

HOW YANZI FULFILLS HIS
RESPONSIBILITIES AS MINISTER IN
THE RHETORICAL TECHNIQUES
WITHIN THE *JIAN* (REMONSTRANCE)
OF THE *YANZI CHUN QIU*

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Abstract

This thesis is the first indepth analysis of the *jian*, or advisory speeches, within a relatively unknown text, the *Yanzi Chunqiu*. It examines the way the *Chunqiu* period advisor Yanzi employs rhetorical techniques within the *jian* to change the conduct of his ruler Duke Jing according to Yanzi's three key political views: that the welfare of the common people is essential for the well-being of the state, that *li* 礼 (or ritual propriety) is of central importance in administering the state, and that the correct relationship between the minister and the ruler is *he* 和 (a complementary one). This study situates *jian*, ministerial responsibilities and Yanzi's own political views within the political and intellectual context of the *Chunqiu* period. It also disagrees with several scholars who claim that the text is unlikely to be a true record of this period. The rhetorical techniques within the *jian* (the majority of which are translated for the first time into English in this thesis), categorised according to whether they are typical (analogy, citation and chain reasoning) or atypical (provocation, song, lying and threatening resignation), are then analysed. The thesis finds that Yanzi's use of citations, analogies and chain reasoning confirms much existing research on Chinese rhetoric about the application of such techniques. However, the discoveries of Yanzi's atypical use of *jian*, as well as his frequent reference to Duke Huan as a historical model and his use of

possible negative consequences to instill fear in his ruler, indicate that the present understanding of *jian* by several Western scholars largely based on the *Zuozhuan* and the *Guoyu* presents only a partial understanding of *jian*. The thesis suggests that more attention should be paid to lesser-known texts such as the *Yanzi Chunqiu* for a clearer picture of the rhetoric of this period.

Glossary

Ba 霸	A state ruler given authority over a group of states.
Chunqiu 春秋	The ‘Spring and Autumn’ period, from approximately 722 to 481 B.C.E.
De 德	An important virtue of rulers, representing personal worth and generosity.
He 和	Complementary behaviour. The antithesis of <i>tong</i> .
Jian 諫	The focus of this thesis. A mode of persuasion used by advisors to their rulers.
Li 礼	‘Ritual propriety.’ Rituals, protocols and accepted norms enforced by convention.
Ren 仁	A virtue characterised by humane and benevolent behaviour.
Qi 齐	A large and powerful state in pre-Qin China, where Yanzi served his ruler.
Shi 诗	The <i>Shijing</i> , an ancient poetic text often cited by ministers.
Shui 说	A mode of persuasion similar to <i>jian</i> , but broader in application.
Tong 同	Being the same as, or identifying with, something else. The antithesis of <i>he</i> .
Zhanguo 战国	The ‘Warring States’ period, from approximately 475-221 B.C.E.

Introduction

In the Western world, there was once a general perception that we were only able to admit as rhetoric the oratory and persuasive techniques stemming from the Ancient Greek tradition. This is no longer the case. Recent research has expanded and clarified our understanding of the rhetorical perspectives of different cultures.¹ Of late, there has been a special interest in Chinese rhetoric, perhaps partly due to a perceived dichotomy between the communication practices of East and West, or by a desire to understand China on its own terms. Where research has made as its focus Chinese rhetoric, much of this research concentrates on ancient Chinese rhetorical perspectives. For, while many of the rhetorical practices of the West have roots in Classical Greek and Roman models, many of the modern rhetorical practices of China themselves originate from ancient Chinese models.²

¹ For recent books on comparative rhetoric and the rhetorical perspectives of other cultures beside Ancient Greek and Rome, see Kennedy, George A. *Comparative Rhetoric: An Historical and Cross-Cultural Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998; Lipson, Carol S., and Roberta A. Binkley, eds. *Rhetoric Before and Beyond the Greeks*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2004; and Lü, Xing. *Rhetoric in Ancient China, Fifth to Third Century B.C.E. A Comparison with Classical Greek Rhetoric*. Studies in Rhetoric/Communication. Ed. Thomas W. Benson. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1998.

² For a study on the influence of Classical Chinese rhetoric on modern Chinese political rhetoric see Lü, Xing. "The Influence of Classical Chinese Rhetoric on Contemporary Chinese Political Communication and Social Relations." *Chinese Perspectives in Rhetoric and Communication*. Ed. D. Ray Heisey. Vol. 1. Advances in Communication and Culture. Connecticut: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 2000. 3-23.

This thesis will look at one particular area of ancient Chinese persuasive techniques. We will investigate the interaction between the linguistic techniques and political beliefs of the great *Chunqiu*³ period statesman and political philosopher, Yanzi, in his remonstrance (*jian* 諫) within an important but little studied text, the *Yanzi Chunqiu*.

Yanzi and his importance

Yanzi 晏子, (*Yanying* 晏嬰, known posthumously as *Yan Pingzhong* 晏平仲), was one of the foremost political philosophers and advisors in Chinese history and a contemporary of Confucius. Inheriting the post as chief advisor to the rulers of the state of Qi⁴ from his father Yan Ruo 晏弱 in 556 B.C, Yanzi loyally served in his position as the top minister under the three rulers he supported, the Dukes⁵ Ling 灵公, Zhuang 庄公, and

³ The *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn) period refers to the period that runs from approximately 770-481 BCE. See Hsu, Choyun. "The Spring and Autumn Period." *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* Eds. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. 545-86.

⁴ *Qi* 齐 was a large state that was located where present day Shandong is now.

⁵ Hsu translates the title *gong*, which is consistently used in the *Yanzi Chunqiu* to refer to the Qi rulers, as 'Dukes', and we will continue to use the word 'Duke' elsewhere in this thesis. Hsu, Choyun. *Ancient China in Transition*. Stanford Studies in the Civilisations of Eastern Asia. Eds. Arthur F. Wright, et al. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1965. p. 5.

Jing 景公.⁶ He was to die in 500 B.C. during the reign of Duke Jing, whom he served for a total of 49 years.⁷

While Yanzi was not a founder of a school of thought like Confucius, Mengzi or Laozi, he was an important and highly influential political figure of the *Chunqiu* period, one whose political views were regularly tested in the practice of assisting his ruler to govern the state. This assistance was often provided in the form of *jian*, a traditional means of political persuasion used by ministers to change the conduct of their rulers.

Information and anecdotes from and about Yanzi come from several works, including the *Lunyu* 论语, *Mozi* 墨子, the *Zuozhuan* 左传, the *Shiji* 史记—and the *Yanzi Chunqiu* 晏子春秋, which claims to be a collection of anecdotes and speeches from his lifetime. However, research on Yanzi in the West has been rather limited, and where information on Yanzi was sought, scholars often relied on accounts from the *Zuozhuan*.

⁶ Sima, Qian. "Guanying Liezhuan Di Er." *Shiji* Eds. Zheng Fang and Shufang Han. Vol. 2. Zhongguo Gudian Wenhua Jinghua. Beijing: Zhongguo Wenshi Chubanshe, 2002. pp. 418-19.

⁷ Jin, Dejian. *Sima Qian Suo Jian Shu Kao*. Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1963. p. 213.

The state of research on the Yanzi Chunqiu and jian

The *Yanzi Chunqiu* has not been adequately researched in the West. There has been no textual study in English of Yanzi's speeches in the little known but significant text of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*. There is also no complete translation of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text into English, which stops those who cannot read Chinese from appreciating the minister Yanzi's unique wit and speaking skill, and from savouring the literary qualities of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text.

Yet while in the West there has been little focus on the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, the figure of Yanzi has been of interest to at least two important scholars: Yuri Pines and David Schaberg. They have emphasised that the ministers of Yanzi's time greatly valued *li* 礼, or 'ritual propriety'⁸ as a means by which the ruler could correctly administer the state,⁹ but also that Yanzi in particular believed the ideal relationship between the minister and the ruler, should be a complementary one.¹⁰ However, while David Schaberg and Yuri Pines in their research into the fields of pre-Qin political and intellectual history do show interest in Yanzi, this is done within a broader

⁸ The translation of *li* here and elsewhere in this thesis as 'ritual propriety' is by Schaberg 2001 and referred to the expected conduct of someone in their position in society.

⁹ Pines, Yuri. *Foundations of Confucian Thought: Intellectual Life in the Chun Qiu Period, 722-453 B.C.E.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002. p. 159.

¹⁰ Pines, 2002, pp. 160-161; Schaberg, David. *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography*. Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Asia Center, 2001. pp. 230-232.

context and these scholars use evidence from the *Zuozhuan* for information on Yanzi.

Schaberg has also concentrated on the rhetorical application of the speeches of the ministers to their rulers in the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*, and as such, his work will be invaluable to us in the exploration of how Yanzi employs *jian*.¹¹ While he, and other scholars,¹² use the word “remonstrance”¹³ to represent *jian*, in this thesis we have chosen to use the original term for a few reasons. First, use of the term places this speech activity within a number of other rhetorical ‘aspects’ in the Classical Chinese language. Second, the concept as it is used in China is unique to Chinese practice, and the function, techniques employed, and cultural significance are particular to the Chinese situation. Finally, there are a growing number of scholars researching in the field of Chinese rhetoric that now employ the term, and so we are working in conjunction with current terminology.¹⁴

There have been other studies in English exclusively on *jian*. Arabella Lyon’s recent research on Confucian remonstrance is an example of one

¹¹ Schaberg, David. "Remonstrance in Eastern Zhou Historiography." *Early China* 22: 1997 (1997): 133-79.

¹² Except Lü Xing and Mary Garrett.

¹³ Schaberg 1997, p.137.

¹⁴ These include Lü Xing and Mary Garrett, among others.

such study.¹⁵ Lyon has discovered that for what she considers ‘Confucian’ *jian*,¹⁶ *jian* is very restricted by the need to meet the dictates of ritual propriety, or *li*. From her examination of the model of *jian* espoused in the *Analects*¹⁷, she presents *jian* as a very respectful and polite means for the ministers to attempt to change their ruler’s mind, where the ministers are expected to speak to the ruler in a deferential way as a son is expected to speak to a father. However, Confucius’ view of *jian* in the *Analects* may not have been current practice in his time. David Schaberg discovered that in the *Chunqiu* period *jian* was often a rather harsh kind of criticism where the ministers made use of the freedom allowed them to straightforwardly present their views.¹⁸

Lü Xing’s book on Chinese rhetoric in China is an example of a study that discusses *jian*, though not as the main object of study.¹⁹ Lü showed the development of *jian* through history, but also distinguished it from other Chinese senses of rhetoric existing in the *Chunqiu* and *Zhanguo* period.²⁰ Among her conclusions are that *jian* relies on moral means of persuading the ruler.

¹⁵ Lyon, Arabella. "Confucian Silence and Remonstrance: A Basis for Deliberation?" *Rhetoric before and Beyond the Greeks*. Eds. Carol S. Lipson and Roberta A. Binkley. New York: State University of New York Press, 2004. pp. 131-145.

¹⁶ By this meaning the *jian* of Confucius and those followers that agreed with his beliefs on *jian*.

¹⁷ Or the *Lunyu*, a work that seems to be a relatively accurate record of the thought of Confucius.

¹⁸ Schaberg, 1997, p. 179.

¹⁹ Lü, 1998.

We are also indebted to many other Western researchers who have advanced our understanding of Chinese rhetoric in general. Mary Garrett through her research has also shown that Chinese rhetoric contains a number of different senses, including *jian*, and though she does not discuss *jian* specifically, we can learn a lot from her discussion of these aspects of the rhetoric of the period.²¹ From other research, she has discovered that the rhetoric of this period typically employed emotional tactics.²²

In the field of rhetorical technique, Andy Kirkpatrick draws our attention to the work of numerous scholars in identifying a group of common rhetorical techniques in Chinese rhetoric, such as chain reasoning, analogy, and the use of historical example.²³ He cites important research, evaluating their significance and application in a persuasive situation, which will also be of great use to us in this thesis.

There are also a number of Western scholars whose work permits us to evaluate the rhetoric of Yanzi within the *Chunqiu* and *Zhanguo* cultural and political environment. We can draw particular attention to the aforementioned Yuri Pines for his examination of the political situation of

²⁰ The *Zhanguo* 战国, or 'Warring States' period, was from 475 to 221 B.C.E. (Lü, 1998).

²¹ Garrett, Mary M. "Classical Chinese Conceptions of Argumentation and Persuasion." *Argumentation and Advocacy* 29.3 (1993a): 105-15.

²² Garrett, Mary M. "*Pathos* Reconsidered from the Perspective of Classical Chinese Rhetorical Theories." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 79 (1993b): 19-39.

²³ Kirkpatrick, Andy. "Chinese Rhetoric: Methods of Argument." *Multilingua* 14.3 (1995): 271-95.

the period and the relationship between the minister and ruler, and Edward Shaughnessy for his research on the historical antecedents to the ministerial relationship found in the late *Chunqiu* period.²⁴

The fact that the *Yanzi Chunqiu* in particular has not been the object of much study in the West is due to at least a couple of reasons. First, several scholars such as Yuri Pines and Mark Edward Lewis believe the text to be fictional accounts which almost exclusively represent *Zhanguo* intellectual thought.²⁵ The second reason that the text has been overlooked is that Yanzi is not a founder of a philosophical school, but a political figure, and traditionally texts such as the *Zuozhuan* and the *Guoyu* have been regarded as more reliable for historical information.

Though the vast majority of Western scholars have shied away from using textual information in the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, this is in contrast to the opinions of many scholars in China, where there is currently a great interest in Yanzi and in the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text. There has been quite a lot of research in China in recent years on the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text in the Chinese language. Though almost all of these scholars are concerned with Yanzi's political

²⁴ Shaughnessy, Edward L. "The Duke of Zhou's Retirement in the East and the Beginnings of the Ministerial-Monarch Debate in Chinese Political Philosophy." *Early China* 18 (1993): 41-72; and "Western Zhou History." *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* Eds. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. 292-51.

²⁵ Pines, 2002, p. 52; Lewis, Mark Edward. "Warring States Political History." *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999a. p. 590.

views within the *Yanzi Chunqiu*,²⁶ some scholars do this with explicit reference to the *jian* of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* and Yanzi's rhetorical techniques, so we can take many of their findings into account when discussing the text.

We will first examine those studies that examine Yanzi's political views, and then focus our attention on those studies on the rhetorical techniques of the *jian*.

Geng Guo Hua and Zhu Lan's joint study on a section of the *jian* anecdotes in the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text analyse how Yanzi promotes a number of political views within his *jian*.²⁷ These views include encouraging the Duke to employ worthy individuals and get rid of the unworthy, to pay more interest in people than spirits, to care for the people, and to follow the correct norms of ritual propriety, *li*.

Yanzi and his views on *li* are also emphasised in Zhao Lisha's short study on the relationship between Yanzi and Confucius.²⁸ The writer shows that Yanzi shared many ideas with Confucius about the need and function of *li*,

²⁶ Though since Yanzi is an important minister of his time this is only to be expected.

²⁷ Geng, Guohua, and Lan Zhu. "Virtue for Stabilizing the State, Broad-Mindedness for Tolerating the People According to Yanzi Chunqiu, the Inside Discourse (Jian Shang & Jian Xia), on Yanzi's Thoughts of Remonstrating with the King " *Guanzi Xuekan* 2006.3 (2006): 19-23.

²⁸ Zhao, Lisha. "Qiantan Kongzi Yu Yanzi De Guanxi." *Wenshi Zazhi* 2004.

and that both individuals sought to promote *li* as the ruler's tool for state administration.

Perhaps the only book so far on the content of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text, Wang Qi Jun's 2004 book on Yanzi includes a section on Yanzi's philosophical views.²⁹ The writer stresses Yanzi's focus on the people in his speeches within the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, his 'atheism'³⁰, and his development of the ideas of *he* (complementing) and *tong* (identifying with), of which we will discuss comprehensively later in this thesis.

Liu Ze Hua's history of pre-Qin political thought touches on Yanzi's contribution to the thought of the *Chunqiu* period.³¹ Beginning his discussion by describing Yanzi's views on *li*, he goes on to discuss Yanzi's influential views on *he* and *tong*, which he believes to be an essential quality of Yanzi's views on the relationship between the minister and the advisor.

There are also several Chinese scholars who have researched the application of linguistic techniques in Yanzi's *jian*. These include Li Yong

²⁹ Wang, Qijun. *Yanying Yu <Yanzi Chunqiu>*. Qi Lü Lishi Wenhua Congshu. Ed. Wang Zhimin. Jinan: Shandong Wenyi Chubanshe, 2004.

³⁰ Yanzi held the people as more important than the spirits, but we could not call him an atheist, as some Marxist scholars may suggest, since religious practices were part of the court proceedings as part of the Duke's obligations within *li*.

³¹ Liu, Zehua. *Xianqin Zhengzhi Sixiang Shi*. Zhongguo Zhengzhi Sixiang Shi. Zhejiang: Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1996. pp. 124-128.

Bo, who has examined the rhetorical characteristics within Yanzi's speech in the *Yanzi Chunqiu*.³² Featuring predominantly in his list of features of Yanzi's rhetoric is Yanzi's use of analogy, although he illustrates this with an example from outside the *jian*.

Wang Hong and Li Wei's 2005 evaluation of Yanzi's skill and ability at performing *jian* has made several important contributions to our understanding of the persuasive techniques used within the text.³³ Emphasising several tactics that Yanzi uses to perform *jian*, they note that aside from attempting to persuade the ruler directly based on practical reasons based on loss or benefit, or persuading in a roundabout way, Yanzi also employs song and the threat of resignation as rhetorical tactics.

Constantly reoccurring in research on Yanzi's political conceptions of correct rulership, from both research in China and in the West, are his focus on the well being on the common people, the emphasis he puts on *li* as an ordering device for the state, and his important view of *he* and *tong*. These appear to be three central principles that Yanzi wishes to guide the ruler to follow using the rhetorical techniques of his *jian* speeches.

³² Li, Yongbo. "<Yanzi Chunqiu> De Xiuci Tese." *Xinxi Xuexi* 2003.6 (2003): 36-37.

³³ Wang, Hong. "Bai Ban Jian Zheng Jie Wei Min Yanying Zai <Yanzi Chunqiu>Zhong De Jianzheng Xingxiang." *Guanzhi Xuekan* 2005.3 (2005): 25-28.

Aim of the Research

This thesis will show, through careful study of Yanzi's *jian* speeches in the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, how Yanzi cleverly uses linguistic techniques to fulfil his responsibility as minister to guide and effect changes in the behaviour of his ruler, which he does according to three key principles of which Yanzi was both inheritor and innovator: a) that the welfare of the common people is essential to the well-being of the state, b) that *li* 礼 (ritual propriety) is of central importance in administering the state, and c) that the correct relationship between the minister and the ruler is *he* 和 (a complementary one) .

How this study is an addition to existing research

Though the present research will rely on many existing studies, it will break off into new ground on one important respect: this will be the first study entirely of Yanzi's beliefs and application of *jian* in English, and the first study of Yanzi's speeches from within the *Yanzi Chunqiu* in English. It will also be the first study of the entirety of Yanzi's *jian* within the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text that will analyse how Yanzi actualises his political principles through rhetorical techniques.

