much a matter of being recognized as it is of recognizing others. Despite the Master's injunction "not to worry that others do not know you" (不患人之不己知) at *Lunyu* 1/16, 4/14, and 14/30,[469] arguably the most persistent anxiety in the text is that a talented and virtuous man will go "unrecognized" (*bu zhi* 不知) in his own time, e.g., when Kongzi laments at *Lunyu* 14/35 that "there is no one who recognizes me" (莫我知也夫).[470] *Lunyu* 11/26 also depicts Kongzi teasing his disciples for constantly complaining, "I am not known" (*bu wu zhi* 不吾知).[471] It is tempting to imagine that the placement of *Lunyu* 1/1 at the head of the text with its praise for the man who "does not resent going unrecognized by others" (人不知而不慍) reflects the *Lunyu* compilers' anxieties about recognition, the flip-side of their interest in evaluating others.

Considered in and of itself, the *Lunyu*'s interest in character evaluation does not necessarily point to a Western Han context. As we saw in chapter one, Kongzi comments on people constitute an entire sub-genre of Kongzi sayings which stretches back well into the pre-Han period. However, resonances with an edict issued by Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE) in 165 BCE hint that the representation of character evaluation in the *Lunyu* owes something to Western Han political rhetoric surrounding the recommendation of talented individuals to the imperium. In the

468.*Lüshi chunqiu* 3/4 (*SBCK* 3/9a).

469.For a variant, see *Lunyu* 4/14.

470.On this theme, see also *Lunyu* 1/1, 1/16, 4/14, 9/28, 11/26, 13/2, 14/30, 14/39, 15/4, and 15/19.

471.See also *Lunyu* 14/39 and 15/4.

edict (Appendix 3:A), Emperor Wen ordered his officials to "select men of worth and integrity" (*xuan xian liang* 選賢良) who were then expected to compose essays in which they would "fully display their aims without hiding anything" (悉陳其志，毋有所隱). Emperor Wen also promised to "personally survey [the responses] in order to discern how the grandees will assist Us and whether or not they meet [Our criteria]" (朕親覽焉，觀大夫所以佐朕，至與不至。). The language of the 165 BCE call for recommendations was echoed in similar edicts issued by Emperor Wu in 134 and 130 and Emperor Yuan in 47.[472]

Compare the language of Emperor Wen's edict with *Lunyu* 5/26 and 11/26 (Appendix 3:B), both of which feature Kongzi enjoining disciples (Yan Yuan 顏淵 and Zilu 子路[473] in 5/26 and Zilu, Zeng Xi 曾晳, Ran You 冉有, and Gongxi Hua 公西華 in 11/26) to "each speak of [his] aims" (各言其志).[474] In *Lunyu* 11/26, the disciples' speeches are then followed by Kongzi's assessments of their qualifications for high office. Kongzi suggests that Zilu 子路 is not up to the challenge of governing a small state, that Ran Qiu could indeed govern a small territory, and Gongxi Hua's seemingly modest desire to serve as a minor official of ritual matters actually qualified him for higher office.

The appearance of similar anecdotes in two other Western Han compilations indicates that such "interview scenes" (to borrow Oliver Weingarten's term) were an important sub-genre of Kongzi dialogue in the Han (see Appendix 3:C).[475] These other versions also happen to exhibit

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472. For Emperor Wu's 134 BCE edict, see *Hanshu* 6.160–61; for the 130 edict, see *Hanshu* 58.2613–14; for Emperor Yuan's 47 BCE edict, see *Hanshu* 9.281–82 & 75.3171–72. All of these edicts feature the claim that the emperor will "personally survey the responses" (*qin lan yan* 親覽焉) of recommended grandees.

473. *Lunyu* 5/26 in fact references a Jilu 季路, which seems to be an alternate name for Zilu.

474. This is the formulation in *Lunyu* 11/26. *Lunyu* 5/25 has a slightly different formulation: "Why don't each of you speak of your aims?" (盍各言爾志). For a similar although less well developed scene of evaluation, see *Lunyu* 5/8.

475. Weingarten 2010, pp. 156–160.

more definite parallels with Western Han edicts. Just as in *Lunyu* 11/26, disciples relate their "aims" (*zhi* 志), after which Kongzi pronounces on their potential. In the *Hanshi waizhuan* book 9 parallel, Zilu is deemed "a brave man of service" (*yong shi* 勇士), Zigong "an eloquent man of service" (*bian shi* 辯士), and Yan Yuan "a sagely man of service" (*sheng shi* 聖士), "a great man of service" (*da shi* 大士), and a "fine" (*mei* 美) and "virtuous" (*de* 德) man. The overlap with the Emperor Wen edict is most evident in the same episode from *Hanshi waizhuan* book nine in which Kongzi says, "let each of you speak of your aims, and I shall survey them" (二三子各言爾志，予將覽焉。). Here the use of the verb *lan* 覽 (survey), a term normally reserved for kings, emperors, sages, or others in a position of political or intellectual authority, is striking. While *lan* 覽 does not appear in the relevant *Lunyu* episodes, its use in the *Hanshi waizhuan* speaks to the sub-genre's contemporary appeal: Kongzi models the role of emperor, his disciples would-be officials. The setting of the *Shuiyuan* and *Hanshi waizhuan* versions lends some support to this reading. According to the stele inscription commemorating the occasion, the Qin First Emperor's 秦始皇 while on an inspection tour of his newly unified empire ascended Mt. Tai 泰山 in order to "survey [*lan* 覽] all around the eastern reaches [of the realm]" (周覽東極).[476] Situating Kongzi interview scenes on mountaintops seems to have been a way to emphasize Kongzi's authority as a supreme judge of character, much as emperors sat atop the Han bureaucracy and personally judged (or so they claimed) the abilities of recommended officials.[477]

Taken together, the choice to highlight "promoting the accomplished and talented" in *Lunyu* 13/2, the large number of *Lunyu* sayings dealing with character evaluation, parallels with characterological texts, and resonances with Western Han edicts calling for the recommendation of tal-

476. Kern 2000, p. 19.

477. Whether any Western Han emperor personally oversaw the selection of capable officials is an open question.

ented officials to the imperium are compelling evidence for taking "recognizing men of worth and talent" as one of the core concerns of the *Lunyu* compilers.[478] The *Lunyu*'s perceived value for the young Emperor Zhao and other scions of the Liu clan may have even been as a manual of character evaluation, a skill they would have been expected to exercise once they had came of age. On the flip side, aspiring officials could have read *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings as advice on becoming, or at least on presenting themselves as, "accomplished" and "talented" individuals for the purpose of imperial recruitment.[479] Attributing this characterological material to Kongzi, whom Kongzi quotation practice had already established as a pre-eminent judge of character, presumably lent them a significant amount of authority.

The case of *Lunyu* 13/2 is also an excellent illustration of the difficulties of dating *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings. *Lunyu* 13/2 ultimately owes both its content and its structure to the person who composed the earlier dialogue tradition represented by the "Zhonggong" manuscript. But the particular form of the *Lunyu* version with its focus on "promoting the accomplished and talented" seems to reflect a concern with character evaluation in the context of Han political culture. The basic ideas date to a pre-Han context, their selection and presentation—in a word, their *lun*-ing—to a Western Han context.

• *Section #2: Keeping up with the* Laozi

478.The crucial importance of *lun ren* 論人 (assessing people) or *lun chen* 論臣 is a constant refrain in pre-Han and early Western Han texts. See, e.g., the section beginning "the essentials of assessing others" (凡論人有要) in *Guanzi* book 16, "Fa fa 法法" (*SBCK* 6/7a); the section beginning "the Way of assessing others" (論人之道) in *Huainanzi* book 13, "Fan lun 氾論" (*SBCK* 13/16b); and the "Lun ren 論人" ("Assessing others") section at *Lüshi chunqiu* 14/3 (*SBCK* 3/8a).

479.For a parallel use of Kongzi to comment on the challenges of evaluating officials, see the "Ai gong wen wu yi 哀公問五義" ("Duke Ai asked about the Five Principles") chapter of the *Da Dai Liji*, which begins with Duke Ai of Lu asked Kongzi, "I wish to assess the men of service of my state and to hand over the running of my government to one of them. How should I go about evaluating them?" (吾欲論吾國之士，與之為政，何如者取之？).

Another kind of selection strategy emerges from a comparison between *Lunyu* 2/17 and a set of parallels from the *Xunzi*, *Hanshi waizhuan*, and *Shuiyuan* (see Appendix 3:D). Whereas *Lunyu* 2/17 is a standalone *zi yue* quotation, the three parallels incorporate that quotation into an elaborate scene of instruction featuring Kongzi and his disciple Zilu. All three non-*Lunyu* versions open with Zilu paying a visit to Kongzi "in full dress" (*sheng fu* 盛服) and being criticized for his ostentatiousness. Zilu exits and returns wearing simpler garb, after which Kongzi teaches him the "essentials of speech" (*yan zhi yao* 言之要) and the "essentials of conduct" (*xing zhi yao* 行之要), which are the keys to "humaneness" (*ren* 仁) and "knowledge" (*zhi* 知), respectively. In the course of the lecture, Kongzi is made to utter a close parallel to the line from *Lunyu* 2/17.

The most compelling reason to read *Lunyu* 2/17 as a selection from an earlier dialogue is the first six characters: "Zilu! I shall teach you about knowing" (由！誨女知之乎。). The vast majority of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings directed at Kongzi disciples are prefaced by a disciple question or some other piece of context that explains why that particular disciple is receiving the instruction. Strangely, *Lunyu* 2/17 makes no effort to explain why Zilu in particular is in need of this lesson. But Kongzi's mention of Zilu makes much more sense if we suppose that *Lunyu* 2/17 was extracted from the earlier tradition represented by the *Xunzi*, in which case the first six characters of *Lunyu* 2/17 might be read as vestiges of its pre-*Lunyu* history.[480]

One way to read *Lunyu* 2/17 as a selection is to ask: why did the *Lunyu* compilers choose "taking knowing as knowing and not knowing as not knowing" (知之為知之，不知為不知) over other lines in the original episode?[481] Nothing in the *Xunzi*, *Hanshi waizhuan*, or *Shuiyuan*

480.Cheng Shude comes to the same conclusion at *Lunyu jishi* 2.110.

481.This is the *Hanshi waizhuan* version. The *Xunzi* substitutes *yue* 曰 for *wei* 為.

versions indicates that "taking knowing as knowing" was the most important element of Kongzi's instruction. To the contrary, "taking knowing as knowing" is balanced against "taking being able as being able and being unable as being unable" (能之為能之，不能為不能), and both lines set up Kongzi's larger conclusions about "knowledge" (*zhi* 知) and "ability" (*neng* 能) and then "wisdom" (*zhi* 知) and "benevolence" (*ren* 仁). For the *Lunyu* compilers, the saying at *Lunyu* 2/17 seems to have trumped the anecdote's core message—but why?

Unattributed parallels in the *Xunzi* and *Hanshi waizhuan* to the line "taking knowing as knowing and not knowing as not knowing" suggest one answer.[482] If this particular saying circulated as an independent proverb, then the *Lunyu* compilers might have simply extracted the element that most resembled something they had heard before. A more intriguing possibility is suggested by a set of parallels from the *Laozi*, *Lüshi chunqiu*, *Zhuangzi*, *Huainanzi*, and *Wenzi* (see Appendix 3:E). Proverbs built around the idea that knowing about knowing is, to quote the *Laozi*, the "highest" (*shang* 上) form of knowledge appear throughout pre-Han and early Han texts, including in the Guodian and Mawangdui manuscripts.[483] Of these parallels, the version in §71 of the received *Laozi* ("Knowing that one does not know is highest; not knowing whether one knows is a fault") seems to have had a strong association with Laozi in the Western Han, at least judging from a *Laozi yue* 老子曰 attribution in *Huainanzi* book twelve.[484] Given the prevalence of *Laozi* manuscript finds and *Laozi* quotations in pre-Han and Western Han sources, my suspicion is that the *Lunyu* compilers were familiar with *Laozi* §71 as a *Laozi* saying, in which case *Lunyu* 2/17 might have appealed to them as Kongzi's version of a well known proverb tradi-

482.See *Xunzi* book 8, "Ru xiao 儒效" (*SBCK* 4/17b & 4/18b) and *Hanshi waizhuan* book 5 (*SBCK* 5/4b)。

483.*Mawangdui Han mu boshu*, "De jing 德經," p. 6.

484.*SBCK* 12/14b.

tion.[485] Tellingly, the three characters appended to *Lunyu* 2/17 but absent in the parallels—"this is knowing" (*shi zhi ye* 是知也)—indicate that illuminating a truer form of *zhi* 知 ("knowing" or "understanding") was indeed their primary concern.

* * *

Lunyu 2/17 is not the only *Lunyu* Kongzi saying that reads as a response to an earlier proverb tradition. *Lunyu* 14/34 quotes an anonymous proverb which it then goes on to criticize:

> Someone said, "What of 'repaying wrong with virtue'?" The Master said, "Then how shall we repay virtue? Repay wrong with rectitude but repay virtue with virtue."
>
> 或曰：以德報怨，何如？子曰：何以報德？以直報怨，以德報德。

As it happens, the saying coyly introduced by the phrase "someone said" (*huo yue*)[486] also appears (with a minor syntactic variant) in received and manuscript versions of the *Laozi*:

> Act without acting, work without working, taste without tasting. Make the small great and the few many. Repay wrong with virtue.
>
> 為無為，事無事，味無味。大小多少，報怨以德。[487]

Several parallels in Han texts confirm that the phrase "repay wrong with virtue" circulated widely in the period (see Appendix 3:F).

In chapter one we saw that Kongzi comments typically expressed approval or disapproval for another figure or text but sometimes also reworked or amplified a piece of text in order to draw out its wisdom. Here, too, the *zi yue* saying does much more than simply evaluate the original saying. By replacing the word *de* 德 (*tʕək) or "virtue" with the nearly homophonous *zhi* 直 (*N-t<r>ək) or "rectitude," *Lunyu* 14/34 piggybacks off of the earlier *Laozi* saying to create a

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485.Robert Eno (2003, pp. 239–40, n. 2) assumes that *Lunyu* 2/17 was a Kongzi saying from its inception. Haupt (2006, pp. 134–135) disagrees and suggests that Kongzi was simply the "spokesperson" (Sprecher) for what was a common idea.

486.*Lunyu* 2/21, 3/11, 3/15, 3/22, 5/5, 5/11, 9/14, 14/9, 14/34, 14/44. Questions from anonymous interlocutors—the "someone" of "someone said" (*huo yue* 或曰)—are relatively infrequent in the *Lunyu*. In every instance, they pose questions whose premises are rejected by Kongzi.

487.*Laozi* 63 (*SBCK* 下/13a).

new saying, one that conceptually and aurally co-opts the original.

Sima Qian in the conclusion to his biography of Laozi had this to say about the relationship between pro-Laozi and pro-Ru partisans in the Western Han:

> Nowadays those who study Laozi criticize Ru learning and those who engage in Ru learning also criticize Laozi. Isn't this a case of "different Ways not conferring"? [*Lunyu* 15/40].
>
> 世之學老子者則絀儒學，儒學亦絀老子。道不同不相為謀，豈謂是邪？[488]

Against this background, *Lunyu* 14/34 might be read as an artifact of Western Han intellectual factionalism, as the *Lunyu* compilers' implicit criticism of the only other pre-Han master whose authority and quotability rivaled Kongzi's. Like the author of the "man of Chu lost his bow" episode from the *Lüshi chunqiu* (p. 57), the *Lunyu* compilers seem to acknowledge a competition between these two authorities and went out of their way to establish the supremacy of the one over the other. In the *Lunyu* as in the *Lüshi chunqiu*, that competition plays out on the level of rhetoric, as dueling sayings.

* * *

The desire to co-opt a pre-existing proverb tradition might have also motivated the selection of *Lunyu* 9/26:

> The Master said, "The three armies can be robbed of their leader, but a common man cannot be robbed of his will."
>
> 子曰：三軍可奪帥也，匹夫不可奪志也。

Parallels to *Lunyu* 9/26 in the *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 (*Master Sun's Art of War*) and *Zuozhuan* point to an early tradition of "military mottos" (*jun zhi* 軍志) built around the notion of "stealing hearts" (*duo xin* 奪心) (Appendix 3:G). The saying's appearance in the *Sunzi bingfa* is especially noteworthy, the notion that an opponent is open to manipulation being a central conceit of a military manual in the same way that the readability of traditional texts is crucial to the rhetoric of

488.*Shiji* 63.2143.

traditional commentary. Why bother studying such techniques if one's opponents are immune to manipulation?

Considered against this backdrop, the wording of the first part of *Lunyu* 9/26—"The three armies can be robbed of their leader"—might be read as a partial acknowledgement of the earlier proverb tradition. Crucially, however, the *Lunyu* does not allow that tradition to speak for itself. Instead, it limits its relevance only to the case of military leaders; the "will" (*zhi* 志) of the "common man" (*pifu* 匹夫), by contrast, cannot be taken away from him.[489] Read as a comment on military proverbs, then, the message of *Lunyu* 9/26 would seem to be: "Yes, there is a military sphere within which scheming military men with their military manuals can be manipulated against their will. But military men know nothing of true will and steadfastness." In this respect, *Lunyu* 9/26 can be read in conjunction with the episode at *Lunyu* 15/1 in which Kongzi refuses to answer a question about "[military] formations" (*chen* 陳) by insisting on the primacy of ritual. Once again, the *Lunyu* compilers seem to manifest their biases on the level of rhetoric, undercutting proverb traditions associated with groups to which they were hostile.

* * *

The final example of a *Lunyu* saying chosen for selection because of pressure from competing wisdom traditions is *Lunyu* 14/35, which features Zigong asking Kongzi to clarify a lament:

> The Master said, "There is no one who understands me!" Zigong said, "How is it that no one understands you?" The Master said, "I do not resent heaven and I do not blame men. At worst I learn [whatever I do not know] and at best I achieve comprehension. If anyone understands me it is surely heaven!"
>
> 子曰：莫我知也夫！子貢曰：何為其莫知子也？子曰：不怨天，不尤人，下學而上達。知我者其天乎！

489. Another set of parallels in the *Liji* (Appendix 3:I), especially those in "Zi yi 緇衣" ("Black robes"), might suggest that the second part of *Lunyu* 9/26 was inspired by a separate proverb tradition concerning the inviolability of a person's "will" (*zhi* 志). If so, then *Lunyu* 9/26 might be read as a synthesis of two competing proverb traditions.

Here as well the core saying ("There is no one who knows me") has parallels in a number of early texts (Appendix 3:H). While variants of the "no one knows me" trope appear in the *Shi* corpus, the precise phrase "there is no one who knows me" is also found in the received and Mawangdui versions of the *Laozi* as well as in the (very fragmentary) "Dizi wen 弟子問" ("The disciples asked") manuscript from the Shanghai Museum corpus. However, Kongzi's exclamation in "Dizi wen" is followed by a question from Ziyou 子游 and not Zigong as it is in the *Lunyu*.

The "no one understands me" lament seems to have acquired a special significance in the Western Han thanks to its appearance in the "Li sao 離騷" ("Encountering sorrow") and related texts. Traditionally ascribed to Qu Yuan 屈原, the "Li sao" is the first and most influential poem in the *Chuci* 楚辭 (*Verses of Chu*) collection. Its coda (*luan* 亂) includes the line "there is no one in my state who knows me" (國無人莫我知兮). Parallel instances in "Huai sha 懷沙" ("Clutching sand"), another *Chuci* piece also attributed to Qu Yuan, as well as in Jia Yi's "Diao Qu Yuan fu 弔屈原賦" ("Mourning for Qu Yuan"), testify to the idea's importance within a prominent genre of Han literature (see Appendix 3:H). Given this context, *Lunyu* 14/35 might be read as an effort to establish Kongzi's ownership of a trendy literary trope, one that (once again) had a long history in the *Laozi* and elsewere.[490]

* * *

The first section of this chapter framed the *Lunyu* compilers as creatures of a Western Han political milieu. Sensitive to their audience's interest in the imperial recruitment process, they peppered their text with Kongzi sayings having to do with the evaluation of character and talent. In

490.For other *Chuci* resonances, see p. 240 below. Given these parallels, it is entirely possible that the mysterious Old Peng 老彭 of *Lunyu* 7/1 is the same Peng Xian 彭咸 invoked in the coda to the "Li sao 離騷."

contrast, the analysis of this section has cast the compilers as collectors of proverbs. As proverb collectors, they must have felt some pressure to include sayings that were both memorable and of interest to their audience. As heirs to a tradition of proverbial language shaped in part by widely circulating texts like the *Laozi*, the *Lunyu* compilers modeled many of their sayings on earlier proverb traditions. The analysis of this section points to a desire to match those traditions at the very least, and perhaps even to supplant them in an effort to present Kongzi as a font of supreme yet eminently recognizable wisdom.

• *Section #3:* Lunyu *2/19 & 14/21: white-washed sayings*

Yet another *lun*-ing strategy emerges from a comparison between *Lunyu* 14/21 and a close parallel in the *Zuozhuan* entry for the fifteenth year of Duke Ai's reign (r. 494–477 BCE) (Appendix 3:I). Both texts relate Kongzi's response to Chen Chengzi's 陳成子 assassination of Duke Jian of Qi 齊簡公 in 480 BCE while Kongzi was serving Duke Ai of Lu 魯哀公; both feature Kongzi advising the Duke to launch a punitive attack on Qi; both have Duke Ai instructing Kongzi to seek permission for the attack from the powerful ministers of Lu; and both conclude with nearly identical Kongzi sayings ("I am ranked after the grandees so I did not dare not to inform you" 以吾從大夫之後，不敢不告也).[491]

But there is a crucial difference between the two versions. The *Zuozhuan* (like the much later *Kongzi jiayu*)[492] relates that Kongzi simply "refused" (*ci* 辭) Duke Ai's order to report to the head of the Jisun clan and promptly resigned (*tui* 退) his post. In contrast, the *Lunyu* relates that

491. The *Zuozhuan* has *yan* 言 (speak) where the *Lunyu* prefers *gao* 告 (report).

492. *Kongzi jiayu* 41, "Zheng lun jie 政論解" (*SBCK* 9/26a–b).

Kongzi reluctantly obeyed the order: "[Kongzi] went to the three ministers and reported, but they did not allow [the attack]" (之三子，告，不可。). Whereas the concluding saying in the *Zuozhuan* ("I am ranked behind the grandees and so I did not dare not to speak) justifies Kongzi's resignation and is addressed to unnamed "others" (*ren* 人), in the *Lunyu* it is addressed to Duke Ai himself and expresses Kongzi's displeasure with his lord. The *Lunyu* Kongzi is then made to utter the saying again, apparently to the "three ministers" (*san zi* 三子) after they also refuse his advice.

What explains this discrepancy? Assuming that the *Zuozhuan* is indeed the earlier text, my suspicion is that the *Lunyu* compilers edited the episode in such a way as to reject the portrayal of Kongzi as an official who willingly disobeyed his lord's direct command.[493] Elsewhere in the *Lunyu* one encounters sayings to the effect that not "disobeying" (*wu wei* 無違) is the essence of filial piety (*Lunyu* 2/5),[494] that the truly filial are "loyal" (*zhong* 忠) (*Lunyu* 2/20),[495] and that filial men are not "fond of going against superiors" (*hao han shang* 好犯上) (*Lunyu* 1/2). If the *Lunyu* compilers were interested in portraying, it seems they could not have included the *Zuozhuan* episode in its original form. Their solution was to excise Kongzi's resignation and replace it with the line "[Kongzi] went to the three ministers and reported, but they did not allow [the attack]" (之三子，告，不可。), thereby representing Kongzi as a disgruntled but still obedient employee. They also preserved the saying "I am ranked after the grandees and so I did not dare not to inform you" as an expression of Kongzi's displeasure with Duke Ai, and then (per-

493. Cheng Shude (*Lunyu jishi* p. 1000) quotes Fang Guanxu's 方觀旭 *Lunyu ouji* 論語偶記 to make the point that Kongzi's behavior in the *Lunyu* but not the *Zuozhuan* was *zheng* 正 (correct) precisely because "the lord's command must be accepted" (*jun ming bu ke bu feng* 君命不可不奉).

494. See also *Lunyu* 4/18 on not "disobeying" (*wei* 違) one's parents.

495. On the definition of *zhong* 忠 in the *Lunyu* and in early texts generally, see Goldin 2008.

haps somewhat clumsily) repeated the saying as an expression of Kongzi's displeasure with the three ministers. In the *Zuozhuan* version, the final saying signals that Kongzi prized principle above loyalty; in *Lunyu* 14/21, it underscores Kongzi's unwavering sense of duty in service of a weak-willed lord.

* * *

The desire to whitewash a morally problematic Kongzi tradition might have also motivated the selection of *Lunyu* 2/19, whose Kongzi saying has a parallel in *Huainanzi* book sixteen (Appendix 3:J). The *Huainanzi* and *Lunyu* versions agree on two points: the core saying's contrast between "raising the straight against the crooked" and "raising the crooked against the straight" and its association with Kongzi's official career in Lu.[496] But whereas the *Huainanzi* casts the saying as Kongzi's justification for "conforming to [the usurping Jisuns'] conduct before entering their government" (順其所為，而後與之入政), the *Lunyu* version is addressed to Duke Ai and makes no mention of the Jisuns. Significantly, its advice to "raise the straight and set it against the crooked" acknowledges none of the moral complexity of the *Huainanzi* version. The one Kongzi readily acknowledges the need to engage in "crooked" endeavors for the greater good, the other simplistically asserts the need to always confront the bad with the good.

Aside from the theme of "raising the straight"/"raising the crooked," the shared use of *-ək and *-aŋʔ rhymes would seem to imply some sort of genetic relationship between them. Whether the one was an adapted quotation of the other or whether both versions were quoting some unknown source, my suspicion is that the more regular rhyme scheme of the *Huainanzi* version is the earlier one, and that the *Lunyu* compilers sacrificed that scheme in the course of transforming

496. A variation on the same phrase also appears at *Lunyu* 12/22 and in the "Kongzi shijia" (*Shiji* 471935: "Raise the straight against the crooked and the crooked will be straight" [季康子問政，曰：舉直錯諸枉，則枉者直。])

it from a statement about ethical gray areas, about laudable ends justifying less-than-moral means, into a black-and-white statement against compromising one's morals.

Although it does not exhibit verbal parallels to the *Lunyu* and *Huainanzi* passages, a Kongzi anecdote from the *Lüshi chunqiu* speaks to an interest in assessing the propriety of Kongzi's service to the Ji clan:

> The head of the Ji clan had usurped the power of the ducal house of Lu. Kongzi wanted to instruct him in the proper methods but [knew that] he would be perceived as an outsider, so he accepted a salary and took the opportunity to offer his persuasions. When people in Lu criticized him for this, Kongzi responded, "The *long*-dragon eats and swims in clear water; the *chi*-dragon eats in clear water but swims in muddy water; fish eat and swim in muddy water. Now, I have not ascended to the level of a *long*-dragon but I have not descended to that of fish. I am perhaps a *chi*-dragon!" When you want to accomplish something, how do you coincide perfectly with the carpenter's line? Rescuing the drowning requires getting wet; chasing someone running away means having to sprint.
>
> 季孫氏劫公家。孔子欲諭術則見外，於是受養而便説。魯國以訾，孔子曰：龍食乎清而游乎清，螭食乎清而游乎濁，魚食乎濁而游乎濁。今丘上不及龍，下不若魚，丘其螭邪。夫欲立功者，豈得中繩哉？救溺者濡，追逃者趨。[497]

Although expressed in different terms, the *Lüshi chunqiu* Kongzi's embrace of morally problematic means—the "muddy water" (*zhuo* 濁) of serving the Ji clan—for righteous ends—the "clear water" (*qing* 清) of advising as to the "proper methods" (*shu* 術)—is much closer in spirit to the *Huainanzi* Kongzi's apology. By adapting the language of the *Huainanzi* tradition and also jettisoning its context, the *Lunyu* compilers may have sought to remove any hint of impropriety on Kongzi's part. The end result was a purer, if less interesting, portrait of Kongzi.

Why would the *Lunyu* compilers have white-washed Kongzi traditions in this way? Here we might recall that the earliest accounts of anyone actually using a *Lunyu* text (Sima Qian's comment on the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan" excepted) describe it as a textbook for Han royal princes. Assuming that the text was compiled or edited with that use in mind, the *Lunyu*'s rejection of

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497.*Lüshi chunqiu* 19/8, "Ju nan 舉難" ("The difficulty of promoting"). Translation adapted from Knoblock & Riegel 2000, pp. 505–506.

ethical gray areas might reflect the pedagogical motivations of the *Lunyu* compilers. A Kongzi who embraced the "crooked" or "muddy water," even if only as a means to an end, was perhaps felt to be an inappropriate model for impressionable future emperors and kings.

• *Section #4: Epitomizing Kongzi sayings*

One of the most widely attested Kongzi anecdotes in pre-Han and Western Han literature relates Kongzi's conversations with his disciples while stuck "between Chen and Cai" (*Chen Cai zhi jian* 陳蔡之間).[498] One index of the story's popularity in the period is that it was also appropriated by critics who sought to subvert the story to portray Kongzi as an unrealistic dreamer who brought his troubles on himself (*Zhuangzi*) or as a rank hypocrite (*Mozi*). Still other authors simply referenced the story as if it was common knowledge. For instance, Liu Sheng 劉勝, a son of Emperor Jing 景帝 (r. 156–141 BCE) who reigned as King of Zhongshan 中山王 for 42 years (r. 154–112 BCE), alluded to the story in a memorial dated to 138 BCE: "King Wen was detained in Youli and Kongzi was trapped between Chen and Cai" (文王拘於牖里，孔子厄於陳蔡。).[499] In chapter one (pp. 29–31) I noted that extant versions of the legend generally share a similar framework but differ with respect to the Kongzi sayings themselves. So long as an author stuck to a few basic points, e.g., that Kongzi and his disciples were "surrounded" (*wei* 圍) by hostile forces and that they had little or no food, he was apparently free to construct a conversation around those details in whatever way he saw fit. How, then, did the *Lunyu* compilers deal with the "between Chen and Cai" anecdote tradition? Which, if any, of the story's elements did they

498.For my earlier discussion of Chen and Cai narratives in the context of Kongzi quotation practice, see pp. 29–31.
499.*Hanshu* 53.2423. For a similar example, see *Mengzi* 7B/18 (*SBCK* 14/6b).

accept? And what do those choices reveal about the compilers' motivations?

The *Lunyu* happens to include a number of sayings which reference Kongzi's misadventures between Chen and Cai. Three of these sayings mention Chen and/or Cai explicitly:

Lunyu 5/22	While in Chen the Master said, "Let us go home! Let us go home! Our young men are wildly ambitious and have great accomplishments for all to see, but they do not know how to prune themselves."[500] 子在陳，曰：歸與！歸與！吾黨之小子狂簡，斐然成章，不知所以裁之。
Lunyu 11/2	The Master said, "None of those who followed me in Chen and Cai ever reached my gates." 子曰：從我於陳、蔡者，皆不及門也。
Lunyu 15/2	While in Chen [the Master] ran out of food and his followers were exhausted and unable to rise. Zilu had a resentful look and said, "Does even a noble man hit rock bottom?" The Master said, "The noble man is at rock bottom as a matter of course. When a petty man hits rock bottom he loses his scruples." 在陳絕糧，從者病，莫能興。子路慍見曰：君子亦有窮乎？子曰：君子固窮，小人窮斯濫矣。

Of the three passages, *Lunyu* 15/2 speaks most directly to the Chen and Cai legend insofar as it describes the starvation and exhaustion suffered by Kongzi and his disciples. While *Lunyu* 5/22 and 11/2 do not include any narrative details,[501] they do happen to echo Kongzi's criticisms of certain disciples in other Chen and Cai anecdotes, e.g., when the Kongzi of the *Lüshi chunqiu* version calls Zilu and Zigong "petty men" (*xiao ren* 小人) for questioning Kongzi's good cheer in such dire circumstances.[502]

To the above list we can add three more sayings whose parallels suggest an association with the Chen and Cai legend:

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500. Translation after Lau 2000, p. 44.

501. Cheng Shude (*Lunyu jishi* pp. 739–41) reads *Lunyu* 11/2 against *Mengzi* 7B/18 ("When the *junzi* was in dire straits between Chen and Cai, he had no associates above [i.e., among the political elites] or below [i.e., among the common people]" (君子之厄於陳蔡之間，無上下之交也。).

502. *Lüshi chunqiu* 14/6 (*SBCK* 14/17b)

Lunyu 9/28	The Master said, "Only after the year grows cold does one know that the pine and cypress are the last to wither." 子曰：歲寒，然後知松柏之後彫也。
Lunyu 15/3	The Master said, "Ci, do you suppose that I know what I do because I have studied many kinds of things?" He replied, "I do. Is that not the case?" "It is not. I bind it all together with a single [thread]." 子曰：賜也，女以予為多學而識之者與？對曰：然，非與？曰：非也，予一以貫之。
Lunyu 15/6	Zizhang asked about following [the Way]. The Master said, "If your words are loyal and trustworthy and your actions sincere and respectful, then you will follow it even in foreign lands. But if your words are not loyal and trustworthy and your actions are not sincere and respectful, then will you follow it even in your local area? While standing you must see it facing you, while riding you must see it on the handle-bar. Only then will you follow [the Way]." Zizhang wrote this down on his sash. 子張問行。子曰：言忠信，行篤敬，雖蠻貊之邦，行矣。言不忠信，行不篤敬，雖州里，行乎哉？立則見其參於前也，在輿則見其倚於衡也，夫然後行。子張書諸紳。

Lunyu 15/3 follows *Lunyu* 15/2 in the "Kongzi shijia" biography, the implication being that Zigong and Kongzi had this exchange between Chen and Cai.[503] Likewise, the "Zhongni dizi liezhuan" prefaces *Lunyu* 15/6 with the line, "Another day, when [Zizhang] followed Kongzi between Chen and Cai and encountered difficulties, he asked about following [the Way]" (他日從在陳蔡閒，困，問行。).[504] However, the *Shiji* is the only early text I am aware of which contextualizes *Lunyu* 15/3 and 15/6 as statements uttered between Chen and Cai, and the Kongzi sayings themselves do not seem to depend on that context.

Variants of *Lunyu* 9/28, on the other hand, appear as Kongzi sayings within much longer Chen and Cai anecdotes from the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Zhuangzi* (as well as in unattributed pas-

503.*Shiji* 47.1930.

504.*Shiji* 67.2204.

sages in the *Xunzi* and *Huainanzi*) (Appendix 3:K). Thus it would seem that in *Lunyu* 9/28 we have another example of a Kongzi saying extracted from an earlier anecdote tradition. Above I noted that the Kongzi saying at *Lunyu* 2/17 was a curious selection because the notion of "knowing that one knows" was neither the most important nor the most representative element of the Kongzi dialogue found in the *Xunzi*, *Hanshi waizhuan*, and *Shuiyuan*. This led me to surmise that the *Lunyu* compilers cared little for the longer dialogue and simply extracted the discrete idea they were most interested in. However, *Lunyu* 9/28 exhibits an altogether different relationship to its source material, the memorable metaphor of the pine and cypress succinctly expressing the idea that true virtue manifests itself only in the direst of circumstances. Unlike *Lunyu* 2/17, the selection of *Lunyu* 9/28 reflects a sensitivity towards its source material, and perhaps even an interest in capturing its core lesson in a manner similar to Kongzi comments on anecdotes in other texts. A compiler who set out to extract a representative standalone Kongzi saying from these Chen and Cai narratives could do far worse than *Lunyu* 9/28.

Seen from this perspective, *Lunyu* 15/2 might also be read as an expression of another core message of the Chen and Cai legend: since "the noble man is at rock bottom (*qiong* 窮) as a matter of course," there is no need for Kongzi or his disciples to despair of their situation. The fact that the word *qiong* 窮 (to be at rock bottom) appears in several extant versions indicates that it was one of the key elements of the legend, in which case the *Lunyu* compilers might have isolated the term and then built a new saying around it.[505] In the process, they epitomized a popular legend with a pithy saying much as the Kongzi comments discussed in chapter one epitomized various kinds of texts and (quasi-)historical figures. Put simply, *Lunyu* 15/2 might be said to express

505. In contrast, John Makeham (1998, p. 76) concludes from the shorter length of *Lunyu* 15/2 that it predates the more elaborate versions in the *Mengzi*, *Zhuangzi*, and elsewhere.

the "greater meaning" (*da yi* 大義) of the Chen and Cai legend.

* * *

Another *Lunyu* Kongzi saying with a number of precedents in an earlier anecdotal tradition is *Lunyu* 9/17:

> The Master was by a river when he said, "Such is its current! It stops neither day nor night."
>
> 子在川上曰：逝者如斯夫！不舍晝夜。

Stories about Kongzi's fascination with rivers appear in several early texts, including twice in the *Mengzi* and once each in the *Xunzi*, *Shizi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Shiji*, *Da Dai Liji*, *Shuiyuan*, *Kongzi jiayu*, and the Fuyang manuscript corpus (see Appendix 3:L).[506] Three of these anecdotes (*Xunzi*, *Shuiyuan*, *Da Dai Liji*) involve comparisons between water and a number of concepts or values which include "virtue" (*de* 德), "propriety" (*yi* 義), and the "Way" (*dao* 道). Only one of these versions—*Mengzi* 4B/18—parallels the language of *Lunyu* 9/17 in any way, and even there the parallel consists of only four characters within a 59-character Mengzi quotation:

> Xuzi said, "Zhongni often praised water, saying, 'Water! Water!' What did he glean from water?" Mengzi said, "The water from springs gushes forth, stopping neither day nor night. It flows onward only after filling the empty spaces, then spreads out to the four seas. Things with a basis are like this, and this is what [Zhongni] gleaned. If something is without basis it is like the summer rains that fill up the ditches but dry up while you stand there watching them. Thus a noble man is ashamed if his reputation exceeds his character."
>
> 徐子曰：仲尼亟稱於水，曰：水哉，水哉！何取於水也。孟子曰：原泉混混，不舍晝夜，盈科而後進，放乎四海。有本者如是，是之取爾。苟為無本，七八月之間雨集，溝澮皆盈；其涸也，可立而待也。故聲聞過情，君子恥之。

Given the prevalence of such episodes, Xuzi's statement that Zhongni "often praised water" (*qi cheng yu shui* 亟稱於水) might be read as an acknowledgement of the tradition's popularity. In asking "what Kongzi gleaned from water" (何取於水也), Xuzi seems to be soliciting a comment

506.*Zhuangzi* book 19, "Da sheng 達生" (*SBCK* 7/10b–11a), *Shuiyuan* book 17, "Za yan 雜言" (*SBCK* 17/16a–b), and *Kongzi jiayu* book 8, "Zhi si 致思" (*SBCK* 2/9a–b), also include anecdotes which begin with Kongzi "contemplating" (*guan* 觀) the "Lü cataract" (*Lü liang* 呂梁). However, they also have Kongzi interacting with a mysteriously gifted swimmer who then instructs Kongzi in some lesson.

on an entire sub-genre of Kongzi saying, and Mengzi obliges with his own interpretation of what water meant for Kongzi. Assuming that *Mengzi* 4B/18 predates *Lunyu* 9/17, it is tempting to imagine that the *Lunyu* compilers selected the line "stopping neither day nor night" (*bu she zhou ye* 不舍晝夜) for their own version because, like the *Mengzi* 4B/18 author, they were interested in crafting an authoritative statement on an entire sub-genre of Kongzi saying.

If the *Lunyu* compilers did lift a line from *Mengzi* 4B/18, why that particular line? And what of the other five characters ("Such is its passing!")? Here the use of *shi* 逝 (to pass) is suggestive. Outside of the *Shi* corpus, the word *shi* 逝 does not have a large presence in pre-Han and Western Han intellectual discourse.[507] But it does form part of the stock poetic vocabulary of the *Chuci* collection,[508] which includes a number of poems whose protagonists "contemplate" (*guan* 觀) or "look down on" (*lin* 臨) water (see Appendix 3:M). If the *Lunyu* compiler was familiar with the poetic tradition represented by the *Chuci*, that familiarity might have led him to select or even compose the Kongzi saying at *Lunyu* 14/35 in response to the same poetic sensibility.

* * *

In section two I argued that the popularity of pre-Han proverb traditions exerted some pressure on the *Lunyu* compiler to select Kongzi sayings on similar themes using similar language. The analysis of this section suggests that popular Kongzi anecdotal traditions exerted a similar pressure. Significantly, the *Lunyu* compilers seem not to have participated in these traditions with their own fully developed versions of various Kongzi legends, instead preferring short,

507. Among ostensibly pre-Han texts, it occurs once in the *Guanzi*, twice in the *Laozi*, twice in the *Lüshi chunqiui*, twice in the *Mengzi* (including one *Shi* quotation), twice in the *Mozi*, x23 in the *Shijing*, once in the *Yanzi chunqiu*, once in the *Zhanguo ce*, x5 in the *Zhuangzi*, and once in the *Zuozhuan* (in a *Shi* quotation). Tellingly, eight of the nine *Shiji* examples are found in "odes" (*Shi* 詩) and "performance texts" (*fu* 賦).

508. By my count, *shi* 逝 appears a total of 26 times in the *Chuci*.

standalone *zi yue* sayings over extended anecdotes. Their preference for epitomizing sayings may also reveal something of their aspirations for the *Lunyu* as a text designed in part as an authoritative statement on pre-*Lunyu* Kongzi traditions. *Lunyu* 9/17, 9/28, and 15/2 may represent the compilers' effort to have the last word on early Kongzi legends, perhaps in order fix Kongzi's biography against anti-Kongzi parodies like those found in the *Mozi* and *Zhuangzi*. Such sayings would have satisfied an elite Western Han audience eager for a more predictable, and thus a more quotable, Kongzi.

• *Section #5: Kongzi on Kongzi*

Both *Lunyu* 7/2 and 7/34 feature Kongzi describing himself as someone who simply "learns without tiring and teaches others without wearying":

Lunyu 7/2	The Master said, "Keep quiet and take note! I learn without tiring and teach others without wearying. What [more] is there for me? 子曰：默而識之！學而不厭，誨人不倦，何有於我哉？
Lunyu 7/34	The Master said, "As for being sagely and humane, how would I dare? It might perhaps be said that I conduct myself without tiring and teach others without wearying—that is all." Gongxi Hua said, "This is precisely what your disciples cannot learn." 子曰：若聖與仁，則吾豈敢？抑為之不厭，誨人不倦，則可謂云爾已矣。 公西華曰：正唯弟子不能學也。

As it happens, parallels in the *Mengzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu* frame the same core saying as Kongzi's response to a question from Zigong:

Mengzi 2A/2	Formerly Zigong asked Kongzi, "Master, are you a sage?" Kongzi said, "A sage? I do not have the ability. I learn without tiring and teach without wearying." 昔者子貢問於孔子曰：夫子聖矣乎？孔子曰：聖則吾不能，我學不厭而教不倦也。

Lüshi chunqiu 4/3, "Zun shi 尊師"	Zigong asked Kongzi, "How will later generations praise you, Master?" Kongzi said, "What am I worthy to be praised for? Say nothing except that I love learning without tiring and love teaching without wearying. That is all. 子貢問孔子曰：後世將何以稱夫子？孔子曰：吾何足以稱哉？勿已者，則好學而不厭，好教而不倦，其惟此邪。

Despite the different introductory questions, with the *Mengzi* version asking about Kongzi's "sageliness" (*sheng* 聖 [*-eŋ]) and the *Lüshi chunqiu* about "praise" (*cheng* 稱 [*-əŋ]) of Kongzi generally, the parallels point to a shared tradition: first, Zigong asks Kongzi a flattering question; next, Kongzi rejects the flattery ("As for being a sage, I do not have the ability"/"What am I worthy to be praised for?"); finally, he utters a saying which coordinates "learning" (*xue* 學) and "not tiring" (*bu yan* 不厭) with "teaching" (*jiao* 教 or *hui* 誨) and "not wearying" (*bu juan* 不倦). The *Lüshi chunqiu* version then concludes with an additional piece of modesty ("That is all").[509]

The appearance of Zigong in these dialogues is probably not a coincidence. Elsewhere in the *Lunyu*, *Lunyu* 19/22–25 feature Zigong's descriptions of his master, 15/24 has Zigong eliciting the "one saying that can be practiced to the end of one's life," and 14/28 has him commenting on a Kongzi saying with the words, "The Master describes himself" (夫子自道也). Outside the text, it is Zigong who criticizes Duke Ai's 哀公 eulogy of Kongzi in the *Zuozhuan* (see p. 99) and who elicits Kongzi's description of himself as a "homeless dog" (*sang jia gou* 喪家狗) in the *Hanshi waizhuan*, "Kongzi shijia," *Baihu tongyi*, *Kongzi jiayu*, and *Lunheng*.[510] As we saw in

509.A parallel from the "Kongzi shijia" (*Shiji* 47.1928) also includes this Kongzi saying directed at Zilu: "Kongzi learned of this and said, 'You [=Zilu], why didn't you say, "As a man he learns the Way without tiring and teaches others without wearying. When exercised he forgets to eat, when joyful he forgets his worries, and he does not know the onset of old age" (孔子聞之，曰：由，爾何不對曰：其為人也，學道不倦，誨人不厭，發憤忘食，樂以忘憂，不知老之將至云爾。). Curiously, this saying seems to be a mash-up of *Lunyu* 7/2 and 7/19.

510.*Hanshi waizhuan* 9 (*SBCK* 9/10a); *Shiji* 47.1921; *Baihu tongyi* 31, "Shou ming 壽命" (*SBCK* 8/5a); *Kongzi jiayu* 22, "Kun shi 困誓" (*SBCK* 5/23a): *Lunheng* 11, "Gu xiang 骨相" (*SBCK* 3/10b). In the "Wei jiangjun Wenzi 衛將軍文子" ("Wenzi, General of Wei") chapter of the *Da Dai Liji*, Zigong is also asked to evaluate various

chapter one (p. 127), Zigong was also the disciple most often asked to characterize Kongzi's virtues. There I argued that Zigong's reputation as the most rhetorically gifted disciple allows us to read such episodes as statements on the ineffability of Kongzi's virtue. Zigong's symbolic status probably explains his involvement in episodes in which Kongzi is asked to describe himself, his presence marking that a saying dealt with the problem of matching language to reality.

Here it might be objected that my translation of the first four characters of *Lunyu* 7/2—"Keep quiet and take note" (默而識之)—goes against a longstanding commentarial tradition which reads them as part of Kongzi's self-description:

> <Xing Bing 邢昺 (931–1010)>In this paragraph Zhongni says that he records without speaking, that he learns from the ancients without tiring his heart, and that he teaches others without growing weary (此章仲尼言已不言而記識之，學古而心不厭，教誨於人不有倦息。).[511]
>
> <James Legge's (1815–1897) translation>The silent treasuring up of knowledge; learning without satiety; and instructing others without being wearied—which one of these things belongs to me?[512]
>
> <D.C. Lau translation>Quietly to store up knowledge in my mind, to learn without flagging, to teach without growing weary. For me there is nothing to these things.[513]
>
> <Edward Slingerland translation>Remaining silent and yet comprehending, learning and yet never becoming tired, encouraging others and never growing weary—these are tasks that present me with no difficulty.[514]

Commentators from Li Chong 李充 (fl. fourth century) onward have likewise described *Lunyu* 7/2 as a statement on the "three-fold path" (*san hang* 三行) on the assumption that Kongzi's self-description consisted of three distinct elements.[515]

Kongzi disciples.

511. *Lunyu zhengyi* 7/15 (*Shisanjing zhushu* p. 2481).

512. Legge 1867, p. 153

513. Lau 2000, p. 57.

514. Slingerland 2003, p. 64.

515. *Lunyu jishi* pp. 436–39.

But there are a number of problems with this reading, beginning with the fact that the first of the three paths is neither semantically nor grammatically parallel to the other two. If the "three paths" really were intended to be read as a group, we might expect the first path to parallel the second just as the second parallels the third (e.g., with the line "Know without speaking" *識而不言). Second, the notion of "learning with tiring and teaching without wearying" appears in a number of Eastern Han texts but never alongside *mo er shi zhi* 默而識之. If *Lunyu* 7/2 was originally conceived of as a "three-fold path," why did all of the Han authors who quoted *Lunyu* 7/2 fail to notice that fact? Third, as discussed in chapter one (p. 51), a number of early texts feature Kongzi ordering his disciples to "take note of" (*zhi* 志 or *shi* 識) his instructions. *Zhuangzi* book 21, "Tian Zifang 田子方," even has Kongzi telling his most cherished disciple to *mo* 默 ("be quiet"), the same word which opens *Lunyu* 7/2:

> Yan Yuan asked Zhongni, "Did King Wen fall short? Why did he use a [fake] dream to get his way?" Zhongni said, "Quiet! Do not speak. King Wen was perfect, so how can you evaluate and criticize him? He only used [the dream] to handle that particular situation."
>
> 顏淵問於仲尼曰：文王其猶未邪？又何以夢為乎？仲尼曰：默！汝無言。夫文王盡之也，而又何論刺焉？彼直以循斯須也。[516]

Translating *Lunyu* 7/2 as "Keep quiet and take note" in parallel with this *Zhuangzi* dialogue has the additional advantage of highlighting a convergence with the *Lüshi chunqiu* parallel, in which Kongzi prefaces his instruction with a bit of scolding: "Enough!" (勿已者). Thus, the evidence from *Lunyu* parallels reveals *Lunyu* 7/2, like 2/17, as a saying extracted from an earlier dialogue, one that still bears the scars of its extraction.[517]

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516. *Zhuangzi* 21 (*SBCK* 7/38a–b; *KZJY* 17.15/p. 392). Also note Kongzi's contempt for Zigong at, e.g., *Xunzi* 29, "Zi dao 子道" (*SBCK* 20/10a–b; *KZJY* 2.12/p. 18) (Kongzi said, "Ci, you are a petty man who doesn't understand" 孔子曰：小人哉！賜不識也。), and *Hanshi waizhuan* 4 (*SBCK* 4/6a–b; *KZJY* 7.10/p. 149) (Kongzi said, "...Ci, you are a sorry envoy. How can you possibly understand ritual?" 孔子曰：...賜，寡使也，何足以識禮也！).

