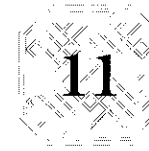


- Studies: 1–26. [A publication sent in autumn 1994 to members of the American Academy of Religion.] .
- . 1994b. “Theories, Virtues, and the Comparative Philosophy of Human Flourishings: A Response to Professor Allan.” *Philosophy East and West* 44, 4: 711–20.
- . 1995. “Taoist Wandering and the Adventure of Religious Ethics.” The William James Lecture, 1994. *Harvard Divinity Bulletin* 24, 2: 11–15.
- . 1996a. “Facing Our Frailty: Comparative Religious Ethics and the Confucian Death Rituals.” *Gross Memorial Lecture, 1995, Valparaiso University*. Valparaiso, Ind.: Valparaiso University Press. [A publication sent in spring of 1996 to members of the Counsel on the Study of Religion.]
- . 1996b. “Heroic Virtue in America: Aristotle, Aquinas, and Melville’s *Billy Budd*,” in *The Greeks and Us: Essays in Honor of Arthur W. H. Adkins*, ed. R. B. Loudon and P. Schollmeier, 66–92. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1996c. “Zhuangzi’s Understanding of the Skillfulness and the Ultimate Spiritual State,” in *Essays on Skepticism, Relativism, and Ethics in the Zhuangzi*, ed. P. Kjellberg and P. J. Ivanhoe, 152–82. Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press.
- . 1998. “The Ascetic Grounds of Goodness: William James’s Case for the Virtue of Voluntary Poverty.” *Journal of Religious Ethics* 26, 1 (spring): 105–35.
- . 1999. “Selves, Virtues, Odd Genres, and Alien Guides: An Approach to Religious Ethics.” *Journal of Religious Ethics* 25, 3 (twenty-fifth anniversary supplement): 125–55.
- . Forthcoming. “Xunzi: Ritualization as Humanization,” in T. C. Kline, ed., *Ritual and Religion in the Xunzi*. New York: Seven Bridges Press.



A Woman Who Understood the Rites

LISA A. RAPHALS

HERE IS LITTLE DISCUSSION OF WOMEN in the *Analects*. In other texts that purport to transmit remarks of Confucius, he is said to comment on the behavior, ethics, and knowledge of several women. He repeatedly praises “the woman of the Ji” elsewhere referred to as “the mother of Wénbó” and as Jìng Jiāng of the Jì of Lǚ 魯季敬姜 (henceforward Jìng Jiāng or Jìng Jiāng of Lǚ).¹ To judge by the frequency of stories about her in other Warring States texts, he was not alone in his good opinion of her. She was the wife of one official, the mother of another, and the grandaunt of yet another. Despite an apparent paradigm for female virtue in which woman never comment on politics, she admonished her son and nephew on important matters and negotiated some tricky ritual situations herself. Her arguments stress the “separate spheres” of men and women, but her obvious erudition and savoir faire raise questions about whether “men’s” education was available to at least some women.

Confucius’ comments about her appear in the *Liè nǚ zhuàn* 列女傳 or *Collected Life Stories of Women*, where she is one of two women he praises.² He praises her for understanding the rites and the distinctions between men and women and between superior and inferior. Similar praise appears in the *Lǚ jì*, and her expertise is used for a different set of rhetorical purposes in the *Zhànguó cè*. Who was she, and what did Confucius (and so many others) see in her? In the first section I take up the traditions that emphasize her expertise in politics and ritual. Next I consider Confucius’ comment about her and traditions that bear on the question of his teaching interactions with women. In the last section, I turn to textual traditions that stress her apparent approval of “separate spheres,” including appropriations of Jìng Jiāng of Lǚ in Song and Ming texts.

I. A Woman of Expertise

The life story of Jìng Jiāng of Lǚ is the longest and most detailed life story in the *Liè nǚ zhuàn*. The *Guó yǔ* contains eight separate stories about her, all in the second book of Lǚ. She also appears in the *Hán Shì wàizhuàn*, *Zhànguó cè*, and *Lǚ jì*. These narratives portray her as a woman of considerable expertise, who operates within (and appears to approve of) the gender codes of her society, but with no loss of acumen in expressing her views on both state and domestic affairs to her male

her admonitions to the adult Gōngfū Wénbó for a lapse in propriety in the treatment of a guest, and the fourth, her admonitions to Wénbó's concubines after his death. The fifth, which has three parts, indicates her understanding of and propriety in the performance of ritual, especially her understanding of the separation of men and women. All these narratives take the form of admonitions: to her son (elements 1, 2, and 3), to his concubines (element 4), and to Jì Kāngzǐ (element 5). The second narrative element consists of two discourses in which she draws an analogy between weaving and government. Because of the importance of these analogies, I translate and discuss them at length.

1. WEAVING AND GOVERNMENT

A striking example of her style of instruction to her grown son is a detailed analogy between government office and the apparatus of weaving. Unlike most of the narratives about Jìng Jiāng, this story appears only in the *Liènǚ zhuàn*:

When Wénbó was minister in Lu, Jìng Jiāng said to him: I will inform you about what is important in governing a country; it is entirely in the warp (jīng 經). The selvage [the straight border of woven cloth] (fú 幅) is the means by which you straighten what is twisted and crooked. It must be strong, therefore the selvage can be considered as the General (jiāng 將). The pattern (huà 畫) evens what is uneven and reconciles what is not adjusted. Therefore the pattern can be the Director (zhèng 正).⁴ Now the realization (wù zhě 物者) [of the pattern] is the means by which you rule tendrils and align cords (chí wú yǔ mò 治蕪與莫). Therefore the realization can be Prefect of the Capital (dū dàifū 都大夫). The thing that can pass firmly from hand to hand without loss and go in and out without interruption is the shuttle (kǔn 杼). The shuttle can be Director of Messengers (dà xíng 大行). That which you push when you make it go and pull when you make it come is the heddles (zōng 綜). The heddles can be the Regional Mentor of Guan Nei (guān nèi zhī shī 關內之師). The one that regulates the numbers of great and small is the reed comb (jūn 均). The reed comb can be the Royal Annalist (nèi shǐ 內史). The one who can fill an important office, travel a long road, and is upright, genuine and firm is the axle (zhú 軸). The axle can be deemed Minister (xiàng 相). The one that is inexhaustible in unfolding is the warp beam (zhū 摘). The warp beam can be the Three Dukes (sān gōng). Wénbó bowed to her repeatedly and received her instruction. (LNZ 1:7a-b)

This passage makes an analogy between eight offices and eight parts of a loom. The analogy is detailed and coherent. It begins with the General, who determines the edge and shape of the fabric, and keeps it in formation. The Director sets the overall shape of the weaving. The analogy is to a pattern or painted design that is copied onto the cloth; this pattern determines the design even if the weaver does

not know it.⁵ The Prefect of the Capital imposes order on disorder, and governs "wild" areas, as well as the city.⁶ The Director of Messengers sends his envoys back and forth, without interruption or damage, like the shuttle. The Regional Mentor of Guan Nei, a liaison officer, ensures that the way is clear, like the heddles, which separates the sections of the warp through which the shuttle will pass.⁷ The Royal Annalist, like the impartial and evenly ordered teeth of the reed comb, makes accurate discriminations in the sorting of information—an interesting tacit comparison of weaving and text—and "combs" the silk of the warp, thus keeping it straight and untangled. In the same way, the Royal Annalist, by recording events from year to year, orders events. His judgments of what is worthy of inclusion are like the number of teeth in the reed comb, which determines the density of thread in the weave.⁸ The Minister, like the axle, is responsible, enduring, upright and firm, and guides the kingdom by these qualities. This was Wénbó's own position at the time. The Three Dukes, like the warp beam, are endless in their virtue and ability. The warp beam gathers up the unused warp and holds it evenly in place.⁹

Jing Jiāng claims an analogy between government and weaving on two bases. One is a correspondence between the importance of government for men and of weaving for women. The other is that government and weaving each consists of component functions, all of which must be performed adequately and correctly for the activity to succeed. The requisites for each component are particular and specialized. For cloth to be woven effectively, the component parts of the loom must be adequate to their various functions, which differ from each other, and demand different qualities. For example, the reed comb must be notched finely enough to separate hundreds of threads; the warp beam must be strong enough to bear the tension of all of them wound around it. A reed comb would make a terrible warp beam, and vice versa. Similarly, if a state is to be governed effectively, the component offices must be staffed by men whose excellences are those required by the specialized tasks of the offices.

Jing Jiāng is claiming that her son does not understand government and that she herself is competent to instruct him in the appointment of officials. When Wénbó bows and accepts her teaching, he also presumably accepts her premises. It is noteworthy that neither the text nor its various commentaries remark on where she learned to understand the analogy in detail.

2. WEAVING AND WORK

The second part of the second narrative element is an admonition to Wénbó when he urges her to desist from personally performing the labor of spinning and weaving, as beneath her. She upbraids him with the examples of the illustrious queens of the past, in the following terms. Jing Jiāng predicts that Lǚ will perish because mere children who have never heard of the Way serve in office. She explains that the sage kings were able to rule for long periods because they, their wives, and their people were all hardworking. According to her argument, the

kings lodged their people on hard land and tired them out; tired people are reflective (on their burdens), and as a result, their people grew good hearts. By contrast, farmers of rich lands live in luxury, become licentious, forget good, and grow evil hearts. Barren lands make people hardworking and righteous. The ancient kings worked hard, as did their feudal lords, ministers, and retainers, and the commoners in their realms. Similarly, their queens and the wives of their feudal lords, ministers, and retainers also worked hard at their proper work. They made caps, belts, and clothing for court use and sacrifice, and the commoners' wives clothed their husbands. Thus, men and women each had duties. Jìng Jiāng reprimands her son for suggesting that she abandon labor and live in luxury; such a suggestion shows that he is careless of his ancestors and will certainly be the end of his family line.