This research is significant because it is an important addition to the existing research on Yanzi and to the growing research on pre-Qin Chinese rhetoric (and *jian*). It is also the first time most of these *jian* speeches have been translated into English.³⁴ The present study is especially important, as it is the first research in English on the content of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text, whereas previously scholars had sought information on Yanzi primarily from the *Zuozhuan*.

Yanzi as one of the greatest political advisors of China is also one of the greatest proponents of *jian*. Thus, learning about how Yanzi uses *jian*, and studying the linguistic methods he employs to change his ruler's behaviour will enable us to develop our understanding of the *jian* of the *Chunqiu* and *Zhanguo* periods. Our analysis of how Yanzi applies his rhetorical techniques within the *jian* to persuade his ruler will also consider whether the judgements of other scholars researching *jian* are valid for Yanzi. These include Lü Xing's view that *jian* relied on appeals to morality, and Arabella Lyon's research on 'Confucian *jian*' that presents *jian* as a rhetorical technique that is limited in expression by the need to correctly display ritual propriety.

³⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this thesis are my own.

Scope of the Study

Due to time and space restrictions, the present study will only be an investigation into the passages titled as *jian* of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*.³⁵ As such, it will not analyse other speeches of Yanzi within the *Yanzi Chunqiu* outside of the *jian*.³⁶ Similarly, the study will not use any material, either speeches or anecdotes, purported to be from Yanzi, from outside the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text.³⁷

In addition, this research concentrates on how Yanzi actualises his three main political principles through his use of language. Though there are undoubtedly other principles in the behaviour of Yanzi that influence his ruler, we will not dwell on them in the thesis, instead focusing on the three principles which are the topic of our analysis.

Overview of the Study

In the following chapter, Chapter One, we will introduce the information necessary for a clear understanding of the main body of this thesis. After a

³⁵ We will use Hu Shouzhū's recent edition (2006) of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text for the *jian* passages discussed in this thesis. Hu, Shouzhū. *Yanzi Chunqiu Yi Zhu*. Zhuzi Yizhu Congshu. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2006.

³⁶ *Jian* 諫 can be used as a verb, and as a noun, indicating an anecdote including *jian*.

³⁷ There is one exception to this, where there are passages that have been studied in the *Zuo Zhuan* that have identical content to those in the *Yanzi Chunqiu*.

brief introduction, situating Yanzi within the historical context of the *Chunqiu* period, we will direct our attention on *jian* and how ministers normally used it to fulfil their responsibilities. Following this, we will briefly introduce the three principles identified as central to Yanzi's thought, and which he tries to guide the ruler to through the techniques he employed in the *jian*. The end of this chapter will first introduce the content and organization of the text of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, and then go on to identify reasons why the text has been disregarded up until now, judging whether these reasons are justified.

Chapter Two and Three form the analytical body of this thesis. Chapter Two will show how Yanzi employed the most typical rhetorical devices, analogy, citation, and chain reasoning within the *jian* in order to change his ruler's behaviour in line with the principles. Chapter Three will also illustrate how the principles are actualised in the ruler, but this time through a number of linguistic techniques less commonly seen in traditional *jian*, such as lying, provoking the ruler, singing, and threatening to resign.

The conclusion of this thesis will synthesize our findings and discuss the political and moral significance of the linguistic techniques used in the *jian* to guide the ruler according to the three principles. Finally, we will indicate some future directions for other research in this field.

Chapter One: Background to the Study

1.1 Introduction

Our investigation into the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text necessitates a grasp of the history of the *Chunqiu* period, the rhetorical techniques of the time including *jian*, and some knowledge about the *Yanzi Chunqiu*. It is the function of this chapter to provide this background. We will begin with a cursory examination of the political situation of the *Chunqiu* period and demonstrate the need for the ministers, and then we will show how *jian* is differentiated from other aspects of the rhetoric of the time. In the final section of this background chapter, we will look into the structure and content of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, and then evaluate the views of various scholars on the text's historical veracity.

1.1.1 The political situation of the Chunqiu period

The *Chunqiu* period was a time of great change. While in the early *Chunqiu* period there was a Zhou king, after the complete collapse of Zhou rule in 707 BC caused by the state of Zheng, there was no longer a

supreme ruler over the territories of the Zhou, and the feudal lords each had power over their own states.³⁸ This collapse in the Zhou rule also left a power vacuum, where the rulers of the most powerful states vied for power and influence over the other states, and many smaller states were subsumed or conquered.

Besides keeping a good relationship with other states, the most necessary requirement of a ruler was to rule their own state well, for there was a strong conviction that if one's own state was administered well, which meant that the people of the state were cared and provided for, it would aid in the ruler's relationship with other states. Ruling the state competently was difficult because while the *Chunqiu* Dukes, or *gong*, had their own courts, their relatives, their ministers, and even the ministers who served under them, had their own respective courts that mirrored those of their Dukes.³⁹ This coupled with the fact the Dukes were often only in individual control of a small private army (which was only a part of the whole military power of the state, the other armies being in the control of his relatives⁴⁰) the state rulers were always faced with the potential possibility that they would be overthrown or lose control over the state in

³⁸ Although there were Zhou kings 王, and continued to be until the Qin dynasty completely crushed the Zhou dynasty in 249 BCE, these were kings only in name and held little authority over the other Zhou states, serving primarily ritual functions. Li, Xue Qin. *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilisations*. Trans. Kwang-chih Chang. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985. p. 18.

³⁹ Lewis, Mark Edward. *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*. Suny Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture. Ed. David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames. New York: State University of New York Press, 1990. p.8.

⁴⁰ Lewis, *ibid*.

favour of powerful ministerial groups. With the ruler's constant need to please the ministers, the people of the state, and in addition, to display to the other states that he was in absolute charge of his state, he gave several valued officials the responsibility to guide and advise on his behaviour in order to support him in the task of administering the state.

1.1.2 Jian and the responsibilities of the advisors

Respected officials had been granted the right to advise the ruler since as early as the Shang dynasty.⁴¹ These individuals were expected to advise the ruler to 'follow the Mandate of Heaven, act virtuously towards his people, and perform properly at ceremonies of divination and ancestor worship'.⁴² This was important as for a ruler to conduct himself well in these three areas meant that he was correctly performing his duties as ruler.

The ministers of the *Chunqiu* court had three responsibilities: to the state (of which the common people were the most important aspect), to the altars (which included governing how the Duke conducted himself on ritual occasions), and to the ruler himself.⁴³ For a minister to guide the ruler towards fulfilling his responsibilities to the first two would usually be

⁴¹ The Shang dynasty was approximately between 1570 and 1045 BCE.

⁴² Lü, 1998, p.53; Following the Mandate of Heaven was for a ruler to be behaving in a manner which would allow one to be allowed by Heaven to continue to rule, and conversely not following the Mandate of Heaven would cause another ruler to replace him. See Shaughnessey, 1999, p.292 for information on the Mandate and its significance.

⁴³ Pines, 2002, p. 141-2.

benefiting the ruler. This was because if the ruler were seen by the majority of the people to be achieving the demands of his position well, this would stop rebellions, and remove the threat of a large body of the population supporting a rival to the throne.

One of the main ways in which a minister could seek to modify his ruler's conduct was by applying *jian*. *Jian* was primarily performed by esteemed ministers in the court concerned, although on occasion *jian* could be performed by others. Although it was usually a private activity, which relied on personal knowledge of the audience, their interests and behaviour, sometimes ministers performed *jian* in groups on the same issue, which was called *zhong jian*.⁴⁴

Jian was chiefly a form of criticism, an attempt to stop behaviour, actions, or mannerisms that went against the grain of inherited wisdom and established tradition, and which the minister thought may bring harm to the individual or individual's state.⁴⁵ As such, *jian* often focused on the failure of the ruler to live up to the virtues of previous rulers.⁴⁶ The central

⁴⁴ 众谏. Lü, 1998, p. 79.

⁴⁵ Schaberg, 1997 pp. 143-146. Schaberg cites one definition of *jian* in the *Zuo zhuan* as “谏失常也”, which could be translated as “*jian* those who lose the appropriate or normal ways.” So *jian* is about criticising a ruler when they are about to transgress or ignore the established traditions, in order to put them back on what is believed to be the right path.

⁴⁶ Lü, 1998, p.79.

message common to most *jian* is: "reform your ways in accordance with tradition or you will perish."⁴⁷

Yet *jian* was also a means by which ministers could urge, plead or ask for particular conduct or behaviour from the ruler, or ask for certain conduct to cease. This was because the ministers could not demand that the ruler did anything; only request it for the good of the state.⁴⁸

There was a real urgency to *jian* speeches (or *jian*, for *jian* referred both to performing this criticism as well as an individual anecdote which included this kind of speech). The speaker engaged in *jian* believed that were the ruler not to follow their advice, an immediate crisis would result.

We have discussed *jian* and how it met the responsibilities of the advisors. In the following section, we will situate *jian* within the context of pre-Qin rhetoric in general.

⁴⁷ Schaberg, 1997, pp.174.

⁴⁸ Provided, of course, that the ruler was still in control of his ministers. Pines, 2002, p.139 shows that from the mid-*Chunqin* period on some ministers overthrew their rulers.

1.1.3 Pre-Qin Chinese Rhetoric

According to existing studies, Chinese rhetoric had a particular character that made it in many ways different from the understanding we have of rhetoric in the West.

One feature of pre-Qin rhetoric was that it was often more a personal than a public act, as opposed to Classical Greek rhetoric that was often designed to sway the opinions of a viewing audience in court-room situations. Persuasive techniques were often directed specifically at influencing a particular individual with knowledge of the listener's interests and dislikes. As a partial consequence of this largely non-public persuasion, emotional appeals and arguments relying on them were important elements of many areas of Chinese rhetoric. In the pre-Qin period, there was nothing ethically wrong with utilising emotional appeals.⁴⁹ It was the responsibility of the listener, who was often, in the records of rhetoric we have available to us, the ruler, to listen with a balanced mind and so not be swayed unduly by passions.⁵⁰

Yet, we must not assume the persuaders of this period to be, in the majority, amoral. To the Ancient Chinese the moral character of a person, and the

⁴⁹ Garrett, 1993b, pp. 25.

⁵⁰ Garrett (1993b, p. 30) discovered that the Ancient Chinese were more likely to put the blame on the listener for being manipulated by emotional reasons, than on the speaker for using emotional triggers to get a response.

extent of his practical knowledge or wisdom, was intimately relevant to the person's successful persuasion of the audience. As the Sophists were denigrated in Ancient Greece, so were those individuals in *Chunqiu* and *Zhanguo* period China who practiced flowery, substanceless speech without regard for morality.⁵¹

Pre-Qin Chinese rhetoric differs from Western rhetoric in yet another respect: the modes of reasoning employed to succeed in persuasion. Many scholars in the field of Chinese rhetoric have argued strongly that Chinese communication in this early period relied mainly on inductive reasoning, where 'known facts are used to present general laws' and the thesis of an argument is presented after these supporting 'facts'.⁵² Deductive reasoning on the other hand (which is the mode of reasoning common in the Western world) usually presents the thesis of an argument explicitly from the very beginning, and then presents evidence in support of this thesis. There are likely to be several reasons for the overall tendency towards inductive reasoning in China of this early period. Kirkpatrick has argued that as persuasion was often conducted to change the views of one of higher status, this encouraged an indirect mode of speech.⁵³ It may also be the case that

⁵¹ Lü, 1998, pp. 76-7 notes that Confucius, Laozi, Zhuangzi and many other thinkers criticised clever and beautiful speech lacking in moral substance.

⁵² Kirkpatrick, 1995, p 272.

⁵³ Kirkpatrick, 1995, pp. 284-286.

inductive reasoning is more suitable for persuading smaller audiences, especially if the speaker knows the target for the persuasion intimately.

An aspect of rhetoric that concerns ministers such as Yanzi and their *jian* was the fact that rulers such as Duke Jing rarely spoke publicly to their people, perhaps because the rulers held a low opinion of the intelligence of the, admittedly, largely poorly educated populace.⁵⁴ This is significant because it meant that the common people and the ruler communicated to each other through the medium of the ministers, which gave the ministers the important responsibility to represent the peoples' interests.

Up till now many scholars have believed, and presented, a picture of strongly divergent and conflicting philosophical 'schools' such as Confucianism, Mohism, and Daoism, and their different rhetorical perspectives in this period.⁵⁵ However, Liu Yameng draws our attention to evidence from bamboo strips found in Hubei in the 1990s that shows many of the classics at the heart of each school actually shared many rhetorical techniques once thought to be from other schools, in and within the same

⁵⁴ Mary Garrett, *ibid.* not only comments on the low literacy rate of the population, but cites Confucius' belief that the people can be led by the way, but not understand it, showing that even the famous thinker Confucius thought little of the intellectual faculties of the common people. Also see Kennedy, 1998, pp. 143.

⁵⁵ See in particular Graham, A.C. *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China*. La Salle: Open Court, 1989.

text.⁵⁶ This open communication of ideas continued at least until the late *Zhangguo* period, when the rhetorical perspectives of these factions seem to have become mutually exclusive and the basis of philosophical discourse between them largely lost.⁵⁷

1.1.4 The 'senses' of rhetoric and their application

The recent work of scholars such as Mary Garrett and Lü Xing has identified that Classical Chinese has a number of concepts or senses⁵⁸, which govern areas of speechcraft and differ in nature, range and application.⁵⁹ Five concepts are immediately relevant to speech used in a persuasive manner: *Bian* 辩, *Ci* 辞, *Shuo* 说, *Shui* 说, and *Jian* 谏.⁶⁰

Bian 辩 was a word that could be used in two different ways. In a general sense, *bian* meant to make distinctions and definitions, often to argue a

⁵⁶ Liu, Yameng. "Nothing Can Be Accomplished If the Speech Does Not Sound Agreeable": Rhetoric and the Invention of Classical Chinese Discourse." *Rhetoric before and Beyond the Greeks*. Eds. Carol S. Lipson and Roberta A. Binkley. New York: State University of New York Press, 2004. pp. 152-153.

⁵⁷ See Liu (1996), where he remarks upon Han Feizi's comments on the contention between the Confucians and Mohists in "Three Issues in the Argumentative Conception of Early Chinese Discourse." *Philosophy East and West*, 1996. Vol. 46. p. 40.

⁵⁸ Lü, 1998, p. 3 paraphrases Robert Scott's (1973) view of rhetoric: 'people of any given cultural setting will tend to have an embedded *sense* of rhetoric which pertains to a particular context.' The emphasis here is my own.

⁵⁹ See Garrett 1993a and Lü 1998.

⁶⁰ This group of concepts is based on Lü Xing, 1998, pp. 72-90. The two other concepts she includes in her analysis, *ming* and *yan* which I have not included here, are more general concepts related to rhetoric and speech and not expressions of facets of rhetoric, as the others are.

point, and could be employed by almost anyone. As the function of this sense of *bian* in the Classical Chinese is roughly analogous to the way rhetoric is viewed in the West, the scholars Lü Xing and David A. Frank have viewed it as a corresponding term for the Western concept of rhetoric, in competition with the word *xiucixue* 修辞学, which is widely used in China.⁶¹

Bian in a narrow sense referred to the act of arguing, often in a formal and competitive situation, against an opposing philosophical viewpoint.⁶² Techniques used in this narrow sense of *bian* included extended analogies, comparisons of similar and dissimilar examples, arguments by consequences, and many others.⁶³

Ci 辞 refers to the artistic use of language, or explanations. It could also be a form of persuasion, based on ingenious presentation of language, and as such, could have positive or negative connotations.⁶⁴ To refuse politely the wishes of someone of a higher station would be *ci*, as it would require a prudent selection of words in order not to offend. Another example of *ci* would be trying to astound or confuse the listener by quoting from poetry or by employing elaborate verbal trickery.

⁶¹ See Lü, Xing, and David A. Frank. "On the Study of Ancient Chinese Rhetoric/*Bian*." *Western journal of communication* 57.4 (1993): 445-63.

⁶² Garret, *ibid.* pp. 107-9, Lü 1998, pp. 84-89.

Shuo and *shui*, though sharing the same character 说, are two entirely different concepts. *Shuo* was connected with using language to argue, particularly when the speaker wanted to explain something to a listener who already had an opinion on a topic.⁶⁵ This area of rhetoric was likely to be used frequently in everyday life whenever someone had to justify their actions or attempted to give good reasons for them.⁶⁶

Shui (also written 说), referred to language specifically intended to persuade another individual to change their opinion or to follow the speaker's solution to a problem. To be an effective practitioner of *shui*, or *shuishhi*⁶⁷, the speaker required the ability to match their proposed ideas with the needs of the listener, and a successful *shui* persuasion might employ emotional or moral appeals, the citation of historical examples, analogies and other techniques.⁶⁸ Kirkpatrick (1995) has also noted that chain reasoning was a major aspect of Classical Chinese persuasion, so we

⁶³ Garrett, *ibid.* p. 108.

⁶⁴ Lü, 1998, pp. 77-78.

⁶⁵ Garrett, 1993a, p. 109.

⁶⁶ Garrett, *ibid.*, p. 114.

⁶⁷ Certain scholars, such as J. L. Kroll (See Kroll, J. L. "Disputation in Ancient Chinese Culture." *Early China* 11-12 (1987): 118-45.) have adopted the term *youshui* 游说 to mean a travelling practitioner of *shui*. However, *youshui* should be considered as an activity, that of a travelling *shuishhi* 说士 or *youshuishishhi* 游说之士, not *youshui* 游说 (Wu Xiaoming, Xiao Hong, personal communication). The *Shangwu Yinsubuguan* edition of the *Gudai Hanyu Cidian* cites two instances of this word, the first from the *Hanfeizi*, the second in the *Shiji*, and in both contexts, the word functions as a verb.

⁶⁸ Lü 1998, pp. 80-2.

would expect this also to be one of the predominant techniques of *shui*.⁶⁹ A practitioner of *shui* needed to adapt their speech and use of appropriate rhetorical techniques based on the needs, fears and interests of the particular audience, and seize the opportune moment for the persuasion to succeed.⁷⁰ Though an individual employing *shui* would not necessarily be personally associated to the target of the persuasion, they would expect to gain material benefit for good advice and to be punished (or executed) if they disadvantaged (or offended) the listener. Therefore, engaging in *shui* was a somewhat risky enterprise.⁷¹

Of these five senses of Chinese rhetoric, *bian* (in its broad sense), *shuo* and *shui* occur most frequently in general use,⁷² while *ci*, *jian*, and *bian* (in its narrow sense) were more specialised, and had a more definite range of application.

Lü Xing has examined the relationship between *jian* and *shui*. She has discovered that though *jian* and *shui* shared several characteristics they were quite different in other respects. For example, *jian* and *shui* were often both used to mean ‘persuasion’. However, the main difference was

⁶⁹ Kirkpatrick, 1995, p.274-5.

⁷⁰ Garrett, 1993a, p. 111.

⁷¹ The political theorist and philosopher Han Feizi makes this point quite clear in the chapter *Shui nan* 说难 (On the Difficulty of Persuasion).

