

The Analects of Confucius

draft, August 2005, R. Eno, Indiana University

Book I

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.6 The Master said: A young man should be filial within his home and respectful of eld-

Notes

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

There are three precepts here; the ‘punch line’ is the last.

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

NOTE: More detailed discussions of key terms may be found in the online *E574 Glossary*.

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

NOTE: More details on the major disciples are provided in the Appendix below.

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

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

1.3 Duplicated at 17.17. (When passages are duplicated in different books, it may signal independent editorial origins.)

1.4 Master Zeng 曾子 is the disciple Zeng Shen 參, the youngest of

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

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

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

If you study you will not be crude.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTE: Elsewhere in this translation, *wen* is generally translated in its literal sense, 'pattern', most often referring to basic cultural norms of civilization that underlie *li* (on which, see 1.12). In many instances, use of the word 'pattern' will signal a range of possible conno-

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

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

1.12 Master You said:

*In the practice of li,
harmony is the key.
In the Dao of the kings of old,
This was the beauty.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

tations, from 'civilization' to 'good breeding' or 'fine literature'.

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

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

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

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

On the term 'virtue', see 2.1.

1.10 Not much is known of the disciple Ziqin 子禽.

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

1.11 Duplicated at 4.20 (see the note there). Why keeping to one's father's way (*dao*) is critical to filiality is unclear. Passage 19.18 may provide some insight into what it entailed.

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

Is that what you mean?”

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

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

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

1.13 See 1.11.

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

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

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

1.16 Note how the themes of the opening and closing passages to this book serve as conceptual ‘book ends’.

Book II

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

2.1 *De* (德) is a key ethical term with very flexible meaning, according to context. The vague term ‘virtue’ is an imperfect fit, but flexible enough to serve.

2.2 ‘The *Poetry*’ refers to an anthology of popular and court songs largely compiled during the pre-Classical era (c. 1000-700). The Confucian school believed it had been edited by sages, such as the founding Zhou Dynasty kings, and was thus a repository of wisdom. (See 13.5.)

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

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

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

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

With 2.5 we begin a string of four passages all related to ‘fili-

need be concerned only for your health.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.7 Ziyou 子游 is a disciple of some importance.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.14 See 7.31.

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

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

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

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

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

There are, in the great warlord families of this era, interesting similarities to outlaw networks of a later time in the West, such as mafia 'families', although the warlord

be loyal; if you raise up the good and instruct those who lack ability they will be persuaded.”

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

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

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

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

families differed in deriving their basic status from hereditary rights granted by rulers, and they were not outlawed (indeed, they were held in awe). Warlord families like the Ji exercised informal control over regions, inducing obedience through the threat of force; they sustained gangs of armed retainers and high advisors with no lineage connection; their behavior mixed emulation of patrician ethical and ritual codes with ruthlessness.

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

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

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

Book III

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

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

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

The lords of the realm come to assist,

The Son of Heaven stands all solemn

pertain to the halls of the three families?”

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

NOTE: There is an unfortunate overlap of names between two major senior disciples who are often discussed together. One is most often called Ran Qiu, the other Zilu. Ran Qiu’s personal

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

3.8 Zixia asked, “What is the meaning of the lines from the *Poetry*,
The fine smile dimpled,
The lovely eyes flashing,
The plain ground brings out the color?”

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

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

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

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

3.12 “Sacrifice as though present” – sacri-

name was Qiu, but his public style name was Yǒu (有), and he is frequently referred to as Jan Yǒu. The family name of Zilu (a public style name) was Chung and his personal name was You (由). At times, the text speaks together of Ran Yǒu, whom Confucius addresses as Qiu, and Zilu, whom Confucius addresses as You. I have added the diacritic to the ‘You’ in Ran Yǒu’s name to try to minimize confusion.

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

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

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

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

3.10-11 The nature of the *ti*-sacrifice is unclear, but it appears to have been connected to worship of the deity Di (帝), some-times pictured as a high god, or alternative term for Tian.

3.12 The most basic form of religious practices in ancient China

fice to the spirits as though the spirits were present.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

were ceremonies offering food and drink to the spirits of one's ancestors, which were pictured in semi-corporeal form, descending to partake.

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

3.15 Confucius's father was from the tiny state of Zou, just south of Lu. Lu was viewed as a repository of authoritative knowledge of Zhou customs, while Zou had, until recently, been a non-Zhou cultural region. Here we see Confucius's cultural authority being questioned on the basis of his family background. (See also 10.18.)

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

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

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

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

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

“Well, but did he not know *li*?”

The Master said, “When the lord of his state set up a screen at court, Guan Zhong gated his family courtyard with a screen. Because an earthen drinking platform is built when lords of states meet together to enhance their congeniality, Guan Zhong also built an earthen drinking platform. If Guan Zhong knew *li*, who does not know *li*?”

3.19 Duke Ding was the ruler of Lu prior to Duke Ai, whom we encountered in 2.19 and again below in 3.21.

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

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

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

3.22 Guan Zhong was the prime minister of the state of Qi during the seventh century B.C. His wise counsel was said to have made his ruler the first of the great ‘hegemons’ of the chaotic ‘Spring and Autumn’ period of history (722-489 B.C.). He was a hero to later generations in Northeast China, but Confucians were ambivalent about him, because they viewed the hegemonic power of the Duke of Qi and others like him as depriving the Zhou king of his rightful authority as Tian’s designated ruler.

Guan Zhong’s historical status and the intellectual importance of evaluating that role may be analogized to an American figure like Jefferson (although only in the sense that both were touchstones of political interpretation

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

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

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

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

and controversy). The *Analects* presents alternative perspectives on Guan Zhong. For a view of Guan Zhong very different from 3.22, see 14.16-17.

3.24 The pass at Yi lay on the border of the state of Wei, where Confucius traveled but failed to find a welcome at court for his teaching. Here, as he leaves, the lowly keeper of the pass conveys to the disciples what he discerns as the meaning of Confucius’s failure.

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

Book IV

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Is there any person who can direct his strength to *ren* for an entire day – I have never seen anyone whose strength is not suf-

Notes

4.1 The metaphor of choosing a neighborhood is very concrete in this passage. See 4.25.

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

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

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

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

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

ficient – most likely there is such a one, but I have yet to see him.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.14 The Master said, Do not be concerned that you have no position, be concerned that

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

4.8 A famous, unusual, and puzzling passage -- puzzling because of the Confucian stress on the *dao* as an instrument for political action.

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

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

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

4.11 On *de* (德), see 2.1 and the *Coursepack* Glossary.

you have what it takes to merit a position. Do not be concerned that no one recognizes you, seek that which is worthy of recognition.

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

Master Zeng said, “Yes.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.21 The Master said, One cannot fail to

4.14 This passage resonates with 1.1 and 1.16. There are many other instances in the text where this idea is central.

4.15 Many have noted that it would be odd if Zeng Shen (see 1.4), a very junior disciple, possessed the sort of esoteric understanding this passage suggests. His apparent wisdom here is probably due to the role of his own later students in editing the *Analects*. The passage can be compared with 15.3.

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

4.18-21 A set of four passages on filiality.

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

know the ages of one's parents: on one hand, these are a source of happiness, on the other hand of fear.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.26 See also 12.23.

Book V

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

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

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

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

“What vessel?”

“A vessel of ancestral sacrifice.”

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

Other sources tell us Confucius’s father had another, elder son, born of a concubine different from Confucius’s mother.

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

5.3 Zijian 子賤 was a disciple.

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

5.5 Yong 雍 is the disciple Zhonggong 仲弓 (see 6.1). Compare 1.3, 4.22, and 4.24 with the message of this passage.

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

5.7 The disciple Zilu (Zhong You – personal name: You) is portrayed

me.”

Zilu heard of this and was pleased.

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

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

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

“What about Qiu?”

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

“What about Chi?”

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

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

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

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

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

as martial and impetuous throughout the *Analects* (see the next passage). Here, Confucius teases him. There is a key pun: ‘lumber’ is a pun on the word ‘talent’, a harsh comment on Zilu’s limited abilities. (The humor of the *Analects* can be edgy.)

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

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

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

All these disciples did achieve some political stature in Lu.

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

5.9 ‘Hui’ refers to the disciple Yan Hui.

5.10 The only disciple in the *Analects* towards whom no type of approval or affection is shown is the senior disciple Zai Yu 子 (also known as Zai Wo; see 3.21). (I believe there is likely a

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

text error here, and that what Zai Yu is accused of is actually decorating the walls of his chamber.)

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

5.12 Si was Zigong’s personal name.

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

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

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

5.16 The Master characterized Zichan thus: “There were in him four aspects of the *dao* of the *junzi*. He was reverent in his comportment, he was respectfully attentive in service to his superiors, he was generous in nurturing the people, he was righteous in directing the people.”

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

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

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

The Master said, “He was loyal.”

“Was he *ren*?”

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

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

The Master said, “He was pure.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Was he *ren*?”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.26 Yan Yuan and Ji Lu were sitting in attendance. The Master said, “Why not each

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.25 Zuo Qiuming is the name of the shadowy author of the *Zuo-chuan* (Zuo’s Commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*), the great history of the early Classical period. Why Confucius characterizes him as he does here in not

of us speak his heart's desire?"

Zilu said, "Let me drive a team of horses and be dressed in a light fur jacket side by side with friends; even were we all in tatters, we would be free of resentment."

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

Zilu said, "We would like to hear the Master's wish."

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

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

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

known.

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

Book VI

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ranzi asked for more.

“Give her nine measures.”

Ranzi gave her twenty-five measures.

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

6.5 Yuan Si acted as steward of the Master’s

Notes

6.1 Yong (Ran Yong) is the disciple Zhonggong.

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

6.2 Nothing certain is known of Zisang Bozi.

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

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

6.5 Yuan Si was a disciple; he is

household. The Master set his salary at nine hundred measures. Yuan Si declined. The Master said, “No, you can give it to your neighbors and townsmen.”

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

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

6.8 Ji Kangzi asked, “Cannot Zhong You be appointed to government position?”

The Master said, “You is resolute. What difficulty would he have in governance?”

“Cannot Si be appointed to government position?”

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

“Cannot Qiu be appointed to government position?”

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

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

6.10 Boniu fell ill. The Master called upon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.10 Boniu (Ran Boniu) is the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.16 The Master said, Without the glibness of Zhu Tuo or the handsomeness of Song

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

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

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

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

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

6.15 Meng Zhifan was a contemporary grandee of Lu.

6.16 Confucius refers to the superficial advantages of two minor fig-

Zhao, it is hard to escape in times like these.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.23 The Master said, The wise delight in water; the *ren* delight in mountains. The wise are in motion; the *ren* are at rest. The

ures from history to suggest the values of a debased age.

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

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

wise are joyful; the *ren* are long lived.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Master said, “Why would you call

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

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

6.27 Duplicated at 12.15.

6.28 Nanzi was the unsavory female consort of the Marquis of Wei. Confucius here denies Zilu’s suspicion that he was planning to conspire with Wei’s unethical power brokers in order to gain a court position. (See 3.13.)

6.30 ‘Sage’ (*sheng* 聖) is a term generally reserved for great figures of legendary accomplishment. One may read this passage as saying either that sagehood is a type of ‘super-*ren*’ – *ren* with political achievements added on – or that these are two different types of issues, one having to do with power opportunities turned to advantage, and the other having to do with a habitual linkage of self and

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

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

other – not unrelated matters, but still distinct.

Book VII

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

7.1 There is no consensus about who Old Peng may have been.

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

7.5 The Duke of Zhou was a dynastic founder famous for saving the young dynastic house through his wise regency. He was also said to have devised the rituals of the Zhou government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.15 Ran Yǒu is the disciple Ran Qiu.

The heir to the throne of Wei was exiled. Upon his father’s death, his son was enthroned in his

Zigong said, “Right – I’ll ask him.”
He entered and said to the Master, “What sort of men were Bo Yi and Shu Qi?”

“They were worthies of ancient times.”

“Did they harbor complaints?”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.21 The Master did not speak of strange occurrences, feats of strength, political dis-

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

On Bo Yi and Shu Qi, see 5.23.

7.16 See 4.5 and 7.12.

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

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

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

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

ruptions, and spirits.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.28 The Master said, There are probably those who invent without prior knowledge. I

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

7.23 The Han period history, *Shiji*, offers context. Huan Tui was minister of war in the state of Song. Jealous of Confucius, he threatened him when Confucius and his disciples journeyed to Song. Confucius calmed his disciples with this statement. See 9.5 for what seems to be a different version of the same lesson.

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

am not such a one. To listen to much, select what is good, and follow it; to observe much and to mark it in memory – these are second to knowledge.

7.29 The people of Hu Village were difficult to talk with. A youth from there appeared at the gate and the disciples were unsure what to do.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Master said, “My prayers are longstanding.”

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

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

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

7.34 See 7.2.

7.35 For an alternative account, see 9.12.

Book VIII

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8.8 ‘Rise’ is a technical term referring to the initial image of a poem. ‘Stand’ means to assume a social role. ‘Consummate’ is a technical term denoting the final coda of a musical piece or movement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8.18 The Master said, Towering! – that

8.12 The minimum term of discipleship was tradition-ally taken to be three years.

8.14 Duplicated (with comment) at 14.26.

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

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

8.19 Emperor Yao, in Confucian tradition the first of the sage rulers, was celebrated for sending members of his court to the four corners of the empire to map the heavens and create a calendar to regulated society. The last book of the *Analects* begins by quoting a lost text pertaining to Yao and the calendar (see 20.1)

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

Shun and Yu should have possessed the world yet treated none of it as their own.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9.8 If 9.7 is excluded as a late insertion, the rhetoric of the end of 9.6 and the start of 9.8 are perfect complements.