These stories appear to contradict statements in the *Lǐ jì* that call for the strict separation of the affairs of men and women: "Men must not speak of internal affairs; women must not speak of external matters. . . . What is said in the inner quarters does not emerge from them; what is said in the outside world does not enter them."¹⁰ Yet the discourses on weaving end by stating that Confucius heard of her conduct and commented to his disciples about it:

When Zhong Ni heard of it, he said: Disciples, note! The woman of the Ji was not licentious. The Odes' saying
 Women have no public charge,
 but tend their silkworms and their looms
 means that a woman has public charge by virtue of her weaving and spinning. If she leaves them, she contravenes the rites.¹¹

This section corresponds to the *Guó yǔ* story "Gongfu Wenbo's Mother Discourses on Work and Self-indulgence," and to a passage in the *Kōngzǐ jīyǔ*.¹² The *Guó yǔ* and *Kōngzǐ jīyǔ* versions include the comment of Confucius, but not his quotation from the Odes. The story also has distinct affinities with the story of Mengmu, the mother of Mengzi, whose admonition to her young son is also based on the premise that women and men have distinctly separate, but exactly analogous, duties, and obligations.¹³

The next broad area of praise for Jìng Jiāng of Lǚ is in her knowledge of various forms of ritual, including the treatment of guests, marriage, mourning, and the separation of men and women.

3. GUEST RITUAL

In the third narrative of the *Liènzǐ zhuàn*, Jìng Jiāng upbraids Wénbó for merely adhering to the letter, and not the full performance, of correct treatment of a guest.

Gongfu Wenbo feasted Nangong Jingshu with drink; and Lu Dufu was a guest. He [Wénbó] provided a tortoise, but it was small. Dufu

became angry, and when they were going to eat the tortoise, he declined, saying: "I'll eat the tortoise after you make it grow larger" and departed. When Wenbo's mother heard about it, she grew angry and said: "I have heard my ancestor say: 'In making sacrifice you provide for the dead; at a banquet you provide for the head guest.' What's all this about tortoises? And now you have made him angry." And she drove him away. Five days later, the Lu minister intervened and she called him back.¹⁴

This story appears in the *Guó yǔ* as "Gongfu Wenbo Feasts Nangong Jingshu with Wine."¹⁵ It stands in considerable contradiction to passages in the *Li jì*, suggesting that men made judgments on the basis of merit, whereas women were governed by emotion and affection: "Here now is the affection of a father for his sons;—he loves the worthy among them and places on a lower level those who do not show ability; but that of a mother for them is such, that while she loves the worthy, she pities those who do not show ability:—the mother deals with them on the ground of affection and not of showing them honour; the father, on the ground of showing them honour and not of affection."¹⁶

One way to reconcile this apparent divergence is to view *Jìng Jiāng's* admonition as a substitute for that of an absent father. Nevertheless, her capacity to make judgments on the basis of merit remains unexplained.

4. MARRIAGE

The *Guó yǔ* story "Gongfu Wenbo's Mother Plans a Marriage for Wenbo" (which does not occur in the *Liènnǚ zhuàn*) attests to the nature and scope of her abilities, underscores her expertise in ritual and poetic quotation, and shows her ability to use both effectively without violating propriety: "Gongfu Wenbo's mother wanted to find a wife for Wénbó. She feasted the clan elders, and recited the third line of the 'Luyi' *fū*. The elders requested the diviners to prognosticate the [prospective] wife's clan. When Shi Hai heard about it he said 'Ah! In a feast of men and women, she did not remain with the clan officials; in planning a marriage for the clan, she never went beyond the clan. She planned, but did not transgress; she was subtle, but made matters clear. The poem was the means by which she unified their intentions.'¹⁷

This story attests to her literary education, her skill in poetic quotation, and her ability to act effectively to achieve her ends without violating the proprieties of clan life. Indeed, she is praised for doing so. In several other accounts, *Jìng Jiāng* admonishes others who act as moral agents. This story is of particular interest because it portrays *Jìng Jiāng* herself as an active moral agent. It shows her using poetic quotation, both to express her own views and to unify the intentions of others, a mode of behavior frequently used by ministers to put their views forward to a superior.¹⁸ The story is also an unusual case of a woman being able to affect the marriage of a son or daughter. Although women in Warring States

and Han times frequently had a say in the marriage of grandchildren, they rarely had the ability to determine the marriage of their immediate progeny.¹⁹

This anecdote also provides an interesting reflection on the *Lǐ jì* account of the education of boys and girls: "At six years [children] were taught the names of the numbers and the cardinal points. At seven years boys and girls did not [sit on] the same mat or eat together. At eight years when they go in and out of doors and gates, proceed to their mats, and eat and drink, they must follow behind their elders. This is the beginning of instruction in deference (*rang*). At nine, they were taught the numbering of the days. At ten they go out to an outside master, and stay with him and sleep outside [the home]. They study writing and calculation."²⁰

The passage describes instruction in reading, polite conversation, music, the *Odes*, dancing, archery, and charioteering. It presumably applies to boys, but there is no such specification. The Rites does specify that: "As for girls, at ten they do not go out. Governesses teach them to be docile and obedient," to handle hemp, silkworms, women's work, weaving, the preparation of foods, and to assist at sacrifices.²¹ This passage specifies the skills that girls were required to learn. The *Lǐ jì* describes the proper ages for particular instructions, but does not explicitly restrict education according to gender, or explicitly restrict education and literacy to boys.

5. MOURNING

Three narratives about *Jìng Jiāng's* knowledge of mourning involve the death of her son *Wénbó*; three others involve her nephew *Jì Kāngzǐ*. Various accounts of her behavior after the death of *Wénbó* appear in a number of Warring States and Han compendia. The *Liěny zhuàn*, *Guó yǔ*, *Lǐ jì*, *Hán Shì wàizhuàn*, and *Kǒngzǐ jiāyǔ* all describe versions of her unusual conduct after *Wénbó's* death, but with differing emphases.

Several texts present versions of *Jìng Jiāng's* instructions to *Wénbó's* concubines after his death.²² According to the *Liěny zhuàn*, "I have heard that if a man is too fond of the inner [his wives] he dies for women, and if he is too fond of the outer [affairs of state], he dies for scholars (*shi*). Now my son has died young, and I would hate it to be said of him that he was too fond of the inner." She urges them to mourn, but not excessively, and ends by saying that they can best illuminate the reputation of her son by following the rites and being calm.

So far, all the versions of the narrative agree. They diverge when they come to Confucius' comment on her behavior. In the *Liěny zhuàn* and *Kǒngzǐ jiāyǔ* versions, when Confucius hears her mourning instructions to *Wénbó's* concubines he remarks, "A girl never understands as much as a woman; a youth never understands as much as a man; the wisdom of *Gongfu's* wife was none other than this! She wishes to brighten her son's bright virtue."²³

the analogy are unclear. One possibility is simple analogy based on age (with the implication of maturity and marriage). An adult (woman or man) knows more than a child (boy or girl); Gōngfū's wife is like an adult. The other possibility is a two-step analogy based on age and gender. A girl knows less than a woman; a woman knows less than a man; Gōngfū's wife is like a man in her knowledge.

There is no ambiguity in the Guó yǔ narrative "Gongfu Wenbo's Mother Admonishes His Concubines after His Death": "A girl never understands as much as a woman; a youth never understands as much as a man; the knowledge of Gongfu's wife is that of a man! She wishes to make bright her son's bright virtue [italics added]."²⁴ The Guó yǔ passage probably predates not only the Lièniǔ zhuàn and Kǒngzǐ jiǎyǔ versions, but also the Lunyu itself. We can only speculate on the reasons for diluting the force of the analogy in the later accounts of the incident versions. It is interesting that the Guó yǔ version is so clear on this point.

Another version of these events appears in the Lǐ jì, which describes the actual mourning for Wénbó. In this account, during the mourning, Jìng Jiāng touched the couch where his body lay, but did not weep, and remarked that, although she had never seen his conduct at court, she knew it must be wanting, because the ministers did not weep for him, whereas his women cried their voices away.²⁵ An unrelated passage in the Lǐ jì also attests to Jìng Jiāng's keen eye for ritual decorum. The story describes an incident at the funeral of Jì Kāngzǐ's mother. It attests to Jìng Jiāng's expertise in mourning ritual, not, perhaps, without some sarcasm: "When Jì Kangzi's mother died, her underclothes were visible. Jìng Jiāng said: 'If a wife is not adorned [properly clothed], she does not dare be seen by her husband's parents. There will be guests coming from all four quarters; why are her underclothes showing?' Whereupon she gave orders that they be removed [from sight]."²⁶

Another narrative about the style of her mourning for Wénbó in the years after his death is also framed by a remark of Confucius. In the Lièniǔ zhuàn version, when he heard that, living in mourning, she mourned her late husband in the morning and her dead son in the evening, Confucius declared that she knew the lǐ and the separation of higher and lower.²⁷

II. Confucius on Women Who Understood the Rites

The story of Jìng Jiāng is one of two in the Lièniǔ zhuàn in which Confucius comments on the behavior of a woman as "understanding the rites." The stories differ considerably in the status of the woman, Confucius' presumed acquaintance with her, and how the text refers to him. Before turning to the question of Confucius' praise of her, it is worth noting that one version of the "Mourning" narrative centers on Jìng Jiāng's praise of Confucius, and corresponding dis-praise of her own son. She is also one of several specifically didactic mothers in the Lièniǔ zhuàn.