⁷² Garrett, 1993b, pp. 106. Garrett does mention *jian* and other terms, but chooses to deal with these three most often encountered rhetorical senses.

the person who performed each of these speech behaviours. *Shui* could be performed by anyone willing to do so, and it was mainly done for the purpose of receiving a monetary reward from the ruler, yet *jian* was more often than not employed by loyal and trusted ministers who were based in the court and who held the right to perform such an activity.⁷³ Lü has stated that from her research *jian* persuades based on an appeal to the ruler's morality, while *shui* persuades on largely practical concerns.⁷⁴

David Schaberg, who has analysed *jian* speeches in the *Zuo* and *Guo* dynastic histories, focuses on the use of what he calls “inherited words” by the minister.⁷⁵ By this term, he means historical and culturally inherited information, words, and models of conduct.⁷⁶ According to Schaberg, it was up to the practitioner of *jian* to connect this historical wisdom with the reality of the situation through what he calls ‘the texture of the speech’, which are the rhetorical manipulations which demonstrate the principles expressed by using these inherited words. In other words, it was the responsibility of the advisors to show how historical wisdom applied to the situation at hand. Schaberg admits this inherited language is selected by the minister based on how readily it can map onto present circumstances.

David Schaberg believes that *jian*:

⁷³ Lü, 1998, p. 81.

⁷⁴ Lü, *ibid.*

⁷⁵ Schaberg, 1997, p. 141.

...derives its power not from the social identity of the speaker but from the demonstration that observed behaviour is interpretable in light of received models.⁷⁷

This means that within *jian* the advisor uses analogies with past historical models often supported by citations, sometimes of an individual's words, but usually direct quotes from important and canonical texts, such as the *Shijing*.⁷⁸

Though scholars have often discussed the use of historical example and analogy as two separate techniques, we understand that using historical information in comparison with present circumstances is of necessity an analogy. Kirkpatrick discusses reasoning by analogy and the use of historical examples together, perhaps because he recognizes that actually using historical information to make a comparison is a kind of analogy.⁷⁹ He also focuses on the significance of chain reasoning in Chinese persuasion, so we might expect this technique to be present in *jian*.

In the next section we will introduce the three main principles in Yanzi's thought that are key to understanding this thesis.

⁷⁶ Schaberg, *ibid.*

⁷⁷ Schaberg, 1997, p.150.

⁷⁸ This is the practice of citing lines from these well-known texts, such as the *Shang Shu* and the *Shijing* which were so well known to the ministers and the rulers that often listeners could understand even off-hand references to them. Schaberg 2001, pp. 71.

1.2 Yanzi's central principles

Yanzi's interests differed from many ministers of his time. Though he agreed with the ministerial belief of the time that ministers were primarily responsible for the well being of the people of a state and their ancestors, and only secondly to the orders of the king,⁸⁰ many ministers primarily considered their own interests, using the state and altars as an excuse even to eliminate the ruler. Such behaviour would not have been conceivable in an earlier period. Yanzi believed that the ministers were primarily responsible for serving the altars and the people by aiding the ruler to solve the problems of the state, not by forcing a constant change of rulership or by the ministers focusing on their own interests at the expense of the interests of the state.

We have indicated three principles which Yanzi thought would stop this situation from coming about: the first was the ruler acting to benefit and aid the common people, the second was the ruler respecting the *li* (ritual propriety), and the third was the minister and the ruler operating in a complementary way with one other (in *he*). These principles have been selected from a number of Chinese and English sources on Yanzi's political ideals, and represent the most central and basic conceptions of

⁷⁹ Kirkpatrick, 1995, pp. 275-6.

⁸⁰ Pines, 2002, p. 149, 153.

Yanzi's ideas on just rule that he could encourage in the ruler through his *jian*.

1.2.1 The importance of the people

Perhaps the most essential aspect of rulership, and Yanzi's views on it, was concern for the people⁸¹, so much so that two-thirds of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* contains passages stressing the peoples' importance.⁸² This was because winning the hearts of the people was a necessary political imperative at the time for the royal houses, which at this period were fighting a losing battle against the large and powerful ministerial houses for popularity. Concerning the particular political situation in the state of Qi, Yanzi emphasised practical action in the people's interest as a means by which the ruler⁸³ could display his *ren* 仁 (humanity) and *de* 德 (virtue, but which also had within it a sense of 'magnanimity') above that of the powerful ministerial family, the Tian 田.⁸⁴

⁸¹ The word 'people' here refers to the majority of the population in Qi over which the Duke held power, who were largely farmers.

⁸² Wang 2004, p.120; Chen, Tao. *Yanzi Chunqiu Yizhu*. Tianjin: Tianjin Guji Chubanshe, 1996. preface pp. 7-8.

⁸³ Of which Duke Jing is over-represented in the anecdotes we have of Yanzi.

⁸⁴ The Tian, also known as the Chen family, were a very powerful ministerial family in Qi in the late *Chunqiu* period. They promoted populist policies and so won a great deal of support from the people.

There are several areas where Yanying urged political action from his ruler to benefit the people. He encouraged the Duke to grant material aid to the populace in times of trouble (situations such as drought and inclement weather), to not interfere with the peoples' ability to collect the harvest, and also promoted policies that might materially benefit the situation of his people.⁸⁵

Yanzi's view on benefiting the people through humane behaviour as the most necessary part of rulership can be found throughout the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text. Here is a line from *jian* 1/20, which also stresses the need for his ruler Duke Jing to emulate the conduct of the great rulers of the past:

嬰聞古之賢君，飽而知人之飢，溫而知人之寒，逸而知人之勞，今君不知也。

'I have heard of the virtuous rulers of old that when they were full they knew of the peoples' hunger, when they were warm they knew of the peoples' cold, and when they were relaxing they knew of the peoples' hard work. At the moment, my ruler, you don't know these things.'

1.2.2 *Li* 礼

Yanzi believed that the main way to stop the ministers from challenging the authority of the Duke over the state was by emphasising *li*, which he regarded to be the mainstay of state organization. For Yanzi, *li* referred to

⁸⁵ Wang, 2004, p. 121-2.

‘ritual propriety’, the principle which has always regulated and ordered the state according to the established hierarchy system, and which Schaberg says relies primarily on the behaviour of the Duke, who is emulated by the people of the state, for it to be effective.⁸⁶ *Li* governed everyone from the king (or landed Duke) down to those of the lowest position in the hierarchy, the *shuren*, who were the farmers and working people.⁸⁷ Emphasizing *li* was an important tool, if correctly managed, for Yanzi to keep the ministerial houses, particularly the Tian family, in their place.⁸⁸

Like many of his contemporaries (including Confucius), Yanzi was an inheritor of the traditions of the *Zhou li*, which were a system of rules that governed the etiquette and correct conduct for people according to their position in the hierarchy, which covered the behaviour of everyone from rulers down to common people.⁸⁹

As Zhao’s research has discovered, Yanzi’s views on the significance of *li* were almost identical to his contemporary Confucius.⁹⁰ We know this because at a time when Confucius was living at Qi and sought to serve Duke Jing as minister, he was recorded as saying the famous 君君，臣

⁸⁶ From Schaberg, 2001, p.280.

⁸⁷ See Chen, 1996, p. 11.

⁸⁸ Liu, 1996, p. 125.

⁸⁹ Fung, Yu-Lan. *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Trans. Derk Bodde. Second Edition ed. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952. pp.36-42.

⁹⁰ Zhao, 2004.

臣，父父，子子 *junjun chenzhen fufu zizi* speech.⁹¹ This can be translated as ‘a ruler behaves in the manner appropriate for a ruler, a minister behaves in the manner appropriate for a minister, a father behaves in the manner appropriate for a father and a son behaves in the manner appropriate for a son.’ The idea is that society would be perfectly ordered if everyone behaved according to the expected norms of *li*, but held the ruler as the most important embodiment of *li* for all other important social relationships to follow. In the second year that Confucius was living in Qi, Yanzi as prime minister gave a speech describing how important *li* was in organising the state, from the ruler and his ministers right down to the family level.⁹²

To get an impression of Yanzi’s views on *li*, let us examine a line from *jian* 2/12 to his ruler Duke Jing: ‘夫礼者，民之纪，纪乱则民失，乱纪失民，危道也’，which means ‘*Li* is the people’s law. If the laws are in disorder, you lose (the ability to rule) the people. To put the laws in disorder and to lose the people is a dangerous path.’ From this example, we can see how essential Yanzi regarded *li* to be in the administration of a state.

⁹¹ As both individuals used similar ideas at about the same time it is possible that one borrowed from the other, although it is more likely that both were inheritors of the same traditional views on *li*.

⁹² Zhao (2004) gives evidence from the *Zuo*zhuan (Zhao Gong 26th year) and the *Yanzi Chunqiu* (*tongshang*) which supports this.

1.2.3 *He* 和

According to ministerial beliefs of which Yanzi was an inheritor, the ministers were an inseparable part of the administration of the state, and work with the ruler. Schaberg (2001) and Pines (2001) have also both noted that Yanzi was not in favour of a situation where ministers agree entirely with their rulers.⁹³ What he was in favour of was a situation where agreement and disagreement aid one another,⁹⁴ where a comment or criticism by the minister brought something to the attention that might otherwise have been overlooked, and bring another perspective to the table. To Yanzi the ministers' task was to balance out the Duke's opinions and be a foil for his ideas in a manner that best served the state and its altars. This of course also meant that the ministers effectively shared in, and were an inseparable part in, the decision-making process at court. This was *he*.

Though Yanzi wanted ministers to do their utmost to serve the accepted royal line of the Dukes of Qi, it was necessary for them to challenge the Duke when they felt his actions or behaviour injurious to the state or the altars, and so complement the Duke's actions for the good of the state, its

⁹³ Schaberg, 2001, p. 150; Pines, 2001, p. 153.

altars, and the Duke himself. While at times such a relationship would necessarily place the minister and his ruler at variance with one another, Yanzi believed the Duke was also responsible for allowing such behaviour to occur in the interests of the state. The Duke was to listen to all the views proposed, and to make his own careful decision, balancing the positive and negative elements within this decision.⁹⁵ Yanzi judged that if the Duke were able to listen to the advice of many other individuals, even though they differed from his own, it would in Yanzi's eyes aid the ruler's ability to rule the state. Therefore, in as much as it was the correct responsibility of the ministers to be complementary to their rulers, it was the responsibility of the ruler to complement his ministers by being open to their suggestions.

Yanzi clearly expresses his conception of a model minister in his analysis of these concepts of *he* (complementing) and *tong* (identifying with). A short example of Yanzi's views on *he* and *tong* is to be found in *jian* 1/18. In this *jian* there are three instances of Yanzi performing *jian* on his ruler (and angering him each time), and this is the second instance:

无几何而梁丘据御六马而来，公曰：“是谁也？”晏子曰：“据也。”公曰：“何如？”曰：“大暑而疾驰，甚者马死，薄者马伤，非据孰敢为之！”公曰：“据与我和

⁹⁴ This concept, called in Chinese *kefouxiangji* 可否相济, is discussed in Wang, 2004, p. 128-9 in relation to Yanzi's understanding of *he* and *tong*.

⁹⁵ Wang, 2004, p. 128.

者夫？”晏子曰：“此所谓同也。所谓和者，君甘则臣酸，君淡则臣咸。今据也甘君亦甘，所谓同也，安得为和！”公忿然作色，不说。

A little bit later, Liang Qiu Ju drove six horses over to them. The Duke asked Yanzi who it was. Yanzi said: “It’s Ju.” The Duke asked Yanzi how he knew this. Yanzi said: “Driving a team of horses at full speed in the height of summer, at the least the horses could be injured, at the worst they would die; who else would do such a thing if not Ju?” The Duke said: “Ju and I are complementary (*he*) one another.” But Yanzi said: “This is what we call identifying with (*tong*). What we call *he*, is when the minister complements the ruler’s sweetness with a sour taste, and adds salt when the ruler has no flavour. At present, the Duke is sweet and Ju is also sweet. This is what is called *tong*. How could it be called *he*?”

As we can see, Yanzi indicates that the most appropriate condition for a minister is *he*, for the minister must balance the ruler for the good of the people and the state, in the same way as flavours need to be balanced in cooking. We will see a more complex version of Yanzi’s views on *he* and *tong* later in this thesis.

1.3 The Yanzi Chunqiu text

Within this section, we will briefly introduce the content and structure of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, and the sections that will be examined in this thesis. Immediately following this, we will investigate why scholars have ignored

the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, and evaluate whether their judgements on the historical veracity of the text have any merit.

1.3.1 *The organization and content of the text*

The *Yanzi Chunqiu*, as we have mentioned is a work that purports to relate anecdotes of events and speeches given during Yanzi's lifetime. The present version of the text is based on one edited by the famous scholar and editor Liu Xiang in the Western Han period. We may identify the text as either the *Yanzi Chunqiu* ('The Annals of Master Yan'), or simply as the *Yanzi*.⁹⁶ The original work would certainly not have been written in book form, but probably written down on silk,⁹⁷ or on bamboo or wooden strips bound together by cords.⁹⁸ At the time of Liu Xiang, the text had 838 paragraphs and 30 sections, and by removing duplicated material, he edited these down to 215 paragraphs and 8 sections.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Durrant (1993) shows that this was the name that Liu Xiang had for the text. Durrant, Stephen W. "Yen Tzu Ch'un Ch'iu." *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*. Ed. Michael Loewe. Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1993. p. 483.

⁹⁷ Li, 1985, p. 434.

⁹⁸ Lewis, Mark Edward. *Writing and Authority in Early China*. SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999b. pp. 54-5.

⁹⁹ Guo, Yuheng, ed. *Zhongguo Gudai Wenxue Shi*. Shanghai Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 1998. p. 123.

The text of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* as a whole describes the many attempts by the advisor Yanzi to aid his ruler¹⁰⁰ and change the fortunes of the ruling house, which he believes has declined in power since the golden days of Duke Huan of Qi 齐桓公, the most famous ruler of Qi, who ruled the state of Qi from 685 to 643 B.C.E. and was of such influence and prowess that with the help of his famous advisor Guanxi 管子 became the first overlord, or *ba* 霸 of the *Zhou* states.¹⁰¹ The text shows how Yanzi supported his ruler by urging Duke Jing to adopt policies that assist the common people, to follow the dictates of *li*, and to work with the ministers in a harmonious way to aid the state. Throughout the text he promoted ways in which the ruling house would be favoured over the ministerial house of Tian that were at the time gaining in power. Many events after Yanzi's death, as well as posthumous statements by Duke Jing and others about the minister are included in the text.

Within the eight sections of the text, there are 63 separate paragraphs called *jian*. The first two sections of the text specifically entitled “*jian*”, and called the *jiانشang* 谏上 and the *jianxia* 谏下 consist of 50 *jian* altogether, and the first 14 anecdotes of the seventh section of the text (the first of the *waipian* 外篇, or outer sections) also have titles identifying

¹⁰⁰ Of which *Duke Jing* is over-represented in most of the anecdotes we have in the *Yanzi Chunqiu*.

¹⁰¹ These states were formerly ruled over by the Zhou king.

Yanzi as employing *jian*. In this thesis, for convenience, we will identify each *jian* first by the number of the section (1, 2, or 7) and then by the number of the *jian* within each section of the text. Therefore, *jian* 1/1 is the first *jian* in the first section.

All of these *jian* anecdotes, except the very first, consist of *jian* directed at Duke Jing, the last Duke he served.¹⁰² The *jian* passages include a broad range of criticisms and remarks on the wastefulness and excess spending of the Duke, his excessive sensuality and inability to follow the proper ritual norms, and his cruel treatment of the people. *Jian* on the same topic are often, though not always grouped together, and not listed chronologically by the years of the reign of the Dukes he served as would be expected if the *Yanzi Chunqiu* were a historical text.¹⁰³

1.3.2 Evidence for the *Yanzi Chunqiu* as a historical text

As has been mentioned in the introduction, many scholars in the West have predominantly used other texts such as the *Zuo zhuan*, and not the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, for information on the historical Yanzi and the expression of his

¹⁰² This *jian* is addressed to Duke Zhuang, the second of the Dukes Yanzi served. However, as by far the majority of the *jian* in the *Yanzi Chunqiu* are from the time of Yanzi's service to Duke Jing, it is possible that this speech was originally addressed to Duke Jing and incorrectly ascribed to the time of Duke Zhuang's reign.

¹⁰³ This is Durrant's view from his research on the *Yanzi* text. See Durrant, 1993, p. 486.

political views. This is because several scholars question whether the information in the text arises from the *Chunqiu* period during Yanzi's lifetime.

Judging from the evidence we have so far, it does seem the *Yanzi Chunqiu* was written down as a complete text in the mid to late *Zhanguo* period, and not the *Chunqiu* period. For the discovery of fragments of an early *Yanzi Chunqiu* text,¹⁰⁴ as well as the text's lexical and stylistic characteristics, show a text existing in the *Zhanguo* period with much the same content as the one we have today.¹⁰⁵ However, being written down and put together during the *Zhanguo* period does not mean that the text necessarily represents the *Zhanguo* rather than the *Chunqiu* intellectual milieu, as some Western scholars assert.¹⁰⁶

As we noted in the introduction to the thesis, Mark Edward Lewis, among others, believes that the *Yanzi Chunqiu* fits into the category of 'fictional persuasions' written during the *Zhanguo* period, such as the *Zhanguo Ce*.¹⁰⁷ These sorts of text focus on clever persuasions and on dazzling displays of rhetorical skill though having rather debatable historical accuracy. It is on the surface easy to make such judgments, for the text

¹⁰⁴ Guo, 1998. Also see Durrant, 1993, p. 484 who cites evidence from the Chinese publication *Wenwu*.

¹⁰⁵ Gao, 1980, pp. 387.

¹⁰⁶ Such as Pines, 2002, p. 52.

¹⁰⁷ Lewis, 1999, p. 590-1.

consists of anecdotes which often display Yanzi's remarkable rhetorical abilities, which neither are in chronological order nor referenced according to the year of the reigns of the Dukes of the state of Qi. While it is true that records of events in other *Chunqiu* annals, like the *Zuozhuan* or the *Guoyu*, are rarely without this information,¹⁰⁸ this does not prove that the text is fictional, merely that the style of the text does not match certain aspects of other existing texts that are regarded as more historically accurate, such as the *Zuozhuan*.

Actually, there is also a strong possibility that many of the passages in the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text were the source of many of Yanzi's speeches in the *Zuozhuan*. According to Walker, the *Yanzi Chunqiu* represents a likely intellectual and geographical picture of the state of Qi in the *Chunqiu* period. He claims that many parallel texts that exist in both the *Zuozhuan* and the *Yanzi Chunqiu* show evidence that the *Yanzi Chunqiu* passages are earlier.¹⁰⁹ If this is true, it could make the *Yanzi Chunqiu* a more reliable piece of evidence than the *Zuozhuan* on Yanzi, his *jian*, and his political views. Durrant mentions that Forke and Maspero also agree with Walker that the *Yanzi Chunqiu* could be an authentic *Chunqiu* text.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Durrant, 1993, p. 486.