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

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

Part of this passage is duplicated at 12.15.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9.12 An alternative account appears at 7.35.

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

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

9.15 The odes and hymns are sections of the *Poetry*. They were performed as parts of court and patrician ceremonies. In this passage, Confucius claims that only after he assigned the various songs to their appropriate ceremonies did the *Poetry* fulfill its proper usage in *li*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9.18 Duplicated at 15.13.

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

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

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

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

do nothing with such people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9.25 Duplicated at 1.8.

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

9.27 You is the disciple Zilu. See 5.26.

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

9.30 This passage speaks of long processes of deepening trust, and works on many levels. 'Take a stand' refers to assuming a social role, with a court context as the image. 'Authority' also concerns official position, but it also carries the sense of making action choices on the basis of discretionary judgment, rather than on the basis of strict rules. Only a true *junzi* pos-

authority with him.

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

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

sesses the moral authority to break the rules in order to carry out his ethical judgments.

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

Book X

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

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

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

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

When he lifted the hem of his robe to ascend the hall steps, he would draw his

Notes

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

There exist a number of early Confucian ritual texts that include some of these items as rules, along with many others. Non-practitioners have not always found such texts fascinating; they are, however, of cultural interest, and sometimes underscore important ethical themes.

body in and suppress his breath, as though he were not breathing. On departing, once he had stepped back down one level, he relaxed his expression as if in relief. Descending the last step, he would walk briskly forward, with his bent arms winglike, and resume his position with respectful bearing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Apart from robes for sacrificial cere-

10.6 The subject of this passage is 'the *junzi*', which may refer to Confucius. It is also possible this passage is an insertion here, breaking the apparent consistency of subject, all other passages appearing to refer back to the 'Confucius' of 10.1. This passage alone is rendered in the present tense.

This and many subsequent passages in Book X concern details of everyday cultivated conduct and etiquette, whereas the earlier ones describe court conduct.

mony, the layers of his robes are cut to different lengths.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10.13 Ji Kangzi was head of the warlord Ji family in Lu.

10.16 When he was ill, the ruler paid a visit. He lay with his head facing east, covered with his court robes, his sash laid across them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When delicacies were served, he would always alter his expression and stand.

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

At peals of thunder or gusts of wind, he would alter his expression.

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

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

The hen pheasant by the mountain bridge,

What timeliness! What timeliness!

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

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

Book XI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11.8 Yan Yuan died. Yan Lu asked for the

Notes

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

In this passage, '*junzi*' carries only the sense of cultivated gentlemen.

11.2 Confucius and his followers exhausted their resources and fell into poverty while journeying in these two states.

11.3 A famous assessment of a number of ten disciples. Note that Ran Boniu and Zhonggong are father and son.

11.6 See 5.2.

11.7 This duplicates 6.3.

11.8-11 This group of passages collects tales of Confucius's re-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"May I ask about death?"

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

11.13 When Minzi sat in attendance, he kept an upright posture, Zilu seemed to swagger,

response to the early death of his most promising disciple, Yan Hui.

11.10 Note that this passage specifically licenses the transgression of *li*.

11.12 Ji Lu is the disciple Zilu.

11.13 There are a number of passages in Book XI devoted to the

and Ran Yǒu and Zhonggong sat in a mild manner. The Master joked, “One like You will not die in his bed!”

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Then Shi is superior?”

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

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

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

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

11.19 The Master said, “Hui is just about

characterization of disciples.

Both because of his bold temperament and his political engagement with the warlord Ji clan, Zilu’s relationship with Confucius was fraught with tensions. Disciple-readers of the *Analects* would recognize irony here; Zilu (You) was, in fact, killed during a coup d’état, displaying brave loyalty to a ruler already murdered.

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

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

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

11.18 It is difficult to know what to make of this apparently harsh assessment, which includes some very prominent disciples. (The four are better known as Zigao 子羔, Zeng Shen, Zizhang, and Zilu.)

11.19 Late accounts say that Zi-

there – and he is in frequent poverty. Si manages to make a profit without a merchant's license; his speculations are frequently on the mark.

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

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

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

The Master said, "When your father and elder brothers are alive, how could you immediately practice what one has learned?"

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

The Master said, "Yes, one may."

Gongxi Hua said, "You asked, 'May one immediately put into practice what one has learned?' You said, 'Your father and elder brothers are still alive.' Qiu asked 'May one immediately put into practice what one has learned?' You said, 'Yes, one may.' I am confused, and presume to ask about this."

The Master said, "Qiu holds back, and so I drew him forward; You encroaches upon others, and so I drew him back."

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

Yan Yuan said, "While you are alive,

gong (Si) became a wealthy merchant in later life.

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

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

11.23 Yan Yuan, of course, did die before Confucius, as every reader of this passage well knew. The poignant irony here resonates with 11.13.

Master, how would I dare to die?”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11.25 Zigao was a disciple.

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

11.26 This famous passage is clearly a late elaboration of themes introduced in 5.8 and 5.26, the former passage serving as its direct inspiration. The same three disciples who appear in 5.8 appear here, and they are portrayed in similar terms. This passage must be understood by comparison, noting in particular that the chief difference is the addition of Zeng Xi 曾皙 (Dian 點), traditionally identified as the disciple Tseng Shen’s father, but otherwise unknown in the *Analects*.

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

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

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

“Chi, what about you?”

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

“Dian, what about you?”

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Why did you smile at You?”

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

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

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

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

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

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

Book XII

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12.7 Zigong asked about governance. The Master said, “Provide people with adequate food, provide them with adequate weapons, they will keep faith with their ruler.”

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

“Dispense with weapons.”

“If you had no choice but to dispense with one of those two things, which would it

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

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

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

be?”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Compare 6.18.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Zilu never postponed fulfillment of a promise overnight.

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

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

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

12.16 The Master said, The *junzi* perfects what is beautiful in people, he does not perfect what is ugly. The small man does just the opposite.

12.11 Confucius was said to have visited Qi several times. Duke Jing died before Confucius’s exile from Lu, and so this interview is set during Confucius’s relative youth.

This passage is often interpreted in light of 13.3.

12.12 An alternative translation less charitable to Zilu interprets the first sentence to be apparent sarcasm: “able to adjudicate after hearing only one side.”

12.13 This passage is cited in the late Warring States era text, *The Great Learning*, which notes that lawsuits permit those whose claims have no substance to use words to obscure what is so.

12.15 Duplicated at 6.27.

12.16 This passage resonates well with 7.29.

12.17 Ji Kangzi questioned Confucius about governance. Confucius replied, “Governance is setting things upright. If you lead with uprightness, who will dare not to be upright?”

12.18 Ji Kangzi was concerned about bandits, and asked Confucius about it. Confucius replied, “If you yourself were truly not covetous, though you rewarded people for it, they would not steal.”

12.19 Ji Kangzi asked Confucius about governance, saying, “How would it be if I were to kill those who are without the *Dao* in order to hasten others towards the *dao*?”

Confucius replied, “Of what use is killing in your governance? If you desire goodness, the people will be good. The virtue of the *junzi* is like the wind and the virtue of common people is like the grasses: when the wind blows over the grasses, they will surely bend.”

12.20 Zizhang asked, “When may a gentleman be said to have attained success?”

The Master said, “What do you mean by attaining success?”

Zizhang replied, “His name is known throughout his state and his household.”

The Master said, “This is to be known, not to be successful. Attaining success lies in being straightforward in basic substance and loving the right, being perspicacious when listening to others speak and observant of their facial expressions, and bearing in mind deference towards others. Such a person will surely attain success in the state and in his household.

12.17 This passage embeds a significant pun. The words for ‘governance’ (*zheng* 政) and ‘upright’ (*zheng* 正) are homonyms that overlap in both graph forms and corresponding meaning.

12.18 This passage and the next express the Confucian faith in the great force of example presented by those in positions of power.

12.19 The last phrase of this passage is very famous. It is unclear, perhaps by design, whether ‘*junzi*’ in this instance refers to the ethical exemplars or simply men in power.

12.20 The phrase ‘attained success’ here translates the same term rendered as ‘get through’ at 14.23 and 14.35. The basic sense of the term is to achieve recognition from those in authority, and so gain a visible social role.

“As for being known, such a man gets a reputation for *ren* from appearances, though his conduct contravenes it, and he is free of self-doubt. His name is known throughout his state and his household.”

12.21 Fan Chi accompanied the Master on an outing past the altar of the great rain dance. “May I ask about exalted virtue, reforming faults, and discerning confusion?”

The Master said, “Well asked! Be first to the effort and last to take reward – is that not exalted virtue? To set to work upon one’s own faults and not upon the faults of others, is that not the way to reform faults? In the anger of the moment to forget one’s safety and that of one’s parents, is that not confusion?”

12.22 Fan Chi asked about *ren*. The Master said, “Cherish people.” When he asked about knowledge, the Master said, “Know people,” and Fan Chi did not understand.

The Master said, “If you raise up the straight and place them over the crooked, they can make the crooked straight.”

Fan Chi took his leave and went to see Zixia. “Just now, I was with the Master and asked him about knowledge. He said, ‘If you raise up the straight and place them over the crooked, they can make the crooked straight.’ What did he mean?”

Zixia said, “How rich these words are! When Shun possessed the world he picked Gaoyao out from among the multitudes, and those who were not *ren* kept far distant. When Tang possessed the world, he picked Yi Yin out from among the multitudes, and those who were not *ren* kept far distant.”

12.21 This passage seems to give alternative approaches to queries posed in 12.10.

12.22 In Zixia’s closing remark, he refers to figures from legendary and pre-Zhou history. Gaoyao was a sagely member of the court of the legendary Emperor Shun, variously reported to have been in charge of criminals and in charge of music. Tang was the founding king of the Shang Dynasty, and Yi Yin was his principal aide.

12.23 Zigong asked about friends. The Master said, “Advise them loyally and guide them well. If this does not work, desist. Do not humiliate yourself.”

12.24 Master Zeng said, A *junzi* attracts friends through his patterned behavior, and employs friends to assist him in *ren*.

12.23 This resonates with 4.26.

Book XIII

13.1 Zilu asked about governance. The Master said, “Be first to the task and comfort others at their labors.”

When asked for more, he said, “Be tireless.”

13.2 Zhonggong was serving as steward for the Chi family. He asked about governance. The Master said, “Provide a leading example to your officers. Pardon minor offences. Raise up the worthy.”

“How can I recognize who has worthy abilities so I can raise them up?”

“Raise up those you recognize. Those you don’t recognize, will the others let you do without them?”

13.3 Zilu said, “If the ruler of Wei were to entrust you with governance of his state, what would be your first priority.”

The Master said, “Most certainly, it would be to rectify names.”

Zilu said, “Is that so? How strange of you! How would this set things right?”

The Master said, “What a boor you are, You! A *junzi* keeps silence about things he doesn’t understand.

“If names are not right then speech does not accord with things; if speech is not in accord with things, then affairs cannot be successful; when affairs are not successful, *li* and music do not flourish; when *li* music do not flourish, then sanctions and punishments miss their mark; when sanctions and punishments miss their mark, the people have no place to set their hands and feet.

“Therefore, when a *junzi* gives things

Notes

13.1 Many of the passages in Book XIII have to do with governance, as is true of the latter part of Book XII.

13.3 This states one facet of what is known as the doctrine of the “rectification of names.” There are many aspects to this idea. Passage 12.11, which stresses the need for people to perform their social roles properly, is often taken as a basic text for this doctrine. Passages 3.1 and 3.2, which concern usurpations of ritual prerogatives, are also sometimes linked to these ideas. Those passages stress the need to make one’s conduct match one’s social position. 13.3 stresses the need to align names to reflect the reality of circumstances; in this, it may resonate with 6.25.

Philosophical questions concerning the alignment of words and reality became central to fourth and third century B.C. thought, and many interpreters believe that 13.3 is a product of that era.

names, they may be properly spoken of, and what is said may be properly enacted. With regard to speech, the *junzi* permits no carelessness.”

13.4 Fan Chi asked to learn about farming grain. The Master said, “Better to ask an old peasant.” He asked about raising vegetables. “Better to ask an old gardener.”

When Fan Chi left, the Master said, “What a small man Fan Xu is! If a ruler loved *li*, none among the people would dare be inattentive; if a ruler loved right, none would dare be unrighteous; if a ruler loved trustworthiness, none would dare be insincere. The people of the four quarters would come to him with their children strapped on their backs. Why ask about farming?”

13.5 The Master said, If a man can recite from memory the three hundred odes of the *Poetry* but, when you entrust him with governance, he is unable to express his meaning, or, when you send him to the four quarters on diplomatic missions, he is unable to make replies on his own initiative, though he may have learned much, of what use is he?

13.6 The Master said, If he is upright in his person, he will perform without orders. If he is not upright in his person, though you give him orders, he will not carry them out.

13.7 The Master said, The governments of the states of Lu and Wei are like older and younger brothers.

13.8 The Master commented that Prince Jing of Wei handled possessing his resi-

13.4 Confucius refers to Fan Chi by his personal name, Xu.

13.5 The *Poetry* had become, by Confucius’s time, a canonical collection of songs well known to the patrician elite, who would at times communicate subtle messages by citing lines from the songs (as one sees throughout the *Analects*). Memorizing the text was significant, but if one could not put them to use through creative citation, one’s mastery counted for nothing. It is for this reason that the *Poetry* was an important part of the Confucian ritual curriculum.

13.7 As the former fief of the Duke of Zhou and a repository of Zhou culture, Lu’s government was admired, though no longer under the control of the rightful duke. The state of Wei was originally the fief of the Duke of Zhou’s younger brother, and here

dences well. When he first possessed a home he said, “This is truly a good fit.” When he came to have some luxuries he said, “This is truly complete.” When he became wealthy he said, “This is truly beautiful.”

