A Woman Who Understood the Rites
LISA A. RAPHALS

There 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 Wenbo and as Jing Jiäng of the Ji of Lu. To judge by the frequency of stories about her in other Warring States texts, she 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 Lüïn shih 列女傳 or Collected Life Stories of Women, where she is one of two women he praises. He praises her for understanding the rites and the distinctions between men and women and between superior and inferior. Similar praise appears in the Ji ji, and her expertise is used for a different set of rhetorical purposes in the Zhanqiu zhe. 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 Jing Jiäng of Lu in Song and Ming texts.

I. A Woman of Expertise

The life story of Jing Jiäng of Lu is the longest and most detailed life story in the Lüïn shih. The Guo yu contains eight separate stories about her, all in the second book of Lu. She also appears in the Hsin Shi wu zhihuan, Zhanqiu zhe, and Ji ji. 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
relatives. She delivers extensive speeches on weaving and statecraft, rebukes her male relatives on several accounts, arranges her son’s marriage, and directs his household after his death.

According to the Lieh shu, Jing Jiang was the wife of Gōngfù Mǐbò 公夫穆伯, the mother of Gōngfù Wěnbò 公夫文伯, and the paternal grandmother of Ji Kāngqí 季康子. Widowed young, she raised her son and instructed him, his concubines, and her paternal grandson. Within the Lieh shu, her life story (I2Z 1.9) appears in the chapter titled “Maternal Rectitude” (mā yì 母儀), and contains five narrative elements, in some cases of several parts each. (Correlations between the narrative elements in the Lieh shu and other texts appear in Table 11.1.)

The first narrative element describes the early death of Gōngfù Mǐbò and Jing Jiang’s raising and reprimanding her young son Wěnbò with examples of illustrious men of past dynasties. It closely corresponds to the account in the Gu yì. The second narrative consists of two discourses on weaving. The third describes

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her admonitions to the adult Gāngtīi Wēnbió for a lapse in propriety in the treatment of a guest, and the fourth, her admonitions to Wēnbió’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 Kāngzí (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 Jīng, this story appears only in the Lǎnchān:

When Wēnbió was minister in Lu, Jìng Jīng said to him: I will inform you about what is important in governing a country; it is entirely in the warp (jìng 经). The selvedge [the straight border of woven cloth] (sān 经) is the means by which you straighten what is twisted and crooked. It must be strong, therefore the selvedge can be considered as the General (jìng 将). The pattern (lú 经) even what is uneven and reconciles what is not adjusted. Therefore the pattern can be the Director (jìng 城).* Now the realization (wèi 为) of the pattern is the means by which you rule tendrils and align cords (chí wéi 为治). Therefore the realization can be Prefect of the Capital (jìng 经). The thing that can pass firmly from hand to hand without loss and go in and out without interruption is the shuttle (jìng 经). The shuttle can be Director of Messengers (jìng 使). That which you push when you make it go and pull when you make it come is the heddles (jìng 经). The heddles can be the Regional Mentor of Guan Néi (gūn sì 经司 胡内). The one that regulates the numbers of great and small is thereed comb (jìng 经). The reed comb can be the Royal Annalist (sì 经史). The one that can fill an important office, travel a long road, and is upright, genuine and firm is the axe (shí 直). The axe can be deemed Minister (shí 直). The one that is inexhaustible in unfolding is the warp beam (shí 直). The warp beam can be the Three Dukes (sān shí). Wēnbió 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. The Prefect of the Capital imposes order on disorder, and governs "wild" areas, as well as the city. The Director of Messengers sends his envoys back and forth, without interruption or damage, like the shuttle. The Regional Mentor of Guan Nêi, a liaison officer, ensures that the way is clear, like the beads, which separates the sections of the warp through which the shuttle will pass. The Royal Annalist, like the impartial and evenly ordered teeth of the reed comb, makes accurate discriminations in the sorting of information—an interesting task 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. The Minister, like the axle, is responsible, enduring, upright and firm, and guides the kingdom by these qualities. This was Wênbô’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.