Clearly legendary examples include Jiang Yuan the mother of Hou Ji, Jian Di the mother of Xie, the Tu Shan girl, You Shen the wife of King Tang, and Tai Si the wife of King Wu, who trained her ten sons during their youth. Jing Jiāng, like Mèng Mǔ, was a "didactic widow," a woman widowed at a young age who took on the didactic "male" role and excelled in the education of her son.

1. JING JIANG ON CONFUCIUS

The *Hán Shì wàizhuàn* elaborates the story of Jing Jiāng's failure to mourn for Wénbó in a different way, one that suggests a direct connection between her and Confucius. In this version, after Wénbó's death, someone noticed that Wénbó's mother did not weep. Because she was known to be a virtuous woman, he concluded that Wénbó must have been at fault somehow, and sent to ask her about it. This account provides a fairly unusual instance of a woman being asked directly to explain her own conduct. She precedes her explanation with the following remarks: "Formerly I had this son of mine serve Zhòng Nǐ. When Zhòng Nǐ left Lǚ, my son did not go beyond the suburbs of the capital in sending him off; in making him presents, he did not give him the family's precious objects."²⁸ In this version we learn three things: that Wénbó was a student of Confucius (he does not appear in the *Analects*), that he was sent to Confucius by his mother, and that he was less than wholehearted in his behavior toward his teacher.

This implicit criticism of Wénbó also appears in the *Zhànguó cè*, where "the story of Wenbo's mother" is used as a rhetorical trope, to show how the attitudes of listeners depend on their assessment of the speaker. Here, Lou Huan of Qin uses the story to avoid giving advice to the King of Zhao on Zhao's prospects after a defeat by Qin. In this version, Wénbó's (former) wet nurse asks Jing Jiāng how she can forbear to mourn for her son. Her response is to criticize Wénbó in the strongest terms. "Confucius was a sage, and when he was driven from Lu this man did not follow him. Now he is dead and sixteen women of his household have killed themselves to honour him. If this is the way it is, then he must have treated worthy men lightly but treated his women well."²⁹ Lou Huan ends by remarking that these words sound righteous when spoken by a mother, but would seem mere jealousy if spoken by a wife: "In truth the words would be the same but when the speaker is different, the attitude of the listener is changed. Now I have just come from Qin, but if I say, 'don't give the towns' it would be no plan at all; yet if I say, 'give the towns,' I am afraid your majesty will say I am doing it for Qin. This is why I said I dare not answer you."³⁰

The *Zhànguó cè* version, which has little to do with the actual story of Jing Jiāng of Lǚ, emphasizes the different roles of mother and wife: a mother's admonitions bear the stamp of propriety, a wife's merely of jealousy. It also shows that she could and did assess her son, not on the "feminine" basis of affection (implicit, for example, in the wet nurse's question in the *Zhànguó cè* version), but on the basis of his merit. It is of some interest that the story represents her, a woman, as

knowing of Confucius and assessing him as a sage, presumably during his own lifetime.

The good opinion is also clearly mutual. In these narratives, Confucius praises "the woman of the Ji" for admonishing Wénbó (the discourse on weaving) during his life, for "brightening" his virtue by refusing to mourn him at the time of his death, and for understanding of ritual and hierarchy by mourning both husband and son continually after their deaths (see table 11.1). At the heart of all this praise is Jìng Jiāng's unremitting, indeed relentless, efforts at "improvement." Several things about this "improvement" are noteworthy. In his admonitions to his disciples and in his statements about himself, Confucius constantly emphasizes that self-cultivation is a necessary prerequisite to the instruction of others. In the case of Jìng Jiāng, however, Confucius shows no explicit interest in any effort she may have made at cultivating herself; his praise is confined entirely to her instruction of her son. The implication is that at least women, presumably mothers, are capable of effective teaching without explicit self-cultivation! An extraordinary gendering of virtue!

Any number of Warring States and Han narratives portray Confucius or his disciples commenting favorably on Jìng Jiāng's actions and expertise. Why does she receive so much attention in these texts? Her husband and father are not widely attested as important personages. I speculate that one reason is the quite direct association with Confucius and his disciples. Several accounts specify contact between him and Wénbó, possibly at her instigation. Thus, when Confucius is said to have "heard of her conduct," it was probably at no great remove. Confucius seems to express strong approval of her conduct as a combination of efficacy and propriety. Confucius, like Jìng Jiāng herself, seems to describe women's work— weaving and sericulture—as equivalent to public affairs. Yet given the context, it is noteworthy that his comment does not suggest that women should be ignorant of statecraft. Indeed, his praise reflects the propriety of the manner in which she deployed her knowledge.

The life story of Jìng Jiāng never explicitly states that she was taught to read, to recite *fu*, to master the principles that underlie statecraft or ritual propriety, but the details of the stories about her—and even Confucius' praise of her—attest to the mastery of all these skills. Stories in four Warring States texts provide a variety of details about her life, yet all agree on the kind of expertise they portray.

2. THE GIRL OF AGU

The other woman praised by Confucius as "understanding the rites" in the *Liènnǚ zhuàn* is "The Girl of Agu" 阿谷處女 (LNZ 6.6). Whereas Jìng Jiāng of Lù is a "Righteous Mother," the girl of Agu exemplifies "Skill in Argument" (LNZ 6) in a chapter that includes several cases of skillful arguments by commoners, both in the form of persuasions made to rulers and in arguments made within the course of their own quotidian interactions. Here, Confucius notices a washerwoman on

the road to Agu, and remarks to Zigong that she is capable with words (*kě yǔ yán* 可與言). He suggests that they observe her intentions (*guān qí zhì* 觀其志), and gives Zigong a cup (to ask for water), a lute (to drive away pigs), and linen cloth (as a betrothal gift). When Zigong asks her for water, she conforms to the prescriptions of the *Lǐ jì* by placing it on the ground, rather than handing it to him directly. When he asks her to tune the lute, she claims not to know the five tones. When he tries to woo her, she refuses him politely. After the encounter, Confucius describes her to Zigong as "penetrating about human affairs" (*dá yú rén qíng* 達於人情) and "understanding the rites" (*zhī lǐ* 知禮).³¹ This story also occurs in the *Hán Shì wàizhuàn* (1:3) and *Kǒng cóngzǐ*.

3. CONFUCIUS AND FEMALE EDUCATION

In the story of the girl at Agu, Confucius already has the accoutrements of a teacher, if not a sage. He is referred to by the honorific title of *Kǒngzǐ* 孔子, and is accompanied by a disciple. It is Zigong, rather than Confucius, who speaks with the girl, and it is Zigong, rather than the girl, who is the object of instruction. Both men are clearly her social and hierarchical superiors. (Once again, the story does not occur in the *Analects*.)

Defenders of Confucius against charges of elitism have often pointed out that Confucius had students who were poor, most notably Yan Hui, and his inclusion of poor, but worthy, men among his students certainly suggests that he thought any man could practice self-cultivation. These narratives show a more ambiguous record in the case of women. In these accounts, Jing Jiāng of Lǚ and the girl of Agu are clear cases of women of whose behavior, and whose understanding, Confucius clearly approves, albeit in different contexts and for different reasons. On this score, we might be tempted to extend his "spiritual" openhandedness to women. Yet it is noteworthy that, although Confucius approves of both women, he treats them as objects, rather than subjects of instruction. (He does not "objectify" them insofar as he considers them moral agents, but he does use them as "object lessons" for his male disciples.) His remarks are addressed to his students, not to the women whose examples he uses for their instruction.

Does propriety prevent his instructing women? I argue that it does not. The *Lǐ jì* notwithstanding, Warring States texts show many cases of instruction, admonition, and argument between unrelated men and women, and Confucius shows no reticence in having Zigong speak directly with the girl at Agu. In these instances, it is to his male students that Confucius stands in a benefactor/beneficiary relation, and in his interactions with women Confucius is a superior, but not a benefactor.³² Although these instances are two few to provide any certainty, they do provide the uncomfortable suggestion that Confucius' views on human perfectibility and self-cultivation may have spanned social class, but not gender.

In both these stories, Confucius has sufficient respect for the understanding of

of his male disciples. In Jìng Jiāng's case, he hears of her by reputation, and, as I argue below, may have direct acquaintance with her. In the case of the girl of Agu, he is already on his travels, and perceives her virtues in a direct encounter.