13.9 The Master traveled to the state of Wei. Ran Yǒu drove his chariot. The Master said, “How populous it is!”

Ran Yǒu said, “As Wei is already populous, what would you add?”

“Enrich them.”

“Once the people were enriched, what would you add?”

“Teach them.”

13.10 The Master said, If there were someone who would employ me, things would be in hand within a year on the calendar things would be in hand. In three years, they would have come to success.

13.11 The Master said, “‘If good men governed for a hundred years, cruelty could indeed be overcome and killing dispensed with.’ How very true that saying is!”

13.12 The Master said, If there were one who reigned as a true king, after a generation, all would be *ren*.

13.13 The Master said, If one can make his person upright, then what difficult will he have in taking part in governance? If he cannot make his person upright, how can he make others upright?

13.14 Ranzi came from court. The Master

Confucius, who was hopeful of political opportunities in Wei, suggests that like Lu, Wei also possessed political virtues.

13.10 This and the following two passages share a theme in common with 13.29.

13.14 Ranzi is the disciple Ran Qiu (Yǒu). The court referred to is

said, “Why are you late?” Ranzi replied, “The were matters of government.”

The Master said, “Surely, these were affairs of the household. Were there matters of government, though I am not in office, I would be advised of them.”

13.15 Duke Ding asked, “Is there a single saying that can lead a state to flourish?”

Confucius replied, “No saying can have such an effect, but there is one that comes close: There is a saying, ‘It is hard to be a ruler; it is not easy being a minister.’ If one thus understood how hard it is to rule, would this not come close to a single saying leading a state to flourish?”

“Is there a single saying that can destroy a state?”

Confucius replied, “No saying can have such an effect, but there is one that comes close: There is a saying, ‘There is nothing I love more about being a ruler than that no one contradicts me.’ If a ruler were fine and none contradicted him, that would be fine indeed; if he were not a good ruler and none contradicted him, then would this not come close to a single saying destroying a state?”

13.16 The Lord of She asked about governance. The Master said, “Those nearby are pleased, those far distant come.”

13.17 Zixia served as steward of Jufu and asked about governance. The Master said, “Don’t seek quick results; don’t attend to matters of minor profit. If you seek quick results, you will not attain success; if you attend to matters of minor profit, you will not

likely the Ji clan court, where Ran Qiu served as steward. Confucius seems to be making a distinction between affairs of the Ji clan – which should rightly concern only matters of their hereditary domain, or household – and matters of state, which should rightly concern only the duke’s court.

succeed in great affairs.

13.18 The Lord of She instructed Confucius, saying, “There is an upright man in my district. His father stole a sheep, and he testified against him.”

Confucius said, “The upright men in my district are different. Fathers cover up for their sons and sons cover up for their fathers. Uprightness lies therein.”

13.19 Fan Chi asked about *ren*. The Master said, Let your bearing be reverent when you are at leisure, be respectfully attentive in managing affairs, and be loyal towards others. Though you be among barbarians, these may never be cast aside.

13.20 Zigong asked, “How must one be in order to deserve being called a gentleman?”

The Master said, “One who conducts himself with a sense of shame and who may be dispatched to the four quarters without disgracing his lord’s commission, such a one may be termed a gentleman.”

“May I ask what is next best?”

“When his clan calls him filial and his neighborhood district calls him respectful of elders.”

“May I ask what is next best?”

“Keeping to one’s word and following through in one’s actions – it has the ring of a petty man, but indeed, this would be next.”

“What are those who participate in governance today like?”

“Oh! They are men you measure by cup or quart – why even count them?”

13.21 The Master said, Those who cannot

13.18 This famous passage reflects the Confucian stress on filiality as an essential foundation for virtue, and an inalienable component of good character.

keep to the central path in their conduct but who are still worth some praise are surely the reckless and the timid. The reckless are willing to advance towards the goal, and the timid have things that they are unwilling to do.

13.22 The Master said, “The people of the South have a saying: ‘A person without constancy may not be a shaman or a doctor.’ This is very fine!”

“If one is not constant in virtue, one will receive disgrace” – the Master said, “Simply do not divine.”

13.23 The Master said, The *junzi* acts in harmony with others but does not seek to be like them; the small man seeks to be like others and does not act in harmony.

13.24 Zigong asked, “If all the people of your village loved you, how would that be?” The Master said, “Not good enough.”

“If all the people of your village hated you, how would that be?”

“The Master said, “Not good enough. Better that the good people in your village love you and the bad people hate you.”

13.25 The Master said, The *junzi* is easy to serve and hard to please. If you do not accord with the *dao* in pleasing him, he is not pleased; when it comes to employing others, he only puts them to tasks they are fit to manage.

The small man is hard to serve but easy to please. If you do not accord with the *dao* in pleasing him, he is still pleased; when it comes to employing others, he demands

13.21 ‘Things they are unwilling to do’ means there is a limit to the immoral acts they will take in order to please their lord.

13.22 It is difficult to parse this passage well. The second portion begins with a citation from the mantic text *Yi jing* (Book of Changes). Confucius’s final comment seems to pertain to it. However, an alternative reading lays stress on the word ‘constant’, share by the ‘saying of the South’ and the *Yi ching* passage, and links those as a single unit.

Because of the source of the *Yi jing* passage, Confucius’s final comment is sometimes taken to refer to the *Yi*, and to suggest that the text should not be used for fortunetelling, but rather simply to understand how action consequences vary with contexts. That is the interpretation governing this translation.

they be able in everything.

13.26 The Master said, The *junzi* is at ease without being arrogant; the small man is arrogant without being at ease.

13.27 The Master said, Incorruptibility, steadfastness, simplicity, and reticence are near to *ren*.

13.28 Zilu asked, “How must one be in order to deserve being called a gentleman?”

The Master said, “Supportive, encouraging, congenial – such a man may be called a gentleman. Supportive and encouraging with his friends, congenial with his brothers.”

13.29 The Master said, If a good man were to instruct the people for seven years, they would indeed be ready to go into battle.

13.30 The Master said, Not to teach the people how to fight in war may called discarding them.

13.29 A recently discovered text of the “Huang-Lao” (Daoist/Legalist) tradition of the third to second century B.C. pictures the ideal ruler as nurturing a state for seven years to prepare it for battle. This passage and the next may reflect the influence of non-Confucian thought in those later times. 13.29 may be contrasted with what would seem the more purely Confucian 13.10-12.

Book XIV

14.1 Xian asked about shame. The Master said, “When the *dao* prevails in a state, take office. To take office when the *dao* does not prevail – that is shame.”

“Overbearing, boastful, resentful – to wish to be none of these, is that *ren*?”

The Master said, “It is difficult. As for *ren*, I don’t know.”

14.2 The Master said, A gentleman who is attached to the amenities of his home is not worthy of being called a gentleman.

14.3 When the *dao* prevails in the state, speak as though in danger, act as though in danger. When the *dao* does not prevail in the state, act as though in danger, and make your speech compliant.

14.4 The Master said, Those who possess virtue must have teachings to impart, but a man with teachings to impart does not always possess virtue. The man of *ren* will be valorous, but valorous men are not always *ren*.

14.5 Nangong Kuo questioned Confucius, saying, “Yi was a great archer and Ao was a great boatman, yet neither died a natural death. On the other hand, Yu and Ji were farmers in the fields and yet came to possess all the world.”

The Master did not reply. After Nangong Kuo went out, the Master said, “What a *junzi* this man is! What fine virtue this man has!”

Notes

14.1 Xian was the personal name of the disciple Yuan Xian. In early literary convention, use of the personal name in a narrative context was a sign of first person voice, and this has led some interpreters to view this passage, and perhaps much of the chapter, as written by Yuan Xian. According to historical accounts, Yuan Xian became a recluse after Confucius’s death, and reclusion from society in dangerous times, an aspect of timeliness, is a recurrent theme in Book XIV.

14.5 Nangong Kuo was the disciple Nan Rong (see 5.2). He refers here to a series of legendary men. Tales of Yi and Ao celebrated the talents noted here. Yu refers to the Emperor Yu, founder of the Hsia Dynasty. Ji (sometimes called Prince Millet) was the legendary forbear of the Zhou royal house. Both men were said to have been raised from commoner status by Emperor Shun.

14.6 The Master said, A *junzi* who is not *ren*, there are such people. There has never been a small man who is *ren*.

14.7 The Master said, If you cherish them can you not make them labor? If you are loyal to them, can you not instruct them?

14.8 The Master said, In crafting diplomatic documents, Pi Chen drafted them, Shi Shu commented upon them, envoy Ziyu embellished them, and Zichan of Dongli made them beautiful.

14.9 Someone asked about Zichan. The Master said, “He was a generous man.” They asked about Zixi. “That one? That one?”

They asked about Guan Zhong. “He was a man! He seized from the Bo family its domain of three hundred households in Pian, and though the family head was reduced to eating greens for his meals, he lived out his years without uttering a word of resentment.”

14.10 The Master said, To be poor and without resentment is hard; to be wealthy and without arrogance is easy.

14.11 The Master said, If Meng Gongchuo served as an elder at the courts of the Zhao and Wei families, he would be excellent. But he’s unfit to be a grandee at court in the states of Teng and Xue.

14.12 Zilu asked about the complete man. The Master said, “If he were as wise as Zang Wuzhong, as free from desire as Gongchuo, as valorous as Zhuangzi of Bian, as accom-

14.8 These four men were officers in the court of Zheng during Confucius’s youth. Chiefly on account of the prime minister, Zichan, this court enjoyed a reputation as unusually capable and ethical.

14.9 Zichan was prime minister of the state of Zheng. The Zixi named here was probably his successor, whose performance was not marked by success. Confucius’s exclamation may be a protest to hearing him mentioned beside Zichan.

On Guan Zhong, see 3.22 and 14.16-17. Some interpreters read ‘He was a man’ as ‘He was *ren*’; ‘man’ (*ren* 人) and ‘*ren*’ (仁) are cognate words, identical in sound and close in graph. But see the note on 14.16-17.

14.11 Meng Gongchuo was a grandee of Lu contemporary with Confucius. Zhao and Wei were great warlord families in the state of Jin (the later participated in dividing that state and founding their own). Teng and Xue were tiny states near Lu. The point is that Meng Gongchuo was suitable as a ‘household’ officer for even powerful families, but did not have the qualities to serve even the most powerless legitimate ruler. (He is, however, implicitly praised in the

plished in the arts as Ran Qiu, and patterned with *li* and music besides, then he may be called a complete man.”

He added, “But for someone to be deemed a complete man nowadays, what need does he have for all this? If, seeing profit, his thoughts turn to what is right, and seeing danger, he is ready to risk his life, if he can long endure hardship without forgetting the teachings that have guided his ordinary life, he may indeed be deemed a complete man.”

14.13 The Master asked Gongming Jia about Gongshu Wenzhi, saying, “Is it true that your master never spoke, never laughed, and never took anything?”

Gongming Jia replied, “That report was exaggerated. My master spoke, but only when it was timely; in that way, people did not tire of his words. He laughed, but only when he was joyful; in that way, people did not tire of his laughter. He took things, but only when it was righteous; in that way, people did not tire of his taking.”

The Master said, “Is that so? How can that be true?”

14.14 The Master said, Zang Wuzhong used Fang to bargain for continuation of his clan line in Lu. Though they say he did not coerce his lord, I do not believe it.

14.15 The Master said, Duke Wen of Jin was adept at expedient means but not upright; Duke Huan of Qi was upright but not adept at expedient means.

14.16 Zilu said, “When Duke Huan killed

next passage.)

14.12 The term ‘complete man’ is not used elsewhere in the *Analects*.

Zang Wuzhong was head of a major Lu family a generation before Confucius, with a reputation for wisdom (see 14.14). For Gongchuo, see the last passage. Zhuangzi was reputed for feats of strength and battle bravery. Ran Qiu is Confucius’s disciple; his skill in arts is noted at 6.8.

14.13 Gongming Jia was a man of the state of Wei, and Gongshu Wenzhi a late grandee of Wei. See also 14.18.

14.14 Zang Wuzhong was leader of one of the great families of Lu; Confucius’s father was in his service. Zang fled into exile in 550 B.C., but prior to doing so, he offered the duke of Lu possession of his family’s sacred turtle (see 5.18, which concerns his grandfather) in return for allowing his family to remain lords of their domain at Fang.

14.15 This passage names the second and first of the ‘hegemon’ overlords of the Spring and Autumn era. Duke Wen was known

Prince Jiu, Shao Hu committed suicide for the death of his lord, but Guan Zhong did not. We can say of him that he was not *ren*, can we not?”

The Master said, “Duke Huan nine times brought the feudal lords into assembly without the use of weapons or war chariots. This was due to the efforts of Guan Zhong. Such *ren*! Such *ren*!”

14.17 Zigong said, “Surely, Guan Zhong was not a *ren* man. Duke Huan killed Prince Jiu and Guan Zhong was unable to die for his lord, and even served as prime minister to Duke Huan.”

The Master said, “Guan Zhong served as prime minister to Duke Huan and Duke Huan became hegemon over the feudal lords. For a time, he set the world in order. To this day the people receive blessings from it. Were it not for Guan Zhong, we would wear our hair loose and button our jackets on the left. How would it have been proper for him to be faithful like a common man or woman, and slit his throat in a ditch where none would ever know?”

14.18 Gongshu Wenzhi’s household officer, the grandee Zhuan, was promoted to service in the duke’s court alongside Wenzhi. The Master, learning of this, commented, “He may rightly be called *wen*.”

14.19 The Master spoke of how Duke Ling of Wei did not follow the *dao*. Kangzi said, “If that is the case, why does he not meet his downfall?”

Confucius said, “Zhongshu Yu attends to visitors of state, Zhu Tuo manages matters

for his craft in diplomacy and war; Duke Huan for a painful adherence to rules in order to win respect (a policy he was persuaded to follow by his prime minister, Guan Zhong, see below).