Jing Jîng 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 Jîng is claiming that her son does not understand government and that she herself is competent to instruct him in the appointment of officials. When Wênbô 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 Wênbô 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 Jîng predicts that Lû 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
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When Zhong Ni heard of it, he said: Disciples, note! The woman of the Ji was not licentious. The Ode’s 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.

This section corresponds to the Guó yì story "Gongfu Wénbó’s Mother. Discourses on Work and Self-indulgence," and to a passage in the Kěníng jíyì. The Guó yì and Kěníng jíyì versions include the comment of Confucius, but not his quotation from the Ode. The story also has distinct affinities with the story of Meng mu, 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.

The next broad area of praise for Jing Jiāng of Lù 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 Láishí zhī, Jing Jiāng upbraids Wénbó for merely adhering to the letter, and not the full performance, of correct treatment of a guest.

Gongfu Wénbo feasted Nangang Jinshu 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."

This story appears in the Guo yi as "Gongfu Wenbo Feasts Nangong Jinghua
with Wine." It stands in considerable contradiction to passages in the Li ji, sug-
gesting 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."

One way to reconcile this apparent divergence is to view Jing Jiang's admoni-
tion 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 Guo yi story "Gongfu Wenbo's Mother Plans a Marriage for Wenbo" (which
does not occur in the Li ji shi) attests to the nature and scope of her abilities,
underscoring 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 Wenbo. She feasted the clan elders, and recited the third line of
the 'Loy' in. The elders requested the diviners to prognosticate the [prospective]
wife's clan. When Shi Hsi 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."

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, Jing
Jiang admonishes others who act as moral agents. This story is of particular inter-
est because it portrays Jing Jiang 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. 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.  

This anecdote also provides an interesting reflection on the Li ji 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 (meng). 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."  

The passage describes instruction in reading, polite conversation, music, the Ode, dancing, archery, and charioteering. It presumably applies to both boys and girls, 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, silk worms, women's work, weaving, the preparation of foods, and to assist at sacrifices. This passage specifies the skills that girls were required to learn. The Li ji 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 Jing Jiang's knowledge of mourning involve the death of her son Wenbo; three others involve her nephew Ji Kangzi. Various accounts of her behavior after the death of Wenbo appear in a number of Warring States and Han compendia. The Lien shih, Gui yi, Li ji, Han Shi wuxuan, and Kangzi jiyyí all describe versions of her unusual conduct after Wenbo's death, but with differing emphases.

Several texts present versions of Jing Jiang's instructions to Wenbo's concubines after his death. According to the Lien shih, "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 have it to be said of him that he was too fond of the inner." She urges them to mourn, 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 Lien shih and Kangzi jiyyí versions, when Confucius hears her mourning instructions to Wenbo'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!" He wished to brighten her son's bright views."
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); Gongfú's wife is like an adult. The other pos-
sibility is a two-step analogy based on age and gender. A girl knows less than a
woman; a woman knows less than a man; Gongfú's wife is like a man in her
knowledge.

There is no ambiguity in the Guó yi's narrative "Gongfu Wénbó's Mother Admon-
ishes 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 Gongfú's wife
is that of a man! She wishes to make bright her son's bright virtue [Italics added]." The
Guó yi passage probably predates not only the Línsi zhāin and Kángzi jībō ver-
sions, but also the Lünsi 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 inter-
esting that the Guó yi version is so clear on this point.

Another version of these events appears in the Lì jí, which describes the actual
mourning for Wénbó. In this account, during the mourning, Jīng Jiàng 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. An
unrelated passage in the Lì jí also attests to Jīng Jiàng's keen eye for ritual decorum.
The story describes an incident at the funeral of Jī Kāngzi's mother. It attests to
Jīng Jiàng's expertise in mourning ritual, not, perhaps, without some sarcasm:
"When Jī Kāngzi's mother died, her underclothes were visible. Jīng Jiàng 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]." 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 Línsi zhāin 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 li and the
separation of higher and lower.