¹⁰⁹ Durrant cites Walker (1953) for discovering this, but notes that it was debated by Karlgren (1929) whether fuller information necessarily implies an earlier composition date.

¹¹⁰ Durrant, *ibid*.

There also seems to be more evidence of Yanzi's thought and rhetorical views in the *Yanzi Chunqiu* than can be found in any other individual text that includes anecdotes from him.¹¹¹ If we only use what we see within these other texts, we are losing a lot of possible information about the historical Yanzi. However, even if scholars who believe the text represents aspects of the *Zhanguo* intellectual milieu are right, this may be due to the fact that Yanzi lived at the end of the *Chunqiu* period, when much of what we understand about *Chunqiu* culture and the political situation was changing.

It is possible that the text is at least partly based on Qi court records. We know that in the *Zhanguo* period, possibly even as early as the *Chunqiu* period, there were scribes who were called *zuoshi* 左史 and *youshi* 右史,¹¹² who wrote down the proceeds at court and recorded conversations between the ruler and his ministers.

As the presentation of Yanzi and his ruler Duke Jing is not consistent throughout the text and the quality and style of writing varies throughout, many scholars have come to the view that it was more likely written down into a complete text by more than one person, and by inhabitants of the Qi

¹¹¹ Geng 2006, p.19 states that there is no other work in the ancient world, which even comes close to showing how Yanzi went about his *jian*. Wang 2005, p. 25 also believes there is no other text that shows Yanzi's character like the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text.

¹¹² See Schaberg, 1999, p. 134-5 and Lewis, 1999, p. 102. Schaberg says that according to the *Liji*, the *zuoshi* recorded words and the *youshi* recorded events.

state where the stories originated.¹¹³ From the character of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text, it is likely to be the product of Qi natives and originated in the literate nobility, since it is strongly supportive of the Qi state and court through the figure of Yanzi.

From the evidence we have available to us, the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text is an important, but overlooked resource for the character of Yanzi and the political situation in the late *Chunqiu* period, and certainly in need of more textual study that it has had up until now.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, we discovered that *jian* was a highly valued activity done by ministers to meet their responsibilities to serve the people, the state and its altars, and the ruler. After describing *jian* as a kind of criticism or appeal done in a context where the minister believed the ruler's action could bring serious harm to the state, we examined the basic characteristics of pre-Qin Chinese rhetoric, which we found to be a largely private affair, often utilizing emotional tactics and inductive reasoning – of which the individual application was not restricted to 'schools' of thought. We identified how *jian* fits within the context of the other senses of rhetoric of

¹¹³ Chen, 1996, p. 4-5.

the pre-Qin period, and how it is differentiated from another mode of persuasion known as *shui*.

According to the evidence we discovered on the techniques used in *jian*, the most common techniques seen in *jian* (and indeed in much of the persuasive rhetoric of the period) were analogy, citation, and chain reasoning. We also discussed Lü Xing's research, which leads her to suggest that the techniques of the *jian* rely on moral persuasion.

We then outlined Yanzi's three main political principles. As we discussed, Yanzi regarded concern for the people as necessary for the stability of the state, *li* as essential to regulate appropriate behaviour in the common people and ministers, and that the ministers and rulers could better meet their responsibilities together through *he*.

In the last section of this chapter, we described the content and structure of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, and the *jian* found within this text. Finally, we evaluated the opinions of various scholars on the veracity of the text as a presentation of the historical Yanzi, concluding that it is likely that the text contains some essential information about Yanzi, which even parts of the *Zuozhuan* may be relying on for historical accuracy.

In the following chapter we will commence our investigation into how Yanzi tries to actualise his three main principles in the behaviour of the

ruler through the typical *jian* techniques of analogy, citation and chain reasoning. The application of other atypical or unconventional techniques, and certain techniques only used in special circumstances, will be seen in Chapter Three.

Chapter Two: Yanzi's typical *jian* techniques

2.1 Introduction

In this, the first of the analytical chapters of this thesis, we will examine how Yanzi uses analogy, citation and chain reasoning, the most typical rhetorical techniques in *jian*, to promote his three central principles by changing the behaviour of his ruler, Duke Jing.

In the first section we will examine how Yanzi promotes his beliefs in the importance of the people to his ruler through the two techniques of analogy and citation. We will begin by discussing in general terms how analogy and citation function. Then, with specific reference to *jian* 2/7 and *jian* 7/5, we will discover how Yanzi urges his Duke to work in the best interests of the people, and how Yanzi educates the Duke on the importance of *he* in the court.

The second part of this chapter will analyse how Yanzi makes use of chain reasoning, which was identified by Kirkpatrick as one of the main rhetorical techniques in Chinese. We will investigate how it is used by Yanzi to reveal to the Duke the central importance of *li* in ruling the state (in *jian* 1/6), and to urge both *li* and *he* in the ruler and in his ministers (in *jian* 1/7). At the end of this chapter, we will summarise our findings on

how these typical *jian* techniques are used by Yanzi to persuade the ruler to act in accordance with his central principles.

2.2 Use of Analogy and Citation

Analogy is a natural part of how humans think and learn. The technique in its various guises is found in many cultures around the world, and can be seen as a way by which we can learn about an unfamiliar subject by a comparison with something we are familiar with.¹¹⁴

There are two necessary components to an analogy: the source analog and the target analog.¹¹⁵ The source analog is the known familiar world, and the target analogy is the unfamiliar situation. In order to make the listener understand the target analogy, a source analogy, or source analogies, are selected which can help the listener understand the unfamiliar situation. This process of making the source analogy relevant to the target analogy is known as ‘mapping’, and it is the responsibility of the one using the analogy to make it relevant, by selecting the source analogy on the basis of some shared quality with the target situation.

¹¹⁴ Oliver, 1971, p. 263. Thanks to Kirkpatrick 1995, p. 274 for this reference.

¹¹⁵ This description of analogy is based on research in Holyoak, Keith J., and Paul Thagard. *Mental Leaps, Analogy in Creative Thought*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1995. pp. 127-8.

Holyoak and Thagard have indicated that there are three constraints to analogies: purpose, structure and similarity. Purpose is the understood purpose of the analogy in the mind of the listener. Structure is whether the source and the target analogy share a similar structure. Similarity is how close attributes of the source analogy map onto the target analogy. Some source analogies take on a life of their own due to their relevance to the target situation and require little further explanation, and some analogies through explanation may be seen to match a given situation while they may not fulfil one or other of the constraints.

In the pre-Qin period, it appears that analogies are important due to the mainly inductive nature of Chinese reasoning, for principles or laws are derived from properties of the physical or natural world, or from historically inherited information, such as historical events.

As a minister needed to emphasise the points he made to the ruler were supported by historically inherited wisdom, he often used citation. Citation in this period was a means of using lines from poetry, such as the *Shi* 诗, and other texts, such as the *Shu* 书, often out of context, to make the evidence of a proposition ‘true’ according to the principles derived from these historical texts. Evidence shows that speakers of the *Chunqiu* period freely cited the *Shi*, often to strengthen an argument or proposal.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Schaberg, 2001, pp. 72-3.

Evidence suggests that Confucius was particularly interested in the *Shi* passages, not primarily for their literary qualities, but for how they could be cited out of context for educational and persuasive purposes.¹¹⁷

But there were limitations in citation that did not apply to analogy. Schaberg mentions that citation differs from analogy based on historical examples in that in the former the presented information is fixed in a particular order, but that in the latter, it can be adapted to match the pattern or order of a particular situation that is being addressed.¹¹⁸ We will discuss the use of citation briefly in the next section.

2.2.1 *Jian* 2/7: people are central

The following *jian* shows Yanzi's concern for the people and how he changes the mind of his stubborn ruler using an analogy based on historical precedent:

景公筑路寝之台，三年未息；又为长康之役，二年未息；又为邹之长途。

晏子谏曰：“百姓之力勤矣！公不息乎？”

公曰：“途将成矣，请成而息之。”

¹¹⁷ Lü, 1998, pp. 114-115 (citing Holzman 1978).

¹¹⁸ Schaberg, 1997, p.159.

对曰：“明君不屈民财者，不得其利；不穷民力者，不得其乐。昔者楚灵王作顷宫，三年未息也；又为章华之台，五年又不息也；乾溪之役，八年，百姓之力不足而自息也。灵王死于干溪，而民不与君归。今君不遵明君之义，而循灵王之迹，婴惧君有暴民之行，而不睹长康之乐也。不若息之。”

公曰：“善！非夫子者，寡人不知得罪于百姓深也。”

于是令勿委坏，余财勿收，斩板而去之。

Duke Jing made the people build a great platform in front of the imperial mausoleum, and made the people work for three years without allowing them to rest. Then he gave the people the task of building a long house, not allowing them to rest for two years. He then set about occupying them with the construction of a road to Zou.¹¹⁹

Yanzi came and performed *jian*, saying, “The peoples’ energy is exhausted. Why not put a stop to this?”

But the Duke said, “Wait until the road is complete. When it is complete, then rest them.”

Yanzi answered him: “Those rulers who squander away the peoples’ resources, don’t achieve their interests; those who exhaust the peoples’ energy, won’t achieve happiness. In the past, when King Ling of Chu had the Qing palace built, the people worked for three years without stopping. Next he had the Zhang Hua platform made, and the people worked another five years without rest. The Qian Xi campaign was eight years. The people who didn’t have enough strength, stopped of their own accord (by dying). King Ling died at Qian Xi, but the people did not allow his body to return back home with them. Now you don’t respect the virtues of the enlightened rulers, but instead follow in King Ling’s footsteps. I am afraid that as you behave in a manner that is cruel to the people, you won’t be able to take pleasure in the long house (in future). Why don’t you put an end to their labours now?”

¹¹⁹ Zou is the name of a state.

The Duke replied: “Good advice! My dear Yanzi, if it wasn’t for you, I would have unwittingly made myself the target of the people’s bitter reproach and blame.”

The Duke then ordered the people not to damage the road that had already been built, stopped the collection of resources for its completion, and ordered the guide posts for the road to be chopped down and for the people to leave the task unfinished.

This *jian* is carefully organized to prove to the ruler that if he overworks the people and causes them suffering, then it will seriously affect his own security and happiness as a ruler of Qi. After Yanzi fails to persuade the ruler to get the people to stop based on concern for them, telling the Duke ‘the people are exhausted’, he makes a statement of what he believes to be simple fact, based on his understanding of traditional wisdom, that those rulers ‘who waste away the peoples’ resources don’t receive benefit, and those who exhaust the peoples’ energy don’t achieve happiness.’

To support his statement, Yanzi creates an extended analogy comparing the behaviour of his ruler with the historical example of King Ling of Chu. It is possible that without Yanzi adding a description of King Ling’s treatment of the people, the Duke may not see any analogy between King Ling and himself, and so he adds a number of details that give more ground for a comparison.

This comparison with King Ling matches the constraints of purpose, structure and similarity outlined at the beginning of this section. The Duke

understands the purpose of the analogy is to show him a negative historical example of one who tires his people out in building projects. Yanzi also presents a number of similarities between King Ling and his Duke. King Ling of Chu is a king, and though Duke Jing is a Duke, he is still ruler of Qi in the same sense King Ling is ruler of Chu. Another similarity is that both rulers engage the people in a number of building projects.

King Ling of Chu has been shown to engage the people in a number of building projects in the same way as the Duke, and so structurally the source and the target are similar. This shows that Yanzi selected a historical example and a fixed order of events appropriately to accord with the present situation. He successfully maps the building projects from the period of King Ling's rule: the building of the Qing palace, the construction of the Zhang Hua platform, and the Qian Xi campaign, onto the current building projects that the Duke is engaging in. Although the total number of years King Ling of Chu made his people toil is in excess of what the Duke has done, Yanzi means to show Duke Jing is following the same path as King Ling did. The comparison is made stronger by the presentation of the details of the number of years that the rulers make their people work on the first task: King Ling of Chu made the people work on a palace for three years, and Duke Jing had the people work on a building – a platform in front of the royal mausoleum, for three years also.

Though the Duke has not yet met with disaster like King Ling, the point of the analogy is to show to the ruler what the possible consequences would be were he to continue such reprehensible conduct. Yanzi gives Duke Jing a cautionary tale to reflect on in the present and so stop demanding more from the people than what they are physically capable of doing.

At the end of the *jian*, Yanzi sums up the argument of his *jian* in a concise statement of his perception of the situation, saying that as the Duke refuses to follow the model of the good rulers of the past, but instead behaves in the same manner as King Ling, his rule won't last long enough for him to see and enjoy the long-house which has been built for him.

The manner in which the persuasive techniques are used indicates Yanzi wants to change the Duke's beliefs through fear. The Duke has been found wanting when compared to the enlightened rulers of the past, so as a consequence he will not reach their level of virtue and prestige among the other states; the Duke tires out his people through hard work, and so loss of the ability to rule will arise due to the peoples' ill will towards him. The Duke's reaction to this *jian* shows that he is not changing his opinion out of pity or concern for the conditions of the people, but because he is led to believe by this historical analogy of Yanzi that the ill will and bad feelings caused by his present behaviour will affect him in a negative way in the future. The analogy between the fate of King Ling of Chu and Duke Jing

makes the consequences real in the ruler's mind and worthy of present consideration.

While in this *jian* an analogy of the ruler's erroneous behaviour is made with King Ling, typically Yanzi compares faults in the ruler with the failure of the historical tyrants *Jie* and *Zhou*, and King *You* and King *Li*, whose countries failed due to their terrible actions.¹²⁰ They are seen often within the *jian* of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*.

Regarding positive models of conduct, precisely who the 'enlightened rulers' are in this *jian* is unclear, but often Yanzi identifies particular individuals whose conduct was thought to be exemplary. In several other *jian*, Duke Huan is specifically identified as a positive model for the ruler. This is not strange, because Qi has its own proud history of strong leaders to draw moral examples from, though it is the life and achievements of Duke Huan of Qi and his famous minister Guanxi that are most remembered and cited. King Wen of Zhou, though listed in the *jian* of the *Zuo zhuan* and the *Guoyu* as the embodiment of virtuous rulers¹²¹, is identified only twice in the *jian* of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* (in 2/8 and 7/6).

¹²⁰ King Zhou and Jie are the final rulers of the Xia and Shang dynasties, traditionally known as tyrants and corrupt individuals who through their moral failings allowed their kingdoms to fall. King You is the Zhou king You, whose violence to the people and love of a concubine caused the collapse of the Western Zhou empire. King Li of Zhou is King You's paternal grandfather, who was hated by the people for his corrupt behaviour and cruel treatment of them. From Li, Wanshou. *Yanzi Chun Qiu Quan Yi*. Zhongguo Li Dai Ming Zhu Quan Yi Cong Shu; 10. Di 1 ban. ed. Guiyang Shi: Guizhou ren min chu ban she, 1993. pp. 3, 15-16.

¹²¹ Schaberg, 2001, p74-5.

Duke Huan is a more obvious role model to a ruler of Qi than King Wen, and it is clear that becoming *ba*, an overlord, and emulating his earlier predecessor is never far from Duke Jing's mind. Yanzi often uses Duke Huan to make the ruler feel guilty about how far Qi has fallen since the time of Qi's dominant position over the other states, and often shows Duke Jing how far he is in his behaviour from that of a *ba*.

In this section we have seen how Yanzi uses analogy to fulfil his responsibilities to the people. We discovered that while Yanzi applied this technique to urge conduct in line with the great rulers of the past from his ruler, the essential persuasive force of this kind of analogy was creating fear in the ruler through belief in potential negative consequences arising from his conduct. Yanzi instils fear by comparing the Duke to an individual who through similar failings to the Duke himself met a terrible end.

Such a finding disagrees with Lü Xing's suggestion that *jian* primarily persuaded the ruler to change based on moral grounds, for in this and many other *jian* in the *Yanzi Chunqiu* where historically-based analogy is employed, Yanzi persuades the Duke based on practical considerations rather than ethical ones. Though we might expect a *jian* intended to get practical action from the Duke in the peoples' favour would utilise moral persuasion, in this case it is not so.

The next passage we will discuss shows analogy used to educate the ruler on the importance of *he* (complementary behaviour) in the minister. We will also encounter Yanzi's excellent ability at using citation to support his point of view in the *jian*.

2.2.2 Jian 7/5: the minister and ruler's relationship should be *he*

景公至自畋，晏子侍于遄台，梁丘据造焉。公曰：“维据与我和夫！”

晏子对曰：“据亦同也，焉得为和？”

公曰：“和与同异乎？”

对曰：“异。和如羹焉，水、火、醯、醢、盐、梅，以烹鱼肉，燂之以薪，宰夫和之，齐之以味，济其不及，以泄其过。君子食之，以平其心。君臣亦然。君所谓可，而有否焉，臣献其否，以成其可；君所谓否，而有可焉，臣献其可，以去其否。是以政平而不干，民无争心。故《诗》曰：‘亦有和羹，既戒且平。奏醯无言，时靡有争。’先王之济五味，和五声也，以平其心，成其政也。声亦如味：一气、二体、三类、四物、五声、六律、七音、八风、九歌，以相成也；清浊、大小、短长、疾徐、哀乐、刚柔、迟速、高下、出入、周流，以相济也。君子听之，以平其心，心平德和。故《诗》曰：‘德音不瑕。’今据不然，君所谓可，据亦曰可；君所谓否，据亦曰否。若以水济水，谁能食之？若琴瑟之专一，谁能听之？同之不可也如是。”

公曰：“善。”

[Duke Jing returned from where he had been hunting. Yanzi attended him at Chuantai, and Liang Qiu Ju called in to pay his respects to the ruler. The Duke said, “Only Ju is in harmony with me!”]

Yanzi replied, “Ju is in fact the same [as you]. How can he attain to harmony?” The ruler said, “Are harmony and identity different?”¹²²

Yanzi said, “They are different. Harmony is like a stew. Water, fire, jerky, mincemeat, salt and plum [vinegar] are used to cook fish and meat; they are cooked over firewood; the master chief harmonizes them, bringing them into equality with seasonings, compensating for what is insufficient and diminishing what is too strong. The gentleman eats it and thus calms his heart.

“With ruler and subject it is the same. When there is something unacceptable about what the ruler considers acceptable, the subject reports the unacceptable to perfect the acceptability. When there is something acceptable about what the ruler considers unacceptable, the subject reports the acceptable in order to eliminate the unacceptable. In this way administration is calm and without interference, and the people lack the desire to struggle. Thus the *Shi* says:

‘There is a harmonious stew.

We are careful and calm.

We advance silently;

There is no struggling.’

The former kings’ adjusting of the five flavors and harmonizing of the five tones was for the calming of hearts and the completion of administration.

“Sounds are just like flavors. The single breath, the two forms, the three genres, the four materials, the five tones, the six pitches, the seven notes, the eight airs, the nine songs: these are used to complement one another. The clear and the muddy, the small and

¹²² The whole of this translation, except for the material inside brackets (which is my own), is Schaberg’s 2001 translation of the identical passage in the *Zuo zhuan*, pp. 230-232.

the large, the short and the long, the presto and the adagio, the somber and the joyous, the hard and the soft, the delayed and the immediate, the high and the low, the going out and coming in, the united and the separate: these are used to complement one another. The gentleman listens to it and thus calms his heart.