14.16-17 These passages reflect judgments of Guan Zhong, a former prime minister of the state of Qi and the most famous figure of seventh century B.C. politics. His great achievement was guiding his lord, Duke Huan of Qi, to become the acknowledged leader of an extensive alliance of states, a position of ‘hegemony’ recognized officially by the King of the Chou, whose protector Duke Huan became. The lavish praise of Guan Zhong in these passages stands in sharp contrast to 3.22.

Originally, Duke Huan competed with his brother, Prince Jiu, to become duke in Qi. Guan Zhong and Shao Hu were aides to Prince Jiu. When Prince Jiu was killed, Shao Hu acted as a gentleman and committed suicide. Guan Zhong was pardoned by Duke Huan, who was advised that only by appointing him a minister could he hope to become a truly great ruler.

Confucius’s judgment that Guan Zhong was *ren* in 14.16 is so surprising that many interpreters refuse to read the passage in that way, and render the final line as an inconclusive, ‘But as for his being *ren* . . .’

14.18 ‘Wenzi’ was the posthumous honorific given to the Wei grandee Gongsun Ba (see also 14.13). Confucius approves his having been granted the name Wenzhi on the basis of the conduct reported here.

of the ancestral temples, Wangsun Jia commands the armies. Given all this, how could he fail?”

14.20 The Master said, When words are uttered without modesty, living up to them is difficult.

14.21 Chen Chengzi assassinated Duke Jian of Qi. Confucius bathed and went to court, where he reported to Duke Ai, “Chen Heng has assassinated his ruler. I request he be pursued.”

The duke said, “Report this to the three lords.”

Confucius said, “Because I follow behind the grandees, I dare not make this report. My lord has said, ‘Report this to the three lords.’”

He then went to the three lords to report. They denied his request. Confucius said, “Because I follow behind the grandees, I dare not make this report.”

14.22 Zilu asked about serving a ruler. The Master said, “Do not deceive him, but be willing to offend him.”

14.23 The Master said, The *junzi* gets through to what is exalted; the small man gets through to what is base.

14.24 The Master said, In the past men learned for themselves; now men learn for others.

14.25 Qu Boyu sent an emissary to Confucius. Confucius sat together with him and questioned him. “What does your master

14.19 Kangzi was head of the warlord Ji family in Lu. The other men named here were all ministers at Duke Ling’s court. On Wangsun Jia, see 3.13.

14.21 Chen Chengzi (referred to by personal name Chen Heng by Confucius in order to presume familiarity and thus indicate disapproval) was a grandee of Qi. His family ultimately usurped the throne of the dukes of Qi after Confucius’s lifetime, as the authors of the *Analects* would have known.

It is unclear what role is implied by the phrase ‘following behind the grandees’ signifies – it appears also at 11.8 – but the point is that Confucius made his appeal to the duke, who would have sole legitimate power to pursue and punish the assassin of a neighboring lord, and the duke deferred to the three warlord families, who were naturally unmoved with Confucius’s moral stance.

14.23 This passage has resonance with 14.35. The word for ‘get through’ means ‘to understand’ or ‘to master’, but also ‘to gain access to power holders’.

14.25 Qu Boyu was a grandee of the state of Wei. His reputation in Classical literature is very high (see 15.7.).

wish.”

“My master wishes to reduce his errors and has not been able to do so.”

After the emissary left, the Master said, “What an emissary! What an emissary!”

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

Master Zeng said, The thoughts of the *junzi* do not stray beyond his position.

14.27 The Master said, The *junzi* is ashamed when his words outstrip his actions.

14.28 The Master said, “There are three points to the *dao* of a *junzi* that I have been unable to reach: to be *ren*, and so not beset with cares, to be wise, and so not confused, to be valorous, and so not fearful.”

Zigong said, “Master, you have described yourself.”

14.29 Zigong spoke of others’ defects. The Master said, “How worthy Si is! As for me, I have no time for that.”

14.30 The Master said, Do not be concerned that others do not recognize you, be concerned about what you are yet unable to do.

14.31 The Master said, Without anticipating that others are being deceptive, without guessing that they will not keep faith, yet to sense these things in advance, is that not what being worthy is about?

14.32 Weisheng Mou said to Confucius,

14.26 The first portion of this passage duplicates 8.14. The second portion is likely a later elaboration added by Zeng Shen’s followers.

14.28 In the original text, this passage fully embeds the language of 9.29, though the order of items is different.

14.29 Si was Zigong’s personal name.

14.30 This passage seems to be a prelude to 14.35.

14.32 Weisheng Mou was likely a

“Qiu, why do you go prattling about like this? Doesn’t it just amount to so much glib talk?”

Confucius said, “I would not presume to attempt glibness. It is my anxiety about stubborn ignorance.”

14.33 The Master said, A fine horse is not praised for its strength, but for its virtue.

14.34 Someone said, “To employ virtue to repay resentment, how would that be?”

The Master said, “What, then, would you employ to repay virtue? Employ straightforwardness to repay resentment; employ virtue to repay virtue.”

14.35 The Master said, “No one recognizes me!”

Zigong said, “How is it that this is so?”

The Master said, “I do not complain against Tian, nor do I blame men. I study what is lowly and so get through to what is exalted. Is it not Tian who recognizes me?”

14.36 Gongbo Liao made accusations against Zilu at the Ji family court. Zifu Jingbo reported this, saying, “My master harbors uncertain feelings towards Gongbo Liao. My effort would still suffice to have his corpse splayed in the market and court.”

The Master said, “Will the *dao* prevail? That is a matter of fate (*ming*). Will the *dao* be cast aside? That is a matter of fate. What can Gongbo Liao do about fate?”

14.37 The Master said, Worthy are those who shun the world. Next are those who

senior and intimate of Confucius, as he addresses Confucius by his personal name, Qiu.

14.33 The term ‘virtue’ (*de*) is very flexible. Here, it seems to denote all the qualities that make a horse fine – temperament, proportions, and so forth.

14.35 It is a feature of many passages involving Zigong that they include a surprising twist of message. In this case, Confucius’s initial statement, in light of passages such as 1.1, 1.16, 14.30, and others, takes Zilu by surprise. ‘Recognition,’ in all these passages involves both recognizing a person’s talents and employing him at court. This passage reads well as a complement to 3.24.

14.36 The term *ming* (命) denoted an order, a fixed span of life, and fate. The adversaries of Confucians, the Mohists, accused Confucians of ‘fatalism’, meaning the idea that predestination makes effort useless. This passage tends to support such a view.

14.37-39 The last part of Book XIV focuses on the issue of withdrawal from engagement with an

shun a particular place. Next best shun lasciviousness. Next the next shun speech.

The Master said, There have been seven able to do this.

14.38 Zilu stayed the night by Stone Gate. The morning gate keeper said, “Where are you coming from?”

Zilu said, “From the Kong home.”

“Is that the one who knows it can’t be done and keeps doing it?”

14.39 The Master was striking stone chimes in Wei. A man passed by his gate, shouldering baskets hung from a pole. He said, “What heart there is in the playing of these chimes!”

Then he said, “How uncouth, this clanking! If none recognize you, then simply give up.

When it’s deep, you wade straight through;

When it’s shallow, you lift your skirts.”

The Master said, “Is it really so? There’s nothing hard in that.”

14.40 Zizhang said, “The *Documents* say, ‘During Gaozong’s period of mourning for his father, for three years he dwelt in his mourning hut and did not speak.’ What does this mean?”

The Master said, “This did not necessarily apply only to Gaozong. All the ancients were thus. When the ruler died, the officers of state gathered themselves and for three years took their orders from the prime minister.”

14.41 The Master said, When the ruler loves *li*, the people are easy to employ.

immoral human world, which, in the *Analects*, Confucius seems both to praise and to fight against.

The theme is also a major one in Book XVIII.

14.38 Kong is Confucius’s surname.

14.40 Gaozong was a Shang Dynasty king.

14.42 Zilu asked about the *junzi*. The Master said, “Cultivate in yourself respectful attentiveness.”

“Is that all there is to it?”

“Cultivate yourself to bring comfort to others.”

“Is that all there is to it?”

“Cultivate yourself to bring comfort to the people. Cultivating oneself to bring comfort to the people, even Yao and Shun themselves would fall short of that.”

14.43 Yuan Rang sat waiting with his legs crossed. The Master said, “As a youth disobedient and disrespectful to your elders, as an adult accomplishing nothing worth speaking of, old and still not dead – nothing but a thief!” And he struck him on the shin with his staff.

14.44 A boy from the Que district was acting as a messenger and someone asked about him. “Is he likely to improve?”

The Master said, “I have noticed that he seats himself in company and walks directly alongside his elders. He is not seeking improvement. He’s after quick results.”

14.42 The final phrase is also used at 6.30.

14.43 Yuan Rang is elsewhere reported to be an old friend of Confucius. If that is correct, this passage is probably meant to be humorous.

Sitting cross legged was highly informal, and thus not respectful.

14.44 The term rendered as ‘results’ also carries a sense of ‘grow to adulthood’, which appears to be what the boy was trying to take a shortcut to.

Book XV

15.1 Duke Ling of Wei questioned Confucius about battlefield formations. Confucius replied, “When it comes to matters of sacrificial vessels, I have some learning. I have never studied military affairs.”

The next day he departed.

15.2 In Chen, the supplies of food were exhausted, and the followers fell so ill that none could rise from bed. Zilu appeared before the Master with a bitter expression. “May even a *junzi* fall to the depths of poverty.”

The Master said, “The *junzi* holds steadfast through poverty. When the small man falls into poverty, he will do anything.”

15.3 The Master said, “Si! Do you take me for one who studies a great deal and remembers it?”

Zigong replied, “Yes. Is it not so?”

“It is not. I link all on a single thread.”

15.4 The Master said, “You, there are few who recognize virtue.”

15.5 The Master said, He did nothing and all was well ordered – this would describe Shun, would it not? What did he do? He simply composed himself with reverence and sat facing due south.

15.6 Zizhang asked about effective action. The Master said, “If your words are loyal and trustworthy and your conduct sincere and respectful, though you be in distant barbarian states, you will be effective. If your

Notes

15.1 We have seen else-where (e.g., 3.13, 6.28) how Confucius pursued his political opportunities in Wei, always turning aside less than moral chances to gain access to power holders. Here we see him at last attain the audience with the duke he sought. (See 14.19.)

15.2 The full legend of Confucius’s travels in exile from Lu must have had many colorful episodes, such as this one.

15.3 This may be compared to the more polished 4.15, which makes a rather different point on the same theme, and also to 9.8.

15.5 Daoist philosophy celebrated the power of ‘natural’ action – action that involved no plan or striving: ‘non-action’ (*wuwei* 無爲). The Legalist Han Feizi made non-action a hallmark of political perfection. Here, in what is probably a late insertion, the *Analects* appropriates *wuwei* to make its own exemplary sage the definitive model.

words are not loyal and trustworthy and your conduct not sincere and respectful, though you be in your own neighborhood or district, can you be effective? When you stand, let these thoughts appear before you; when you ride in your carriage, let them appear, leaning on the carriage bar beside you.”

Zizhang inscribed these words on his sash.

15.7 The Master said, How straight Shi Yu is. When the *dao* prevails in the state, he is like an arrow; when the *dao* does not prevail, he is like an arrow. *A junzi!*

With Qu Boyu, when the *dao* prevails in the state, he serves; when the *dao* does not prevail, he can roll it into a ball and hide it by his heart

15.8 The Master said, To fail to speak with someone whom it is worthwhile to speak with is to waste that person. To speak with someone whom it is not worthwhile to speak with is to waste words. The wise man wastes neither people nor words.

15.9 The Master said, The gentleman who is resolute and *ren* does not seek to live on at the expense of *ren*, and there are times when he will sacrifice his life to complete *ren*.

15.10 Zigong asked about *ren*. The Master said, “The craftsman who wishes to do his work well must first sharpen his tools. When you dwell in a state, serve those of its grandees who are worthy men, befriend those of its gentlemen who are *ren*.

15.11 Yan Yuan asked about managing a

15.7 The final imaginative phrase in this portrait of timeliness seems to picture the exemplary man rolling up the *dao* itself, to conceal protect it within his jacket. (On Qu Boyu, see 14.25.)

15.10 At some points, like this one, the *Analects* seems to use the term ‘*ren*’ to mean little more than ‘moral’.

state. The Master said, “Implement the calendar of the Xia, ride the carriages of the Yin, wear the ceremonial caps of the Zhou. For music: the Shao dance. Get rid of the melodies of Zheng, and keep crafty talkers at a distance – the melodies of Zheng are overwrought; crafty talkers are dangerous.”

15.12 The Master said, A man who does not think far ahead will have troubles near at hand.

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

15.14 The Master said, Did not Zang Wenzhong purloin his privilege of position? He was aware that Liuxia Hui was worthy, but would not raise him to office beside him.

15.15 The Master said, If one emphasizes enhancing one’s own qualities and curtails finding fault with others, one will keep resentments at a distance.

15.16 The Master said, Those who are not always saying, “What shall I do? What shall I do?” – I can do nothing with them.

15.17 The Master said, Those who sit in a group all day enjoying clever conversation without their talk ever touching on right – such men are difficult to deal with.

15.18 The Master said, The *junzi* takes right as his basic substance; he puts it into practice with *li*, uses compliance to enact it and faithfulness to complete it.

15.11 The Xia, Yin (Shang), and Zhou are the three early dynasties. Here the *Analects* makes clear that the *li* of the Confucian school is not merely Zhou ritual, but a composite of the finest traditions.