II. Confucius on Women Who Understood the Rites

The story of Jīng Jiàng is one of two in the Línsi zhāin in which Confucius com-
ments 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 Jīng Jiàng's praise of Confucius, and corresponding dis-praise of her
own son. She is also one of several specifically didactic mothers in the Línsi zhāin.
Clearly legendary examples include Jiang Yuan the mother of Hon 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 Měng Mò, 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 Jiāng on Confucius

The Hsin Shi withinhsu 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 Zhōng Ní. When Zhōng Ní left Lù, 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.”

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 Zhāngāi shū, where “the story of Wénbó’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 Lù 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.” 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.”

The Zhāngāi shū version, which has little to do with the actual story of Jing Jiāng of Lù, 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 Zhāngāi shū 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 Wenbo (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 Jing Jilong's unceasing, 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 Jing Jilong, however, Confucius shows no explicit interest in any effort she may have made at cultivating herself; her 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 Jing Jilong'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 Wenbo, 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 Jing Jilong herself, seems to describe women's work—waving 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 Jing Jilong never explicitly states that she was taught to read, to recite, or to master the principles that underlie statecraft or ritual propriety, but the details of the stories about her—and even Confucius' praise of her—test 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 she portrayed.

2. THE GIRL OF AGU

The other woman praised by Confucius as "understanding the rites" in the Lieni zhuan is "The Girl of Agu" (LNZ 6.6). Whereas Jing Jilong of Lu 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
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the road to Agu, and remarks to Zigong that she is capable with words (kè yì pín kě yí yín), 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 Li 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" (āi yú rén qíng) and "understanding the rites" (dì wù zhī lǐ). This story also occurs in the Hán Shì wénshù (1:3) and Kōng qíng.

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 Kōngzi, 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 Jīng of Lè 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 as far 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 Li 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. Although these instances are few to provide any certainty, they do provide the uncomfortable suggestion that Confucius' views on human perfection 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 Jing Jiang’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, Jing Jiang of Lu, 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 Wenbo 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 Jing Jiang refer to him by his style as Zhong Ni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 "Kangzi," but later collectors and commentators question the attribution of this incident to Confucius. In a passage in the Kangzi, 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.”

The Jing Jiang of Lu stories are less easily dismissed, for several reasons. They appear repeatedly in the Guo yu, a text that probably predates the Analects in compilation. Despite the silence of the Analects, other accounts suggest that Wenbo was an unsuccessful student of Confucius, before he was driven out of Lu. How historically plausible is the claim that there was a direct connection between Confucius and Jing Jiang? 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 Jing Jiang 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’s praise of her may reflect his changing attitudes toward the Ji lineage and his relations with two ministers of Lu, 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 Lu, 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 Lu in 494 B.C.E., with the accession of Duke Ai. These events are summarized in table 11.2.

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,
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 li sacrifice in the temple of Duke Xiang. As the three powerful families of Ji, Si, and Meng gained power, he fled Li for Qi, along with Duke Zhao. He returned.

Confucius, however, seems to have had a different perspective on the Ji and Meng. In his time, the Ji were considered to be the rightful rulers of the state of Lu, and the Meng were seen as usurpers of power. Confucius advocated for the restoration of the Ji to their rightful place, and his teachings emphasized the importance of proper ritual and social hierarchy.
had succeeded to the throne of Lu, and Ji Huanzi was minister in Lu. Confucius assumed the office of seer 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: Ji Huanzi's conduct. 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." 17

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 Wenzi 李文子 (Jisün Hsiang-fu 李象父, d. 566). His life spanned those of Ji Wuzi 李武子 (Jisün Shu 李書, d. 534), his son Ji Daozi 李道子 (d. 529), his son Ji Pingzi 李平子 (Jisün Yü 李允, d. 504), his son Ji Huanzi 李煢子 (Jisün Si 李績, d. 491), and his son Ji Kangzi 李康子 (Jisün 喜, d. 467). We know him to be a direct acquaintance of both Ji Huanzi and Ji Kangzi.