4. CONFUCIUS AND THE JI LINEAGE

It is well known that Confucius was used as a mouthpiece for a range of late Warring States and Han dynasty views, for example in the *Zhuangzi* and *Hanfeizi*. These accounts of Confucius' praise of a virtuous female aristocrat, Jìng Jiāng of Lǔ, and a virtuous female commoner, the girl of Agu, raise questions of historicity that revolve around two issues. One objection to their historical veracity is textual. If Wénbó had been a disciple of Confucius, we would expect him to be mentioned in the *Analects*, and he is not. Second, the accounts of Confucius' praise of Jìng Jiāng refer to him by his style as Zhòng Ní 仲尼, suggesting a relatively late date. By contrast, in the story of the lower-class washerwoman of Agu, he is referred to by the honorific title "Kǒngzǐ," but later collectors and commentators question the attribution of this incident to Confucius. In a passage in the *Kong qǎngzǐ*, the Prince of Pingyuan asks Zigao about the tradition that Confucius had had words with a washerwoman. Zigao replies that "the Agu story is of recent origin, probably concocted by those who use that sort of thing to give currency to their ideas."³³

The Jìng Jiāng of Lǔ stories are less easily dismissed, for several reasons. They appear repeatedly in the *Guó yǔ*, a text that probably predates the *Analects* in compilation.³⁴ Despite the silence of the *Analects*, other accounts suggest that Wénbó was an unsuccessful student of Confucius, before he was driven out of Lǔ. How historically plausible is the claim that there was a direct connection between Confucius and Jìng Jiāng? Given a number of significant interactions with the Ji lineage in the received accounts of the life of Confucius, I speculate that there may have been a very direct connection between Jìng Jiāng and Confucius, which appears only indirectly in the *Analects* through its accounts of his interactions with male members of the Ji lineage. I further speculate that Confucius' praise of her may reflect his changing attitudes toward the Ji lineage and his relations with two ministers of Lǔ, father and son, Ji Huanzi and Ji Kangzi. The *Analects*, *Mengzi*, and *Zuo zhuan* present several incidents, early in Confucius' career, in which he comments negatively on the Ji lineage, on the behavior of Ji Huanzi as minister of Lǔ, and on Yang Hu, a close associate of the Ji lineage. The *Analects* also presents any number of accounts of more positive conversations between Confucius and Ji Huanzi's son Ji Kangzi, who became Minister of Lǔ in 494 B.C.E., with the accession of Duke Ai. These events are summarized in table 11.2.³⁵

The Ji lineage was one of three (the Ji, Shu, and Meng) that maintained close connections to the ducal house, and were able to hold the rulers of the state of Lu in some degree of dependency. In the *Analects* (3.1-2), Confucius condemns both the Ji family and the Three Families as usurpers of authority. Nonetheless,

A WOMAN WHO UNDERSTOOD THE RITES

TABLE 11.2
CONFUCIUS AND THE JI LINEAGE

DUKE	MINISTER	DATE	INCIDENT	TEXTUAL SOURCES	
Zhao	[Ji Daozi] Ji Pingzi	541-509	Ji Pingzi becomes head of Ji lineage	Zuo, Zhao 12	
		529		LY 3:1-2, 6, 10-11	
			517	Confucius criticizes the Ji	
			516-510	Three families seize power in Lü	
			516	Duke Zhao flees to Qi, as does Confucius	
			515	Confucius returns to Lü, without office	
			510	death of Duke Zhao, heir bypassed	
	Ding		509	Ding, a member of ducal house, named Duke	Zuo, Ding 5
			505	death of Ji Pingzi Yang Hu imprisons Ji Huánzi and usurps power in Lü, criticized by Confucius	LY 17:1
		Ji Huanzi	505-492	victory of Three Families, Yang Hu flees to Qi, invites Confucius to join him Confucius appointed sikou in Lü	Meng 3B7
501			LY 17.5		
		500	disagreement with Ji Huánzi over criminal case Zilu and Ziyu enter service of the Ji	Zuo Ding 1 Meng 5B4, 6B6	
		497	Ji Huángzi Confucius leaves Lü for Wei after present of girls to Ji Huánzi	LY 17:4 Meng 6B6	
Ai	Ji Kangzi	494	Confucius returns to Lü	LY 11:17	
		484		Meng 4A14 ZuoZS 58:27a-b	
		484-479	conversations with Ji Kāngzǐ	LY 6:8 10:16 11:7 12:17 12:18 12:19	
		479	death of Confucius		

Confucius himself seems to have been a dependent of the Ji. In 517 B.C.E., during the reign of Duke Zhao, he criticized the Ji family after the performance of the di sacrifice in the temple of Duke Xiang. As the three powerful families of Ji, Shu, and Meng gained power, he fled Lu for Qi, along with Duke Zhao. He returned

had succeeded to the throne of Lu, and Ji Huanzi was minister in Lu. Confucius assumed the office of *sikou* under Ji Huanzi, and, according to tradition, came into a difference of opinion with him over a legal case and left Lü as a result of Ji Huanzi's conduct.³⁶ Thus Confucius' initial interactions with the Ji family seem to have been critical.

In 494, Duke Ai acceded to the throne of Lu and Ji Kangzi succeeded his father Ji Huanzi as minister of Lü. The *Analects* and *Mengzi* present a number of accounts of conversations between Confucius, Duke Ai, and Ji Kangzi, all of which presumably occurred between Confucius' return to Lü in 484, ten years after Ji Kangzi's ministry, and his death in 479. These conversations between Confucius and Ji Kangzi are far friendlier in tone. According to the *Analects*, Ji Kangzi consulted Confucius on the qualifications of the officials Zhong You and [Ran] Qiu (6:8), made him a gift of medicine (10:16), asked him about learning and his disciples (11:7, a discussion of Yan Hui), about thieves (12:18), and about government (12:17, 19). The latter is the famous statement that "the virtue of the gentleman is like wind; the virtue of the small man is like grass. Let the wind blow over the grass and it is sure to bend."³⁷

In summary, Confucius was, to some degree, a contemporary of several generations of the Ji lineage. He was born shortly after the death of Ji Wénzǐ 季文子 (Jìsūn Hángfù 季孫行父, d. 566). His life spanned those of Ji Wǔzǐ 季武子 (Jìsūn Sù 季孫宿, d. 534), his son Ji Dàozi 季悼子 (d. 529), his son Ji Píngzǐ 季平子 (Jìsūn Yírú 季孫意如 or Yínú 隱如, d. 504), his son Ji Huánzǐ 季桓子 (Jìsūn Sī 季孫斯, d. 491), and his son Ji Kāngzǐ 季康子 (Jìsūn 季孫, d. 467).³⁸ We know him to be a direct acquaintance of both Ji Huánzǐ and Ji Kāngzǐ.

According to the *Liènnǚ zhuàn*, Jìng Jiāng was the wife of the younger brother of Ji Kāngzǐ's paternal grandfather (his *zòngzǔ shǔmǔ* 從組叔母).³⁹ Gōngfū Mùbó thus would be a younger brother of Ji Píngzǐ (d. 505 B.C.E.), the son of Ji Dàozi. This genealogy would make Ji Dàozi the grandfather of Wénbó and the great-grandfather of Ji Kāngzǐ. It is consistent with commentaries that refer to Ji Dàozi as Jìng Jiāng's father-in-law and Ji Kāngzǐ's great-grandfather.⁴⁰ Thus, we might estimate her birth as circa 540 B.C.E., and the birth of Wénbó some time between 525 and 515. These dates are consistent with Wénbó being a student of Confucius for a brief period between 501 and 497, when he left Lü for Wèi. By this reckoning, the story of Jìng Jiāng's sending her son to Confucius as a student is historically credible. Given Confucius' brief tutelage of Wénbó and the latter's lackluster record and early departure, it is no surprise that he does not appear in the *Analects*. Further, if Ji Kāngzǐ was an associate of both Confucius and Jìng Jiāng, it is plausible that Confucius might have met her, or at least heard of her exploits in detail, from a great-nephew who clearly held a great deal of respect (and fear) for her.

The *Gúo yǔ*, *Liènnǚ zhuàn*, and *Hán Shì wàizhuàn* all support this dating of Jìng Jiāng as a contemporary of Confucius. The *Zuo zhuàn* contains a separate account of a Mùbó of Lü, who marries a woman named Dài Jǐ 戴己 of Jǔ 莒, whose son Wénbó

succeeded Mùbó in office in Lǚ. These details all appear in the *Lièniǚ zhuàn* life story of Jìng Jiāng, but the events described in the *Zuo zhuàn* take place between 640 and 612 B.C.E., some one hundred and fifty years before the life of Jì Kāngzǐ. Closer examination reveals that the *Zuǒ zhuàn* and *Gúo yǔ* (and later) narratives refer to different sets of individuals. Nevertheless, the similarities in names and places provide interesting insights into how the *Lièniǚ zhuàn* life story may have been constructed. That information is discussed in the appendix, below.

The foregoing account of Confucius' association with Jìng Jiāng also sheds light on his changing relations with the Ji family. His initial criticisms of Ji Huanzi and Yang Hu have now mellowed into a far more positive attitude toward Jì Kāngzǐ, and, perhaps, through him, for the entire family. In this light, Confucius' repeated praise of "the woman of the Ji" (*Jì shì zhī fù* 季氏之婦) is all the more striking, in that it exemplifies this new attitude. His respect for the Ji family is now so great that he uses Jìng Jiāng as an example to instruct his disciples!⁴¹

III. Later Lives of Jìng Jiāng

Confucius praises Jìng Jiāng (and the girl of Agu) for knowledge of the rites. These narratives show a tension between Jìng Jiāng's unmistakable expertise in learning, politics, and ritual, and Confucius's praise of her, which is directed toward her knowledge of ritual and cultivation of her son, but not of herself. Confucius' good opinion seems to ignore striking aspects of her actual talents and behavior: her expertise in argument and analogy. This aspect of Jìng Jiāng's virtue all but disappears in later depictions of her in Song Neo-Confucian texts and Ming illustrated editions of the *Lièniǚ zhuàn*. In the next section I explore a second range of narratives that clearly portray Jìng Jiāng as an expert participant in the delineation of the separate spheres of men and women.