15.13 Duplicated at 9.18.

15.14 Zang Wenzhong was a high minister and head of a great patrician family in Lu (see 5.18). Liuxia Hui was head of a family of parallel descent. Zang Wenzhong is indicted in some texts for keeping the ruler from recognizing the talents of Liuxia Hui.

15.18-23 A particularly extended string of passages on a common theme: the *junzi*.

15.19 The Master said, The *junzi* blames himself for lacking ability; he does not blame others for not recognizing him.

15.20 The Master said, The *junzi* is apprehensive that he may leave the world without his name remaining praised there.

15.21 The Master said, The *junzi* seeks it in himself; the small man seeks it in others.

15.22 The Master said, The *junzi* bears himself with dignity but does not contend; he joins with others, but does not become a partisan.

15.23 The Master said, The *junzi* does not raise up a man because of his words, and does not discard words because of the man.

15.24 Zigong asked, “It there a single saying that one may put into practice all one’s life?”

The Master said, “That would be ‘reciprocity’: That which you do not desire, do not do to others.”

15.25 The Master said, In my appraisals of people, whom do I disparage, whom do I praise? If I praise a man, it is always on the basis of evidence. These are the people who guided the three eras to walk along the straight *dao*.

15.26 The Master said, In my time there were still recorders who left what they did not know blank and those with horses who lent them to others to drive. Now there are none.

15.24 See 5.12 and 12.2.

15.25 The ‘three eras’ of the final phrase refers to the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties.

15.26 ‘Recorders’ refers to those who kept records at court; the term may be rendered ‘historians’. An alternative interpretation reads the initial sentence as referring to recorders who lacked cultivation,

15.27 The Master said, Crafty speech disrupts virtue. Impatience in small matters disrupts great plans.

15.28 The Master said, If the masses hate someone, one must investigate the case; if the masses love someone, one must investigate the case.

15.29 The Master said, A man can enlarge the *dao*; it is not that the *dao* enlarges a man.

15.30 The Master said, To err and not change – that, we may say, is to err.

15.31 The Master said, I have spent whole days without eating, whole nights without sleeping, in order to think. It was useless – not like study.

15.32 The Master said, The *junzi* makes plans for the sake of the *dao*, not for the sake of eating. Ploughing: there is a starvation in it. Study: there is a reward in it. The *junzi* worries about the *dao*, not about poverty.

15.33 The Master said, If one's knowledge is adequate for it, but one does not possess the *ren* needed to preserve it, though one gets it, one will surely lose it. If one's knowledge is adequate for it and one possesses the *ren* needed to preserve it, if one is not solemn in dealing directly with them, the people will not show respect. If one's knowledge is adequate for it and one possesses the *ren* needed to preserve it, and one is solemn in dealing directly with the people, if one initiates action without according to *li*, it will not

and takes the loan of horses as a lapse of *li*, giving the passage a very different sense.

15.29 This passage makes best sense when 'enlarge a man' is taken in the sense of raising his rank or wealth.

15.31 The contrast between thoughtful reflection and active study is a theme of the Confucian text *Xunzi*.

15.32 There is interesting resonance with 2.18 here.

15.33 In this passage, the meaning of the term *ren* seems reduced to 'benevolence', a non-comprehensive virtue that permits of varying degrees. The overall context clearly refers to those who come into possession of a state or domain.

yet be good.

15.34 The Master said, The *junzi* does not accept being known for petty talents, but accepts receiving great burdens. The small man does not accept receiving great burdens, but accepts being known for petty talents.

15.35 The Master said, *Ren* is of greater moment to the people than water or fire. I have seen people tread through water and fire and die; I have yet to see anyone tread through *ren* and die.

15.36 The Master said, When one acts with *ren*, one does not yield to one's teacher.

15.37 The Master said, The *junzi* is steadfast but not rigid.

15.38 The Master said, In serving a ruler, be attentive to affairs and consider salary a secondary matter.

15.39 The Master said, There is a teaching; there are no divisions.

15.40 The Master said, Do not make plans together with others whose *dao* differs from yours.

15.41 The Master said, Words should do no more than convey the idea.

15.42 Music Master Mian came to visit. When he reached the steps, the Master said, "Here are the steps." When he reached the mat, the Master said, "Here is the mat." When all were seated, the Master said to

15.35 The word rendered 'tread' (*dao* 踏) was most likely a play on words with *dao* (道), in the sense of the Way, or to 'walk the Way'. Thus 'tread through *ren*' could be understood as 'walk the Way of *ren*'.

15.36 This short passage makes an important statement about the attainment of moral authority and personal autonomy.

15.37 'Steadfast' implies ethical determination. 'Rigid' refers to narrow insistence on according with rules; the same term, in other contexts, denotes faithfulness in promise-keeping.

15.39 This may mean that the teaching is a whole, without divisions; it has often been celebrated as meaning that there is a single teaching, meant equally for all classes of persons.

15.42 In ancient China, musicians were blind men.

him, “So-and-so is here, so-and-so is there.”

After Music Master Mian left, Zizhang asked, “Is that the *dao* for speaking to a music master?”

The Master said, “Yes. It is indeed the *dao* of assisting a music master.”

Book XVI

16.1 The Ji family was preparing to attack the territory of Zhuanyu. Ran Yǒu and Ji Lu appeared before Confucius and said, “The Ji family plans to launch an affair against Zhuanyu.”

Confucius said, “Qiu, would this not be your fault? In the past, the former kings appointed Zhuanyu to be in charge of East Meng Mountain. Moreover, it lies within the territory of this state, and is hence a subject at the state altars of Lu. What point is there in attacking it?”

Ran Yǒu said, “It is our master’s wish, not the wish of the two of us.”

Confucius said, “Qiu! Zhou Ren had a saying: ‘He who can marshal his strength in the effort should take his place in the ranks; he who cannot, should desist.’ What use to a blind man is an attendant who cannot steady him when the footing is treacherous or pull him up when he falls? Besides, your words are mistaken. When the tiger or rhino escape their cages, when the sacred turtle shell or precious stone are smashed while in their boxes, who should be held to blame?”

Ran Yǔ said, “At present, Zhuanyu is, in fact, very near to Bi. If it is not taken now, it will surely create trouble for the Ji clan descendants.”

Confucius said, “Qiu! The *junzi* detests those who cover up their desires by making excuses.

“I have heard it said that those who preside over states or family domains do not worry that they will have too few people, they worry that distribution of goods may be uneven; they do not worry about poverty,

Notes

16.1 A number of Confucius’s senior disciples were men of importance in Lu, and several of them, most notably Ran Yǒu (Ran Qiu) and Ji Lu (Zhong Yu; Zilu) were influential stewards at the court of the warlord Ji family (also called Jisun), the de facto power in the state of Lu.

In this passage, they report that the head of the Ji clan (Ji Kangzi) has decided to launch a military attack against a tiny state, Zhuanyu, whose small territory lay entirely within the border of the state of Lu, in the region of a mountain called East Meng. Apparently, the lords of Zhuanyu had at some time been entrusted with keeping sacrifices to the spirit of this mountain, and granted a small domain to support them in this task. Zhuanyu was close to the large Ji family domain and stronghold at Bi, and Ji Kangzi seems to have found its independence an irritant.

This passage illustrates the perils of political engagement with immoral rulers. Ran Qiu exemplifies the behavior of a man vested in rationalizing immoral conduct by a power holder to whom he is beholden.

The Zhou Ren whom Confucius mentions is said in commentary to have been a historian of earlier times, although there is no confirming evidence that this is so.

In the middle section of Confucius’s final statement here, there may be some corruption of the text – the argument lacks the parallelism one would expect. In this discussion, Confucius refers to underpopulation. The scarcest good contended for by rulers dur-

they worry they will not bring peace. Is it not so that when distribution is even there is no poverty; when there is harmony there is no underpopulation; when there is peace there is no danger the ruler will topple? It is just in this spirit that if those who are distant do not submit, one must cultivate patterns and virtue to attract them. Once they have come, one must comfort them.

“Now you, Qiu, and You attend your master, but those who are distant do not submit and you are unable to attract them, the state is split and crumbling and you are unable to protect it. Instead, you plot the use of weapons of war within the borders of the state. I fear that the troubles of the Jisun family lie not with Zhuanyu, but within their own walls.”

16.2 Confucius said, When the *dao* prevails in the world, *li* and music, and punitive military actions proceed on the order of the Son of Heaven. When the *dao* does not prevail in the world, *li* and music, and punitive military actions proceed on the orders of the feudal lords. Once they proceed from the feudal lords, it is rare that after ten generations they have not lost the power. Once they proceed from grandees, it is rare that after five generations they have not lost the power. Once subordinate officers control the fate of the state, it is rare that after three generations they have not lost the power.

When the *dao* prevails in the world, governance does not lie in the hands of grandees. When the *dao* prevails in the world, the common people do not discuss governance.

ing this period was not land – there was plenty of land – it was people who could work the land and produce income for a ruler. Confucius here suggests two prudential reasons for treating people well – not only will those who are resisting submit, but those who are distant will come to dwell, providing a labor and tax pool.

16.2 After 16.1, the remainder of Book XVI is, for the most part, highly formulaic, and clearly comes from a set of editorial hands different from other books. For example, passages begin “Confucius said,” rather than “The Master said,” and many passages are numbered lists (something observed also in parts of Book XVII). The book is not noted for profound insights.

16.3 Confucius said, Control of appointments fell from the hands of the ducal house five generations ago. Governance has been in the hands of the grandees for four generations. Therefore, the descendants of the ‘three Huan’ families will live in obscurity.

16.4 Confucius said, There are three types of friends who improve you, and three types of friends who diminish you. Friends who are straightforward, sincere, and have learned much improve you. Friends who are fawning, insincere, and crafty in speech diminish you.

16.5 Confucius said, There are three types of delights that improve you, and three types of delights that diminish you. To delight in *li* and music, to delight in speaking of others’ good points, to delight in having many worthy friends – these improve you. To delight in arrogant pleasures, to delight in idle wanderings, to delight in banquet parties – these diminish you.

16.6 Confucius said, In attending a ruler there are three mistakes. To speak of something before an appropriate time has come it is to be impetuous; to fail to speak of something when an appropriate time has come is to be secretive; to speak without gauging the ruler’s expression is to be blind.

16.7 Confucius said, The *junzi* has three cautions. When he is young and his blood and energy are not yet settled, he is cautious about sex. When he is in his prime and his blood and energy have newly achieved strength, he is cautious about combativeness.

16.3 The last passage set general rules concerning the rate at which power had been devolving in China. In 16.3, these rules are applied to the state of Lu, where power had long since passed into the hands of three great grandee families, the Ji, Meng, and Shusun families. All three traced their lineage origins to the sons of Duke Huan of Lu, and therefore were known as the ‘three Huan’ families.

When he is old and his blood and energy are declining, he is cautious about acquisitiveness.

16.8 Confucius said, The *junzi* holds three things in awe. He holds the decree of Tian in awe, he holds great men in awe, and he holds the words of the Sage in awe. The small man does not know the decree of Tian and so does not hold it in awe, he is disrespectful towards great men, and he disgraces the words of the Sage.

16.9 Confucius said, Those who are born knowing are the best; next are those who study and come to know it; next are those who study it only in circumstances of duress. Those who do not study it even under duress, they are the lowest of people.

16.10 Confucius said, The *junzi* focuses his attention in nine ways. In observation, he focuses on clarity; in listening, he focuses on acuity; in facial expression, he focuses on gentleness; in bearing, he focuses on reverence; in words, he focuses on loyalty; in affairs, he focuses on attentiveness; in doubt he focuses on questioning; in anger, he focuses on troublesome consequences; in opportunities to gain, he focuses on right.

16.11 Confucius said, “‘When he sees the good, he seems rushing to catch up; when he sees the bad, he seems to have touched boiling water’: I have seen such men; I have heard this said of them. ‘He lives in reclusion to seek his heart’s desire; he practices right to spread his *dao*.’ I have heard this said of men; I have yet to see such a man.”

16.9 See 7.20.

16.12 Duke Jing of Qi had a thousand teams of horses, but on the day he died, the people could find no virtue to praise in him. Bo Yi and Shu Qi starved beneath Mount Shouyang, but the people praise them to this day. The saying, “It is not wealth that matters, but only having this difference,” most likely refers to this.

16.13 Chen Gang asked Boyu, “Has the Master imparted to you some different knowledge?”

Boyu replied, “No. Once he was standing alone as I hurried across the courtyard and he said to me ‘Have you studied the *Poetry*?’ I replied, ‘Not yet,’ and he said, ‘If you don’t study the *Poetry*, you will have nothing to speak.’ I withdrew and studied the *Poetry*.

“On another occasion he was standing alone and I hurried across the courtyard and he said to me, ‘Have you studied *li*?’ I replied, ‘Not yet,’ and he said, “If you don’t study *li*, you will be unable to take your stand.’ I withdrew and studied *li*.”

Chen Gang withdrew and said with pleasure, “I asked about one thing and learned three! I learned about the *Poetry*, I learned about *li*, and I learned that the *junzi* keeps some distance from his son.”

16.14 The principal wife of the ruler of a state is referred to by him as “Lady.” She refers to herself as “Little Lad.” The people of the state refer to her as “Lord’s Lady,” but when they are in other states, they refer to her as “Lowly Little Lord.” The people of other states refer to her as “Lord’s Lady.”

16.12 The ‘saying’ in this passage does not appear here in the text; it appears at the close of 12.10, where it makes no sense. I have followed medieval Song Dynasty commentary in moving it to this location.

16.13 Chen Gang is identified by commentators as the disciple Ziqin (see 1.10).

Boyu was Confucius’s son, Li (see 11.8).

16.14 No good explanation has ever been offered as to why this passage is included in the *Analects*, other than in error.