According to the Li-shih Chien, Jing Jiăng was the wife of the younger brother of Ji Kangzi's paternal grandfather (his zaizi 祖子 徒侄子.) Gongfū Móbò thus would be a younger brother of Ji Pingzi (d. 505 B.C.E.), the son of Ji Daozi. This genealogy would make Ji Daozi the grandfather of Wén-bò and the great-grandfather of Ji Kangzi. It is consistent with commentaries that refer to Ji Daozi as Jing Jiăng's father-in-law and Ji Kangzi's great-grandfather. Thus, we might estimate her birth as circa 540 B.C.E., and the birth of Wén-bò some time between 525 and 515. These dates are consistent with Wén-bò being a student of Confucius for a brief period between 501 and 497, when he left Lü for Wei. By this reckoning, the story of Jing Jiăng's sending her son to Confucius as a student is historically credible. Given Confucius' brief tutelage of Wén-bò and the latter's lackluster record and early departure, it is no surprise that he does not appear in the Analects. Further, if Ji Kangzi was an associate of both Confucius and Jing Jiăng, 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 Gao-yi 利氏, Liu Shih 陸氏, and Han Shih 陳氏 all support this dating of Jing Jiăng as a contemporary of Confucius. The Zuo zhuan contains a separate account of a Móbò of Lü, who marries a woman named Dāi Ji 戴己 of Jā 姒, whose son Wén-bò
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succeeded Mūbò in office in Lè. These details all appear in the Lèshì shèn life story of Jing Jīng, but the events described in the Zì shèn take place between 640 and 612 B.C., some one hundred and fifty years before the life of Ji Kāngzǐ. Closer examination reveals that the Zì shèn and Gào yì (and later) narratives refer to different sets of individuals. Nevertheless, the similarities in names and places provide interesting insights into how the Lèshì shèn life story may have been constructed. That information is discussed in the appendix, below.

The foregoing account of Confucius’ association with Jing Jīng also sheds light on his changing relations with the Ji family. His initial criticism of Ji Huanzì and Yang Hu have now mellowed into a far more positive attitude toward Ji Kāngzǐ, and, perhaps, through him, for the entire family. In this light, Confucius’ repeated praise of “the woman of the Ji” (Jì fù shì ji 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 Jing Jīng as an example to instruct his disciples.18

III. Later Lives of Jing Jīng

Confucius praises Jing Jīng (and the girl of Agou) for knowledge of the rites. These narratives show a tension between Jing Jīng’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 Jing Jīng’s virtues all but disappears in later depictions of her in Song Neo-Confucian texts and Ming illustrated editions of the Lèshì shèn. In the next section I explore a second range of narratives that clearly portray Jing Jīng 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 Lèshì shèn narrative describe admonitions to Ji Kāngzǐ after Mūbò’s death, when Jing Jīng had remained with the Ji family. These narratives specifically stress her understanding of the “separate spheres” of men and women. In the first, Ji 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.12

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 sees the duties of state officials; the inner administers the Ji family. When Ji Kēgū 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 Dāozǐ (her father-in-law), and Ji Kēgū 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 li of women from the li of men. 13

Both Jing Jiāng's account of the li 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 Wēnhō. Other Liāi main accounts show women as active in sacrifice and divination, performing sacrifice directly or supervising it.14

Despite Li ji 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.15 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.16 Trudite 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.17

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.
APPRECIATING THE NEW

2. NEO-CONFUCIAN VIEWS ON FEMALE EDUCATION

Zhū Xi 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." He encouraged education for proper women, within the proper limits of moral tracts and directed toward the proper goals of assisting a husband.56 Zhū Xi's (1130–1200) Xiao xue 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." This work draws extensively on the "Nei zī" or "Domestic Regulations" chapter of the Li ji.52 It is organized by life cycle, not by virtues. Its instructions to girls, wives, and mothers draw heavily on the Li ji, and emphasize prohibitions against remarriage, the importance of the physical separation of men and women, and filiality to mothers-in-law.53 It quotes the Li ān 莉 thần 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 Xi includes the examples of the mothers of Kín Wén and Mengzì as examples of the instruction of sons. He uses Jīng Jìng, whom he calls "the aunt of Jí Kángzì," as a model of separate spheres.54 Zhū Xi emphasizes the need to keep women away from political life, and criticizes self-willed women.55 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.54