1. THE SEPARATION OF MEN AND WOMEN

The last two sections of the *Lièniǚ zhuàn* narrative describe admonitions to Jì Kāngzǐ after Wénbó's death, when Jìng Jiāng had remained with the Ji family. These narratives specifically stress her understanding of the "separate spheres" of men and women. In the first, Jì Kāngzǐ repeatedly tried to speak with her, first at court, then at the gate of her house. She entered without speaking to him, and he followed her and asked how he had offended her. She replies,

Have you not heard? The son of Heaven and the assembled princes manage the affairs of the people in the [outer court and manage the affairs of the spirits in the] inner court. From the prime minister down, official matters are deliberated in the outer court and domestic

court, you attend to the responsibilities of lords and officials; in the inner court, you attend to the business of the Ji. Of these things it is not for me to venture to speak.⁴²

Jing Jiāng emphasizes that women govern and hold office within the household. Her account breaks down government functions to an outer and an inner sphere: the outer sets the duties of state officials; the inner administers the Ji family. When Ji Kāngzǐ follows her to her door and attempts to visit her, she speaks to him but does not allow him past the threshold. She performs sacrifices for Ji Dàozi (her father-in-law), and Ji Kāngzǐ assists. She does not personally receive the sacrificial meats or stay for the feast, and would only sacrifice if all the clan officials were present. Confucius described her as knowing how to distinguish the *lǐ* of women from the *lǐ* of men.⁴³

Both Jing Jiāng's account of the *lǐ* of men and women and Confucius' praise of her for it raise questions about the extent to which such separations were maintained during Warring States and early Han times, even by conservative "Confucians." For all her defense of the gender system, many of her actions seem to break down the very gender separations her words advocate. For example, Jing Jiāng personally offers sacrifice when mourning her son Wénbó. Other Liènzhuàn accounts show women as active in sacrifice and divination, performing sacrifice directly or supervising it.⁴⁴

Despite *lǐ jì* prescriptions that the concerns and activities of men and women should differ, there is considerable evidence that the activities of women of all classes overlapped considerably with those of their male relatives. Weaving, the paradigmatic women's work, was typically done within the home for use within the home; even aristocratic women such as Jing Jiāng wove and spun. Widows and other women also engaged in weaving and the care of silkworms as a livelihood.⁴⁵ Women engaged in other occupations outside the home; they worked in the fields with their husbands, and were expert at the occupations of their husbands or fathers.⁴⁶ Erudite and expert women gave instruction outside their homes and were recognized for their wisdom, technical expertise and erudition. They participated in political life, both by actual presence at court and by indirect influence. Other accounts of female expertise include agriculture, archery, astronomy, divination, ferrying, funerary rites, and physiognomy, as well as general skills of prediction, interpretation, the quotation of poetry, knowledge of ritual, and the composition of eulogies and petitions.⁴⁷

In sum, Jing Jiāng is portrayed as an exemplary woman whose words seem to uphold the gender system of separation of men and women, but whose actions undermine traditional prohibitions against women's concern with politics or matters external to the home. Warring States and Han accounts of her preserve this tension. Jing Jiāng is a prominent figure in Song and Ming accounts of women's virtue. They portray her entirely as an exemplar of the gender system, and completely de-emphasize her intellectual acumen and decisiveness.

2. NEO-CONFUCIAN VIEWS ON FEMALE EDUCATION

Zhū Xī emphasized intellectual aspects of the separation, stressing the dangers of women's participation in political life, and stressing that women should "never initiate affairs or take action on their own."⁴⁸ He encouraged education for women, within the proper limits of moral tracts and directed toward the proper goals of assisting a husband.⁴⁹ Zhū Xī's (1130-1200) *Xiǎo xué* 小學 or Elementary Learning articulated what was to become a standard position on women: "A wife is one who bends to the will of another and so her rectitude lies in not following her own will."⁵⁰ This work draws extensively on the "Nei zè" or "Domestic Regulations" chapter of the *Lǐ jì*.⁵¹ It is organized by life cycle, not by virtues. Its instructions to girls, wives, and mothers draw heavily on the *Lǐ jì*, and emphasize prohibitions against remarriage, the importance of the physical separation of men and women, and filiality to mothers-in-law.⁵² It quotes the *Liè nǚ zhuàn* to emphasize the importance of instruction, including prenatal instruction, and the maintenance of separate spheres: the physical, social, and intellectual separation of men and women. Zhū Xī includes the examples of the mothers of King Wen and Mengzi as examples of the instruction of sons. He uses Jǐng Jiāng, whom he calls "the aunt of Jì Kāngzǐ," as a model of separate spheres.⁵³ Zhū Xī emphasizes the need to keep women away from political life, and criticizes self-willed women.⁵⁴ Although he stresses the importance of women as teachers, this stress on moral education was in the interest of filiality, including the submission of wife to husband.⁵⁵

3. MING EDITIONS

The *Liè nǚ zhuàn* style of narrative was adopted and transformed on a wide scale. Beginning with the *Standard History of the Later Han*, a chapter of exemplary biographies of women (*liè nǚ* 列女) began to appear in the "Collected Biographies" sections of dynastic histories. These works, however, varied considerably in their definitions of virtue and the kind of women they selected for their exemplary biographies. It was also a popular subject for illustration from an early period. Pictorial work based upon it ranged from scrolls, screens, and illustrated books to wall and tomb decorations.⁵⁶

Over time, however, the original arguments for the importance of women and some of the most important original criteria for deeming them exemplary were lost or transformed. Starting with the Later Han, collected biographies of virtuous women (*liè nǚ* 列女) were included in dynastic histories. Over the course of time, the criteria for this official recognition of female virtue changed considerably. The *liè nǚ* of the dynastic history of the Later Han resembled those of the *Liè nǚ zhuàn* but the self-sacrificing, chastity obsessed, and analytical *liè nǚ* of the Ming

editions reflected a Ming cultural vocabulary, in which the husband-wife relationship was moved to the foreground. The result was a considerable increase in numbers of suicides in Ming writings, and a corresponding diminution of "nonsense girls who argued with kings; in their place is a repertoire of expressions of fidelity to the husband's lineage (widow suicide, widow fidelity, heroic service to parents-in-law), and (through resistance to rape by invaders) fidelity to the empire, the family writ large. The strong-minded women in these Ming expansions are now likely to be mothers, who bring sons, rather than rulers, to their senses, and reprove them for any hint of venality or immorality."⁵⁸

A brief survey of the portrayal of Jìng Jiāng in four illustrated editions shows important contrasts between (Ming redactions of) Song dynasty editions, and Ming appropriations of the story of Jìng Jiāng.⁵⁹ The *Wénxuǎnlóu* and *Sìbù cóngkān* editions, which, for purposes of this discussion, I call Han-Song editions, are organized in chapters titled by six virtues.⁶⁰ To these I contrast two Ming dynasty editions: Lǚ Kun's *Gūi fān* (1618) and the *Huítú lièniǚ zhuàn*, published during the Wanli reign (1610–20). Both were Huizhou editions, produced by individual publishers whose sponsors employed the best illustrators and engravers of the period.

All four editions show Wénbó bowing before a seated Jìng Jiāng (figures 1–4). They vary as to Wénbó's age and size, the location of the interview, and what she is doing. In the *Wénxuǎnlóu* and *Sìbù cóngkān* editions, the illustrations are clearly secondary to the content of the stories themselves. They are small (half the page or less) and follow the action of the story closely. They emphasize the text and the human actors over architectural detail and elaborate furnishings of the Huizhou editions.

The Huizhou editions use elaborate one- or two-page illustrations. In the *Huítú Lièniǚ zhuàn*, stories appear in a different order and with no conceptual structure whatever. In the *Gūi fān*, the stories have been reclassified, both in chapter and within the chapters; here Jìng Jiāng is classified under the "All Virtues" subheading of "Wives."

All four editions show Wénbó in a subordinate role, but the Han-Song editions (*Wénxuǎnlóu* and *Sìbù cóngkān*) reinforce Jìng Jiāng's superiority, whereas the Ming Huizhou editions (*Gūi fān* and *Huítú lièniǚ zhuàn*) minimize it. In the Han-Song editions, Wénbó is noticeably smaller than his mother; the *Sìbù cóngkān* edition in fact transforms him into a child. The *Gūi fān* and *Huítú lièniǚ zhuàn* lessen his subordination by showing him as adult, equal to his mother in size, and in elaborate dress.