Book XVII

17.1 Yang Huo wished to have Confucius appear in audience, but Confucius would not appear. Yang Huo sent Confucius a suckling pig. Confucius timed a visit for a day when Yang Huo was not at home and went to pay his thanks, but encountered Yang Huo on the road.

Yang Huo addressed Confucius, “Come. I want a word with you.

“To conceal your treasure and let your state go astray, can this be called *ren*? No, it cannot. To be eager to engage in affairs but to repeatedly miss one’s proper time, can this be called wisdom? No, it cannot.

“The days and months are rushing by; no extra years will be allotted to me.”

Confucius said, “All right. It is my intent to serve.”

17.2 The Master said, “By nature close to one another, through practice far distant.”

17.3 The Master said, “Only the wisest and the stupidest do not change.”

17.4 The Master went to Wucheng and heard the sound of zithers and singing. With a little laugh he said, “Does one chop up a chicken with a beef cleaver?”

Ziyou replied, “In the past I have heard the Master say, ‘When a *junzi* studies the *dao* he cherishes people; when small men study the *dao* they are easy to direct.’”

The Master said, “My friends, Yan’s words are correct. What I said before was merely in jest.”

Notes

17.1 Yang Huo (elsewhere known as Yang Hu) was a retainer of the Ji family when Confucius was young. Appointed steward of the Ji clan domain in Bi, Yang Huo took control of the city and rebelled against the Ji. In this sense, he usurped the power of a clan that had itself usurped the power of the dukes of Lu. He was regarded as an immoral adventurer.

In this passage, we see Confucius attempt to avoid associating with so unsavory a man, but when they meet, Yang Huo’s eloquent use of the doctrine of timeliness gives him the appearance of morality – especially since he is seeking the service of a moral exemplar. There is no record that Confucius ever served Yang Huo.

The doctrine of timeliness is a major theme of both Book XVII and Book XVIII. 17.1 is echoed in 17.4 and 17.6.

17.2 The *Analects*’ only comment on the issue of human ‘nature’ (*xing* 性), which becomes a central concern of philosophy from the fourth century on.

17.4 Yan is the personal name of the disciple Ziyou, who was at this time managing the town of Wucheng. Here, he has apparently attempted to infuse the people of his town with Confucian ritual learning.

The terms ‘*junzi*’ and ‘small man’ are clearly used here in the senses of a ruler and those who are ruled.

17.5 After the revolt of Yang Huo (17.1) failed, his subordinate, Gongshan Furao, continued the

17.5 Gongshan Furao held the city of Bi in revolt. He summoned the Master, who wished to go to him. Zilu was displeased. He said, “Do not go. Why must it be Gongshan you go to?”

The Master said, “How can it be that he summons me for no good purpose? If there is one who will use me, I could make for him a Zhou in the east!”

17.6 Zizhang asked about *ren*. The Master said, “He who can enact five things in the world is *ren*.” When asked for details, he went on, “Reverence, tolerance, trustworthiness, quickness, and generosity. He is reverent, hence he receives no insults; he is tolerant, hence he gains the multitudes; he is trustworthy, hence others entrust him with responsibilities; he is quick, hence he has accomplishments; he is generous, hence he is capable of being placed in charge of others.

17.7 Bi Xi summoned the Master, who wished to go. Zilu said, “In the past, I have heard the Master say, ‘The domain of one who has marked himself with wrongdoing the *junzi* does enter.’ Bi Xi has used the town of Zhongmou as a base for revolt. How can it be that you would go there?”

The Master said, “I have indeed spoken as you say. But is it not said, ‘So hard, it is not worn down by grinding; so white, it is not blackened by pitch?’ Can it be that I am no more than a bitter gourd? How can I be hung, uneaten, by a string?”

17.8 The Master said, “You, have you heard the six imperatives and the six related flaws of narrow vision?” Zilu replied, “No, I have

attempt.

17.5 and 17.7, passages that portray Confucius’s attraction to the seamiest of usurpers, are puzzling, in that he is elsewhere portrayed as so scrupulously avoiding moral compromise with even legitimate rulers. However, 17.5 suggests that some situations reach an extremity of disruption that provides a moral opportunity to wipe the slate clean and construct a moral regime entirely anew. If that is, indeed, its implication, it extends the doctrine of timeliness in a new direction, implying that the Confucian sage should ‘appear’ even when the *dao* does not prevail, so long as chaos is pervasive. Indeed, in the second great Confucian text, the *Mencius*, timeliness has come to include this idea (see *Mencius* 2A.1).

17.7 Bi Xi’s revolt occurred in the state of Jin, about the same time that Yang Huo and Gongshan Furao were leading revolts in Lu. All these revolts failed, and none of these men came to be viewed positively in history. The *Analects* seems to use these events to underline the tensions involved in the doctrine of timeliness – moral opportunity may be disguised in even the seamiest political adventurism.

17.8 The ‘six imperatives’ (more literally, the ‘six words’) are *ren*, knowledge, faithfulness, straightforwardness, valor, and incorrupt-

not.”

“Sit, and I’ll teach them to you. If you love *ren*, but you do not love learning, the flaw is ignorance. If you love knowledge but you do not love learning, the flaw is unruliness. If you love faithfulness but do not love learning, the flaw is harming others. If you love straightforwardness but you do not love learning, the flaw is offensiveness. If you love valor but you do not love learning, the flaw is causing chaos. If you love incorruptibility but you do not love learning, the flaw is recklessness.

17.9 The Master said, “Young friends, why do you not study the *Poetry*. By means of the odes one may inspire, one may reveal one’s thoughts, one may gather with others, one may voice complaints. Near at hand, they can guide you to serve your fathers; more distantly, they can guide you to serve a ruler – and you can learn the names of many birds and beast, tress and grasses.”

17.10 The Master said to Boyu, “Have you learned the odes of the *Zhou-nan* and *Shao-nan*? A man who does not learn the odes of the *Zhou-nan* and *Shao-nan* is like a man standing with his face to a wall.”

17.11 The Master said, *Li, li*, is jade and silk all we mean by it? Music, music, are bells and drums all we mean by it?

17.12 The Master said, A fierce expression outside and cowardice within, if one compared him to a small man, he would be a robber leaping over a wall or breaking through.

bility.

‘Faithfulness’ (or ‘trustworthiness’) is literally keeping one’s word. To keep to one’s word without regard to changing circumstances can harm others (the word here is literally ‘thievery’, perhaps meaning you steal others’ welfare so no one can say you violated your promise).

This passage has much in common with 8.2.

17.9 On the uses of the *Poetry*, see 13.5.

The last line of the first part of this passage seems oddly out of tune with the rest. It is true enough that the *Poetry* is filled with plant and animal names, and was probably used as a primer for these in ordinary education. Here, the comment is likely humor.

Boyu was Confucius’s son. See 16.13.

17.10 The *Zhou-nan* and *Shao-nan* are the first two collections of odes in the *Poetry*. Traditional interpretations gave them great weight of moral authority, although contemporary criticism views them principally as simple folk poems.

17.11 This seems very much like 6.25 in message.

17.13 The Master said, The good men of the village are thieves of virtue.

17.14 The Master said, To repeat on the road what one has heard on the street is to throw virtue away.

17.15 The Master said, Can one serve a lord side by side with a vulgar person? Before he gets what he wants, he worries about getting it. Once he has it, he worries about losing it. Once he worries about losing it, there are no lengths to which he will not go.

17.16 The Master said, In former times the people had three weaknesses, but today these have disappeared. The reckless men of the past exceeded proper constraints; reckless men today are disruptive. The abrasive men of the past were haughtily pure; abrasive men today burst into fury. The ignorant men of the past were straightforward; ignorant men today are simply deceitful.

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

17.18 The Master said, I detest that purple has displaced crimson; I detest that the melodies of Zheng have disordered the music of court; I detest that crafty mouths have overturned states and households.

17.19 The Master said, “I wish to be wordless.”

Zigong said, “If you never spoke, then what would we disciples have to pass on?”

The Master said, “Does Tian speak?”

17.13 The ‘good men’ are those who use the prestige of age to protect their position without accepting any ethical challenge. They appear virtuous, but have no moral substance. It may be that 17.12 builds on the image of 17.11.

17.15 This is a comment on the urge to gossip.

17.14 Confucians are known as ‘meritocrats’ – in an aristocratic world of hereditary privilege they advocated for the advancement of men on the basis of merit, not birth. Yet there are times, as here, where there seems to be a sense of class disdain for unpolished men trying to rise fast in society.

17.16 This passage is constructed around sarcasm.

17.17 Duplicates 1.3, and seems to initiate a series of passages concerning the misuse of speech.

17.18 The first two parts are examples of modish fashion destroying what the *Analects* sees as the purity of Zhou *li*. Purple, composed of threads of mixed dyes, had displaced the proper single-dyed ritual caps of court. The melodies of Zheng are frequently referred to as ‘overwrought’ (or lascivious). As is generally true of series, it is the last item that is the ‘punch line’. The issue here is misused speech.

Yet the seasons turn and the creatures of the world are born. Does Tian speak?”

17.20 Ru Bei came seeking an audience with Confucius. Confucius said to tell him he could not receive him because of illness. As the messenger went through the door, Confucius picked up his zither and began to sing, making sure Ru Bei would hear.

17.21 Zai Wo asked about the three year mourning period. “A full year is already a long time. If a *junzi* were not to participate in *li* for three years, surely *li* would decay; if he did not participate in music for three years, surely music will collapse. As the grain of the old year is exhausted, the grain of the new year is harvested, the cycle of firewood has gone round – a full year is enough.”

The Master said, “Would you feel comfortable eating rice and wearing brocaded clothes?”

“I would.”

“If you would be comfortable, do it. When the *junzi* is in mourning, fine foods are not sweet to him, music brings no joy, living in luxury brings him no comfort, therefore, he does not indulge in these things. Now, if you would be comfortable, do it.”

Zai Wo went out. The Master said, “Yu is not *ren*. A child has lived for three years before he leaves his mother’s arms. The three year mourning period is common to mourning throughout the world. Did not Yu receive three years love from his parents?”

17.22 The Master said, To eat one’s fill all

17.20 The theme of wordlessness is continued from the previous passage. Ru Bei was apparently a man of influence in Lu (the text refers to ‘Confucius’ only when a power holder is present). Confucius conveys his disdain for him ‘wordlessly’, through the combination of the messenger and music making.

17.21 One of the most burdensome of *li* was the rule that upon the death of a parent, a man must withdraw from society for three years (actually twenty-seven months), eschewing all common pleasures to indulge in concentrated mourning.

Although in this passage Confucius refers to this as a worldwide custom, it was clearly a distinctive feature of Zhou culture. The reasons given for the custom here are not among the most cogent statements in the *Analects*.

17.22 *Bo* and *yi* were board games. The rules of *bo* are no

day long and not exercise one's mind – that is hard to understand. Aren't there those who pass time with the games of *bo* and *yi*? Even they are more worthy.

17.23 Zilu said, "Does the *junzi* prize valor?"

The Master said, "The *junzi* gives righteousness (*yi*) the topmost place. If a *junzi* had valor but not righteous-ness, he would create chaos. If a small person has valor and not righteousness, he becomes a bandit.

17.24 Zigong said, "Does the *junzi* have things he hates?"

The Master said, "He does. He hates those who proclaim other men's faults; he hates those who occupy inferior positions but who slander their superiors; he hates those who are valorous but lack *li*; he hates those who are bold but lack understanding."

The Master went on, "Do you too have things you hate?"

"I hate those who think having spied out things is wisdom; I hate those who think being uncompliant is valor; I hate those who think insulting others is straightforwardness."

17.25 The Master said, Women and small men are difficult to nurture. If you get too close to them, they become uncompliant, and if you stay too distant, they become resentful.

17.26 The Master said, If a man reaches the age of forty and has not earned the hatred of anyone, it is all over with him.

longer fully understood. *Yi* is today called *weiqi*, though it is much better known by its Japanese name, *go*.

17.25 In early Confucian literature, this passage stands out as demeaning to women. 'Small men' here probably refers to minor male servants. The passage conflates issues of gender and class, and is the lament of elite males who worry that kindness leads their inferiors to forget their place. Whether a late addition or Confucius's own words, the best that can be said of it is that is atypical.

Book XVIII

18.1 Weizi left him; Jizi became his slave; Bigan remonstrated with him and died. Confucius said, “There were three *ren* men of Yin.”

18.2 When Liuxia Hui served as warden, he was thrice dismissed. People asked him, “Should you not leave for another state?”

“If one serves a lord by means of the straight *dao*, where could one go and not be thrice dismissed? To serve a lord by means of a crooked *dao*, why need one leave the country of one’s parents?”

18.3 Duke Jing of Qi received Confucius, saying, “To host him as I would the head of the Ji family, this I am unable to do. Establish him at a level between that used to host the Ji family and that used to host the Meng family.”

Then he further said, “I am old; I cannot employ him.”

Confucius departed.

18.4 The people of Qi made a present of female musicians. Ji Huanzi received them, and for three days he did not attend court.

Confucius departed.

18.5 A madman of Chu encountered the chariot Confucius was driving, and walking across its path, intoned:

*Phoenix, phoenix,
How virtue has withered!
What is past is beyond repairing,
What is to come is still worth pursuing.
Enough, enough!*

Notes

18.1 The three men named were relatives of the evil last king of the Shang (Yin), Zhòu. Weizi, an older half-brother, fled from the capital. Jizi, an uncle, finding his remonstrances useless, feigned madness and became a palace slave. Bigan was disemboweled as penalty for his advice.

18.2 Liuxia Hui was a minor grandee in Lu three generations before Confucius, around whom many legends grew.

18.3 Duke Jing had died by the time Confucius’s wanderings began, but this may not have been understood by the authors of this passage.