3. MING EDITIONS

The Li ān 莉 thần style of narrative was adopted and transformed on a wide scale. Beginning with the Shíandí 史記, a chapter of exemplary biographies of women (li ān 女史) 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 Shíandí, collected biographies of virtuous women (li ān 女史) were included in dynastic histories. Over the course of time, the criteria for this official recognition of female virtue changed considerably. The liān of the dynastic history of the Shíandí resembled those of the Li ān 莉 thần but the self-sacrificing, chaste wife, and political liān 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 "non-sequence 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 Jing Jiāng in four illustrated editions shows important contrasts between (Ming redactions of) Song dynasty editions, and Ming appropriations of the story of Jing Jiāng.59 The Wēnshānsī and Sībǐ cōngshān 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: Lú Kūn's Gōu fān (1618) and the Hūní Hūní shànzǐ, published during the Wǎnlì 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 Wēnbiō bowing before a seated Jing Jiāng (figures 1–4). They vary as to Wēnbiō's age and size, the location of the interview, and what she is doing. In the Wēnshānsì and Sībǐ cōngshān 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 Hūní Hūní shànzǐ, stories appear in a different order and with no conceptual structure whatever. In the Gōu fān, the stories have been reclassified, both in chapter and within the chapters; here Jing Jiāng is classified under the "All Virtues" subheading of "Wives."

All four editions show Wēnbiō in a subordinate role, but the Han-Song editions (Wēnshānsì and Sībǐ cōngshān) reinforce Jing Jiāng's superiority, whereas the Ming Huizhou editions (Gōu fān and Hūní Hūní shànzǐ) minimize it. In the Han-Song editions, Wēnbiō is noticeably smaller than her mother; the Sībǐ cōngshān edition in fact transforms him into a child. The Gōu fān and Hūní Hūní shànzǐ 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 Jing Jiāng as a decisive and powerful woman who did not hesitate to intervene in either family matters or affairs of state, yet
which the husband-wife relations a considerable increase in leading diminution of "no-a repertoire of expressions dow fidelity, heroic service (by invaders) fidelity to the men in these Ming expansion rather than rulers, to their morality."182

Illustrated editions show among dynasty editions, and Wuxiazi and Si-bi Songzi all Han-Song editions, are contrast two Ming dynasty hain, published during the s, produced by individual artists and engravers of the

Jing Jiling (figures 1–4). He interview, and what the illustrations are clearly sec are small (half the page or emphasize the text and the furnishings of the Huizhou illustrations. In the Hain it is no conceptual structure tided, both in chapter and the "All Virtues" subhead-

g role, but the Han-Song g’s superiority, whereas the name in it. In the Han-Song; the Si-bi Songzi edition in li-shi chian lessen his sabor or in size, and in elaborate

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, benevo-

lence and the other virtues praised by Confucius are not gendered. The "rites" that Jing Jiling understands span much of the range of private and official ritual
FIGURE 3
The Gill fan edition

FIGURE 4
The Hui Li fan edition
A WOMAN WHO UNDERSTOOD THE RITES

elders without violating proprieties, including skill at apt use of poetic quotation, as, for example, with her arrangement of Wēnhō’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 Wēnhō’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 Jing 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 jīng 子 than would normally have been permitted to, or recognized in, a woman.44 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 CHUAN

The Guoyi, Lien shu, Chiaqü, and Zuo zhuan all contain detailed references to a Mūbō of Łū who marries a woman named Dāi Ji 齊治 whose son Wēnhō succeed Mūbō in office in Łū. The Guoyi and Lien shu accounts center on Jing Jiāng and her instructions to Wēnhō and Ji Kāngzi. The Zuo zhuan narratives center entirely on Mūbō. 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 Mūbō of Łū occurs only in the Zuo zhuan; the Chiaqü refers to him as Gūngān 皋Adresse and once as Mēng Mūbō 盪榮伯. The latter name clearly identifies him as a member of the Meng lineage and rules out any possible relation to the Ji Kāngzi of the Guoyi and later narratives.