517. The opening of *Lunyu* 7/34 ("As for being sagely and humane, how would I dare?") probably also points to an earlier dialogical context.

But the question remains: why would the *Lunyu* compilers include multiple versions of the same Kongzi saying within a single *Lunyu* book? Part of the answer to that question lies in the observation that "learn without tiring and teach without wearying" is one of the very few *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings with multiple parallels in pre-Han texts. Like the various *Lunyu* sayings connected to Chen and Cai stories, the inclusion of both *Lunyu* 7/2 and *Lunyu* 7/34 might simply reflect the original saying's popularity in the period. More significantly, the clustering of Kongzi self-appraisals in *Lunyu* book 7 speaks the *Lunyu* compilers' evident interest in these sayings *as* self-appraisals. Who better to fix an authoritative image of Kongzi than Kongzi himself?

• *Section #6: Lunyu 12/1 & 12/2 and the situated saying*

In the examples discussed so far I have tried to establish that the *Lunyu* compilers engaged earlier material with an eye to selecting memorable sayings. Once selected, evidence of sayings' pre-*Lunyu* history was (mostly) cast aside. However, the *Lunyu* does not consist solely of isolated *zi yue* sayings. Consider *Lunyu* 12/1, whose likeliest precursor is a Kongzi comment from the *Zuozhuan* entry for 530 BCE, the twelfth year of Duke Zhao's 昭公 reign (see Appendix 3:N). The focal point in both the *Lunyu* and *Zuozhuan* versions is the idea that "humaneness" (*ren* 仁) consists of "subduing oneself and reviving ritual" (*ke ji fu li* 克己復禮).[518] Whereas the *Zuozhuan* saying introduces that idea as part of a comment on the story of King Ling of Chu 楚靈王, the *Lunyu* casts it as a response to a question from Yan Yuan about "humaneness" (*ren* 仁). The *Zuozhuan* Kongzi also attributes the core saying to an "ancient maxim" (*gu ye you zhi*

518.For a parallel discussion see Haupt 2006, pp. 126–127

古也有志) which is not mentioned by the *Lunyu* Kongzi.

The core saying ("subduing oneself and reviving ritual") aside, *Lunyu* 12/1 has two additional parallels in the *Zuozhuan*. The first is the line "One becomes humane from oneself—how could it be from another?" (為仁由己，而由人乎哉？), whose core template (X由己，由人乎哉) appears twice in unattributed judgments in the *Zuozhuan* but nowhere else in the extant literature that I am aware of.[519] In these comments the anonymous *Zuozhuan* narrator steps out of the narrative to cast judgment on various historical actors and draw generally applicable morals, much like the Kongzi comments on anecdotes discussed in chapter one (pp. 48–53). The second parallel appears not in *Lunyu* 12/1 but in *Lunyu* 12/2, which also features Kongzi responding to a question from a disciple about "humaneness" (*ren* 仁) with a saying whose earliest parallel is in the *Zuozhuan* (Appendix 3:O). Like 12/1, *Lunyu* 12/2 also ends with a disciple professing his "lack of intelligence" (*bu min* 不敏) and "begging to put this saying into practice" (*qing shi si yu yi* 請事斯語矣).[520] The clustering of *Zuozhuan* parallels in *Lunyu* 12/1 and 12/2 is compelling evidence for reading both episodes as actual adaptations from the *Zuozhuan*.

If so, how were they adapted, and what does the form of the adaptations say about the interests of the *Lunyu* compilers? One way to approach this question is to ask why *Lunyu* 12/1 was preferred over dozens of other Kongzi sayings in the *Zuozhuan*. Judging from the opening lines of *Lunyu* 12/1 and 12/2—"So-and-so asked about humaneness" (*wen ren* 聞仁)—the answer to that question has something to do with the compilers' interest in "humaneness" (*ren* 仁) as an ab-

519. See *Zuozhuan* Xi 20 (*SBCK* 6/4b) ("Success and failure comes from oneself; how could they come from another?" 善敗由己，而由人乎哉。) and *Zuozhuan* Cheng 6 (*SBCK* 12/13b) ("One establishes a martial [virtue] through himself; it is not from another" 立武由己，非由人也。).

520. This is a generic element of a number of Kongzi dialogues. Variants of the formula appear six times in the *Hanshi waizhuan* alone, twice in the mouths of Kongzi's interlocutors Ji Kangzi 季康子 (*SBCK* 3/14a) and Zigong (*SBCK* 7/15a).

stract concept. The word *ren* 仁 appears in only three *Zuozhuan* Kongzi sayings, two of which are dependent comments on specific historical individuals, Zichan 子產 and Zang Wenzhong 臧文仲.[521] The third is the parallel to *Lunyu* 12/1: "subduing oneself and reviving ritual is humaneness." If the *Lunyu* compilers were scouring *Zuozhuan* Kongzi sayings looking for an abstract, universally applicable statement on *ren*, "subduing oneself and reviving ritual" would have been their only option.

Lunyu 12/2 is not attributed to Kongzi in the *Zuozhuan*. However, it may have caught the compilers' eye because it was an independent saying (prefaced by the quotation marker "your subject has heard" [*chen wen* 臣聞) which made a strong claim about "the standard of humaneness" (*ren zhi ze ye* 仁之則也). Although *ren* is an oft-invoked concept in the *Zuozhuan*, particularly in speeches, this is the only other line I have found in the text which offers anything like an explicit definition of *ren*.[522]

Given their preference for extracted sayings elsewhere in the *Lunyu*, why did the *Lunyu* compilers decide to contextualize these particular sayings as conversations between Kongzi and his disciples? The form of the dialogue in *Lunyu* 12/1, which amplifies each element of the original saying in three successive stages, suggests one possible answer:

Subduing oneself — **a.** 克己
and reviving ritual — **b.** 復禮
is humaneness. — **c.** 為仁
↓
c1. If in one day one can subdue himself and revive ritual then the entire world will return to humaneness.
一日克己復禮，天下歸仁焉。
↓

521.For these comments, see *Zuozhuan* Wen 2 (*SBCK* 8/5a; *KZJY* p. 413) and Zhao 12 (*SBCK* 22/15b; *KZJY* pp. 417–18)

522.*Ren* 仁 is glossed in several passages in the *Zuozhuan* alongside other values such as *xin* 信 and *yi* 義. But the *Zuozhuan* parallels of *Lunyu* 12/1 and 12/2 consider *ren* 仁 independently of other values.

a1. One becomes humane from himself—
how could it be from another?
為仁由己，而由人乎哉？

↓

b1. If it is not ritually proper then do not look at it;
if it is not ritually proper then do not listen to it;
if it is not ritually proper then do not speak it;
if it is not ritually proper then do not act on it.
非禮勿視，非禮勿聽，非禮勿言，非禮勿動。

The first part (c1) expands the scope of the original saying by emphasizing its potency: an individual (presumably a ruler) who "subdues himself and revives ritual" even for a single day will cause "all under heaven" (*tian xia* 天下) to be humane. Here we might also note a phonological resonance between the *Lunyu*'s *gui* 歸 (*kwəj) and the *Zuozhuan*'s *wei* 為 (*ɢwaj). The next line (a1) amplifies the notion of "subduing oneself" (*ke ji* 克己), and Yan Yuan's follow-up question ("May I ask about the particulars") prompts a response which loosely parallels a Kongzi saying from the Shanghai Museum "Junzi wei li 君子為禮" manuscript (see Appendix 2:V, parallels 4 & 5), although in that text the focus is *yi* 義 (propriety) and not *li* 禮.

In short, the *lun*-ing of *Lunyu* 12/1 (and perhaps also 12/2)[523] took place in several steps. First, the *Lunyu* compilers might have scanned the *Zuozhuan* for maxims on *ren* 仁 as an abstract concept. Not content to let those sayings speak for themselves, probably because the *Zuozhuan* did not attribute them to Kongzi, they contextualized them as dialogues between Kongzi and his disciples.[524] Repurposing the dependent *Zhongni yue* comment as a scene of instruction and eliding the words "there is an ancient maxim" bolstered the impression that the core sayings orig-

523. While the structure of *Lunyu* 12/2 is less neat, the line "you will incur resentment neither in your state nor in your home" (在邦無怨，在家無怨。) seems to amplify the core saying's contrast between "being away from home" (*chu men* 出門) and "directing the people" (*shi min* 使民) in the course of one's official duties.

524. Christiane Haupt (2006, p. 50–52) has noted that the *Kongzi jiayu* parallels of many *Zuozhuan* Kongzi sayings are also presented as dialogues which emphasize Kongzi's role as a master. By contrast, the Kongzi comments in the *Zuozhuan* are never prompted by or directed at an interlocutor.

inated with Kongzi and Kongzi alone. Perhaps because they especially valued the core sayings of *Lunyu* 12/1 and 12/2, the compilers then elaborated on them before concluding with the disciples' words, "I beg to put this saying into practice." Far from representing an actual scene of instruction, the dialogical framework of *Lunyu* 12/1 and 12/2 was simply a way to assert Kongzi's ownership of the sayings, and to emphasize their value.

• *Section #7: Lunyu 7/1 and the appropriated Kongzi saying*

Any list of the most famous and influential *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings would have to include *Lunyu* 7/1:

> The Master said: "Insofar as I transmit without originating and trust in and love the ancient, I would liken myself to our Old Peng."
>
> 子曰：述而不作，信而好古，竊比於我老彭。[525]

In addition to serving as a slogan for authors throughout the Chinese tradition, *Lunyu* 7/1 had a profound influence on the imagination of Kongzi in later periods. To take just one example, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), the figure ultimately responsible for recanonizing the *Lunyu* as one of the Four Books (*Si shu* 四書), had this to say about *Lunyu* 7/1 in his *Si shu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集注 (*Collected Chapter-and-Verse Commentaries on the Four Books*).

> Kongzi edited the *Shi* and *Shu*, he fixed the *Li* and *Yue*, he enlarged the *Zhouyi*, and he emended the *Chunqiu*. In every instance he transmitted the old institutions of the former kings without ever inserting something original, thus he spoke of himself in this way. But it was not just that he did not dare to assume the role of an originating sage. He also did not dare to conspicuously include himself among the ancient men of accomplishment. The more flourishing his virtue the more humble he was in his heart, so that he himself was unaware of

525. The identity of "Old Peng," or perhaps "Lao and Peng," is a question that has greatly exercised traditional commentators. Here I follow Bao Xian's suggestion that *lao Peng* 老彭 refers to Pengzu 彭祖 (*SBCK* 4/1a), apparently a sagely minister under the Shang 商. As mentioned earlier, given other resonances between the *Lunyu* and *Chuci* collection, I would not rule out the possibility that the Peng 彭 of *Lunyu* 7/1 is the Peng Xian 彭咸 referenced in the coda of the "Li sao 離騷" ("Encountering Sorrow"): "I shall go and join Peng Xian in the place where he abides" (吾將從彭咸之所居). For that translation, see Hawkes 1985, p. 78.

> how self-deprecating his words were. In his time originators were in short supply, and so the Master collected the great accomplishments of various sages and harmonized them together. Although the content [of Kongzi's teachings] was "transmitted" (*shu* 述), his achievement was twice that of "originating" (*zuo* 作). This, too, cannot be ignored.
>
> 孔子刪詩，書，定禮、樂，讚周易，修春秋，皆傳先王之舊，而未嚐有所作也，故其自言如此。蓋不惟不敢當作者之聖，而亦不敢顯然自附於古之賢人；蓋其德愈盛而心愈下，不自知其辭之謙也。然當是時，作者略備，夫子蓋集群聖之大成而折衷之。其事雖述，而功則倍於作矣，此又不可不知也。[526]

Although *Lunyu* 7/1 is sixteen characters long, what really interested Zhu Xi was the four-character phrase "transmitting without originating" (*shu er bu zuo* 述而不作) with its implied distinction between the "originating" (*zuo* 作) teachings of the sages and the humble "transmissions" (*shu* 述) of lesser men. For Zhu Xi, Kongzi's "self-deprecation" (*qian* 謙) presented a problem: what is one to do when an infallible sage denies his own sageliness? His solution was two-fold: on the one hand, he argued that Kongzi was so supremely virtuous and humble that he underestimated his own greatness; on the other, Kongzi's textual activities represented a unique kind of "transmission" which transcended common authorship and facilitated the creation of the Five Classics.

What did *Lunyu* 7/1 mean to authors in the early period? The *Lunyu jijie* 論語集解 (*Collected Explications of the Lunyu*) preserves a line of commentary on *Lunyu* 7/1 which it attributes to Bao Xian 包咸 (8 BCE–65 CE), one of the *Lunyu* transmitters named in the "Yiwen zhi;" however, that commentary focuses on the final six characters without even mentioning the first four.[527] To appreciate the significance of *shu er bu zuo* 述而不作 in the early period, we must turn to the evidence from textual parallels. Not all of the examples listed in Appendix 3:P can be read as "parallels" in the sense described in the introduction to chapter two, i.e., as possible bor-

526.*Sishu zhangju* p. 93.

527.*SBCK* 4/1a.

rowings from a *Lunyu* text. Here I have included any and all passages in which *zuo* 作 and *shu* 述 (and its variants)[528] are related in a way which at least vaguely resembles the first four characters of *Lunyu* 7/1.

Clearly, expressions coordinating *shu* 述 and *zuo* 作 appear in a wide range of texts from the Warring States through the Han period. These expressions fall into three groups: passages in which the original creations of the supremely virtuous "sages" (*shengren* 聖人) or "great men" (*daren* 大人) are contrasted with the transmissions of less virtuous "men of accomplishment" (*xianren* 賢人) or "followers" (*dizi* 弟子) (#4, #5, #6, #8, #9, #17); those in which the generic *junzi* or true king is enjoined to transmit without originating (#1, #2, #3, #7, #10, #11, #13, #15); and those like *Lunyu* 7/1 in which Kongzi self-applies the phrase to claim that he merely transmitted without originating (#12, #14, #18, #19). Not all of these parallels are independent sayings; some simply integrate the *shu* 述/*zuo* 作 dichotomy into longer discourses.

According to the standard view of the *Lunyu*, most if not all of these passages can be interpreted as parallels or allusions to *Lunyu* 7/1. Thus, in a comment on example #2, Wu Yujiang 吳毓江 in the *Mozi jiaozhu* 墨子校注 (*The Mozi*, *Collated and Annotated*) simply wrote, "The 'Shu er' chapter of the *Lunyu* says, 'Transmit without originating'" (論語述而篇曰：述而不作。), presumably because he believed that the *Mozi* was responding to the *Lunyu*.[529] But what is remarkable about this list is how few parallels actually cite Kongzi or the *Lunyu* as the source.[530]

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528. In example #2, *shu* 術 (*Cə-lut) is a homonym for *shu* 述 (*Cə-lut) while *xun* 循 (*sə.lun) in examples #1, #3, and #4 appears to be a loosely rhymed semantic variant.

529. The first *Mozi* example can be found at *Mozi jiaozhu* p. 437 & p. 449, n. 61, the second at *Mozi jiaozhu* p. 660 & p. 680, n. 96.

530. While the "Zhong yong 中庸" chapter of the *Liji* (example #5) prefaces a significant variant ("A father originates, a son transmits") with *zi yue*, and the *Mozi* (example #1) attributes a close variant ("A noble man follows without originating") to the *Ru* 儒 collectively, the former is a significant variant of *Lunyu* 7/1 and the latter does not mention Kongzi.

Of the eighteen passages that coordinate *shu* and *zuo* in a manner reminiscent of *Lunyu* 7/1, only three (#14, #18, #19) explicitly attribute *shu er bu zuo* 述而不作 to Kongzi or the *Lunyu*, and all three treat *shu er bu zuo* as Kongzi's self-description rather than as a general prescription. One more passage (#12) quotes the first four characters of *Lunyu* 7/1 together with the second four characters, a sign that its author was familiar with *Lunyu* 7/1. However, the earliest of these attributions appears in Ban Gu's (32–92 CE) *Hanshu*, a text compiled well into the Eastern Han period.[531] Also telling is the fact that the phrase *xin er hao gu* 信而好古 ("trust in and love the ancient") does not appear in the extant literature until the Eastern Han period, and then only in conjunction with *shu er bu zuo*. This suggests that the phrase was original to the *Lunyu*.

In light of the developments in Kongzi quotation practice outlined in chapter two, it would seem that the association of *shu er bu zuo* with Kongzi was not fixed in the popular imagination until well after the *Lunyu* had attained its status as the pre-eminent source of Kongzi sayings. The fact that the only early texts to cite Kongzi as the source of "transmit without originating" quote the *Lunyu* version word-for-word further suggests that the saying's association with Kongzi derived solely from the *Lunyu* and not from some other source. This micro analysis of *Lunyu* 7/1 thus corroborates the macro analysis of Kongzi quotation practice in chapter two: as Han authors began relying primarily on the *Lunyu* for their Kongzi sayings, individual sayings with a history beyond the *Lunyu* came to be seen strictly as *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings, as a result of which non-*Lunyu* variants and associations were cast aside. However, it is also important to note that even in the Eastern Han, Wang Chong in a treatise on authorship (#17) in which he else-

531.The *Hanshu* example appears in the introduction to the "Ru lin 儒林" ("Forest of *Ru*") chapter and is thus likely to be part of the latest layer of the text. Although it does not quote Kongzi explicitly, its context—a brief biography of Kongzi—removes any uncertainty about the intended source of the attribution.

where praises Kongzi as a model author could quote a variant of *shu er bu zuo* without mentioning either Kongzi or the *Lunyu*.

Why would the *Lunyu* compilers select *shu er bu zuo* for inclusion if it did not already have a history as a Kongzi saying? The frequent appearance of the *shu* 述/*zuo* 作 dichotomy in the early literature suggests an answer: by stamping *Kongzi yue* onto a saying that was authoritative by virtue of being widely recognizable, the *Lunyu* compilers presented Kongzi as the original source of that wisdom, much as other *Lunyu* sayings appropriated bits of received wisdom more commonly associated with other masters. *Lunyu* 7/1 thus points to another recipe for the construction of a *Lunyu* Kongzi saying: (1) select a saying that is generically authoritative by virtue of its circulation and recognizability; (2) attribute it to "The Master"; (3) if the resulting saying is too brief, add a parallel line—here "trust in and love the ancient" (*xin er hao gu* 信而好古), which rhymes *gu* 古 (*kˤaʔ) with *zuo* 作 (*tsˤak)—for the sake of balance;[532] and (4) personalize the saying (*wo* 我) in order to cement its association with Kongzi.

step 1: selection	**transmit without originating** 述而不作
step 2: attribution	**The Master said**, "Transmit without originating." 子曰：述而不作。
step 3: amplification	The Master said, "Transmit without originating, **trust in and love the ancient**." 子曰：述而不作，信而好古。
step 4: personalization	The Master said, "**Insofar as I** transmit without originating and trust in and love the ancient, **I would liken myself to our Old Peng**." 子曰：述而不作，信而好古，竊比於我老彭。

Here it is important to keep in mind that *Lunyu* 7/1, like the *Lunyu* generally, makes no claim whatsoever about the ultimate source of the Kongzi saying. It is entirely possible that the *Lunyu*

532.Sayings of only four characters are exceedingly rare in the *Lunyu* and elsewhere, one notable exception being *Lunyu* 15/39.

compilers and their intended audience would have understood "transmit without originating" as a generic proverb, in which case *Lunyu* 7/1 might have read as an implicit quotation: "The Master said, 'Insofar as I "transmit without originating..."'" Not until later did authors come to think of *Lunyu* 7/1 as belonging to Kongzi and Kongzi alone.[533]

* * *

Lunyu 7/1 is by no means the only *Lunyu* Kongzi saying whose parallels indicate that it circulated originally as a generic saying. In chapter two I noted that parallels between *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings and non-Kongzi material far outnumber parallels with early Kongzi material, particularly in pre-Han and early Han texts (see Appendix 2:X). To name just one example, sayings built on the idea that a *junzi* "reforms" (*gai* 改) himself when he commits "errors" (*guo* 過) or is "deficient" (*bu shan* 不善) appear six times in the *Lunyu* (1/8, 7/3, 7/22, 9/25, 15/30, and 19/21) as well as in numerous early texts (see Appendix 3:Q). In none of these instances is the saying attributed to Kongzi. After the *Lunyu*, the earliest text to credit Kongzi with this cliché is the "Kongzi shijia." And of the six versions of this idea in the *Lunyu*, *Lunyu* 7/3 most closely follows the 7/1 template insofar as it incorporates a widely circulating proverb into a longer saying sandwiched between "The Master says" and a personalizing statement ("these are my worries" 是吾憂也).

* * *

From the perspective of their parallels, *Lunyu* 7/1 and these other examples cast the *Lunyu* compilers as collectors of clichés. They identified widely circulating proverbs which they then stamped with Kongzi's imprimatur, a strategy which might have enhanced the text's appeal for

533.Kimura (1971 pp. 251–252; 320–321) also notes the phenomenon whereby common clichés were adapted into Kongzi sayings.

an elite Western Han audience by giving *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings an air of familiarity. "You know those proverbs that you are so fond of repeating?" the *Lunyu* compilers in effect said to their audience, "Kongzi said them first." As Aristotle observed in the *Rhetoric*,

> Maxims make one great contribution to speeches because of the uncultivated mind of the audience; for people are pleased if someone in a general observation hits upon opinions that they themselves have about a particular instance...Thus, one should guess what sort of assumptions people have and then speak in general terms consistent with these views.[534]

Whether or not the *Lunyu* compilers shared Aristotle's disdain for ancient audiences, their appropriation of previously unappropriated sayings is one sign that they might have shared his view of the rhetorical value of popular proverbs.

• *Section #8: Template sayings*

In *The Original Analects*, Taeko and Bruce Brooks had this to say about one of the core themes of the earliest stratum of the *Lunyu*:

> Another type of tension which can be seen in the early *Analects* layers is that between the old warrior elite, who had once monopolized most court positions, whose social ideal was the *junzi* 君子 or "gentleman," the code of those who were born to rule others, and what the text calls the *xiaoren* 小人 or "little people," newcomers of artisan or entrepreneurial origin, with the value system of those who survive by wit rather than force: know-how, personal charm, ingratiating speech, avoiding rather than facing danger, and a keen eye for the bottom line.[535]

Given that the the *junzi*/*xiaoren* dichotomy appears nineteen times in eighteen different *Lunyu* entries, it would seem that this "tension" was indeed on the mind of the *Lunyu* compilers (Appendix 3:R). Extending the same logic to other early texts, the dichotomy's prevalence throughout the early literature would indicate that this social division preoccupied a majority of early authors. By my count, the *junzi*/*xiaoren* contrast appears four times in the *Da Dai Liji*, x7 in the

534.*Rhetoric* 1395b; trans. Kennedy 1991, p. 186.

535.Brooks & Brooks 1997, p. 11. See also Slingerland's (2003, p. 211) comment on *Lunyu* 17/23: "'Gentleman' and 'common person' are here meant in terms of social rank."

Guanzi, x4 in the Guodian corpus, x6 in the *Guoyu*, x8 in the *Han Feizi*, x3 in the *Hanshi waizhuan*, x19 in the *Huainanzi*, x20 in the *Liji*, x4 in the *Lüshi chunqiu*, x5 in the *Mengzi*, x3 in the *Mozi*, x2 in the *Shangjun shu*, x3 in the *Shangshu*, x2 in the *Shangshu dazhuan*, x12 in the *Shiji*, x4 in the *Shijing*, x26 in the *Shuiyuan*, x16 in the *Wenzi*, x1 in the *Xinshu*, x2 in the *Xinyu*, x46 in the *Xunzi*, x6 in the *Yanzi chunqiu*, x1 in the *Yi Zhoushu*, x1 in the *Zhanguo ce*, x18 in the *Zhouyi*, x7 in the *Zhuangzi*, and x15 in the *Zuozhuan*.

But there is another way of interpreting *junzi*/*xiaoren* statements. In fact, their prevalence in the early literature is itself an argument against taking it as evidence of a real conflict between actual *junzi* and actual *xiaoren*. In a number of instances, the "tension" identified by the Brooks seems rather lukewarm. Consider *Lunyu* 12/16:

> The Master said, "A *junzi* makes others realize their virtues; he does not make them realize their vices. A *xiaoren* is the opposite of this."
>
> 子曰：君子成人之美，不成人之惡。小人反是。

The author of this saying did not even bother to spell out the ways in which *xiaoren* are distinct from *junzi* (e.g., with the line "a *xiaoren* makes other realize their vices, he does not make them realize their virtues" *小人成人之惡，不成人之美). He simply states that "a *xiaoren* is the opposite of this," presumably because he knew that his audience would know that *xiaoren* and *junzi* are opposites by default.[536] Several other *Lunyu* sayings (2/14, 13/23, 13/26, 14/23, 15/21) follow the formula "A *junzi* is X and a *xiaoren* is not X" in similarly rote fashion. More often than not, a *xiaoren* statement which follows a *junzi* statement (or vice versa) is entirely derivative of the other and contributes nothing new to the whole.

If so, then why was the *junzi*/*xiaoren* dichotomy so frequently invoked? I would argue that it

536.*Xunzi* book 3, "Bu gou 不苟" (*SBCK* 2/4a), puts this point succinctly: "The noble man is the petty man's opposite" (君子小人之反也。).

is an early example of what Stephen Owen has referred to in another context as the "discourse machine," the set of informal rules which dictate how discrete ideas are amplified and embedded within a discourse.[537] Put simply, the *junzi*/*xiaoren* binary is a rhetorical trope whose use implies nothing about the intellectual or social milieu of the *Lunyu* compilers. These sayings are not about *junzi* and *xiaoren*. They are an artifact of early rhetorical practice, a way of expressing relationships between concepts and perhaps also of balancing and extending sayings that would otherwise feel too brief. Take the example of *Lunyu* 13/23 ("A noble man harmonizes without agreeing, a petty man agrees without harmonizing" [君子和而不同，小人同而不和。]), which features two roughly synonymous terms—*he* 和 (harmonize or be harmonious) and *tong* 同 (be the same as or agree with). But there is a key difference between them according to the *Lunyu*: *he* 和 is morally praiseworthy, *tong* 同 morally blameworthy. (There may also be an implication that "harmonizing" is superior to thoughtless agreement, as Yanzi 晏子 argues in an episode from the *Zuozhuan*. However, the *Lunyu* version does not develop this connection.[538]) Associating *he* 和 with the *junzi* and *tong* 同 with the *xiaoren* was simply a convenient way of clarifying the terms' moral valence.

One sign that early authors also thought of the *junzi*/*xiaoren* binary as a rhetorical device and

537.Owen 2001, p. 175: "In this essay I would like to consider Liu Xie's arguments not as the 'expression' of ideas already fully formed and fixed, but rather as a *process* of exposition. This process is not unitary: In many cases we can identify two 'players' contending for control of the exposition. One of these players we will call 'Liu Xie,' a human character with beliefs, an education of received ideas, and common sense. The other main player is the rhetoric of parallel exposition, what I call the 'discourse machine,' which produces utterances by its own rules and requirements. Although Liu Xie would like to believe that these two players are a perfect unity and although modern criticism treats them as such, much in *Wenxin diaolong* becomes clearer if we understand the text as dialogic. We often see the productive rhetoric of the discourse machine processing an initial statement and amplifying it according to predictable rules. No less often we see Liu Xie following in the traces of the discourse machine, ingeniously correcting unwanted utterances and attempting to make the argument conform to beliefs, received ideas, and common sense."

538.*Zuozhuan* Zhao 20 (*SBCK* 24/11a). Slingerland 2003, pp. 149–50, notes this connection and also includes a translation of the *Zuozhuan* episode.

not as a description of some social tension is the scarcity of parallels among *junzi*/*xiaoren* statements in the early corpus. The only early parallels to *Lunyu* 13/23 I have found appear well into the Eastern Han, and this pattern holds for other *junzi*/*xiaoren* sayings as well. Despite their prevalence in the early literature, with a handful exceptions authors tended not to borrow others' *junzi*/*xiaoren* statements. Instead, they *used* the *junzi*/*xiaoren* template to create new sayings and discourses for their own purposes.

* * *

Of the many phrases and formulae one finds repeated throughout the *Lunyu*, the contrast between the world or a state with the Way (*tianxia you dao* 天下有道 or *bang you dao* 邦有道) and one without (*tianxia wu dao* 天下無道 or *bang wu dao* 邦無道) is among the most frequently invoked, occurring ten times in seven sayings across five different *Lunyu* books (Appendix 3:S). Here again we might be tempted to conclude that the contrast between polities with the Way and those without was somehow central to the thinking of the *Lunyu* compilers. But in what sense? There is some overlap among these sayings, with *Lunyu* 8/13 and 14/1 stating that earning a salary in a state without the Way is "shameful" (*chi* 恥) and *Lunyu* 8/13 and 15/7 expressing the idea that one should serve a state with the Way and refuse to serve one without. However, the other instances do not seem to cohere around a single theme.

The *Lunyu* was certainly not the only early text to make use of the "polity with the Way/polity without the Way" dichotomy (see Appendix 3:T), which has at least twenty-seven instances in fifteen texts outside the *Lunyu*. A handful of these parallels (#7, #13, 21, #22, #23) echo *Lunyu* 8/13 and 15/7 insofar as they advocate serving a polity with the Way and retiring from one without. But most instances have little to do with the *Lunyu* or even with one another. As with the *junzi*/*xiaoren* dichotomy, it would seem that early authors *applied* the formula when they wanted

express approval for one activity and disapproval for its opposite, as when the author of the *Shiji* monograph on calendrics (#14) invoked it to stress the importance of calendar-keeping to a well-governed state.

* * *

Another template emerges from a series of Kongzi sayings at *Lunyu* 4/2, 6/23, 9/29, 14/4, and 14/28 (Appendix 3:U). Contrastive dyads and triads involving "wise men" (*zhi zhe* 知者), "humane men" (*ren zhe* 仁者), "brave men" (*yong zhe* 勇者) and other types likewise appear in a number of early texts (Appendix 3:V).

Xunzi book 29, "Zi dao 子道" ("The Way of Sons"), provides some evidence that early authors also thought of *zhi zhe* 知者/*ren zhe* 仁者/*yong zhe* 勇者 contrasts as rhetorical templates:

> When Zilu entered the Master said, "Zilu, what is a wise man like? What is a humane man like?" Zilu answered, "A wise man makes others know him and a humane man makes others care for him." The Master said, "You can be called a 'man of service.'" When Zigong entered the Master said, "Zigong, what is a wise man like? What is a humane man like?" Zigong answered, "A wise man knows others and a humane man cares for others." The Master said, "You can be called a 'noble man of service.'" When Yan Yuan came in the Master said, "Yan Hui, what is a wise man like? What is a humane man like?" Yan Yuan answered, "A wise man knows himself and a humane man cares for himself." The Master said, "You can be called an 'enlightened noble man.'"
>
> 子路入，子曰：由！知者若何？仁者若何？子路對曰：知者使人知己，仁者使人愛己。子曰：可謂士矣。子貢入，子曰：賜！知者若何？仁者若何？子貢對曰：知者知人，仁者愛人。子曰：可謂士君子矣。顏淵入，子曰：回！知者若何？仁者若何？顏淵對曰：知者自知，仁者自愛。子曰：可謂明君子矣。[539]

The episode resembles the interview scenes discussed in section one insofar as they feature Kongzi asking questions of his disciples and then using their responses to judge their character. In light of the argument of this section, we might also read it as a rhetorical exercise in the use of the *zhi zhe*/*ren zhe* template. Kongzi defines the template with his initial question—"What is a wise man like? What is a humane man like?"—and his disciples fill in the gaps with three dis-

539.*Xunzi* 29 (*SBCK* 20/13a–b; *KZJY* 3.19/pp. 33–34).

tinct versions. Although Kongzi judges Yan Yuan's version to be the best, to the anecdote's audience the content of these sayings might have mattered less than understanding the template itself and how to apply it to new contexts.

* * *

Why were the *Lunyu* compilers so interested in "template" sayings? The most striking feature of the *Lunyu*'s use of the "noble man/petty man," "with the Way/without the Way," and "wise man/humane man" dichotomies is how prevalent they are in the *Lunyu* compared to other early texts.[540] Generally speaking, other texts do not present template sayings in isolation but instead built them into longer discourses. A few *Lunyu* passages even combine template sayings in a way that calls attention to the template, e.g., in *Lunyu* 4/11, 6/23, and 8/13:

Lunyu 4/11	The Master said, "A *junzi* cherishes virtue, a *xiaoren* man cherishes land; a *junzi* cherishes punishments, a *xiaoren* cherishes mercy." 子曰：君子懷德，小人懷土；君子懷刑，小人懷惠。
Lunyu 6/23	The Master said, "A wise man delights in water, a humane man delights in mountains. A wise man is in motion, a humane man is at rest. A wise man is joyful, a humane man is long-lived." 子曰：知者樂水，仁者樂山。知者動，仁者靜。知者樂，仁者壽。
Lunyu 8/13	The Master said, "...When the world has the Way be visible but when it lacks the Way be hidden. To be poor and lowly in a state with the Way is shameful; to be rich and honored in a state without the Way is [also] shameful." 子曰：...天下有道則見，無道則隱。邦有道，貧且賤焉，恥也；邦無道，富且貴焉，恥也。

It is tempting to suppose that the clustering of template sayings within single *Lunyu* entries indicates that the *Lunyu* compilers thought of these sayings *as templates*. In other words, they were

540. The only other texts to include a high number of *junzi*/*xiaoren* sayings are the *Liji* (x20) and *Huainanzi* (x19), both of which date to the Western Han. However, the relatively small size of the *Lunyu* means that it has a much higher percentage of such sayings.

selected precisely in order to highlight certain frequently occurring tropes and to demonstrate their rhetorical potential. That is not to say that the *Lunyu* compilers did not also value these sayings for their ideas. In particular, the first contrast at *Lunyu* 6/23 ("A wise man delights in water, a humane man delights in mountains") seems to have been a topic of great interest to authors in the Han period.[541] But in light of the *Lunyu*'s documented use as a textbook, we should also remain open to the possibility that these sayings reflect an interest in rhetorical instruction, in teaching students the building blocks of intellectual discourse.

• *Section #9: A Zengzi layer?*

Since at least as far back as the seventeenth century, scholars in Japan, China, and the West have agreed that the received *Lunyu* consists of multiple layers added at different moments in the text's history.[542] However, as Oliver Weingarten has demonstrated, many markers which have been used to distinguish these multiple layers do not hold up to scrutiny.[543] These include the appearance of numbered lists, the use of *zi* 子 (The Master) versus Kongzi 孔子, and the use of certain grammatical particles (e.g., *si* 斯 versus *ze* 則). My own analysis of *Lunyu* parallels has likewise uncovered no evidence that smaller collections of *Lunyu* material might have circulated independently in the pre-Han period. There is simply too little overlap among pre-Han Kongzi sayings to discern any stable collection of *Kongzi yue* or *zi yue* material.

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541. See Weingarten 2010, pp. 136–141, for a discussion of these parallels. For Weingarten, such passages are a demonstration of the use of Kongzi and Kongzi disciple dialogues to dramatize textual exegesis.

542. For a summary of these efforts, see Weingarten 2010, pp. 29–34.

543. Weingarten 2010, pp. 34–57. Weingarten concludes (p. 56): "The relevance of most of the criteria that scholars have so far used to distinguish textual layers in the Lunyu and to assign relative dates to them is debatable."

Patterns of *Lunyu* parallels in Western Han texts, on the other hand, might point to the existence of material added to the *Lunyu* after its initial compilation. Recall Kaneto Mamoru's observation (p. 185) that the "Kongzi shijia" and "Zhongni dizi liezhuan" include not a single saying attributed to Zengzi despite the inclusion of fourteen Zengzi sayings in the received *Lunyu*. Kaneto concludes from this (and other observations) that the *Lunyu* was compiled well into the Western Han period and thus postdates the compilation of the *Shiji*. Without accepting Kaneto's larger conclusion, his observation alerts us to the possibility that the fourteen *Lunyu* Zengzi sayings were unavailable to Sima Qian because they were not in Sima Qian's *Lunyu*.[544]

Certain peculiarities in the *Lunyu* Zengzi sayings themselves (listed Appendix 3:W) lend some credence to this theory. Chief among these is the *Lunyu*'s representation (or lack thereof) of the relationship between Kongzi and Zengzi.[545] The *Lunyu* Kongzi interacts with his disciples in various ways. Disciples ask questions, they voice opinions that Kongzi reacts to, and they serve as fodder for Kongzi's character judgments. However, the *Lunyu* Zengzi does not ask Kongzi a single question in the text, nor does Kongzi comment on Zengzi or otherwise respond to anything that Zengzi says or does.[546] The single exception that proves the rule is *Lunyu* 4/15, which I discussed in chapter one (p. 91) as an example of a Kongzi saying as object of commentary. In that passage, Kongzi addresses Zengzi with the words, "Can [=Zengzi]! My Way has a single thread running through it" (參乎！吾道一以貫之。), and Zengzi subsequently explains

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544.For this possibility, see also Watsuji 1948, pp. 335–336, and Tsuda 1946, pp. 67–68.

545.See also Haupt 2006, p. 81, on the possibility that Zengzi was not a disciple of Kongzi. She also observes that Zengzi is not portrayed as a Kongzi disciple in the *Mengzi* and *Xunzi* (pp. 82–83). Mark Csikszentmihalyi (2004, p. 27, n. 33) also notes that in *Hanshi waizhuan* book eight (*SBCK* 8/15a–b) Kongzi criticizes Zengzi for excessive filial piety.

546.On this point see also Van Norden 2002, p. 222. *Lunyu* 11/18 seems to comment on Zengzi but is not attributed to Kongzi: "Chai [=Zigao] is stupid, Can [=Zengzi] is dull, Shi [=Zizhang] is excessive, You [i.e., Zilu] is coarse" (柴也愚，參也魯，師也辟，由也喭。).

Kongzi's meaning to other Kongzi disciples as "nothing but loyalty and empathy" (忠恕而已矣). But note that the master-disciple relationship in their encounter is decidedly one-sided. Whereas other Kongzi-disciple interactions in the *Lunyu* typically begin with the disciple providing the stimulus, here Kongzi simply addresses Zengzi and promptly leaves the stage, thereby allowing Zengzi's interpretation to stand without comment.[547] *Lunyu* 4/15 thus gives the impression that its author was more interested in establishing Zengzi's superior understanding of Kongzi than in involving Zengzi in a scene of instruction.

As it happens, the core Kongzi saying of *Lunyu* 4/15 also echoes a Kongzi saying at *Lunyu* 15/3:

> The Master said, "Ci [i.e., Zigong], do you suppose that I know what I know by virtue of having learned many things?" Zigong replied, "I do. Is that not the case?" The Master said, "No. I tie [what I know] together with a single [thread]."
>
> 子曰：賜也，女以予為多學而識之者與？對曰：然，非與？曰：非也，予一以貫之。

Unlike *Lunyu* 4/15, *Lunyu* 15/3 does not elucidate Kongzi's "single thread." Also unlike *Lunyu* 4/15, *Lunyu* 15/3 appears in the "Kongzi shijia."[548] Given the dearth of Zengzi material in the *Shiji*, this might suggest that *Lunyu* 4/15 was based on *Lunyu* 15/3 and was added to the *Lunyu* by an editor keen on demonstrating Zengzi's special grasp of Kongzi's teachings.[549]

Oliver Weingarten has also argued independently in a study of *Lunyu* book one that "'Zengzianist' traditions" influenced the composition of that text.[550] Weingarten locates a number of in-

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547. Another peculiarity with *Lunyu* 4/15 is that it is the only complex dialogue in all of *Lunyu* book four, which otherwise consists solely of simple *zi yue* sayings (save for *Lunyu* 4/26, the final saying in the book, which is a Ziyou 子游 saying).

548. *Shiji* 47.1930.

549. Van Norden (2002) reaches a similar conclusion about the genesis of *Lunyu* 4/15.

550. Weingarten 2010, p. 69. Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819) argued that Zengzi was the disciple primarily responsible for creating the *Lunyu* on the evidence of *Lunyu* 8/3 and 8/4, which feature Zengzi on his deathbed. See *Liu Zongyuan ji* 4.110–11.

triguing resonances between *Lunyu* book one sayings and Zengzi material in other texts, but his strongest evidence is a parallel between *Lunyu* 1/1 and a Zengzi saying from *Hanshi waizhuan* book two (with an additional parallel in *Xunzi* book 30):

> <*Lunyu* 1/1>The Master said, "To practice what one has learned in timely fashion—is this not a pleasure? To have a friend come from afar—is this not a joy? To not be resentful when unrecognized by others—is this not noble?"
>
> 子曰：學而時習之，不亦說乎？有朋自遠方來，不亦樂乎？人不知而不慍，不亦君子乎？[551]
>
> <*Hanshi waizhuan* book 2>Zengzi said, "There are three sayings that a noble man can string together and adorn himself with: the first is 'do not be distant with those inside [the home] and intimate with those outside; the second is 'do not resent others for your own faults'; the third is '[do not] invoke heaven after disaster befalls you." Zigong said, "What are these?" Zengzi said, "To be distant with those inside and intimate with those outside—is this not the opposite [of what is proper]? To resent others for your own faults—is this not too far off the mark? To invoke heaven after disaster befalls you—is this not too late?
>
> 曾子曰：君子有三言可貫而佩之：一曰：無內疏而外親，二曰：身不善而怨他人，三曰：患至而後呼天。子貢曰：何也？曾子曰：內疏而外親，不亦反乎！身不善而怨他人，不亦遠乎！患至而後呼天，不亦晚乎！[552]

The clearest parallel is the shared use of the thrice repeated pattern "is this not X" (*bu yi* X *hu* 不以X乎). Also note both texts' endorsement of not "being resentful" (*yun* 慍) or "resenting others" (*yuan taren* 怨他人) when faced with some difficulty. The *Hanshi waizhuan*'s use of *guan* 貫 (string together) in reference to a saying of unique importance also echoes the use of *guan* 貫 in *Lunyu* 4/15, where Zengzi explains the single thread running through Kongzi's teachings. Assuming that the *Hanshi waizhuan* passage represents a pre-*Lunyu* tradition available to the *Lunyu* compilers, it might have inspired two Zengzi-related selections: Zengzi's "single thread" explanation of Kongzi's Way, and the Zengzi-esque *zi yue* saying at *Lunyu* 1/1.

Why should a hypothetical pro-Zengzi and possibly post-*Shiji* compiler wish to elevate

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551.The same pattern also appears in the Zengzi saying at *Lunyu* 8/7, although there it is only repeated twice and not three times as it is here.

552.*Hanshi waizhuan* 2 (*SBCK* 2/6a).

Zengzi in this way? The frequent mention of the *Xiaojing*, a text attributed to Zengzi in the early period,[553] alongside the *Lunyu* in Han sources suggests one answer. Recall Emperor Zhao's 昭帝 82 BCE edict (p. 171) that singled out the *Lunyu* and *Xiaojing* (together with the *Shangshu*) as texts that he had learned but not yet mastered. In 74 BCE, Huo Guang communicated the future Emperor Xuan's 宣帝 qualifications for the throne by stating that he had "received instruction in the *Shi*, *Lunyu*, and *Xiaojing*" (師受詩、論語、孝經) (p. 175). The *Hanshu* also records that Liu Qu 劉去, appointed King of Guangchuan 廣川王 in 91 BCE, had mastered the *Lunyu* and *Xiaojing* (together with the *Yi*), and that the future Emperor Yuan 元帝 had mastered the *Lunyu* and *Xiaojing* by the age of twelve.[554] The Kuang Heng 匡衡 memorial discussed in chapter two (p. 175) likewise identified the *Xiaojing* together with the *Lunyu* as containing "the essentials of the sages words and conduct" (聖人言行之要),[555] and the "Yiwen zhi" listed the *Xiaojing* immediately after the *Lunyu*. If the *Lunyu* and *Xiaojing* were thought of as companion texts within the context of the education of the Han royal family, our hypothetical pro-Zengzi *Lunyu* compiler might have added Zengzi sayings to the text in order to enhance Zengzi's standing and, ultimately, to encourage others to think of the *Lunyu* and *Xiaojing* as a unified curriculum. Read in conjunction with *Lunyu* 4/15, the *Xiaojing* might have offered insight into the "single thread" running through all of Kongzi's teachings.

Conclusion

553.For the *Xiaojing*'s attribution to Zengzi, see *Shiji* 67.2305.

554.*Hanshu* 53.2428 & 71.3039.

555.The "Yiwen zhi" also mentions the *Xiaojing* alongside the *Lunyu* as one of the "ancient script-" (*guwen* 古文) texts recovered from the walls of Kongzi's ancestral home. See *Hanshu* 30.1706.

These nine case studies have painted a complex picture of the *Lunyu* as a locus of multiple interests. The *Lunyu* compilers seem to have been especially interested in the assessment of character and may have even conceived of the *Lunyu* as a kind of manual of character evaluation for an era in which emperors claimed to personally oversee the selection of talented officials. The compilers' handling of *Zuozhuan* sayings in particular reflected an interest in *ren* 仁 (humaneness) as an abstract concept. They also included a number of sayings that resonated with other widely circulating proverb traditions (especially those in the *Laozi*), perhaps because they sought to establish authoritative Kongzi versions of those earlier traditions. In this way, they asserted Kongzi's ownership of the building blocks of early intellectual discourse at the same time as other Han scholars and statesmen were crediting Kongzi with the creation of the Five Classics. As Kongzi partisans, the *Lunyu* compilers scrubbed their Kongzi of any and all moral improprieties and also used Kongzi's own words to fix an authoritative portrait of the sage. Parallels with Chen and Cai narratives show that they also engaged popular sub-genres of pre-Han Kongzi anecdotes; however, instead of participating in those traditions, they sought Kongzi sayings to stand as authoritative statements on those sub-genres. The inclusion of a relatively large number of widely attested rhetorical tropes signaled the *Lunyu* compilers' interest in the stock formulae of early rhetoric, perhaps because they also conceived of the *Lunyu* as a kind rhetorical handbook. The observation that *Lunyu* Zengzi sayings do not appear in the *Shiji* led me to speculate that those sayings were added at some point after the text's initial compilation, perhaps in order to create an impression of the *Lunyu* and *Xiaojing* as companion texts. In short, the *Lunyu* compilers did what other pre-Han and early Han authors probably did with Kongzi sayings: they treated them as a flexible and dynamic medium of intellectual discourse. For them, Kongzi was an adaptable and expansive reservoir of received wisdom.

This discussion has also revealed a similarly diverse array of compilation strategies. Some *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings were extracted from longer dialogues, in a few cases with the vestiges of those earlier contexts still intact. Other sayings with a legitimate pre-Han pedigree were developed into longer dialogues. The *Lunyu* compilers also attributed a number of anonymous sayings to Kongzi and then personalized those sayings in a way that reinforced Kongzi's ownership of them. Some longer Kongzi dialogues were included as more or less complete episodes. Others were mined for memorable lines without any consideration for the dialogue's original intent, while others were condensed and summarized in such a way as to capture the core message of the source material. And I strongly suspect that a number of other Kongzi sayings were composed originally for the *Lunyu*, although identifying such material is impossible.

What can this analysis of *Lunyu* parallels tell us about the circumstances of the *Lunyu*'s compilation? One way to approach this question is to ask who in the early Western Han might have been capable of putting together a compilation like the *Lunyu*. Although pre-Han *Lunyu* parallels are few and far between, there are enough of these parallels in the *Zuozhuan*, *Mengzi*, "Zi yi," *Laozi*, and elsewhere to suggest that the *Lunyu* compilers had direct access to a number of sources. Judging from its appearance in multiple manuscript finds and its frequent citation in, e.g., the *Huainanzi*, the *Laozi* in particular seems to have circulated widely in the Western Han period (at least relative to other texts). While quotations of the received *Mengzi* are relatively rare in texts from the period, Sima Qian wrote of Mengzi and several other masters that "many people nowadays have their writings" (世多有其書)—perhaps the *Lunyu* compilers also had access to a *Mengzi* or proto-*Mengzi*.[556] The *Zuozhuan*, on the other hand, is an exceedingly large

556. Whether or not Mengzi's "writings" (*shu* 書) refers to something resembling the received *Mengzi* is another question entirely.

compilation which presumably did not have a large circulation, although smaller collections of *Zuozhuan* material may have had a larger audience.[557]

Earlier I suggested that the clustering *Zuozhuan* parallels in *Lunyu* 12/1 and 12/2 indicate a close engagement with a *Zuozhuan* text. Who in the Western Han might have owned a copy of the *Zuozhuan*, *Mengzi*, *Laozi*, etc.? The list of potential *Lunyu* sponsors begins with the Han emperors, who possessed multiple libraries at Chang'an,[558] followed by regional kings like Liu An 劉安 (179–122), the King of Huainan 淮南王, and Liu De 劉德, King of Hejian 河間王 (r. 155–130/129),[559] both of whom reportedly attracted a great number of scholars to their courts, amassed their own book collections, and sponsored their own compilations.[560] Of these two figures, Liu De is by far the more intriguing candidate, at least judging from his *Hanshu* biography (Appendix 3:X), the most intriguing detail of which is the short list of texts he reportedbly possessed: the *Zhouguan* 周官 (*Zhou Offices*), *Shangshu* 尚書 (*Exalted Documents*), *li* 禮 (ritual) texts, *Liji* 禮記 (*Ritual Records*, or possibly generic "ritual records"), *Mengzi*, *Laozi*, *Mao Shi* 毛詩 (*Mao Odes*), and *Zuo Chunqiu* 左春秋 (*Zuo's Spring and Autumn Annals*, i.e., the *Zuozhuan*). Of these, the *Liji* (again assuming that Liu De's *li* and *liji* texts are related to the received *Liji*),

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557.For one example of such a text, see the "Chunqiu shiyu 春秋事語" manuscript from the Fuyang find. See Han Ziqiang 2004, pp. 165–205.