IV. Conclusions

Warring States and Han texts portray Jìng Jiāng as a decisive and powerful woman who did not hesitate to intervene in either family matters or affairs of state, yet



FIGURE 1
The *Wénxuǎnlóu* edition



FIGURE 2
The *Sībù cóngkān* edition

who was repeatedly praised by Confucius as “understanding the rites” in various contexts. Is this understanding a mode of knowledge equally available to—if not prevalent among—women and men, or does it have some special connotation when used of women? Let me argue in conclusion that, like wisdom, benevolence and the other virtues praised by Confucius are not gendered. The “rites” that *Jǐng Jiāng* understands span much of the range of private and official ritual conduct. In the realm of family and private conduct she is expert in the rites of

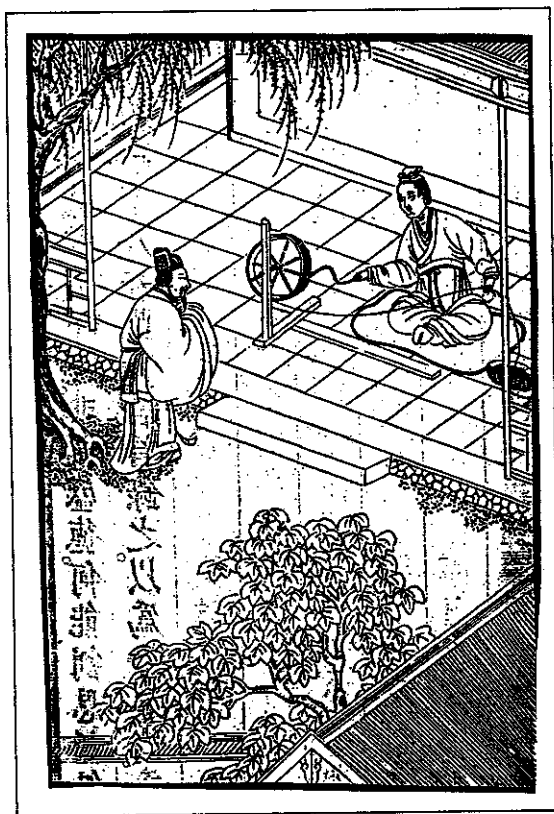


FIGURE 3
The Gūi fān edition

FIGURE 4
The Hùitú Lièniǚ zhuàn edition



elders without violating proprieties, including skill at apt use of poetic quotation, as, for example, with her arrangement of Wénbó's marriage. She also had a keen sense of the spirit with which rites should be conducted in particular circumstances, as seen in her instructions to Wénbó's concubines. In addition, she had understanding of high state ritual, as shown in her account of the complementary activities of men and women in its preparation and performance. In short, there is nothing restricted, "feminine," or "gendered" about her degree or kind of understanding, nor does Confucius remark on her being a woman as in any way unusual or special.

Yet before using the case of Jìng Jiāng to argue for the moral or epistemological status of women in the earliest layers of "Confucian" thought, we would do well to reflect on the extent to which the recognition of her admittedly unusual abilities may have been a product of her circumstances. As the young widow of a high official, she was in an unusual (but not unique) position to take on the social roles of both father and mother. To this extent, she may have been able to achieve far more of the learning and status of a *jūnzǐ* 君子 than would normally have been permitted to, or recognized in, a woman.⁶¹ In this sense, her preeminence was far too particular to be indicative of early Confucian views of the status or potential of women. It does suggest a degree of flexibility (especially in the treatment of elite women) that was to be lost or de-emphasized in later Classical Confucian and Neo-Confucian views of women.

V. APPENDIX: MUBO, DAN JI, AND WENBO IN THE ZUO ZHUAN

The *Guó yǔ*, *Liènnǚ zhuàn*, *Chūnqiū* and *Zuo zhuàn* all contain detailed references to a Mùbó of Lǚ who marries a woman named Dài Jǐ 戴己 of Jǔ 莒 and whose son Wénbó succeed Mùbó in office in Lǚ. The *Guó yǔ* and *Liènnǚ zhuàn* accounts center on Jìng Jiāng and her instructions to Wénbó and Jì Kāngzǐ. The *Zuo zhuàn* narratives center entirely on Mùbó. They are summarized in table 11.3.

Three significant inconsistencies make it clear that these narratives refer to different sets of individuals. In the first place, the name Mùbó of Lǚ occurs only in the *Zuo zhuàn*; the *Chūnqiū* refers to him as Gōngsūn Ào 公孫敖, and once as Mèng Mùbó 孟穆伯. The latter name clearly identifies him as a member of the Meng lineage and rules out any possible relation to the Jì Kāngzǐ of the *Guó yǔ* and later narratives.

The second inconsistency concerns the life spans of Mùbó and Dài Jǐ. In the *Guó yǔ* and *Liènnǚ zhuàn* narratives, Mùbó dies young and Jìng Jiāng raises and instructs Wénbó alone. In the *Chūnqiū* and *Zuo zhuàn*, Dài Jǐ dies before Mùbó, Mùbó returns to Jǔ in search of another wife, flees Lǚ for Jǔ, and is succeeded in Lǚ by Wénbó. In each narrative, the early death of one spouse is a crucial element in the events that follow. In the *Guó yǔ* and *Liènnǚ zhuàn*, it is Mùbó's early death that forces Jìng Jiāng to take on the "paternal" role of instructing her son about

TABLE 11.3
GONGSUN MUBO IN THE ZUO ZHUAN

CHUNQIU	ZUO ZHUAN	NAME	YEAR	EVENT
Xi 15.3	Xi 15.1	Mèng Mùbó	643	led a force in aid of Xu
	Wen 1.1	Gōngsūn Ào		comes to the aid of Xu
Wen 1.9	Wen 1.6	Gōngsūn Ào	625	receives prognostication that he would be fed by Wénbó and buried by Hui Shu, and that Wénbó would bear progeny in Lǚ
		Gōngsūn Ào		meets with Marquis of Jin
Wen 1.11	Wen 1.8	Mùbó	624	meets with Marquis of Jin
Wen 2.4	Wen 2.4	Gōngsūn Ào		enters Qi
Wen 5.4	Wen 7.7	Mùbó	[c.640]	enters Qi
Wen 7.10		Gōngsūn Ào		meets with Duke of Song
		Gōngsūn Ào	621	meets with princes
		Gōngsūn Ào	619	enters Jin
		Mùbó		goes to Jǔ to superintend a covenant
	Wen 7.7	Mùbó	[c.640]	marries Dài Jī of Jǔ, who gives birth to Wénbó. Her younger sister Sheng Jī gives birth to Hui Shú 惠叔. After her death, returns to Jǔ and attempts to marry Lady Sì 巳
Wen 8.6	Wen 7.7	Gōngsūn Ào	618	advised to send Lady Sì back to Jǔ
	Wen 8.5	Gōngsūn Ào		leaves for the capital, retraces his steps, and flees to Jǔ
Wen 14.8	Wen 14.11	Gōngsūn Ào	612	enters Zhou bearing mourning gifts, does not arrive there, flees to Jǔ to follow Lady Sì
		Mùbó		dies in Qi
				After Mùbó's flight, Wénbó established in office in Lǚ. Mùbó bears two sons in Jǔ and seeks Wénbó's help to return. He returns only to flee back to Jǔ. Wénbó falls ill, dies and is succeeded by Hui Shu. Mùbó asks Hui Shu's help to return to Lǚ. He dies before he can return.
Wen 15.4		Gōngsūn Ào	611	his coffin sent back to Lǚ by people of Qi
	Wen 15.4	Mèng Gōngsūn Ào		coffin returned after earlier objections by Duke and buried with honors by Hui Shu. [His mother] Sheng Jī does not attend. Later, Mùbó's sons from Jǔ come to Lǚ and are received with affection by Wénbó's son Mèng Xiānzi 孟獻子

Notes: Dài Jī and Shēng Jī 齊巳 are posthumous titles. Wénbó's date of birth is estimated at twenty years before his assumption of office in Lǚ. Section numbering is taken from the Yang Bojun edition of the Zuo zhuan.

government. In the *Zuǒ zhuàn*, it is the early death of Dai Ji that impels Mùbó to return to Jǔ and eventually flee Lǔ in pursuit of another wife.

Finally, in the *Guó yǔ* and *Liènnǚ zhuàn* narratives, Wénbó holds office in Lǔ many years after his father Mùbó's death. In the *Zuǒ zhuàn*, Wénbó attains office at the time of his father's flight to Ju, and dies before Mùbó, who intercedes first with him, and later with his half brother Hui Shu, in order to return to Lǔ from Ju.

The names Mùbó and Wénbó are generic enough that their recurrence is unremarkable; the duplication of a woman's name is more surprising. However, the name Dài Jǐ occurs only in the *Liènnǚ zhuàn* and there only once in the first lines of the life story. The *Guó yǔ*, *Hán Shì wàizhuàn*, and *Zhàngúo cè* all call her "the mother of Gongfu Wenbo"; the *Lǐ jì* and *Liènnǚ zhuàn* call her Jìng Jiāng, and in remarks attributed to Confucius, she is always "the woman of the Ji." Nor does the *Zuo zhuàn* narrative ascribe any particular virtues to Dài Jǐ. It seems most likely that, somehow, during the compilation of the *Liènnǚ zhuàn* the name Dài Jǐ was added to the otherwise consistent life story of Jìng Jiāng, the mother of Gōngfū Wénbó of Lǔ, the woman praised by Confucius.

NOTES

1. Lǔ and Jǐ are her husband's state and clan. Jìng Jiāng can be construed either as an honorary title or as the woman's personal name and natal family name (*xìng* 姓). Either is consistent with the typology of women's names in Liu 1990.

2. The *Liènnǚ zhuàn* is a compendium of 125 life stories of women from legendary times to the Han dynasty, mostly of consorts of rulers, but also of commoners. Many of the same narratives appear in other Warring States and Han texts. In the *Liènnǚ zhuàn* the stories are arranged to exemplify the specific virtues that title its chapters. It is conventionally attributed to Liu Xiang and dated approximately 25 B.C.E. For discussion of several problems that surround this dating and attribution see Raphals 1998, chap. 4. For translation see O'Hara 1971.