“When the heart is calm, the virtue is in harmony. Thus the *Shi* says:

‘The sound of his virtue is unblemished.’

“Now Ju is not like this. What you, the ruler, consider acceptable, Ju also says is acceptable. What you consider unacceptable, Ju also says is unacceptable. If you were to complement water with water, who could eat it? If the zithers and dulcimers were to hold to a single sound, who could listen to it? This is how identity is unacceptable.”

[The Duke said, “Excellent!”]

One of the most researched sections of Yanzi’s thought in the *Zuozhuan*, which also exists in the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, is the speech on *he* and *tong* to Duke Jing.¹²³ This *jian* also uses analogies, but in this *jian* the technique of analogy is used to convince the Duke to value complementary behaviour, *he*, in his ministers. As we can see this kind of analogy is not based on records of historical events, but on the Duke’s general understanding of music and food, as well as textual knowledge of the *Shi*.

This beautifully executed *jian* creates a number of analogies that are blended together, which are supported by two citations from the *Shijing*.

¹²³ This exists in *jian* 7/5 and in more abbreviated form in *jian* 1/ 18, which we saw in Chapter One of this thesis.

Here, Yanzi emphasises the need for *he* at court by taking principles from music and cookery. He argues that as tastes or sounds complement to make a good meal or wonderful music, so *he* is required in the relationship between the minister and his ruler. When Yanzi asks ‘If you were to complement water with water, who could eat it? If the zithers and dulcimers were to hold to a single sound, who could listen to it?’ he is not only relating both of these hypothetical situations to Ju’s character, but less specifically to the court, and to life in general.¹²⁴ Yanzi does not state the implications for the court, but he leaves it up to the Duke to do so. But in situations where there is a balance with regard to tastes or music, Yanzi says the phrase: “the gentleman eats/listens to it and thus calms his heart’. The implication is that the people will be calm if the court is in harmony.

In applying these analogies to the court, Yanzi indicates to the Duke that *he* is not only one-way – both the minister and the ruler must complement each other.¹²⁵ In this particular *jian*, it is the minister who does not complement the ruler, but in other *jian* (such as 1/4, 1/7, and 2/17) we can see the ruler not allowing himself to work in harmony with his minister,

¹²⁴ Schaberg, 2001, *ibid*.

¹²⁵ Liu, 1996, p. 127 indicates three features of Yanzi’s ideas on *he* expressed in this passage, of which this is the third. The first point is that *he* cannot exist alone; it must be able to complement something else in opposition to it. Second, *he* recognises that nothing is complete by itself, but is always impartial. And third, both the one seeking to complement (here the minister) and the thing being complemented (the ruler), must both work together in a complementary manner.

such as behaving in a harsh serious way at court, or by refusing to listen to *jian* from a variety of ministers, preferring the opinions of one man.

This *jian* contains two citations from the *Shijing*. In all cases where there is citation from a particular text in the *jian* of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, the *Shijing* is used. Using the *Shi* out of context was a common feature of the citation of this period. Many scholars have concluded that *Shijing* passages were often used out of context for persuasive ends, so Yanzi is not using a new technique. Citations from it are often used after Yanzi makes important points in the *jian*, as it is used here, though their use is not fixed into that position. Sometimes they are also used at the beginning of the *jian*, as in anecdote 2/19.

However, while Yanzi is not employing a new technique, he makes the purposeful citation of lines from the *Shijing* into a craft. Schaberg has studied both of the citations in this passage,¹²⁶ remarking that both rely on synaesthesia, blending sounds, tastes and images together.

The first passage from the *Shi* specifically refers to the context of the banquet, with the carefully blended ingredients combining together to make wonderful food in the same way as people at the feast harmoniously associate. This citation both reflects and enhances the other content of the *jian*.

The second citation is a description of the sound of ‘virtue’ as a perfect jade, and so it reflects on the harmoniousness of a perfect blend of sounds also described earlier in the *jian*.

Applying the concepts of *he* and *tong* directly to the relationship of the ruler and his ministers was one of Yanying’s most important additions to the minister/ ruler discourse, which emphasised the ministers’ active role in governing the state.¹²⁷ These concepts, which originally distinguished between opposites which work together in a complementary fashion *he* 和, and things that are the same *tong* 同, were developed by the historian and scholar Shi Bo at the end of the Western Zhou period.¹²⁸ Although Yanzi’s statements about this concept echo earlier views, he applies these terms specifically to the political context of the late *Chunqiu* period. He identified *he*, in political terms, as action or speech from the ministers that worked in combination with the ruler’s ideas to serve the best interests of the state. *Tong*, to Yanzi, on the other hand, was for a minister to be acting in accord with the ruler and not conflicting with him or questioning his ideas.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ See Schaberg, 2001, pp. 230-232, Liu, 1996, pp. 126-127.

¹²⁷ See Pines, 2001, p. 160-1.

¹²⁸ Wang, 2005, pp. 127-8. The Western Zhou period was from 1027 BCE to 770 BCE.

¹²⁹ See Chen, 1996, p. 7 for more on this.

Analogies were selected on the basis of their familiarity to the ruler, and so Yanzi commonly selected images, objects, and historical events, that were either often viewed or well-known to the ruler. Analogies such as those based on fine food or music could be easily appreciated by the ruler, who would be constantly exposed to such things.

Where the source analogies were not so well known, Yanzi provided further explanation so that the Duke could successfully map the source analogy onto the target domain, and so comprehend the message that Yanzi was trying to impart, as in the first example of analogy comparing the Duke to King Ling of Chu. As Yanzi was also a highly respected individual, or he would not have such an important position at court, the ruler would often accept his proposed analogies, which could make it easy for the Duke to be led to a conclusion based on the use of this technique.

2.3 Use of Chain Reasoning

Chain reasoning has been identified as another main Chinese rhetorical technique, in evidence cited by Kirkpatrick.¹³⁰ We will now investigate how Yanzi uses chain reasoning, first to persuade the Duke to follow the

¹³⁰ Kirkpatrick, 1995.

norms of ritual propriety *li*, and second, to show the need for the ruler, and not just his ministers, to behave in a complementary fashion, *he*.

2.3.1 Jian 1/6: the importance of *li*

晏子朝，杜扃望羊待于朝。晏子曰：“君奚故不朝？”对曰：“君夜发不可以朝。”晏子曰：“何故？”对曰：“梁丘据扃入歌人虞，变齐音。”

晏子退朝，命宗祝修礼而拘虞。公闻之而怒曰：“何故而拘虞？”

晏子曰：“以新乐淫君。”

公曰：“诸侯之事，百官之政，寡人愿以请子。酒醴之味，金石之声，愿夫子无与焉。夫乐，何必夫故哉？”

对曰：“夫乐亡而礼从之，礼亡而政从之，政亡而国从之。国衰，臣惧君之逆政之行。有歌，纣作《北里》，幽厉之声，顾夫淫以鄙而偕亡，君奚轻变夫故哉？”

公曰：“不幸有社稷之业，不择言而出之，请受命矣。”

Yanzi arrived at court to see Du Jiong waiting outside, staring off into the distance.¹³¹ Yanzi said, “What keeps the Duke away from court?” Du Jiong answered, “The Duke stayed up all night, so he can’t preside over the court.” Yanzi asked him why this was. Du Jiong answered, “Liang Qiu Ju secretly brought the musician Yu into the palace, to modify the traditional Qi music.”

Yanzi (immediately) dissolved the court proceedings, ordering the ministers in charge of ritual to arrest Yu in order to restore the ritual propriety. When the Duke heard Yanzi had done this, he became angry, and said, “What reason do you have for

¹³¹ Du Jiong was a minister who attended Duke Jing in the Qi court (Hu, 2006, p. 10).

arresting Yu?” Yanzi said, “On the grounds that he is using this new music to corrupt you, my ruler.”

The Duke said, “I am happy to ask for your guidance on matters concerning our relationship with the other state-rulers and concerning the control of the hundred ministers (ie intra-state policy). I wish you’d stay out of matters such as the taste of fine wine, and the styles and tones of music. Where music is concerned, we need not only listen to the traditional style, surely?”

Yanzi answered, “If the music is lost, then the loss of *li* follows it. If *li* is lost, then the loss of the ability to rule the country follows it. If the ability to rule the country is lost, then the loss of the state follows it. If the state collapses, then I fear it will be because you act in a manner opposed to correct administration. There is a caution against music: Zhou made the ‘*Bei Li*’ and King You and King Li also made music, and this evil music corrupted their states entirely and brought their states to disaster. How could you so lightly change the traditional music?”

The Duke said, “I am unfortunate in holding the responsibility for the state, as I don’t select my words carefully before I speak out. I’ll accept your advice.”

Yanzi engages in this *jian* for a couple of reasons. One is to persuade the Duke to allow him to arrest Yu the musician for changing the traditional music. However, in the second part of the *jian* Yanzi has another purpose, which is to persuade the Duke that even small things he does that are violations in *li*, such as listening to non-traditional music, could have terrible consequences for the state. This justifies Yanzi’s own need to speak out on what the Duke regards as inconsequential personal matters, permitting Yanzi leave to speak out on such topics in future.

In order for Yanzi to connect the original failure of his ruler to listen to the traditional court music of Qi to disastrous consequences for the state he uses the technique of chain reasoning, supporting it with historical information. In Yanzi's extended speech to the ruler in this *jian*, he creates a line of chain reasoning which ties the loss of the traditional Qi music to the inability for the Duke to rule over the state. By tying the traditional music of Qi to the display of ritual propriety, Yanzi can start a chain of consequences that ends with the collapse of the state.

According to the traditional view of ministers of his time, music and *li* have a strong connection. The significance of music to the courts of pre-Qin China can be summed up by Mengzi's phrase: '仁言不如仁声入人深也.' which Lau translates as 'benevolent words do not have as profound an effect on the people as benevolent music.'¹³² This is the first line in a passage by Mengzi on good government. For it was believed that listening to appropriate music would encourage appropriate behaviour in society, and the opposite was also thought to be the case.

Examining the passage, we notice that the final proposition does not follow from the first one in the chain. This according to Garrett (1983)¹³³ is a particular characteristic of a kind of chain reasoning, which she calls

¹³² This is from Mengzi, Book VII, 14.1. The translation cited here is to be found in Lau, D.C. trans. *Mencius*. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1970. p. 184.

¹³³ Cited by Kirkpatrick, 1995, pp. 274-5.

‘interpropositional chain-reasoning’. However, while the final proposition does not follow, as Garrett says is the case for many such instances of chain reasoning, the connection between listening to improper music and going against correct administration would be understood implicitly by the ruler, based on the proposition which ends in the loss of the state in the line coming before it.

As with the use of analogy, the techniques used in the *jian* persuade the Duke out of fear that his erroneous conduct will endanger his own ability to rule the state.

Li is emphasised so strongly here and elsewhere in the *jian* because Yanzi believed that behaving in a manner that is not in accordance with *li* could give the ministerial houses a good excuse to get rid of the ruler, under the guise of ‘defending the altars of the state’. Within the *jian* of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* there is one passage where Yanzi urges Duke Jing to allow the Duke’s firstborn son and rightful successor, not the son of a favoured concubine, to inherit the throne. This is because Yanzi does not want to give the ministers an excuse to use this flaw in succession to seize power ostensibly on the basis of his son’s right to rule the state.¹³⁴ Such a view is also consistent with Yanzi’s views on *li* elsewhere in the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text. Yanzi also believed that if the ruler followed *li* in an appropriate

fashion, then this model of behaviour would also influence the ministers to follow *li*, and so put a stop to the kind of behaviour that was a threat to the ruling house.

What seems a minor error of ritual propriety on the part of the ruler in *jian* 1/6 is shown to have devastating consequences through the use of chain reasoning. It seems like chain reasoning would have been useful for Yanzi trying to persuade his Duke on the importance of *li*, since he would often have to demonstrate to the ruler why he should pay attention to small details in protocol. However, such explicit chain of consequences is rare in the *jian* speeches of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* – we are more likely to see chains of consequence based on definitions understood from historical example, as discussed in the next section.¹³⁵

2.3.2 *Jian* 1/7: importance of he

景公燕赏于国内，万钟者三，千钟者五，令三出，而职计莫之从。公怒，令免职计，令三出，而士师莫之从。公不说。

¹³⁴ This is in *jian* 1/11 and it includes historical details showing the eventual disappearance of Jing Gong's line due to his not choosing his first son as successor in accordance with *li*.

¹³⁵ Though such an explicit chain of consequences is not common in the recorded speeches of the existing speeches of Yanzi in the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, due to the ability of the technique to lead from minor details to terrible consequences, such a technique would probably have been used regularly in the speech of the advisors at the time.

晏子见，公谓晏子曰：“寡人闻君国者，爱人则能利之，恶人则能疏之。今寡人爱人不能利，恶人不能疏，失君道矣。”

(1) 晏子曰：“婴闻之，君正臣从谓之顺，君僻臣从谓之逆。今君赏谗谀之民，而令吏必从，则是使君失其道，臣失其守也。先王之立爱，以劝善也，其立恶，以禁暴也。(2) 昔者三代之兴也，利于国者爱之，害于国者恶之，故明所爱而贤良众，明所恶而邪僻灭，是以天下治平，百姓和集。(3) 及其衰也，行安简易，身安逸乐，顺于己者爱之，逆于己者恶之，故明所爱而邪僻繁，明所恶而贤良灭，离散百姓，危覆社稷。(4) 君上不度圣王之兴，下不观惰君之衰。臣惧君之逆政之行，有司不敢争，以覆社稷，危宗庙。”

公曰：“寡人不知也，请从士师之策。”国内之禄，所收者三也。

The Duke provided feasts and great rewards for the ministers in the state. He wanted to give ten thousand *zhong*¹³⁶ to three ministers, a thousand *zhong* to five ministers. He gave the order to do this several times, but none of the fiscal ministers accorded with his wishes and did this. The Duke, angry, ordered the soldiers and petty officials to remove the fiscal ministers from their posts, and he did this several times also, but none of the soldiers and petty officials accorded with his wishes and did this. The Duke was unhappy at this situation.

Yanzi went to see him, and the Duke said to him: “I have heard that one who rules a state should be able to benefit those people he likes, and he should be able to get rid of those he regards as hateful. Now I am not able to benefit those I like, and I can’t get rid of those hateful to me. I have lost the correct path of rulership.”

1)¹³⁷ Then Yanzi said, “I’ve heard that when a ruler is upright, and the ministers follow his wishes, this is called acting in accord; when a ruler is wicked, and the ministers follow his wishes, this is called going against him. Today you wish to grant prizes and

¹³⁶ This character *zhong* means a cup, a unit for measuring grain quantity.

¹³⁷ We have numbered sections of Yanzi’s *jian* here in order to better draw the reader’s attention to parts of the *jian* in the discussion that follows.

awards indiscriminately to those fawning, two-faced people, and ask the officials to follow you in this. This is what has caused you to lose the correct way of ruling the people, and the (loyal) ministers to lose what responsibilities they were entrusted to keep.

2) When the early rulers awarded gifts to those they liked, they did it to encourage good behavior, and when they punished those hateful to them, it was done to restrict violent acts. The three dynasties flourished because the ruler rewarded those who were beneficial to the state and punished those whose actions were harmful to the state, and as it was obvious who the ruler was rewarding, the virtuous and noble ministers were a multitude, and as it was clear who the ruler was punishing, the base and wicked were snuffed out. On the basis of this behavior, all under heaven was governed and peaceful, and the people were in harmony with one another.

3) When these (three dynasties) fell, it was because the rulers had become slovenly and indolent, and they immersed themselves only in pleasure, rewarding those who acted in accord with them, punishing those who went against their wishes. As it was obvious who the ruler was rewarding, the wicked and base individuals became numerous, the virtuous and noble ministers were snuffed out, the people were set against one another in discord, and the entire future of the state and its altars was at stake.

4) As you, my lord, first of all have no consideration for the actions of the ancient sage kings whose dynasties flourished, and secondly do not take into account the failures of those indolent rulers whose states collapsed, I fear that your behavior is contrary to correct administration, that those who hold office will be unwilling to speak out against any errors on your part, and that this will bring the state to ruin, endanger the people, and be a danger to the ancestral temples of the royal house.”

The Duke answered: “I was not aware of this. I’ll follow the advice of my officials and fiscal ministers.” They managed to return to those in the state a great deal of the grain that had been gifted.

The *jian* above shows the need for not only the ministers to complement (*he*) their rulers, but also for the ruler to complement the ministers for the good of the state, displaying Yanzi's skill in chain reasoning based on parallel definitions.

Three instances of chain reasoning can be seen in this *jian*. The first is Yanzi's judgement of the ruler's actions at the beginning of his *jian*, (1). Here Yanzi defines two key terms. The first he calls 'acting in accord', the second he calls 'going against.' In the second line he implies the ruler is behaving in the wrong way and asking his ministers to follow him. This is what he means by saying he will lose his loyal ministers, for the Duke will remove those who are loyal and who will speak out against his behaviour or regard it as wrong. Yanzi criticizes the ruler for demanding his loyal ministers behave in a way that 'goes against' the good of the state.

Yanzi also states here that Duke Jing is going against the correct way that the ancient rulers ruled their states, according to the logic of his definitions. But he wants to clarify how the ancient rulers ruled, and for this purpose he again uses chain reasoning, comparing the Duke's current behaviour with the behaviour of ancient rulers in the next section of the text.

(2) The chain reasoning in this section also relies on the definition of two key terms, this time 'rewarding' and 'punishing.' This section begins with a general statement about the early rulers and their behaviour, and then

splits into three parts. First, we have a statement about the flourishing of the state because of how the ruler rewarded and punished his people. Second, we have a description of the paired consequences based on the appearance of the way the ruler rewarded and punished his people in the first section. And third, the state is described as peaceful as a consequence of the original behaviour with regard to rewards and punishment. Now let us look at the next section of the *jian*, section 3, in detail.

3) This section shows the behaviour of the last rulers of the three dynasties, and unlike the previous section, the chain of consequences are designed to show what happens when the ruler at the top of the hierarchy doesn't behave in an acceptable manner. In structure, it is very similar to the chain reasoning of the previous section. In this case, there is the explicit statement of 'rewarding' and 'punishing' as in the first section of the *jian*. But this time the consequences of this unacceptable behaviour in the ruler are obvious, resulting in many negative consequences, and so unlike the second section that we have discussed, there is no third following proposition, the negative consequences coming in a rush without a further consequence of the Duke's behaviour following in the chain.

The final section , (4), states that the Duke's present actions are far from the behaviour of the past exemplars whose states flourished and connects the present behaviour with the erroneous behaviour of the past rulers in the

last section. Yanzi states in this final section that the fault stems from the Duke's behaviour, which will result in the ministers being unwilling to speak out the Duke's errors, which will in turn lead to disaster in the state.