558.Csikszentmihalyi 2002, p. 148: "This was also the period [Emperor Wu's reign] that saw the construction of imperial book repositories and attempts to take a census of all book titles....The role of Confucian texts in the imperial examination system and the establishment of official positions devoted to their study was probably the most important single catalyst for consolidating and editing the texts associated with Confucius." For the central book collections, see the Liu Xin fragment preserved at *Hanshu* 30.1702, n. 10: "Liu Xin's *Seven Summaries* said, 'Outside [of the palace] there are the holdings of the Grand Master of Ceremonies, the Grand Scribe, and the Erudites, and within [the palace] there are the archives of the Extended Pavilion, the Expansive Chamber, and the Secret Room" (劉歆七略曰：外則有太常、太史、博士之藏，內則有延閣、廣內、祕室之府。).

559.For this suggestion, see also Kaneto 1974, p. 16. Takeuchi Yoshio (1937) argued that the earliest stratum of the *Lunyu* (books 2-9) was first compiled at the court of Liu De. However, Takeuchi also maintained that this stratum represented Kongzi's original teachings as transmitted by Zengzi via Mengzi.

560.For a discussion of the texts associated with Liu An's court, see Le Blanc 1985, 41–52.

Laozi, *Zuozhuan*, and *Mengzi* exhibit a number of obvious *Lunyu* parallels.[561] It is tempting to speculate that patterns of *Lunyu* intertextuality reflect the immediate textual environment of *Lunyu* compilers working under the auspices of an emperor or king like Liu De. I indulge that temptation in an epilogue.

561. While the Mao commentary to the *Shi* has no *Lunyu* parallels among its five Kongzi sayings, there are a handful of parallels that might suggest some sort interaction between the two texts. See the entries for *Lunyu* 5/21, 13/28, 15/27, and 16/2 in Appendix 2:X.

CONCLUSION:

The Place of Confucius and the *Analects* in Early Chinese Thought

In this dissertation I have posed a series of challenges both to the traditional view of the *Lunyu* and to the standard approach to the sources of Kongzi's life and thought. Chapter one's survey revealed the limitations of viewing early Kongzi sayings through the narrow lens of the *Lunyu*, a text whose preference for independent Kongzi sayings appears idiosyncratic when considered against the corpus of Kongzi sayings at large, and particularly those in pre-Han and early Western Han sources. I also developed the argument that Kongzi sayings wherever they appear need not be read as sources for the historical Kongzi, or even as material transmitted by generations of devoted disciples in a Confucian "school" (*jia* 家) or disciple lineage. *Kongzi yue* marked a medium that was useful and meaningful on its own terms, and in particular as a source of comments and commentaries on pre-existing textual traditions.

Chapter two's chronological survey of Kongzi quotation practice showed that early authors did not begin to rely on the *Lunyu* as an authoritative source of Kongzi sayings until well into the Western Han period. Prior to that point, early authors did not reference a *Lunyu* text or any other bounded collection of Kongzi material, nor did they privilege *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings over non-*Lunyu* Kongzi sayings. From the distribution of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings in early Western Han versus mid- to late Western Han texts, and especially in Han edicts and memorials, I pinned the beginning of this transition towards the end of Emperor Jing's reign and the beginning of Emperor Wu's reign, perhaps between 150 and 130 BCE. Although close parallels between the *Lunyu* and pre-Han Kongzi sayings have been cited as evidence that something resembling the received *Lunyu* circulated in the period, in fact such parallels are few and far between and are far outnum-

bered by anonymous or differently attributed parallels.

In chapter three I set out to demonstrate the plausibility of reading the *Lunyu* as a product of the Western Han period. In a series of nine case studies I read *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings against their extant parallels to as selections from earlier material. I then used the selection strategies which emerged from this analysis to suggest a few conclusions about the interests and motivations of the *Lunyu* compilers. I ended with the suggestion that the *Lunyu* might have been sponsored by King Xian of Hejian, a figure with the requisite interests and resources to produce such a text.

These conclusions do not begin to exhaust the implications of understanding the *Lunyu* as a product of the Western Han period. The traditional view of the *Lunyu* does a lot of work in standard accounts of early Chinese thought: by asserting the *Lunyu*'s ancient provenance, it anchors the standard narratives of the development of early Chinese thought and promises direct access to Kongzi as the earliest and most influential thinker in the Chinese tradition. As Mark Csikszentmihalyi has written, "[m]inimizing the authorship role of Kongzi has the effect of pulling the rug out from under the usual narrative of what is often called the 'history of thought' (*sixiang shi* 思想史) of early China."[562] What features of that narrative must we reconsider, and how should the narrative be rewritten in order to accommodate both the revised dating of the *Lunyu* and the picture of Kongzi quotation practice presented here?

1) There is no solid evidence for the existence of a Lunyu *text prior to the Western Han period.*

562.Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 25.

First, a caveat: nothing in this dissertation completely precludes the possibility that a text resembling the received *Lunyu* circulated prior to the Western Han period. The analysis of quotation patterns can only reveal what the authors of extant texts chose to attribute to Kongzi; it cannot reveal whether a *Lunyu* text actually existed in the Warring States period. Perhaps the text was transmitted esoterically, or perhaps Wang Chong was correct in thinking that the text had been lost at some point in the Warring States period only to be rediscovered in the Western Han. Nor can I entirely rule out the possibility that future manuscript finds will turn up a legitimately pre-Han proto-*Lunyu* manuscript, e.g., a collection of Kongzi sayings with roughly the same content and format as the sayings of the received *Lunyu*.

But I would not bet on it. While the arguments of this dissertation do not completely disprove the standard dating of the *Lunyu*, they do reveal its shortcomings. One way to approach this problem is to ask what kinds of evidence would establish the existence of a pre-Han *Lunyu* (aside from the discovery of a pre-Han *Lunyu* manuscript). Such evidence might include:

- explicit mentions of a "*Lunyu*" text plus information connecting that "*Lunyu*" to our *Lunyu*;
- a consistently higher ratio of Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels versus Kongzi sayings without *Lunyu* parallels;
- the clustering of Kongzi sayings with *Lunyu* parallels around specific *Lunyu* books, which would indicate that those clusters circulated independently prior to being included in the received *Lunyu*;
- a degree of variability between the Kongzi sayings of a pre-Han *Lunyu* and those of the received *Lunyu* which does not exceed the variability observed between other received texts and their pre-Han counterparts (e.g., the various *Laozi* and "Zi yi" manuscripts);
- the observation that only *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings were treated as relatively authoritative

sources of Kongzi's life and thought, e.g., as objects of commentary or as proof texts.[563] In my reading of the relevant sources I have found no such traces of the *Lunyu*'s existence prior to ca. 150 BCE. To continue to insist on the validity of the traditional view based on the still-not-entirely-disproven possibility of the existence of a pre-Han *Lunyu* is to run the risk of building our "knowledge" of early China on the flimsiest of foundations.

But let us suppose that archaeologists were to discover a legitimately pre-Han *Lunyu* manuscript. Given the remarkable dearth of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings in the pre-Han corpus, such a find would still not be the supremely authoritative and uniquely authentic source posited by the Han bibliographers, because pre-Han authors by and large did not exhibit an awareness of any stable source of Kongzi sayings. Whatever else, the story of the *Lunyu* as an authoritative source of Kongzi sayings—in other words, the story of *our Lunyu*—begins in the Western Han.

2) The Lunyu *is, at best, a problematic source of the pre-Han period.*

The conclusion of the foregoing section comes with another caveat: just because the *Lunyu* did not circulate as a text in the pre-Han era does not mean that all *Lunyu* material originated in the Western Han.[564] As established in chapters two and three, some *Lunyu* sayings do have a legiti-

563. Here I do not address what might be called "the argument from philosophy," the notion that the *Lunyu* can be dated to the pre-Han era because its ideas reflect a pre-Han as opposed to a Han context. For that argument, which I hope to address in a future publication, see Goldin 2011 and Slingerland 2000. In brief, my primary objection to such an argument is methodological. Since our sense of what constitutes an earlier as opposed to a later idea has been shaped by traditional chronology (e.g., the *Lunyu* preceded the *Mengzi* which preceded the *Xunzi*), defending traditional chronology based on the dating of ideas seems an unavoidably circular enterprise.

564. On this point see also Tsuda 1946, pp. 14–15. Also compare Makeham 1996, p. 14: "...Yet this is by no means to imply that the contents of these twenty-one *pian* were a Western Han fabrication. There is no reason to suspect that much if not most of the material contained in these twenty-one *pian* did not ultimately derive from the early Warring States period."

mate pre-Han pedigree as Kongzi sayings, and many more *Lunyu* sayings have a history as sayings attributed to other figures or to no one at all. But if the *Lunyu* was compiled in the Western Han, inclusion in the *Lunyu* in and of itself cannot be taken as a mark of a saying's pre-Han origins. The only reliable way to determine whether a given *Lunyu* entry originated in a pre-Han context is to identify parallels in texts reliably dated to the pre-Han period. Even when such parallels can be found, there is still the additional question of whether the *Lunyu* preserves the earlier version more or less unchanged, or whether the *Lunyu* compilers elided precisely those features which made it interesting as an artifact of the pre-Han context.

Consider the example of *Lunyu* 2/17 discussed in chapter three (p. 225), whose parallels in the *Xunzi* and *Hanshi waizhuan* are longer dialogues between Kongzi and Zilu in which the saying at *Lunyu* 2/17 ("take knowing as knowing and not knowing as not knowing—this is knowing") is but one unemphasized element in Kongzi's instruction. Assuming that *Xunzi* book 29 is truly a product of the third century BCE, the idea and wording of *Lunyu* 2/17 would seem to date to the pre-Han period. But the decision to decontextualize the earlier dialogue and treat *Lunyu* 2/17 as an independent Kongzi saying dates to the Western Han. The content is pre-Han, its presentation and emphasis is Han.

How we choose to interpret *Lunyu* 2/17 will depend first and foremost on the questions we ask of the text. A linguist looking to build a corpus of pre-Han language would be justified in including *Lunyu* 2/17 in her data set, and a historian of ideas could read it as evidence that the notion of privileging second-order knowledge was current in the pre-Han era (again, assuming that the *Xunzi* parallel dates to the third century). But given the *Lunyu* compilers' decision to extract only a single line and discard everything else, thereby obliterating the very ideas that motivated the anecdote, my preference would be to read *Lunyu* 2/17 as a "Western Han text"* with an

asterisk.

3) There is no solution to the "Kongzi problem," i.e., no way to recover the life and thought of the historical Kongzi from extant Kongzi material.

Let us step out of the early Chinese context for a moment to consider the parallel case of Socrates (ca. 469–399 BCE).[565] From an early China scholar's perspective, the sources of Socrates's life and thought are an embarrassment of riches. Socrates's existence is confirmed by one contemporary fifth-century source, Aristophanes' (ca. 446–386 BCE) *Clouds*, as well as a number of Socratic dialogues written in the decades immediately following Socrates's death in 399 BCE. Although Plato's (420s–348/47 BCE) dialogues are the most well known of these, other associates of Socrates also participated in the genre, including Aeschines of Sphettus (430/20–after 375/6 BCE; seven dialogues, all lost), Phaedo of Elis (b. 418/16 BCE; two dialogues, both lost), Euclides of Megara (450/35–c. 365; six dialogues, all lost), Antisthenes (c. 445–c. 365; a number of dialogues, all lost), and Xenophon (430–354), whose *Symposium*, *Memorabilia*, *Oeconomicus*, and *Apology* are extant.[566] Aristotle names yet another figure, a certain Alexamenos of Teos, as the first person to have penned a Socratic dialogue.[567] Excavators of the Athenian agora in the 1950s even claimed to have confirmed a detail from Xenophon's account of

565.Christiane Haupt (2006, pp. 18–20) has argued along similar lines from a comparison between Kongzi and Jesus. For a summary of the problems involved in reconstructing the historical Jesus, see Tuckett 2001; for a summary of past reconstruction efforts, see Paget 2001; for a discussion of the quest for the "real" Jesus, see Watson 2001. Especially useful is Tuckett's discussion (pp. 132–137) of the criteria various scholars have derived for identifying historically accurate sources. McClymond's (2001) discussion of the sources of Jesus's life and thought is also relevant in the Chinese context.

566.Döring 2011.

567.For this fragment, see Döring p. 25, n. 2.

Socrates in the *Memorabilia* and from Diogenes Laertios's *Lives of the Philosophers* after they uncovered what appeared to be a leather-working shop together with a cup engraved with the name "Simon." They speculated that this Simon was the same Simon said to have owned a leather shop frequented by Socrates and who supposedly made notes of his conversations.[568]

Extant sources for Socrates more or less agree on a few basic biographical details: Socrates was an Athenian, a thinker, a teacher, and a conversationalist. But scholars of the period continue to disagree about the historical value of these often contradictory accounts, particularly with respect to Socrates's doxography. The earliest source, Aristophanes's *Clouds*, is an obvious parody,[569] and many Platonic dialogues give the impression that Plato was less interested in describing Socrates's philosophy than in using the figure of Socrates the dialectician as a useful prop. Occasionally, Plato even drops hints that his version of events might be less than completely accurate. In the *Phaedo*, the dialogue which purports to recount the circumstances of Socrates's death, he even has the narrator go out of his way to note that Plato himself was absent due to illness.[570]

The proliferation of Socratic dialogues in the fourth century is one hint that these texts were, first and foremost, a dynamic genre of intellectual discourse; they were not intended to be read as historically accurate accounts. As some scholars of the period have argued,

> [G]iven that Plato, like Xenophon and the other Socratics, were writing in a literary genre well described as "biographical experiments" that aim at "capturing the potentialities rather than

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568. See Döring 2011, pp. 34–36, and Lang 1978, p. 16. For the primary sources, see Xenophon (*Memorabilia* 4.2) and Diogenes Laertios (*Lives of the Philosophers*, 2.13.122). *Simon* was also the name of a dialogue written by Phaedo of Elis.

569. Dorion 2011, p. 6 (*Cambridge Companion to Socrates*): "It is probably impossible to reconstruct the ideas of the historical Socrates from Aristophanes' *The Clouds*, not only because the very genre of comedy lends itself to exaggeration and even excess, but also because there is good reason to believe that Socrates's character in *The Clouds* is really a composite figure whose traits were gathered not only from Socrates himself but also from the physiologoi and the sophists."

570. *Phaedo* 59b.

> the realities of individual lives" (Momigliano 1993: 46), what hope is there for reconstructing the historical Socrates from these representations? The representations conflict at the most basic level: Socrates affirms and denies that the good is pleasure (Plato, *Gorgias* 495a–99b, but cf. *Protagoras* 351b–e, 354de); Socrates does and doesn't investigate questions of natural science (Aristophanes, *Clouds* 217–33; Aristotle, *Metaphysics* A.6.987b1–3; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.1.11–16, 4.7.2–10; Plato, *Phaedo* 96d–99e, but cf. *Apology* 26de); Socrates disavows and avows having knowledge (Plato, *Apology* 21b–23b, *Theaetetus* 150cd, but cf. *Apology* 29b). So why suppose that the Socrates of Plato's early dialogues was the historical Socrates, rather than the Socrates of Xenophon's Socratic writings, or the Socrates of Aeschines, or Aristippus, or indeed of the hostile witness Aristophanes?[571]

These Western classicists' willingness to acknowledge the impossibility of recovering the thought of Socrates, despite Socrates's exalted status in the Western tradition and the (relative) wealth of nearly contemporaneous sources at their disposal, is exemplary. In the absence of reliably dated, roughly contemporaneous records of Kongzi's life and thought, students of early China have even less hope of sorting the historically authentic Kongzi from later "biographical experiments," or even of determining whether extant texts preserve *any* accurate information about Kongzi. Like Socratic dialogues, Kongzi sayings were a useful medium regardless of their provenance or historical authenticity, and we need not suppose that early audiences would have understood *Kongzi yue* or *zi yue* in any text as the mark of a historical record.

At the same time, Socrates probably would not have inspired later writers had he not possessed an extraordinary charisma, or at least an extraordinary reputation. Applying the same logic to Kongzi, we might infer that *someone* triggered the tremendous interest in a figure known as "Kongzi" or "Zhongni" or "Kong Qiu." But the story of how this figure became a household name in ancient China remains a mystery.

4) Kongzi quotation practice did not necessarily depend on a Kongzi intellectual lineage or dis-

571. Ahbel-Rappe and Kamtekar 2006, pp. xiv-xv.

ciple transmission.

Whatever the relationship between the historical Kongzi (assuming there was such a person) and the words and deeds attributed to him in later texts, by the fourth and third centuries BCE various kinds of Kongzi material were in circulation even outside of Kongzi's supposed home in the state of Lu.[572] From the scattered "Kongzi learned of this and said" (*Kongzi wen zhi yue* 孔子聞之曰) comments in the *Zuozhuan* and *Lüshi chunqiu* to the commentaries of the "Kongzi shilun" and *Zhouyi*, and from the *Kongzi yue* proof texts of the *Mengzi* to the various Kongzi dialogues in the Shanghai Museum manuscript corpus and elsewhere, Kongzi sayings were being put to diverse uses by numerous pre-Han authors. Within the Shanghai Museum corpus alone, a collection which has been tentatively dated to ca. 300 BCE, we find self-contained Kongzi anecdotes and dialogues and even a list of quotations attributed to an anonymous "master" (*zi* 子) who may or may not have been Kongzi. If, as seems likely, similarities with the Guodian find indicate that the Shanghai Museum manuscript corpus originated in the south, by the late fourth century BCE Kongzi material had spread hundreds of miles southward from his home in the state of Lu (modern-day Shandong province) to the Chu region (modern-day Hubei).

Even granting that the *Lunyu* did not exist until the Western Han period, the traditional view suggests a mechanism by which Kongzi sayings and stories became so prevalent: they were circulated and transmitted by people who self-identified as disciples in a Kongzi or Kongzi disciple lineage. These transmitters could have been proselytizers of a sort, people like Mengzi who sang

572.Zhu Weizheng (2007, pp. 169–170) sketches a four-stage development in which Kongzi was elevated from a mere *xianren* 賢人 (man of accomplishment) to a *shengren* 聖人 (sage), from *shengren* to *suwang* 素王 (uncrowned king), and from *suwang* to *jiaozhu* 教主 (religious founder).

Kongzi's praises and credited him with having found the Way (*dao* 道) to cure society's ills. According to that theory, it was these disciples' direct connection to Kongzi and their supposed fidelity to preserving Kongzi's memory which guaranteed the authenticity of *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings.[573]

But what evidence does early Kongzi material really provide for the devoted disciple model of textual transmission? Kongzi sayings and stories routinely represent Kongzi in conversation with a recurring cast of disciples. Yan Hui and Zilu and Zigong appear as Kongzi disciples in so many early texts, one might argue, because Kongzi actually taught these men, who then passed on his teachings to subsequent generations while preserving the original instructional contexts. Some Kongzi quoters do seem to have expressed an interest in safeguarding Kongzi's memory. Recall Zigong's 子貢 criticism of the eulogy delivered by Duke Ai of Lu 魯哀公 upon Kongzi's death in the *Zuozhuan* (p. 99), Mengzi's effort to defend Kongzi's reputation and exclude spurious (according to him) Kongzi sayings at *Mengzi* 5A/4 and 5A/8 (p. 117), and Youzi's criticism of Zengzi in "Tan gong" (p. 46). There are also instances in which a Kongzi quoter indicates that he has "heard" (*wen* 聞) a Kongzi saying from Kongzi or a Kongzi disciple, as when a certain Yuezheng Zichun 樂正子春 in the *Lüshi chunqiu* says that he "has heard it from Zengzi, who heard it from Zhongni" (聞之曾子，曾子聞之仲尼).[574] To these examples we could add the various episodes in which Kongzi enjoins his disciples to *ji* 記 ("take note of" or perhaps even "note

573. In his study of early masters (*zi* 子) texts, Mark Edward Lewis (1999) cited the *Lunyu* as his primary example of the master–student–text triad, whereby masters like Kongzi was constituted by groups of disciples who possessed special written records of their master's teachings, students asserted their identity through their devotion to a master and their possession of special records, and texts representing masters were developed and maintained by devoted disciples. While Lewis's model might very well apply to other early masters, we need not appeal to such a model to explain the genesis of the *Lunyu* or of other kinds of Kongzi material.

574. *Lüshu chunqiu* 14/1, "Xiao xing 孝行" (*SBCK* 14/3a). However, it seems to me that such sayings are rather rare. In the *Lunyu*, only 17/7, 19/17, and 19/18 feature disciples repeating words they had heard from the Master.

down") his words (p. 51).

On the other hand, the seeming universality of Kongzi quotation practice in the pre-Han period coupled with the striking lack of agreement among pre-Han Kongzi quoters about what Kongzi actually said hint that Kongzi quotation practice was not restricted to a small group of self-identified Kongzi disciples. The geographical scope of Kongzi sayings is also suggestive. Kongzi dialogues in several pre-Han texts also have him traveling to and from other Spring and Autumn-era polities, especially Qi 齊, Wei 衛, and Chu 楚 and the infamous region "between Chen and Cai." According to the *Lüshi chunqiu*,

> Kongzi drifted all around within the [four] seas seeking out one contemporary ruler after another. From Qi to Wei he saw more than eighty different lords.
>
> 孔子周流海內，再干世主，如齊至衛，所見八十餘君。[575]

Numerous early texts also portray Kongzi as having "heard of" (*wen* 聞) and commented on events in nearly every Spring and Autumn-era polity. Moreover, the use of Kongzi quotations even by a staunchly anti-Kongzi figure like Mozi indicates that Kongzi quotation practice transcended ideological boundaries, and that Kongzi sayings were a shared intellectual currency.[576] Sima Qian suggests as much in the "Kongzi shijia" when he writes, "The words Kongzi uttered while serving as an official or hearing cases could be shared with others—there was nothing exceptional about them" (孔子在位聽訟，文辭有可與人共者，弗獨有也。).

The vast majority of authors who attributed sayings to Kongzi do not seem to have worried

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575.*Lüshi chunqiu* 14/7, "Yu he 遇合" (*SBCK* 14/18b; *KZJY* 12.28/p. 262). In contrast, Nylan & Wilson (2010, p. 30) argue that Kongzi was originally a local culture hero from Lu. While Kongzi's close association with the state of Lu 魯 in pre-Han anecdotal literature is undeniable, quotations like this one complicate that conclusion.

576.It is for this reason that I cannot entirely agree with Nylan and Wilson (2010, pp. 29–30) that, prior to the Qin unification, "it was never clear that Kongzi would eventually be hailed as unique and the most important figure in Chinese history." Even in the pre-Qin period the prevalence of Kongzi sayings and Kongzi's role as commenter/commentator extraordinaire set him apart from other intellectual authorities. The Han apotheosis of Kongzi, and especially his identification as the author/editor/compiler of the Classics, only makes sense in light of this context.

about their authenticity. The "man of Chu lost his bow" anecdote from the *Lüshi chunqiu* (p. 57) and the Kongzi dialogues from the *Zhuangzi*, all of which were labeled "imputed words" (*yu yan* 寓言) by Sun Xingyan in the early 19th century, are unique only insofar as they wear their artificiality on their sleeve. Even the author of *Mengzi* 5A/4 only criticized a Kongzi saying on the grounds that it was unworthy of Kongzi's reputation; nowhere did he claim that some Kongzi sayings were more historically accurate than others. The *Mengzi* author's primary concern was upholding Kongzi's image for his contemporaries, a project which did not depend on recovering the historical Kongzi or transmitting Kongzi sayings verbatim. One of the few passages in early Chinese texts to suggest an interest in "genuine" (*zhen* 真) Kongzi sayings appears in *Xunzi* book six, "Fei shier zi 非十二子" ("Against Twelve Masters"): "[Some men] ornament their words in order to gain others' respect, saying, 'These are the genuine sayings of the former *junzi*. Zisi chanted them, and Mengzi [sang] in harmony with them'" (案飾其辭，而祇敬之，曰：此真先君子之言也。子思唱之，孟軻和之).[577] However, the author of this passage intended it as a criticism and apparently counted on his audience finding such pious claims preposterous. As Dorion has noted with respect to early Socrates material, "One of the reasons the Ancients never debated the Socratic problem is because they fully recognized the fictional nature of the *logoi sokratikoi*."[578] I see little reason to suppose that ancient purveyors and consumers of Kongzi material would have felt any differently.

To be clear, my argument is not that Kongzi sayings were never transmitted word-for-word

577.*Xunzi* 6 (*SBCK* 5/14b).

578.Dorion 2011, p. 13. Dorion goes on to list a handful of examples in which Greek and Roman authors acknowledge the fiction of Socratic dialogues. Ahbel-Rappe and Kamtekar (2006, p. xv) credit Paul Vander Waerdt (1994, p. 3) with "having voiced his skepticism about the sources' ability to tell us much about the historical Socrates [and] suggest[ing] that these sources might be better used as guides to the thinking of their authors or for the recovery of philosophically brilliant portraits of Socrates."

by self-identified Kongzi disciples in the pre-Han period. My proposal is that students of early China should reconsider the default approach to the interpretation of early Kongzi material. Especially when dealing with pre-Han Kongzi material, the faithful transmission of Kongzi sayings must be demonstrated, not assumed. And if Kongzi quotation practice did not depend on master-disciple transmission, there may also be a need to reconsider the centrality of the master-disciple model of textual transmission in early texts generally.

5) The Lunyu *is an imperial text.*

By "imperial text" I do not just mean that the *Lunyu* was compiled in the imperial period. I would also like to suggest that the success of the *Lunyu* project, understood as the effort to create a delimited set of authoritative Kongzi sayings, hinged on political centralization. It is probably not a coincidence that the *Lunyu* is first mentioned in the historical records of Emperor Wu's reign, a time when the Han imperium was consolidating and expanding its power to an unprecedented degree. Kongzi quotation practice prior to the advent of the *Lunyu* was so decentralized and unruly that no source of Kongzi sayings could have become authoritative without the backing of the highest political and/or intellectual authorities. The fact that the earliest recorded mentions of the *Lunyu* in the Han histories are in the context of the education the Han royal family likewise points to the Han imperium as the force responsible for the text's initial success. Eventually, late Western Han *Lunyu* transmitters and other scholar-officials like Kuang Heng, Liu Xiang, and Yang Xiong saw to it that the *Lunyu*'s authority extended beyond the royal family to the Han elite generally, in part by advancing the argument that the *Lunyu* provided unfettered access to Kongzi as the sage-author of the Classics. But these scholars' contributions were restrospec-

tive rationalizations; in my view, the Liu 劉 clan deserves the lion's share of the credit for the *Lunyu*'s status in the Chinese tradition.

One of the enduring biases in the study of early Chinese thought is the privileging of the Warring States era over the early imperial period.[579] This preference can be explained in part by a natural preference for the most ancient sources of ancient Chinese thought, the assumption being that these sources are somehow more foundational than texts written in later periods. Thus, the teachings of, say, the historical Kongzi or Mozi are often seen as more profound or essential than the writings of later Confucians and Mohists. A perceived correlation between political decentralization and intellectual freedom also contributes to an anti-imperial bias. The diversity and vibrancy of Warring States-era thought as evidenced in the texts attributed to the eponymous Warring States masters has been contrasted with the situation under the Qin and Han empires when (so the story goes) the imperial orthodoxy stifled intellectual innovation.[580] (This view of early Chinese intellectual history seems to have drawn inspiration from the history of Greco-Roman thought, in which democracy has been credited with the intellectual vibrancy of fifth-century Athens and the Roman Republic, and Hellenistic monarchy and the Roman Empire with the end of the Golden Age of Greek and Roman thought.) The traditional view of the *Lunyu* has abetted this bias by offering the *Lunyu* as our best source of the figure who ushered in a Golden Age of

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579. For useful correctives see Csikszentmihalyi 2006, pp. xx–xxiii, and Michael Nylan's (1999) argument against the "Han orthodox synthesis" and "victory of Confucianism" model.

580. For a recent statement, see Pines 2009, p. 3. A classic formulation of this thesis belongs to Karl Jaspers (1953, p. 4): "Corresponding to this new spiritual world [of the Axial Age], we find a *sociological* situation showing analogies in all three regions [i.e., China, India, and the Mediterranean world]. There were a multitude of small States and cities, a struggle of all against all, which to begin with nevertheless permitted an astonishing prosperity, an unfolding of vigour and wealth. In China the small States and cities had achieved sovereign life under the powerless imperial rulers of the Chou dynasty; the political process consisted of the enlargement of small units through the subjection of other small units. In Hellas and the Near East small territorial units—even, to some extent, those subjected by Persia—enjoyed an independent existence. In India there were many States and free cities."

Chinese philosophy, and whose biography stands as a testament to the political fragmentation of the age.

From this perspective, labeling the *Lunyu* an imperial text is not simply a matter of removing one of the most cherished sources of Warring States thought. It is also a direct challenge to reconstructions of early Chinese thought which privilege the pre-imperial over the imperial without subjecting the chronology of ostensibly pre-imperial texts to critical scrutiny. If the *Lunyu* Kongzi is a Han creation, albeit one which resonates in certain ways with pre-Han Kongzi traditions, there is clearly a need to reconsider the dating of other received texts from the Warring States era in light of the possibility that they owe much of their form and content to early imperial editors and compilers. How the history of Warring States thought should be rewritten to accommodate a Han perspective is a question beyond the scope of this dissertation. Given the ideological diversity of pre-Qin manuscript finds, one possibility is that histories of Warring States thought will come to see the syncretism or eclecticism evident in texts like the *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Huainanzi* not just as hallmarks of early imperial thought, but as pervasive features of early Chinese thought generally. Instead of presenting the story of Warring States thought as a parade of masters and "-isms," scholars may also come to see the genre of the Warring States master text as part of a Han effort to organize received textual traditions around figures who, like Kongzi, possessed a reputation and a symbolic status but not necessarily a well defined corpus of teachings. In short, just as the traditional view of the *Lunyu* has encouraged generations of scholars to view Kongzi as the prototypical master (*zi* 子) and the *Lunyu* as the prototypical master text, the Kongzi who emerges from Kongzi quotation practice together with the theory of a Western Han *Lunyu* might serve as a model for the study of pre-Han masters and master texts generally.

AN IMAGINATIVE EPILOGUE:

The Compilation and Rise of the *Analects*, circa 150 BCE–82 BCE

In chapter two I presented a number of arguments for revising the traditional dating of the *Lunyu*, and I concluded by suggesting the early part of Emperor Wu's reign as an approximate date of compilation. Unfortunately, the available evidence does not allow us to say with any certainty when exactly the *Lunyu* was composed, who composed it, or under what circumstances. Barring some spectacular manuscript find, we will never know everything we would like to know about the circumstances of its creation, nor will we possess more than circumstantial evidence for our theories of the text's genesis.

Be that as it may, ancient Chinese texts did not exist in a vacuum, and our theories of textual formation have any number of implications for what real-world people were actually doing with their texts. Testing those implications against our limited knowledge of the relevant social, intellectual, political, and material contexts is one of the only ways we have to test the plausibility of our theories and, in the process, to suggest avenues for future research. To that end, in this section I develop one possible scenario for the *Lunyu*'s genesis in the Western Han. My account is, in part, an effort to reverse-engineer the circumstances of its creation: given what we know about its possible sources and the editorial decisions that shaped the text as we have it today, what can we surmise about the *Lunyu* compilers and their immediate context? And given what we know about textual production in the early Western Han, who might have initiated such a project, and for what purpose(s)? Although necessarily hypothetical, the story I will tell hews as much as possible to the "facts" of Western Han history as attested in the early histories, imperfect sources though they may be.

* * *

One setting in which we could imagine a *Lunyu* text being compiled is the court of Liu De 劉德, the figure posthumously known as King Xian of Hejian 河間獻王 (r. 155–130/129 BCE). Not long after being enthroned as king by his father, Emperor Jing 景帝 (r. 156–141),[581] in 155 BCE, Liu De 劉德 began to establish a reputation as a patron of traditional learning and an avid collector of texts. The rewards he offered for donated texts, all of which he had faithfully transcribed so that donors could keep copies for themselves, guaranteed that Liu De's collection soon rivaled that of the imperial court.[582] Liu De was an equally avid collector of intellectuals, who staffed his bureaucracy, maintained his library, and created a vibrant intellectual atmosphere at his court.[583]

Liu De apparently relished one of the prerogatives of intellectual patrons in the period: overseeing the creation of new texts:

> During Emperor Wu's reign, King Xian of Hejian loved the Ru, and together with Master Mao and others selected [passages] from the *Zhou Offices* and the masters' discussions of musical matters to compose the *Record of Music*. He also presented the "eight-row dance," which was not far off from Mr. Zhi's [version].
>
> 武帝時，河間獻王好儒，與毛生等共采周官及諸子言樂事者，以作樂記，獻八佾之舞，與制氏不相遠。[584]

There is little evidence to suppose that Liu De's *Yue ji* 樂記 (*Record of Music*) was the same "Yue ji" included in the received *Liji*.[585] Regardless, the description of this text as having been

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581.Many of these details are drawn from his *Hanshu* biography in book 53, "Biographies of the Thirteen Kings of [Emperor] Jing" (景十三王傳). See *Hanshu* 53.2410–2411; for a complete translation, see Appendix 3:X.

582.*Hanshu* 53.2410: Liu De's collection consisted of "ancient-text pre-Qin old writings..., all of them canons and commentaries and explanations and records discoursed upon by the followers of [Kongzi's] seventy disciples" (古文先秦舊書...皆經傳說記，七十子之徒所論。).

583.The only named scholar associated with Liu De in the *Hanshu* is a Master Mao 毛生, the purported author of the *Mao Shi*. See *Hanshu* 30.1708.

584.*Hanshu* 30.1712. The *Hanshu* elsewhere (22.1043) describes Mr. Zhi 制氏 as an expert in music at the founding of the Han.

585.Cook 1995, p. 5: "It therefore appears that the *Yue Ji* compiled by Liu De may have been an entirely different work from our present version of the *Yue Ji*, and a work which was by Kong Yingda's time in the Tang no longer extant."

"selected" (*cai* 采) from earlier texts offers a plausible model for the compilation *Lunyu*. (Liu De's presentation of an "eight-row dance" [*ba yi zhi wu* 八佾之舞] to Emperor Wu is also intriguing in light of the dance's mention at *Lunyu* 3/1, the very first saying in a string of entries devoted to ritual and music.[586]) In his sponsorship of scholars and scholarly activities Liu De was probably aware of a rivalry between himself and other kings, particularly his cousin Liu An 劉安, a grandson of the Han founder and King of Huainan 淮南 since 164. Although they did not share the same intellectual predilections—Liu An preferred southern to northern literature, for instance—both kings must have realized that they competed to a certain extent over the same pool of intellectual talent.[587]

The death of Liu De's father in 141 BCE and the accession of the sixteen year-old Liu Che 劉徹, posthumously known as Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 141–89 BCE), would have been the most momentous event of Liu De's reign. Liu De knew that he would soon be called upon to pay homage to his newly enthroned half-brother as well as to his grandmother, the Empress Dowager Dou 竇太后 (d. 135), and the question would have arisen as to the appropriate gifts for the occasion.[588] The political implications of this moment would not have escaped him. The imperial court's ongoing interest in wresting power away from the regional kings, seven of whom had launched a rebellion as recently as 154 BCE, meant that the onus was on Liu De to demonstrate

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586.*Lunyu* 3/1: Kongzi said of the Ji clan: "The eight rows of dancers danced in the courtyard. If they can tolerate this, what can't they tolerate?" (孔子謂季氏，八佾舞於庭，是可忍也，孰不可忍也？).

587.Compare Vankeerberghen 2001, pp. 9–10: "The competitors for power early in Emperor Wu's reign also needed intellectual credentials. Most of them aligned themselves with a text, or with an interpretive tradition, and many were authors of texts." In this section I rely heavily on Vankeerberghen's (2001) discussion of the life and death of Liu An in the context of early Western Han politics.

588.*Hanshu* 53.2411. The precise date of Liu De's court visit is unknown. On Liu An's court visits, see Vankeerberghen 2001, pp. 49–51. On court visits generally, which seem to have happened at regular intervals, see Loewe 2004, p. 372. Empress Dowager Dou was the empress of Emperor Wen 文帝 (180–157 BCE), the mother of Emperor Jing, and the grandmother of Emperor Wu.

his loyalty to Chang'an.[589] His gifts to Emperor Wu would also be judged against gifts from other regional kings and that his prestige would depend to a certain extent on their impressiveness and distinctiveness. Such prestige was a vital form of political capital, without which he would never have a voice in imperial policy-making or protect himself from persecution in the event that slanderous officials at Chang'an turned against him.[590]

Rumors coming out of Chang'an together with Emperor Wu's early proclamations would have given Liu De a sense of his newly enthroned half-brother's interests and predilections.[591] He would have been aware that Emperor Wu had recently issued a call for officials and kings like himself to recommend virtuous and capable men to Chang'an. At the same time, the emperor had approved of a proposal to exclude candidates who had "mastered the sayings of Shen Buhai, Shang Yang, Han Fei, Su Qin, and Zhang Yi" (治申、商、韓非、蘇秦、張儀之言).[592] That

589. Vankeerberghen 2001, p. 60: "The Liu kings, until 122 B.C., found themselves in a precarious position. On the one hand, they were an integral part of how the Han dynasty had defined itself at the outset: whereas as kings they were entitled to rule over parts of the new empire, as members of the Liu family they could expect special protection from the emperor when faced with legal prosecution. On the other hand, they were perceived as a threat to the imperial order: one of them could always rebel to usurp imperial power; moreover, if they engaged in immoral behavior they could tarnish the reputation of the entire Han ruling family. Thus, while formally the kings were recognized as corulers, practically they had very little freedom to rule." See also Bielenstein 1980, pp. 106–107, for a summary of the punitive bureaucratic reforms (including removal of the privilege to appoint their own high officials) instituted in 145 BCE following the rebellion in 154.

590. Vankeerberghen's discussion (2001, pp. 12–13) of Liu An's attempts to influence Chang'an provides a model for an activist regional king in the period. See also Major et al 2010, pp. 9–10, for speculation as to Liu An's motives for compiling and eventually presenting the *Huainanzi* to Emperor Wu.

591. Liu De was nominated king of Hejian in 155 and Liu Che king of Jiaodong in 153, so it is likely that the two princes would have been acquainted with one another at Chang'an. However, extant sources provide no hints into their personal relationship.

592. *Hanshu* 6.155–156: "In October of the first year of the Jianyuan reign period [=140 BCE], [Emperor Wu] issued an edict to the Chancellor, the [Grandee] Secretary, the vassal lords, those with a salary of two-thousand stones and above, and the vassal lords' ministers to promote men of accomplishment and integrity who were honest and forthright and prone to remonstrate. The Chancellor [Wei] Wan memorialized, 'Of those who have been recommended, some have mastered the sayings of Shen [Buhai], Shang [Yang], Han Fei, Su Qin, and Zhang Yi, which throw the governance of the state into chaos. Let all of them be dismissed.' The memorial was approved."
建元元年冬十月，詔丞相、御史、列侯、中二千石、二千石、諸侯相舉賢良方正直言極諫之士。丞相綰奏：所舉賢良，或治申、商、韓非、蘇秦、張儀之言，亂國政，請皆罷。奏可。

proposal had been submitted by Wei Wan 衛綰 (d. 130), the current Chancellor (*chengxiang* 丞相) and the man who had once served as Liu De's tutor.[593] Recently appointed high officials like Zhao Wan 趙綰 (d. 139) and Wang Zang 王藏 were also finding Emperor Wu receptive to proposals to redouble the imperial commitment to ancient institutions like the Bright Hall (*ming tang* 明堂) and the *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 sacrifices.[594] Although the Empress Dowager had succeeded in blocking these efforts for the time being (and also in engineering Zhao Wan's demise), she was old and unlikely to live much longer (in fact, she died in 135 BCE).

I imagine that it was for an occasion like this one that Liu De and his Erudites (*boshi* 博士) initiated the compilation of a collection of Kongzi's teachings.[595] The larger his library the more Liu De and his experts would have noticed the remarkable heterogeneity and inconsistency of Kongzi material across all manner of texts. Annoyingly for those who wished to defend Kongzi's reputation, many of these stories and sayings "were not the sayings of a noble man" (非君子之言), as Mengzi had once put it.[596] Liu De might have believed that a collection of Kongzi's teachings would satisfy a growing interest in Kongzi as a patron sage of the Six Arts (*liu yi* 六藝). And if Emperor Wu was interested in purging certain kinds of sayings from imperial discourse and certain kinds of candidates from consideration for office, what better sayings to champion than those of Kongzi himself? More selfishly, Liu De might have sought to enhance his credentials as an expert in the ancient models and also showcase the quality and breadth of his library, the physical manifestation of his commitment to the past and his connection to the ancient sages.

593.*Shiji* 103.2769.

594.*Shiji* 28.1384.

595.On the corporate authorship of the *Huainanzi* at Liu An's court, which is one possible model for the compilation of the *Lunyu*, see Major et al. 2010, pp. 8–9.

596.See the discussion of *Mengzi* 5A/4 at p. 117.

Such an expert would wield considerable influence at a court newly committed to ancient institutions, or so Liu De could have hoped.

Liu De might have also seen this as an opportunity to exploit Kongzi's reputation as a paragon of judgment by presenting him as a model of character evaluation for Emperor Wu and other recommenders across the realm. The assessment and appointment of official candidates was an especially sensitive issue for Liu De and other kings following Emperor Jing's decision in 145 BCE to strip regional kings of the power to appoint their own high officials.[597] Perhaps Liu De had even caught wind of a proposal to establish a semi-formal recruitment system in order to fill the ever-expanding bureaucracy in Chang'an as well as the imperially controlled regional offices.[598]

Liu De would have assigned the project to a group of favored Erudites, giving them unfettered access to his library and leaving it to them to decide how the project was to be accomplished. The first problem the compilers faced was the question of what to include and what to leave out. They would have soon realized that each compiler's ideas about what the text should look like depended on his own conception of Kongzi. The *Chunqiu* expert might have wished to emphasize Kongzi's authorship of the *Chunqiu*, the *Shi* expert his purported involvement in the editing and compilation of the *Shi*. Some might have wanted to emphasize Kongzi's cosmic significance and his powers of prognostication, others his status as an exemplar of the traditional virtues. And so on.

Several considerations might have pushed the compilers towards a middle-of-the-road, non-

597. Bielenstein 1980, p. 106.

598. This proposal was not accepted until Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 became Chancellor (*chengxiang* 丞相) in 126. See *Shiji* 121.3118.

controversial approach to their text. Various powerful officials in Chang'an had studied or were otherwise partial to particular intellectual or canonical traditions, and the compilers may have feared that strongly associating their text with one of these traditions over the others would involve them in the intellectual factionalism at court, thereby alienating whole swaths of the Han elite.[599] They avoided associating Kongzi too closely with controversial philosophical positions, e.g., a theory of human nature (*Lunyu* 5/13), and they emphasized those aspects of his character and thought that would appeal to the widest possible audience. In this way, they endeavored to establish Kongzi as a quotable authority for all. Pronouncements on *li* 禮 (ritual) and *yue* 樂 (music), on core values like *ren* 仁 (humaneness) and *xiao* 孝 (filial piety), and on legendary figures like Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 were thought safe, whereas topics like "oddities, physical strength, chaos, and the spirits" (怪、力、亂、神) (*Lunyu* 7/21) were deemed too sensitive. Emphasizing Kongzi's authorship of the *Chunqiu* was deemed impolitic given that the text was so strongly associated with political criticism and thus might be used to subvert the moral authority of the Han imperium. After all, they could have reasoned, better safe than sorry.

Having agreed on the general parameters, the compilers would have then discussed how to go about putting the text together. Perhaps they resolved first to assemble their own mini-collections of Kongzi material before merging them into a single text. The compilers went their separate ways, each equipped with plenty of ink, brushes, and bamboo strips, as well as his own ideas

599. Vankeerberghen 2001, pp. 9–10: "The competitors for power early in Emperor Wu's reign also needed intellectual credentials. Most of them aligned themselves with a text, or with an interpretive tradition, and many were authors of texts. Dou Ying and Tian Fen reportedly favored classical learning (*rushu* 儒術); they associated themselves with the Lu 魯 tradition of *Odes* (*Shi* 詩) scholarship by inviting the revered master Shen 申 to court. Zhufu Yan 主父偃, who enjoyed the emperor's favor from 128 to 126 B.C., had excelled in studying the arts of the "Long and Short and Horizontal and Vertical Alliances" (*changduan zongheng zhi shu* 長短縱橫之術) but then started studying the *Changes* (*Yi* 易), the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋), and 'the words of the hundred schools.' The *Hanshu*'s bibliographical chapter lists a book in twenty-eight chapters by his hand. Ji An is said to have been adept of the sayings of the Yellow Emperor and of Laozi. Dong Zhongshu and Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 both specialized in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*."

about Kongzi. A few compilers headed straight to the library to comb the collection for Kongzi material. Liu De's copy of the *Mengzi* was a particularly fruitful source, as were his various *Li* 禮 texts. One compiler familiar with the *Zuozhuan* copied an entire Kongzi anecdote (*Lunyu* 14/21) as well as two statements on *ren* 仁 (12/1, 12/2). Another wrote out his favorite "Zi yi" sayings from memory (2/3, 13/22) as well as a dialogue between Kongzi and Zhonggong 仲弓 (13/2) in which he elided those sections which had nothing to do with Liu De's interest in official recruitment.

Not all of the compilers stuck so closely to available sources of Kongzi stories and sayings. Some took a more liberal view of what *Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 meant and chose to interpret it as "Kongzi might very well have said" or "Kongzi should have said." For them, a proper Kongzi saying derived its authority from its recognizability, not its textual pedigree. These compilers introduced popular proverbs (e.g., 7/1) or added their favorite sayings from texts not attributed to Kongzi. One ritual expert copied down a set of ritual prescriptions to which he affixed the word "Kongzi 孔子," thereby turning it into a description of Kongzi's conduct (*Lunyu* book 10). Another compiler with a predilection for lists devised a series of capsule descriptions of Kongzi's conduct and teachings (7/4, 7/13, 7/18, 7/21, 7/25).

When the compilers reconvened to share their individual collections with the group, they might have been daunted by the bundles of bamboo strips that confronted them, each of which represented its compiler's distinct conception of Kongzi. Looking at this material, they would have realized the need to condense and standardize it in some way if it was to be of any use. Here they would have remembered that they were working for an audience of one, Liu De, and that Liu De intended to present the text to Emperor Wu. For their king and emperor as well as for the officials responsible for drafting official documents (*Lunyu* 14/8), "useful" meant "quotable."

Thus they might have decided to isolate the most important Kongzi sayings from longer Kongzi dialogues and anecdotes, preferably using no more than a single bamboo strip per entry. In addition to enhancing the text's quotability, this was also the simplest way to put the raw source materials into a more or less consistent format. However, some compilers might have objected that certain dialogues could not be compressed into single sayings and insisted that these texts were important enough to be included in their original format. Among these were the interview scenes (*Lunyu* 5/26 & 11/26) in which Kongzi assessed his disciples' qualifications for office, episodes which addressed Liu De's concern to portray Kongzi as an exemplary judge of talent and character.

After paring and pruning their mini-collections, the compilers still would have faced the problem of merging them into a coherent text. The solution they seem to have hit upon was to group individual entries together according to shared themes. Strips with sayings having to do with ritual were deposited in one pile, Kongzi's assessments of his disciples in another, assessments of non-disciples in another, and so on.[600] If Wang Chong's mention of a Hejian *Lunyu* in nine bundles (*juan* 卷) is any indication,[601] Liu De's compilers might have ended up with a total of nine groupings:

theme	**location in the received *Lunyu***
the virtues (*ren* 仁, *xiao* 孝, *dao* 道)	books 2 & 4, 6/18–23
ritual and music	2/23–24 and the whole of book 3
assessing disciples	5/1–5/14, 5/25–5/28, 6/1–6/14, 9/20–22, book 11

600. Vankeerberghen's (2001, p. 5) description of the *Huainanzi* also fits the received *Lunyu*: "As the *Huainanzi* resulted from a cooperative effort by several authors, there is very little unity at the level of terminology. Words mean different things and are evaluated differently from chapter to chapter or from passage to passage within a given chapter. It is also hard to find unity at the level of ideas. Ideas overlap or even contradict one another if taken at face value."

