

THE HAIHUNHOU CAPSULE BIOGRAPHIES OF KONGZI AND HIS DISCIPLES

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Abstract

This article introduces the biographical texts accompanying illustrations of Kongzi and several disciples on the wooden frame and cover of a mirror stand excavated in 2015 from the Haihunhou tomb near Nanchang. These texts are analyzed with reference to evolving portrayals of these figures in the Western Han, paying particular attention to parallels with two generically similar chapters in the *Shi ji* (Records of the Archivist). Of particular interest is the way the excavated disciple biographies share biographical elements with transmitted counterparts, but select different dialogues for each disciple, most of which are also found in the *Lun yu* (*Analects*). This suggests that the artists who created the mirror stand relied on a different source text from the compilers of the *Shi ji* chapter, perhaps on a pairing of visual and biographical information about the disciples called *Kongzi dizi* (Kongzi's disciples). The biographies also evince a heightened emphasis on the disciples and Kongzi's judgments about them, consistent with the Han view that the proper selection of ministers was a key aspect of the master's "Kingly Way."

Since its discovery in 2015, several aspects of the tomb of the deposed emperor Liu He 劉賀 (92–59 B.C.E.), identified by his later title Noble of Haihun 海昏侯, have garnered widespread attention. Located outside today's village of Datangping 大塘坪, about thirty kilometers north of the modern city of Nanchang in Jiangxi Province, the "Haihunhou" tomb is a rare discovery, not least because the tomb occupant was a notorious figure in Chinese history. After the death of Emperor Zhao 昭 (94–74 B.C.E., r. 87–74),¹ Liu He, then King of Changyi 昌邑, was raised

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1. All subsequent dates in this essay are B.C.E., unless otherwise noted. In a very few cases, B.C.E. has been retained simply to situate the reader.

to the position of Son of Heaven in 74 by the court's power broker Huo Guang 霍光 (d. 68). Liu He held this position for only twenty-seven days before being accused of a litany of ritual breaches and exiled from the capital of Chang'an.² Apparently, his tomb and its contents remained untouched from Liu He's death and burial in 59 until their discovery in 2015.

The richness of the contents of Liu He's tomb will no doubt have a major impact on the study of early Chinese literature, art, and intellectual history. This article will look at one object in the tomb that combines text and image in a unique way—a lacquerware screen and mirror stand that contains both images and capsule biographies of Kongzi and his disciples—in three parts. First, it introduces the tomb as context for the images and texts on the screen and mirror stand. Then it compares specific parallels with *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the Archivist) chapters to discuss patterns of circulation of Kongzi and disciple narratives and dialogues and how they were combined to form biographies in the Han. Finally, it contextualizes these texts within broader patterns involving Han cultural representations of Kongzi and the disciples.

A first wave of publications showed that Liu He's cavernous tomb was filled with more than ten thousand gold, bronze, lacquer, and iron items, not to mention small hills of *wuzhu* coins weighing over ten metric tons, and was located next to a carriage pit and set inside of an expansive family sacrificial complex. Images in the popular media of gold ingots and ornaments circulated widely, followed by the opening of an exhibition at the Jiangxi Provincial Museum, and a CCTV documentary.³ While scholars await the publication of over five thousand bamboo slips that were excavated from the site, an image of one of these slips bearing a short passage on one side and the title "Zhi dao" 智道 on the reverse side was published in 2016.⁴ The two-character phrase matches the title

2. See, e.g., *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), 68.2940, in "Huo Guang Jin Midi zhuan" 霍光金日碑傳. Liu He's father Liu Bo 劉博 was the first King of Changyi, and a little over two years after Liu He's exile in 74, Liu He was granted the title of Noble of Haihun (*Han shu*, 8.257).

3. Early publications include Jiangxi sheng Wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 江西省文物考古研究所, *Faxian Haihunhou* 發現海昏侯 (Nanchang: Jiangxi jiaoyu, 2015) and *Wuse xuanyao: Nanchang Handai Haihun houguo kaogu chengguo* 五色炫曜：南昌漢代海昏侯國考古成果 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin, 2016). In 2019, CCTV aired a three-part series titled "Haihunhou," see <https://tv.cctv.com/2019/07/25/VIDA6470jTHonIXYYcKmfQou190725.shtml> (accessed March 29, 2021).