3. Each woman is praised for one virtue. The other chapters are (2) *xían míng* 賢明, sage intelligence, (3) *rén zhì* 仁智, benevolent wisdom, (4) *zhēn shùn* 貞順, purity and obedience, (5) *jié yì* 節義, chastity and righteousness, and (6) *biàn tōng* 辯通, skill in argument. *Liènnǚ zhuàn* narratives within these chapters have a consistent structure. Each story has at least three components. The first is an introduction that consists of genealogical information, a brief statement of virtues or accomplishments, and/or a brief assessment of abilities or virtues. This introduction may be distinct from, or may blend into the second element: one or more life-story narratives that describe meritorious action(s). Each account ends with an assessment of the life-story example, prefaced by the phrase "the lord says" (*jūnzǐ yuē* 君子曰) and/or one or more apt quotations from the *Shi jīng*. The third is a eulogy or *sòng* 頌, which summarizes her virtuous deeds and lists her virtues. It may recapitulate the contents of the introductory summary. Most *Liènnǚ zhuàn* life stories have only one narrative element. Four stories are longer, with two to five narrative elements; of these, the story of Jìng Jiāng is the longest. It consists of five elements, several of which are of considerable length. The other long *Liènnǚ zhuàn* narratives are: Ding Jiang of Wei (LNZ 1.7, four ele-

4. For *zhèng* see Bielenstein 1980:38–39. Titles are taken from Bielenstein (1980) and Hucker (1985).

5. This section refers to a pattern or painted design, copied onto the cloth. According to the *Works of Nature and Man* or *Tiāngōng kāiwù* 天工開物, a seventeenth-century work on technology: “The mental calculations (*xīn jì* 心計) of the artisan who makes the figure design are of the greatest ingenuity (*jīng qiǎo* 精巧). An artist first paints the design and color onto a paper. The artisan follows the painted design (*hua*) in silk and translates it into a pattern, which is hung in the figure tower” (*huà lóu* 花樓, TGKW 64, trans. Zen, Sun, and Sun 1966:56).

6. I am indebted to John Major for this interpretation of *hua* and *wù* (物), which improves the coherence of the analogy. According to the commentary for this passage, the “marking” (*wù* 物) was one *zhāng* 章 of ink. The reference is to an inked string used for measurement. The “weeds” (*wú* 蕪) refer to the “wild” silk that comes from wild silkworms whose silk cannot be reeled, but only cut. The compound “weeds and tendons” (*wu yu mo*) refers to the kinds of fibers from which all clothing is made. According to the *Tiāngōng kāiwù*, the fibers from which all clothing is made come equally from plant and animal sources: “Therefore Nature has provided the materials (*wù* 物) for clothing. Of these the vegetable ones are cotton [hemp] (*xī* 枲), hemp (*má* 麻), *méng* hemp (*méng* 萌), and creeper hemp (*gé* 葛); those derived from birds, animals, and insects are furs, woolens, silk (*sī* 絲), and spun silk (*mián* 綿). All the clothing materials [in the world] are about equally divided between vegetable and animal origins” (TGKW 45, trans. Zen, Sun, and Sun 1966:35).

7. This title may refer to the *guan nei hou* or Marquis of Guan Nei, the nineteenth of twenty (second highest) titles of nobility awarded to exceptionally meritorious individuals. See Hucker 1985:286, 421.

8. The commentary indicates that the *jūn* refers to the teeth of the comb. According to Sun Yutang, the term *jūn* 均 in the *Liènnǚ zhuàn* is equivalent to “reed” (*gou* 筥) in the *Tiāngōng kāiwù* (Sun 1963:152). Similarly, the *Tiāngōng kāiwù* states that the reed comb regulates the breadth and density of the cloth (TGKW 62). The reed consists of eight hundred teeth for gauge and twelve hundred for damask or pongee. Each tooth has a hole or eyelet that holds four unsized threads (or four sized threads combined into two warp yarns), the comb of a draw loom regulates the breadth and density of the cloth. See Zen, Sun, and Sun 1966:53.

9. Liang Duan’s commentary adds that the warp beam is *shèng* 勝, victorious, and that being able to unfold (stretch) without limit is an example of the virtue (*dào dé* 道德) of the *san gong*. For description of the drawloom see Sun 1963:155, TGKW 63–64, (trans. Zen, Sun, and Sun 1966:55).

10. LJ 12, 27:8a, trans. Legge 1:454.

11. LNZ 1:8b, quoting Zhanhan (Mao 264).

12. GY 5.13 (Lu 2) pp. 205–9, JY 9:41:13a–14a.

13. For Meng Mu’s admonition, see LNZ 1.11, HSWZ 9.1 and 9.17, and *Mengzi* 1A12.

14. LNZ 1:8b. *Nángōng jìngshù* 南宮敬叔 and *Lù Dǔfù* 露堵父 both held the office of *daifu* in Lǚ. *Nángōng jìngshù* was the son of *Mèng Xīzǐ* 孟喜子. *Jing Jiāng* quotes the words of *Jì Dàozi* 季悼子, her father-in-law.

15. GY 5.11 (Lu 2), pp. 202–3.

16. LJ 32, 54:15a–b, trans. Legge 2:341.

17. GY 5.15 (Lu 2), p. 210. *Shī Hài* 師亥 was a music master from Lǚ.

18. For discussion of analogies between the behavior of *Liènnǚ zhuàn* wives and ministers see Gépoulon (1997) and chapter 1 of Raphals (1998).

19. See Thatcher (1991) and Holmgren (1991).

20. LJ 12, 28:20a. For a different translation see Legge 1:478.
21. 姆教婉婉聽從 LJ 12, 28:21a-b (Legge 1:479).
22. For women's ability to manage their own homes after the death of their husbands see Thatcher (1991) and Raphals (1998), chap. 9.
23. LNZ 1:9a, JY 10:44:8b-9a.
24. 公父氏之婦智也夫 GY 5.16 (Lu 2) p. 211. The note to this passage reiterates that her understanding is 丈夫之智 (p. 212 n. 8).
25. LJ 3, 9:24b-25a. For a different translations see Legge 1:176.
26. LJ 3, 9:25b. For another translation see Legge 1:176.
27. LNZ, GY 5.17 (Lu 2), p. 212.
28. HSWZ 1.19, pp. 6b-7a, trans. modified from Hightower 26.
29. ZGC 20 (Zhao 3) pp. 692-99, trans. Crump 338.
30. ZGC 20 (Zhao 3) pp. 692-99, trans. Crump 339.
31. LNZ 6:5b.
32. I owe this formulation of "superior/inferior" as "benefactor/beneficiary" to Henry Rosemont.
33. *Kǒng cóngzǐ* 孔叢子, trans. Hightower 14 n. 16.
34. For the dating of these texts see Loewe 1993.
35. I draw upon the standard accounts of the life of Confucius by D. C. Lau, James Legge, and SJ 47. For more recent, and more controversial, accounts see Jensen (1997) and Brooks and Brooks (1998).
36. An account of a disagreement between Confucius and Ji Kāngzǐ (possibly Ji Huanzi) appears in the *Han Shi waizhuan* (HSWZ 3.22), *Shuo yuan* (SY 7:3b-4a) and *Kongzi jiaoyu* (KZJY 1:5b-6a) All three texts name Ji Kāngzǐ as Confucius's antagonist, but the event seems to have occurred during the ministry of Ji Huanzi.
37. *Analects*, Lau trans., 115-16.
38. This genealogy is based on *Zuo zhuan* references to Ji Wenzhi (Wen 6 to Xiang 5), Ji Wuzi (Xiang 6 to Zhao 7.7), Ji Daozi (Zhao 12.8), Ji Pingzi (Zhao 9.5 to Ding 5.4), Ji Huanzi (Ding 5 to Ai 3), and Ji Kāngzǐ (Ai 7 to 27).
39. LNZ 1:6b. For kinship terminology, see Feng 1967.
40. For example, LNZ 1:8b and, GY Lu 5.10 (p. 202 n. 1) and 5.14 (p. 210 n. 4).
41. LNZ 1:8b.
42. LNZ 1:9a. The passage corresponds identically to the *Gúo yǔ* story "Gongfu Wenbo's Mother Discourses on the Inner and Outer Court" (GY 5.12 [Lu 2] pp. 203-4).
43. This passage corresponds to the *Gúo yǔ* story "Gongfu Wenbo's Mother on the Separation of Men and Women in the Rites" (GY 5.14 [Lu 2] p. 209). Another *Gúo yǔ* story "Gongfu Wenbo's Mother replies to Ji Kāngzǐ," which does not occur in the *Lièniǔ zhuàn*, describes another admonition to Ji Kāngzǐ. When he asks whether *Gōngfū Wénbó* ever speaks of him, *Jīng Jiāng* responds that, according to her mother-in-law, a gentleman who can be humble may enjoy long posterity (GY 5.10 [Lu 2] p. 202).
44. *Jiāng Yuán* divined and personally performed a sacrifice in an attempt to avoid her strange pregnancy (LNZ 1.2); the mother-teacher of *Lǚ* returned to her parents' home to oversee the ancestral sacrifices (LNZ 1.12); and the filial widow of *Liang* offered sacrifices for her mother-in-law (LNZ 4.15).
45. For example, *Meng Mu* (LNZ 1.11), the widow of Duke Bai of Chu (LNZ 4.11), *Tao Ying* of *Lǚ* (LNZ 4.13), and the filial widow of *Chen* (LNZ 4.15). *Xuwu* of *Qi* and the women in her association also engaged in weaving and spinning outside the home (LNZ 6.14). Women who engaged in sericulture included the wife of *Qiu Huzi* of *Lu* (LNZ

(LNZ 1.1), Jiang Yuan (LNZ 1.2), and the wives of Lao Lai (LNZ 2.14) and Yue Ling (LNZ 2.15); the wife of Jieyu of Chu went to market (LNZ 2.13), the wife of the bowmaker of Jin instructed Duke Ping in archery (LNZ 6.3), the washerwoman at Agu discoursed with Confucius and his disciple (LNZ 6.6), and the daughter of the ferry officer of Zhao took her father's place as ferryman (LNZ 6.7).