601. Appendix 2:F.

assessing non-disciples	5/15–5/21, 5/23–24, 8/1, 8/11, 8/18–21, 14/12–19
Kongzi's self-assessments	book 7, 9/1–18
Kongzi's ritual conduct	book 10
governance	book 12, 13/1–20
disciple sayings	1/2, 1/4, 1/7, 1/9, 1/10, 1/12, 1/13, book 19
miscellaneous sayings	14/1–11, 14/20–44, 15, 16, & 17

Sayings within these groupings were then grouped together with other sayings that used similar language or that were about similar topics (e.g., the string of *junzi* descriptions at 15/18–23). In one section, all of the sayings about fathers and/or mothers (*fumu* 父母) were placed in a sequence (4/18–21); in the section on Kongzi self-assessments, three sayings using the character *qi* 齊 and its written variant *zhai* 齋 were listed in a row (7/13–15).[602] The compilers might have also given some consideration to which entries belonged at the beginning of each section. For instance, in the ritual and music subsection, they might have put Kongzi's statement on the *ba yi* 八佾 ("eight rows of dancers") first as a nod to their patron's interest in ancient music.

At this point they would have ordered a scribe to copy out a first draft of their compilation, which they would have promptly presented to Liu De. Liu De might have drawn up a list of revisions that included a few additions of his own as well as suggestions for which sayings should go where. Being particularly sensitive to the political implications of the work, he might have insisted that the compilers edit an episode from the *Zuozhuan* that featured Kongzi disobeying a direct command from his lord (14/21) and that they remove all of Kongzi's criticisms of late Spring and Autumn-era rulers lest Emperor Wu understand them as indirect criticisms of his own rule. The compilers would have followed their patron's instructions to the letter and returned with a fi-

602.Simson 2006, p. 48. Simson (pp. 45–50) identifies a number of other such clusters.

nal version of the text.

When Liu De received the imperial summons to travel to Chang'an, he would have presented his collection along with a copy of the "Yue ji" and a performance of the ancient *ba yi* 八佾 (eight row) dance. Liu De would have given a lot of thought to the question of how to introduce his text to Emperor Wu. Rather than describe the actual circumstances of its creation, he may have explained that his collection had been recovered from certain "ancient texts" (*gu wen* 古文) submitted by Ru from Kongzi's ancestral region in Lu. These Ru, he could have said, had received Kongzi's teachings via generations of masters and disciples down to the present day.

Although Emperor Wu was too sophisticated a consumer of "ancient texts" to accept Liu De's account, he would have appreciated Liu De's humility and the appeal of his text. At a time when more and more scholars were claiming Kongzi as their intellectual progenitor, especially the soon-to-be appointed "Erudites of the Five Classics" (*wu jing boshi* 五經博士),[603] Liu De's text offered unmediated access to the creator of the canon and the patron saint of traditional learning. No longer would the emperor have to rely on scholars to articulate the wisdom of the (often impenetrable) classics for him. He might have also appreciated the quotability of Liu De's text, which stood in stark contrast to the poetic language of the *Shi*, the archaic language of the *Shu*, the mysterious images of the *Yi*, or the coded language of the *Chunqiu*. Most of all, he would have seen that Liu De's Kongzi was a figure who derived his authority exclusively from his learning and wisdom; unlike the *Chunqiu* Kongzi, he was not a paragon of political critique who could inspire dissenting voices.[604]

At first only a small circle of Emperor Wu's advisers would have known of and had access to

603. According to the *Hanshu* (6.159), these positions were not appointed until 136 BCE.

604. On Kongzi's association with the *Chunqiu* in the Han, see Kern 2011.

the text. However, copies might have begun circulating out of Liu De's court in Hejian and spreading throughout the Qi and Lu regions. Such texts might have been the direct ancestors of the Qi *Lunyu* and Lu *Lunyu* listed in the "Yiwen zhi." (Perhaps it was one of these copies which Sima Qian had obtained for the compilation of the "Kongzi shijia.") When Emperor Wu's son and designated crown prince Liu Ju 劉據 (129–91) had reached an appropriate age, Emperor Wu ordered one of the boy's tutors to instruct him in the text.[605] The same tutor might have also suggested certain revisions to enhance its pedagogical value. These included adding a reworked book one which emphasized "learning" (*xue* 學) and "filial piety" (*xiao* 孝) (e.g., 1/1, 1/2), some material from Sima Qian's recently finished biography of Kongzi (18/3–8), and a number of Zengzi sayings meant to establish Zengzi's authority as author of the *Xiaojing*, another text being used as a textbook for princes at Chang'an. At this point the *Lunyu* might have been reorganized into twenty sections (perhaps splitting each of Liu De's nine sections into two and adding books one and twenty) in order to make individual books shorter and thus easier to digest.

When news of the crown prince's curriculum spread, there would have been a scramble within the Liu 劉 clan to secure copies of the text for other eligible princes. Quotations of the text soon began to appear in memorials, and before long mastery of the *Lunyu* was perceived as a pre-requisite for selection to higher office. Self-proclaimed experts in the *Lunyu* soon emerged to take advantage of the text's popularity, offering instruction in the text to the highest bidder. By the time of Emperor Wu's death and the succession of his teenage son Liu Fuling 劉弗陵, the future Emperor Zhao, the Western Han elite were not in the least bit surprised to hear that Emperor Zhao was studying the *Lunyu*.

605.The *Hanshu* (63.2741) records that Liu Ju received instruction in the *Gongyang* 公羊 and *Guliang* 穀梁 commentaries to the *Chunqiu*, but it is highly unlikely that these were the only texts he was exposed to.

* * *

This is by no means the only scenario which might account for the *Lunyu*'s compilation in the Western Han. Perhaps the text was put together under the auspices of another regional king, perhaps even the very King Gong of Lu 魯恭王 whom legend credits with having been indirectly responsible for the discovery of the "ancient script" (*guwen* 古文) *Lunyu*.[606] Or perhaps the *Lunyu* owes its existence to figures at Chang'an 長安 working under Emperor Wu or his father, Emperor Jing, or his grandfather, Emperor Wen. Someone like Kong Anguo 孔安國, a supposed descendant of Kongzi in the twelfth generation who served as Grandee Remonstrant (*jian dafu* 諫大夫) during Emperor Wu's reign, might have had the motivation, education, textual resources, and prestige to compile and market a compilation of his ancestor's sayings to a wider audience.[607] It is also conceivable that the *Lunyu* was first compiled by people outside of a court context, perhaps by self-identifying Ru 儒 who presented the text to Chang'an or to a regional king like Liu De. But whatever the circumstances of its creation, I believe students of the *Lunyu* have much to gain from thinking of it as a product of a Western Han intellectual, textual, and political milieu.

606.For my discussion of King Gong of Lu, see p. 208.

607.*Hanshu* 88.3607. The *Hanshu* "Yiwen zhi" (30.1706.) records that Kong Anguo came into the possession of the ancient script texts discovered by King Gong, including the ancient text *Lunyu*.

SAYINGS OF CONFUCIUS, DESELECTED

Volume 2

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CHAPTER ONE APPENDICES

• Appendix A: “Between Chen and Cai” stories through the Western Han

Mengzi 7B/18 (*SBCK* 14/6b)	When the noble man [=Kongzi] was trapped between Chen and Cai... (君子之厄於陳蔡之間...)
Mozi 39 (*SBCK* 9/22a; *KZJY* 13.31/p. 289)	When Kong So-and-so was at rock bottom between Chen and Cai he ate only simple broth without any grain... (孔某窮於蔡陳之閒，藜羹不糝)
Lüshi chunqiu 14/6 (*SBCK* 14/17a–b; *KZJY* 13.28/p. 287)	When Kongzi was at rock bottom between Chen and Cai for seven days he did not eat anything except simple broth without any grain... (孔子窮於陳、蔡之間，七日不嘗食，藜羹不糝。)
Lüshi chunqiu 17/3 (*SBCK* 17/9b–10a; *KZJY* 13.32/p. 289)	When Kongzi was at rock bottom between Chen and Cai, even simple broth was not poured and for seven days he did not eat grain. He slept during the day. (孔子窮乎陳、蔡之間，藜羹不斟，七日不嘗粒，晝寢。)
Zhuangzi 20 (*SBCK* 7/20b; *KZJY* 17.7/p. 388)	When Kongzi was surrounded between Chen and Cai for seven days he had no food to cook. (孔子圍於陳蔡之間，七日不火食。)
Zhuangzi 20 (*SBCK* 7/24b; *KZJY* 13.30/pp. 288–89)	When Kongzi was at rock bottom between Chen and Cai for seven days he had no food to cook. (孔子窮於陳蔡之間，七日不火食。)
Zhuangzi 28 (*SBCK* 9/27b; *KZJY* 13.27/pp. 286–87)	When Kongzi was at rock bottom between Chen and Cai for seven days he had no food to cook. He ate only simple broth with no grain, he looked exhausted, yet he strummed and sang in his room. (孔子窮於陳蔡之間，七日不火食，藜羹不糝，顏色甚憊，而弦歌於室。)
Huainanzi 16 (*SBCK* 16/17a)	To be Kongzi and to abandon the Six Arts while at rock bottom between Chen and Cai would have been [the height of] delusion. (為孔子之窮於陳、蔡而廢六藝，則惑。)
Hanshi waizhuan 7 (*SBCK* 7/3b; *KZJY* 13.24/pp. 283–84)	When Kongzi was in trouble between Chen and Cai he sat on the “three-classics mat” and did not eat for seven days except for simple broth with no grain. Though his disciples looked famished he read aloud from his books and practiced ritual and music without stopping. (孔子困於陳蔡之間，即三經之席，七日不食，藜羹不糝，弟子有飢色，讀書習禮樂不休。)
Shiji 47.1930	[Kongzi while stuck between Chen and Cai] could not proceed, his food ran out, his followers were exhausted, and no one could rise...” (不得行，絕糧。從者病，莫能興。).
Shuiyuan 17 (*SBCK* 17/10a–b; *KZJY* 13.26/pp. 285–86)	When Kongzi encountered difficulties at the border between Chen and Cai his food ran out and his disciples all looked famished... (孔子遭難陳、蔡之境，絕糧，弟子皆有饑色...)

Shuiyuan 17 (*SBCK* 17/11b–12a; *KZJY* 13.25/pp. 284–85)	When Kongzi was in trouble between Chen and Cai he was hemmed in on all sides. He sat on his "three-classics mat" and did not eat for seven days except for simple broth with no grain. Though his disciples all looked famished he recited the *Odes* and *Documents* and practiced ritual without stopping. (孔子困於陳、蔡之間，居環堵之內，席三經之席，七日不食，藜羹不糝，弟子皆有饑色，讀詩書治禮不休。)

• Appendix B: Passages in which Kongzi enjoins disciples to "take note of" (*ji zhi* 記之/*zhi zhi* 志之/*shi zhi* 識之) or "work on" (*mian zhi* 勉之) his words

ji zhi 記之	
Shuiyuan 7, "Zheng li 政理" (*SBCK* 7/5b; *KZJY* 10.57/p. 232)	Kongzi said, "Disciples, take note: Duke Huan was an overlord and Guan Zhong an accomplished assistant, yet they still took wisdom as foolishness. [If even they could make such a mistake,] how much more those who are inferior to Duke Huan and Guan Zhong?" 孔子曰：弟子記之：桓公，霸君也；管仲，賢佐也；猶有以智為愚者也，況不及桓公管仲者也。
Shuiyuan 10, "Jing shen 敬慎" (*SBCK* 17a–b; *KZJY* 12.9/p. 255)	Kongzi turned to his disciples and said, "Take note: although vulgar, this saying goes to the heart of the matter. A *Shi* says, 'Tremblingly, circumspectly, as if overlooking a deep chasm or treading on thin ice.' If you carry yourself like this, how could you bring disaster on yourself with your mouth?" 孔子顧謂弟子曰：記之：此言雖鄙，而中事情。詩曰：戰戰兢兢，如臨深淵，如履薄冰。行身如此，豈以口遇禍哉！
Shuiyuan 10, "Jing shen 敬慎" (*SBCK* 10/18b; *KZJY* 2.6/p. 16)	Kongzi said, "Disciples, take note: let this serve as a warning to you." Thereupon thirteen of his disciples returned home to care for their parents. 孔子曰：弟子記之，此足以為戒也。於是弟子歸養親者十三人。
Shuiyuan 17, "Za yan 雜言" (*SBCK* 17/17a; *KZJY* 3.18/p. 33)	Kongzi said, "You [=Zilu], take note, because I will tell you: those who show off their speech are grandiloquent, and those who show off their conduct are arrogant..." 孔子曰：由，記之，吾語若：賁於言者，華也，奮於行者，伐也。...
Xinxu 5, "Za shi 雜事" (*SBCK* 5/8a; *KZJY* 10.54/p. 231)	Kongzi turned to Zigong and said, "Disciples, take note: when a government is unfair and its officers are too harsh, it is worse than tigers and wolves." 孔子顧子貢曰："弟子記之。夫政之不平而吏苛，乃甚於虎狼矣。
Kong congzi 6, "Jie Mo 詰墨" (*SBCK* 6/5a)	Kongzi learned of this and said, "Followers, take note: Yanzi served three lords with one heart. He is a [true] *junzi*." 孔子聞之，曰：小子記之。晏子以一心事三君，君子也。
zhi zhi 志之	

Guoyu, "Lu yu xia 魯語下" (*SBCK* 5/12a; *KZJY* 9.30/p. 179)	Zhongni learned of this and said, "Disciples, take note: this lady of the Ji clan was not licentious." 仲尼聞之曰：弟子志之，季氏之婦不淫矣。
Xunzi 29, "Zi dao 子道" (*SBCK* 28/11a–11b; *KZJY* 2.13/pp. 18–19)	Kongzi said, "You [=Zilu], take note, because I will tell you: even if you possess the might of a soldier, you cannot raise yourself up. It is not because you lack strength, but because the situation does not allow it..." 孔子曰：由志之，吾語女。雖有國士之力，不能自舉其身，非無力也，勢不可也。...
Xunzi 29, "Zi dao 子道" (*SBCK* 29/12b; *KZJY* 3.16/p. 32)	Kongzi said, "You [=Zilu], take note, because I will tell you: those who show off their speech are grandiloquent, and those who show off their conduct are arrogant..." 孔子曰：由志之！吾語汝：奮於言者華，奮於行者伐。...
Hanshi waizhuan 3 (*SBCK* 3/20b; *KZJY* 3.17/pp. 32–33)	Kongzi said, "You [=Zilu], take note, because I will tell you: those who show off their speech are grandiloquent, and those who show off their conduct are arrogant..." 孔子曰：由志之，吾語女；夫慎於言者不譁，慎於行者不伐。
Kongzi jiayu 9, "San shu 三恕" (*SBCK* 2/16a)	The Master said, "You [=Zilu], take note, because I will tell you: those who show off their speech are grandiloquent, and those who show off their conduct are arrogant..." 子曰：由志之！吾告汝！奮於言者華，奮於行者伐。...
Kongzi jiayu 10, "Hao sheng 好生" (*SBCK* 2/16a)	Kongzi heard this saying and said, "Followers, take note: who said Can [=Zengzi] does not understand ritual?" 孔子聞斯言也，曰：二三子志之！孰為參也不知禮也？
Kongzi jiayu 22, "Kun shi 困誓" (*SBCK* 5/21b)	Kongzi said, "You [=Zilu], take note, because I will tell you: even if you possess the strength of a soldier, you cannot raise yourself up. It is not because you lack strength, but because the situation does not allow it..." 孔子曰：由！汝志之，吾語汝。雖有國士之力，而不能自舉其身，非力之少，勢不可矣。...
Kongzi jiayu 41, "Zheng lun 政論" (*SBCK* 9/28a)	Kongzi learned of this and said, "Disciples, take note: This lady of the Ji clan can be said to have 'not transgressed.'" 孔子聞之，曰：弟子志之！季氏之婦，可謂不過矣。
shi zhi 識之	

Liji, "Tan gong shang 檀弓上" (*SBCK* 2/10a; *KZJY* p. 520)	When Kongzi was in Wei there was a funeral party, and when the Master observed it he said, "What a fine funeral! It can serve as a model—disciples, take note!..." The Master said, "Disciples take note: I am unable to put this into practice." 孔子在衛，有送葬者，而夫子觀之，曰：善哉為喪乎！足以為法矣。小子識之。...子曰：小子識之：我未之能行也。
Liji, "Tan gong xia 檀弓下" (*SBCK* 3/13b; *KZJY* p. 524)	The Master said, "Disciples, take note: a cruel government is fiercer than a tiger." 夫子曰：小子識之：苛政猛於虎也。
Yanzi chunqiu , "Wen xia 問下" (*SBCK* 4/20b; *KZJY* 7.8/ p. 148)	Zhongni learned of this and said, "Disciples, take note: Yanzi served a hundred lords with one heart." 仲尼聞之曰：小子識之！晏子以一心事百君者也。
mian zhi 勉之	
Zhuangzi 5, "De chong fu 德充符" (*SBCK* 2/35b; *KZJY* 16.26/p. 374)	Kongzi said, "Disciples, work on this: this toeless cripple still endeavors to learn and improve upon his former misconduct. How much more should those of flawless virtue?" 孔子曰：弟子勉之！夫無趾，兀者也，猶務學以復補前行之惡，而況全德之人乎！
Zhonglun , "Zhi xue 治學" (*SBCK* 上/2b; *KZJY* 1.28/p. 10)	Kongzi said, "If you refuse to learn how will you conduct yourself? If you refuse to think how will you obtain [what you want]? Disciples, work on this: this can serve as a teacher for others." 孔子曰：弗學何以行？弗思何以得？小子勉之，斯可以為人師矣。
Zhonglun, "Xiu ben 修本" (*SBCK* 上/10a; *KZJY* 1.29/p. 10)	Kongzi said, "Disciples, work on this: do not discard yourself. Others will discard you no matter what, so why discard yourself? How distantly others will keep away from you." 孔子曰：弟子勉之！汝毋自舍，人猶舍汝，況自舍乎！人違汝其遠矣。

• Appendix C: The Shanghai Museum "Lu bang da han" manuscript

There was a great drought in Lu. Duke Ai said to Kongzi, "Master, will you not divine its cause for us?"

Kongzi replied, "When there is a great drought, is it not because [the state] has lost punishments and virtue? Simply rectify punishments and virtue."

Duke Ai said, "But the masses will think that I do not know to serve the spirits with the *shuo* rain sacrifice.[608] What is to be done about that?"

Kongzi said, "The masses understand that the *shuo* sacrifice serves the spirits, but they do not understand punishments and virtue. If you do not begrudge[609] precious jades and silks to the mountains and rivers [and also] rectify punishments and virtue and thereby serve Heaven on high, then the spirits will respond and the great drought will certainly come to an end.

The Duke said, "Excellent!"

Kongzi exited and ran into Zigong, saying, "Zigong! You have heard the word on the street. Do they not say that my replies were wrong?"

Zigong said, "To the contrary, [they say that] my Master values supplication. Rectifying punishments and virtue and thereby serving Heaven on high—this is the right thing to do. But not begrudging precious jades and silks to the mountains and rivers—isn't that impermissible? The mountains have the rocks for their skin and trees for their people. If it does not rain the stones become scorched and the trees die, so the mountains' desire for rain far exceeds our own. Why must they rely on our supplications? The rivers have water for their skin and fish for their people. If it does not rain the water dries up and the fish die, so the rivers' desire for rain far exceeds our own. Why must they rely on our supplications?"

Kongzi said, "Ah, Ci [=Zigong]! I will tell you: a noble man considers supplication to be a matter of patterning, whereas the masses consider it a matter of the spirits. If he does not supplicate, how could a king or duke eat his fill of grains and meats without losing control over the masses?"

魯邦大旱，哀公謂孔子：子不為我圖之？

孔子對曰：邦大旱，毋乃失諸刑與德乎？唯〔正刑與德。

哀公曰：庶民以我不知以說之事鬼也。若〕之何哉？

孔子曰：庶民知說之事鬼也，不知刑與德。汝毋愛珪璧幣帛於山川，正刑與

608.For a discussion of this sacrifice, see *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, vol. 2, p. 206.

609.Ma Chengyuan (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, vol. 2, p. 206.) reads *ai* 愛 (begrudge) as *ai* 薆 (hide or bury), which is functionally equivalent to *yi* 瘞, a character which appears in the *Mao Shi* (#258) in a similar context. However, Li Xueqin cites a parallel from the same *Shi* to support the *ai* 愛 reading, which seems more natural given that Kongzi recommends rectifying punishments and virtue in addition to conducting sacrifices.

〔德〕，〔以事上天，鬼神感之，大旱必止矣。

公曰：善哉。

孔子〕出，遇子貢曰：賜爾聞巷路之言，毋乃謂丘之對非歟？

子貢曰：否，抑吾子乃重命其歟？若夫正刑與德，以事上天，此是哉。若夫毋愛珪璧幣帛於山川，毋乃不可。夫山，石以為膚，木以為民，如天不雨，石將焦，木將死，其欲雨有甚於我，又必恃乎命乎？夫川，水以為膚，魚以為民，如天不雨，水將涸，魚將死，其欲雨有甚於我，何必恃乎命乎？

孔子曰：嗚呼！〔賜也，我告爾：命也者，君子以為文，庶民以為神。如不命，王〕公豈不飽粱食肉哉，抑無如庶民何？[610]

610.Here I follow Liao Mingchun's (2004) proposed reconstruction with the supplementary material in brackets 〔〕.

• Appendix D: Zigao debunks Kongzi rumors in the *Kong congzi* 孔叢子

Prince Pingyuan was drinking with Zigao and pressed him to drink more wine, saying, "As the old proverbs have it, 'Yao and Shun could drink a thousand jars of wine and Kongzi a hundred beakers. Zilu drank in small sips, but he could still drain ten goblets. That is to say, among the sages and the accomplished men of old there was none who could not drink. Why are you reluctant to do so?" Zigao answered, "According to what I have heard, it was by means of the Way and virtue that accomplished men and sages surpassed others, not through food and drink." Prince Pingyuan said, "If what you say is right, then how did these sayings arise?" Zigao answered, "These sayings arise from people who love to drink, and the sayings are no doubt inciting and provocative words. They are not true." Prince Pingyuan was pleased and said, "Had I not provoked you, I would not have heard these elegant words of yours."

平原君與子高飲，強子高酒曰：昔有遺諺，堯舜千鍾，孔子百觚，子路嗑嗑。尚飲十榼。古之聖賢無不能飲也。吾子何辭焉？子高曰：以穿所聞賢聖以道德兼人，未聞以飲食也。平原君曰：即如先生所言，則此言何生？子高曰：生於嗜酒者，蓋其勸厲獎戲之辭，非實然也。平原君欣然曰：吾不戲子無所聞此雅言也。[611]

*　*　*

Prince Pingyuan said to Zigao, "I have heard that your forefather had an intimate interview with Nanzi, the wife of the Duke of Wei. I have also heard that when your forefather was traveling south he passed through Agu, where he exchanged words with a washerwoman. Did this actually occur?" Zigao answered, "Men who trust one another do not believe gossip when they hear it. Why? Because they view the case in light of the past activities of those to whom the story is ascribed. Formerly, during my forefather's sojourn in Wei, the Prince of Wei asked him about commanding the troops. But my forefather dismissed the question without statement, and though the question remained unsettled he seized the reins of his carriage and departed. Since the Prince of Wei's request for an interview was apparently not carried out, how could his wife have been able to meet intimately with my forefather? It seems that in the remote past, even when the rites and etiquette were on the decline, there were those who put into effect the rule concerning the attendance of women in the great sacrificial feast. To suggest that the wife of the Prince of Wei conducted such a feast with the Master is to think of the Master as not having grasped [the rites]. As for his conversation with the washerwoman in Agu, this [story] arose in recent times. It is the work of someone who made it up in order to further his own motives.

611.*Kong congzi* 13 (*SBCK* 4/8a–b). Translation adapted from Ariel 1989, p. 136.

平原君問子高曰：吾聞子之先君，親見衛夫人南子，又云南遊遇乎阿谷而交辭於漂女。信有之乎？答曰：士之相信，聞流言而不信者。何哉？以其所已行之事占之也。昔先君在衛，衛君問軍旅焉。拒而不告，問不已攝駕而去。衛君請見，猶不能終。何夫人之能覿乎？古者大饗，夫人與焉。於時禮儀雖廢，猶有行之者。意衛君夫人饗夫子則夫子亦弗獲已矣。若夫阿谷之言，起於近世，殆是假其類以行其心者之為也。[612]

612.*Kong congzi* 13 (*SBCK* 4/8b–9a). Translations adapted from Ariel 1989, pp. 136–37.

• Appendix E: Mengzi debunks Kongzi rumors at *Mengzi* 5A/8

Wan Zhang asked, “Some say that Kongzi stayed with an ulcer doctor in Wei, and he stayed with the servant Qi Huan in Qi. Did he?”

Mengzi said, “No, he did not. [Such sayings] are the work of those who like telling tales. He stayed with Yan Chouyou in Wei. The wives of Mizi and Zilu were siblings, and Mizi said to Zilu, “If Kongzi stays with me, he could became a minister of Wei.” When Zilu informed Kongzi of this, he said, “If it has been mandated.” Kongzi advanced according to ritual and retired according to what was proper. Whether he obtained something or not, he would say, “It has been mandated.” Were he to have stayed with an ulcer doctor or the servant Qi Huan, that would have been neither proper nor mandated. After Kongzi was displeased with Lu and Wei, he ran into Master of Horses Huan in Song, who sought to capture and kill him. He passed through Song by traveling incognito. At that time Kongzi was in dire straits and he stayed with Master of the City Zhenzi, who was the Marquis of Chen and a subject of Zhou. I have heard that to observe a nearby subject one considers his guest; to observe a distant subject one considers his host. If Kongzi had stayed with an ulcer doctor and the servant Qi Huan, how could he have been Kongzi?

萬章問曰：或謂孔子於衛主癰疽，於齊主侍人瘠環，有諸乎？孟子曰：否，不然也；好事者為之也。於衛主顏讎由。彌子之妻與子路之妻，兄弟也。彌子謂子路曰：孔子主我，衛卿可得也。子路以告。孔子曰：有命。孔子進以禮，退以義，得之、不得、曰有命。而主癰疽與侍人瘠環，是無義無命也。孔子不悅於魯衛，遭宋桓司馬，將要而殺之，微服而過宋。是時孔子當阨，主司城貞子，為陳侯周臣。吾聞觀近臣，以其所為主；觀遠臣，以其所主。若孔子主癰疽與侍人瘠環，何以為孔子？[613]

613.*SBCK* 9/14b–15a; *KZJY* p. 514.

CHAPTER TWO APPENDICES

• Appendix A: *Lunyu* 13/18 parallels

***Lüshi chunqiu* 11/4.3** (*SBCK* 11/8a–b; *KZJY* 2.17/p. 20)	***Hanshi waizhuan*** (*SBCK* 2/9b)	***Baihu tongyi*** (*SBCK* 4/12b)	***Lunyu* 13/18**
			The Duke of She said to Kongzi,
In Chu there was one Upright Self who informed the authorities after his father stole a sheep. The authorities had his father arrested and were about to execute him when Upright Self asked to take his place. Upright Self was about to be executed when he said to the official, "Is it not honest to report one's father when he steals a sheep? Is it not filial to ask to replace one's father when he is about to be executed? If a state would execute an honest and filial man, then who wouldn't it execute?" The king of Chu heard this and pardoned him.			"Among my people there is a man named Upright Self who testified against his father after he stole a sheep."
	Kongzi said,	The *Lunyu* says,	Kongzi said,
Kongzi learned of this and said,			
"Upright Self's honesty is strange indeed! He took advantage of his own father to make a name for himself." Thus Upright Self's honesty was worse than being dishonest.[614]	"Sons cover for their fathers and fathers cover for their sons. Therein lies uprightness."	"Fathers cover for their sons and sons cover for their fathers. Therein lies uprightness.	"The upright ones among my people are different from this man. Fathers cover for their sons and sons cover for their fathers. Therein lies uprightness."
楚有直躬者，其父竊羊而謁之上，上執而將誅之。直躬者請代之。將誅矣，告吏曰：父竊羊而謁之，不亦信乎？父誅而代之，不亦孝乎？信且孝而誅之，國將有不誅者乎？荊王聞之，乃不誅也。			葉公語孔子曰：吾黨有直躬者，其父攘羊，而子證之。
孔子聞之曰： 異哉直躬之為信也，一父而載取名焉。 故直躬之信，不若無信。	孔子曰： 子為父隱，父為子隱，直在其中矣。	論語曰： 父為子隱，子為父隱，直在其中矣。	孔子曰： 吾黨之直者異於是： 父為子隱，子為父隱。直在其中矣。

614.Here we have a good example of an ambiguous quotation ending. In the Knoblock and Riegel edition (2000, pp. 251–52), the Chinese text concludes the Kongzi attribution after the line "He took advantage of his own father to make a name for himself," but their English translation concludes it after "Thus Upright Self's honesty was worse than being dishonest." I have opted for the former punctuation on the grounds that *gu* 故 marks the *Lüshi chunqiu* compiler's own comment on the anecdote.

• Appendix B: Kongzi attributions in Eastern Han edicts

ruler	*year*	*source quoted*	*quotation marker*
Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220)[615]	216	*Lunyu* 9/3	*Zhongni yue* 仲尼曰 (*Sanguo zhi* 1.47)
	214	*Lunyu* 5/17	*Kongzi cheng* 孔子稱 (*Sanguo zhi* 10.325)
	212	*Lunyu* 5/9	*Zhongni you yan* 仲尼有言 (*Sanguo zhi* 9.271–72)
	211	*Lunyu* 8/21	*Kongzi suo wei* 孔子所謂 (*Sanguo zhi* 16.496)
	210	*Lunyu* 8/20	*Lunyu yun* 論語云 (*Sanguo zhi* 1.32–33)
	207	*Zuozhuan*	*Zhongni yunti* 仲尼隕涕 ("Zhongni shed tears") (*Sanguo zhi* 22.650)
Xian 獻帝 (r. 189–220)	195	*Lunyu* 7/11	*Kongzi shen* 孔子慎 ("Kongzi was cautious...") (*Hou Han ji jiaozhu* 28.794)
	193	*Lunyu* 7/3	*Kongzi tan* 孔子歎 (*Hou Han ji jiaozhu* 27.766)
Empress Dowager Deng 鄧 (b. 81–d. 121)	106	*Lunyu* 8/20	*Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 (*Hou Hanshu* 76.2469)
	106	*Lunyu* 8/21	*Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 (*Hou Hanshu* 4.197)
He 和帝 (r. 88–106)	?	*Lunyu* 4/3	*Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 (*Hou Hanshu* 50.1675)
Zhang 章帝 (r. 75–88)	80	*Lunyu* 13/3	*Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 (*Hou Hanshu* 3.140)
	79	*Lunyu* 7/3, 19/6[616]	*Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 (*Hou Hanshu* 3.138)
	75	*Lunyu* 6/14, 13/2	*Kongzi hui* 孔子誨 ("Kongzi taught") (*Hou Hanshu* 3.133)
Ming 明帝 (r. 57–75)	69	*Lunyu* 11/8	*Zhongni zang zi* 仲尼葬子 ("Zhongni buried his son") (*Hou Hanshu* 2.115)
Guangwu 光武帝 (r. 25–57 CE)	56	*Shiji* (?)[617]	*Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 (*Hou Hanshu* 16.601–02)
	56	*Lunyu* 3/6	*Zhongni fei* 仲尼非... ("Zhongni criticized...") (*Hou Hanshu* 97.3164)
	52	*Lunyu* 16/1	*Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 (*Hou Hanshu* 18.695)
	26	*Lunyu* 13/3	*Kongzi yun* 孔子云 (*Hou Hanshu* 1a.29)

615. Although not officially an emperor, Cao Cao issued a number of *ling* 令 ("commands") as the effective ruler of what eventually became the state of Wei 魏 under his son Cao Pi. This list only includes those *ling* listed in the *Sanguo zhi* and excludes other fragments collected by Yan Kejun in the *Quan Sanguo wen*.

616. The first part of the quotation reads, "Kongzi said, 'To learn without progressing—this is my worry'" (孔子曰：學之不進，是吾憂也。), which is probably a variant of *Lunyu* 7/3 which substitutes *jin* 進 for *jiang* 講.

617. *Shiji* 67.2188: "Kongzi said, 'Since I have had [Yan] Hui, my followers have become ever closer" (孔子曰：自

• Appendix C: Kongzi attributions in Eastern Han commentaries

Text[618]	*Explicit* Lunyu *attributions/ references*	*Total # of Kongzi quotations*	*#/% from Lunyu*	*Other*
He Xiu's 何休 (129–182) *Gongyang* 公羊 commentary	1	36	27 (75%)	*Liji* (x3); *Zuozhuan* (x1); *Shiji* 47 (x1); unknown (x4)
Zhao Qi's 趙岐 (d. 201) *Mengzi* commentary	14	1	1 (100%)	
Zheng Xuan 鄭玄's (127–200) *Liji* commentary	10	12	12 (100%)	
Zheng Xuan *Mao Shi* 毛詩 commentary	2	4	3 (75%)	*Zuozhuan* (x1);
Zheng Xuan *Yili* 儀禮 commentary	3	7	6 (86%)	*Liji* (x1)
Zheng Xuan *Zhouli* 周禮 commentary	17	9	4 (44%)	*Liji* (x4); unknown (x1)
Xu Shen 許慎 (c. 55–c. 149)/Gao You 高誘 (c. 168–212) *Huainanzi* commentary[619]	14	5	4 (80%)	*Liji* (x1)
Gao You's *Lüshi chunqiu* commentary	22	8	7 (88%)	*Xiaojing* (x1)
Wang Yi's 王逸 (fl. c. 120 CE) *Chuci* 楚辭 commentary	11	0	0	

吾有回，門人益親。). The same saying also appears at *Shangshu dazhuan* (*SBCK* 2/19a; *KZJY* 7.1/p. 146), *Kongzi jiayu* (*SBCK* 9/1a), and *Kong congzi* (*SBCK* 1/10b), but not in the *Lunyu*.

618.I have used the *Sibu congkan* editions for all of the commentaries listed here.

619.See Loewe (ed.) 1993, pp. 190–191, for the history of these commentaries, which were apparently blended together at some point prior to the 11th century.

• Appendix D: The *Lunyu* entry in the "Yiwen zhi 藝文志" ("Monograph on Arts and Letters") (*Hanshu* 30.1716–1717)

• The ancient-script *Lunyu* in 21 sections. It came out of the walls of Kongzi's [house]. It has two "Zizhang" [chapters, i.e., book 19].
• The Qi version in 22 sections. It also has the sections "Asking about being a true king" and "Understanding the Way."
• The Lu version in 20 sections, with a commentary in 19 sections.
• Explanations of the Qi version in 29 sections.
• Xiahou [Sheng's] explanations of the Lu version in 21 sections.
• The Marquis of Anchang's [i.e., Zhang Yu's 張禹] explanations of the Lu version in 21 sections.[620]
• Wang Jun's explanations of the Lu version in 20 sections.
• The Yan commentary and explanations in 3 scrolls.
• Discussions and memorials in 18 sections.
• The *Kongzi Family Sayings* in 27 scrolls.
• *Kongzi's Three Audiences* in 7 sections.
• *The Charts and Models of Kongzi's Followers* in 2 scrolls.
—A total of 12 *Lunyu* textual lineages in 229 sections.

The *Lunyu* consists of Kongzi's responses to his disciples and contemporaries as well as conversations between his disciples and the words they themselves heard from the Master. At that time, [Kongzi's] followers each had his own record. After the Master died, his followers gathered [his sayings] together and selectively edited [the collection], thus they called it the *Selected Sayings*. With the rise of the Han there were the explanations of the Qi and Lu versions. Those who transmitted the Qi version were Commandant of the Capital of Changyi Wang Ji, Privy Treasurer Song Ji, Grandee Secretary Gong Yu, Prefect of the Masters of Writing Wulu Chongzong, and Master Yong of Jiaodong, but only Wang Ziyang [i.e. Wang Ji] was a famous expert. Those who transmitted the Lu version were Gong Fen, Chief Commandant of Changshan, Xiahou Sheng,

620. The biography of Zhang Yu (*Hanshu* 81.3352) includes additional information about his *Lunyu* text:

At first when Zhang Yu was serving as tutor he submitted a chapter-and-verse *Lunyu* commentary to the throne because the Emperor [Cheng] had put several questions to him about the text. Initially, Fu Qing of Lu, Xiahou Sheng, Wang Yang [=Wang Ji 王吉], Xiao Wangzhi, and Wei Xuancheng all explained the *Lunyu*, and the arrangement of sections in their texts was somewhat different. Zhang Yu first served Wang Yang and afterwards followed Master Sheng. He adopted their strong points and eventually put out [his own version] that was greatly esteemed. The Ru said of it, "Want a *Lunyu*? Read Zhang Yu's." From this point forward scholars usually followed Zhang's text and the other lineages gradually declined.

初，禹為師，以上難數對己問經，為論語章句獻之。始魯扶卿及夏侯勝、王陽、蕭望之、韋玄成皆說論語，篇第或異。禹先事王陽，後從庸生，采獲所安，最後出而尊貴。諸儒為之語曰：欲為論，念張文。由是學者多從張氏，餘家寖微。

Privy Treasurer of Changxin, Chancellor Wei Xian, Fu Qing of Lu, General of the Van Xiao Wangzhi, Zhang Yu, Marquis of Anchang. All of these men were famous experts. Mr. Zhang's was the last [whose text] circulated at large.[621]

論語古二十一篇。出孔子壁中，兩子張。齊二十二篇。多問王、知道。魯二十篇，傳十九篇。齊說二十九篇。魯夏侯說二十一篇。魯安昌侯說二十一篇。魯王駿說二十篇。燕傳說三卷。議奏十八篇。石渠論。孔子家語二十七卷。孔子三朝七篇。孔子徒人圖法二卷。凡論語十二家，二百二十九篇。

論語者，孔子應答弟子、時人及弟子相與言，而接聞於夫子之語也。當時弟子各有所記。夫子既卒，門人相與輯而論纂，故謂之論語。漢興，有齊、魯之說。傳齊論者，昌邑中尉王吉、少府宋畸、御史大夫貢禹、尚書令五鹿充宗、膠東庸生，唯王陽名家。傳魯論語者，常山都尉龔奮、長信少府夏侯勝、丞相韋賢、魯扶卿、前將軍蕭望之、安昌侯張禹，皆名家。張氏最後而行於世。

621.Titles from Bielenstein 1980.

• Appendix E: *Lunyu* transmitters mentioned in the "Yiwen zhi"

	dates	*associated texts*
Zhang Yu 張禹	d. 5 BCE	Explanations (*shuo* 説) on the Lu *Lunyu*
Wang Jun 王駿	d. 15	Explanations (*shuo* 説) on the Lu *Lunyu*
Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成	d. 36	"explained (*shuo* 説) the *Lunyu*"[622]
Wulu Chongzong 五鹿充宗	fl. 38	Qi *Lunyu*
Gong Yu 貢禹	d. 44	Qi *Lunyu*; authored a "chapter-and-verse" commentary
Song Ji 宋畸	fl. 72–67	Qi *Lunyu*
Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之	fl. 74–46	Lu *Lunyu*
Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝	fl. 74–49	Explanations (*shuo* 説) on the Lu *Lunyu*
Yong Sheng 庸生	fl. 74–53	Qi *Lunyu*
Wang Ji 王吉	fl. 80–47	Qi *Lunyu*
Wei Xian 韋賢	d. 67	Lu *Lunyu*
Fu Qing of Lu 魯扶卿[623]	fl. c. 106	Lu *Lunyu*
Gong Fen 龔奮	unknown	Lu *Lunyu*

622. Wei Xuancheng is not mentioned in the "Yiwen zhi" but he is mentioned at *Hanshu* 81.3352 in the biography of Zhang Yu.

623. Whereas Ban Gu refers to this figure ambiguously as "Lu Fuqing," Wang Chong names him as "Fu Qing of Lu." The *Jingdian shiwen* (*SBCK* 1/31b) also quotes Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 to the effect that Fu Qing was also known as Fu Xian 扶先 or Fu xiansheng 扶先生 (Master Fu). On this point see also Makeham 1996, p. 11, n. 42.

• Appendix F: Wang Chong's history of the *Lunyu* (*Lunheng jiaoshi* 81.1135–1139)

All those who would explain the *Lunyu* merely know how to explain the characters and language without knowing the original number of sections. They know that in the Zhou one foot was eight inches without knowing why the [strips on which the] *Lunyu* [was written] were only one foot in length. The *Lunyu* is the disciples' collected records of Kongzi's words and deeds. Because they recorded his instructions so often there were several dozen to a hundred sections of text. They used an eight-inch foot in order to economize the record-keeping and make it easier to carry. Because these remnants were not canonical they feared that the transmitted text and recorded knowledge would be lost, so they only used an eight-inch foot [for the strips] and not the two-foot four-inch length.

At the rise of the Han the text was lost. During Emperor Wu's reign an ancient-script version in 21 sections was discovered in the walls of Kongzi's [house]. The two versions of Qi and Lu plus the nine sections of the Hejian text add up to 30 sections.[624] Emperor Zhao read a text in 21 sections. Emperor Xuan sent it down to the Grand Master of Ceremonies and Erudites [because] at that time the writing was still considered too difficult to understand. They [added explanations and] called it a "commentary."[625] Afterwards it was rewritten in clerical script so that it could be transmitted and recited. At first, Kongzi's descendant Kong Anguo taught it to Fu Qing of Lu, who was the first to call it the "*Lunyu*" after he was appointed Inspector of Jingzhou.

Today we speak of a *Lunyu* in 20 sections, but we have lost the Qi and Lu versions as well as the Hejian version in 9 sections. Originally there were 30 sections, [some of which] were lost in circulation. Some have [extant versions in] 21 sections, some have [versions with] more or fewer section titles, and in their appraisal of the text some are correct and some are incorrect. Those who would explain the *Lunyu* only know how to slice and dice with their questions and weave trivialities with their contrived problems. They do not know to ask about the original number of sections and section titles. "Keeping the old warm and knowing the new—this is how to be a teacher."[626] How can one be called a teacher without knowing the ancient?

說論者，皆知說文解語而已，不知論語本幾何篇；但〔知〕周以八寸為尺，不知論語所獨一尺之意。夫論語者，弟子共紀孔子之言行，敕記之時甚多，數十百篇，以八寸為尺，紀之約省，懷持之便也。以其遺非經，傳文紀識恐忘，故但以八寸尺，不二尺四寸也。

漢興失亡。至武帝發取孔子壁中古文，得二十一篇，齊、魯二，河間九篇，三十篇。

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624. There seem to be major problems with this section of the text, beginning with this line. My translation follows the suggested emendations in the *Lunheng jiaoshi*.

625. The *Hanshu* biography of Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝 records that Emperor Xuan asked him to produce a *Lunyu* "explanation" (*shuo* 說) text. See *Hanshu* 75.3159.

626. This is an implicit quotation of *Lunyu* 2/11.

至昭帝女[627]讀二十一篇。宣帝下太常博士，時尚稱書難曉，名之曰傳；後更隸寫以傳誦。初，孔子孫孔安國以教魯人扶卿，官至荊州刺史，始曰論語。

今時稱論語二十篇，又失齊、魯、河間九篇。本三十篇，分布亡失；或二十一篇。〔篇〕目或多或少，文讚或是或誤。說論語者，但知以剝解之問，以織微之難，不知存問本根篇數章目。溫故知新，可以為師；今不知古，稱師如何？

627.The word *nü* 女 is probably a mistake.

• Appendix G: A *Shuiyuan* 說苑 Kongzi attribution

Kongzi said, “He is acceptable for his simplicity.” “Simplicity” means unsophistication, and “unsophistication” means lacking ritual and patterning. When Kongzi went to see Zisang Bozi, Zisang Bozi was there without a cap. One of Kongzi’s followers said, “Master, why would you see this man?” Kongzi said, “His substance is fine though he is unrefined. I wish to persuade him to refine himself.” After Kongzi had left, Zisang Bozi’s retainers were unhappy and said, “Why would you see Kongzi?” He said, “His substance is fine though he is too refined. I wish to persuade him to unrefine himself.” Thus it is said, “One who cultivates his patterning and substance is called a ‘noble man,’ and one who has substance but no patterning is called a ‘simple rustic.’” Zisang Bozi was a simple rustic who wished to share the way of men with the oxen and horses. That is why Zhonggong called him “greatly simplistic.” When above there is not an enlightened son of heaven and below there are no worthy vassals then the world loses the Way. Subjects kill their lords, sons kill their fathers, and if one has the power to attack another then the attack is acceptable. In Kongzi’s time there was not an enlightened son of heaven and so he said [in *Lunyu* 6/1], “Yong [=Zhonggong] could be made to face south.” “Facing south” means being son of heaven. The reason why Yong was praised as one who could “face south” was because he asked Kongzi about Zisang Bozi. Kongzi said, “He is acceptable for his simplicity.” Zhonggong said, “Is it not acceptable to conduct oneself with respect but act simplistically? Is it not too simplistic to conduct oneself simplistically yet also act simplistically?” The Master said, “Yong, your words are right!” Zhonggong comprehended the techniques of transformation. Kongzi understood the royal Way and had nothing to add to Zhonggong’s words.

孔子曰：可也簡。簡者，易野也，易野者，無禮文也。孔子見子桑伯子，子桑伯子不衣冠而處，弟子曰：夫子何為見此人乎？曰：其質美而無文，吾欲說而文之。孔子去，子桑伯子門人不說，曰：何為見孔子乎？曰：其質美而文繁，吾欲說而去其文。故曰，文質脩者謂之君子，有質而無文謂之易野，子桑伯子易野，欲同人道於牛馬，故仲弓曰太簡。上無明天子，下無賢方伯，天下為無道，臣弒其君，子弒其父，力能討之，討之可也。當孔子之時，上無明天子也，故言雍也可使南面，南面者天子也，雍之所以得稱南面者，問子桑伯子於孔子，孔子曰：可也簡。仲弓曰：居敬而行簡以道民，不亦可乎？居簡而行簡，無乃太簡乎？子曰：雍之言然！仲弓通於化術，孔子明於王道，而無以加仲弓之言。[628]

628.*Shuiyuan* 19 (*SBCK* 19/20a–b).