4. The slip was first reproduced in Jiangxi sheng Wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Nanchangshi bowuguan 南昌市博物館, and Nanchangshi Xinjianqu bowuguan 南昌市新建區博物館, "Nanchangshi Xi Han Haihunhou mu" 南昌市西漢海昏侯墓, *Kaogu* 考古 2016.7, 45–62 (photo on p. 61).

of a text that was part of a Han version of the *Lun yu* 論語, labelled with the regional marker “Qi” 齊 in the *Han shu* 漢書.⁵ Several subsequent articles have debated the identification of that and other *Lun yu*-related slips with that particular version of the *Lun yu*.⁶

Two groups of articles published in 2020 have begun to fill in more details about the texts excavated from tomb M1. One group, published in *Wenwu*, features articles treating different genera of bamboo slip text in preliminary essays.⁷ The second, a book-length study in twenty chapters edited by the noted epigrapher Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚 entitled *Haihun jian du chulun* 海昏簡牘初論, provides a general introduction to the tomb and its contents, a preliminary discussion of the bamboo slip texts, and a final section devoted to the inscribed wooden boards and the inscribed screen and mirror stand.⁸ Detailed analysis of the bamboo-slip texts

5. *Han shu*, 30.1716 lists three versions of the *Lun yu* that were part of Liu Xiang's bibliographic survey. The auto-commentary to the twenty-two-chapter version says: “There are, additionally, ‘Wen wang’ and ‘Zhi dao’” (多問王知道). A comment by Ru Chun 如淳 (fl. 221–265 C.E.) clarifies: “‘Wenwang’ and ‘Zhidao’ are chapter titles” (問王、知道，皆篇名也).

6. In 2017, Wang Chuning 王楚甯 and Zhang Yuzheng 張予正 noted that the recto of the Haihunhou slip has a close parallel in Gansu slip 7ETJ22.6 in Gansu jian du baohu yanjiu zhongxin 甘肅簡牘保護研究中心 et al., *Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* 肩水金關漢簡 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2011), and identify the passage occurring in these geographically distant finds with the *Qi Lun yu*. See their “Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian *Qi Lun yu* de zhengli” 肩水金關漢簡《齊論語》的整理, *Zhongguo kaogu* 中國考古, August 16, 2017, <http://chinesearchaeology.net/cn/kaoguyuandi/kaogusuib/2017/0816/59268.html>. While *zhi* 智 (wisdom) is used in the excavated Haihunhou slip, its homophone *zhi* 知 (know) appears in the Jianshui Jinguan parallel, which is otherwise nearly identical, albeit broken and missing the Haihunhou exemplar's final clause. Charles Sanft takes issue with their identification of these texts with the *Qi Lun yu* in “Questions about the *Qi Lunyu*,” *T'oung Pao* 104.1–2 (2018), 189–94. Kyung-Ho Kim's historical survey of the question is “Popularization of the *Analects of Confucius* in Western Han and the Discovery of the *Qi Lun*: With a Focus on the Bamboo Slips Unearthed from the Haihunhou Tomb,” *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 19.2 (2019), 213–32. Another of the Gansu slips (73EJH1:58 E24) strongly suggests that the name of the other additional Qi version chapter, “Wenwang” (Questioning the King), might actually be “Wenyu” 問玉 (Questions about Jade), as it exactly overlaps with part of a *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 entry about jade that ties the virtues of a king to qualities of jade.

7. After an initial set of general articles published in *Wenwu* 2018.11, *Wenwu* 2020.6 contained: Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚, “Xi-Han Haihunhou Liu He mu chutu Shi chutan,” 西漢海昏侯劉賀墓出土竹簡《詩》初探, 63–72; Tian Tian 田天, “Xi-Han Haihunhou Liu He mu chutu ‘liyijian’ shu lue,” 西漢海昏侯劉賀墓出土“禮儀簡”述略, 73–75; Chen Kanli 陳侃理, “Xi-Han Haihunhou Liu He mu chutu *Lun yu* ‘Zeng Xi yan zhi’ jian chushi,” 西漢海昏侯劉賀墓出土《論語》“曾皙言志”簡初釋, 76–79; and Yang Bo 楊博, “Xi-Han Haihunhou Liu He mu chutu ‘fangzhong’ jian chushi,” 西漢海昏侯劉賀墓出土“房中”簡初識, 80–82, 96.

8. Zhu Fenghan, ed., *Haihun jian du chulun* (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 2020) has chapters devoted to the following bamboo slip texts (listed with authors and page numbers):

footnote continued on next page

from the Haihunhou tomb must await the publication of a complete set of photographs, but a growing number of reproductions have been published. For example, *Haihun jiandu chulun* includes a photograph of a slip with the verso note “from [chapter] 21 ‘Zhidao’” (*qi Zhidao nianyi* 起智道廿一) that identifies the slips as excerpted from the text that, we saw above, circulated as part of one Han *Lun yu* recension.⁹