47. For example, Ding Jiang of Wei successfully averted an invasion by Jin (LNZ 1.7). Duke Wen of Jin regained his throne through the efforts of his wife (LNZ 2.3). Zhongzi, the wife of Duke Ling of Qi, remonstrated unsuccessfully with her husband regarding the succession (Zuo, Xiang 19, trans. Legge 483, and LNZ 3.8). Guan Zhong of Qi consulted his concubine on affairs of state (LNZ 6.1); his patron Duke Huan of Qi discussed military campaigns with his wife (LNZ 2.2), as did King Wu of Chu with his (LNZ 3.2). Wives (and sisters) advised their husbands (or brothers) on accepting office (LNZ 2.13, 2.14, 2.15, and 3.12); the woman from Qi Shi in Lu was intensely aware of the political situation of her state (LNZ 3.13). Huai Ying of Yu of Jin resolved a conflict between duty to her state and to her husband (LNZ 5.3). The daughter of Ji Zhong resolved a conflict of loyalty to her father and to her husband. On the advice of her mother, she warned her father, who killed her husband. (The Earl of Zheng, who had plotted to use her husband to kill her father, responded that her husband deserved to die because he took counsel with his wife [Zuo, Huan 15, trans. Legge 64].)

48. Zhū Xī, *Xiǎoxué jǐjiě* 5:118 and 2:35 as cited in Ebrey 1993:24. For discussion of the class basis of constructions of virtue in upper-class Song families, see Ebrey 1993:23–25.

49. Zhū Xī, *Zhūzǐ yǔlèi* 7:127 as cited in Ebrey 1993:124.

50. XX 2:66.

51. The *Nǎi zé* 內則 or “Domestic Regulations” chapter of the *Lǐ jì* (LJ 11), gives detailed rules for the management of families, including rules that specify and limit contact between the sexes.

52. XX 2:61 and 5:44 (monogamy); 2:64 (seclusion); and 6:14, 27, and 30 (filiality to mothers-in-law).

53. XX 4:1–2 and 4:28.

54. XX 5:45. Zhū Xī quotes the *Yan Family Instructions* to this effect. In his critique of the inadequacies of Ban Zhao's *Nǚ jiè*, Zhu Xi suggested eight chapter headings of his own, which emphasize familial roles over intellectual and moral judgment: propriety, subordination, filiality, harmony, diligence, frugality, generosity, and learning. See Chan 1989:542 and 546 n. 37.

55. Birge 1989:340–41.

56. Wu 1989.

57. See Raphals 1998, chap. 5 and 10, for further discussion of these differences.

58. Carlitz 1991:122.

59. See WXL 1.9, SBCK 1.9, HTLNZ 2.6 (p. 168), all cited by book and story number, and GF 3.1.2 (cited by book, section, and story number). For discussion of these see Carlitz 1991:134–35.

60. The *Wǎnxiǎnlóu* edition of 1881 was based on the Southern Song Jian'an Yu family edition, the oldest known edition of the *Liǎnǚ zhuàn*. The *Sìbù cǒngkǎn* edition was based on the Ming Changsha Yeshiguan edition of a Song original.

61. By contrast, consider Xunzi's view of the relative capabilities of fathers and mothers: “A father can beget them [children] but cannot suckle them; a mother can feed [suckle] them but cannot instruct or correct them. A junzi not only can feed them [his people], but can instruct and correct them as well” (X 75/19/110). Almost all references to the term “mother” in the *Xúnzǐ* are within the compound “fathers and mothers.” For further discussion see Raphals 1998, chap. 1.

REFERENCES

- Bielenstein, Hans. 1980. *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*. Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions. Cambridge, Eng., and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Birge, Bettine. 1989. "Chu Hsi and Women's Education." In *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage*, ed. William Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brooks, E. Bruce Brooks, and A. Taeko Brooks. 1998. *The Original Analects: Sayings of Confucius and His Successors*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Carlitz, Katherine. 1991. "The Social Uses of Female Virtue in Late Ming Editions of Lienu Zhuan." *Late Imperial China* 12.2 (Dec. 1991): 117-52.
- Chan, Wing-tsit. 1989. *Chu Hsi: New Studies*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhù (Zuo) 春秋左傳注. 1991. Edited by Yang Bojun 楊伯峻. Gaoxiang: Fuwen tushu chubanshe.
- Crump, James Irving, trans. 1970. *Chan-kuo ts'ü*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. 1993. *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Feng, Han-yi. 1967. *The Chinese Kinship System*. Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies 22. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Gipoulon, Catherine. 1997. "L'image de l'épouse dans le Lienuzhuan." In *En suivant la voie royale: Mélanges offerts à Léon Vandermeersch*, eds. J. Gernet and M. Kalinowski. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Gǔ Lièniǚ zhuàn (GLNZ) 古列女傳.
[Xīn biān] Gǔ Lièniǚ zhuàn 新編古列女傳 (WXL). Wénxuǎnlóu 文選樓 ed. Wénxuǎnlóu cóngshū 文選樓叢書.
- Guī fān (GF) 閩範. 1618. By Lǚ Kūn 呂坤 (1536-1618). Xīn'an (Huizhou): She Yongning. Facsimile ed. in Harvard-Yenching Library.
- Gúo yǔ (GY) 國語. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1988.
- Hán Shì wàizhuàn (HSWZ) 韓氏外傳. SBCK.
- Hàn shū (HS) 漢書. 1962. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Hightower, James R., trans. 1952. *Han Shih Wai Chuan, Han Ying's Illustration of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Holmgren, Jennifer. 1991. "Imperial Marriage in the Native Chinese and Non-Han State, Han to Ming." In *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*, ed. Rubie Watson and Patricia Buckley Ebrey. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hucker, Charles O. 1985. *A Dictionary of Official titles in Imperial China*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Hùitú lièniǚ zhuàn (HTLNZ) 繪圖列女傳. [Illustrated life stories of women]. Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1971. Reprint of 1779 Zhibuzu zhai ed., 16 juan, similar to Ming edition of 1610-20.
- Jensen, Lionel M. 1997. *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Kǒngzǐ jiāyǔ (JY) 孔子家語. SBBY.
- Kǒngzǐ jiāyǔ zhūzì suǒyǐn 孔子家語逐字索引. By D. C. Lau. ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series. Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1994.
- Legge, James. 1885. *Li chi: Book of Rites*. Sacred Books of the East, vols. 27 and 28. London: Oxford University Press; reprint, New York: University Books, 1967.
- trans. 1877. *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*. In *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5. Reprint,

- Liènnǚ zhuàn jiàozhù (INZ) 列女傳•校注. Attributed to Liú Xiàng 劉向. Edited by Liáng Duān 梁端 (ca.1793-1825). SBBY.
- Liú Déhàn 劉德漢. 1990. *Dōng Zhōu fùnǚ wèntí yánjiū* 東周婦女問題研究 [Research on the problem of women in the eastern Zhou]. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shudian.
- Loewe, Michael A. N., ed. 1993. *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographic Guide*. Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
- O'Hara, Albert Richard. 1971. *The Position of Women in Early China According to Lieh nu chuan*. Taipei: Mei Ya.
- Raphals, Lisa. 1998. *Sharing the Light: Representations of Women and Virtue in Early China*. Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press.
- Shǐ jì (SJ) 史記. 1959. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Shuō yuán 說苑 (SY) SBBY.
- Sūn Yùtáng 孫毓棠. 1963. "Zhàngúo Qín-Hàn shídài fāngzhīyè jìshù de bèngbù" 戰國秦漢時代紡織業技術的進步 *Lìshǐ yánjiū* 歷史研究 3:143-73.
- Tàipíng yǔlǎn (TPYL) 太平御覽. 1960; reprint, 1983. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Thatcher, Melvin P. 1991. "Marriages of the Ruling Elite in the Spring and Autumn Period." In *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*, ed. Rubie Watson and Patricia Buckley Ebrey. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tiāngōng kāiwù (TGKW) 天工開物. By Sòng Yīngxīng 宋應星. Taipei: Zhonghua, 1955.
- Wu Hong. 1989. *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art*. Stanford Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Xúnzǐ yǐndé (X) 荀子引得. 1986. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe.
- Yán Shì jiāxùn (YSJX) 顏氏家訓. By Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531-91). ZZJC.
- Zen Sun, E-tu, and Shiou-Chuan Sun, trans. *Sung Ying-hsing. Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century [Tiāngōng Kāiwù]*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966; reprint, Dover Publications, 1997.
- Zhàngúo cè (ZGC) 戰國策. 1985. Attributed to Liú Xiàng 劉向. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe.
- Zhū Xī 朱熹 (1130-1200). *Xiǎoxué jíjiě (XX)* 小學集解. Edited by Zhāng Bóxíng 張伯行 (1651-1725). Congshu jicheng.
- . *Zhūzǐ yǔlèi* 朱子語類. 1986. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.