• Appendix H: Kongzi attributions in Western Han edicts

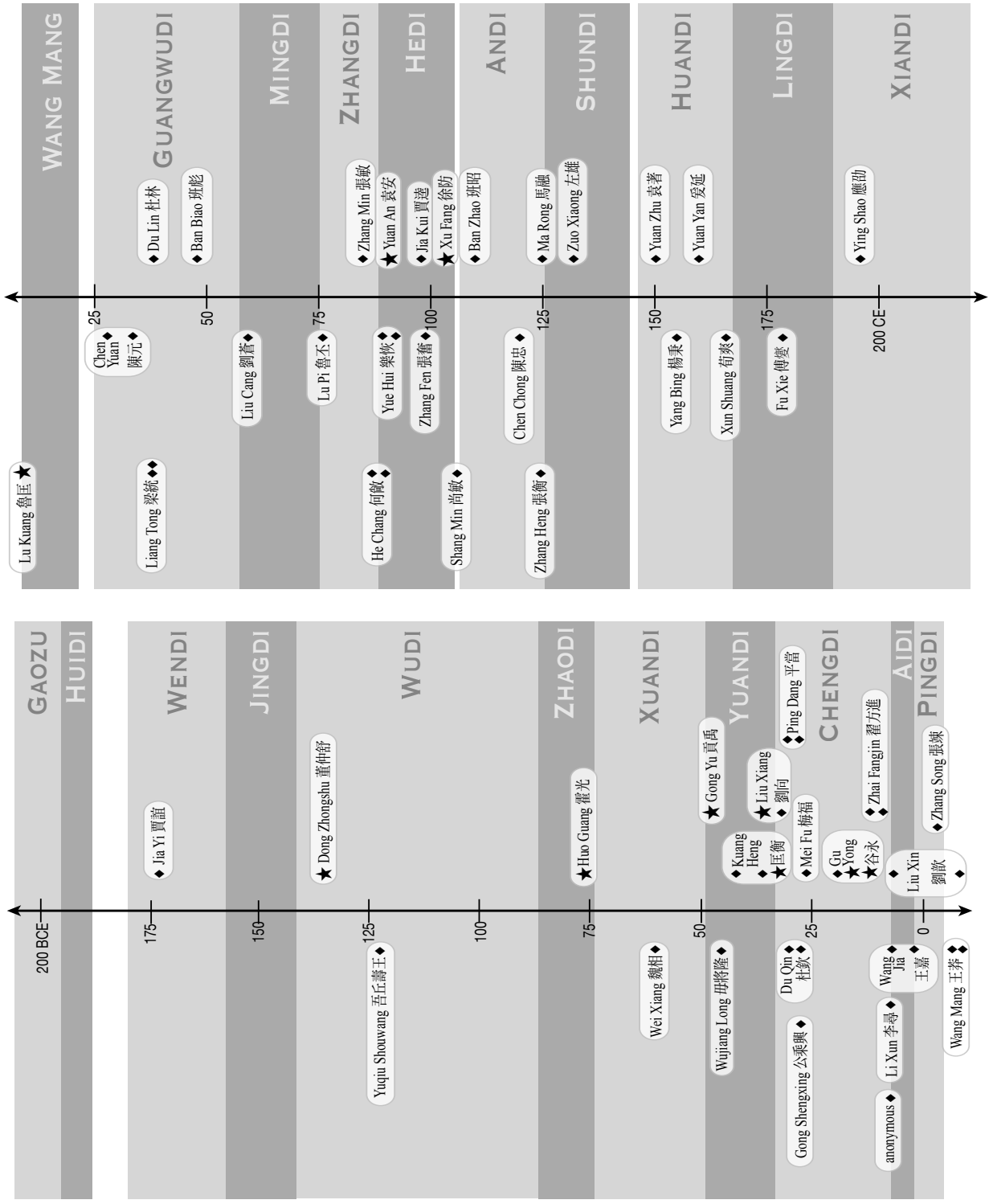
ruler	*year*	*source quoted*	*quotation marker*
Wang Mang 王莽 (r. 9 CE–23 CE)	20 CE	*Lunyu* 13/3	*Xuan Ni gong yue* 宣尼公曰 ("His Resplendent Excellency Ni said...") (*Hanshu* 99c.4160)
Grand Empress Dowager Wang Zhengjun 王政君 (71 BCE–13 CE)	5 CE	*Lunyu* 8/2	*zhuan bu yun hu* 傳不云乎 (Does not a tradition say...) (*Hanshu* 12.358)
	2 CE	*Lunyu* 2/20, 3/4, 3/22, 12/17	*Zhongni wei zhi* 仲尼謂之 ("Kongzi said about him..."); *Kongzi bu yun hu* 孔子不云乎 ("Did not Kongzi say...") (*Shiji* 112.2963)
	1 BCE	*Lunyu* 13/2	none (*Hanshu* 12.348)
Ai 哀 (r. 7–1 BCE)	5	*Lunyu* 3/14	none (*Hanshu* 11.339)
	7	*Lunyu* 15/11	*Kongzi bu yun hu* 孔子不云乎 ("Did not Kongzi say") (*Hanshu* 22.1073)
Cheng 成 (r. 33–7)	16	*Lunyu* 15/30	*fu* 夫 (*Hanshu* 10.320)
	23	*Lunyu* 15/10	none (but in the context of recruiting official candidates) (*Hanshu* 10.313)
	28–25	*Lunyu* 6/10	*fuzi suo teng yue* 夫子所痛，曰 ("this is what pained the Master when he said") (*Hanshu* 80.3319)
Yuan 元 (r. 49–33)	39	*Lunyu* 20/1[629]	*zhuan yue* 傳不云虐 (*Hanshu* 9.296)
	?	*Lunyu* 15/30	*Kongzi yue* 孔子曰 (Kongzi said) (*Hanshu* 80.3321)
Xuan 宣帝 (r. 74–49)	66	*Lunyu* 1/2	*zhuan yue* 傳曰 (a tradition says) (*Hanshu* 8.250)
Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 141–87 BCE)	123	*Han Feizi* (?)	*Kongzi dui* 孔子對 (Kongzi replied...) (*Hanshu* 8.173)
	128	*Lunyu* 5/28, 7/22 (?)	*fu* 夫 (*Hanshu* 6.166)

629. The same quotation also appears in the "Taishi 泰誓" chapter of the *Shangshu* (*SBCK* 6/4a).

• Appendix I: Emperor Wu's 123 BCE Kongzi attribution and its parallels

Emperor Wu's edict (*Hanshu* 6.173)	***Lunyu* 13/16**	***Han Feizi* "Nan san 難三"** (*SBCK* 16/2b)
	The Duke of She asked about governance.	Zigao, the Duke of She, asked Zhongni about governance.
Kongzi replied to Duke Ding that 孔子對定公	葉公問政。	葉公子高問政於仲尼，
	The Master said, "Please the near and attract the distant."	Zhongni said, "Governance lies in pleasing the near and attracting the distant."
that he should attract the distant, 以徠遠，	子曰：近者説，遠者來。	仲尼曰：政在悦近而來遠。
to Duke Ai that 哀公		Duke Ai asked Zhongni about governance. 哀公問政於仲尼，
he should assess his subjects, 以論臣，		Zhongni said, "Governance lies in selecting the worthy." 仲尼曰：政在選賢。
to Duke Jing that 景公		Duke Jing asked Zhongni about governance. 齊景公問政於仲尼，
he should moderate his expenses. 以節用，		Zhongni said, "Governance lies in moderating expenses." 仲尼曰：政在節財。
It was not that their desires were different, it was that their problems demanded different solutions. 非期不同，所急異務也。		When the three lords had left Zigong asked, "The three lords asked you the same question about governance, Master, yet your answers were different. Why is that?"... 三公出，子貢問曰： 三公問夫子政一也， 夫子對之不同，何也？...

• Appendix J: Kongzi attributions in Han memorials (★=explicit *Lunyu* mention; ◆=use of a *Lunyu* Kongzi saying)



• Appendix K: *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings in the *Hanshu* organized by *Lunyu* book (Numbers in boxes indicate the *Hanshu* chapter(s) which include(s) a particular *Lunyu* Kongzi saying)

Lunyu *books 1–10*

	LY 1	LY 2	LY 3	LY 4	LY 5	LY 6	LY 7	LY 8	LY 9	LY 10
/1			91				88	28	81 97	
/2			77 91			92			64	
/3		21 23 56 90	84							
/4			27							
/5	24 86								88	
/6			25			41				
/7					28					
/8					23					24
/9			30						56 88	
/10		60			56	80				
/11					77					
/12			73	81					83	
/13				99	75 81					
/14	99		22 88 99				22 56 88 100		28	
/15	99								22 88	
/16										
/17			21 81		30					
/18								99		
/19					20			64 88	22	
/20								36 86		
/21						20	25	64		
/22										
/23		22 56								
/24				46		28				
/25			56 64 99	56	36					
/26			27		66					
/27										
/28					75		29 67			
/29										
/30						20	60			
/31										
/32										
/33										
/34							20			
/35										
/36							56			
/37										
/38										
/39										
/40										
/41										
/42										
/43										
/44										
	LY 1	LY 2	LY 3	LY 4	LY 5	LY 6	LY 7	LY 8	LY 9	LY 10
parallels	3	3	11	4	10	6	7	5	8	1
%	19%	13%	42%	15%	36%	20%	18%	24%	26%	4%

	LY 11	*LY 12*	*LY 13*	*LY 14*	*LY 15*	*LY 16*	*LY 17*	*LY 18*	*LY 19*	*LY 20*
/1						24 74 83 86				21 30
/2										56
/3	87		23 30 83 99			36	20			56
/4						36 85 93		22 27	30	
/5			30		56	72				
/6		27 76	6		21		99			
/7		30								
/8						99		28 72		
/9	56	85			54	20				
/10		76	24		23 67					
/11			23		22 88	36	22			
/12			23 24 56 71						56	
/13		48 90				30				
/14										
/15				51			67 84			
/16										
/17				73						
/18							45 60			
/19	91	56							23	
/20		99	54							
/21			67							
/22									36	
/23							27			
/24										
/25				30	6 30 83				56 99	
/26					30					
/27										
/28										
/29					22 56					
/30			23 30		80					
/31										
/32										
/33										
/34										
/35										
/36										
/37										
/38										
/39					28					
/40										
/41										
/42										
/43										
/44										
	LY 11	*LY 12*	*LY 13*	*LY 14*	*LY 15*	*LY 16*	*LY 17*	*LY 18*	*LY 19*	*LY 20*
parallels	3	7	9	3	10	8	6	2	5	3
%	12%	29%	30%	7%	24%	57%	23%	18%	20%	100%

• Appendix L: *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings in the *Shiji* organized by *Lunyu* book

(Numbers indicate the *Hanshu* chapter[s] in which a particular *Lunyu* Kongzi saying appears; outlined boxes indicate *Lunyu* Kongzi sayings with parallels in the "Kongzi shijia" [*Shiji* book 47] and "Zhongni dizi liezhuan" [*Shiji* book 67])

Lunyu *books 1–10*

	LY 1	LY 2	LY 3	LY 4	LY 5	LY 6	LY 7	LY 8	LY 9	LY 10	
/1			47		67	67		31	27 47 49	47	
/2					67		47		47	47	
/3		122			67	67	47			47	
/4					67	67			47	47	
/5									47		
/6			28		67	67					
/7			67		67						
/8					67x2		47			47	
/9		67	47		67		47				
/10	104		23		67	67	47		47		
/11			28			67	67				
/12				74						47	
/13					47	67	47				
/14			47		67	67					
/15	67						61		47		
/16											
/17							47				
/18		67				47			47		
/19		47					47				
/20										47	
/21					47		47				
/22			112		47x2 121		47				
/23		47	47		61		47				
/24			47	103							
/25							47				
/26											
/27									67		
/28						47			61		
/29											
/30											
/31							67				
/32							47				
/33											
/34											
/35											
/36											
/37											
/38											
/39											
/40											
/41											
/42											
/43											
/44											
	LY 1	LY 2	LY 3	LY 4	LY 5	LY 6	LY 7	LY 8	LY 9	LY 10	
parallels	2	5	10	2	14	10	16	1	9	7	0
%	13%	21%	38%	8%	50%	33%	42%	5%	29%	26%	0%

	LY 11	LY 12	LY 13	LY 14	LY 15	LY 16	LY 17	LY 18	LY 19	LY 20
/1		67	67	67	47 74			38		
/2		67			47					
/3	67	67	23 47		47					
/4		67	67				67			
/5	67			67			47			
/6	67				67			47		
/7			47				47	47		
/8	67							47		
/9	47									
/10	67		47 121							
/11		47			3					
/12			10							
/13	67	67 122								
/14										
/15	67									
/16	67									
/17		112								
/18	67	47								
/19	67									
/20		67 85			47					
/21							67			
/22	67	67								
/23	47						67			
/24	67									
/25	67									
/26	67									
/27										
/28										
/29										
/30										
/31										
/32										
/33										
/34										
/35				47						
/36				67						
/37										
/38										
/39										
/40					61					
/41										
/42										
/43										
/44										
	LY 11	LY 12	LY 13	LY 14	LY 15	LY 16	LY 17	LY 18	LY 19	LY 20
parallels	16	10	6	4	7	0	5	4	0	0
%	62%	42%	20%	9%	17%	0%	19%	36%	0%	0%

• Appendix M: *Lunyu* parallels in *Huainanzi* Kongzi sayings

Parallel 1

***Huainanzi* book 9** (*SBCK* 9/13b)	***Lunyu* 13/6**
...When a ruler sets up laws he first makes himself a model and exemplar, thus his orders are enacted throughout the realm. Kongzi said, "When one is correct in himself [his will] is carried out without having to issue any orders; when he is not correct in himself [his will] is not followed even when he issues orders." Thus when prohibitions prevail in himself his orders are enacted among the people.	The Master said, "When one is correct in himself [his will] is carried out without having to issue any orders; when he is not correct in himself [his will] is not followed even when he issues orders."
...人主之立法，先自為檢式儀表，故令行於天下。 孔子曰：其身正，不令而行；其身不正，雖令不從。 故禁勝於身，則令行於民矣。	子曰：其身正，不令而行；其身不正，雖令不從。

Parallel 2

***Huainanzi* book 13** (*SBCK* 13/11b)	***Lunyu* 9/30**
Thus Kongzi said, "One can learn together without being able to seek the Way [together]; one can seek the Way together without being able to stand in it; one can stand in the Way without being able to adapt it." "Adapting" is what the sages alone see.	The Master said, "One can learn together without being able to seek the Way [together]; one can seek the Way together without being able to stand in it; one can stand in the Way [together] without being able to adapt it."
...故孔子曰：可以共學矣，而未可以適道也；可與適道，未可以立也；可以立，未可與權。權者，聖人之所獨見也。	子曰：可與共學，未可與適道；可與適道，未可與立；可與立，未可與權。

Parallel 3

***Huainanzi* book 16** (*SBCK* 16/11a)	***Lunyu* 2/19**[632]
When the Jisun clan seized control of the ducal clan Kongzi tried to persuade them by first conforming to their conduct and afterward entering their government.[630] 季孫氏劫公家，孔子説之。 先順其所為，而後與之入政。	Duke Ai asked, "What can I do to make the people submit?" 哀公問曰：何為則民服？
Kongzi said, 曰：	Kongzi responded, 孔子對曰：
"Raising the crooked in service of the straight— How can it not succeed? Raising the straight in service of the crooked— That should not be followed." 舉枉與直(*-ək)，[631] 如何而不得(*-ək)？ 舉直與枉(*-aŋʔ)， 勿與遂往(*-aŋʔ)。	"Raise the straight and set it against the crooked And the people will submit. Raise the crooked and set it against the straight, And the people will not submit. 舉直錯諸枉(*-aŋʔ)， 則民服(*-ək)； 舉枉錯諸直(*-ək)， 則民不服(*-ək)。
此所謂同汙而異途者。 This is what is called sharing the same defilement but for different ends.	

630. In Sarah Queen's and John Major's translation of *Huainanzi* book 16 (2010, p. 650), the character 説 is read as *yue*, i.e., "to be pleased."

631. Here I read *ju* 舉 for *yu* 與 in keeping with the *Huainanzi jishi* edition (16.1140).

632. See also *Lunyu* 12/22 for the line "raising the straight against the crooked can make the crooked straight" (舉直錯諸枉，能使枉者直。).

• Appendix N: *Lunyu* parallels in *Lüshu chunqiu* Kongzi sayings

Parallel 1

***Lüshi chunqiu* 4/2** (*SBCK* 4/5a)	***Lunyu* 11/23**
When Kongzi was in distress in Kuang, Yan Yuan followed after him. Kongzi said, "I thought you had died." Yan Yuan said, "How could I dare die while my master still lives?"	When the Master was in distress in Kuang, Yan Yuan followed after him. The Master said, "I thought you had died." Yan Yuan said, "How could I dare die while my master still lives?"
孔子畏於匡，顏淵後， 孔子曰：吾以汝為死矣。 顏淵曰：子在，回何敢死？	子畏於匡，顏淵後。 子曰：吾以女為死矣。 曰：子在，回何敢死？

Parallel 2

***Lüshi chunqiu* 4/3** (*SBCK* 4/7a–b)	***Lunyu* 7/2**	***Lunyu* 7/34**
Zigong asked Kongzi, "How will later ages praise you, Master?"	The Master said, "	The Master said, "
Kongzi said,		As for being sagely or humane, how would I dare [aspire to that]?
"How am I worthy of praise?	Keep quiet and take note:	
Enough of this talk.	learn without wearying of it and teach others without tiring.	It is rather that I conduct myself without wearying and teach others without tiring.
Focus instead on loving learning without wearying of it and loving teaching without tiring.	What more is there for me?	That is all that might be said of me.
Let there only be this."		Gongxi Hua said, "That is just the reason why your disciples cannot imitate you."
子貢問孔子曰：後世將何以稱夫子？	子曰：	子曰：
孔子曰：	默而識之，	若聖與仁，則吾豈敢？
吾何足以稱哉？勿已者，	學而不厭，誨人不倦，	抑為之不厭，誨人不倦，
則好學而不厭，好教而不倦，	何有於我哉？	則可謂云爾已矣。
其惟此邪。		公西華曰：正唯弟子不能學也。

Paragraph 3

***Lüshi chunqiu* 11/4** (*SBCK* 11/8a–b; *KZJY* 2.17/p. 20)	***Lunyu* 13/18**
In Chu there was a certain Upright Self who turned in his father after he had stolen a sheep. The authorities arrested his father and were about to execute him when Upright Self asked to take his father's place. When he was about to be executed he said to the official, "I turned my father in after he stole a sheep—am I not trustworthy? I took my father's place when he was going to be executed—am I not filial? If you would execute a trustworthy and filial [man like me], who in this country would not be executed?" The king of Chu heard about this and did not execute Upright Self.	The Duke of She said to Kongzi, "Among my people there is a certain Upright Self who testified against his father after he stole a sheep."
Kongzi heard about this and said, "How strange is Upright Self's trustworthiness! He uses his own father to make a good name for himself." Thus Upright Self's trustworthiness is worse than not being trustworthy at all.	Kongzi said, "The 'upright' among my people are different from this. Fathers cover for their sons and sons cover for their fathers. Uprightness lies in this."
楚有直躬者，其父竊羊而謁之上，上執而將誅之。直躬者請代之。將誅矣，告吏曰：父竊羊而謁之，不亦信乎？父誅而代之，不亦孝乎？信且孝而誅之，國將有不誅者乎？荊王聞之，乃不誅也。	葉公語孔子曰： 吾黨有直躬者，其父攘羊，而子證之。
孔子聞之曰：異哉直躬之為信也，一父而載取名焉。 故直躬之信，不若無信。	孔子曰：吾黨之直者異於是：父為子隱，子為父隱。直在其中矣。

Parallel 4

***Lüshi chunqiu* 14/6** (*SBCK* Kongzi said, "...A noble man who achieves the Way is said to have 'achieved,' and a noble man who is in dire straits in [his pursuit of] the Way is said to be 'in dire straits' Now I am constrained by the Way of humaneness and propriety, and this is why I face the calamities of a chaotic age. How can this situation be called "dire straits"? Thus reflecting within myself I am not wanting in the Way; and in facing such difficulties I have not lost my virtue. When the extreme cold arrives and the frost and snow fall I thereby know the flourishing of the pine and cypress. Previously Duke Huan grasped this in Ju, Duke Wen in Cao, and the king of Yue in Kuaiji. To me the distresses of Chen and Cai are fortuitous!" 孔子曰：...君子達於道之謂達，窮於道之謂窮。今丘也拘仁義之道，以遭亂世之患，其所也，何窮之謂？故內省而不疚於道，臨難而不失其德。 大寒既至，霜雪既降，吾是以知松柏之茂也。 昔桓公得之莒，文公得之曹，越王得之會稽。陳、蔡之阨，於丘其幸乎！	***Lunyu* 12/4** ...The Master said, "If you examine yourself within and are without remorse, then what is there to worry about or fear?" ...子曰：內省不疚，夫何憂何懼？ ***Lunyu* 9/28** The Master said, "Only after the year grows cold does one know that the pine and cypress are the last to wither." 子曰：歲寒，然後知松柏之後彫也。

• Appendix O: *Lunyu* parallels in *Gongyang* Kongzi sayings

***Gongyang* Ai 14** (*SBCK* 12/9a)	***Lunyu* 11/9**
Yan Yuan died. The Master said, “Ah! Heaven has forsaken me!”	Yan Yuan died. The Master said, “Ah! Heaven has forsaken me! Heaven has forsaken me!”
顏淵死。子曰：噫！天喪予！	顏淵死。子曰：噫！天喪予！天喪予！

• Appendix P: *Lunyu* parallels in *Han Feizi* Kongzi sayings

***Han Feizi* 38** (*SBCK* 16/2b; *KZJY* 10.41/pp. 226–27)	***Lunyu* 13/16**
When Zigao the Duke of She asked Zhongni about governance Zhongni said, "Governance lies in pleasing the near and attracting the distant."	When the Duke of She asked about governance the Master said, "Please those near at hand and attract those far away."
When Duke Ai asked Zhongni about governance, Zhongni said, "Governance lies in selecting the worthy."	
When Duke Jing of Qi asked Zhongni about governance, Zhongni said, "Governance lies in moderating expenses."	
After the three dukes had departed Zigong asked, "The three dukes asked you the same question about government but your responses were not the same. Why is that?"...	
葉公子高問政於仲尼， 仲尼曰：政在悅近而來遠。	葉公問政。 子曰：近者說，遠者來。
哀公問政於仲尼，仲尼曰：政在選賢。	
齊景公問政於仲尼，仲尼曰：政在節財。	
三公出，子貢問曰：三公問夫子政一也，夫子對之不同，何也？...	

• Appendix Q: *Lunyu* parallels in *Xunzi* Kongzi sayings

***Xunzi* book 29** (*SBCK* 12a–13a; *KZJY* 3.16/p. 32)	***Lunyu* 2/17**
Kongzi said,	The Master said,
"You [i.e., Zilu] take note of this! I say to you, making a show of your words is ostentatiousness, and making a show of your conduct is braggadocio. The petty man tries to appear wise and capable.	"You [i.e., Zilu]! I will teach you about knowing.
Thus when a noble man knows something he says that he knows it, and when he does not know something he says that he does not know—this is the essence of speech.	Taking knowing as knowing and not knowing as not knowing—this is knowing."
When he can do something he says that he can and when he cannot he says that he cannot—this is the height of conduct. One who says what is essential is wise, and one whose conduct is superior is humane. When one is both humane and wise how could he have any deficiency.	
孔子曰：由志之！ 吾語汝：奮於言者華，奮於行者伐，色知而有能者，小人也。 故君子知之曰知之，不知曰不知，言之要也；能之曰能之，不能曰不能，行之至也。言要則知，行至則仁；既仁且知，夫惡有不足矣哉！	子曰：由！誨女知之乎！ 知之為知之，不知為不知，是知也。

***Xunzi* book 31** (*SBCK* 20/19a; *KZJY* 9.15/pp. 173–74)	***Lunyu* 15/6**
...Kongzi responded, "A 'noble man' in his words is sincere and trustworthy but in his heart does not feel his own virtue. He is humane and righteous in his person without having a haughty appearance..." ...孔子對曰：所謂君子者，言忠信而心不德。仁義在身而色不伐，思慮明通而辭不爭，故猶然如將可及者，君子也。...	Zizhang asked about carrying out [one's Way]. The Master said, "If one's words are sincere and trustworthy and his conduct is earnest and respectful, then [one's Way] will be carried out even in barbarian lands..." 子張問行。子曰：言忠信，行篤敬，雖蠻貊之邦，行矣。...

• Appendix R: *Lunyu* parallels in *Zhuangzi* Kongzi sayings

Parallel 1

***Zhuangzi* book 4** (*SBCK* 2/27b; *KZJY* 13.36/pp. 290–91)	***Lunyu* 18/5**
When Kongzi was in Chu Jie Yu, the madman of Chu, passed by his gates and said,	Jie Yu, the madman of Chu, sang as he passed by Kongzi,
孔子適楚，楚狂接輿遊其門曰：	楚狂接輿歌而過孔子曰：
"Phoenix! Phoenix! Why is your virtue so diminished? The future cannot be awaited, The past cannot be chased after. When the world has the Way The sage is realized; when the world does not have the Way the sage is born. At the present time, one can only avoid punishment. Good fortune is lighter than a feather, yet no one knows how to bear it. Bad fortune is heaver than the earth, Yet no one knows how to avoid it. Enough! Enough! You approach men with your virtue— Perilous! Perilous! You mark the ground as you hurry along— You lose your yang! You lose your yang! Do not hinder my progress! My progress is winding. Do not hinder my feet!	"Phoenix! Phoenix! Why is your virtue diminished? The past cannot be remonstrated with, The future can still be chased after. Enough! Enough! Now those who follow good governance are in peril.
鳳兮鳳兮，何如德之衰(*-uj)也！ 來世不可待(*-əʔ)，往世不可追(*-uj)也。 天下有道(*-ûʔ)，聖人成(*-eŋ)焉； 天下無道(*-ûʔ)，聖人生(*-eŋ)焉。 方今之時(*-əʔ)，僅免刑(*-eŋ)焉。 福輕乎羽(*-aʔ)，莫之知載(*-əʔ)； 禍重乎地(*-ej)，莫之知避(*-ek)。 已乎已(*-əʔ)乎！臨人以德(*-ək)， 殆乎殆(*-əʔ)乎！畫地而趨(*-o)！ 迷陽迷陽(*-aŋ)，無傷吾行(*-aŋ)！ 吾行郤曲(*-ok)，無傷吾足！(*-ok)	鳳兮鳳兮！何德之衰(*-uj)？ 往者不可諫(*-anʔ)，來者猶可追(*-uj)。 已而已(*-əʔ)而！ 今之從政者殆(*-əʔ)而！ Kongzi descended and wished to speak with him. But Jie Yu hurried off and avoided him and so would not speak with him. 孔子下，欲與之言。趨而辟之，不得與之言。

Parallel 2

***Zhuangzi* 21** (*SBCK* 7/31a; *KZJY* 17.11/p. 390)	***Lunyu* 2/14**
Yan Yuan asked Zhongni, "Master, when you walk I walk, when you hurry I hurry, and when you run I run. But when you leave me behind in the dust I can only stare after you."	
The Master said, "Hui, what is this you're saying?"	The Master said,
He said, "Master, when you walk I walk—[that means that] when you speak I speak. When you hurry I hurry—[that means that] when you debate I debate. When you run I run—[that means that] when you speak of the Way I also speak of the Way. As for leaving me behind in the dust with me staring after you, [that means that] you are trusted without saying anything, you are devoted without being overfamiliar, and the people surge before you though you have no instrument, but I simply do not know how this is so."	"The noble man is devoted without being over-familiar, the petty man is overfamiliar without being devoted."
顏淵問於仲尼曰：夫子步亦步，夫子趨亦趨，夫子馳亦馳，夫子奔逸絕塵，而回瞠若乎後矣！夫子曰：回，何謂邪？曰：夫子步，亦步也；夫子言，亦言也；夫子趨，亦趨也，夫子辯，亦辯也；夫子馳，亦馳也，夫子言道，回亦言道也；及奔逸絕塵而回瞠若乎後者，夫子不言而信，不比而周，無器而民滔乎前，而不知所以然而已矣。	子曰： 君子周而不比，小人比而不周。

Parallel 3

***Zhuangzi* 28** (*SBCK* 9/28a; *KZJY* 13.27/pp. 286–87)	***Lunyu* 12/4**
	Sima Niu asked about the noble man. The Master said, “The noble man neither worries nor lives in fear.” [Sima Niu] said, “Neither worrying nor living in fear—is that all one needs to be called a noble man?”
	司馬牛問君子。 子曰：君子不憂不懼。 曰：不憂不懼，斯謂之君子已乎？
...Kongzi said, “The noble man who passes freely along the Way is called ‘passing freely.’ When he is exhausted in the Way he is called ‘exhausted.’ Now I embrace the Way of humaneness and propriety and encounter the troubles of a chaotic world. How could this be called ‘exhausted’? Thus by looking within myself I am not exhausted in the Way, and confronting difficulties I do not lose my virtue.	The Master said, “If a man looks within himself and finds no faults, then what does he have to worry about or fear?”
孔子曰：...君子通於道之謂通，窮於道之謂窮。今丘抱仁義之道以遭亂世之患，其何窮之為！故內省而不窮於道，臨難而不失其德。	子曰：內省不疚，夫何憂何懼？
When the season has grown cold and the frost and snow have fallen I know the flourishing of the pine and cypress. The straits of Chen and Cai are a boon for me.”	***Lunyu* 9/28** The Master said, “Only after the year grows cold does one know that the pine and cypress are the last to wither.”
天寒既至，霜雪既降，吾是以知松柏之茂也。陳蔡之隘，於丘其幸乎。...	子曰： 歲寒，然後知松柏之後彫也。

• Appendix S: *Lunyu* parallels in *Mozi* Kongzi sayings

***Mozi* 46** (*SBCK* 11/14b; *KZJY* 13.21/p. 281)	***Lunyu* 13/16**
Zigao the Duke of She asked Zhongni about governance, saying: "What sort of person is good at governing?"	The Duke of She asked about governance.
葉公子高問政於仲尼曰：善為政者若之何？	葉公問政。
Zhongni responded, "Someone who is good at governing attracts the distant and renews the old."	The Master said, "Please those near at hand and attract those far away."
仲尼對曰：善為政者，遠者近之，而舊者新之。	子曰：近者説，遠者來。
Mozi learned of this and said, "Zigao did not understand what to ask, and Zhongni did not understand how to answer. How could Zigao not know that those who are good at government attract the distant and renew the old? He should have asked how this is accomplished. [Kongzi] didn't tell [Zigao] what he didn't know, he told him what he knew. That is why Zigao did not understand what to ask, and Kongzi did not understand how to answer."	
子墨子聞之曰：葉公子高未得其問也，仲尼亦未得其所以對也。葉公子高豈不知善為政者之遠者近也，而舊者新是哉？問所以為之若之何也。不以人之所不智告人，以所智告之，故葉公子高未得其問也，仲尼亦未得其所以對也。...	

***Mozi* book 39, "Fei ru xia** 非儒下**"** (*SBCK* 9/22a; *KZJY* 13.31/p. 289)	***Lunyu* 10/12**
Duke Ai welcomed Kongzi, but if his seat was not straight he would not sit, and if his food was not cut properly he would not eat it.	If his seat was not straight he did not sit.
哀公迎孔丘，席不端弗坐，	席不正，不坐。
	***Lunyu* 10/8**
割不正弗食。	...if his food was not cut properly he did not eat.
	...割不正，不食。...

• Appendix T: *Lunyu* parallels in *Zuozhuan* Kongzi sayings

Parallel 1

***Zuozhuan* Zhao 12** (*SBCK* 22/15b; *KZJY* p. 418)	***Lunyu* 12/1**
Zhongni said, "There is an ancient maxim: 'Overcoming oneself and returning to ritual is humaneness.' How true! If King Ling of Chu had been capable of this, how could he have been shamed at Ganxi?"	Yan Yuan asked about humaneness. The Master said, "Overcoming oneself and returning to ritual is humaneness. If in one day one can overcome himself and return to ritual then the whole world will return to humaneness. One becomes humane through oneself—how could it be through someone else?
仲尼曰：古也有志：克己復禮，仁也。信善哉。楚靈王若能如是，豈其辱於乾谿。	顏淵問仁。子曰：克己復禮為仁。一日克己復禮，天下歸仁焉。為仁由己，而由人乎哉？
	Yan Yuan said, "May I ask about the particulars?"
	顏淵曰：請問其目。
	The Master said, "If it is not ritually proper then do not look at it; if it is not ritually proper then do not hear it; if it is not ritually proper then do not say it; if it is not ritually proper then do not act on it."
	子曰：非禮勿視，非禮勿聽，非禮勿言，非禮勿動。
	Yan Yuan said, "Even though I am not intelligent I beg to put this saying into practice."
	顏淵曰：回雖不敏，請事斯語矣。

Parallel 2

***Zuozhuan* Ai 11** (*SBCK* 29/21a; *KZJY* p. 424)	***Lunyu* 15/1**
Kongzi Wenzi was about to attack Dashu when he called upon Zhongni.	Duke Ling of Wei asked Kongzi about military formations.
Zhongni said,	Kongzi answered,
"I have learned about the *hu* and *gui* vessels but I have never heard about military matters."	"I have heard about the *zu* and *dou* vessels but I have never learned about military affairs."
Retiring he called for a carriage and departed.	The next day he departed.
孔文子之將攻大叔也。訪於仲尼。	衛靈公問陳於孔子。
仲尼曰：胡簋之事，則嘗學之矣。 甲兵之事，未之聞也。	孔子對曰：俎豆之事，則嘗聞之矣； 軍旅之事，未之學也。
退命駕而行。	明日遂行。

Parallel 3

***Zuozhuan* Ai 14** (*SBCK* 30/4a; *KZJY* p. 425)	***Lunyu* 14/21**
On *jiawu*, Chen Huan of Qi assassinated his lord Ren at Shuzhou. Kong Qiu purified himself for three days and begged [Duke Ai] to attack Qi. After the third entreaty the Duke said, "Lu is much weaker than Qi. If you would have us attack them then would would happen?" He responded, "Chen Huan assassinated his lord and half of the people do not support him. We can defeat him with Lu's strength and half of Qi's.	Chen Chengzi assassinated Duke Jian. Kongzi performed ablutions before going to court to inform Duke Ai, "Chen Heng assassinated his lord. I beg you to punish him."
甲午，齊陳恆弒其君壬于舒州。孔丘三日齊而請伐齊三，公曰：魯為齊弱久矣。子之伐之，將若之何？對曰：陳恆弒其君，民之不與者半。以魯之眾，加齊之半，可克也。	陳成子弒簡公。孔子沐浴而朝，告於哀公曰：陳恆弒其君，請討之。
The Duke said, "Inform the Jisuns."	The Duke said, "Tell the three sons [i.e., the heads of the three great families]."
公曰：子告季孫。	公曰：告夫三子。
Kongzi declined then retired and announced to others, "I am ranked after the grandees and so I did not dare not to speak."	Kongzi said, "I am ranked after the grandees and so I did not dare not to inform you. [Yet] My Lord said, 'Tell the three sons.' Kongzi reported this to the three sons but his request was denied.
孔子辭，退而告人曰：吾以從大夫之後也。故不敢不言。	孔子曰：以吾從大夫之後，不敢不告也。君曰告夫三子者！之三子，告，不可。 Kongzi said, "I am ranked behind the grandees and so I did not dare not to inform the duke." 孔子曰：以吾從大夫之後，不敢不告也。[633]

633.*Lunyu* 11/8 also includes the line 以吾從大夫之後 but in a very different context.

• Appendix U: *Lunyu* 13/16 parallels in early texts

Mozi book 10 (*SBCK* 2/18a)	Mozi said, "...Pacify those near at hand and attract those far away." 子墨子言曰：...近者安之，遠者歸之。
Mozi book 35 (*SBCK* 9/3b)	Mozi said, "...Pacify the governance of those near at hand and attract those far away to your virtue." 子墨子曰：...近者安其政，遠者歸其德。
Xunzi book 27 (*SBCK* 27/18a)	Zengzi said, "When those near at hand are pleased they feel close, when those far away are pleased they attach to you; to make those near at hand feel close and the distant attach is the way of the filial son." 曾子曰：...近者説則親，遠者悦則附；親近而附遠，孝子之道也。
Guanzi book 64 (*SBCK* 20/5b)	An enlightened ruler causes the distant come to him and the near to feel close. 明主之使遠者來而近者親也。
Wenzi book 7 (*Wenzi shuyi* 7.337)	...please the near and attract the distant. 使近者悦，遠者來。

• Appendix V: *Lunyu* parallels in Shanghai Museum corpus Kongzi sayings

Parallel 1

Shanghai Museum/Guodian "Zi yi", strip #13 (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 1, p. 188)	***Lunyu* 2/3**
The Master said, "When leading the people teach them with virtue and keep them in line with ritual and they will feel ? in their hearts. Teach them with governance and keep them in line with punishments and the people will be evasive in their hearts...." 子曰： 長民者教之以德，齊之以禮， 則民有？心。教之以政，齊之以刑，則民有免心。	The Master said, "When you guide them with governance and keep them in line with punishments the people will be evasive and shameless. When you guide them with virtue and keep them in line with ritual they will feel shame and correct themselves."[634] 子曰： 道之以政，齊之以刑，民免而無恥；道之以德，齊之以禮，有恥且格。

Parallel 2

Shanghai Museum/Guodian "Zi yi", strip #23 (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 1, p. 198)	***Lunyu* 13/22**
The Master said, "The people of Song have a saying, 'A man with no constancy cannot be a diviner." This saying survives from the ancients. If the tortoise-shells and milfoil stalks cannot be known, how can people be known?..." 子曰： 宋人有言曰：人而亡恒，〔不可為卜筮也，其古之遺言與？龜筮猶弗知，而況於人乎？...〕[635]	The Master said, "Southerners have a saying, 'A man with no constancy cannot be a diviner.' A fine [saying] indeed!" 南人有言曰：人而無恆，不可以作巫醫。善夫！...

634. Translation adapted from Lau 2000, p. 11.

635. Brackets 〔〕 mark text missing in the Shanghai Museum version that has been reconstructed based on the Guodian "Zi yi" manuscript.

Parallel 3

Shanghai Museum "Zhonggong 仲弓" (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 3, pp. 263–83)	***Lunyu* 13/2**
When Ji Huanzi made Zhonggong chief steward, Zhonggong informed Kongzi of [his appointment]...Zhonggong said, "May I ask what should be prioritized in the practice of government?"	Zhongong was serving as chief steward for the Ji clan when he asked Kongzi about governance.
季桓子使仲弓為宰，仲弓以告孔子。...仲弓曰：敢問為政何先？	仲弓為季氏宰，問政。
Kongzi said, "...treat the elderly as elderly and be kind to the young. Put office-holders first, promote the worthy and talented, and forgive trespasses and crimes..."	The Master said, "Place office-holders first, forgive small offenses, and promote the talented and worthy."
孔子曰：...老老慈幼，先有司，舉賢才，宥過與罪。	子曰：先有司，赦小過，舉賢才。
Zhonggong said, "As for treating the elderly as elderly and being kind to the young I have now heard your instruction. How can I 'put office-holders first'?" Zhongni said, "The people are comfortable with the old and they value [those who are] promoted..."	
...仲弓曰：若夫老老慈幼，既聞命矣。夫先有司為之如何？仲尼曰：夫民安舊而重舉...	
...there is completion. This is why office-holders must be placed first." Zhonggong said, "I am not intelligent, for even when there are worthy and talented men I do not know to promote them. May I ask how to 'promote the talented'?"	Zhonggong said, "How can I recognize and promote the talented and worthy?"
...有成，是故有司不可不先也。 仲弓曰：雍也不敏，雖有賢才，弗知舉也。敢問舉才如之何？	曰：焉知賢才而舉之？
Zhongni said, "The worthy and talented cannot be hidden. Promote those whom you recognize. As for those whom you do not recognize, would others discard them?..."	Kongzi said, "Promote those you recognize. Would others discard [truly talented and worthy men] whom you do not recognize?"
仲尼：夫賢才不可弇也。舉爾所知，爾所不知，人其舍之者。...	曰：舉爾所知；爾所不知，人其舍諸？

Parallels 4 & 5

"Junzi wei li", strip #1 (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 5, p. 254)	***Lunyu* 7/6**
Yan Yuan was in attendance on the Master when the Master said, "Hui! The noble man in his performance of ritual relies on humaneness."	The Master said, "Keep your mind on the Way, depend on virtue, rely on humaneness, and roam within the arts."
顏淵侍於夫子。 夫子曰："回！君子為禮，以依於仁。	子曰：志於道，據於德，依於仁，遊於藝。
	***Lunyu* 12/1**
Yan Yuan arose and asked, "I am not intelligent and I am unable to abide by this even a little."	Yan Yuan asked about humaneness.
顏淵作而答曰：回不敏，弗能少居也。	顏淵問仁。
The Master said, "Sit down and I will tell you.	The Master said, "Restraining oneself and returning to ritual is being humane. If one day someone would restrain himself and return to ritual then the entire world would return to humaneness. The path to humaneness is through oneself—how could it be through someone else?"
	子曰：克己復禮為仁。一日克己復禮，天下歸仁焉。為仁由己，而由人乎哉？
	Yan Yuan said, "May I ask about the particulars?"
	顏淵曰：請問其目。
If what you say will not be proper then your mouth will not say it; if what you see will not be proper then your eyes will not see it; if what you hear will not be proper then your ears will not hear it."	The Master said, "If it is not ritually proper then do not look at it; if it is not ritually proper then do not hear it; if it is not ritually proper then do not say it; if it is not ritually proper then do not act on it."
夫子曰：坐，吾語汝。言之而不義，口勿言也；視之而不義，目勿視也；聽之而不義，耳勿聽也；動而不義，身毋動焉。	子曰：非禮勿視，非禮勿聽，非禮勿言，非禮勿動。
	Yan Yuan said, "Even though I am not intelligent I beg to put this saying into practice."
	顏淵曰：回雖不敏，請事斯語矣。

Parallel 6

"Dizi wen 弟子問", strip #4 (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 5, p. 269)	***Lunyu* 14/35**
The Master sighed and said, "Alas! There is no one who recognizes me!"	The Master said, "There is no one who recognizes me!"
子嘆曰："烏！莫我知也夫！	子曰：莫我知也夫！
Ziyou said, "Are you speaking about enacting [your Way]?"	Zigong said, "How is it that no one recognizes you?"
子游曰：有施之謂也乎？	子貢曰：何為其莫知子也？
	The Master said, "I do not resent heaven and I do not fault others. In my studies, I start from below and get through to what is up above. If I am understood at all, it is, perhaps, by heaven."[636]
	子曰：「不怨天，不尤人，下學而上達。知我者其天乎！」

Parallel 7

"Dizi wen 弟子問" (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 5, p. 281)	***Lunyu* 1/3**
[The Master?] said, "Crafty words and a ? appearance cannot be called 'humane.'"	The Master said, "Crafty words and a contrived appearance are rarely humane."
曰：巧言X（令？）色，未可謂仁也。	子曰：巧言令色，鮮矣仁！

636. Translation adapted from Lau 2000.

• Appendix W: *Lunyu* parallels in *Mengzi* Kongzi sayings

Parallel 1

***Mengzi* 2A/2** (*SBCK* 3/8b–9a; *KZJY* p. 510)	***Lunyu* 11/3**	***Lunyu* 7/34**
[Gongsun Chou] said,		
"Zaiwo and Zigong were good at persuading and crafting phrases. Ran Niu, Minzi, and Yan Yuan were good at speaking of virtuous conduct. Kongzi combined both [skills], saying, 'When it comes to rhetoric I have no ability.' That being so, then aren't you, Master, already a sage?"	Virtuous conduct: Yan Yuan, Min Ziqian, Ran Boniu, and Zhonggong. Speech: Zaiwo, Zigong. Government affairs: Ran You, Ji Lu. Refinement and learning: Ziyou, Zixia.	
[公孫丑]曰：宰我、子貢善為說辭；冉牛、閔子、顏淵善言德行。孔子兼之，曰：我於辭命，則不能也。然則夫子既聖矣乎？	德行：顏淵、閔子騫、冉伯牛、仲弓。言語：宰我、子貢。政事：冉有、季路。文學：子游、子夏。	
[Mengzi] said, "What is this you're saying?!? Formerly Zigong asked Kongzi, 'Is the Master a sage?' [孟子]曰：惡！是何言也？昔者子貢問於孔子曰：夫子聖矣乎？	***Lunyu* 7/2**	
Kongzi said,	The Master said, "	The Master said, "
'I am not capable of being a sage.	Be quiet and take note:	As for being sagely or humane, how would I dare [aspire to that]?
I learn without wearying and teach with tiring.'	learn without wearying of it and teach others without tiring.	It is rather that I conduct myself without wearying and teach others without tiring.
	What more is there for me?	That is all that might be said of me.
孔子曰： 聖則吾不能， 我學不厭而教不倦也。	子曰： 默而識之， 學而不厭，誨人不倦， 何有於我哉？	子曰： 若聖與仁，則吾豈敢？ 抑為之不厭，誨人不倦，則可謂云爾已矣。
Zigong said, 'Being insatiable in learning is wisdom and being tireless in teaching is humaneness. Because he is both humane and wise the Master is already a sage.' Now if being a sage is something Kongzi could not abide, then what is this you're saying?"		Gongxi Hua said, "That is just the reason why your disciples cannot imitate you."
子貢曰：學不厭，智也；教不倦，仁也。仁且智，夫子既聖矣（乎）。夫聖、孔子不居，是何言也？		公西華曰：正唯弟子不能學也。

Parallel 2

***Mengzi* 2A/7** (*SBCK* 3/16b; *KZJY* p. 511)	***Lunyu* 4/1**
Kongzi said, "Living in a humane [environment] is finest. If one chooses not to dwell in humaneness how can he obtain wisdom?" Now humaneness is the honored rank of heaven and the peaceful abode of men. To not be humane when there is nothing holding you back is not wise. To not be humane or wise, to not possess ritual or propriety, is to be a slave.	The Master said, "Living in a humane [environment] is finest. If one chooses not to dwell in humaneness how can he obtain wisdom." 子曰：里仁為美。擇不處仁，焉得知？
孔子曰：里仁為美。擇不處仁，焉得智？ 夫仁、天之尊爵也，人之安宅也。莫之禦而不仁，是不智也。不仁、不智，無禮、無義，人役也。	

Parallel 3

***Mengzi* 3A/2** (*SBCK* 5/3b; *KZJY* p. 511)	***Lunyu* 14/40**
Mengzi said, "...	Zizhang said, "The *Shu* say, 'Gao Zong confined himself to his mourning hut and did not speak for three years.' What does this mean?"
Kongzi said,	The Master said,
'When the ruler passes away [his heir] listens to the prime minister, he sips porridge, and he is a deep black. When he assumes the throne he cries, and none of those in the hundred offices who serve in government do not grieve.'	"Why must it [only] be Gao Zong? The ancients were all like this. When a lord died the hundred offices all together heeded the prime minister for three years."[637]
孟子曰：... 孔子曰：君薨，聽於冢宰，歠粥，面深墨，即位而哭，百官有司莫敢不哀。	子張曰： 書云： 高宗諒陰，三年不言。何謂也？ 子曰：何必高宗，古之人皆然。君薨，百官總己以聽於冢宰三年。
	***Lunyu* 12/19:**
[That is because] he goes before them. What the superior likes the inferior will always like even more. The virtue of the noble man is like wind and that of the petty man is like grass. Grass will always bend in the wind. This depends on the heir."	Ji Kangzi asked Kongzi about governance, saying, "What if one killed those without the Way in order to cleave to those with the Way?" Kongzi responded, "How can you use killing in your governance? If you desire what is good the people will be good. The virtue of the noble man is like wind and that of the petty man is like grass. Grass will always bend in the wind."
先之也。上有好者，下必有甚焉者矣。君子之德風也；小人之德草也。草上之風，必偃。是在世子。	季康子問政於孔子曰：如殺無道，以就有道，何如？孔子對曰：子為政，焉用殺？子欲善而民善矣。君子之德風，小人之德草。草上之風，必偃。

637. Translation adapted from Lau 2000, p. 145,

Parallel 4

***Mengzi* 3A/4** (*SBCK* 5/13a; *KZJY* p. 511)	***Lunyu* 8/19**	***Lunyu* 8/18**
Kongzi said, “How great was Yao’s conduct as ruler! It was Heaven that was great, and it was Yao who modeled himself on it. His magnificence was such that the people could not put a name on it. How lofty was Shun as a ruler! He had the whole world but was not attached to it.”	The Master said, “How great was Yao’s conduct as ruler! How lofty! It was heaven that was great and it was Yao who modeled himself on it. His magnificence was such that the people could not put a name on it. How lofty! How dazzling were his successes, and his patterned display.”	The Master said, “How lofty were Shun and Yu in possessing the world but not being attached to it.
孔子曰： 大哉堯之為君！ 惟天為大，惟堯則之。蕩蕩乎！ 民無能名焉！君哉舜也！ 巍巍乎！ 有天下而不與焉。	子曰： 大哉堯之為君也！巍巍乎！ 唯天為大，唯堯則之。蕩蕩乎！ 民無能名焉。 巍巍乎！ 其有成功也，煥乎！其有文章〔也〕！	子曰： 巍巍乎！ 舜、禹之有天下也而不與焉。

Parallel 5

***Mengzi* 4A/14** (*SBCK* 7/11a; *KZJY* p. 513)	***Lunyu* 11/17**
Mengzi said, "While he was steward to the Ji clan [Ran] Qiu was not able to reform his virtue, but instead doubled the grain tax.	The Ji clan was wealthier than the Duke of Zhou, and [Ran] Qiu on their behalf collected levies and even increased them further.
Kongzi said,	The Master said,
'Qiu is not my disciple. All of you can sound the drums and attack him.'	"He is not my disciple. All of you can sound the drums and attack him."
Looking at it in this way, all rulers who do not enrich [their people] by practicing humane governance will by cast aside by Kongzi. How much more so those who use force and warfare?"	
孟子曰：	
求也為季氏宰，無能改於其德，而賦粟倍他日。	季氏富於周公，而求也為之聚斂而附益之。
孔子曰：	子曰：
求非我徒也，小子鳴鼓而攻之可也。	非吾徒也。小子鳴鼓而攻之可也。
由此觀之，君不行仁政而富之，皆棄於孔子者也，況於為之強戰？	

Parallel 6

***Mengzi* 4B/29** (*SBCK* 8/12b; *KZJY* p. 513)	***Lunyu* 6/11**
Yu and Ji in an orderly age thrice passed by their own doors without entering. Kongzi deemed them worthies. Yanzi [i.e., Yan Hui] in a disorderly age lived in a squalid alley and lived on a bowl of rice and a gourd of water. Other men could not have endured such anxiety but Yanzi did not change his joyful attitude. Kongzi deemed him a worthy.	The Master said, "How worthy is [Yan] Hui! He lived on a bowl of rice and a gourd of water and lived in a squalid alley. Other men could not have endured the anxiety of his situation but [Yan] Hui did not change his joyful attitude. How worthy is Hui!"
禹、稷當平世，三過其門而不入，孔子賢之。 顏子當亂世，居於陋巷， 一簞食，一瓢飲；人不堪其憂， 顏子不改其樂，孔子賢之。	子曰： 賢哉回也！ 一簞食，一瓢飲，在陋巷，人不堪其憂， 回也不改其樂。賢哉回也！

Parallel 7

***Mengzi* 5B/7** (*SBCK* 10/14b; *KZJY* p. 515)	***Lunyu* 10/20**
Wan Zhang said, "When his lord summoned him Kongzi would go without waiting for a carriage. That being the case, was Kongzi in the wrong?" [Mengzi] said, "Kongzi was serving as an official with official responsibilities, and he was being summoned in an official capacity."	When the ruler summoned [he] went without waiting for a carriage.
萬章曰： 孔子君命召，不俟駕而行； 然則孔子非與？曰：孔子當仕有官職，而以其官召之也。	君命召，不俟駕行矣。

Parallel 8

***Mengzi* 7B/37** (*SBCK* 14/16a–18b; *KZJY* pp. 516–17)	***Lunyu* 5/22**
a) Wan Zhang asked, "Kongzi was in Chen when he said, 'Let us return home. My disciples are unrestrained and wild. They are aggressive and do not forget their beginnings.' Why did Kongzi think about the unrestrained men of Lu when he was in Chen? 萬章問曰： 孔子在陳曰：盍歸乎來！吾黨之小子狂簡，進取，不忘其初。 孔子在陳，何思魯之狂士？	The Master was in Chen when he said, "Go home! Go home! My disciples are unrestrained and wild. While they have great accomplishments for all to see, they do not know how to prune themselves.[638] 子在陳，曰：歸與！歸與！吾黨之小子狂簡， 斐然成章，不知所以裁之。
b) Mengzi said, "When Kongzi could not associate with [men of] the middle way, he always [associated with someone who was] unrestrained or timid. The unrestrained are aggressive while the timid have things they will not do. How could Kongzi not desire the middle way? He could not always find [such men], thus he thought of the next best thing." 孟子曰： 孔子不得中道而與之， 必也狂狷乎！ 狂者進取，狷者有所不為也。 孔子豈不欲中道哉？不可必得，故思其次也。	***Lunyu* 13/21** The Master said, "When one cannot associate with [men of] the middle, one always [associates with someone who is] unrestrained or timid. The unrestrained are aggressive while the timid have things they will not do." 子曰：不得中行而與之， 必也狂狷乎！ 狂者進取，狷者有所不為也。
c) "May I ask what sort of person can be called 'unrestrained'?" 敢問何如斯可謂狂矣？	
d) [Mengzi] said, "Men like Qin Zhang, Zeng Xi, and Mu Pi are what Kongzi would call 'unrestrained.'" 曰：如琴張、曾皙、牧皮者，孔子之所謂狂矣。	
e) "Why were they called 'unrestrained'?" 何以謂之狂也？	

638. Translation adapted from Lau 2000, p. 43.

f) [Mengzi] said, "Their aims were grandiose. They would say, 'The ancients! The ancients!' Yet when one considers their conduct they could not be contained. When he could not find an unrestrained man, Kongzi wished to find and associate with unsullied men. Such men are timid, and they are third best. 曰：其志嘐嘐然，曰：古之人，古之人。夷考其行，而不掩焉者也。狂者又不可得，欲得不屑不絜之士而與之，是獧也，是又其次也。	
g) Kongzi said, "Those who pass my gates without entering my chamber are the upstanding villager types. Upstanding villager types are the thieves of virtue." 孔 過我門而不入我室，我不慊焉者，其惟鄉原乎！ 鄉原、德之賊也。	***Lunyu* 17/13** The Master said, "Upstanding villager types are the thieves of virtue." 子曰： 鄉原、德之賊也。
h) [Wan Zhang] said, "What sort of person can be called an 'upstanding villager type'?" 曰：何如斯可謂之鄉原矣？	
i) [Mengzi] said, "Why must they be so grandiose? When they speak they give no thought to their actions and when they act they give no thought to their words. Thus they say, 'The ancients! The ancients!' Why must they go it alone? Being born in this time they [should] act in this age. This is fine so long as one is good. [But] fawningly they curry favor in their time. These are the upstanding villager types." 曰：何以是嘐嘐也？言不顧行，行不顧言，則曰：古之人，古之人。行何為踽踽涼涼？生斯世也，為斯世也，善斯可矣。閹然媚於世也者，是鄉原也。	

j) Wanzi said, "If an entire village praises an upstanding man then everywhere he goes he is upstanding. Why would Kongzi consider him a thief of virtue?"