The second inconsistency concerns the life spans of Mūbō and Dāi Ji. In the Guoyi and Lien zhuan narratives, Mūbō dies young and Jing Jiāng raises and instructs Wēnhō alone. In the Chiaqü and Zuo zhuan, Dāi Ji dies before Mūbō, Mūbō returns to Ji in search of another wife, flees Łū for Ji, and is succeeded in Łū by Wēnhō. In each narrative, the early death of one spouse is a crucial element in the events that follow. In the Guoyi and Lien zhuan, it is Mūbō’s early death that forces Jing Jiāng to take on the “paternal” role of instructing her son about
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHUQIU</th>
<th>ZUO ZHUAN</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>EVENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xi 15.3</td>
<td>Míng Múbó</td>
<td>Góngguān Ao</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>led a force in aid of Xu comes to the aid of Xu receives prognostication that he would be fed by Wénbó and buried by Hú Shú, and that Wénbó would bear progeny in Lì meets with Marquis of Jin meets with Marquis of Jin enters Qi enters Qi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen 1.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Góngguān Ao</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen 1.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>Góngguān Ao</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>meets with Marquis of Jin meets with Marquis of Jin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen 1.11</td>
<td>Múbó</td>
<td>Góngguān Ao</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>meets with Duke of Song meets with princes enters Jin enters Jin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen 2.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Múbó</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>goes to Jí to superintend a covenant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen 5.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Góngguān Ao</td>
<td>619</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen 7.10</td>
<td></td>
<td>Góngguān Ao</td>
<td>[c.640]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen 7.7</td>
<td>Múbó</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>marries Dáí Jí of Jí, who gives birth to Wénbó. His younger sister Shēng Jí gives birth to Hú Shú. After her death, returns to Jí and attempts to marry Lady Sì E advised to send Lady Sì back to Jí leaves for the capital, retraces his steps, and flees to Jí after sending the dead mother's spirit to Hú Shú to follow Lady Sì dies in Qi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen 8.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Góngguān Ao</td>
<td>618</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen 8.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Góngguān Ao</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wen 14.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Góngguān Ao</td>
<td>612</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen 14.11</td>
<td>Múbó</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>After Múbó's flight, Wénbó established in office in Lì. Múbó bears two sons in Jí and seeks Wénbó's help to return. He returns only to flee back to Jí. Wénbó falls ill, dies and is succeeded by Hú Shú. Múbó asks Hú Shú's help to return to Lì. He dies before he can return.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen 15.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Míng</td>
<td>611</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen 15.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Góngguān Ao</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: Dáí Jí and Shēng Jí are posthumous titles. Wénbó's date of birth is estimated in twenty years before his assumption of office in Lì. Section numbering is taken from the Yang Bojun edition of the Zuo zhuan.
A woman who understood the rite

government. In the Zào shān, it is the early death of Dai Ji that impels Mūbò to return to Jù and eventually flee Li in pursuit of another wife.

Finally, in the Guì yì and Lǐn shān narratives, Wènbó holds office in Lù many years after his father Mūbò’s death. In the Zào shān, Wènbó attains office at the time of his father’s flight to Jù, and dies before Mūbò, who intercedes first with him, and later with his half-brother Hui Shù, in order to return to Lù from Jù.

The names Mūbò and Wènbó are generic enough that their recurrence is unremarkable; the duplication of a woman’s name is more surprising. However, the name Dai Ji occurs only in the Lǐn shān and there only once in the first lines of the life story. The Guì yì, Hán Shì wèishūn, and Zhāngqìé all call her “the mother of Gongqì Wènbó”; the Lí ji and Lǐn shān call her Jīng Jīng, and in remarks attributed to Confucius, she is always “the woman of the Ji.” Nor does the Zào shān narrative ascribe any particular virtues to Dai Ji. It seems most likely that, somehow, during the compilation of the Lǐn shān the name Dai Ji was added to the otherwise consistent life story of Jīng Jīng, the mother of Gongqì Wènbó of Lù, the woman praised by Confucius.

NOTES

1. Lù and Jù are her husband’s state and clan. Jīng Jīng can be construed either as an honorary title or as the woman’s personal name and natal family name (clay). Either is consistent with the typology of women’s names in Liu 1990.