The Ji clan was the greatest warlord clan in Lu; the Meng clan was second to them. The duke was offering Confucius rather lavish treatment, but not at the highest level, and indicating that he could not follow Confucius’s *dao* in policy.

18.4 Huanzi was head of the Ji warlord clan in Lu. Confucius is here pictured as an advisor at court, who departs upon seeing the moral lapse induced by the gift from Qi. (Other sources say that at this time Confucius was Minister of Crime in Lu, a ducal appointment, secured for him by the Ji family.)

18.3-4 are clearly intended to establish that Confucius was recognized as a political power in the states of Qi and Lu, but found the environment too unethical to remain.

18.5 The next four passages deal,

Danger now for those at court.

Confucius stepped down, wishing to speak with him, but the madman hurried to dodge away, and Confucius was unable to speak with him.

18.6 Chang Ju and Jie Ni were ploughing the fields in harness together. Confucius passed by and sent his disciple Zilu over to ask directions.

Chang Ju said, "Who is that holding the carriage reins?"

Zilu said, "That is Kong Qiu."

"Kong Qiu of Lu?"

"Yes."

"Why, then, he knows where he can go!"

Zilu then asked Jie Ni.

Jie Ni said, "And who are you?"

"I am Zhong You."

"Are you a disciple of Kong Qiu of Lu?"

"I am."

"The world is inundated now. Who can change it? Would you not be better off joining those who have fled from the world altogether, instead of following someone who flees from this man to that one?"

Then the two of them went on with their ploughing.

Zilu returned to report to Confucius.

The Master's brow furrowed. "I cannot flock together with the birds and beasts!" he cried. "If I am not a fellow traveler with men such as these, then with whom? If only the Way prevailed in the world I would not have to try to change it!"

18.7 Zilu fell behind. He encountered an

elaborately, with the themes of reclusion and timeliness. The unusual characters whom they describe are the types of figures who lie in the background of the birth of the philosophical school of Daoism. The passages attempt to illustrate Confucius's full awareness of the critique of him mounted (long after his life) by followers of that persuasion, and his understanding and sympathy with the standpoint of the recluse, even as he found moral imperatives to remain engaged.

old man with a staff, using his staff to carry a basket. Zilu asked him, “Have you seen my master?”

The old man said, “A man whose limbs have never moved in labor, who can’t tell one grain from another – who is your master?” Then he planted his staff in the ground and began weeding.

Zigong bowed and stood in place.

The old man had Zilu stop with him overnight. He killed a chicken and made a millet congee with it, and he fed Zilu, introducing his two sons to him afterwards.

The next day, Zilu caught up and reported all this. The Master said, “He is a recluse,” and he had Zilu take him back to see the old man. When they reached the place, the man had gone.

Zilu said, “It is unrighteous not to serve. The codes that govern the relation of old and young may not be discarded; how can the proper relation of ruler and minister be discarded? They want to purify their persons, but they disrupt the basic relationships among people. The service of a *junzi* is the enactment of right. That the *dao* does not prevail, this we already know.”

18.8 Those who withdrew from service: Bo Yi and Shu Qi; Yu Zhong, Yi Yi, and Zhu Zhang; Liuxia Hui and Shao Lian.

The Master said, “Never compromising their aims, never subjecting their persons to disgrace: would this not be Bo Yi and Shu Qi?”

He characterized Liuxia Hui and Shao Lian thus: “They compromised their aims and subjected their persons to disgrace. Speech always fitting the role, conduct al-

18.7 It seems likely that Zilu’s final words in this passage were added by a later editor. They seem out of sympathy with the remainder of the passage, which expresses, like others in this section, a type of admiration for the recluses it portrays, for their mysteriousness and wry sense of humor.

18.8 The seven men mentioned here may be those spoken of in 14.37.

For Bo Yi and Shu Qi, see 5.23. For Liuxia Hui, see 18.2. Yu Zhong was said to be a brother and companion of Taibo (see 8.1) in his flight away from the Zhou throne. Little or nothing is known about the other figures.

The key point to this passage – and it is an important one – lies in its structure and final phrases. All these exemplars

ways matching the plan; this they fulfilled, but no more.”

Of Yu Zhong and Yi Yi he said, “They hid themselves away and relinquished public comment. In one's person abiding in purity, in choosing retirement maintaining discretion.

“As for me, I differ from them all. I have no rule of what is permissible and what is not.”

18.9 Grand Music Master Zhi fled to the state of Qi; the master of the second course, Gan, fled to the state of Chu; the master of the third course, Liao, fled to the state of Cai; the master of the fourth course, Que, fled to the state of Qin; the drummer, Fangshu, fled up the Yellow River valley; the hand drum player, Wu, fled down the Han River valley; the Master's assistant, Yang, and the beater of the stone chimes, Xiang, fled out to sea.

18.10 The Duke of Zhou addressed the Duke of Lu, saying, “The *junzi* does not put aside his family; he does not allow his high ministers to become resentful that they are not used; he does not abandon old friends without great cause; he does not demand of any one man that he be skilled in all things.

18.11 There were eight gentlemen of the Zhou: Boda, Bokuo, Zhongtu, Zhonghu, Shuye, Shuxia, Jisui, and Jiwa.

abided by some type of moral rule, which led each into reclusion. The difference with Confucius is that he has no rule – his actions are governed entirely by his trained judgments of the times, and of the moral opportunities they may or may not present.

This passage has a close parallel in the Confucian text *Mencius* (5B.1).

18.9 In the legend of the Zhou conquest of the Shang, the final sign that the Shang king had lost his mandate to rule is depicted as the scattering of the Shang court musicians. The musicians listed here were those employed at the court of Duke Ai of Lu, who was on the throne when Confucius died. The editors who included this seemingly extraneous passage may have meant to imply that with Confucius's death, all legitimacy in Lu was lost.

This passage continues the theme of reclusion.

18.10 The Duke of Zhou was the founding duke of Lu. Because he had to remain at the capital in the west to assist the king, he deputed his son to found the fief in his stead. This passage purports to be the elder duke's charge to his son.

18.11 A puzzling list of unknown men. ‘Bo’, ‘Zhong’, ‘Shu’, and ‘Ji’ are family age-rank markers, suggesting these are meant to be two sets of four brothers. Interpreters have claimed that this passage was meant to signify the richness of talent in the early Zhou.

Book XIX

19.1 Zizhang said, If a gentleman may be deemed satisfactory if will fulfill his orders in the face of mortal danger, bear righteousness in mind when faced with opportunities for gain, bear respect in mind when at sacrifice, and bear grief in mind when at mourning.

19.2 Zizhang said, If a man's grasp on virtue is not broad in practice and his faithfulness to the *dao* not profound, then there his presence or absence in the world counts for nothing.

19.3 A disciple of Zixia asked Zizhang about social interactions. Zizhang said, "What does Zixia say?"

"Zixia says, 'Interact with those who are satisfactory, spurn those who are not.'"

Zizhang said, "This differs from what I have heard. The *junzi* honors the worthy and is tolerant of the ordinary multitude; he praises the good and takes pity on those who are not able to be. If I am worthy, of whom can I not be tolerant? If I am unworthy, others will spurn me, how would I be able to spurn others?"

19.4 Zixia said, Though a *dao* be minor, there is always something worth appreciating in it. But if one pursues it far, there is the fear of becoming bogged down. Therefore, the *junzi* does not take it up.

19.5 Zixia said, A man who daily assesses what he has yet to understand and who, month by month, does not forget what he has

Notes

19.1 Book XIX collects sayings of Confucius's disciples after the Master's death. Confucius himself does not appear. For this reason, some interpreters have viewed the book as a late addition to the text. In fact, it may be relatively early, since the impulse to celebrate or attack these men may have waned after their deaths, and many of the other books may not be as early as was traditionally thought.

Book XIX is our best evidence of the early factional divides within the Juist (Confucian) school. The disciples whose voices are collected in this book include Zizhang, Zixia, Ziyou, Zeng Shen, and Zigong.

19.3 In this passage, we catch a glimpse of the competition among the original disciples. See also 19.12 and 19.15-16.

19.4 This passage employs the word '*dao*' in the sense of an art – as in, for example, 'the Way of archery'. Here, we may see the *chün-tzu* as a man who follows the *dao*. It serves as a good reminder that to outsiders, the Juist *dao* was just one set of arts and teachings among many.

mastered, may be said to love learning.

19.6 Zixia said, To study broadly and deepen one's resolve, to question closely and reflect on things near at hand, *ren* lies therein.

19.7 Zixia said, Artisans of all types dwell in their workshops to master their crafts; the *junzi* studies to perfect his *dao*.

19.8 Zixia said, When a small man commits an error, he will always make excuses.

19.9 Zixia said, A *junzi* goes through three transformations. When you view him from afar, he is awesome; when you approach him he is warm; when you hear his words, he is demanding.

19.10 Zixia said, The *junzi* only labors his people once he has earned their trust. If he has not earned their trust, they will merely see him as demanding. Only after earning trust does he remonstrate with a lord. If he has not yet earned trust, the lord will take it as slander.

19.11 Zixia said, If in matters of great import to virtue, one never oversteps the proper bounds, in minor matters of virtue, it is acceptable to be flexible.

19.12 Ziyou said, "The disciples at Zixia's gate are well schooled when it comes to matters of sprinkling and sweeping, responding to orders and replying to questions, presenting themselves and withdrawing. These are details. When it comes to the basics in

19.10 The passage pictures the *junzi*'s conduct in the positions of both a superior, governing others, and an inferior, serving a lord.

19.11 This passage contrasts interestingly with the next, which pictures Zixia as deeply concerned about minor matters of training.

19.12 'Sprinkling and sweeping' concerns the most basic rules about proper housecleaning.
Ziyou's family name was Yan 言.

which they are rooted, they are at a loss.”

Zixia heard of this and said, “Oh, how mistaken Yan You is! When it comes to the *dao* of the *junzi*, what is taught first determines who will weary last. This may be compared to trees and grasses; variances in the first shoots mark that they will be different. How can he slander the *dao* of the *junzi* in this way? It is, after all, only the sage who masters it from the beginning to the end.”

19.13 Zixia said, A man in service who is superior should study; a man who is superior in study should serve.

19.14 Ziyou said, In mourning, exhaust grief and then stop.

19.15 Ziyou said, My friend Zhang does things hard to do, but this is not yet *ren*.

19.16 Master Zeng said, Zhang is very imposing, but it is hard to pursue *ren* side by side with him.

19.17 Master Zeng said, I have heard it from the Master: A man may have exhausted himself in nothing else, but he must do so in mourning for his parents.

19.18 Master Zeng said, I have heard it from the Master: With regard to the filiality of Meng Zhuangzi, in all other respects he did only what others may do, but in retaining his father’s ministers and his father’s policies, he accomplished something difficult.

19.19 The Meng family appointed Yang Fu as warden. Yang Fu inquired of Master

19.15 ‘Zhang,’ in this passage and the next, is Zizhang.

19.18 Meng Zhuangzi was the leader of the second most powerful warlord clan in Lu. This passage seems to illustrate the background of 1.11 and 4.20.

Zeng. Master Zeng said, “Those who rule having departed from the *dao*, the people have long been left to their own devices. If you get to the true facts of a case, then react with commiseration and pity, and never take pleasure in it.

19.20 Zigong said, The wickedness of Zhòu could not have been as extreme as they say. This is why the *junzi* hates to dwell downstream; all the world’s evils are relegated there.

19.21 Zigong said, The errors of a *junzi* are like eclipses of the sun and moon: everyone sees them. Once he corrects them, everyone looks up to him.

19.22 Gongsun Chao of Wei asked Zigong, “Where did Zhongni acquire his learning?”

Zigong said, “The *dao* of Kings Wen and Wu had not yet crumbled, it lay within people. The worth recalled its greater aspects, the unworthy recalled its lesser aspects. In nothing was there not something of the *dao* of Kings Wen and Wu. Where would the Master not have acquired learning, and yet what single teacher could there have been for him?”

19.23 Shusun Wushu said to the grandees at court, “Zigong is worthier than Zhongni.” Zifu Jingbo reported this to Zigong.

Zigong said, “If one used walls surrounding a residence to make a comparison, mine would have walls of shoulder height, so a passerby could peer over and see how fine the buildings and chambers were. The Master’s walls would tower many yards higher –

19.20 Zhòu was the evil last ruler of the Shang Dynasty (see 18.1). Reflecting on the role of Zigong in the *Analects*, it is hard not to think that the actual person Zigong possessed considerable independence of mind.

19.21 This passage can be compared to 7.31.

19.22 ‘Zhongni’ was Confucius’s ‘style name’, by which he was known to non-intimates. The sudden use of this name in the cluster of passages ending Book XIX suggests that they derive from a single tradition, different from other portions of the *Analects*.

19.23 Shusun Wushu was a grandee of the state of Lu, as was Zifu Jingbo, whom we encountered in 14.36, at a time when Confucius was still alive. (In both his appearances in the *Analects*, Zifu Jingbo is pictured conveying news of things said at court.)

without entering through the gate, one could not see the beauty of the ancestral hall and the richness of the many buildings. Few seem to have found their way through the gate, so it is to be expected that people would say such things about the Master.”

19.24 Shusun Wushu disparaged Zhongni. Zigong said, “There is no point in it. Zhongni cannot be disparaged. The worthiness of others is like a hill; one may climb to the top. Zhongni was the sun and moon; there is no way to climb to them. Even if people wish to cut themselves off from them, what harm does this do to the sun and moon? At most, it simply shows they have no sense of scale.

19.25 Chen Ziqin said to Zigong, “You are a reverent man; how could Zhongni be worthier than you?”

Zigong said, “A *junzi* may be known as wise by a single phrase he utters, and by a single phrase he may be known as unwise. One cannot but be careful of what one says.

“The Master cannot be matched, just as there are no steps one can climb to reach the sky.