萬子曰：一鄉皆稱原人焉，無所往而不為原人，孔子以為德之賊，何哉？

k) [Mengzi] said, "If you want to condemn him you have nothing to point to, and if you want to criticize him you have nothing to criticize. He shares in the prevailing customs and accords with his corrupt age. At home he seems loyal and trustworthy and in his conduct he seems honest and pure of heart. The masses all delight in him and so he considers himself right. But he cannot accompany you on the way of Yao and Shun. Thus [Kongzi] said, "The thief of virtue."

Kongzi said,
"[I] hate what resembles [the good] but isn't.
I hate weeds because I fear they will be confused with sprouts.
I hate flattery because I fear it will be confused with propriety.
I hate skilled speakers because I fear they will be confused with trustworthiness.
I hate the tones of Zheng because I fear they will be confused with true music.
I hate purple because I fear it will be confused with vermillion.
I hate upstanding villager types because I fear they will be confused with the virtuous.
A noble man merely returns to what is standard. When the standard is corrected the common people are motivated, and when the common people are motivated there is no depravity."[639]

曰：非之無舉也，刺之無刺也，同乎流俗，合乎汙世，居之似忠信，行之似廉絜，眾皆悅之，自以為是，而不可與入堯舜之道，故曰德之賊也。
孔子曰：
惡似而非者：惡莠，恐其亂苗也；惡佞，恐其亂義也；惡利口，恐其亂信也，惡鄭聲，恐其亂樂也；惡紫，恐其亂朱也；惡鄉原，恐其亂德也。
君子反經而已矣。經正，則庶民興；庶民興，斯無邪慝矣。

***Lunyu* 17/18**

The Master said,

"I hate that purple robs vermillion.
I hate that the tones of Zheng are confused with proper music.
I hate that skilled speakers overturn the royal family."

子曰：
惡紫之奪朱也，惡鄭聲之亂雅樂也，惡利口之覆邦家者。

639. Translation adapted from Lau 1970, pp. 202–204.

• Appendix X: *Lunyu* parallels outside the corpus of Kongzi sayings*

*Dark highlights mark attributions different than those found in the *Lunyu*; light highlights mark the parallels themselves.

Part 1: Summary of Lunyu *entries with unattributed or differently attributed parallels*

Lunyu 1	1/2, 1/3, 1/6, 1/8, 1/9, 1/10, 1/11, 1/12, 1/13, 1/14, 1/15, 1/16
Lunyu 2	2/1, 2/5, 2/7, 2/10, 2/13, 2/14, 2/17, 2/19, 2/23, 2/24
Lunyu 3	3/4, 3/24
Lunyu 4	4/3, 4/5, 4/18, 4/25
Lunyu 5	5/8, 5/12, 5/19, 5/25, 5/27, 5/28
Lunyu 6	6/3, 6/11, 6/15, 6/17, 6/18, 6/23, 6/30
Lunyu 7	7/1, 7/2, 7/6, 7/8, 7/9, 7/10, 7/19, 7/22, 7/28, 7/34
Lunyu 8	8/4, 8/5, 8/9, 8/13, 8/20, 8/21
Lunyu 9	9/4, 9/9, 9/13, 9/16, 9/17, 9/23, 9/25, 9/26, 9/28
Lunyu 10	10/1, 10/2, 10/3, 10/4, 10/5, 10/6, 10/8, 10/12, 10/18, 10/20, 10/25, 10/26
Lunyu 11	11/3, 11/7, 11/11, 11/16, 11/24
Lunyu 12	12/1, 12/2, 12/4, 12/5, 12/6, 12/11, 12/14, 12/16, 12/17, 12/19, 12/22
Lunyu 13	13/3, 13/4, 13/10, 13/15, 13/16, 13/18, 13/20, 13/25, 13/28, 13/29, 13/30
Lunyu 14	14/1, 14/10, 14/16, 14/24, 14/26, 14/27, 14/35, 14/38, 14/40, 14/42
Lunyu 15	15/1, 15/18, 15/21, 15/24, 15/27, 15/30, 15/40, 15/41
Lunyu 16	16/2, 16/6, 16/11, 16/14
Lunyu 17	17/1, 17/6, 17/10, 17/11, 17/17, 17/19, 17/22, 17/24
Lunyu 18	18/2, 18/6, 18/7, 18/8
Lunyu 19	19/1, 19/3, 19/8, 19/11, 19/14, 19/19, 19/21, 19/22
Lunyu 20	20/2, 20/3

Part 2: Lunyu *parallels outside the corpus of Kongzi sayings*

***Lunyu* book 1**		
Lunyu 1/2 有子曰： ...君子務本，本立而道生。孝弟也者，其為仁之本與！	• *Guanzi* 26, "Jie 戒" (*SBCK* 10/2a)	管仲對曰：...孝弟者，仁之祖也。
	• *Lüshi chunqiu* 14.1, "Xiao xing 孝行" (*SBCK* 14/1a)	**<unattributed>**務本莫貴於孝。
	• *Shuiyuan* 3, "Jian ben 建本" (*SBCK* 3/1a)	孔子曰：君子務本，本立而道生。
	• *Yantie lun* 12, "You bian 憂邊" (*SBCK* 2/17b–18a)	**<unattributed>**夫欲安民富國之道， 在於反本，本立而道生。
Lunyu 1/3 子曰： 巧言令色， 鮮矣仁！	• *Shangshu*, "Jiong ming 冏命" (*SBCK* 12/6a)	王若曰：...無以巧言令色
	• *Shangshu*, "Gao Yao mo 皋陶謨" (*SBCK* 2/7a)	皋陶曰:...何畏乎巧言令色孔壬。
	• *Yi Zhoushu* 68, "Wu ji 武紀" (*Yi Zhoushu buzhu zhuyi* 68.425)	**<unattributed>**幣帛之閒，有巧言令色， 事不成。車甲之閒， 有巧言令色，事不捷。
	• *Yi Zhoushu* 58, "Guan ren 官人" (*Yi Zhoushu buzhu zhuyi* 58.331)	周公曰：...華廢而誣，巧言令色， 皆以無為有者也。此之謂考志。
	• *Guanzi* 45, "Ren fa 任法" (*SBCK* 15/7a)	**<unattributed>**美者以巧言令色請其主， 主因離法而聽之，此所謂美而淫之也。
	• *Da Dai Liji* 49, "Zengzi li shi 曾子立事" (*SBCK* 4/4a)	曾子曰：...巧言令色，能小行而篤，難於仁矣。
	• *Da Dai Liji* 72, "Guan ren 官人" (*SBCK* 10/3b)	王曰：...華如誣，巧言、令色、足恭一也，皆以無為有者也。此之為考志。
	• *Shuiyuan* 2, "Chen shu 臣術" (*SBCK* 2/2b)	**<unattributed>**三曰中實頗險， 外容貌小謹，巧言令色，又心嫉賢...

Lunyu 1/6 子曰：弟子入則孝，出則悌，謹而信，汎愛眾，而親人。行有餘力，則以學文。	• *Mengzi* 3B/4 (*SBCK* 6/6a)	孟子曰：...於此有人焉，入則孝，出則悌，守先王之道，以待後之學者，而不得食於子。
	• *Mozi* 35, "Fei ming shang 非命上" (*SBCK* 9/4a)	**<unattributed>**是以入則孝慈於親戚，出則弟長於鄉里。
	• *Xunzi* 29, "Zi dao 子道" (*SBCK* 20/9a)	入孝出弟，人之小行也。
	• *Huainanzi* 20 (*SBCK* 20/10a)	**<unattributed>**孔子弟子七十，養徒三千人，皆入孝出悌，言為文章，行為儀表，教之所成也。
Lunyu 1/8		***<see 9/25 & 15/30>***
Lunyu 1/9 曾子曰：慎終追遠，民德歸厚矣。	• *Mao Shi*, preface to #165, "Fa mu 伐木" (*SBCK* 9/5b)	**<unattributed>**親親以睦，友賢不棄，不遺故舊，則民德歸厚矣。
Lunyu 1/10 子禽問於子貢曰：夫子至於是邦也，必聞其政，求之與？抑與之與？...	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 10 (*SBCK* 10/4a)	**<unattributed>**君子溫儉以求於仁，恭讓以求於禮，得之自是，不得自是。
	• *Shiji* 104.2770	太史公曰：孔子稱曰： 居是國必聞其政，田叔之謂乎！
Lunyu 1/11 子曰：...三年無改於父之道，可謂孝矣。	• *Da Dai Liji* 50, "Zengzi ben xiao 曾子本孝" (*SBCK* 4/8a)	曾子曰：...父死三年，不敢改父之道。
Lunyu 1/12 有子曰：禮之用，和為貴。先王之道，斯為美；小大由之。有所不行，知和而和，不以禮節之，亦不可行也。	• *Da Dai Liji* 70, "Yu Dai de 虞戴德" (*SBCK* 9/10b)	公曰：先聖之道，斯為美乎？ 子曰：斯為美。...
Lunyu 1/13 有子曰：信近於義，言可復也。恭近於禮，遠恥辱也。...	• *Liji* 32, "Biao ji 表記" (*SBCK* 17/1b)	子曰：君子慎以辟禍，篤以不揜，恭以遠恥。
	• *Liji* 32, "Biao ji 表記" (*SBCK* 17/3b)	子曰：恭近禮，儉近仁，信近情，敬讓以行。
	• *Shuiyuan* 19 (*SBCK* 19/4a)	孔子曰：恭近於禮，遠恥辱也。

Lunyu 1/14 子曰： 君子食無求飽， 居無求安， 敏於事而慎於言...	• *Zuozhuan* Xi 4 (*SBCK* 5/5a)	大子[奚齊]曰：君非姬氏， 居不安，食不飽，我辭。
	• *Mao Shi* 135, "Quanyu 權輿" (*SBCK* 6/16a)	**<unattributed>**於我乎，每食四簋，今也每食不飽，于嗟乎，不承權輿。
	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 2 (*SBCK* 2/15a)	子路曰：...曾子褐衣縕緒，未嘗完也，糲米之食，未嘗飽也。
	• *Xinyu* 10, "Ben xing 本行" (*SBCK* 下/9b)	**<unattributed>**君子篤於義而薄於利， 敏於行而慎於言。
Lunyu 1/15 ...子曰：賜也，始可與言詩已矣，告諸往而知來者。	• *Mozi* 18, "Fei gong zhong 非公中" (*SBCK* 5/2b–3a)	是故子墨子曰：古者有語：謀而不得，則以往知來，以見知隱。
Lunyu 1/16 子曰：不患人之不己知，患不知人也。	• *Guanzi* 32, "Xiao cheng 小稱" (*SBCK* 11/7a)	管子曰：身不善之患，毋患人莫己。
***Lunyu* book 2**		
Lunyu 2/1 子曰：為政以德，譬如北辰，居其所而眾星共之。	• *Shiji* 42.1774, "Zheng shijia 鄭世家"	子產謂韓宣子曰： 為政必以德，毋忘所以立。
Lunyu 2/5 ...子曰：生，事之以禮；死，葬之以禮，祭之以禮。	• *Mengzi* 3A/2 (*SBCK* 5/2b)	曾子曰：生、事之以禮，死、葬之以禮，祭之以禮，可謂孝矣。
Lunyu 2/7 ...子曰： 今之孝者， 是謂能養。 至於犬馬， 皆能有養；不敬， 何以別乎？	• *Lüshi chunqiu* 14/1, "Xiao xing 孝行" (*SBCK* 14/3a–3b) • *Liji*, "Ji yi 祭義" (*SBCK* 14/12a) • *Da Dai Liji*, "Zengzi ben xiao 曾子本孝" (*SBCK* 4/10a)	**<unattributed>**民之本教曰孝，其行孝曰養。養可能也，敬為難。敬可能也，安為難。安可能也，卒為難。父母既沒，敬行其身，無遺父母惡名，可謂能終矣。
	• *Liji*, "Nei ze 內則" (*SBCK* 8/21a)	曾子曰：...父母之所愛亦愛之，父母之所敬亦敬之。至於犬馬盡然，而況於人乎。

Lunyu 2/10 子曰：視其所以，觀其所由，察其所安。人焉廋哉？人焉廋哉？	• *Mengzi* 4A/15 (*SBCK* 7/11b–12a)	孟子曰： 聽其言也，觀其眸子，人焉廋哉？
	• *Da Dai Liji* 72, "Wen wang guan ren 文王官人" (*SBCK* 10/4a)	文王曰：...聽其聲，處其氣，考其所為，觀其所由，察其所安；以其前占其後，以其見占其隱，以其小占其大。 此之謂『視中』也。
	• *Yi Zhoushu* 58, "Guan ren 官人" (*Yi Zhoushu jiaobu zhuyi* 58.333)	周公曰：...考其所為，觀其所由，以其前，觀其後，以其顯，觀其隱， 以其小，占其大，此之謂視聲。
Lunyu 2/13 子貢問君子。 子曰：先行其言而後從之。	• *Da Dai Liji* 49, "Zengzi lishi 曾子立事" (*SBCK* 4/1b)	曾子曰：君子博學而孱守之，微言而篤行之，行必先人，言必後人， 君子終身守此悒悒。
	• *Da Dai Liji* 54, "Zengzi zhi yan 曾子制言" (*SBCK* 5/3a)	曾子曰：...且夫君子執仁立志，先行後言，千里之外，皆為兄弟...
Lunyu 2/14 子曰：君子周而不比，小人比而不周。	• *Zhuangzi* 21, "Tian Zifang 田子方" (*SBCK* 7/31a)	[顏淵曰：]夫子不言而信，不比而周，無器而民滔乎前，而不知所以然而已矣。
Lunyu 2/17 子曰：由！誨女知之乎！知之為知之，不知為不知，是知也。	• *Xunzi* 8, "Ru xiao 儒孝" (*SBCK* 4/17b)	**<unattributed>**知之曰知之， 不知曰不知，內不自以誣，外不自以欺，
Lunyu 2/19 哀公問曰： 何為則民服？孔子對曰：舉直錯諸枉，則民服；舉枉錯諸直，則民不服。	• *Wenzi* 4, "Fu yan 符言" (*Wenzi yishu* 4.213)	老子〔文子〕曰：舉枉與直，如何不得；舉直與枉，勿與遂往； 所謂同污而異泥者。
Lunyu 2/23 子張問：十世可知也？子曰：殷因於夏禮，所損益，可知也...	• *Shiji* 99.2722, "Shusun Tong liezhuan 叔孫通列傳"	叔孫通曰：五帝異樂，三王不同禮。禮者，因時世人情為之節文者也。 故夏、殷、周之禮所因損益可知者，謂不相復也。臣願頗采古禮與秦儀雜就之。

Lunyu 2/24 子曰：非其鬼而祭之，諂也。...	• *Liji*, "Qu li xia 曲禮下" (*SBCK* 1/24b)	<unattributed>非有所祭而祭之，名曰淫祀，淫祀無福。
***Lunyu* book 3**		
Lunyu 3/4 林放問禮之本。 子曰：大哉問！禮，與其奢也，寧儉；喪，與其易也，寧戚。	• *Da Dai Liji* 49, "Zengzi li shi" (*SBCK* 4/3b)	曾子曰：...君子入人之國，不稱其諱，不犯其禁，不服華色之服，不稱懼惕之言。故曰：與其奢也寧儉，與其倨也寧句。
Lunyu 3/24 儀封人請見...出曰：二三子何患於喪乎？天下之無道也久矣...	• *Shiji* 47.1944, "Kongzi shijia 孔子世家"	孔子...謂子貢曰： 天下無道久矣，莫能宗予。
***Lunyu* book 4**		
Lunyu 4/1 子曰：里仁為美。擇不處仁，焉得知？	• *Xunzi* 27, "Da lüe 大略" (*SBCK* 27/5b–6a)	<unattributed>義有門；仁、非其里而處之，非仁也； 義，非其門而由之，非義也。 ...君子處仁以義，然後仁也；行義以禮，然後義也；制禮反本成末，然後禮也。
Lunyu 4/3 子曰：唯仁者能好人，能惡人。	• *Guoyu* 18, "Chu yu xia 楚語下" (*SBCK* 18/13a)	子高曰：不然。吾聞之，唯仁者可好也，可惡也，可高也，可下也。
Lunyu 4/5 子曰：富與貴，是人之所欲也；不以其道得之，不處也。...	• *Yanzi chunqiu* (*SBCK* 6/14a)	子尾曰： 富者，人之所欲也，何獨弗欲？
Lunyu 4/18 子曰：事父母幾諫，見志不從，又敬不違，勞而不怨。	• *Da Dai Liji* 53, "Zengzi shi fumu 曾子事父母" (*SBCK* 4/12a)	單居離問於曾子曰：事父母有道乎？曾子曰：有。愛而敬。父母之行若中道，則從；若不中道，則諫；諫而不用，行之如由己。從而不諫，非孝也；諫而不從，亦非孝也。孝子之諫，達善而不敢爭辨；爭辨者，作亂之所由興也。

Lunyu 4/25 子曰：德不孤， 必有鄰。	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 10 (*SBCK* 10/1a) • *Xinxu* 4, "Za shi 雜事" (*SBCK* 4/9a)	桓公曰：善哉！祝乎！寡人聞之矣： 至德不孤，善言必再。叟盍優之？
Lunyu book 5		
Lunyu 5/8 孟武伯問：子路仁 乎？子曰：不知也。 又問。子曰：由也， 千乘之國，可使治其 賦也，不知其仁也。	• *Shiji* 67.2190, "Zhongni dizi liezhuan 仲尼弟子列傳"	季康子問孔子曰：冉求仁乎？ ...復問：子路仁乎？
Lunyu 5/12 子貢曰：我不欲人之 加諸我也，吾亦欲無 加諸人。子曰：賜 也，非爾所及也。	• *Guanzi* 51, "Xiao wen 小問" (*SBCK* 16/7b)	管子對曰： ...非其所欲，勿施於人，仁也。
	• *Mengzi* 4A/9 (*SBCK* 7/8a)	孟子曰：...所欲與之聚之，所惡勿施，爾 也。
	• *Liji*, "Zhong yong 中 庸" (*SBCK* 16/3b)	子曰：...施諸己而不願，亦勿施於人。
	<see also *Lunyu* 12/2 & 15/24>	
Lunyu 5/19 子張問曰：令尹子文 三仕為令尹，無喜 色；三已之，無慍 色。舊令尹之政，必 以告新令尹。何如？	• *Zhuangzi* 21, "Tian Zifang 田子方" (*SBCK* 7/39b)	肩吾問於孫叔敖曰： 子三為令尹而不榮華，三去之而無憂色。
	• *Huainanzi* 12, "Dao ying 道應" (*SBCK* 12/17b)	**<unattributed>**昔孫叔敖三得令尹， 無喜志；三去令尹，無憂色。
	• *Huainanzi* 13, "Fan lun 氾論" (*SBCK* 13/19a)	**<unattributed>**叔孫敖三去令尹 而無憂色，爵祿不能累也
子曰：甯武子， 邦有道，則知； 邦無道，則愚。 其知可及也， 其愚不可及也。	• *Mao Shi*, commentary to # 256, "Yi 抑" (*SBCK* 18/3b)	**<unattributed>**國有道則知， 國無道則愚。
Lunyu 5/25 子曰：巧言、令色、 足恭，左丘明恥之， 丘亦恥之。...	• *Da Dai Liji* 72, "Wen wang guan ren 文王官 人" (*SBCK* 10/3b)	王曰：華如誣，巧言、令色、足恭一也， 皆以無為有者也。此之為考志。

Lunyu 5/27 子曰：已矣乎！吾未見能見其過而內自訟者也。	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 3 (*SBCK* 3/17a)	晉文公：...今不內自訟過，不悅百姓，將何錫之哉！
Lunyu 5/28 子曰：十室之邑，必有忠信如丘者焉，不如丘之好學也。	• *Da Dai Liji* 54, "Zengzi zhi yan 曾子制言" (*SBCK* 5/5b–6a)	曾子曰：...昔者禹見耕者五耦而式，過十室之邑則下，為秉德之士存焉。
***Lunyu* book 6**		
Lunyu 6/3 哀公問：弟子孰為好學？ 孔子對曰：有顏回者好學，不遷怒，不貳過。不幸短命死矣，今也則亡，未聞好學者也。	• *Da Dai Liji*, "Wei jiangjun Wenzi 衛將軍文子" (*SBCK* 6/4a) • *Kongzi jiayu* 12, "Dizi xing 弟子行" (*SBCK* 3/5b)	子貢對曰：夙興夜寐，諷誦崇禮；行不貳過，稱言不苟，是顏淵之行也。...不遷怒，不深怨，不錄舊罪，是冉雍之行也。
	• *Lunyu* 11/7	季康子問弟子孰為好學。 孔子對曰：有顏回者好學， 不幸短命死矣，今也則亡。
Lunyu 6/11 子曰：賢哉回也！一簞食，一瓢飲，在陋巷，人不堪其憂，回也不改其樂。賢哉回也！	• *Mengzi* 4B/29 (*SBCK* 8/12b)	**<unattributed>**顏子當亂世，居於陋巷， 一簞食，一瓢飲；人不堪其憂， 顏子不改其樂，孔子賢之。
	• *Xinyu* 6, "Shen wei 慎微" (*SBCK* 上/14a)	**<unattributed>**顏回一簞食，一瓢飲， 在陋巷之中，人不堪其憂， 回也不改其樂。
Lunyu 6/15 子曰：孟之反不伐，奔而殿，將入門，策其馬，曰：非敢後也，馬不進也。	• *Zuozhuan* Ai 11 (*SBCK* 29/18b)	**<unattributed>**孟之側後入，以為殿。抽矢策其馬曰：馬不進也。
Lunyu 6/17 子曰：誰能出不由戶？何莫由斯道也？	• *Liji*, "Li qi 禮器" (*SBCK* 7/15b)	**<unattributed>**未有入室而不由戶者。

Lunyu 6/18 子曰：質勝文則野，文勝質則史。文質彬彬，然後君子。	• *Xinshu,* "Bing ju zhi rong 兵車之容" (*SBCK* 6/9b)	**<unattributed>**語曰：審乎明王，執中履衡。言秉中適而據乎宜。故威勝德則淳，德勝威則施。威之與德，交若繆纕。且畏且懷，君道正矣。質勝文則野，文勝質則史，文質彬彬，然後君子。
Lunyu 6/23 子曰：知者樂水，仁者樂山。知者動，仁者靜。知者樂，仁者壽。	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 3 (*SBCK* 3/16a)	**<unattributed>**問者曰：夫智者何以樂於水也？...問者曰：夫仁者何以樂於山也？
	• *Kongzi jiayu* 7, "Wu yi 五儀" (*SBCK* 1/28b)	哀公問於孔子曰：智者壽乎？仁者壽乎？孔子對曰：然...
Lunyu 6/30 ...子曰：何事於仁！必也聖乎！堯、舜其猶病諸！	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 7 (*SBCK* 7/9a)	狐丘丈人曰：善哉！言乎！堯舜其猶病諸！
	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 8 (*SBCK* 8/19a)	[魏]文侯曰：善哉言乎！堯舜其猶病諸！寡人雖不敏，請守斯語矣。
Lunyu book 7		
Lunyu 7/1	***<see Appendix 3:P>***	
Lunyu 7/2 子曰：默而識之，學而不厭，誨人不倦，何有於我哉？	• *Wenzi* 10, "Shang yi 上仁" (*Wenzi shuyi* 10.457–58)	老子〔文子〕曰：學而不厭，所以治身；教而不倦，所以治民。
Lunyu 7/3 子曰：德之不脩，學之不講，聞義不能徙，不善不能改，是吾憂也。	***<for*** 不善不能改 ***parallels, see 15/30>***	
Lunyu 7/6 子曰：志於道，據於德，依於仁，遊於藝。	• Guodian "Yu cong san 語叢三" (*Guodian Chu mu zhujian* p. 211)	**<unattributed>**志於道，狎於德，依於仁，遊於藝。
	• *Liji*, "Shao yi 少儀" (*SBCK* 10/13b)	**<unattributed>**士依於德，游於藝。
Lunyu 7/8 子曰：不憤不啟，不悱不發。舉一隅不以三隅反，則不復也。	• *Shiji* 47.1938, "Kongzi shijia 孔子世家"	**<unattributed>**不憤不啟，舉一隅不以三隅反，則弗復也。

Lunyu 7/9 子食於有喪者之側，未嘗飽也。	• *Liji*, "Tan gong shang 檀弓上" (*SBCK* 2/14b)	**<unattributed>**食於有喪者之側，未嘗飽也。
Lunyu 7/10 子於是日哭，則不歌。	• *Liji*, "Qu li shang 曲禮上" (*SBCK* 1/14a)	**<unattributed>**里有殯，不巷歌，適墓不歌，哭日不歌。
Lunyu 7/19 ...子曰：女奚不曰，其為人也，發憤忘食，樂以忘憂，不知老之將至云爾。	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 2 (*SBCK* 2/17b)	子夏讀詩已畢。夫子問曰：爾亦何大於詩矣？子夏對曰：...亦可發憤忘食矣。
	• *Yanzi chunqiu* (*SBCK* 6/13a)	晏子曰：...且人何憂，靜處遠慮，見歲若月，學問不厭，不知老之將至，安用從酒！
Lunyu 7/22 子曰：三人行，必有我師焉，擇其善者而從之，其不善者而改之。	• *Zuozhuan* Xiang 31 (*SBCK* 19/15b)	子產曰：何為？夫人朝夕退而游焉，以議執政之善否。其所善者，吾則行之；其所惡者，吾則改之。是吾師也。
Lunyu 7/28 子曰：...多聞，擇其善者而從之；多見而識之；知之次也。	• *Shuiyuan* 3, "Jian ben 建本" (*SBCK* 3/1b)	吳子曰：...多聞而擇焉。
Lunyu 7/34 子曰：若聖與仁，則吾豈敢？抑為之不厭，誨人不倦，則可謂云爾已矣。...	• *Mengzi* 2A/2 (*SBCK* 3/9a)	昔者子貢問於孔子曰：夫子聖矣乎？孔子曰：聖則吾不能，我學不厭而教不倦也。
***Lunyu* book 8**		
Lunyu 8/4 曾子有疾，孟敬子問之。曾子言曰：...君子所貴乎道者三：動容貌，斯遠暴慢矣；正顏色，斯近信矣；出辭氣，斯遠鄙倍矣。...	• *Yantie lun* 31, "Zhen shi 箴石" (*SBCK* 6/11b)	丞相曰：吾聞諸鄭長【孫】【者】曰：君子正顏色，則遠暴嫚；出辭氣，則遠鄙倍矣。

Lunyu 8/5 曾子曰：以能問於不能，以多問於寡；有若無，實若虛，犯而不校。昔者吾友嘗從事於斯矣。	• *Huainanzi* 6, "Lan ming 覽冥" (*SBCK* 7/5a)	**<unattributed>**故有而若無，實而若虛。
	• *Wenzi* 3, "Jiu shou 九守" (*Wenzi shuyi* 3.167)	老子〔文子〕曰：**...**故有而若無，實而若虛。
Lunyu 8/9 子曰：民可使由之，不可使知之。	• Guodian "Zun de yi 尊德義" (*Guodian Chu mu zhujian* p. 174)	**<unattributed>**民可使道之， 而不可使知之。民可道也，而不可強也。
	• *Mengzi* 7A/5 (*SBCK* 13/2b)	孟子曰：行之而不著焉，習矣而不察焉，終身由之而不知其道者，眾也。
Lunyu 8/13 子曰：篤信好學，守死善道。	• *Da Dai Liji* 48, "Bao fu 保傅" (*SBCK* 3/4a) • *Xinshu*, "Bao fu 保傅" (*SBCK* 5/6b)	明堂之位曰：篤仁而好學，多聞而道慎。
Lunyu 8/20 ...孔子曰：才難，不其然乎？唐、虞之際，於斯為盛。有婦人焉，九人而已。三分天下有其二，以服事殷。周之德， 〔其〕可謂至德也已矣。	• *Yi Zhoushu* 64, "Dazi Jin 大子晉" (*Yi Zhoushu jiaobu zhuyi* 64.402)	王子[晉]應之曰：...如文王者，其大道仁，其小道惠，三分天下而有其二，敬人無方，服事于商，既有其眾而返失其身，此之謂仁。
Lunyu 8/21 子曰：禹，吾無間然矣。菲飲食而致孝乎鬼神，惡衣服而致美乎黻冕，卑宮室而盡力乎溝洫。禹，吾無間然矣。	• *Shiji* 4.51, "Xia benji 夏本紀"	**<unattributed>** 禹傷先人父鯀功之不成受誅， 乃勞身焦思，居外十三年， 過家門不敢入。薄衣食， 致孝于鬼神。卑宮室，致費於溝洫。
***Lunyu* book 9**		
Lunyu 9/4 子絕四：毋意，毋必，毋固，毋我。	• Guodian "Yu cong san 語叢三" (*Guodian Chu mu zhujian* p. 212)	**<unattributed>**毋意，毋固， 毋我，毋必。

Lunyu 9/9 子曰：鳳鳥不至，河不出圖，吾已矣夫！	• *Lüshi chunqiu* 13/2, "Ying tong 應同" (*SBCK* 13/5a)	**<unattributed>**夫覆巢毀卵，則鳳凰不至；刳獸食胎，則麒麟不來；乾澤涸漁，則龜龍不往。
	• *Guanzi* 50, "Feng shan 封禪" (*SBCK* 16/6a) • *Shiji* 28.1361, "Feng shan shu 封禪書"	[管仲曰；]...今鳳凰麒麟不來，嘉穀不生，而蓬蒿藜莠茂，鴟梟數至，而欲封禪，毋乃不可乎？
	• *Mozi* 52, "Bei cheng men 備城門" (*SBCK* 14/1a)	禽滑釐問於子墨子曰：由聖人之言，鳳鳥之不出，諸侯畔殷周之國，甲兵方起於天下，大攻小，強執弱，吾欲守小國，為之柰何？
Lunyu 9/16 子曰：出則事公卿，入則事父兄，喪事不敢不勉，不為酒困，何有於我哉？	• *Mengzi* 1A/5 (*SBCK* 1/7b)	孟子對曰： **...**入以事其父兄，出以事其長上。**...**
	• *Liji*, "Xiang yin jiu yi 鄉飲酒義" (*SBCK* 20/6a)	**<unattributed>**民知尊長養老，而后乃能入孝弟。民入孝弟，出尊長養老，而后成教。
Lunyu 9/17 子在川上，曰：逝者如斯夫！不舍晝夜。	• *Mengzi* 4B/18 (*SBCK* 8/6a)	徐子曰：仲尼亟稱於水，曰：水哉，水哉！何取於水也。孟子曰：（源）〔原〕泉混混，不舍晝夜。
Lunyu 9/23 子曰：後生可畏，焉知來者之不如今也？四十、五十而無聞焉，斯亦不足畏也已。	• *Da Dai Liji* 49, "Zengzi li shi" (*SBCK* 4/4b)	曾子曰：...三十、四十之閒而無藝，即無藝矣；五十而不以善聞矣；七十而無德，雖有微過，亦可以勉矣。
Lunyu 9/25 子曰：主忠信，毋友不如己者，過則勿憚改。	• *Lüshi chunqiu* 20/7, "Jiao zi 驕恣" (*SBCK* 20/18a)	李悝趨進曰：昔者楚莊王謀事而當，有大功，退朝而有憂色。左右曰：王有大功，退朝而有憂色，敢問其說？王曰：仲虺有言，不穀說之。曰：諸侯之德，能自為取師者王，能自取友者存，其所擇而莫如己者亡。
Lunyu 9/26	• *Liji*, "Ru xing 儒行" (*SBCK* 19/5b)	**<unattributed>**身可危也。而志不可奪也。
Lunyu 9/28 子曰：歲寒，然後知松柏之後彫也。	• *Xunzi* 27, "Da lüe 大略" (*SBCK* 27/17a)	**<unattributed>**歲不寒無以知松柏，事不難無以知君子無日不在是。
	• *Huainanzi* 2, "Chu zhen 俶真" (*SBCK* 2/3b)	**<unattributed>**夫大寒至，霜雪降，然後知松柏之茂也。

Lunyu book 10		
Lunyu 10/1 孔子於鄉黨，恂恂如也，似不能言者。其在宗廟朝廷，便便言，唯謹爾。	*Xinyu* 1, "Dao ji 道基" (*SBCK* 上/5a)	<unattributed>...君以仁治，臣以義平，鄉黨以仁恂恂，朝廷以義便便...
	Shiji 103.2764, "Wan Shi liezhuan 萬石列傳"	<unattributed>子孫勝冠者在側，雖燕居必冠，申申如也。僮僕訢訢如也，唯謹。
	Shiji 109.2878, "Li jiangjun liezhuan 李將軍列傳"	太史公曰：...余睹李將軍悛悛如鄙人，口不能道辭。
Lunyu 10/2 朝，與下大夫言，侃侃如也；與上大夫言，闇闇如也。君在，踧踖如也，與與如也。	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 9 (*SBCK* 9/15b)	子張曰：子亦聞夫子之議論邪？徐言閭閭，威儀翼翼。
Lunyu 10/3 君召使擯，色勃如也，足躩如也。揖所與立，左右手，衣前後，襜如也。趨進，翼如也。賓退，必復命曰：賓不顧矣。	• *Yili*, "Pin li 聘禮" (*SBCK* 8/17b)	<unattributed>賓出。公再拜送。賓不顧。
	• *Yili*, "Pin li 聘禮" (*SBCK* 8/24a)	<unattributed>賓出。大夫送于外門外。再拜。賓不顧。
	• *Yili*, "Gong shi dafu li 公食大夫禮" (*SBCK* 9/9b)	<unattributed>賓出。公送于大門內。再拜。賓不顧。
Lunyu 10/4 入公門，鞠躬如也，如不容。立不中門，行不履閾。...	• *Liji*, "Qu li shang 曲禮上" (*SBCK* 1/6a)	<unattributed>大夫士出入君門，由闑右，不踐閾。 ...為人子者，居不主奧，坐不中席，行不中道，立不中門。
	• *Liji*, "Yu zao 玉藻" (*SBCK* 9/11a)	<unattributed>賓入不中門，不履閾。
Lunyu 10/5 執圭，鞠躬如也，如不勝。上如揖，下如授。勃如戰色，足蹜蹜如有循。...	• *Yili*, "Pin li 聘禮" (*SBCK* 8/36a)	<unattributed>執圭，入門，鞠躬焉，如恐失之。
	• *Liji*, "Yu zao 玉藻" (*SBCK* 9/11a)	<unattributed>執龜玉，舉前曳踵，蹜蹜如也。
Lunyu 10/6 ...去喪，無所不佩。...	• *Liji*, "Jian zhuan 間傳" (*SBCK* 18/10a)	<unattributed>素縞麻衣，中月而禫，禫而纖，無所不佩。

Lunyu 10/8 ...割不正，不食。...	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 9 (*SBCK* 9/1a)	孟子少時誦，其母方織...其母自悔而言曰：吾懷妊是子，席不止，不坐；割不正，不食；胎教之也。...
	• *Gu lienü zhuan*, "Zhou shi san mu 周室三母" (*SBCK* 2/9a)	**<unattributed>**君子謂太任為能胎教。古者婦人妊子，寢不側，坐不邊，立不蹕，不食邪味，割不正不食，席不正不坐，目不視於邪色，耳不聽於淫聲。
Lunyu 10/12 ...席不正，不坐。...	• *Lunheng* 6, "Ming yi 命義" (*SBCK* 2/7b)	**<unattributed>**性命在本， 故禮有胎教之法：子在身時， 席不正不坐，割不正不食， 非正色目不視，非正聲耳不聽。
Lunyu 10/18 君賜食，必正席，先嘗之。君賜腥，必熟而薦之。君賜生，必畜之。侍食於君，君祭，先飯。	• *Liji*, "Yu zao 玉藻" (*SBCK* 13/3a)	**<unattributed>**若賜之食，而君客之，則命之祭，然後祭。先飯， 辯嘗羞，飲而俟。
	• *Yili*, "Shi xiang jian li 士相見禮" (*SBCK* 3/6a)	**<unattributed>**若君賜之食， 則君祭先飯，遍嘗膳，飲而俟。 君命之食，然後食。
Lunyu 10/20 君命召，不俟駕行矣。	• *Mengzi* 2B/2 (*SBCK* 4/3b)	景子曰：否；非此之謂也。禮曰：父召，無諾；君命召，不俟駕。
	• *Xunzi* 27, "Da lüe 大略" (*SBCK* 19/1b)	**<unattributed>**諸侯召其臣，臣不俟駕，顛倒衣裳而走，禮也。
	• *Liji*, "Yu zao 玉藻" (*SBCK* 13/8a)	**<unattributed>**凡君召以三節， 二節以走，一節以趨。 在官不俟屨，在外不俟車。
Lunyu 10/25 ...迅雷風烈，必變。	• *Liji*, "Yu zao 玉藻" (*SBCK* 13/2b)	**<unattributed>**君子之居恆當戶， 寢恆東首。若有疾風， 迅雷，甚雨，則必變。
Lunyu 10/26 升車，必正立，執綏。車中，不內顧，不疾言，不親指。	• *Liji*, "Qu li shang 曲禮上" (*SBCK* 1/18a)	**<unattributed>**國君不乘奇車， 車上不廣欬，不妄指，立視五嵩， 式視馬尾，顧不過轂。
Lunyu book 11		
Lunyu 11/3 德行：顏淵、閔子騫、冉伯牛、仲弓。 言語：宰我、子貢。 政事：冉有、季路。 文學：子游、子夏。	• *Mengzi* 2A/1 (*SBCK* 3/8b)	[公孫丑]曰：...宰我、子貢善為說辭；冉牛、閔子、顏淵善言德行。
	• *Xinxu* 3, "Za shi 雜事" (*SBCK* 3/3b)	孔子曰：言語宰我、子貢。

Lunyu 11/7 季康子問弟子孰為好學。孔子對曰：有顏回者好學，不幸短命死矣，今也則亡。	• *Lunyu* 6/3	哀公問：弟子孰為好學？ 孔子對曰：有顏回者好學， 不遷怒，不貳過。不幸短命死矣， 今也則亡，未聞好學者也。
Lunyu 11/11 顏淵死，門人欲厚葬之。	• *Shiji* 122.3144, "Kuli liezhuan 酷吏列傳"	**<unattributed>**湯死。 ...昆弟諸子欲厚葬湯。
Lunyu 11/16 ...子曰：過猶不及。	• *Xunzi*, "Wang ba 王霸" (*SBCK* 11/20b)	**<unattributed>**是過者也，猶不及也。
	• *Guanzi* 16, "Fa fa 法法" (*SBCK* 6/5b)	**<unattributed>**過與不及也，皆非正也。
Lunyu 11/24 ...子曰：吾以子為異之問，曾由與求之問。所謂大臣者，以道事君，不可則止。今由與求也，可謂具臣矣。	• *Guliang zhuan* (*SBCK* 9/11a)	蘧伯玉曰：不以道事其君者其出乎。
Lunyu book 12		
Lunyu 12/1 ...子曰：克己復禮為仁。...顏淵曰：回雖不敏，請事斯語矣。	• *Zuozhuan* Zhao 12 (*SBCK* 22/15b)	仲尼曰：古也有志：克己復禮，仁也。信善哉！楚靈王若能如是，豈其辱於乾谿。
	• Shanghai Museum "Zhonggong 仲弓" ms. strip #9 (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* p. 270)	仲弓曰：雍也不敏。
	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 7 (*SBCK* 7/15a)	子貢曰：賜雖不敏，請事斯語。

Lunyu 12/2 仲弓問仁。子曰：出門如見大賓，使民如承大祭。己所不欲，勿施於人。在邦無怨，在家無怨。仲弓曰：雍雖不敏，請事斯語矣。	• *Zuozhuan* Xi 33 (*SBCK* 7/15a)	臣[冀缺]聞之：出門如賓，承事如祭，仁之則也。
	• *Mengzi* 4A/9 (*SBCK* 7/8a)	孟子曰：...所欲與之聚之，所惡勿施，爾也。
	• *Lüshi chunqiu* 4/4 (*SBCK* 4/8b)	**<unattributed>**所加於人，必可行於己。
	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 9 (*SBCK* 9/5a)	子貢應之曰：君子尊賢而容眾，嘉善而矜不能，親內及外，己所不欲，勿施於人。
	• *Huainanzi* 9, "Zhu shu 主術" (*SBCK* 9/21b)	**<unattributed>**心之所欲，其不加諸人。
	• *Shuiyuan* 10, "Jing shen 敬慎" (*SBCK* 10/19b)	**<unattributed>**能行此五者，可以全身，己所不欲，勿施於人，是謂要道也。
	• *Guanzi* 51, "Xiao wen 小問" (*SBCK* 16/7b)	管子對曰：**...**非其所欲，勿施於人，仁也。
	• *Guanzi* 66, "Ban fa 版法" (*SBCK* 21/4b)	**<unattributed>**己之所不安，勿施於人。
	• *Shiji* 67.2190, "Zhongni dizi liezhuan 仲尼弟子列傳"	仲弓問政，孔子曰：出門如見大賓，使民如承大祭。在邦無怨，在家無怨。
Lunyu 12/4 司馬牛問君子。子曰：君子不憂不懼。曰：不憂不懼，斯謂之君子已乎？ 子曰：內省不疚，夫何憂何懼？	• *Lüshi chunqiu* 14/6, "Shen ren 慎人" (*SBCK* 14/17b) • *Zhuangzi* 28, "Rang wang 讓王" (*SBCK* 9/28a)	子路與子貢入。子貢曰：如此者可謂窮矣。孔子曰：...故內省而不疚於道，臨難而不失其德。
	• *Liji*, "Zhong yong 中庸" (*SBCK* 16/13a)	**<unattributed>**故君子內省不疚， 無惡於志。君子所不可及者， 其唯人之所不見乎。

Lunyu 12/5 司馬牛憂曰：人皆有兄弟，我獨亡。子夏曰：商聞之矣：死生有命，富貴在天。君子敬而無失，與人恭而有禮。四海之內，皆兄弟也。君子何患乎無兄弟也？	• *Da Dai Liji* 54, "Zengzi zhi yan 曾子制言" (*SBCK* 5/3a)	曾子曰：**...**且夫君子執仁立志， 先行後言，千里之外，皆為兄弟，
	• *Shuiyuan* 17, "Za yan 雜言" (*SBCK* 17/12a)	孔子曰：...賢不肖者才也，為不為者人也，遇不遇者時也，死生者命也。
	• *Kongzi jiayu* 15, "Liu ben 六本" (*SBCK* 4/10b)	孔子曰：...千里之外，親如兄弟。
	• *Lunheng* 3, "Ming lu 命祿" (*SBCK* 1/10b)	孔子曰：死生有命，富貴在天。
	• *Lunheng* 28, "Wen Kong 問孔" (*SBCK* 9/9a)	孔子稱曰：死生有命，富貴在天。
	• *Lunheng* 72, "Bian chong 辨崇" (*SBCK* 24/12b)	孔子曰：死生有命，富貴在天。
Lunyu 12/6 子張問明。子曰：浸潤之譖，膚受之愬，不行焉，可謂明也已矣。...	• *Yi Zhoushu*, "Shi fa 謚法" (*Yi Zhoushu jiaobu zhuyi* 54.289)	**<unattributed>**譖訴不行曰明。
Lunyu 12/11 齊景公問政於孔子。孔子對曰：君君，臣臣，父父，子子。公曰：善哉！信如君不君，臣不臣，父不父，子不子，雖有粟，吾得而食諸？	• Guodian, "Liu de 六德" ms. (*Guodian Chu mu zhujian* pp. 187–88)	**<unattributed>**故夫夫，婦婦， 父父，子子，君君，臣臣， 此六者各行其職而訕誇蔑由作也。
	• *Zhouyi* #37, "Jiaren 家人" (*SBCK* 4/7b)	**<unattributed>**父父，子子， 兄兄，弟弟，夫夫，婦婦而家道正， 正家而天下定矣。
	• *Guanzi* 2, "Xing shi 形勢" (*SBCK* 1/5a)	君不君，則臣不臣。父不父，則子不子。
	• *Guanzi* 20, "Xiao kuang 小匡" (*SBCK* 8/12a) • *Guoyu*, "Qi yu 齊語" (*SBCK* 6/13a)	桓公召管仲而謀，管仲對曰：為君不君，為臣不臣，亂之本也。
	• *Shuiyuan* 6, "Fu en 復恩" (*SBCK* 6/20b)	子夏曰：春秋者，記君不君，臣不臣，父不父，子不子者也
Lunyu 12/14	• *Xunzi* 32, "Yao wen 堯問" (*SBCK* 20/24b)	堯問於舜曰：我欲致天下，為之奈何？ 對曰：執一無失，行微無怠，忠信無倦， 而天下自來。

Lunyu 12/16 子曰： 君子成人之美， 不成人之惡。 小人反是。	• *Guliang* Yin 1 (*SBCK* 1/1a)	**<unattributed>**春秋成人之美。
	• *Liji*, "Ji tong 祭統" (*SBCK* 14/22a)	**<unattributed>**為先祖者，莫不有美焉， 莫不有惡焉，銘之義。稱美而不稱惡， 此孝子孝孫之心也。唯賢者能之。
	• *Guanzi*, "Ban fa 版法" (*SBCK* 21/7a)	管子對曰：...故君子惡稱人之惡。
	• *Da Dai Liji*, "Zengzi li shi 曾子立事" (*SBCK* 4/3a)	曾子曰：...君子不先人以惡， 不疑人以不信；不說人之過，成人之美。
	• *Shuiyuan* 1, "Jun dao 君道" (*SBCK* 1/3b)	哀公曰：善哉！吾聞君子成人之美，不成人之惡。微孔子，吾焉聞斯言也哉？
Lunyu 12/17 季康子問政於孔子。 孔子對曰：政者、正也。子帥以正，孰敢不正？	• *Zuozhuan* Huan 2 (*SBCK* 2/3b)	師服曰：異哉君子之名子也。夫名以制義，義以出禮，禮以體政，政以正民，是以政成而民聽。
	• *Guanzi* 16, "Fa fa 法法" (*SBCK* 6/5b)	**<unattributed>**政者，正也；正也者， 所以正定萬物之命也。
	• *Da Dai Liji* 41, "Ai gong wen yu Kongzi 哀公問於孔子" (*SBCK* 1/8a) • *Liji*, "Ai gong wen 哀公問" (*SBCK* 15/4a)	[哀]公曰：敢問：何謂為政？孔子對曰：政者，正也。君為正，則百姓從政矣。...
	• *Shizi*, "Shen ming 神明" (*SBCK Qunshu zhiyao* 36/25a)	**<unattributed>**政也者，正人者也。 身不正則人不從。