Yanzi successfully educates the ruler that the Duke cannot behave in the same manner he has been doing, for by seeking to punish the loyal ministers who are going against his wishes, Duke Jing is putting a stop to those who wish to behave in a complementary manner (*he*) and forcing the ministers to act in the same way as him (*tong*). Through chain reasoning, Yanzi has successfully persuaded the Duke to complement the actions of his loyal ministers for the good of the state.

We can also view this *jian*, and the chain reasoning that supports it, as action in support of the common people. Because the ministers have such an important role to play in the government, for Yanzi another important means of benefiting the common people was by ensuring that the officials and ministers who did their jobs properly were rewarded, and that the Duke kept officials away from him whose actions were detrimental to the state or who were a bad influence on the ruler.¹³⁸

The honest and reliable ministers on the other hand who operated in a complementary fashion with the ruler would work together with the Duke for the good of the state, and on the other, they would correctly and openly

express the real situation of the people to the ruler and promote policies that were believed to benefit the state and the ruler's position without holding back their ideas.

However, those ministers who were 'yes men', those who were *tong* with the ruler, would not freely express the real situation of the state to the ruler for fear of losing his friendship and goodwill, and the ministers who did not restrain their own interests were either wasteful to the state's resources or a danger to the state. The *Yanzi Chunqiu* shows numerous examples of Yanzi advocating the Duke to stay away from, or get rid of such individuals. Two individuals that Yanzi criticises often in the *Yanzi Chunqiu* for being like this are *Ai Kong* 艾孔 and *Liang Qiu Ju* 梁丘据. Yanzi describes Liang Qiu Ju as *tong* with the ruler in *jian* 7/5, and as a corruptive influence in *jian* 1/6, where he uses his influence to bring in the musician Yu.

Though the style of chain reasoning based on paired definitions is not as explicit as the one in *jian* 1/6, it nevertheless uses a similar pattern to demonstrate to the ruler the broader consequences of individual actions and so lead the Duke into following *li* and *he*.

¹³⁸ Geng 2006, p. 20-21.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has shown how Yanzi utilises the most typical *jian* techniques of analogy, citation and chain reasoning to realise his three main political principles by changing the Duke's behaviour, confirming many conclusions other scholars have made about the rhetoric of this period, and *jian* in particular. The way Yanzi utilises historical wisdom and historical events matches what Schaberg has noticed in the rhetorical behaviour of the ministers of the *Zuo zhuan* and the *Guoyu*. Yanzi is also able to interpret the citations of the *Shijing* anew to match present realities, as research confirms in the speech of other ministers of the period. He also uses chain reasoning in a way that seems to match conclusions on chain reasoning made from other texts.

We have made several new discoveries of our own about Yanzi and techniques of his *jian*. Firstly, while Yanzi employs analogies based on comparison with other historical figures, as other ministers were known to do, Yanzi often adopted Duke Huan of Qi as a historical exemplar, in preference to King Wen, who is used often as a positive model in the *Zuo zhuan*. Another significant finding is how Yanzi applied chain reasoning to educate the ruler on minor points of ritual propriety, for Yanzi could uncover serious eventualities from any small error by making a chain of consequences. Finally, in these typical uses of *jian* Yanzi prefers to use fear and the expected future consequences of the Duke's actions, and not

moral means of persuasion, as a means to motivate his ruler to correct his errors and follow the path of the exemplary rulers of the past.

Chapter Three: Yanzi's atypical *jian* techniques

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will uncover how Yanzi makes use of special, less common linguistic techniques, in order to change the behaviour of the ruler in situations where standard techniques of *jian* are unsuitable. While we will undoubtedly encounter instances of typical *jian* techniques in our analysis of these atypical uncommon linguistic tactics, our focus of analysis will be on how these rhetorical techniques make persuasion according to the three main principles possible.

First, we will investigate Yanzi's use of provocation in the *jian*. *Jian* 1/2, the only instance of non-verbal mime in the *jian*, is perhaps the most brilliant passage advocating *li* in all of the *jian*, and we will look at this first. After this we will analyse two passages where Yanzi makes use of his cutting wit to provoke his ruler into showing more concern for his people.

In the second part of this chapter, we will examine how Yanzi makes use of song as a rhetorical technique to encourage the Duke to think on the suffering of the common people and act in their favour. We will examine the significance of song and the special context for its use, as well as how it is ideally suited to support Yanzi's first key principle.

The next section of this chapter will discuss the only instance of Yanzi lying to the ruler in the *jian*. We will investigate how lying is required in *jian* 2/21 to establish the norms of *li* in the ruler, and how it is used to restore the Duke's ability to accept *jian* and *he*.

In the last part of this chapter, we will examine how Yanzi even uses the threat of resignation, or actually resigning from his position as a *jian* technique. We do this by studying a number of Yanzi's speeches where he is threatening to resign because he feels the Duke continually refuses to listen to his advice.

3.2 Yanzi's use of provocation

In this part of the thesis, we will investigate two significant techniques of provocation that Yanzi uses when he is attempting to *jian* his Duke on an issue where he might otherwise be resistant to *jian*. We will first examine Yanzi's use of non-verbal mime in order to emphasise the role of *li* to Duke Jing who has disregarded it, and then examine his use of sarcasm and irony to make the Duke pay attention to the *jian* that follows. Let us begin by looking at Yanzi's use of non-verbal mime in *jian* 1/2.

3.2.2 Non-verbal mime to change attitudes on *li*: Jian 1/2

景公饮酒酣，曰：“今日愿与诸大夫为乐饮，请无为礼。”

晏子蹴然改容曰：“君之言过矣！群臣固欲君之无礼也。力多足以胜其长，勇多足以弑其君，而礼不使也。禽兽以力为政，强者犯弱，故日易主。今君去礼，则是禽兽也。群臣以力为政，强者犯弱，而日易主，君将安立矣？凡人之所以贵于禽兽者，以有礼也，故《诗》曰：‘人而无礼，胡不遄死。’礼不可无也。”

公湏而不听。

Duke Jing had had a bit to drink and said: "Today I want to drink merrily with all the top ministers. Please don't worry about abiding by *li*." Yanzi became shocked, and his face changed expression. He said: "Your words go too far! Of course all of the ministers are only too happy for the ruler to do away with *li*. Those with enough strength to defeat their elders, enough courage to commit regicide, because of *li* don't do anything. The birds and the beasts rule on the basis of strength, those with physical might defeat the weaker ones, and so every day their ruler changes. If today you do away with *li*, this is the same as the birds and the beasts. If the ministers rule on the basis of strength, those with physical might defeating the weaker ones, and the ruler changing every day, how will you keep your position safe? The reason that common people are superior to the birds and the beasts is that they have *li*. So the *Shi* says: 'A man without *li* had best quickly die.'¹³⁹ It is just not possible to be without *li*." Yet the Duke turned his back on him and refused to listen.

¹³⁹ This line of the *Shijing* is borrowed from Waley's 1937 translation of the text, except that I have substituted '*li*' for his translation of it as 'manners' as I believe 'manners' does not encompass the Chinese concept of *li*. Waley himself realizes this, and so includes a footnote on *li*. Waley, Arthur. trans. *The Book of Songs*. Second ed. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1960. p. 299.

In this passage, Yanzi is suddenly shocked by the behaviour of his Duke, who under the influence of drink tells his ministers that they do not need to behave according to the dictates of *li*. In this *jian* Yanzi clearly presents his perspective on the centrality of *li* for the proper administration of the state. First Yanzi explains the serious danger the ruler puts himself in, by showing it is only *li* that stops would-be usurpers and potentially backstabbing ministers from acting.

Next, Yanzi describes the situation in his imagined depiction of the animal world, which changes its leaders often due to a constant power struggle between the weak and strong, leading this into an analogy between the behaviour of the animals and in the present behaviour of the ministers at court were the Duke to remove the system of *li*. This immediately would lead the ruler to thinking upon the previous statement of Yanzi that it was only *li* that held back usurpers, and thus making the *jian* into a *jian* based on threat and personal danger. As is common in the speech of ministers of this time, Yanzi's rhetoric rests on a final point, what he regards to be a firm and undeniable evidence in favour of his point of view that *li* is central to human life, a statement from the *Shijing*.

While this appears to be a very strong example of *jian*, using analogy, citations and historical wisdom, in this instance the Duke, completely immersed in the pleasures of drink and deliberately ignoring his minister,

cannot be targeted by standard techniques of *jian*. This *jian* shows us that no matter how carefully constructed the *jian* is and how much it accords with the inherited wisdom shared by both the minister and his ruler, there are times when the ruler completely refuses to agree with the point argued for in the *jian*, either due to drunkenness, or because the ruler is firm in his beliefs which run contrary to those of the minister, or even out of plain stubbornness. However, a loyal minister usually does not give in due to these circumstances, but tries to *jian* the ruler again, perhaps from a different and unconventional angle, as we see here:

少间，公出，晏子不起；公入，不起；交举则先饮。公怒色变，抑手疾视，曰：“向者夫子之教寡人无礼之不可也。寡人出入不起，交举则先饮，礼也？”

晏子避席，再拜稽首而请曰：“婴敢与君言而忘之乎？臣以致无礼之实也。君若欲无礼，此是已。”

公曰：“若是，孤之罪也。夫子就席，寡人闻命矣。”觴三行，遂罢酒。

盖是后也，飭法修礼以治国政，而百姓肃也。

After a little while, the Duke left the room, but Yanzi didn't stand up. The Duke entered the room again, but Yanzi again didn't stand. When the cups were raised in a toast, Yanzi drank before the ruler did. The Duke became red-faced with anger, and he slammed his palms against the table, glaring at his minister. He said: "Just a moment ago you told me that I could not be without *li*, and yet when I left the room and returned you didn't stand, when we raised cups you drank first. Where is the *li* in that?" Yanzi got up from his mat, bowing low before the Duke, inviting him to drink first. He said: "How could I forget what I just said to you? I only wanted to show you the consequences of not having *li*. If the Duke really desires to have no *li*, it will be just like this."

This *jian* demonstrates Yanzi's extraordinary nonverbal skill at performing *jian*. Yanzi purposely violates the norms of *li* with regard to when he should stand and sit, and when he should drink from his cup. This is a kind of meaningful performance, though in this case the Duke does not realise the meaning behind it, and so becomes angry.

But it is precisely this response that Yanzi expects. When the Duke criticises Yanzi for behaving in a contrary manner to the expected ritual protocol, Yanzi, with a purposeful return to the order of *li* in his ritual, bows before the Duke to be allowed to speak. This shows straightaway that the minister did not intend to challenge the status of the ruler. He says that he was in actual fact behaving in a way the Duke wished, and wished to show him what the result of the loss of *li* was. It is only with Yanzi's final explanation that the Duke realises that these apparent lapses in protocol are actually teaching points, meant to demonstrate the necessity of *li* in social situations, and the loss of rank and consequent power which would result from the Duke's desire to be without *li*. At this point, the Duke would almost certainly recall the original message in the first part of the *jian*, the danger to his rule if he refused to follow *li*, and receiving a practical and first-hand experience of the expected consequences were Yanzi or any other minister not to follow *li*, the danger of all the ministers behaving in such a way would become obvious to the ruler.

Unlike with the ‘Confucian *jian*’ discussed by Lyon, Yanzi neither here nor in any other *jian* appears to be very constrained by the demands of *li* in presenting his *jian* in any fashion he wishes to the ruler. In the *jian* discussed above Yanzi deliberately returns to deferent ritual protocol to his ruler, bowing formally to him, only when he realises he has angered the Duke and wishes to calm him down. Though as we have noticed above, such behaviour here also has a symbolic purpose, and demonstrates to the ruler that the ‘act’ of not obeying *li* was over.

It may have been possible for Duke Jing to understand the significance of this symbolic performance straightaway, and then Yanzi would not then have needed to explain himself with the ‘punchline’ as it were. Yanzi seems to be relying on the fact that the ruler has not taken his words to heart, and so his behaviour will not have a symbolic sense above the perception that the minister is not behaving in the correct way. In this manner, he will anger the ruler and so get his attention.

This kind of wordless *jian*, where the verbal explanation is not as important as the actions demonstrated, is seen in *jian* elsewhere. Schaberg notes particularly the *jian* of “three sighs” in the *Zuozhuan*,¹⁴⁰ where two individuals sigh meaningfully three times in unison, and then explain their reasons for each sigh. Though this kind of technique is only found once in

¹⁴⁰ Discussed in Schaberg, 1997, pp. 175-177.

the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, the existence of it means that the ruler may have been expected to check for nuances in Yanzi's behaviour that may have symbolic meaning.

In the next section, we will see how Yanzi tries to get his ruler's attention verbally, using sarcasm and irony in order to provoke his Duke into paying attention to his *jian*.

3.2.3 Making provocative and sarcastic statements to focus on the people's interests: Jian 2/1 and 7/8

景公藉重而狱多，拘者满圜，怨者满朝。晏子谏，公不听。公谓晏子曰：“夫狱，国之重官也，愿託之夫子。”

晏子对曰：“君将使婴敕其功乎？则婴有壹妄¹⁴¹能书足以治之矣。君将使婴敕其意乎？夫民无欲残其家室之生，以奉暴上之僻者，则君使吏比而焚之而已矣。”

景公不说，曰：“敕其功则使一妄，敕其意则比焚，如是，夫子无所谓能治国乎！”

晏子曰：“婴闻与君异。今夫胡、貉、戎、狄之蓄狗也，多者十有余，寡者五六，然不相害伤。今束鸡豚妄投之，其折骨决皮，可立得也。且夫上正其治，下审其论，则贵贱不相逾越。今君举千钟爵禄，而妄投之于左右，左右争之，甚于胡狗，而公不知也。寸之管无当，天下不能足之以粟。今齐国丈夫耕，女子织，夜以接日，不足以奉上，

而君侧皆雕文刻镂之观，此无当之管也，而君终不知。五尺童子，操寸之烟，天下不能足以薪。今君之左右，皆操烟之徒，而君终不知。钟鼓成肆，干戚成舞，虽禹不能禁民之观。且夫饰民之欲，而严其听，禁其心，圣人所难也，而况夺其财而饥之，劳其力而疲之，常致其苦而严听其狱，痛诛其罪，非婴所知也。”

The Duke asked for excessive taxes and because of this the prisons filled up with those who couldn't pay. The people who had been seized filled up the prisons, and everywhere there were those who had grievances against the Duke. Yanzi performed *jian* to the Duke (to change the Duke's behaviour), but the Duke ignored him. The Duke then said to Yanzi: "The official of the prisons is an important ministerial position. I wish to appoint you to serve in this role." Yanzi answered: "Do you wish me to rectify the situation in the prisons? I know a reckless but literate person who is good enough to bring order to this situation. Do you wish to rectify the people's thinking? As the people are unwilling to destroy their livelihood in order to pander to a cruel ruler's desires, why not just send some troops to go from house to house and burn them all?" The Duke was not pleased. He said: "I ask you to reorganise the prisons, and you say a reckless literate person is good enough to do it, ask you to rectify the people's thinking and you say that I should send troops round to go from house to house killing them! Acting like this, do you mean to say you don't have what it takes to govern the state?" Yanzi said: "I have a different opinion on this matter to you."

Yanzi here draws an analogy between the tribes of the north and their dogs, which fight over bits of meat, and the ministers, who fight over large rewards of grain that are given by a ruler who is not governed by *li*. He finishes his statement by saying to the Duke: 'this you are unaware of.' He compares the situation of rewarding grain and the resources used for the ruler to a bottomless tube for collecting grain, and depicts the common people as working hard to fill up the bottomless tube, which is of course impossible. Yanzi finishes this second analogy by saying that the Duke is also unaware of this. He then compares the ministers' use of resources to a child with a torch who burns everything in sight, saying again that the Duke is unaware of this. He then draws one final analogy between the great king Yu and his wish to have great music and dancing and not allow the

people to see and the Duke trying to stop the people from complaining about the taxes, and of bad treatment by the ruler.¹⁴²

He concludes: “Even a sage king would find it difficult to have control over what the people see, to restrict what they hear, and to control their thoughts – let alone if you take away the peoples’ livelihood, starve them, exhaust their strength and tire them out, make them suffer over a long time and cruelly send them to prison, blaming them harshly for their crimes. I have no knowledge of someone ever doing such a thing.”

We can see that Yanzi does not employ sarcasm in this *jian* without a good reason. At the beginning of this passage we can see that the Duke refuses to listen to Yanzi’s *jian*, and so when the Duke speaks to Yanzi asking him to take on the responsibility of presiding over the prisons, Yanzi begins with a range of sarcastic comments in order to make the Duke angry, get the Duke’s attention, and make him demand Yanzi to explain his position.

The first sarcastic comment he makes is suggesting that an educated but reckless person is capable of the task of rectifying the prison system. By suggesting this, he is more or less stating that as the Duke is behaving in a reckless and lawless way, as anyone who serves under the Duke and seeks to institute the Duke’s policies must therefore also be reckless.

The second sarcastic remark that Yanzi makes is that the Duke should get men to go from house to house killing his people if he actually wants him

¹⁴² I have summarized the analogies in this *jian* because our focus is on studying the way Yanzi uses sarcasm here to show the Duke that he needs to show concern for the common people. However, to understand the *jian* requires knowledge of the content of the *jian*, which I have summarized here.

to attempt to control the people's thinking. This is also a bitter joke at the Duke's expense. Yanzi's comment against the Duke here is that sending troops around to set fire to homes and kill the common people is a legitimate option if the Duke intends on behaving in the way he has been, implying that the Duke's behaviour is no different from that of a tyrant.

By these two sarcastic comments Yanzi states that trying to resolve the situation in the prisons or to make the people happy to pay heavy taxes is impossible, without rectifying the cause behind the problems. The cause, which Yanzi constantly indicates through the analogies used in this *jian*, is the wasteful use of resources at court by the Duke and his ministers.

Though the main argumentative thrust of *jian* 2/1 are a number of connected analogies which support Yanzi's views, it is provocation which allows Yanzi's analogies to be heard and for Yanzi to guide the ruler to alleviate the tax burden and encourage moderation in his behaviour, which will hopefully stop such a terrible situation arising in the future.

Although the instances of typical *jian* employing analogy and citation in the previous chapter used fear and the terrible consequences that result from the Duke's current actions as motivation, in provoking the ruler with sarcasm, the motivation is primarily a moral one. Yanzi wishes to make bitter sarcastic comments that will hopefully make the ruler feel guilty

about not living up to his moral responsibilities as ruler to aid and support his people.

In 7/8, the next *jian* we will discuss, Yanzi also encourages the Duke to care for his people, this time employing irony in his statement to criticise the ruler's two-faced behaviour with regard to the people of the court and to the common people outside it.