“Had the Master been entrusted with management of a state or a family domain, it would have been like the saying: ‘He set them up and they stood, he guided them and they walked, he comforted them and they came, he moved them and they were in harmony.’

“In life he was celebrated, in death he was mourned. How can he be matched?”

19.25 Nothing is known about Chen Ziqin.

The structure of this passage resembles 12.8, which also involves Zigong.

Book XX

20.1 Yao said, “Oh, Shun! The numbers of Tian’s calendar now fall to your person – hold well to their center. If the lands within the four seas are pressed to exhaustion, the emolument from Tian will be forever ended.”

With these same words, Shun charged Yu.

[Tang the Successful] said, “I, Lü, who am but a youth, dare to sacrifice this dark coated bull in clear declaration before the august Lord above. I dare not pardon those who have committed crimes, and thus I cannot make concealment for the Lord’s minister, for he has already been observed in the Lord’s heart. If I myself have committed a crime, do not hold the myriad regions the land responsible, but if the myriad regions have committed a crime, let it fall on my person alone.”

The House of Zhou possessed a great treasure; good men were its riches. “Though I have my closest kin, it is better to have men of *ren*. If the people err, let it fall on my person alone.”

The Zhou standardized weights and measures, aligned laws and ordinances, restored offices that had been allowed to lapse, and governance proceeded in all the four quarters. They restored states that had been extinguished, extended their broken lineages, raised up to office those worthies who had fled to reclusion, and the people of the world responded to them in their hearts.

They gave priority to the people, their sustenance, funerals, and sacrifices.

Being tolerant, they gained the multi-

Notes

20.1 Book XX, a short, atypical book that many regard as a late appendix of miscellaneous material, collects in its initial passage a series of texts concerning the founding of dynasties, beginning with the sages Yao, Shun, and Yu (the founder of the Xia Dynasty), and proceeding through Tang, founder of the Shang, to the Zhou.

Yao’s words place management of the calendar at the center of rulership, and in this way seem to shed light on 8.19. The ‘emolument from Tian’ refers to the Mandate to rule, and the ‘salary’ it entails.

The words quoted from Tang are said to be an oath he took upon launching his campaign against the evil last ruler of the Xia, Jie, who is here referred to as the ‘Lord’s minister’. ‘Lord’ translates the term *Di* (帝), which is in many ways functionally equivalent to Tian (Heaven).

The celebration of standardization – which was a policy of the post-Classical Qin Dynasty (221-208) – may mark this passage as very late. The remaining features of that section are aspects of the legend of the Zhou conquest of the Shang.

The final section may be an intrusive variant duplication of portions of 17.5.

tudes; being trustworthy, the people entrusted them with responsibility; being quick, they had accomplishments; being impartial, the people were pleased.

20.2 Zizhang asked Confucius, “What must a man be like before he may participate in governance?”

Confucius said, “If he honors the five beautiful things, casts out the four evils, then he may participate in governance.”

Zizhang said, “What are the five beautiful things?”

The Master said, “The *junzi* is generous but not wasteful, a taskmaster of whom none complain, desirous but not greedy, dignified but not arrogant, awe-inspiring but not fearsome.”

Zizhang said, “What do you mean by generous but not wasteful?”

The Master said, “To reward people with that which benefits them, is that not to be generous but not wasteful? To pick a task that people can fulfill and set them to it, is that not to be a taskmaster of whom none complain? If one desires *ren* and obtains it, wherein is he greedy? If he never dares to be unmannerly, regardless of whether with many or a few, with the great or the small, is that not to be dignified but not arrogant? When the *junzi* sets his cap and robes right, and makes his gaze reverent, such that people stare up at him in awe, is this not, indeed, to be awe-inspiring and not fearsome?”

Zizhang said, “What are the four evils?”

The Master said, “To execute people without having given them instruction is called cruelty; to inspect their work without

20.2 Like many passages in Books XVI and XVII, this includes a numbered list (actually two), elaborated in detail.

warning is called oppressiveness; to demand timely completion while having been slow in giving orders is called thievery; to dole out stingily what must be given is called clerkishness.”

20.3 The Master said, If you do not know your destiny (*ming*), you cannot be a *junzi*. If you don't know *li*, you cannot take your stand. If you don't interpret people's words, you cannot interpret people.

20.3 'Destiny' translates the term *ming*, which in other contexts may mean 'fate', or Tian's 'mandate.' (See the online *Glossary*.)

The term 'interpret' is the verb usually rendered 'know' or 'understand'.

Appendix: The Major Disciples of Confucius

The major Confucian disciples portrayed in the *Analects* are listed below by the names the text most frequently uses for them. In many cases, they are commonly referred to by their “public names.” This was a name a young man was given in adolescence, and it was used with or without his family surname to refer to him. Public names frequently began with the word *zi*, signifying gentleman status – names such as Zilu, Zixia, Zigong are all of this sort. Each of these men could also be referred to by the personal name they were given at birth: Zilu was named You, and his family surname was Zhong, so he could be called Zhong You. Confucius, his teacher, just calls him by his personal name, You. He calls Zixia “Shang” and Zigong “Si” because their family and personal names were Bu Shang and Duanmu Si. Some disciples are referred to in the *Analects* by a combination of family surname and public name. For example, Yan Yuan is referred to in this way, but Confucius calls him Hui, which was the name his family used when speaking to him. The personal name that Confucius uses is in boldface below.

Although the dates given are approximate and uncertain, the order in which disciples are listed is generally from most senior to most junior. The names of particularly important disciples are underscored.

Zilu 子路 (Zhong **You** 仲由, c. 542-480) The senior disciple – only nine years younger than Confucius – Zilu is pictured very distinctively as a brash and impulsive warrior, whose natural character Confucius is at pains to temper, often by making fun of him. Zilu served as steward (estate manager) for the most powerful warlord family of Lu, the Ji clan, and in that role, he comes under frequent criticism. In his last years, he took a court position in the state of Wei, just north of the Yellow River, not far from Lu. There, he was slain in a coup d’état one year before Confucius’s own death.

Min Ziqian 閔子騫 (Min Sun 閔損, c. 536 - ?) Min Ziqian is not a major actor in the *Analects*; he appears in only five passages. However, in four of these, he is singled out for praise or portrayed very positively. Not much younger than Zilu, he may have been a senior exemplar to junior disciples.

Ran Yǒu 冉有 (Ran **Qiu** 冉求, c. 522-462) Despite his high seniority in the Confucian group, Ran Yǒu is never very clearly delineated as a character in the *Analects*. He was, in fact, a prominent man in Lu, and served the Ji family in the same manner as Zilu; in this regard, he is comes in for as much or more criticism than Zilu. The *Analects* tells us he was practiced in the “arts,” but in which arts is not clear. Historically, his battlefield accomplishments in Lu during the period of Confucius’s exile allowed him to plead successfully for permission to welcome his master back into the state for his final years. He does not seem to have played any role in the growth of Confucianism after the Master’s death, and it may be for that reason that he is so colorlessly portrayed in the *Analects*

Zhonggong 仲弓 (Ran **Yong** 冉雍, c. 522- ?) The praise Zhonggong (Yong) receives in 6.1 is exceptionally high, and although he is a rare presence in the *Analects* he is nevertheless portrayed with high respect. The great Confucian Xunzi aligned himself with Zhonggong’s tradition of Confucianism and attacked the tradition of Zeng Shen’s disci-

ple Zisi and his later follower Mencius. Thus it seems likely that Zhonggong, of whom we know little, shaped a major strain of early Confucianism. Within the past few years, a bamboo text datable prior to 300 BC has been recovered, purporting to record a conversation between Confucius and Zhonggong. Although the text is formulaic and by no means a record of a true conversation, it does confirm that Zhonggong was seen as an important Confucian figure at that early time. Zhonggong's father, Boniu, is also praised at several points in the *Analects*.

Yan Yuan 顏淵 (Yan **Hui** 顏回, c. 521-481) Sometimes viewed by later tradition as a sage second only to Confucius, Yan Yuan was a poor man who seems never to have aspired to social position or wealth – he is pictured as being devoted solely to Confucius's *dao*. In the *Analects*, others comment on him often, though he himself rarely has much to say. Confucius's mother's family name was Yan, and it is possible that Yan Yuan was a relation. The conversation in Book XI, between Confucius and Yan Yuan's father concerning Yan Yuan's coffin would make good sense in that context. Yan Yuan's early death is the great tragedy of the *Analects*.

Zai Wo 宰我 (Zai **Yu** 宰予, c. 520-481) Zai Wo was a native of the state of Qi whose involvement in political intrigues there ultimately cost him his life. He is the only disciple who is never portrayed in any but a negative light in the *Analects* – duplicitous, lazy, argumentative. It is hard to see from the text why he was accepted as a disciple at all; 5.10 suggests that Confucius regretted admitting him to the group. (Bear in mind that this may reflect the attitude of the text's compilers, since Zai Wo died young. It may be that it was his fellow disciples who disapproved of him, not his teacher.)

Zigong 子貢 (Duanmu **Si** 端木賜, c. 520-450) One of the most subtle and interesting figures in the *Analects*. Our sources tell us that Zigong became famous in Lu as a diplomat in state affairs while he was Confucius's disciple, and then went on to a career of great success as a merchant – an occupation that Confucians tended to denigrate. In the *Analects*, Zigong repeatedly appears in passages of great philosophical interest – when you see Zigong in a passage, it's always worthwhile to read it with special care. Although he is not known as the founder of a lineage of Confucian instruction, we see him in 19.22-25 hobnobbing with great lords of Lu and Wei, some of whom regard him as of greater authority than Confucius himself. When Confucius died, after the other disciples dispersed, Zigong, we are told, built a hut by the grave and mourned there for three years, the office traditionally performed by the eldest son. (Confucius's only son had died two years earlier.)

You Ruo 有若 (called “Youzi”: Master You, c. 518-457) You Ruo is appears several times in Book I of the *Analects*, referred to as “Master You,” suggesting the authors of those passages were his students, but he appears almost not at all in other books. Early accounts tell us that after Confucius's death, the disciples took You Ruo to be their new master, because something in his bearing reminded them of Confucius. But soon he disappointed their expectations, and they left him.

Fan Chi 樊遲 (Fan **Xu** 樊須, c. 515 - ?) Little is known of Fan Chi, but he is recorded as a soldier in Lu and several times pictured in the *Analects* driving for Confucius in his chariot.

Yuan Si 原思 (Yuan **Xian** 原憲, c. 515? - ?) Yuan Si, who appears to be the speaker-author of 14.1, referring to himself by his personal name, is best known for having withdrawn from society after Confucius's death, to live voluntarily the life of an impoverished hermit. An early source recounts the tale of an encounter between Yuan Xian and the now wealthy merchant Zigong, which leaves Zigong discomfited at Yuan Xian's superior wisdom and faithfulness to the Confucian *dao*.

Qidiao Kai 漆雕開 (c. 510-450) Although we see Qidiao Kai in only one *Analects* passage (5.6), he appears there in very good light, and an early source notes that one of eight early Confucian traditions was that of "Mr. Qidiao." This suggests that Qidiao Kai may have been an influential disciple whose followers took little or no part in compiling the *Analects*. It may also be, however, that a later group borrowed the unusual surname of an obscure disciple to cloak themselves in the authority of a direct link to the Master.

Gongxi Hua 公西華 (Gongxi **Chi** 公西赤, c. 509 - ?) Although not much is known about Gongxi Hua, he appears to occupy a place among the disciples who were at once men of political notice in the state of Lu, such as Zilu and Ran Yǒu, and men subjected to a critical view by the *Analects* editors. This can be seen in his role in the mutually resonant entries 5.8 and 11.26, where he is linked with the other two men. In 11.26, he is ultimately compared unfavorably with the disciple Zeng Xi, Zeng Shen's father – likely a literary proxy for the much younger Zeng Shen himself.

Zixia 子夏 (Bu **Shang** 卜商, c. 507-420) Zixia was a younger disciple known for his scholarly bent. He is associated with the *Poetry* in the *Analects*, and was traditionally understood to be the man to whom Confucius conveyed his interpretations of that canonical work. After Confucius's death, Zixia received appointment as the court tutor in the great state of Wei (a new state carved from the massive state of Jin in 453). We can get a sense of the down to earth training he provided his own disciples in Book XIX.

Ziyou 子游 (Yan **Yan** 言偃, c. 506-445) Ziyou does not appear much in the *Analects*, but he occasionally is quoted directly, as an authority, and is pictured actually getting the best of Confucius in 17.4, where Confucius makes fun of his governance of a town. That passage suggests that he laid emphasis on ritual exactitude, but his criticisms of Zixia and other comments in Book XIX tend in the opposite direction.

Zeng Shen 曾參 (called "Zengzi," or Master Zeng, c. 505-436) No disciple likely had more influence on the shape of the emerging Confucian school than Zeng Shen, or Master Zeng (Zengzi). He became leader of a major Confucian community in Lu, numbering among his disciples Confucius's grandson Zisi. This was the tradition that was later led by the great thinker Mencius. In the *Analects*, despite his youth, Zeng Shen speaks with great authority in several passages, such as 4.15, where he interprets Confucius to the

other disciples. Passages 8.3 through 8.7 comprise a small “mini-book” of Zeng Shen’s later sayings, including his deathbed remarks.

Zizhang 子張 (Zhuansun **Shi** 顓孫師, c. 503-450) Zizhang seems to have founded a competing teaching lineage after Confucius’s death. In the *Analects*, although Zizhang appears frequently, his personality is not clearly drawn. However, in Book XIX, which portrays the disciples after Confucius’s death, he is shown in clear conflict with Zixia, Ziyou, and Zeng Shen; in 19.16-17, the comments attributed to Ziyou and Zeng Shen suggest he was pompous.