Lunyu 12/19 季康子問政於孔子曰：如殺無道，以就有道，何如？孔子對曰：子為政，焉用殺？子欲善而民善矣。君子之德風，小人之德草。草上之風，必偃。	• *Shangshu*, "Jun Chen 君陳" (*SBCK* /a)	王若曰**...**爾惟風，下民惟草。
	• *Mengzi* 3A/2 (*SBCK* 5/3b)	孟子曰：...君子之德，風也；小人之德，草也。草上之風，必偃。
	• *Huainanzi* 20, "Tai zu xun 泰族訓" (*SBCK* 20/11a)	其於化民也，若風之搖草木，無之而不靡。
	• *Huainanzi* 10, "Miu cheng 繆稱" (*SBCK* 10b–11a)	**<unattributed>**人能尊道行義，喜怒取予，欲如草之從風。
	• *Wenzi* 2, "Jing cheng 精誠" (*Wenzi shuyi* 2.105)	文子曰：...大人以善示人，不變其故，不易其常，天下聽令，如草從風。
	• *Xinyu* 4, "Wu wei 無為" (*SBCK* 上/11a)	故上之化下，猶風之靡草也。
	• *Guoyu*, "Jin yu 晉語" (*SBCK* 9/7a)	公子縶曰：...殺無道而立有道，仁也。
	• *Shuiyuan* 1, "Jun dao 君道" (*SBCK* 1/2a)	陳靈公行僻而言失。泄冶曰：**...**夫上之化下，猶風靡草，東風則草靡而西，西風則草靡而東，在風所由而草為之靡。
	• *Shuiyuan* 5, "Gui de 貴德" (*SBCK* 5/15a–b)	**<unattributed>**上之變下，猶風之靡草也。
Lunyu 12/22 樊遲問仁。子曰：愛人。問知。子曰：知人。樊遲未達。子曰：舉直錯諸枉，能使枉者直。...	• *Xunzi* 29, "Zi dao 子道" (*SBCK* 20/13a)	子貢入，子曰：賜！知者若何？仁者若何？子貢對曰：知者知人，仁者愛人。子曰：可謂士君子矣。
	• *Huainanzi* 20, "Tai zu xun 泰族訓" (*SBCK* 20/18b)	**<unattributed>**故仁知，人材之美者也。所謂仁者，愛人也；所謂知者，知人也。
	• *Wenzi* 4, "Fu yan 符言" (*Wenzi yishu* 4.213)	文子曰：舉枉與直，如何不得；舉直與枉，勿與遂往；所謂同污而異泥者。
***Lunyu* book 13**		

Lunyu 13/3 ...子曰：必也正名乎！子路曰：有是哉，子之迂也！奚其正？子曰：野哉由也！君子於其所不知，蓋闕如也。名不正，則言不順；言不順，則事不成；事不成，則禮樂不興；禮樂不興，則刑罰不中；刑罰不中，則民無所錯手足。故君子名之必可言也，言之必可行也。君子於其言，無所苟而已矣。	• *Lüshi chunqiu* 17/1, "Shen fen 審分" (*SBCK* 17/3a)	**<unattributed>**故至治之務，在於正名。 名正則人主不憂勞矣， 不憂勞則不傷其耳目之主。
Lunyu 13/7 子曰：魯、衛之政，兄弟也。	• *Shiji* 65.2165, "Sunzi Wu Qi liezhuan 孫子吳起列傳"	魯人或惡吳起曰：...且魯衛兄弟之國也。
Lunyu 13/10 子曰：苟有用我者，期月而已可也，三年有成。	• *Han Feizi* (*SBCK* /a)	**<unattributed>**宋人有為其君以象為楮葉者，三年而成。
	• *Han Feizi* (*SBCK* /a)	**<unattributed>**墨子為木鳶，三年而成...
	• *Han Feizi* (*SBCK* /a)	**<unattributed>**客有為周君畫莢者， 三年而成...
	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 8 (*SBCK* 8/15b)	**<unattributed>**齊景公使人為弓， 三年乃成...
Lunyu 13/15 ...孔子對曰：言不可以若是其幾也。人之言曰：為君難，為臣不易。	• *Mao Shi* #236 (*SBCK* /a)	**<unattributed>**明明在下，赫赫在上。 天難忱斯，不易維王。
	• *Shuiyuan* 11, "Shan shui 善說" (*SBCK* 11/10b)	公乘不仁曰：...為人臣者不易， 為君亦不易。
Lunyu 13/16 ...子曰：近者說，遠者來。	• *Xunzi* 27, "Da lüe 大略" (*SBCK* 19/18a)	曾子曰：孝子言為可聞，行為可見。言為可聞，所以說遠也；行為可見，所以說近也；近者說則親，遠者悅則附；親近而附遠，孝子之道也。
	• *Guanzi* 64, "Xing shi 形勢" (*SBCK* 20/5b)	**<unattributed>**明主之使遠者來 而近者親也，為之在心
	• *Wenzi* 7, "Wei ming 微明" (*Wenzi yishu* 7.336)	老子〔文子〕曰：古者親近不以言，來遠不以言，使近者悅，遠者來。

Lunyu 13/18 葉公語孔子曰：吾黨有直躬者，其父攘羊，而子證之。孔子曰：吾黨之直者異於是：父為子隱，子為父隱。直在其中矣。	• *Lüshi chunqiu* 11/4, "Dang wu 當務" (*SBCK* 11/8a–b)	楚有直躬者，其父竊羊而謁之上，上執而將誅之。直躬者請代之。將誅矣，告吏曰：父竊羊而謁之，不亦信乎？父誅而代之，不亦孝乎？信且孝而誅之，國將有不誅者乎？荊王聞之，乃不誅也。孔子聞之曰：異哉直躬之為信也，一父而載取名焉。
Lunyu 13/20 ...曰：言必信，行必果，硜硜然小人哉！抑亦可以為次矣。	• *Mozi* 16, "Jian ai xia 兼愛下" (*SBCK* 4/11a & 4/12b)	當使若二士者，言必信，行必果，使言行之合猶合符節也，無言而不行也。
	• *Mengzi* 4B/11 (*SBCK* 8/4b)	孟子曰：大人者，言不必信，行不必果，惟義所在。
	• *Shiji* 124.3181, "Youxia liezhuan 游俠列傳"	今游俠，其行雖不軌於正義， 然其言必信，其行必果。
Lunyu 13/25 子曰：君子易事而難說也。說之不以道，不說也；及其使人也，器之。小人難事而易說也。說之雖不以道，說也；及其使人也，求備焉。	• Shanghai Museum "Cong zheng 從政" ms.	(甲17)〔君子先〕人則啟道之，後人則奉相之，是以曰君子難得而易使也。其使人，器之。小人先人則弁敔之。〔後人〕(甲18)則暴毀之，是以曰小人易得而難使也。其使人必，求備焉。
	• *Xunzi* 27, "Da lüe 大略" (*SBCK* 19/24a)	**<unattributed>**故曰：君子難說，說之不以道，不說也。
Lunyu 13/28 子曰：切切偲偲，怡怡如也，可謂士矣。朋友切切偲偲，兄弟怡怡。	• *Mao Shi*, commentary to #164, "Chang di 常棣"	**<unattributed>**兄弟尚恩怡怡然， 朋友以義切切然。
	• *Da Dai Liji* 49, "Zengzi lishi 曾子立事" (*SBCK* 4/7a)	宮中雍雍，外焉肅肅，兄弟僖僖，朋友切切，遠者以貌，近者以情。
Lunyu 13/29 子曰：善人教民七年，亦可以即戎矣。	• *Mozi* 18, "Fei gong zhong 非攻中" (*SBCK* 5/5b–6a)	子墨子言曰：...古者吳闔閭教七年，奉甲執兵，
	• Mawangdui "Jun zheng 君正" ms.	**<unattributed>**一年從其俗， 二年用其德，三年而民有得， 四年而發號令，五年而以刑正， 六年而民畏敬，七年而可以正（征）。

Lunyu 13/30 子曰：以不教民戰，是謂棄之。	• *Mengzi* 6B/8 (*SBCK* 12/11a)	魯欲使慎子為將軍。孟子曰：不教民而用之謂之殃民。...
	• *Guliang* Xi 23 (*SBCK* 5/19a)	**<unattributed>**以其不教民戰，則是棄其師也。為人君而棄其師， 其民孰以為君哉。
***Lunyu* book 14**		
Lunyu 14/1 憲問恥。子曰：邦有道、穀，邦無道、穀，恥也。克、伐、怨、欲不行焉，可以為仁矣？子曰：可以為難矣，仁則吾不知也。	• *Zuozhuan* Zhao 1 (*SBCK* 20/7b) • *Guoyu* (*SBCK* 14/12a)	鍼[=秦后子]聞之：國無道而年穀和熟，天贊之也。鮮不五稔。
Lunyu 14/10	• *Yanzi chunqiu* (*SBCK* 6/16a)	...晏子辭不受，曰：富而不驕者，未嘗聞之。貧而不恨者，嬰是也。所以貧而不恨者，以善為師也。
Lunyu 14/16 子路曰：桓公殺公子糾，召忽死之，管仲不死。曰：未仁乎？子曰：桓公九合諸侯，不以兵車，管仲之力也。如其仁，如其仁。	• *Lüshi chunqiu* 17/4, "Wu gong 勿躬" (*SBCK* 17/11b)	**<unattributed>**[齊桓公]十年，九合諸侯，一匡天下，皆夷吾與五子之能也。管子，人臣也...
	• *Xunzi* 11, "Wang ba 王霸" (*SBCK* 7/19b)	**<unattributed>**齊桓公...九合諸侯，一匡天下，為五伯長...知一政於管仲也，是君人者之要守也。
	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 6 (*SBCK* 6/1b)	**<unattributed>**桓公之所以九合諸侯，一匡天下者、此也。
	• *Han Feizi* 10, "Shi guo 十過" (*SBCK* 3/4b)	**<unattributed>**昔者齊桓公九合諸侯，一匡天下，為五伯長，管仲佐之。
	• *Han Feizi* 35, "Wai chushuo you 外儲説右" (*SBCK* 14/5a)	[蘇代]曰：昔者齊桓公愛管仲，置以為仲父，內事理焉，外事斷焉，舉國而歸之，故一匡天下，九合諸侯。
	• *Han Feizi* 37, "Nan san 難三" (*SBCK* 15/8a)	晉平公問叔向曰：昔者齊桓公九合諸侯，一匡天下，不識臣之力也？君之力也
	• *Zhanguo ce* (*SBCK* 8/36b)	蔡澤曰：昔者，齊桓公九合諸侯， 一匡天下
	• *Huainanzi* 13, "Fan lun 氾論" (*SBCK* 13/14a)	**<unattributed>**然而管仲免於累紲之中，立齊國之政，九合諸侯，一匡天下。
	• *Shiji* 62.2131, "Guan Yan liezhuan 管晏列傳"	齊桓公以霸，九合諸侯， 一匡天下，管仲之謀也。

Lunyu 14/24 子曰：古之學者為己，今之學者為人。	• *Xunzi* 1, "Quan xue 勸學" (*SBCK* 1/6b)	**<unattributed>**古之學者為己， 今之學者為人。
	• *Xinxu* (*Quan Han wen* 39/1a; p. 340)	齊王問墨子曰：古之學者為己， 今之學者為人，何如？
Lunyu 14/26 子曰：不在其位，不謀其政。曾子曰：君子思不出其位。	• *Zhouyi* #52, "Liang 良" (*SBCK* 5/13a)	象曰：兼山，艮。君子以思不出其位。
Lunyu 14/27 子曰：君子恥其言而過其行。	• *Liji*, "Za ji 雜記" (*SBCK* 12/16b)	**<unattributed>**有其言，無其行， 君子恥之。
	• *Shuiyuan* 16, "Tan cong 談叢" (*SBCK* 16/15a)	**<unattributed>**君子有五恥： ...有其言，無其行，君子恥之。
Lunyu 14/35 子曰：莫我知也夫！ 子貢曰：何為其莫知子也？ 子曰：不怨天，不尤人，下學而上達。知我者其天乎！	• *Laozi* 70 (*SBCK* 下/16b)	**<unattributed>**吾言甚易知，甚易行。 天下莫能知，莫能行。言有宗，事有君。 夫唯無知，是以不我知。知我者希， 則我者貴，是以聖人被褐懷玉。
	• *Chuci*, "Li sao 離騷" (*SBCK* 1/49a)	[屈原]亂曰：已矣哉，國無人莫我知兮。
	• *Mengzi* 2B/13 (*SBCK* 4/15b)	孟子去齊，充虞路問曰：夫子若〔有〕不豫色然。前日虞聞諸夫子曰：君子不怨天，不尤人。
	• *Xunzi* 4, "Rong ru 榮辱" (*SBCK* 2/14a)	**<unattributed>**自知者不怨人， 知命者不怨天。
	• *Huainanzi* 10, "Miu cheng 繆稱" (*SBCK* 10/13a)	**<unattributed>**是故知己者不怨人， 知命者不怨天。
	• *Shiji* 84.2494, "Qu Yuan Jia Sheng liezhuan 屈原賈生列傳"	[賈誼]訊曰：已矣，國其莫我知。
	• *Liji*, "Zhong yong 中庸" (*SBCK* 16/4a) (*SBCK* /a)	**<unattributed>**君子無入而不自得焉。 在上位不陵下，在下位不援上， 正己而不求於人，則無怨。上不怨天， 下不尤人，故君子居易以俟命。
Lunyu 14/38 曰：是知其不可而為之者與？	• *Gongyang* Xuan 8 (*SBCK* 7/7b)	**<unattributed>**存其心焉爾者何？ 知其不可而為之也。

Lunyu 14/40 ...子曰：何必高宗，古之人皆然。君薨，百官總己以聽於冢宰三年。	• *Shangshu*, "Yi xun 伊訓" (*SBCK* 4/6a)	**<unattributed>**百官總己以聽冢宰。
Lunyu 14/42	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 7 (*SBCK* 7/9a)	狐丘丈人曰：善哉！言乎！堯舜其猶病諸！
	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 8 (*SBCK* 8/19a)	魏文侯...曰：善哉言乎！堯舜其猶病諸！
***Lunyu* book 15**		
Lunyu 15/1 衛靈公問陳於孔子。孔子對曰：俎豆之事，則嘗聞之矣；軍旅之事，未之學也。明日遂行。	• *Zuozhuan* Ai 11 (*SBCK* 29/21a)	孔文子之將攻大叔也。訪於仲尼。 仲尼曰：胡簋之事，則嘗學之矣。 甲兵之事，未之聞也。
Lunyu 15/18 子曰：君子義以為質，禮以行之，孫以出之，信以成之。君子哉！	• *Xinyu* 6, "Shen wei 慎微" (*SBCK* 上/15a)	**<unattributed>**顏回一簞食，一瓢飲， 在陋巷之中，人不堪其憂， 回也不改其樂。禮以行之，遜以出之。
Lunyu 15/21 子曰：君子求諸己，小人求諸人。	• *Guanzi* 31, "Jun chen xia 君臣下" (*SBCK* 11/4b)	**<unattributed>**所求於己者多， 故德行立。所求於人者少，故民輕給之。
	• *Huainanzi* 10, "Miu cheng xun 繆稱訓" (*SBCK* 10/5b)	**<unattributed>**故怨人不如自怨， 求諸人不如求諸己得也。
	• *Wenzi* 6, "Shang de 上德 (*Wenzi shuyi* 6.300)	老子〔文子〕曰：...故怨人不如怨己，免求諸人不如求諸己。
Lunyu 15/24	**<see 12/2>**	

Lunyu 15/27 子曰：...小不忍，則亂大謀。	• Guodian “Yu cong er 語叢二” (*Guodian Chu mu zhujian* p. 205)	**<unattributed>**小不忍，敗大勢。
	• Preface to *Mao Shi* #76, “Qiang Zhongzi 將仲子” (*SBCK* 4/8b)	**<unattributed>**小不忍以致大亂焉。
	• *Shiji* 58.2091–92, “Liang Xiaowang liezhuan 梁孝王列傳”	**<unattributed>**小不忍害大義狀報太后。

Lunyu 15/30 子曰：過而不改，是謂過矣。	• *Zhouyi* #42, “Yi 益” (*SBCK* 4/14a)	**<unattributed>**象曰：風雷，益。 君子以見善則遷，有過則改。
	• Shanghai Museum “You huang jiang qi 有皇將起” (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 8, p. 275)	**<unattributed>**有過而能改。
	• *Zuozhuan* Xuan 2 (*SBCK* 10/3b)	[晉靈公]曰：吾知所過矣，將改之。[士季]稽首而對曰：人誰無過，過而能改，善莫大焉。詩曰：靡不有初，鮮克有終。夫如是，則能補過者鮮矣。君能有終，則社稷之固也。豈惟群臣賴之？又曰：袞職有闕，惟仲山甫補之，能補過也。君能補過，袞不廢矣。
	• *Chuci*, “Tian wen 天文” (*SBCK* 3/34a)	**<unattributed>**悟過改更，我又何言？
	• *Mengzi* 2B/9 (*SBCK* 4/11b)	孟子曰：...且古之君子，過則改之； 今之君子，過則順之。 古之君子，其過也，如日月之食， 民皆見之；及其更也，民皆仰之。 今之君子，豈徒順之，又從為之辭。
	• *Mengzi* 6B/19 (*SBCK* 12/17a)	孟子曰：...人恆過，然後能改
	• *Guoyu*, “Lu yu shang 魯語上” (*SBCK* 4/16a)	文子聞之，曰：過而能改者，民之上也。
	• *Guanzi* 31, “Jun chen xia 君陳下” (*SBCK* 11/2b)	**<unattributed>**君有過而不改，謂之倒。
	• *Guliang* Xi 22 (*SBCK* 5/18a)	**<unattributed>**過而不改，又之是謂之過。
	• *Da Dai Liji*, “Zengzi lishi 曾子立事” (*SBCK* 4/4b–5a)	曾子曰：...過而不能改，倦也。 行而不能遂，恥也。...
	• *Da Dai Liji* 66, “Sheng de 盛德” (*SBCK* 8/9b)	**<unattributed>**過，失也。 人情莫不有過，過而改之，是不過也。
	• *Shuiyuan* 1, “Jun dao 君道” (*SBCK* 1/17a)	君子曰：夫過而改之，是猶不過。

Lunyu 15/40 子曰：道不同，不相為謀。	• *Xunzi* 27, "Da lüe 大略" (*SBCK* 19/22b–23a)	**<unattributed>**君人者不可以不慎取臣，匹夫不可不慎取友。友者、所以相有也。道不同，何以相有也？
	• *Shiji* 63.2143, "Laozi Han Fei liezhuan 老子韓非列傳"	**<unattributed>**世之學老子者則絀儒學，儒學亦絀老子。道不同不相為謀，豈謂是邪？
Lunyu 15/41 子曰：辭達而已矣。	• *Yili*, "Pin li 聘禮" (*SBCK* 8/34b)	**<unattributed>**辭苟足以達。義之至也。
***Lunyu* book 16**		
Lunyu 16/2 孔子曰：天下有道，則禮樂征伐自天子出；天下無道，則禮樂征伐自諸侯出。自諸侯出，蓋十世希不失矣；自大夫出，五世希不失矣；陪臣執國命，三世希不失矣。天下有道，則政不在大夫。天下有道，則庶人不議。	• *Kong congzi* 18, "Wen jun li 問軍禮" (*SBCK* 6/12a)	陳王問大（太）師曰： 行軍之禮、可得備聞乎？答曰： 天下有道，禮樂、征伐自天子出。
	• *Shuiyuan* 19, "Xiu wen 修文" (*SBCK* 19/1a)	**<unattributed>**天下有道， 則禮樂征伐自天子出。
	• *Mao* commentary to *Mao Shi* #133, "Wu yi 無衣" (*SBCK* 6/15a)	**<unattributed>**天下有道， 則禮樂征伐自天子出。
Lunyu 16/6 孔子曰：侍於君子有三愆：言未及之而言謂之躁，言及之而不言謂之隱，未見顏色而言謂之瞽。	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 4 (*SBCK* 4/9a)	**<unattributed>**故未可與言而言， 謂之瞽，可與言而不與言，謂之隱， 君子不瞽，言謹其序。
	• *Xunzi* 1, "Quan xue 勸學" (*SBCK* 1/8b)	**<unattributed>**故未可與言而言， 謂之傲；可與言而不言，謂之隱； 不觀氣色而言，謂瞽。 故君子不傲、不隱、不瞽，謹順其身。
Lunyu 16/11 孔子曰：見善如不及，見不善如探湯。...	• *Huainanzi* 10, "Miu cheng 繆稱" (*SBCK* 10/5a–b)	**<unattributed>**文王聞善如不及， 宿不善如不祥。
	• *Wenzi* 6, "Shang de 上德" (*Wenzi shuyi* 6.300)	文子曰：**...**故見善如不及， 宿不善如不祥。
Lunyu 16/14 **[**子曰：**]**不學禮，無以立。	• *Zuozhuan* Zhao 7 (*SBCK* 21/20a)	九月，公至自楚。孟僖子病不能相禮，乃講學之。苟能禮者從之，及其將死也。召其大夫曰：禮，人之幹也。無禮無以立。吾聞將有達者，曰孔丘，聖人之後也。
***Lunyu* book 17**		

Lunyu 17/1 陽貨欲見孔子...曰：「懷其寶而迷其邦，可謂仁乎？	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 1 (*SBCK* 1/1a)	**<unattributed>**曾子重其身而輕其祿。 懷其寶而迷其國者，不可與語仁。
	• *Chuci*, "Li sao 離騷" (*SBCK* 1/6b)	[屈原]汩余若將不及兮， 恐年歲之不吾與。
Lunyu 17/6 孔子曰：...恭、寬、信、敏、惠。恭則不侮...	• *Mengzi* 4A/16 (*SBCK* 7/12a)	孟子曰：恭者不侮人...
Lunyu 17/10 子謂伯魚曰：女為周南、召南矣乎？人而不為周南、召南，其猶正牆面而立也與？	• *Shangshu* Kong An-guo commentary (*SBCK* 1/3a)	**<unattributed>**人而不學，其猶正牆面而立，臨政事必煩。
Lunyu 17/11 子曰：禮云禮云，玉帛云乎哉？樂云樂云，鍾鼓云乎哉？	• *Xunzi* 27, "Da lüe 大略" (*SBCK* 19/3a)	聘禮志曰：幣厚則傷德，財侈則殄禮。 禮云禮云，玉帛云乎哉！
	• *Shiji* 24.1196, "Yue shu 樂書" (*SBCK* /a)	故聖人曰：禮云樂云。
Lunyu 17/17 子曰：巧言令色，鮮矣仁。	**<see 1/3>**	
Lunyu 17/19 ...子曰：天何言哉？四時行焉，百物生焉，天何言哉？	• *Xunzi* 3, "Bu gou 不苟" (*SBCK* 2/6a)	**<unattributed>**天不言而人推其高焉， 地不言而人推其厚焉， 四時不言而百姓期焉。
	• *Mengzi* 5A/5 (*SBCK* 9/9a)	孟子曰：天不言，以行與事示之而已矣。
Lunyu 17/24 ...子曰：有惡：惡稱人之惡者，惡居下流而訕上者，惡勇而無禮者，惡果敢而窒者。...	• *Guanzi* 66, "Ban fa 版法" (*SBCK* 21/7a)	管子對曰：...故君子惡稱人之惡， 惡不忠而怨妒，惡不公議而名當稱， 惡不位下而位上，惡不親外而內放，
***Lunyu* book 18**		

Lunyu 18/6 ...夫子憮然曰： 鳥獸不可與同群， 吾非斯人之徒與 而誰與？...	• *Huainanzi* 9, "Zhu shu xun 主術訓" (*SBCK* 9/8b)	**<unattributed>**夫鳥獸之不可同群者， 其類異也。
Lunyu 18/7 ...子路曰：不仕無 義。長幼之節，不可 廢也；君臣之義，如 之何其廢之？欲絜其 身，而亂大倫。君子 之仕也，行其義也。 道之不行，已知之 矣。	*Xinyu* 6, "Shen wei 慎微" (*SBCK* 上/15b)	道者，人之所行也。夫大道履之而行， 則無不能，故謂之道。 故孔子曰：道之不行也。
	Liji, "Zhong yong 中庸" (*SBCK* 16/1b)	子曰：道之不行也，我知之矣。
	Shiji 130.3297, "Taishi gong xu 太史公序"	太史公曰：余聞董生曰：周道衰廢， 孔子為魯司寇，諸侯害之，大夫壅之。 孔子知言之不用，道之不行也。
Lunyu 18/8 子曰：不降其志，不 辱其身，伯夷、叔齊 與！ 謂柳下惠、少連，降 志辱身矣，言中倫， 行中慮，其斯而已 矣。	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 5 (*SBCK* 5/7b)	**<unattributed>**言中倫，行中理， 天下順矣。
***Lunyu* book 19**		
Lunyu 19/1 子張曰：士見危致 命，見得思義，祭思 敬，喪思哀，其可已 矣。	• Shanghai Museum "Zhonggong 仲弓" ms., strips #6 & 23 (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, vol. 3, pp. 267 & 279–280	孔子曰：夫祭，至敬之本也， 所以立生也，不可不慎也， 夫喪至愛之卒也，所以成死也， 不可不慎也
	• *Zuozhuan* Wen 15 (*SBCK* 9/8a)	齊人送之書曰：...史佚有言曰：兄弟致 美，救乏，賀善，弔災，祭敬，喪哀。情 雖不同，毋絕其愛親之道也。
	• *Zhuangzi* 31, "Yu fu 漁父" (*SBCK* 10/9b)	孔子愀然曰：請問何謂真？客曰：...處喪 以哀為主。...
	• *Liji*, "Shao yi 少儀" (*SBCK* 10/15b)	**<unattributed>**賓客主恭，祭祀主敬， 喪事主哀，會同主詘。

Lunyu 19/3 ...子張曰：異乎吾所聞：君子尊賢而容眾，嘉善而矜不能。我之大賢與，於人何所不容？我之不賢與，人將拒我，如之何其拒人也？	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 9 (*SBCK* 9/5a)	...子貢應之曰：君子尊賢而容眾，嘉善而矜不能。...
	• *Liji*, "Ru xing 儒行" (*SBCK* 19/6a)	**<unattributed>**儒有博學而不窮， 篤行而不倦，幽居而不淫，上通而不困。 禮之以和為貴，忠信之美， 優游之法，慕賢而容眾。
	• *Liji*, "Zhong yong 中庸" (*SBCK* 16/8a)	**<unattributed>**嘉善而矜不能。
	• *Kongzi jiayu* 17, "Ai gong wen zheng 哀公問政" (*SBCK* 4/19a)	孔子曰...嘉善而矜不能。
	• *Kongzi jiayu* 5, "Ru xing 儒行" (*SBCK* 1/17b–18a)	孔子侍坐曰：...慕賢而容眾。
Lunyu 19/8 子夏曰：小人之過也必文。	• *Shiji* 47.1916, "Kongzi shijia 孔子世家"	有司進對曰：君子有過則謝以質，小人有過則謝以文。...
	• He Xiu 何休 commentary to *Gongyang* Ding 10 (*SBCK* 11/9a)	晏子曰：君子謝過以質，小人謝過以文。
Lunyu 19/11 子夏曰： 大德不踰閑， 小德出入可也。	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 2 (*SBCK* 2/10b)	孔子曰：...且夫齊程本子，天下之賢士也，吾於是不贈，終身不之見也。 大德不踰閑，小德出入可也。
	• *Shuiyuan* 8, "Zun xian 尊賢" (*SBCK* 8/21a)	孔子曰：...今程子天下之賢士也， 於是不贈，終身不見。 大德毋踰閑，小德出入可也。
	• *Yanzi chunqiu* (*SBCK* 5/17a–b)	晏子曰：...且吾聞之， 大者不踰閑，小者出入可也。 晏子出，仲尼送之以賓客之禮。
Lunyu 19/14 子游曰：喪致乎哀而止。	• *Xiaojing* 10, "Ji xiao xing 紀孝行" (*SBCK* 1/9a)	子曰：孝子之事親也。...喪則致其哀。
	<see also 19/1>	
Lunyu 19/19 孟氏使陽膚為士師，問於曾子。曾子曰：上失其道，民散久矣。如得其情，則哀矜而勿喜！	• *Shangshu dazhuan* (*SBCK* 4/24b)	子曰：聽訟者，雖得其情，必哀矜之。
	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 3 (*SBCK* 3/12b)	傳曰：魯有父子訟者、康子欲殺。 孔子曰：未可殺也。 夫民父子訟之為不義久矣， 是則上失其道，上有道，是人亡矣。

Lunyu 19/21 子貢曰： 君子之過也， 如日月之食焉： 過也，人皆見之； 更也，人皆仰之。	• *Mengzi* 2B/9 (*SBCK* 4/11b)	孟子曰：...且古之君子，過則改之； 今之君子，過則順之。古之君子， 其過也，如日月之食，民皆見之； 及其更也，民皆仰之。
	• *Huainanzi* 20, "Tai zu 泰族" (*SBCK* 20/12a)	故君子之過也，猶日月之蝕，何害於明！
	• *Wenzi* 11, "Shang yi 上義" (*Wenzi shuyi* 11.487)	老子〔文子〕曰：...夫君子之過，獨日月之觸。
	• *Shuiyuan* 16, "Tan cong 談叢" (*SBCK* 16/16b)	**<unattributed>**君子之過猶日月之蝕也， 何害於明？
	• *Kong congzi* 12, "Ru fu 儒服" (*SBCK* 4/11b)	子高曰：...夫君子之敗，如日月之蝕。
Lunyu 19/22 衛公孫朝問於子貢曰：仲尼焉學？子貢曰：文武之道，未墜於地，在人。賢者識其大者，不賢者識其小者。莫不有文武之道焉。夫子焉不學？而亦何常師之有？	• *Shiji* 67.2196, "Zhongni dizi liezhuan 仲尼弟子列傳"	陳子禽問子貢曰：「仲尼焉學？」子貢曰：「文武之道未墜於地，在人，賢者識其大者，不賢者識其小者，莫不有文武之道。夫子焉不學，而亦何常師之有！」又問曰：「孔子適是國必聞其政。求之與？抑與之與？」子貢曰：「夫子溫良恭儉讓以得之。夫子之求之也，其諸異乎人之求之也。」
***Lunyu* book 20**		
Lunyu 20/2 ...子曰：不教而殺謂之虐，不戒視成謂之暴，慢令致期謂之賊，猶之與人也，出納之吝謂之有司。	• Shanghai Museum "Cong zheng 從政" ms., strip # 15 (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, vol. 2, p. 228)	**<unattributed>**不修不武， 謂之必成則暴， 不教而殺則號，令無時。
	• *Hanshi waizhuan* 3 (*SBCK* 3/15b)	子貢曰：...賜聞之：託法而治，謂之暴； 不戒致期，謂之虐；不教而誅，謂之賊； 以身勝人，謂之責。
	• *Shuiyuan* 16, "Tan cong 談叢" (*SBCK* 16/2a)	**<unattributed>**不教而誅謂之虐， 不戒責成謂之暴也。
Lunyu 20/3 孔子曰：不知命，無以為君子也；不知禮，無以立也；不知言，無以知人也。	• *Zuozhuan* Zhao 7 (*SBCK* 21/20a)	孟僖子病不能相禮，乃講學之。 苟能禮者從之，及其將死也。召其大夫曰：禮，人之幹也。無禮無以立。

CHAPTER THREE APPENDICES

• Appendix A: Emperor Wen's 165 BCE edict (*Hanshu* 49.2290)

In the fifteenth year [of Emperor Wen's reign] on the day *renzi* in the ninth month, the Emperor said, "Formerly the Great Yu was diligent in his search for men of accomplishment, reaching beyond his realm to everywhere within the four poles. Wherever boats and chariots reached or humans trod there were none who did not hear of his mandate [to find] those who would assist him with his shortcomings. Those near at hand offered up their discernment and those far away contributed their perspicacity as they came together to assist the Son of Heaven. This is why the Great Yu was able to avoid losing his virtue and the Xia flourished for so long. Emperor Gaozu himself rid [the world] of great harm and all traces of disorder, establishing extraordinary heroes as officials and leaders. They remonstrated with and countered him, assisting the Son of Heaven with his inadequacies and supporting the Han clan. [With their help he] relied on the numenous power of heaven, he earned the good fortune of the ancestral temple, he pacified his realm, and his beneficence spread as far as the barbarians of the four directions.

Now We have won possession of the Son of Heaven's rule and received the sacrifices of the ancestral temple. We are both lacking in virtue and in intelligence. We are not even as bright as a candle, nor is our knowledge up to the task of ruling. This the grandees already know well.

Thus I order the responsible officials, the various feudal kings, the Three Excellencies, the Nine Ministers as well as those in charge of officers in the commanderies to each strive to the utmost to select men of accomplishment and integrity who understand the great corporate body of the state, who comprehend the beginnings and endings of human affairs, and who can speak frankly and remonstrate. Let men be selected according to the population of each province who will correct Our shortcomings.

We will greatly approve of those grandees whose conduct matches this three-fold Way, and we will bring those grandees to court to personally instruct us as to Our [proper] aims. Let the grandees submit [memorials on] the essentials of the three-fold way and also thoroughly contemplate Our lack of virtue, the injustices perpetrated by Our officers, the mistakes of Our government, and disturbances to Our people. Let all [the recommended grandees] display their aims without keeping anything hidden. Above let them promote the former emperors' ancestral temples, below let them stimulate the people to virtue and benefit.

Let them compose [their responses] on bamboo strips, which We will personally survey in order to discern how the grandees might assist Us and whether or not they meet [Our criteria]. Write comprehensively, meticulously, solemnly, and completely. We Ourself promote this. Let the grandees rectify their discussions without impairing their responsibilities. Be warned! Let the grandees exert themselves to the fullest without being negligent.

惟十有五年九月壬子，皇帝曰：昔者大禹勤求賢士，施及方外，四極之內，舟車所至，人跡所及，靡不聞命，以輔其不逮；近者獻其明，遠者通厥聰，比善戮力，以翼天子。是以大禹能亡失德，夏以長楙。高皇帝親除大害，去亂從，並建豪英，以為官師，為諫爭，輔天子之闕，而翼戴漢宗也。賴天之靈，宗廟之福，方內以安，澤及四夷。

今朕獲執天子之正，以承宗廟之祀，朕既不德，又不敏，明弗能燭，而智不能治，此大夫之所著聞也。

故詔有司、諸侯王、三公、九卿及主郡吏，各帥其志，以選賢良明於國家之大體，通於人事之終始，及能直言極諫者，各有人數，將以匡朕之不逮。二三大夫之行當此三道，朕甚嘉之，故登大夫于朝，親諭朕志。大夫其上三道之要，及永惟朕之不德，吏之不平，政之不宣，民之不寧，四者之闕，悉陳其志，毋有所隱。上以薦先帝之宗廟，下以興愚民之休利，著之于篇，朕親覽焉，觀大夫所以佐朕，至與不至。書之，周之密之，重之閉之。興自朕躬，大夫其正論，毋枉執事。烏虖，戒之！二三大夫其帥志毋怠！

• Appendix B: *Lunyu* 5/26 & 11/26

Lunyu 5/26:

When Yan Yuan and Zilu were attending to him the Master said, “Why don’t you each speak of your aims?”

Zilu said, “I wish to share my carriage, horse, clothing, and furs with my friends, and I will not regret it should they become worn out.”

Yan Yuan said, “I wish never to boast of my virtues nor to impose burdens on others.”

Zilu said, “I wish to hear your aims, Master.” The Master said, “To comfort the elderly, to trust in my friends, and to cherish the young.”

顏淵季路侍。子曰：盍各言爾志？子路曰：願車馬衣（輕）裘與朋友共，敝之而無憾。顏淵曰：願無伐善，無施勞。子路曰：願聞子之志。子曰：老者安之，朋友信之，少者懷之。

Lunyu 11/26

When Zilu, Zengxi, Ran You, and Gongxi Hua were sitting in attendance the Master said, “Do not mind me just because I am somewhat older than you. You are all in the habit of saying, “I am not recognized.” If someone was to recognize [your abilities], what would you do?”

Zilu was the first to answer: “If I were to govern a state of a thousand chariots stuck between two great states that suffered armed invasions and repeated famines, I could, within three years, give its people courage and a sense of direction.”

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

Ran Qiu answered, “If I were to govern a state of sixty or seventy square *li*, or even fifty or sixty square *li*, I could, within three years, bring the size of the population up to an adequate level. As for ritual and music, I would leave that to a noble man.”

“Chi, how about you?”

Gongxi Hua said, “I am not saying that I could do this, just that I wish to learn. In service of the ancestral temple or at diplomatic gatherings I should like to wear a ceremonial cap and gown and assist as a minor official.”

“Dian, what about you?”

He stopped playing his qin and set it down with a clatter before rising to answer, “My answer differs from all the others.”

The Master said, “What harm is there in that? After all, you are each speaking of your aims.”

Zeng Xi said, “In late spring when the spring clothes are newly made, with five or six adults and six or seven boys I should like to bathe in the River Yi with the breeze blowing on the Rain Altar, and afterwards return home chanting songs.

The Master signed and said, “I am with Dian!”

Three of the disciples departed but Zeng Xi remained. He said, “What did you think of the disciples’ sayings?”

The Master said, “Simply that you each spoke of your aims.”

Zeng Xi said, “Why did you smile at Zilu, Master?”

“He would govern a state with ritual though his words are not deferential. That is why I smiled.”

“Is Ran Qiu not up to governing a state?”

“How could a territory of sixty to seventy or fifty to sixty *li* not be a state?”

“Is Gongxi Hua not up to governing a state?”

“If ancestral temples and diplomatic gatherings are not affairs of feudal states then what are they? If Chi is only a minor assistant, who could be a major assistant?”

子路、曾晳、冉有、公西華侍坐。子曰：以吾一日長乎爾，毋吾以也。居則曰：不吾知也！如或知爾，則何以哉？

子路率爾而對曰：千乘之國，攝乎大國之間，加之以師旅，因之以饑饉；由也為之，比及三年，可使有勇，且知方也。

夫子哂之。求！爾何如？對曰：方六七十，如五六十，求也為之，比及三年，可使足民。如其禮樂，以俟君子。

赤！爾何如？對曰：非曰能之，願學焉。宗廟之事，如會同，端章甫，願為小相焉。

點！爾何如？鼓瑟希，鏗爾，舍瑟而作，對曰：異乎三子者之撰。

子曰：何傷乎？亦各言其志也。曰：莫春者，春服既成，冠者五六人，童子六七人，浴乎沂，風乎舞雩，詠而歸。

夫子喟然歎曰：吾與點也！三子者出，曾晳後。

曾晳曰：夫三子者之言何如？子曰：亦各言其志也已矣。曰：夫子何哂由也？曰：為國以禮，其言不讓，是故哂之。

唯求則非邦也與？安見方六七十如五六十而非邦也者？

唯赤則非邦也與？宗廟會同，非諸侯而何？赤也為之小，孰能為之大？[640]

640.*Lunyu* translations adapted from Lau 2000.

• Appendix C: *Lunyu* 5/26 & 11/26 parallels

Hanshi waizhuan 7 (*SBCK* 7/15b–16a; *KZJY* 9.11/p. 170)	Kongzi's travels took him to the summit of Mt. Jing, with Zilu, Zigong, and Yan Yuan as his companions. Kongzi said, "A noble man who climbs up high always gives voice to his feelings. Disciples, speak of your desires whatever they may be, and I shall expound on them. 孔子遊於景山之上，子路、子貢、顏淵從。 孔子曰：君子登高必賦。小子願者，何言其願。丘將啟汝。...
Hanshi waizhuan 9 (*SBCK* 9/7b–8b; *KZJY* 9.12/pp. 170–71)	Kongzi's travels took him to the summit of Mt. Rong together with Zigong, Zilu, and Yan Yuan. Kongzi sighed and said, "My disciples, each of you speak of your aims and I shall survey them." 孔子與子貢、子路、顏淵遊於戎山之上。 孔子喟然歎曰：二三子各言爾志，予將覽焉。...
Shuiyuan 15 (*SBCK* 15/8a–9b; *KZJY* 9.13/p. 171)	When Kongzi was traveling in the north he went east to climb Mt. Nong with Zilu, Zigong, and Yan Yuan as his companions. Kongzi sighed and said, "Climbing up high and gazing below makes a man's heart full of sorrow. My disciples, each of you speak of your aims and I shall listen to them. 孔子北遊，東上農山，子路、子貢、顏淵從焉。 孔子喟然歎曰：登高望下，使人心悲。二三子者，各言爾志，丘將聽之。...

• Appendix D: *Lunyu* 2/17 and its parallels

***Lunyu* 2/17**	***Xunzi* 27**(*SBCK* 12a–13a)	***Hanshi waizhuan* 3** (*SBCK* 3/20a; *KZJY* 3.17/pp. 22–23)	***Shuiyuan*** (*SBCK* 17/16b–17a; *KZJY* 3.18/p. 33)
	Zilu came to see Kongzi in full dress. Kongzi said, "Zilu, why are you dressed so fancily? When the Yangzi first emerges at Mt. Min its spring can fill a goblet. By the time it reaches the fords, you cannot cross unless you line up boats on a windless day. Is it not because the lower river has so much water? Now you are dressed in full finery and you are clearly full of yourself. Who in this world would dare to remonstrate with you?" Zilu quickly left and changed his clothes before coming back in and bowing humbly.	According to a tradition, Zilu went to see Kongzi in full finery. Kongzi said, "Zilu, why are you dressed so fancily? When the Yangzi first emerges at Mt. Min it cannot even fill a goblet. By the time it reaches the fords, you cannot cross unless you line up boats on a windless day. Is it not because of the magnitude of the many rivers? Now you are dressed in full finery and you are clearly full of yourself. Who in this world could improve you?" Zilu quickly left and changed his clothes before coming back in and bowing humbly.	Zilu came to see Kongzi in full dress. Kongzi said, "Zilu, why are you dressed so fancily? When the Yangzi first emerges at Mt. Min it is large enough to fill a goblet. By the time it reaches the fords, you cannot cross unless you line up the boats on a windless day. Is it not because the lower river is fed by so many rivers? Now you are dressed in full finery and you are clearly full of yourself. Who in this world would dare to improve you?" Zilu quickly left and changed his clothes before coming back in and bowing humbly.
	子路盛服而見孔子，孔子曰：由，是裾裾何也？昔者江出於岷山，其始出也，其源可以濫觴，及其至江之津也，不放舟，不避風，則不可涉也。非維下流水多邪？今女衣服既盛，顏色充盈，天下且孰肯諫女矣！子路趨而出，改服而入，蓋猶若也。	傳曰：子路盛服以見孔子。孔子曰：由、疏疏者何也？昔者、江於汶，其始出也，不足以濫觴；及其至乎江之津也，不方舟，不避風，不可渡也，非其眾川之多歟！今汝衣服其盛，顏色充滿，天下有誰加汝哉！子路趨出，改服而入，蓋揖如也。	子路盛服而見孔子，孔子曰：由，是襜襜者何也？昔者江水出於岷山，其始也，大足以濫觴，及至江之津也，不方舟，不避風，不可渡也，非唯下流衆川之多乎？今若衣服甚盛，顏色充盈，天下誰肯加若者哉！子路趨而出，改服而入，蓋自如也。

***.....Lunyu* 2/17**	***.....Xunzi* 27**	***.....Hanshi waizhuan* 3**	***.....Shuiyuan***
The Master said, "Zilu, I will teach you about knowing." Taking knowing as knowing and not knowing as not knowing—this is knowing. 子曰：由！ 誨女知之乎！ 知之為知之， 不知為不知， 是知也。	Kongzi said, "Zilu, take note, because I will tell you: those who show off their speech are grandiloquent, and those who show off their conduct are arrogant. Those who make a show of their knowledge and abilities are petty men. Thus the noble man takes knowing as knowing and not knowing as not knowing—this is the essence of speech. He takes being able as being able and being unable as being unable—this is the essence of good conduct. Grasping the essence of speech is wisdom; grasping the essence of good conduct is humaneness. If you are both wise and humane, then how could you be improved?" 孔子曰：由志之！ 吾語汝：奮於言者華，奮於行者伐，色知而有能者，小人也。故君子知之曰知之，不知曰不知，言之要也；能之曰能之，不能曰不能，行之至也。言要則知，行至則仁；既仁且知，夫惡有不足矣哉！	Kongzi said, "Zilu, take note, because I will tell you: those who are circumspect about their speech are not grandiloquent, and those who are circumspect about their conduct are not arrogant. Those who make a show of their knowledge and strengths are petty men. Thus the noble man takes knowing as knowing and not knowing as not knowing—this is the essence of speech. He takes being able as being able and being unable as being unable—this is the essence of good conduct. Grasping the essence of speech is wisdom; grasping the essence of good conduct is humaneness. If you are both wise and humane, then how could you be improved? The *Odes* say, 'Tang was not born late / his sageliness and respect daily increased.'" 孔子曰：由志之， 吾語女；夫慎於言者不譁，慎於行者不伐。色知而有長者、小人也。故君子知之為知之，不知為不知，言之要也；能之為能之，不能為不能，行之要也。言要則知，行要則仁，既知且仁，又何加哉！詩曰：湯降不遲，聖敬日躋。	Kongzi said, "Zilu, take note, because I will tell you: those who show off their speech are grandiloquent, and those who show off their conduct are arrogant. Those who make a show of their knowledge and abilities are petty men. Thus the noble man takes knowing as knowing and not knowing as not knowing—this is the essence of speech. He takes being able as being able and being unable as being unable—this is the essence of good conduct. Grasping the essence of speech is wisdom; grasping the essence of good conduct is humaneness. If you are both wise and humane, then how could you be improved? Zilu, the *Odes* say, 'Tang was not born late / his sageliness and respect daily increased.' This is what I mean." 孔子曰：由記之， 吾語若：賁於言者，華也，奮於行者，伐也。夫色智而有能者，小人也。故君子知之為知之，不知為不知，言之要也；能之為能，不能為不能，行之至也。言要則知，行要則仁；既知且仁，夫有何加矣哉？由，詩曰：湯降不遲，聖教日躋。此之謂也。

• Appendix E: Second-order knowledge in the *Laozi*, *Lüshi chunqiu*, *Zhuangzi*, *Huainanzi*, and *Wenzi*

Laozi 71 (*SBCK* 下/17a)	Knowing that you do not know is highest; not knowing whether you know is a fault. Thus a sage has no faults because he takes his faults as faults and thereby has no faults. 知不知上，不知知，病。是以聖人不病，以其病病。是以不病。
Lüshi chunqiu 5/3, "Chi yue 侈樂" (*SBCK* 5/5a)	All men use their understanding to know, yet they do not know how they know. Knowing how one knows is called "knowing the Way"; not knowing how one knows is called "throwing away treasure." 人莫不以其知知，而不知其所以知。知其所以知之謂知道，不知其所以知之謂棄寶。
Lüshi chunqiu 13/5, "Jin ting 謹聽" (*SBCK* 13/10a)	The highest is knowing, the next best is knowing that you do not know. When you do not know you ask, when you are unable you learn. 太上知之，其次知其不知。不知則問，不能則學。
Lüshi chunqiu 25/2, "Bie lei 別類" (*SBCK* 25/3a)	Knowing that one does not know is highest. The problem with those who go too far is that they do not know yet think that they do know. 知不知上矣。過者之患，不知而自以為知。
Zhuangzi 2, "Qi wu lun 齊物論" (*SBCK* 1/38a)	Nie Que asked Wang Ni, "...Do you know what you do not know?" "How can I know that?"... "How do I know that when I say I know I really don't know? How do I know that when I say I don't know I really know?" 齧缺問乎王倪曰：...子知子之所不知邪？曰：吾惡乎知之！...庸詎知吾所謂知之非不知邪？庸詎知吾所謂不知之非知邪？
Zhuangzi 22, "Zhi bei you 知北遊" (*SBCK* 7/52b)	Great Purity looked upward and sighed, saying, "In that case, is not knowing knowing? Is knowing not knowing? Who knows when not knowing is knowing?" 泰清中而歎曰：弗知乃知乎！知乃不知乎！孰知不知之知？[641]
Huainanzi 12, "Dao ying 道應" (*SBCK* 12/1b)	Great Purity looked upward and sighed, saying, "In that case, is not knowing knowing? Is knowing not knowing? Who knows whether knowing is not knowing or not knowing is knowing?" 太清仰而歎曰：然則不知乃知邪？知乃不知邪？孰知知之為弗知，弗知之為知邪？

641.Reading *zhong* 中 as *yang* 仰 in keeping with *Huainanzi* version below.

Huainanzi 12, "Dao ying 道應" (*SBCK* 12/14b)	Thus *Laozi* said, "To know that you do not know is highest. Not knowing that you know is a fault." 故老子曰：知而不知，尚矣；不知而知，病也！
Wenzi 7, "Wei ming 微明" (*Wenzi shuyi* 7.304)	Wenzi said, "...[if] knowing is not knowing and not knowing is knowing, [then] who knows whether knowing is not knowing or now knowing is knowing?" 文子曰：...知之乃不知，不知乃知之，孰知知之為不知，不知之為知乎。

• Appendix F: *Lunyu* 14/34 parallels in Western Han sources

★ ■ marks *Laozi* 63 parallels, ▫ marks *Lunyu* 14/34 parallels only

Liji, "Biao ji 表記" (*SBCK* 17/2a)	The Master said, "Someone who repays wrong with virtue possesses a self-expanding humaneness; someone who repays virtue with wrong deserves punishment." 子曰：以德報怨，則寬身之仁也；以怨報德，則刑戮之民也。
Liji, "Biao ji 表記" (*SBCK* 17/1b)	The Master said, "When you repay virtue with virtue, there is something to exhort the people; when you repay wrong with wrong, there is something to punish the people." 子曰：以德報德，則民有所勸；以怨報怨，則民有所懲。
Xinshu, "Tui rang 退讓" (*Xinshu jiaozhu* 7.284)[642]	There is a saying, "Turn losses into successes and follow misfortune with fortune." Laozi said, "Repay wrong with virtue." 語曰：轉敗而為功，因禍而為福。老子曰：報怨以德。
Hanshu 58.2627, a 112 BCE edict issued by Emperor Wu 武帝	[Emperor Wu] issued an edict that said: "We have heard that one should 'repay virtue with virtue and repay wrong with rectitude.'" 下詔曰：朕聞報德以德，報怨以直。...
Xinxu 4, "Za shi 雜事" (*SBCK* 4/7a)	There is a saying, "Turn losses into successes and follow misfortune with fortune." Laozi said, "Repay wrong with virtue." 語曰：轉敗而為功，因禍而為福。老子曰：報怨以德。
Shuiyuan 13, "Quan mou 權謀" (*SBCK* 13/14a)	Kongzi said, "A sage turns misfortune into fortune and repays wrong with virtue." 孔子曰：聖人轉禍為福，報怨以德。[643]

642.This line is missing in the *Sibu congkan* edition.