2. The Lǐn shān is a compendium of 115 life stories of women from legendary times to the Han dynasty, mostly of consorts of rulers, but also of commoners. Many of the same stories are found in other Warring States and Han texts. In the Lǐn shān 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 Raphael 1998, chap. 4. For translation see O’Hara 1971.

3. Each woman is praised for one virtue. The other chapters are (2) zǐn mìng 聪明, sagacity; (3) zhī shì 知事, knowledge; (4) shī zhāng 施政, benevolent wisdom; (5) jì yì 忌義, chastity and righteousness; and (6) bān bìng 間經, skill in argument. Lǐn shān (5) ji ji 里記, chaste and righteous, and (6) bān bìng 間經, skill in argument. Lǐn shān narratives within these chapters have a consistent structure. Each story has at least two components: 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” (jīng jīng 章解), which summarizes her virtuous deeds and lists her virtues. It may recapitulate the introduction summary. Most Lǐn shān life stories have only one narrative component of the introductory summary. Most Lǐn shān life stories have only one narrative component of the introductory summary.

5. This section refers to a pattern or painted design, copied onto the cloth. According to the Works of Nature and Men or Tilings of Kim, a seventeenth-century work on technology: "The mental calculations (智計) of the artisan who makes the figure design are of the greatest ingenuity. (技決). An artist first paints the design and color onto a paper. The artisan follows the painted design (畫) in silk and translates it into a pattern, which is hung in the figure tower" (畫圖花樣, TGKW, 64, trans. Zen, Sun, and Sun 1966:56).

6. I am indebted to John Major for this interpretation of 匝 and 焴 (繭), which improves the coherence of the analogy. According to the commentary for this passage, the "marking" (繭) was one shih of ink. The reference is to an inked string used for measurement. The "weeds" (繭) refer to the "wild" silk that comes from wild silkworms whose silk cannot be reeled, but only cut. The compound "weeds and tendons" (繭頭) refers to the kinds of fibers from which all clothing is made. According to the Tilings of Kim, the fibers from which all clothing is made come equally from plant and animal sources: "Therefore nature has provided the materials (繭) for clothing. Of these the vegetable ones are cotton (麻), hemp (麻), mung hemp (夢), and creeper hemp (藤); those derived from birds, animals, and insects are fur, wool, silk (絲), and spun silk (績). All the clothing materials (繭) 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 gian ni lei or Marquis of Guan Net, 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 紗 refers to the teeth of the comb. According to Sun Yaoting, the term 紗 in the 紗 is equivalent to "reed" (畫) in the Tilings of Kim (Sun 1963:152). Similarly, the Tilings of Kim states that the reed comb regulates the breadth and density of the cloth (TGKW 62). The comb consists of eighty hundred teeth for gauge and twelve hundred for damask or pongee. Each tooth has a hole or eyestit that holds four untensed 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 Sun, Sun, and Sun 1966:53.

9. Liang Qia's commentary adds that the warp beam is shih 鼓, victorious, and that being able to unfold (伸) without limit is an aspect of the virtuous (德) of the shih. For description of the drawloom see Sun 1963:155, TGKW 63-64, (trans. Zen, Sun, and Sun 1966:55).