景公赏赐及后宫，文绣被台榭，菽粟食鳧雁。出而见殓，谓晏子曰：“此何为而死？”

晏子对曰：“此餒而死。”

公曰：“嘻！寡人之无德也甚矣。”

对曰：“君之德著而彰，何无德也？”

景公曰：“何谓也？”

对曰：“君之德及后宫与台榭，君之玩物，衣以文绣；君之鳧雁，食以菽粟；君之营内自乐，延及后宫之族，何为其无德！顾臣愿有请于君：由君之意，自乐之心，推而与百姓同之，则何殓之有！君不推此，而苟营内好私，使财货偏有所聚，菽粟币帛腐于囷府，惠不遍加于百姓，公心不周乎万国，则桀、纣之所以亡也。夫士民之所以叛，由偏之也。君如察臣婴之言，推君之盛德，公布之于天下，则汤武可为也。一殓何足恤哉！”

Duke Jing gave gifts to everyone in the rear palace, had the palace stairs covered in beautiful embroidery, and fed beans and grain to the palace-raised ducks and geese. When he went out he saw a body that had starved to death. He asked Yanzi: “How did this person die?” Yanzi replied: “This person died from starvation”. The Duke said: “Alas! My virtue (*de*) is utterly

lacking.”¹⁴³ Yanzi said: “My lord, your virtues are clear and obvious. How can you say that you have no virtue?” Duke Jing said: “Why do you say that?”

His advisor replied: “Your virtues are seen in your gifts to all those in the rear palace, and by the elaborate decorations on the palace stairs and all of your pavilions. All your playthings are clothed in embroidered cloaks. Your palace geese and ducks are fed with grain. In the management of your palace and other chambers you receive enjoyment, but this enjoyment extends to the concubines of the rear palace too; how can you say you don’t have any virtue? Although I have a request for you. If you took that same concern you have for the rear palace, and for your own enjoyment, sharing what you have with the common people in a similar manner, how could people ever starve to death? But you don’t share this concern you have with the common people, only concerning yourself with the inner palace and your own private interests, causing goods and wealth to collect here and the grain, wealth and fabrics to waste away in the granary, not spreading your benevolence to the people, and so fair-mindedness will not extend to the other state rulers. Zhou and Jie’s rule failed due to this. The reason gentlemen and common people rebel against the state, is due to impartially holding onto wealth. If you look into what I am saying, and spread out your great virtue, openly displaying it to those beneath you, you can become a Cheng Tang or a Zhou Wu. How could sympathising over the plight of one starved corpse be enough!

Here, Yanzi cleverly plays on the Duke’s understanding of the word *de*, the virtue of rulers, ironically stating that Duke Jing does display *de* in those actions which benefit favoured individuals or even animals in the court. Yanzi’s presentation of the Duke’s virtue shows that because of the

¹⁴³ *De* 德 is defined by Ames and Rosemont as a personal quality which is commonly translated as ‘virtue’ but which also has a sense of generosity within it. Ames, Roger T., and Henry Rosemont. trans. *Lun Yu, the Analects of Confucius : A Philosophical Translation*. 1st ed. New York: Ballantine Pub. Group, 1998. p. 57.

exclusive and narrow field of the Duke's generosity, the people receive no benefit and so starve.

In this *jian*, the provocation of Yanzi's ironic comment allows Yanzi the opportunity to tell the ruler what he should actually do with the resources of the state, rather than just allow the Duke to dwell on his own lack of virtue. Making an ironic statement on the Duke's virtue directly criticises the Duke's present actions and shows the partiality of the Duke's virtue and generosity. Yanzi employs the Duke's guilt to argue from both a moral and a practical perspective that the common people require help from the people, and if he does not do otherwise he is not fulfilling his responsibility as ruler and will also cause disaster in his state, drawing a comparison with the historical tyrants *Jie* and *Zhou*.

In analysing the *jian* in this section, we have discovered how Yanzi successfully applies provocative techniques to *jian* the ruler in situations where Duke Jing is either drunk and unresponsive (*jian* 1/2), stubborn and just refuses to listen (*jian* 2/1), or in the last *jian* discussed, dwelling on his failures, rather than on the practical means to overcome them. By receiving the Duke's full attention, he is again able to promote his three principles of correct rulership to him.

There are many other provocative techniques in the *jian* to allow Yanzi to get the Duke's attention on a topic where he might be ignored or

disregarded. We have discussed two means of provocation, but had we chosen to focus on its use in an earlier part of this thesis, we could have found it in the *jian* which uses chain reasoning to show the importance of *li*, *jian* 1/6. As we remember, Yanzi provokes the Duke into anger and into paying attention to his *jian* by arresting the musician Yu without asking the Duke's leave to do so. There are also other *jian* which show many variants of the technique of provocation, such as Yanzi refusing to answer a direct question posed at him by the ruler straightaway (in *jian* 1/12 and 7/9), and laughing aloud at the behaviour of the Duke and the other ministers (*jian* 1/17, 7/2), but in these other situations, it is not always easy to tell if Yanzi's behaviour is a deliberately planned technique or just a natural response. Yet when we examine the way Yanzi uses songs to *jian* his ruler, it certainly seems that many of the actions of Yanzi are planned techniques directed at manipulating the Duke's emotions and behaviour.

3.3 Song as *jian*: *Jian* 2/5

In this section, we will examine Yanzi's use of song as *jian*. There are actually three examples of using song as a technique to *jian* the ruler to promote the people's welfare in the *jian* of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*: *jian* 2/5, 2/6 and *jian* 7/12, of which *jian* 2/6 and 7/12 appear to be alternative tales of the same event. We will look at *jian* 2/5 specifically in this section of the

thesis, examining how it influences the ruler to change his attitudes and behaviour.

晏子使于鲁，比其返也，景公使国人起大台之役，岁寒不已，冻馁之者乡有焉。国人望晏子。

晏子至，已复事，公延坐，饮酒乐。晏子曰：“君若赐臣，臣请歌之。”歌曰：“庶民之言曰：‘冻水洗我，若之何！太上靡散我，若之何！’”“歌终，喟然叹而流涕。公就止之曰：“夫子曷为至此？殆为大台之役夫！寡人将速罢之。”

Yanzi was sent on a diplomatic mission to the state of Lü. When he left, Duke Jing ordered the people of Qi erect a large platform. He did not allow the people to rest during the cold months, so in every village there were people who starved or froze to death. The people eagerly awaited Yanzi's return. Yanzi returned, and when he had relayed the information he had learned while in Lü, the Duke invited him to sit and enjoy the pleasures of the feast with him. Yanzi said: "If you will allow me, I will sing you a song." Given leave to do so, he sang these words: "The common peoples' words go: I am washed in freezing water, what shall I do? The heavens waste me away, what shall I do?" When his song was finished he sighed with emotion and let out a flow of tears. The Duke said: "How are you in such a state? It must be due to the construction of the large platform! I will quickly put an end to this!"¹⁴⁴

This song of Yanzi, and the other songs not included in this thesis, are all thinly veiled criticisms of the effects of the Duke's behaviour on the common people. Yanzi sings as if he is the people, not himself, and the

¹⁴⁴ This is the end of Yanzi's *jian* proper since it ends in the Duke's decision to stop the work. However, it is not the end of the *jian* anecdote, which will be discussed later in this section because it is significant for another reason.

Duke becomes witness to their suffering. In all three of these songs, Yanzi dwells on the plight, the privations and sufferings of the people.

The song in this *jian* emphasises the suffering of the people in the cold and the rain. The Duke does not need to ask for an explanation of Yanzi's intent behind the song. By the time Yanzi comes to the end of his song, and his tears fall, Duke Jing is already feeling guilty for his recent actions and knows that he must put an end to the behaviour criticised. This sense of shame and guilt is heightened by Yanzi's flood of tears in this *jian*, though in the other two *jian* Yanzi dances before his tears fall. It is likely that the success of this type of *jian* is aided by the Duke's partial state of drunkenness, when he would be more emotionally receptive and open to displaying emotion.

The first characteristic of these three performances is that they all occur within the court, in a relaxed atmosphere of dining or drinking while the Duke is sitting at leisure. Although drinking is not explicitly stated in the *jian*, both the fact that Yanzi enjoys "the pleasures of the feast" with the ruler and the context where the song is performed would seem to indicate that alcohol is indeed being consumed. A drinking situation would provide a relaxed environment appropriate for Yanzi's request to perform a song, but also excuse his outpouring of emotion after singing, while in a dining

environment, music was often played and poetry was often recited.¹⁴⁵ It seems reasonable to expect that musicians were present in this *jian* due the context of its performance.

What is particularly fascinating about the songs in the *jian* of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* is that they appear to have been original compositions by the minister to suit the situation. They do not appear to have been recitations of known songs, and the manner of their presentation does not indicate this. For Yanzi usually indicates when he is citing from a textual source (which is the *Shi* in the *jian* anecdotes as we have discussed), but here he does not indicate a source.¹⁴⁶

The shared details of each of these three *jian* leads us to assume that Yanzi was only able to utilise his skills of singing and dancing in a feasting or drinking situation, and not any other situation at court, to appeal to the morality of the ruler. Wang Hong and Li Wei (2005) have also mentioned Yanzi's use of dance and song as an important rhetorical tactic.¹⁴⁷ They state that Yanzi used his skills of song and dance to *jian* in a way that would not be possible merely with spoken words alone, and allowed the Duke more readily to acknowledge his own errors. Here we see the

¹⁴⁵ Schaberg, 2001, pp. 230-243 indicates poetry recitations and music as commonly occurring at banquets.

¹⁴⁶ However, it seems possible that Yanzi turned words spoken by the people into a song.

¹⁴⁷ Wang and Li, 2005, pp. 26-7.

political and ritual significance of music in action (the 仁声 or ‘benevolent music’). Yanzi’s passionate emphasis on ‘correct music’ as an important component of *li* in *jian* 1/6, here we see as appealing to the Duke’s humanity.

A striking element of each of these three *jian*, *jian* 2/5 included, is that Yanzi cries together with or immediately after singing his song. If this was a legitimate outpouring of emotion, we might expect there to be evidence of Yanzi crying elsewhere in the *jian* when the common people are being treated harshly, since the present plight of the people is no worse than many other situations where Yanzi doesn’t cry¹⁴⁸, but here Yanzi’s crying appears to be tied together intimately to the words of the *jian*, expressing extreme emotion in conjunction with the lamentations within the lyrics. The formality and purposefulness of crying in Yanzi’s *jian* through song appears almost ritualistic here, and not just a spontaneous expression of emotion.¹⁴⁹ It would appear that Yanzi’s sadness here is not a natural state, but that Yanzi works himself into this state in order to produce a feeling of guilt and shame in the Duke. The *jian* has its intended effect and the Duke’s behaviour is changed as a result.

¹⁴⁸ Such as 1/5 on the topic of the Duke disregarding the people’s suffering from cold and starvation in a time of constant starvation and in 2/1, where Yanzi recounts the suffering of the people due to excessive taxes.

¹⁴⁹ Particularly in 7/12 where Yanzi sings the song over and over again, the tears pouring down his cheeks and onto his clothes.

Crying and an appearance of distress is not only an expression of grief in Classical China. It can also be a display intended to reach those that watch or hear it. Extreme emotional states and appearing in a wretched state induced pity, sympathy, or could be used as a form of protest. One anecdote in the *Yanzi Chunqiu* tells of an individual who threatens to die in a deliberately wretched state as a protest against the Duke not allowing him to bury his mother in the place where he wants to bury her.¹⁵⁰ Yet another example of this kind of crying performance, though this time not from the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, is the famous legend, the *He Shi Bi* story “The Jade of Master He”, where the protagonist Bian He cries for three days and nights, not from the suffering of having both his legs cut off, but because he feels wronged by the rulers who dismissed the uncut piece of jade that he presented to them as just a piece of rock, and then ordered his legs to be severed.

Jian based on the use of song is quite different from typical techniques of *jian* based on consequences, as influencing the Duke through song relies on empathy and not the fear of negative consequences. *Jian* based on song is a way of appealing to the emotions of the Duke, and his moral nature, based on concern for his people. Song, dance, and exaggerated and

¹⁵⁰ This is in *jian* 7/11 and in it Sheng Cheng Shi 盛成适 threatens to make a spectacle of himself by pushing a cart containing his mother’s corpse around, refusing to eat and drink, and show others his withered corpse and bony body after he is dead, as a protest against the ruler not allowing him to bury his mother’s body with his father and live up to his responsibilities as a son.

frenzied emotional states are calculated to produce a feeling of guilt in the one-person audience of Duke Jing, which is enough to encourage the ruler's action to redress his failings with regard to his obligation as ruler to protect and serve the people of the state.

But *jian* 2/5 is not finished – there is a second part to the anecdote, which has been included to show Yanzi's depth of loyalty and consideration for the ruler's position but also an example of how manipulative Yanzi can sometimes be:

晏子再拜，出而不言，遂如大台，执朴鞭其不务者，曰：
“吾细人也，皆有盖庐，以避燥湿，君为一台而不速成，
何为？”国人皆曰：“晏子助天为虐。”

晏子归，未至，而君出令趣罢役，车驰而人趋。

Yanzi bowed several times to his ruler and left without saying a word. He went to the great platform, and when he saw people who were not working, he whipped them with a stick, saying: “We are insignificant people, and all have a house to live in that we can use to keep away from the sun and rain. The Duke wants a platform built and you don't build it quickly enough. Why is that?” The people of the state all said: “Yanzi is helping the ruler harm the people”. Yanzi returned home, and even before he got back home, Duke Jing had sent word to stop working on the platform. People and their carts were quickly moving away from that place.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ This *jian* also finishes with a quote purported to be from Confucius, praising Yanzi for letting the Duke take the credit for the decision to stop the building project.

What seems on the face of it is just cruelty from Yanzi is in fact restoring the power of his ruler in the eyes of his people, for all the people thought from Yanzi's behaviour that it was the ruler himself and not Yanzi that was responsible for the decision to finish the construction. At the beginning of the *jian*, Yanzi was away on a diplomatic mission to the state of Lü, and the text describes the people looking forward to Yanzi returning so he could stop the Duke's plans. Yanzi's behaviour here removed the people's support from him and restored it to his ruler. He is not only content with changing his ruler's behaviour and so fulfilling the Duke's (and his own) responsibilities to the people, but also wants to make the people believe that the Duke fulfilled his own responsibilities to the people without help from Yanzi.

As Yanzi lies about his real intentions in his performance for the people in the latter half of the *jian*, it could favour the interpretation that Yanzi's extreme emotional state in the first half was partly an act, presented an exaggerated scene designed to play on the emotions of the ruler as much as possible.

In the next section we will see the only instance where Yanzi actually lies to his ruler in the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, and how lying is used to permit a return to normal ritual propriety in the ruler.

3.4 Lying as a means to restore li in the ruler's behaviour: *Jian* 2/21

In 3.3, we saw Yanzi putting on a performance to fool the people and restore their faith in the ruler. Yet the most extreme case of Yanzi attempting to change the Duke's behaviour is when he lies outright, fabricating a story to deceive his ruler and so change his actions. This act is only found once in the *jian*, for were Yanzi to do this often he would lose the trust of the ruler and the ability to speak out on important moral issues. Here is the instance in the beginning of *jian* 2/21:

景公之嬖妾婴子死，公守之，三日不食，肤著于席而不去，左右以复，而君无听焉。

晏子入，复曰：“有术客与医俱言曰：‘闻婴子病死，愿请治之。’”

公喜，遽起，曰：“病犹可为乎？”

晏子曰：“客之道也，以为良医也，请尝试之。君请屏洁沐，淋浴饮食，间病者之宫，彼亦将有鬼神之事焉。”

公曰：“诺。”屏而沐浴。

晏子令棺人入敛，已敛，而复曰：“医不能治病，已敛矣，不敢不以闻。”

公作色不说，曰：“夫子以医命寡人，而不使视，将敛而不以闻，吾之为君，名而已矣。”

When Duke Jing's favourite concubine Yingzi died, the Duke stayed by her side for several days, refusing to eat anything, not removing her body from where it lay on the mat. The ministers came to persuade the Duke to move away so they could remove the body, but the Duke was deaf to their pleas.

Yanzi came in to persuade the Duke (to get away and remove the body), saying: “(Outside) there is a magician and a doctor. They both said to me: ‘I have heard Yingzi died of an illness, and wish to be allowed to cure her.’”

The Duke was elated, and quickly rose to his feet, saying: “Can someone who died from illness really be cured?”

Yanzi replied: “According to their own words, they are excellent doctors. Why don’t you give them a try? I must ask you leave the room, wash your hair and your body, have something to eat and drink, and stay far away from this building, as they must perform sacrifices to the ghosts and spirits (and your presence here would affect their work).”

The Duke agreed to do so, leaving the place and washing his body.

Yanzi then put clothes on the dead body and put it into a casket. When the body had been closed inside, Yanzi went to persuade the Duke, saying: “There is something I must tell you. The doctors were unable to cure the illness. They have already sealed the body away into a casket.”

The Duke’s face went red with anger and he said: “You used the story of a magical doctor to order me about, not letting me see what you were doing, putting the body into a casket without me knowing about it. I am a ruler in title only”

The rest of this anecdote is a well-crafted speech by Yanzi criticising the Duke’s recent conduct, his failure to abide by the norms of *li*, and the eventual consequences of such behaviour. Because of its length, it would detract from our focus, but we provide a summary here.

Yanzi begins this speech by criticizing the ruler for foolishly believing that a dead person could be brought to life, and then uses the definitions of ‘according with’ and ‘going against’ to show the terrible consequences of his immoral actions for the state.¹⁵² As supporting evidence for this, Yanzi cites the historical

¹⁵² These terms were discussed earlier in our investigation into chain reasoning. We may remember that ‘going against’ refers to the corrupt ministers following their ruler, and so means going against the best interests of the state; ‘according with’ refers to a situation where the ruler is upright and the ministers follow him because his behaviour is in line with the interests of the state.

example of Duke Huan of Qi¹⁵³ whose state collapsed due to the corruptive influence of women, drawing an analogy with the present situation of the Duke. He explains the historical wisdom that the ancient rulers did not excessively grieve as it was very harmful to the rulership of a state, and again compares the present situation of the Duke and his eventual loss of the state were this to continue. At the end of the speech, he says that the Duke's must not behave in such a way as it is not only going against the way of the enlightened rulers of the past, but it is causing the reproach of the people, and the ruler is losing face hugging a decaying corpse.

When Duke Jing agrees to follow Yanzi's wishes, Yanzi warns his ruler that when he was crying he did not take into account that there were many important people outside the court, both important ministers of Qi and ambassadors from other states, and advised him to restrain his grief.¹⁵⁴

At the beginning of this chapter, we saw Yanzi trying to restore *li* when the ruler was drunk and did not heed him, by using a kind of symbolic mime. In this passage, Duke Jing due to the strong emotion of grief is deaf to the ministers' proposals, and only Yanzi's lie is able to restore the violated ritual propriety – firstly, by making the Duke wash and change into clean clothes, and secondly by putting the woman's body into the coffin to stop the Duke's grieving process. It is only by forcing Duke Jing to stop his extended grieving, which has already exceeded ritual propriety, that Yanzi and the other ministers can talk him into sensible behaviour through *jian*.

¹⁵³ This is the same Duke Huan who is normally used as a role model, but due to his inability to keep up his exemplary behaviour through his whole life is here used as a negative example of conduct.

¹⁵⁴ This passage is followed by what is presented as a statement from Confucius praising Yanzi for his behaviour, for even though he lied (which was thought by Confucian's to be a base act), he did it for a necessary reason.