643.A few of these *Lunyu* 14/34 parallels deserve special mention. Notice the confusion in the *Liji* and *Shuiyuan* parallels over the ultimate source of the *Laozi* saying. The "Biao ji" chapter of the *Liji* attributes both the *Lunyu* 14/34 version ("repay virtue with virtue") and the *Laozi* version ("repay wrong with virtue") to the Master without giving any indication that either saying originated in an earlier source. The *Laozi* saying's attribution to Laozi in the *Xinxu* but to Kongzi in the *Shuiyuan*, both of which are attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向 in the late Western Han, is equally curious. Perhaps Liu Xiang simply did not care enough about his sources to standardize these sayings' attribution, or perhaps we should abandon the assumption that a single person was responsible for the compilation of these texts. Whatever the explanation, the process whereby widely circulating sayings became stamped with *Kongzi yue* regardless of any earlier associations seems not to have ended with the *Lunyu*.

• Appendix G: *Lunyu* 9/26 parallels

Parallels to the first part of Lunyu *9/26*	
Sunzi bingfa 7, "Jun zheng 軍爭" (*SBCK* 7/23a)	The three armies can be robbed of their spirit, and a general can be robbed of his heart. 三軍可奪氣，將軍可奪心。
Zuozhuan Xuan 12 (*SBCK* 11/6a)	A military motto says, "To anticipate the other, rob him of his heart." 軍志曰：先人有奪人之心。
Zuozhuan Wen 7 (*SBCK* 8/12a)	Xuanzi said, "...To anticipate the other and rob him of his heart is a fine strategem for a military man." 宣子曰：...先人有奪人之心，軍之善謀也。
Zuozhuan Zhao 21 (*SBCK* 24/14b)	A military motto has it, "To anticipate another, rob him of his heart; to follow another, wait for his decline." 軍志有之：先人有奪人之心，後人有待其衰。
Shiji 5.192–93, "Qin benji 秦本紀"	Inner Scribe Liao said, "The Rong king lives in a faraway land and has never heard the sounds of the central states. My lord should try presenting him with dancing girls and musicians and thereby rob him of his will." 內史廖曰：戎王處辟匿，未聞中國之聲。君試遺其女樂，以奪其志。
Wei Liaozi 4, "Zhan wei 戰威" (*Wei Liaozi jiaozhu* 4.17)	One who is adept at using an army is able to rob others without being robbed by others. That which is robbed is the heart's trigger, that which is commanded is all the hearts in unison. 善用兵者，能奪人而不奪於人。奪者心之機也，令者一眾心也。
Parallels to the second part of Lunyu *9/26*	
Liji, "Zi yi 緇衣" (*SBCK* 17/14a)	The Master said, "Speak about [real] things and act in accordance with standards, thus your will cannot be robbed when you are alive and your name cannot be robbed when you are dead." 子曰：言有物而行有格也，是以生則不可奪志，死則不可奪名。

Liji, "Ru xing 儒行" (*SBCK* 19/5b)	The Ru dwell with the men of today but investigate the ancients. They practice [the Way] in the present age and later generations will take them as models. If they do not meet with the appropriate age, those above do not support them and those below do not advance them, and factions of slandering sycophants will endanger them. Although their persons are endangered, their will cannot be taken from them. 儒有今人與居，古人與稽；今世行之，後世以為楷。適弗逢世，上弗援，下弗推，讒諂之民，有比黨而危之者，身可危也，而志不可奪也。

• Appendix H: *Lunyu* 14/35 parallels

Mao Shi #65, "Shu li 黍離" (*SBCK* 4/1b)	I go on my way, bowed down / By the cares that shake my heart. / Those who know me / Say, "It is because his heart is so sad." / Those who do not know me / Say, "What is he looking for?" Oh, azure Heaven far away, / What sort of men can they be?[644] 行邁靡靡，中心搖搖。知我者，謂我心憂。不知我者，謂我何求。悠悠蒼天，此何人哉。
Mao Shi #109, "Yuan you tao 園有桃" (*SBCK* 5/10a)	It is my heart's sadness / That makes me chant and sing. / Those who do not know me / Say, "My good sir, you are impudent. / That man is perfectly right. / What is this that you are saying about him?" My heart's sorrow, / Which of them knows it? / Which of them knows it? / The truth is, they do not care.[645] 心之憂矣，我歌且謠。不知我者，謂我士也驕。彼人是哉，子曰何其。心之憂矣，其誰知之，其誰知之，蓋亦勿思。
Laozi 70 (*SBCK* 下/16b)	My words are extremely easy to understand, and extremely easy to practice. But there is no one in the world who can understand them, and no one who can practice them. My words have a progenitor, my doings have a lord. It is because they lack understanding that they do not understand me. When those who understand me are few, I am honored. This is why sages clad themselves in rough garb and harbor their jade. 吾言甚易知，甚易行。天下莫能知，莫能行。言有宗，事有君。夫唯無知，是以不我知。知我者希，則我者貴。是以聖人被褐懷玉。
Shanghai Museum "Dizi wen 弟子問" ms., strip ＃4 (*Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* vol. 5, p. 269)	The Master sighed and said, "Ah! No one understands me!" Ziyou said, "Are you speaking about enacting [your Way]?" 子嘆曰：烏！莫我知也夫！子游曰：有施之謂乎？...

644. Translation from Waley 1996, p. 56.

645. Translation from Waley 1996, p. 86.

Mawangdui "*Laozi* jia ben 老子甲本" ms. (*Mawangdui Han mu boshu*, p. 6)	My words are extremely easy to understand, and extremely easy to practice. But no one else can understand them, and no one else can practice them. My words have a lord, my doings have a progenitor. It is because they lack understanding that they do not understand me. When those who understand me are few, I am honored. This is why sages clad themselves in rough garb and harbor their jade. 吾言甚易知也，甚易行也；而人莫之能知也，而莫之能行也。言有君，事有宗。夫唯○知也，是以不我知。知我者希，則我貴矣。是以聖人被褐而裹（懷）玉。
Chuci, "Li sao 離騷" (*SBCK* 1/49a)	Coda: I am through! There is no one in my state who understands me, so why should I cleave to the city of my birth? Since there is no one worthy to work with in making good government, I shall go and join Peng Xian in the place where he abides.[646] 亂曰：已矣哉，國無人莫我知兮，又何懷乎故都？既莫足與為美政兮，吾將從彭咸之所居。
Chuci, "Huai sha 懷沙" (*Shiji* 84.2487)	The courtier crowd are low and vulgar fellows; / They cannot understand the things I prize. 夫黨人之鄙妒兮，羌不知吾所臧。 Art and nature perfected lay within me hidden; / But the crowd did not know of the rare gifts that were mine. / Unused materials I had in rich store; / Yet no one knew the things that I possessed. 文質疏內兮，眾不知吾之異采；材樸委積兮，莫知余之所有。 Coda: The mighty waters of the Yuan and Xiang with surging swell go rolling on their way; / The road is long, through places dark and drear, a way far and forlorn. / The nature I cherish in my bosom, the feelings I embrace, there is no one in the world who understands me. The heart of man cannot be told...Since there is no one in the world who understands me / the heart of man cannot be told.[647] 亂曰：浩浩沅、湘兮，分流汨兮。脩路幽拂兮，道遠忽兮。曾吟恆悲兮，永歎慨兮。世既莫吾知兮，人心不可謂兮。...世溷不吾知，心不可謂兮。
Shiji 84.2494, Jia Yi's 賈誼 "Diao Qu Yuan fu 弔屈原賦"	Coda: I am through! There is no one in my state who understands me. Alone and bottled up with despair, who can I tell? 訊曰：已矣，國其莫我知，獨堙鬱兮其誰語？

646. Translation adapted from Hawkes 1985, p. 78.

647. Translation adapted from Hawkes 1985, pp. 169–172.

• Appendix I: *Lunyu* 14/21 and the *Zuozhuan*

***Lunyu* 14/21**	***Zuozhuan* Ai 15** (*SBCK* 30/4a; *KZJY* p. 425)
Chen Chengzi assassinated Duke Jian. Kongzi performed ablutions before going to court to inform Duke Ai, "Chen Heng assassinated his lord. I beg you to punish him."	On *jiawu*, Chen Huan of Qi assassinated his lord Ren at Shuzhou. Kong Qiu purified himself for three days and begged [Duke Ai] to attack Qi. After the third entreaty the Duke said, "Lu is much weaker than Qi. If you would have us attack them then would would happen?" He responded, "Chen Huan assassinated his lord so half of the people do not support him. We can defeat him with Lu's strength and half of Qi's.
陳成子弒簡公。孔子沐浴而朝，告於哀公曰：陳恆弒其君，請討之。	甲午，齊陳恆弒其君壬于舒州。孔丘三日齊而請伐齊，三，公曰：魯為齊弱久矣。子之伐之，將若之何。對曰：陳恆弒其君，民之不與者半，以魯之眾，加齊之半，可克也。
The Duke said, "Tell the three ministers [i.e., the heads of the three great ministerial lineages in Lu]."	The Duke said, "Inform the Jisuns."
公曰：告夫三子。	公曰：子告季孫。
Kongzi said, "I am ranked after the grandees so I did not dare not to inform you. [Yet now] My Lord says, 'Tell the three sons.'" Kongzi reported this to the three sons but his request was denied.	Kongzi declined then retired and announced to others, "I am ranked after the grandees so I did not dare not to speak."
孔子曰：以吾從大夫之後，不敢不告也。君曰告夫三子者！之三子，告，不可。	孔子辭，退而告人曰：吾以從大夫之後也。故不敢不言。
Kongzi said, "I am ranked behind the grandees and so I did not dare not to inform you."	
孔子曰：以吾從大夫之後，不敢不告也。[648]	

648. This line also appears at *Lunyu* 11/8 but in a very different context.

• Appendix J: *Lunyu* 2/19 and the *Huainanzi*

***Lunyu* 2/19**[649]	***Huainanzi* 16, "Shui shan** 說山**"** (*SBCK* 16/11a)
Duke Ai asked, "What can I do to make the people submit?" 哀公問曰：何為則民服？	When the Jisun clan seized control of the ducal clan Kongzi tried to persuade them by conforming to their conduct before entering their government. 季孫氏劫公家，孔子說之。[650] 先順其所為，而後與之入政。
Kongzi responded, 孔子對曰： "Raise the straight and set it against the crooked And the people will submit. Raise the crooked and set it against the straight, And the people will not submit. 舉直錯諸枉(*-aŋʔ)， 則民服(*-ək)； 舉枉錯諸直(*-ək)， 則民不服(*-ək)。	Kongzi said, 曰： "Raising the crooked in service of the straight— How can it not succeed? Raising the straight in service of the crooked— That should not be followed." 舉枉與直(*-ək)， 如何而不得(*-ək)？ 舉直與枉(*-aŋʔ)， 勿與遂往(*-aŋʔ)。 This is what is called sharing the same defilement but for different ends... 此所謂同汙而異途者。

649. Also compare *Lunyu* 12/22: "The Master said, 'Raising the straight against the crooked can make the crooked straight" (子曰：「舉直錯諸枉，能使枉者直。).

650. By contrast, Sarah Queen and John Major in their translation of *Huainanzi* book 16 read the character 說 (here read as *shui* "persuade") ias *yue* (to be pleased). See Major et al. 2010, p. 650.

• Appendix K: *Lunyu* 9/28 parallels

Lüshi chunqiu 14/6, "Shen ren 慎人" (*SBCK* 17b–18a)	Kongzi said, "...Only after the great cold has arrived and the frost and snow have fallen do I know that pine and cedar still flourish." 孔子曰：...大寒既至，霜雪既降，吾是以知松柏之茂也。
Zhuangzi 28, "Rang wang 讓王" (*SBCK* 9/28a)	Kongzi said, "...Only after heaven's cold has arrived and the frost and snow have fallen do I know that pine and cedar still flourish." 孔子曰：...天寒既至，霜雪既降，吾是以知松柏之茂也。
Xunzi 27, "Da lüe 大略" (*SBCK* 19/16b–17a)	The noble man when at rock bottom does not lose [his Way], when exhausted is not careless, and when encountering great difficulties does not forget the words he once spoke on the mats [i.e., in less difficult times]. If the year did not grow cold there would be no way to know the pine and cypress, and if one encountered no difficulties there would be no way to know that not a day goes by when the noble man is not steadfast.[651] 君子隘窮而不失，勞倦而不苟，臨患難而不忘細席之言。歲不寒無以知松柏，事不難無以知君子無日不在是。
Huainanzi 2, "Chu zhen 俶真" (*SBCK* 2/3b)	Only after the great cold has arrived and the frost and snow have fallen do I know that pine and cedar still flourish. Bearing difficulties and encountering dangers, with benefit and harm arrayed before him—only then can it be known that sage does not lose the Way. 夫大寒至，霜雪降，然後知鬆柏之茂也。據難履危，利害陳於前，然後知聖人之不失道也。

651.Here I follow Yang Liang's suggestion and read *xi* 細 (slight) as *xi* 昔 (former). See *SBCK* 19/17a.

• Appendix L: *Lunyu* 9/17 parallels

Mengzi 4B/18 (*SBCK* 8/6a)	Xuzi said, "Zhongni often praised water, saying, 'Water! Water!' What did he glean from water?"... 徐子曰：仲尼亟稱於水，曰：水哉，水哉！』何取於水也。孟子曰：「（源）〔原〕泉混混，不舍晝夜，盈科而後進，放乎四海。有本者如是，是之取爾。苟為無本，七八月之間雨集，溝澮皆盈；其涸也，可立而待也。故聲聞過情，君子恥之。
Xunzi book 28, "You zuo 宥坐" (*SBCK* 20/5b)	Kongzi gazed upon the eastward flow of the waters. Zigong asked Kongzi, "Why when a *junzi* sees great waters does he always gaze at them?" Kongzi said, "Water extends greatly to all living things yet without acting, like virtue..." 孔子觀於東流之水，子貢問於孔子曰：君子之所以見大水必觀焉者，何也？孔子曰：夫水大遍與諸生而無為也，似德...
Shizi, "Ming tang 明堂" (in *SBCK Qunshu zhiyao* 36/14a)	Kongzi said, "Great are the rivers and seas!..." 孔子曰：大哉河海乎！...
Fuyang "Rujia zhe yan 儒家者言" (*Fuyang Hanjian "Zhouyi" yanjiu*, p. 157)	Kongzi looked upon the River and sighed. 孔子臨河而歎。
Da Dai Liji 64, "Quan xue 勸學" (*SBCK* 7/8b)	Zigong said, "Why when a *junzi* sees a great river does he always gaze at it?" Kongzi said, "Water is what a *junzi* likens to virtue." 子貢曰：君子見大川必觀，何也？孔子曰：夫水者，君子比德焉。...
Shuiyuan 17, "Za yan 雜言" (*SBCK* 17/22a)	Zigong said, "Why when a *junzi* sees a great river does he always gaze at it?" Kongzi said, "Water is what a *junzi* likens to virtue." 子貢問曰：君子見大水必觀焉，何也？孔子曰：夫水者，君子比德焉。...
Kongzi jiayu 9, "San shu 三恕" (*SBCK* 2/13b)	Kongzi gazed upon the eastward flow of the waters. Zigong asked, "Why is it that a *junzi* when he sees great waters always gazes at them?" Kongzi said, "It is because they do not rest, and extend to all living things yet without acting..." 孔子觀於東流之水，子貢問曰：君子所〔以〕見大水必觀焉，何也？孔子（對）曰：以其不息，且遍與諸生而不為也。

• Appendix M: *Lunyu* 9/17 and the *Chuci*

Chuci “Jiu ge 九歌”, “Xiang furen 湘夫人” (*SBCK* 2/13a)	As with trembling heart I gaze on the distance, Contemplating the swiftly moving waters. ... Oh, rarely, rarely the time is given! I wish I could play here a little longer.[652] 荒忽兮遠望，觀流水兮潺湲。...時不可兮驟得，聊逍遙兮容與。
Chuci “Jiu zhang 九章”, “Chou si 抽思” (*SBCK* 4/21b)	The way is so far, that each day I remember less; And I wish to make my plaint, but I cannot, for none will hear. I gaze on the northern hills and my tears come falling, Look down on the flowing waters and heave a dolorous sigh.[653] 道卓遠而日忘兮，願自申而不得。望北山而流涕兮，臨流水而太息。
Chuci, “Xi shi 惜誓” (*SBCK* 11/1b)	Oppressed by each day’s new signs of age and decay, By the swift, irreversible passage of the years, I climbed the blue heaven, mounted up on high, And, passing down over a myriad peaks, farther and farther I flew. I contemplated the meanders of great rivers, Came where the four seas drenched me with their spray.[654] 惜余年老而日衰兮，歲忽忽而不反。登蒼天而高舉兮，歷眾山而日遠。觀江河之紆曲兮，離四海之霑濡。
Chuci “Qi jian 七諫”, “Yuan shi 怨世” (*SBCK* 13/13b–14a)	Better to throw myself into the river’s waters And set my spirit hurrying across its swift currents (*shi* 逝). I would rather become mud in the bed of the sea or the river Than look any longer on this unclean age.[655] 願自沈於江流兮，絕橫流而徑逝。寧為江海之泥塗兮，安能久見此濁世？

652. Translation adapted from Hawkes, p. 108.

653. Translation adapted from Hawkes, p. 168.

654. Translation adapted from Hawkes, p. 240.

655. Translation adapted from Hawkes, pp. 251–252.

• Appendix N: *Lunyu* 12/1 and the *Zuozhuan*

Zuozhuan Zhao 12 (*SBCK* 22/15b; *KZJY* p. 418)	Zhongni said, "There is an ancient maxim: 'Subduing oneself and reviving ritual is humaneness.' How true! If King Ling of Chu had been like this how could he have been shamed at Ganxi?" 仲尼曰：古也有志：克己復禮，仁也。信善哉！楚靈王若能如是，豈其辱於乾谿。
Lunyu 12/1	Yan Yuan asked about humaneness. The Master said, "Subduing oneself and reviving ritual is humaneness. If in one day one can subdue himself and revive ritual then the whole world will return to humaneness. One becomes humane from oneself—how could it be from another?" Yan Yuan said, "May I ask about the particulars?" The Master said, "If it is not ritually proper then do not look at it; if it is not ritually proper then do not listen to it; if it is not ritually proper then do not speak it; if it is not ritually proper then do not act on it." Yan Yuan said, "Even though I am not intelligent I beg to put this saying into practice." 顏淵問仁。 子曰：克己復禮為仁。一日克己復禮，天下歸仁焉。為仁由己，而由人乎哉？顏淵曰：請問其目。 子曰：非禮勿視，非禮勿聽，非禮勿言，非禮勿動。 顏淵曰：回雖不敏，請事斯語矣。

• Appendix O: *Lunyu* 12/2 and the *Zuozhuan*

Zuozhuan Xi 33 (*SBCK* 7/15a)	Your subject [Ji Que] has heard, "When away from home act as though you are a guest and undertake your duties as though you are sacrificing. This is the rule for humaneness." 臣[冀缺]聞之：出門如賓，承事如祭，仁之則也。
Lunyu 12/2	Zhonggong asked about humaneness. The Master said, "When away from home act as though you are seeing an important guest; when directing the people act as though you are conducting a great sacrifice." Do not impose on others what you yourself do not want. [Thus] you will incur no resentment in your state or in your home. 仲弓問仁。子曰：出門如見大賓，使民如承大祭。己所不欲，勿施於人。在邦無怨，在家無怨。

• Appendix P: *Lunyu* 7/1 parallels

Lunyu 7.1	The Master said: "Insofar as I transmit without originating and trust in and love the ancient, I would liken myself to Old Peng." 子曰：述而不作，信而好古，竊比於我老彭。
1. *Mozi* 39, "Fei ru xia 非儒下" (*SBCK* 9/18a)	[The Ru] also say: "A noble man follows without originating." [儒者]又曰：君子循而不作 。
2. *Mozi* 46, "Geng zhu 耕柱" (*SBCK* 11/16b)	Gong Mengzi said: "A noble man does not originate; he only transmits." 公孟子曰：君子不作，術而已。
3. *Xunzi* 荀子 22, "Zheng ming 正名" (*SBCK* 16/3b)	If a true king was to arise, he would certainly follow the old names in some instances and originate new names in others. 若有王者起，必將有循於舊名，有作於新名。
4. *Huainanzi* 13, "Fan lun 氾論" (*SBCK* 13/5b)	A great man originates and a follower follows. 大人作而弟子循。
5. *Liji,* "Zhong yong 中庸" (*SBCK* 16/5a)	The Master said, "...a father originates, a son transmits." 子曰：...父作之，子述之。
6. *Liji*, "Yueji 樂記" (*SBCK* 11/9a)	Thus those who know the nature of Ritual and Music can create; those who recognize the patterns of Ritual and Music can transmit. Originators are called sagely; transmitters are called enlightened. Being enlightened or sagely refers to transmitting or creating.[656] 故知禮樂之情者能作，識禮樂之文者能述。作者之謂聖，述者之謂明。明聖者，述作之謂也。
7. *Shiji* 史記 127.3218	Sima Jizhu said: "...transmitting without originating is the principle of the noble man. 司馬季主曰：...述而不作，君子義也...
8. *Shiji* 130.3299 ("Taishigong zixu 太史公自序")	The Grand Scribe says: "...There is no crime greater than abandoning the flourishing virtue of the sagely and enlightened without recording it, or destroying the heritage of meritorious ministers, hereditary houses, and accomplished grandees without transmitting it, or letting the words of those who came before fall away. What I refer to as 'transmitting' past affairs and organizing the traditions of each generation is not an instance of 'originating.' You are mistaken, sir, if you compare this work to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*." 太史公曰： ...廢明聖盛德不載，滅功臣世家賢大夫之業不述，墮先人所言，罪莫大焉。余所謂述故事，整齊其世傳，非所謂作也，而君比之於春秋，謬矣。

656. Translation after Cook 1995, p. 46.

9. *Yantie lun* 23, "Zun dao 遵道" (*SBCK* 5/11b)	The Man of Culture and Learning said, "The noble man is well informed, he transmits without originating, he is sagely and penetrating with great plans, and he is wise with few affairs." 文學曰：君子多聞闕疑，述而不作，聖達而謀大，叡智而事寡。[657]
10. *Yantie lun* 10, "Ci fu 刺復") (*SBCK* 2/10b)	The Man of Culture and Learning said, "Raising up the square and compass to let others understand what is appropriate and blowing the pitch-pipes to let others understand variation is superior; following without originating and awaiting others is second-best. 文學曰：...夫舉規矩而知宜，吹律而知變，上也；因循而不作，以俟其人，次也。
11. *Fayan,* "Wen ming 問神" (*SBCK* 5/3b)	Some say: "[Given that one should] 'transmit without originating,' why did you originate the *Canon of Supreme Mystery*? 或曰：述而不作，玄何以作？
12. *Hanshu* 22.1071, "Liyue zhi 禮樂志"	Restoring the old culture, doing away with [the melodies of] Zheng and drawing close to the elegant, "transmitting without originating, trusting in and loving the ancient." 修起舊文，放鄭近雅，述而不作，信而好古。
13. *Hanshu* 24.1142, "Shihuo zhi 食貨志", advice to Emperor Ai 哀 by Shi Dan 師丹.	When conducting government the noble man honors following and treats reform and originating as weighty affairs. 蓋君子為政，貴因循而重改作。
14. *Hanshu* 88.3589, "Rulin liezhuan 儒林列傳"	And so [Kongzi] said: "Transmitting without originating, trusting in and loving the ancient." 故[孔子]曰：述而不作，信而好古。
15. *Hanshu* 97.3980, "Waiqi liezhuan 外戚列傳", an imperial "response" (*bao* 報) drafted by Liu Xiang 劉向 and Gu Yong 谷永 for Emperor Ai	The Way of the noble man is to delight in following and to treat reform and originating as weighty affairs. 君子之道，樂因循而重改作。
16. *Lunheng* 81, "Zheng shuo 正説" (*SBCK* 28/4a)	The sages make 'classics,' accomplished men make 'writings.' 聖人作經，賢者作書。
17, *Lunheng* 84, "Dui zuo 對作篇" (*SBCK* 29/8b)	Some say: "Sages originate, and accomplished men transmit. It is wrong for a (merely) accomplished man to create. The *Balanced Discourses* and *Government Affairs* could be called 'creations.'" In reply I say: "They are neither 'original works' nor 'transmissions.' They are 'discussions.'" 或曰：聖人作，賢者述，以賢而作者，非也。論衡、政務，可謂作者。曰：非作也，亦非述也，論也。
18. *Hou Hanshu* 44.1500–01, a memorial by Xu Fang 徐防 submitted ca. 103 CE	Kongzi said, "Transmit without originating." 孔子稱：述而不作。

657.Lunyu 2/18: 多聞闕疑

19. Zhao Qi's 趙岐 (d. 201 CE) commentary to *Mengzi* 4A (*SBCK* 7/1a)	In this way one must rely on the square and compass to make things square or round, just like the *Lunyu*'s "transmitting without originating, trusting in and loving the ancient." 然必須規矩，乃成方圓，猶論語述而不作，信而好古。

• Appendix Q: "Erring" (*guo* 過) and "reforming" (*gai* 改) in the *Lunyu* and elsewhere

Lunyu 1/8	The Master said, "Taking loyalty and trustworthiness as one's master; not becoming friends with someone who is inferior to oneself; erring and not fearing reform." 子曰：主忠信。無友不如己者。過則勿憚改。
Lunyu 7/3	The Master said, "Having virtue without refining it; learning without practicing it; hearing what is right without moving to do it; having defects without reforming them—these are my worries." 子曰：德之不脩，學之不講，聞義不能徙，不善不能改，是吾憂也。
Lunyu 7/22	The Master said, "When walking in a trio there is always one who can be my teacher. I select their good points and follow them, and from their bad points I reform myself." 子曰：三人行，必有我師焉，擇其善者而從之，其不善者而改之。
Lunyu 9/25	The Master said, "Taking loyalty and trustworthiness as one's master; not becoming friends with someone who is inferior to oneself; erring and not fearing reform." 子曰：主忠信，毋友不如己者，過則勿憚改。
Lunyu 15/30	The Master said, "To err without reforming—this is an error." 子曰：過而不改，是謂過矣。
Lunyu 19/21	Zigong said, "The *junzi*'s errors are like an eclipse of the sun or moon: when he errs, all people see it, and when he reforms himself, all people look up to him." 子貢曰：君子之過也，如日月之食焉：過也，人皆見之；更也，人皆仰之。
Zuozhuan Xuan 宣 2 (*SBCK* 10/3b)	[Duke Ling of Jin] said, "When I understand where I have erred, I will reform myself." Shiji kowtowed and responded, "What man hasn't erred? To err and be able to reform—there is nothing finer than this...." [晉靈公]曰：吾知所過矣，將改之。[士季]稽首而對曰：人誰無過，過而能改，善莫大焉。
Mengzi 2B/9 (*SBCK* 4/11b)	Mengzi said, "And when ancient *junzi* erred they reformed themselves; when *junzi* today err they follow [the error]..." 孟子曰：...且古之君子，過則改之；今之君子，過則順之。...

Mengzi 6B/19 (*SBCK* 12/17a)	Mengzi said, "People constantly err, but afterwards they are able to reform themselves." 孟子曰：.....人恆過，然後能改。
Zhouyi #42, "Yi 益" (*SBCK* 4/14a)	The *Xiang* commentary: a *junzi* sees the good and moves toward it, and when he errs he reforms. 象曰：...君子以見善則遷，有過則改。
Guoyu, "Lu yu shang 魯語上" (*SBCK* 4/16a)	Wenzi learned of this and said, "One who errs and is able to reform is the highest kind of person." 文子聞之，曰：過而能改者，民之上也。
Guanzi 31, "Jun chen xia 君臣下" (*SBCK* 11/2b)	A lord who errs without reforming is said to "collapse." 君有過而不改，謂之倒。
Chuci, "Tian wen 天問" (*SBCK* 3/34a)	To realize errors and reform them—what do we say of this? 悟過改更，我又何言？
Guliang Xi 22 (*SBCK* 5/18a)	To err without reforming—this is called an "error." 過而不改，又之是謂之過。
Da Dai Liji 49, "Zengzi lishi 曾子立事" (*SBCK* 4/4b–5a)	Zengzi said, "To err without being able to reform is laxity." 曾子曰 ：..過而不能改，倦也。
Da Dai Liji 66, "Sheng de 盛德" (*SBCK* 8/9b)	To err is to miss. The human condition is such that there is no one who does not err. But erring and reforming it—this is not an error. 過，失也。人情莫不有過，過而改之，是不過也。
Shuiyuan 1, "Jun dao 君道" (*SBCK* 1/17a)	The *junzi* said, "To err and reform it—this is not to err." 君子曰：夫過而改之，是猶不過。

• Appendix R: The *junzi* 君子/*xiaoren* 小人 dichotomy in the *Lunyu*

Lunyu 2/14	子曰：君子周而不比，小人比而不周。
Lunyu 4/11	子曰：君子懷德，小人懷土；君子懷刑，小人懷惠。
Lunyu 4/16	子曰：君子喻於義，小人喻於利。
Lunyu 6/13	子謂子夏曰：女為君子儒。無為小人儒。
Lunyu 7/37	子曰：君子坦蕩蕩，小人長戚戚。
Lunyu 12/16	子曰：君子成人之美，不成人之惡。小人反是。
Lunyu 12/19	...孔子對曰：...君子之德風，小人之德草。草上之風，必偃。
Lunyu 13/23	子曰：君子和而不同，小人同而不和。
Lunyu 13/25	子曰：君子易事而難説也。説之不以道，不説也；及其使人也，器之。小人難事而易説也。説之雖不以道，説也；及其使人也，求備焉。
Lunyu 13/26	子曰：君子泰而不驕，小人驕而不泰。
Lunyu 14/6	子曰：君子而不仁者有矣夫，未有小人而仁者也。
Lunyu 14/23	子曰：君子上達，小人下達。
Lunyu 15/2	...子曰：君子固窮，小人窮斯濫矣。
Lunyu 15/21	子曰：君子求諸己，小人求諸人。
Lunyu 15/34	子曰：君子不可小知而可大受也，小人不可大受而可小知也。
Lunyu 16/8	子曰：君子有三畏：畏天命，畏大人，畏聖人之言。小人不知天命而不畏也，狎大人，侮聖人之言。
Lunyu 17/4	...子游對曰：昔者偃也聞諸夫子曰：君子學道則愛人，小人學道則易使也。
Lunyu 17/23	子路曰：君子尚勇乎？子曰：君子義（以）〔之〕為上，君子有勇而無義為亂，小人有勇而無義為盜。

• Appendix S: The "states with the Way"/"states without the Way" dichotomy in the *Lunyu*

Lunyu 5/2	The Master said of Nan Rong, "In a state with the Way he will not be cast aside and in a state without the Way he will avoid punishment and execution."... 子謂南容：邦有道，不廢；邦無道，免於刑戮。...
Lunyu 5/21	The Master said, "As for Ning Wuzi, in a state with the Way he will be [considered] wise but in a state without the Way he will be [considered] foolish. His wisdom can be attained but his foolishness cannot. 子曰：甯武子，邦有道，則知；邦無道，則愚。其知可及也，其愚不可及也。
Lunyu 8/13	The Master said, "...When the world has the Way be visible but when it lacks the Way be hidden. To be poor and lowly in a state with the Way is shameful; to be rich and honored in a state without the Way is [also] shameful." 子曰：...天下有道則見，無道則隱。邦有道，貧且賤焉，恥也；邦無道，富且貴焉，恥也。
Lunyu 14/1	Xian asked about shame. The Master said, "Earn a salary in a state with the Way, but to earn a salary in a state without the Way is shameful." 憲問恥。子曰：邦有道、穀，邦無道、穀，恥也。
Lunyu 14/3	The Master said, "In a state with the Way [one can be] perilously high-minded in word and deed. In a state without the Way [one can be] perilously high-minded in deed but his words must be compliant."[658] 子曰：邦有道，危言危行；邦無道，危行言孫。
Lunyu 15/7	The Master said, "How straight is Shi Yu! In a state with the Way he is like an arrow and in a state without the Way he is like an arrow. What a *junzi* is Qu Boyu! In a state with the Way he serves and in a state without the Way he rolls himself up and tucks himself away." 子曰：直哉史魚！邦有道，如矢；邦無道，如矢。君子哉蘧伯玉！邦有道，則仕；邦無道，則可卷而懷之。

658. Translation adapted from Lau 2000, p. 133.

Lunyu 16/2	Kongzi said, “In a world with the Way ritual and music and military campaigns originate from the son of heaven; in a world without the Way, ritual and music and military campaigns originate from the vassal lords. When they originate from the feudal lords, [their power] will likely be lost within ten generations; when they originate from grandees, [their power] will likely be lost in five generations ; and if their vassal subjects hold the mandate of the state then [their power] will likely be lost in three generations. When the world has the Way then government does not reside in the grandees; when the world has the Way, then the masses do not squabble. 孔子曰：天下有道，則禮樂征伐自天子出；天下無道，則禮樂征伐自諸侯出。自諸侯出，蓋十世希不失矣；自大夫出，五世希不失矣；陪臣執國命，三世希不失矣。天下有道，則政不在大夫。天下有道，則庶人不議。

• Appendix T: The "states with the Way"/"states without the Way" dichotomy outside the *Lunyu*

1. *Laozi* 46 (*SBCK* 下/5a)	天下有道，卻走馬以糞；天下無道，戎馬生於郊。
2. *Han Feizi* 21, "Yu Lao 喻老" (*SBCK* 7/1a)	天下有道，無急患則曰靜，遽傳不用，故曰：『卻走馬以糞。』 天下無道，攻擊不休，相守數年不已，甲冑生蟣蝨，鷹雀處帷幄，而兵不歸，故曰：『戎馬生於郊。』
3. *Han Feizi* 36, "Nan yi 難一" (*SBCK* 15/3b)	君有道，則臣盡力而姦不生；無道，則臣上塞主明而下成私。
4. *Mengzi* 4A/7 (*SBCK* 7/5b)	天下有道，小德役大德，小賢役大賢；天下無道，小役大，弱役強。
5. *Mengzi* 7A/42 (*SBCK* 13/17b)	天下有道，以道殉身；天下無道，以身殉道。
6. *Zhuangzi* 4, "Ren jian shi 人間世" (*SBCK* 2/27b)	[楚狂接輿曰；...] 天下有道，聖人成焉；天下無道，聖人生焉。
7. *Zhuangzi* 12, "Tian di 天地" (*SBCK* 5/7a)	[華封人曰：] 夫聖人鶉居而鷇食，鳥行而無彰；天下有道，則與物皆昌；天下無道，則修德就閒。
8. *Guanzi* 64, "Xing shi 形勢" (*SBCK* 20/9b)	故有道則民歸之，無道則民去之；故曰：道往者，其人莫來。道來者，其人莫往。
9. *Liji* "Zhong yong 中庸" (*SBCK* 16/2b & 16/10b)	子曰：...國有道，不變塞焉，強哉矯。國無道，至死不變，強哉矯。... 國有道，其言足以興。國無道，其默足以容。...
10. *Liji* "Biao ji 表記" (*SBCK* 17/8a)	君子不以辭盡人，故天下有道，則行有枝葉。天下無道，則辭有枝葉。
11. *Huainanzi* 10, "Miu cheng 繆稱" (*SBCK* 10/9b)	君，根本也；臣，枝葉也。根本不美，枝葉茂者，未之聞也。有道之世，以人與國；無道之世，以國與人。
12. *Huainanzi* 14, "Quan yan 詮言" (*SBCK* 14/12b)	有道者，不失時與人；無道者，失於時而取人。
13. *Wenzi* 1, "Yuan dao 原道" (*Wenzi shuyi* 1.18)	文子曰：...有道則隱，無道則見...故有道則和，無道則苛。
14. *Shiji* 26.1258	天下有道，則不失紀序；無道，則正朔不行於諸侯。
15. *Shiji* 62.2134	國有道，即順命；無道，即衡命。

16. *Da Dai Liji* 56 "Zengzi zhi yan 曾子制言" (*SBCK* 5/5a)	曾子曰：天下有道，則君子訢然以交同；天下無道，則衡言不革。...國有道，則突若入焉；國無道，則突若出焉，如此之謂義。
17. *Da Dai Liji* 60 "Wei jiangjun Wenzi 衛將軍文子" (*SBCK* 6/9a)	國家有道，其言足以生；國家無道，其默足以容，蓋桐提伯華之行也。...是故君擇臣而使之，臣擇君而事之，有道順君，無道橫命；晏平仲之行也。
18. *Hanshi waizhuan* 9 (*SBCK* 9/11a)	君子之居也，綏如安裘，晏如覆杅。天下有道，則諸侯畏之；天下無道，則庶人易之。
19. *Chunqiu fanlu* 31, "Shen zhi yang zhong yu yi 身之養重於義" (*SBCK* 9/2b)	仲尼曰：國有道，雖加刑，無刑也；國無道，雖殺之，不可勝也。
20. *Wu Yue Chunqiu* (*SBCK* 6/4b)	禹曰：天下有道，民不罹辜；天下無道，罪及善人。
21. *Lunheng* 51, "Zhi rui 指瑞" (*SBCK* 17/1a)	儒者説鳳皇騏驎為聖王來，以為鳳皇騏驎，仁聖禽也，思慮深，避害遠，中國有道則來，無道則隱。
22. *Kongzi jiayu* 9, "San shu 三恕" (*SBCK* 2/16b)	子曰：國無道，隱之可也；國有道，則衮冕而執玉。
23. *Kongzi jiayu* 41, "Zheng lun jie 正論解" (*SBCK* 9/28a)	孔子曰：古之士者，國有道則盡忠以輔之，無道則退身以避之。

• Appendix U: “Wise men”/“humane men”/“brave men” comparisons in the *Lunyu*

Lunyu 4/2	子曰：不仁者不可以久處約，不可以長處樂。仁者安仁，知者利仁。
Lunyu 6/23	The Master said, “The understanding delight in water, the humane delight in mountains. The understanding act, the humane are still. The understanding are joyful, the humane are long-lived.” 子曰：知者樂水，仁者樂山。知者動，仁者靜。知者樂，仁者壽。
Lunyu 9/29	The Master said, “A wise man is not confused, a brave man is not anxious, and a brave man is not fearful. 子曰：知者不惑，仁者不憂，勇者不懼。
Lunyu 14/4	The Master said, “...The humane always have courage, but the courageous do not always have humaneness.” 子曰：...仁者必有勇，勇者不必有仁。
Lunyu 14/28	The Master said, “A noble man proclaims three things, none of which are within my abilities: a humane man is not anxious, a wise man is not confused, and a brave man is not fearful.” Zigong said, “The Master describes himself.” 子曰：君子道者三，我無能焉：仁者不憂，知者不惑，勇者不懼。子貢曰：夫子自道也。

• Appendix V: “Wise men”/“humane men”/“brave men” comparisons outside the *Lunyu*

Mengzi 7A/46 (*SBCK* 13/19a)	孟子曰：知者無不知也，當務之為急；仁者無不愛也，急親賢之為務。
Zhuangzi 28, “Rang wang 讓王” (*SBCK* 9/30a)	湯又讓瞀光，曰：知者謀之，武者遂之，仁者居之，古之道也。
Lüshi chunqiu 19/1 (*SBCK* 19/2a)	湯又讓於務光曰：智者謀之，武者遂之，仁者居之，古之道也。
Huainanzi 2, “Chu zhen 俶真” (*SBCK* 2/11a)	若夫神無所掩，心無所載，通洞條達，恬漠無事，無所凝滯，虛寂以待，勢利不能誘也，辯者不能説也，聲色不能淫也，美者不能濫也，智者不能動也，勇者不能恐也，此真人之道也。
Huainanzi 9, “Zhu shu 主術” (*SBCK* 9/21b)	仁者愛其類也，智者不可惑也。
Huainanzi 14, “Quan yan 詮言” (*SBCK* 14/6b)	智者不以位為事，勇者不以位為暴，仁者不以位為患，可謂無為矣。
Huainanzi 15, “Bing lüe 兵略” (*SBCK* 15/10b)	夫仁勇信廉，人之美才也，然勇者可誘也，仁者可奪也，信者易欺也，廉者易謀也。
Huainanzi 18, “Ren jian 人間” (*SBCK* 18/9b–10a)	仁者不以欲傷生，知者不以利害義。
Huainanzi 20, “Tai zu 泰族” (*SBCK* 20/18b)	故仁知，人材之美者也。所謂仁者，愛人也；所謂知者，知人也。
Shiji 43.1843, “Zhao shijia 趙世家”	李兌謂肥義曰：...仁者愛萬物而智者備禍於未形，不仁不智，何以為國？
Shiji 67.2198, “Zhongni dizi liezhuan 仲尼弟子列傳”	子貢曰：...夫勇者不避難，仁者不窮約，智者不失時，王者不絕世，以立其義。
Liji, “Yue ji 樂記” (*SBCK* 11/7b)	強者脅弱，眾者暴寡；知者詐愚，勇者苦怯。
Liji, “Biao ji 表記” (*SBCK* 17/2a)	子曰：...仁者安仁，知者利仁。畏罪者強仁。仁者右也，道者左也。仁者人也。道者義也。
Liji, “Sang fu si zhi 喪服四制” (*SBCK* 20/17a)	仁者可以觀其愛焉，知者可以觀其理焉，強者可以觀其志焉。

Guliang (*SBCK* 1/3b)	知者慮，義者行，仁者守，有此三者，然後可以出會。
Guliang (*SBCK* 2/13a)	知者慮，義者行，仁者守，有此三者備，然後可以會矣。
Wenzi 3, "Jiu shou 九守" (*Wenzi shuyi* p. 143)	若夫神無所掩，心無所載，通洞條達，澹然無事，勢利不能誘，聲色不能淫，辯者不能説，智者不能動，勇者不能恐，此真人之游也。
Wenzi 5, "Dao de 道德" (*Wenzi shuyi* p. 233)	智者，不以德為事；勇者，不以力為暴；仁者，不以位為惠；可謂一矣。
Wenzi 11, "Shang yi 上義" (*Wenzi shuyi* p. 487)	智者不妄為，勇者不妄殺...
Gongsun Hong memorial, 130 BCE (*Hanshu* 58.2616)	臣聞之，仁者愛也，義者宜也，禮者所履也，智者術之原也。
Yuqiu Shouwang memorial, ca. 124 BCE (*Hanshu* 64.2796)	是以知者陷愚，勇者威怯。
Da Dai Liji, "Zhu yan 主言" (*SBCK* /)	仁者莫大於愛人，知者莫大於知賢，政者莫大於官賢。
Da Dai Liji 49, "Zengzi lishi 曾子立事" (*SBCK* 4/6a)	仁者樂道，智者利道，
Shuiyuan 16, "Tan cong 談叢" (*SBCK* 16/16b)	夫智者不妄為，勇者不妄殺。

• Appendix W: *Lunyu* Zengzi material

Lunyu 1/4	曾子曰：吾日三省吾身：為人謀而不忠乎？與朋友交而不信乎？傳不習乎？
Lunyu 1/9	曾子曰：慎終追遠，民德歸厚矣。
Lunyu 4/15	子曰：參乎！吾道一以貫之。曾子曰：唯。子出，門人問曰：何謂也？曾子曰：夫子之道，忠恕而已矣。
Lunyu 8/3	曾子有疾，召門弟子曰：啟予足！啟予手！詩云：戰戰兢兢，如臨深淵，如履薄冰。而今而後吾知免夫！小子！
Lunyu 8/4	曾子有疾，孟敬子問之。曾子言曰：鳥之將死，其鳴也哀；人之將死，其言也善。君子所貴乎道者三：動容貌，斯遠暴慢矣；正顏色，斯近信矣；出辭氣，斯遠鄙倍矣。籩豆之事，則有司存。
Lunyu 8/5	曾子曰：以能問於不能，以多問於寡；有若無，實若虛，犯而不校。昔者吾友嘗從事於斯矣。
Lunyu 8/6	曾子曰：可以託六尺之孤，可以寄百里之命，臨大節而不可奪也。君子人與？君子人也。
Lunyu 8/7	曾子曰：士不可以不弘毅，任重而道遠。仁以為己任，不亦重乎？死而後已，不亦遠乎？
Lunyu 12/24	曾子曰：君子以文會友，以友輔仁。
Lunyu 14/26	子曰：不在其位，不謀其政。曾子曰：君子思不出其位。
Lunyu 19/16	曾子曰：堂堂乎張也，難與並為仁矣。
Lunyu 19/17	曾子曰：吾聞諸夫子：人未有自致者也，必也親喪乎！
Lunyu 19/18	曾子曰：吾聞諸夫子：孟莊子之孝也，其他可能也；其不改父之臣與父之政，是難能也。
Lunyu 19/19	孟氏使陽膚為士師，問於曾子。曾子曰：上失其道，民散久矣。如得其情，則哀矜而勿喜！

• Appendix X: Liu De's 劉德 *Hanshu* biography and related passages

• *Hanshu* 53.2410–2411

King Xian of Hejian was established in the second year of Emperor Jing's reign. He cultivated learning and loved the ancient, engaging in substantive matters and pursuing the true. Whenever he obtained a fine text from the people, he would always have a good copy made for [the donor] and keep the original for himself, and he would solicit writings with offers of metal and silk. As a result, men of various doctrines and techniques from the four directions thought nothing of traveling a thousand *li* [to King Xian's court]. Some had their ancestors' old writings, so many of which were presented to King Xian that he acquired as many books as the Han court. At this time, [Liu] An the King of Huainan also loved writings, [but] his invited retainers mostly engaged in empty disputations. King Xian's collected writings were all old, ancient script pre-Qin texts like the *Zhou Offices*, *Exalted Documents*, *Rituals*, *Ritual Records*, *Mengzi*, and *Laozi*, all of which were canons, commentaries, explanations, and records of the sort discussed by [Kongzi's] seventy disciples. With his learning he promoted the Six Arts and established Erudites for the *Mao Odes* and the *Zuo Chunqiu* [=*Zuozhuan*]. He cultivated ritual and music, clothed himself in the techniques of the Ru, and constantly hewed to the Ru.[659] Many were the Ru of Shandong who flocked to him.

During Emperor Wu's reign, King Xian came to court and presented elegant music. He also submitted his replies on the Palace of the Threefold Harmony as well as on more than thirty other matters raised in imperial edicts and queries. In his replies he advocated the Way and [appropriate] techniques, grasping the heart of the matter with a succinct and clearly expressed style.

河間獻王德以孝景前二年立，修學好古，實事求是。從民得善書，必為好寫與之，留其真，加金帛賜以招之。繇是四方道術之人不遠千里，或有先祖舊書，多奉以奏獻王者，故得書多，與漢朝等。是時，淮南王安亦好書，所招致率多浮辯。獻王所得書皆古文先秦舊書，周官、尚書、禮、禮記、孟子、老子之屬，皆經傳說記，七十子之徒所論。其學舉六藝，立毛氏詩、左氏春秋博士。修禮樂，被服儒術，造次必於儒者。山東諸儒（者）〔多〕從而游。[660]

659.This line is a probable allusion to *Lunyu* 4/5: .

660.The *Hanshu* biography appears to expand upon the much shorter *Shiji* version (*Shiji* 59.2093): "King Xian of Hejian, [Liu] De, in the second year of Emperor Jing's reign, took advantage of his position as imperial prince to become King of Hejian. He loved Ru learning and constantly hewed to the Ru. Many were the Ru of Shandong who flocked to him" (河閒獻王德，以孝景帝前二年用皇子為河閒王。好儒學，被服造次必於儒者。山東諸儒多從之游。).

武帝時，獻王來朝，獻雅樂，對三雍宮及詔策所問三十餘事。其對推道術而言，得事之中，文約指明。

• *Hanshu* book 30, the "Yiwen zhi" (*Hanshu* 30.1708, 30.1912, 30.1726)

[The entry for the *Shi*:] ...There is also the learning of Master Mao, who claimed it was handed down by Zixia. King Xian of Hejian preferred it, but it has not yet been established [as an imperially sponsored canon].

又有毛公之學，自謂子夏所傳，而河間獻王好之，未得立。

*

[The entry for the *Yue*:] ...At the time of Emperor Wu, King Xian of Hejian loves the Ru and together with Master Mao and others selected passages from the *Zhouguan* and the masters' discussions of musical matters to make a *Record of Music*. He [also] presented the dance of the "eight rows," which was not far off from Mr. Zhi's version...

武帝時，河間獻王好儒，與毛生等共采周官及諸子言樂事者，以作樂記，獻八佾之舞，與制氏不相遠。

*

[The entry for Ru texts:] King Xian of Hejian's responses to the emperor and his officials concerning the Palaces of the Three-fold Harmony, in three sections

河間獻王對上下三雍宮三篇。

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