11. LNZ 1:38b, quoting Zhanben (Mao 264).
13. For Meng Mu's admonition, see LNZ 1:111, HSZ 9.1 and 9.17, and Meng 1:121.
14. LNZ 1:38b, Nianbi Jingzue 南稱絃服 and Lu Difu 鬲下服 both held the office of shih in Lu. Nianbi Jingzue was the son of Meng Net 芳卿子. Jing Zhi quotes the words of Ji, Dikni 事卿子, her father-in-law.
18. For discussion of analogies between the behavior of land's main wives and ministers see Gipoulou (1997) and chapter 1 of Raphael (1998).
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20. IJ 12, 28:20a. For a different translation see Legge 1:478.
22. For women’s ability to manage their own homes after the death of their husbands see Thatcher (1991) and Raphael (1998), chap. 9.
23. LNZ 1:9a, JY 10:44a:8b-9a.
24. 公父氏之婦智微夫 友 5:16 (Lu 2) p. 211. The note to this passage restates that her understanding is 夫之旨 (p. 212 n. 8).
25. IJ 3, 9:42b-25a. For a different translation see Legge 1:176.
26. IJ 3, 9:25b. For another translation see Legge 1:176.
27. LNZ, KY 5:17 (Lu 2), p. 212.
28. HSZ 1:19, pp. 6b-7a, trans. modified from Hightower 26.
31. LNZ 6:5b.
32. I owe this formulation of "superior/inferior" as "benefactor/beneficiary" to Henry Rosemont.
33. 子経 (孔孟子), 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 87. For more recent, and more controversial, accounts see Jensen (1997) and Brooks and Brooks (1998).
36. An account of a disagreement between Confucian and Ji Kangzi (possibly Ji Huanzi) appears in the Ben Shi jinya (HSNZ 1:22), Shao yue (ST 7:3b-4a) and Kongzi Huandi (ST 7:13a-14a). All three texts name Ji Kangzi as Confucius’s antagonist, but the events seem to have occurred during the ministry of Ji Huanzi.
37. Ancestors, Lau trans., 115-16.
38. This genealogy is based on Zhao shen references to Ji Wenzi (Wen 6 to Xiang 5), Ji Wuzi (Xiang 6 to Zhao 7), Ji Daoni (Zhao 12-18), Ji Pingzi (Zhao 9.5 to Ding 5.4), Ji Huanzi (Ding 5 to Ai 3), and Ji Kangzi (Ai 7 to 27).
39. LNZ 1:6b. For kinship terminology, see Feng 1967.
40. For example, LNZ 1:6b and, in CR 5.10 (p. 202 n. 1) and 5.14 (p. 210 n. 4).
41. LNZ 1:8b.
44. For example, Meng Mu (LNZ 1:11), the widow of Duke Bai of Chu (LNZ 4:11). Xunwu of Qi and Zhao Ying of Li (LNZ 4:13), and the filial widow of Chen (LNZ 4:15). Xunwu of Qi and Zhao Ying of Li (LNZ 4:13), and the filial widow of Chen (LNZ 4:15). Xunwu of Qi and Zhao Ying of Li (LNZ 4:13), and the filial widow of Chen (LNZ 4:15).
45. Women who engaged in sericulture included the wife of Qiu Huan of Li (LNZ 6:14), the widow of Duke Bai of Chu (LNZ 4:11), and the widow of Wang of Chen (LNZ 4:15). Xunwu of Qi and Zhao Ying of Li (LNZ 4:13), and the filial widow of Chen (LNZ 4:15). Xunwu of Qi and Zhao Ying of Li (LNZ 4:13), and the filial widow of Chen (LNZ 4:15). Xunwu of Qi and Zhao Ying of Li (LNZ 4:13), and the filial widow of Chen (LNZ 4:15).
(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 Jiyou 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 Aogu discussed with Confucius and his disciple (LNZ 6.6), and the daughter of the ferry officer of Zhou 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 1.3). Zhongzi, the wife of Duke Ling of Qi, remonstrated unsuccessfully with her husband regarding the succession (Zuo, Xiang 19, trans. Legge 481, and LNZ 2.8). 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). Hua Ying of Yu of Jia resolved a conflict between duty to her state and to her husband (LNZ 5.8). 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 645].)


50. XX 2:66.

51. The Ni jì or "Domestic Regulations" chapter of the Li 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. Zhó Xi quotes the Yan family instructions to this effect. In his critique of the inadequacies of Ban Zhao's Ni jì, 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.


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


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 Wánshānshì edition of 1881 was based on the Southern Song Jian'ain Yu family edition, the oldest known edition of the Li jì shū. The Sīshā dìgù edition was based on the Ming Changshu Yanshiguan 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 [suck] them but cannot instruct or correct them. A jan is 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 Xunzi are within the compound "fathers and mothers." For further discussion see Raphael 1998, chap. 1.
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