Yanzi explains his actions and his reasons for them later in the *jian*. In the latter half of the anecdote Yanzi says that the ruler must know that a dead person cannot live again, and chides the Duke for his behaviour. He also defends his behaviour on the basis that the Duke's behaviour was a serious threat to the state. The rest of the *jian* makes a lot of use of definitions and analogies to further his point of view and so demonstrate the Duke's errors to him, showing the Duke his errors in behaviour based on the consequences of his excessive grieving.

In this special case of Duke Jing's excessive grieving and rejection of *li*, it was necessary to protect the power of his ruler since the other states were expressing an interest in the situation and had sent emissaries, and by allowing them to see the ruler unclean, and in such a state of emotional and physical distress over the death of a concubine, not a wife, would cause the other Dukes to think little of the state of Qi and its ruler. Yanzi needed to act quickly. All of the other ministers and advisors could do nothing to change the state of affairs, but Yanzi's carefully constructed story of the magical doctors enabled Yanzi to restore the decorum once again. Though Yanzi's lie makes the Duke unhappy, it does achieve the desired effect. It makes the Duke to clean himself and allows Yanzi to put the dead body away in a casket, it stops the ruler's excessive grieving, and restores a sense of *li* immediately by forcing the ruler to change his clothes, get off the ground, and bring him to a calm mental state where he can accept *jian*.

Lying is not a technique that any minister, even Yanzi, could use lightly, for it could result in the Duke's continued loss of trust, or even his death. But in this case because Yanzi is a uniquely talented speaker, he is able to defend his actions and turn the situation to his favour by using *jian*. Yanzi uses it as a last resort when all other alternatives are exhausted. The next technique we will discuss, resignation, is also only to be used as a last resort.

3.5 Resignation to aid the people's welfare

In many cases, either due to the ruler following the advice of another advisor, stubbornness on the part of the ruler, or because the ruler was too emotional and unwilling to listen to persuasion, even persistent *jian* to the ruler may fail. Provocations in some cases may even fall on deaf ears. In such cases, besides lying, there was another technique available to perform *jian*.

In *jian* 1/4, we see another minister threaten to kill himself to stop the Duke from drinking excessively:

景公饮酒，七日七夜不止。

弦章谏曰：“君饮酒七日七夜，章愿君废酒也！不然，章赐死。”

晏子入见，公曰：“章谏吾曰：‘愿君之废酒也！不然，章赐死。’如是而听之，则臣为制也；不听，又爱其死。”

晏子曰：“幸矣，章遇君也！令章遇桀纣者，章死久矣。”于是公遂废酒。

Once Duke Jing had a bout of drinking which lasted for seven days and seven nights without end. Xian Zhang gave *jian* to him, saying: “You have been drinking for seven days and nights already! Stop your drinking now, or I’ll kill myself.” Yanzi came in and the Duke said to him “Zhang just gave me *jian*, saying that he would kill himself if I didn’t stop my drinking. If I accede to his request, my minister has control over me. I could refuse his request, but I don’t want to be without him.” Yanzi said: “Zhang is lucky he encountered you, my lord. If he met (was in service to) Kings Jie and Zhou, he’d have been dead long ago!” As a result, the Duke stopped his drinking.

Yanzi’s reaction to the Duke’s words is an analogy comparing the Duke to the historical tyrants, the Kings Jie and Zhou. This single line distinguishes the Duke from the two tyrants by saying that Xian Zhang would have been forced into the situation of threatening suicide long ago if he was serving Jie and Zhou. But the fact that he raises Jie and Zhou as a comparison means that Yanzi is placing Duke Jing in the same group as these historical despots, encouraging the ruler to return to following the practices of *li*, stop drinking and try to drink within reasonable boundaries in future. However, the most significant aspect of this *jian* for our present purposes is the fact that Xian Zhang threatens to commit suicide if the Duke does not change his behaviour. Although there is every indication that the advisor intends to

go through with what he says and commit suicide, he is clearly relying on the fact that the ruler will change his behaviour so that he does not have to because he believes that he is so well regarded by the Duke that the Duke cannot be without him.¹⁵⁵

Although Yanzi never threatens to kill himself in the *jian*, he does something psychologically very similar – threatening to resign. As Yanzi knew that Duke Jing thought him an indispensable member of the court, when all other means of *jian* failed, he would sometimes threaten to leave, or leave, if his threat was not taken seriously by the ruler. Yanzi threatens to resign three times in the *jian* of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*: 1/5, 1/8, and 2/8.

In the first two instances Yanzi does leave the ruler. *Jian* 1/5 is a rather lengthy and extended *jian* on the excesses of the Duke and his court urging the Duke to aid his starving and poor population in a time of continuous heavy rain. Yanzi asks many times for the Duke to distribute grain to the population. Yet the Duke, drinking continuously while the people suffer, orders ministers to bring great singers to his court for his pleasure. This is the final straw for the minister, who gives the Duke these words:

“嬰奉數之策，以隨百官之吏，民飢餓窮約而無告，使上淫湎失本而不恤，嬰之罪大矣。”再拜稽首，請身而去，遂走而出。

¹⁵⁵ This *jian* is also analysed by Wang and Li, 2005, p. 26, who regard it as an example of Yanzi's ability to 以曲為正 or to 'speak directly by taking a roundabout path.'

...As a chief minister listened to by the head of the hundred houses I hold the bamboo slip, which records important events. The people are starving, poor and with no one to appeal to for help. I have allowed the Duke to become addicted to the pleasures of wine, losing his true nature, and not giving aid to the people. My failure is great." He knelt and bowed to his ruler twice, asked for his permission to leave, and then ran off." ...¹⁵⁶

In 1/8 Yanzi leaves, again after repeatedly trying to *jian* the ruler. But this time his *jian* is against the Duke unjustly punishing the innocent, and lavishly rewarding those of the court who were undeserving, both of which are violations of the principle which stresses that the people are central to the well being of the state.

In both of these cases discussed above Yanzi is pursued after by the ruler to return to court, and in the second case Yanzi rushes to return to court as he has heard that the ruler would even drop everything at court to follow Yanzi wherever he goes in the hope he might return.

In the last of the three instances where Yanzi threatens to leave the ruler, *jian* 2/8, Duke Jing is planning to go hunting, and adamantly refuses to return to court and put a stop to the work on a great platform he has arranged for the people to do at the time they should be harvesting. Yanzi says that if the people do not harvest the crops now, later on they will be

¹⁵⁶ Wang Hong and Li Wei, who also believe that Yanzi threatens resignation as a rhetorical technique, have made much of the fact that Yanzi runs out of court, particularly since the Duke was relaxing at court, drinking and listening to music. They believe that this represents an attempt by Yanzi to shock his ruler, and so prove that this is a deliberate rhetorical tactic.

starving. A *jian* based on a combination of historical analogy which finishes with a threat that Yanzi will leave the court permanently if his advice is not followed is enough to change the Duke's mind:

“臣闻忠臣不避死，谏不违罪。君不听臣，臣将逝矣。”

“I have heard that a loyal minister doesn't run away from death and *jians* without trying to escape fault. If you don't listen to me, I will leave my position.”

Yanzi only threatens resignation because he believes there is no other option available to him as a minister to fulfil his most important responsibility, the responsibility to represent the common people of the state. Though Yanzi probably expects Duke Jing to change out of the fear of losing a loyal minister, and is playing on Dukes' personal fear that his most trusted advisor will desert him, in relying on this technique he does run the risk of losing his position at court permanently. But judging by Yanzi's comments he believes such a sacrifice is justified as long as he has done everything in his power to fulfil his responsibilities to complement his ruler's actions for the good of the state.

The problem with this technique is that while Yanzi may do all he can to fulfil his responsibilities to the people, the state and the ruler, in the end he is limited by the Duke's willingness to accept his *jian*. Threatening resignation, or doing so, represents the final possible option a minister has

available. And while threatening to resign is the final means Yanzi has of aiding the people through the ruler, it is also the final means of restoring *he* in the relationship between the minister and his ruler, since the Duke must act in a complementary way to his ministers if he expects them to behave in the same way to him, and to stay around him.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored how Yanzi uses a number of atypical *jian* techniques to promote appropriate conduct from the ruler consistent with his three main political principles, often when typical means of employing *jian* were no longer open to him.

We first analysed Yanzi's employment of verbal and nonverbal techniques of provocation, which we discovered that Yanzi used when the ruler made the usual application of *jian* difficult. Our analysis identified that techniques such as sarcasm and irony relied on moral means of persuasion, while non-verbal mime did not. We also discovered that Yanzi's application of such mime is not without precedent in other pre-Qin texts.

We next examined an instance of Yanzi using song at a drinking or dining environment to create feelings of empathy in the ruler for the sufferings of

the common people caused by the Duke's own actions. Our analysis also indicated that Yanzi cried deliberately for emotional effect.

There were also two techniques that were both used to encourage direct action where Yanzi appeared to have no other option: lying and threatening resignation. Threatening resignation was a final way for Yanzi to 'force the hand' of his ruler to change on an issue, when Yanzi believed the Duke to be unwilling to recognise what Yanzi regarded as good advice, and was a powerful technique if used well, though lying was only to be used in the most dire of situations as it could potentially cause the Duke to disregard Yanzi's views in future.

Conclusion

Summary of Findings

This thesis has analysed how Yanzi employed a number of rhetorical techniques within the *jian* of the *Yanzi Chunqiu*. We explored how in each *jian* Yanzi guides and effects changes in his ruler according to three principles: a) that the welfare of the common people is essential to the well-being of the state, b) that *li* 礼 (ritual propriety) is of central importance in administering the state, and c) that the correct relationship between the minister and the ruler is *he* 和 (a complementary one).

We split our examination of the rhetorical techniques into two sections: typical and atypical techniques. The first section was on the typical linguistic techniques used by Yanzi in the *jian*, such as analogy, citation and chain reasoning. The second part was on less conventional or atypical techniques, which included provocation (both non verbal and verbal), singing, lying, and threatening to resign.

In many ways, our investigation of Yanzi's rhetorical techniques in the *jian* confirms much existing research on *jian* and on the rhetorical techniques used by the ministers of the Chunqiu courts. Yanzi's application of

analogies within the *jian*, often done to connect the historical past to the present context, and his use of citations, both echo research done by David Schaberg, Lü Xing and other scholars on the way ministers used such techniques in this period. Yanzi in his analogy and citation was able to successfully apply his knowledge of history, the natural world, and human life using information which was either structurally similar to the target situation (in the case of analogies using historical information) or which shared, or could be interpreted as displaying, important similar characteristics which could match to the current crisis. We have also seen that how Yanzi applies chain reasoning confirms Garrett's particular conclusions on interpropositional chain reasoning, for the final proposition in the chain is not linked to the ones before, but can be implied by the understood purpose of the chain itself.

In the application of Yanzi's typical *jian* techniques however we have reached several conclusions that differ from other research into *jian*. For one, while King Wen of Zhou is usually selected as a role model in texts such as the *Zuo zhuan* and the *Guoyu*, Yanzi often uses Duke Huan of Qi as an exemplary figure in the *jian*. That Yanzi uses Duke Huan of Qi in preference to King Wen is significant, for it means that perhaps other ministers of the Qi court used Duke Huan to inspire their rulers, and maybe, that in other powerful states with exemplary rulers, King Wen was not the first choice for a role model for their rulers.

We have also discovered that in many cases, however, Yanzi often uses fear and expected negative consequences of the Duke's present actions to motivate the ruler to change his behaviour in accordance with the three main principles. This is in contradiction with Lü Xing's research that indicates that the majority of *jian* attempt to motivate the ruler based on moral appeals.

The analysis of the *jian* also uncovered a number of techniques that the scholars of the West have not up till now regarded as rhetorical techniques: provocation, lying, threatening resignation and singing. Provocation was used to get a strong emotional reaction from the ruler when he stubbornly refused to listen, was drunk, and was dwelling on other matters, which permitted Yanzi to employ further *jian* techniques to actualise his principles, as he then had the attention of the ruler. Lying was applied to force direct action from the ruler in line with Yanzi's political beliefs, though also proved provocative when discovered. We can conclude from Yanzi's use of lying that it was only to be used in rare situations, and only when there was no other way of changing the Duke's behaviour, to avoid the minister losing the Duke's trust and his ability to perform *jian* on him in the future. The songs performed by Yanzi were not a form of entertainment; they were a means by which proper conduct could be inculcated and humane behaviour could be encouraged, and were often accompanied by a display of crying, and quite probably the ruler's

consumption of alcohol, which enhanced the emotional impact of the song. The last technique, resignation, was a way for Yanzi to use his status in his Duke's eyes to try to force desired conduct by a kind of emotional blackmail, when all other opportunities for performing *jian* were exhausted.

In our discussion of the three political principles, it has been sometimes hard to distinguish clearly between a *jian* that promoted one principle in the ruler's conduct, and one that promoted another. These three principles seem to be motivating concepts behind almost any speech that Yanzi performs to change his ruler's conduct. This is particularly true of the first principle, that the interests of the people are paramount, for Yanzi believes his ruler can regard nearly every flaw in rulership as a failure to live up to the peoples' expectations, and Yanzi often shows his ruler how problems in conduct can lead to loss of power over the people which he equates to as the loss of the state itself. This is as we have mentioned at the beginning of the thesis, is due partly to the ministerial obligations to aid the people which Yanzi is an inheritor of, but also, as we have noted, due to the danger of the ministerial house of *Tian*, which was a threat to the Qi ruling house due to its populist policies.

Yet while certain political principles are connected in individual *jian*, there do seem to have been rhetorical techniques more suited to *jian* urging behaviour in line with particular principles than others. According to our

analysis, analogy was often used for Yanzi to illustrate the doctrine of *he*, while chain reasoning was often used to urge the Duke to follow *li*, though as we have said, it could be used to outline the consequences of any small and apparently inconsequential fault by the ruler. Yanzi's use of song however, as it is applied to draw sympathetic feelings from his Duke, would have probably only been used when Yanzi was trying to get the Duke to behave in a manner which was more favorable to the people he ruled.

Implications

Our findings on the *jian* of Yanzi and how he fulfilled his primary obligations as minister have significant implications for our understanding of the *jian* of this period. One of the most important of such implications is that as our discoveries in the previous section have added to Western knowledge on the application of this ministerial mode of discourse, which is still largely based on knowledge from the *Zuo zhuan* and the *Guoyu*, evidence of *jian* in the *Chunqiu* period is not only found within these two texts. This suggests that evidence on *jian* only based on these texts provides only a limited view of this aspect of Chinese rhetoric and that we in the West should evaluate new resources and undervalued texts, such as

the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, traversing previously unexplored territory, in order to get a clearer picture of rhetoric and *jian* in the *Chunqiu* period.

From our research we can also make a few other implications about the *jian* of other ministers in this period.

Firstly, though the ministers typically employed several techniques within the *jian*, the techniques and the way that they used them appear to be dependant on the purpose and the context of the *jian* activity. So for instance, in a situation where a minister wanted to persuade a ruler that a small action he did had important consequences, he might decide to use chain reasoning, to show the building up of consequences from small to large. And in the context of a feast or drinking situation, it might be more appropriate to use techniques that employed appeals to the emotions, such as songs. If the ruler stubbornly, or repeatedly, refused to follow the minister's advice, the minister could provoke him, or threaten to leave.

Another important implication from this research, based on our evaluation of Yanzi's abilities at *jian*, is that ministers of this period seem to have performed *jian* using any skill at their disposal; in other words, they did not seem to be limited in their use of the rhetorical techniques within the *jian*. If they were able to sing or dance, cite poetry well, or knew many principles of the natural world or cookery, they used these skills if they had the mental acuity to do so. Yanzi was able to sing and dance, so he used

these perform *jian*. He is also uniquely skilled at his ability to play on the emotional triggers of his Duke and bring him to anger, and then defend himself. Many other ministers would not have been able to perform *jian* in the same way as Yanzi, but they may have been more successful using other means of performing *jian*. In the *jian* we encountered one instance of another minister threatening suicide to urge Duke Jing to stop drinking – this is a technique that another minister may use, but that Yanzi does not.

The relative freedom in the ministers application of rhetorical techniques itself has an important implication – that the ministers, who used such techniques, could be astute manipulators of their ruler for self-serving ends as well. In this thesis we have seen the high regard in which Yanzi held his own responsibilities as a minister with his loyalty to the ruler and his concern for the common people of Qi, but as scholars such as Yuri Pines have noted, and as we have seen from the behaviour of ministers such as Liang Qiu Ju in the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text, not all ministers were as enthusiastic about aiding the ruler or providing guidance to him as Yanzi.

It is even possible that our evaluation of *jian* in this text can show us something about Confucius. For Yanzi's usual direct and cutting style of *jian* differs from research by Lyon on 'Confucian rhetoric' that is based on Confucius' ideas on *jian* in the *Lunyu*. If Yanzi's direct and harsh style of performing *jian* is standard behaviour in the ministers of his time, as

Schaberg has indicated,¹⁵⁷ then Confucius' views on *jian* are likely a reaction to present practices and represent a new style of *jian*.

Indications for further research

Further research could hope to further uncover the application of *jian* over time in Chinese history, its connection with other speech acts, such as *ci* and *shui*, and even, as some Chinese scholars are currently investigating, the significance of Yanzi's philosophical views on the China of today.

One possible area for future research would be whether the minister's definition of important terminology, and the ruler's acceptance of these definitions based on inherited wisdom, actually manipulates the perceived reality of the ruler. In this case, the later development of *zhengming* would be in practical use by the ministers of the *Chunqiu* period.¹⁵⁸ This technique is also very effective because the advisor, holding their position due to their reputation for being learned on many issues, would often have their definitions accepted as fact. The acceptance of these given definitions could often lead the ruler to an acceptance of the entire *jian* based on the first few statements in it. Yanzi is often very particular in correcting and redefining the Duke's understanding of terms, as one word, carefully

¹⁵⁷ Schaberg, 1997, pp. 177-178.

defined, could change the behaviour of the Duke. These kinds of definitions, which were often paired, were a means of reinterpreting and redefining the traditional wisdom in order to suit Yanzi's purposes, so as to bring the ruler's heart to a persuadable state.

An extremely difficult but worthwhile undertaking would be to compare and contrast all the evidence we have of Yanzi's speeches and their parallels spread throughout several texts, including the *Yanzi Chunqiu*, the *Mozi*, the *Zuozhuan* and others, with a view to predicting the date of composition of the *Yanzi Chunqiu* text.¹⁵⁹

Another possible task would be to translate the *Yanzi Chunqiu* into English. A good translation of the text would bring Yanzi a new audience in the English-speaking world. Despite the text's obvious literary value and interest for those studying the rhetoric and the politics of the *Chunqiu* period, to date there have only been a small number of translations published of anecdotes from the text. But there are many more that the Western world has no access to, and so cannot appreciate the remarkable linguistic talents and skill of one of the most interesting political figures in the *Chunqiu* period, Yanzi.

¹⁵⁸ *Zhengming* and its later development is discussed in Makeham, 1994.

¹⁵⁹ Suggested by Durrant, 1993, p. 486.

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