The Haihunhou Screen and Mirror Stand

A tomb artifact for which a complete text transcription and substantial number of photographs have now been published is the inscribed lacquerware screen and mirror stand that was initially identified as the “Kongzi dressing mirror” (Kongzi yijing 孔子衣鏡). Its depiction of a man wearing white robes was widely publicized when it was first found, and sometimes described as the earliest extant depiction of Kongzi. Selected images of the artifact have been published in many venues, and an initial transcription of its manuscript texts, first published in 2016, was revised and published alongside detailed photographs in the 2020 *Haihun jiandu chulun*.¹⁰ The artifact had pride of place in the main chamber of Liu He’s tomb, which was divided into two sections by wooden partitions. Liu He’s coffin rested in the eastern part of the main chamber

Shi 詩 (Zhu Fenghan, 79–110), *Bao fu* 保傅 (Han Wei 韓巍, 111–25), *Yi* 儀 (Tian Tian, 126–33), *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Chen Suzhen 陳蘇鎮, 134–40), *Lun yu* 論語 (Chen Kanli, 141–63), *Xiao jing shuo jie* 孝經說解 (He Jin 何晉, 164–203), *Diao wang fu* 悼亡賦 (Zhao Huacheng 趙化成, 204–13), *Liu bo* 六博 (Yang Bo, 214–31), *Yi zhan* 易占 (Li Ling 李零, 232–44), *Bu xing* 卜姓 and *Qu yi* 去邑 (Lai Zulong 賴祖龍, 245–54), *Cizhu* 祠祝 (Tian Tian, 255–67), and *Fangzhong* 房中 (Yang Bo, 268–76). Some of these pieces overlap with the *Wenwu* articles. Note the page numbers do not match those appearing in the table of contents.

9. The recto and verso of the three relevant slips (*Haihun jiandu chulun*, 176) contain a dialogue between Hou Jun 后軍 and Wuma Ziqi 巫馬子期 about the scope of the injunction found in the *Mengzi* 孟子 and several Han texts that “if you see [an animal] alive, you do not eat its corpse,” (*jian qi sheng bu shi qi si* 見其生不食其死). Chen Kanli judiciously points out that the inclusion of a second “Zhidao” text does not necessarily mean that the tomb contains the “*Qi Lun yu*” (161). He further argues that since the slips with *Lun yu* parallels were mixed with others that contain parallels to sections of texts like the *Li ji* 禮記, or slips without transmitted parallels, it is not clear if the collection should be seen as a *Lun yu* ancestor text, or simply a Kongzi-centered transmission (179). The inclusion of a chapter number on the verso appears to mark these three slips as a free-standing quotation from a “chapter 21,” rather than part of a Haihunhou version of the *Lun yu*.

10. An initial transcription of the text was published in Wang Yile 王意樂, Xu Changqing 徐長青, Yang Jun 楊軍, and Guan Li 管理, “Haihunhou Liu He mu chutu Kongzi yijing” 海昏侯劉賀墓出土孔子衣鏡, *Nanfang wenwu* 2016.3, 61–70, 50. Wang Yile 王意樂 and Wu Zhenhua’s 吳振華 chapter “Kongzi yijing chudu” 孔子衣鏡初讀 in Zhu Fenghan, *Haihun jiandu chulun*, 353–91, revises the transcription.

accompanied by bronze ritual vessels, while the artifact shared the western part of the main chamber with lacquer and gold objects.

Visually, the artifact is a stunning example of early Chinese decorative arts, a two-sided lacquerware screen and frame combining texts and images, which had once been attached to a rectangular bronze mirror measuring 70.3 × 46.5 cm and 1.3 cm thick. During the excavation, two rectangular objects were catalogued that scholars now believe were part of this artifact. One side of a rectangular object identified as M1:1415 contained images associated with longevity on all four sides of the mirror.¹¹ The other side contained annotated images of Kongzi and five of his disciples, with the inscribed names Yan Hui 顏回, Zigong 子貢 (i.e., Zigong 子貢), Zilu 子路, Tangtai Ziyu 堂駘子羽 (i.e., Tantai Mieming 澹臺滅明), and Zixia 子夏.¹² A smaller, more damaged, rectangular object identified as M1:1582 has, arguably, similarly contrasting themes on its two sides. One side contains an image of the legendary Zhong Ziqi 鍾子期 listening (probably to the performance of a lost Boya 伯牙) under a rhapsody specially composed for placement on the object. The rhapsody extols the quality of the mirror and describes the salutary effect of its images.¹³ The other side of the second object is devoted to two other disciples, with annotated images of Zizhang 子張 on the left and a mostly lost Zengzi 曾子 on the right.¹⁴

11. On the top panel, there is Red Phoenix (Zhu Que 朱雀) with Xiwang Mu 西王母 to the left and Dongwang Gong 東王公 to the right. Under Xiwang Mu on the left panel is White Tiger (Bai Hu 白虎), and under Dongwang Gong on the right panel is Azure Dragon (Qing Long 青龍). The image on the bottom panel is blurry, but the rhapsody identifies it as Black Crane (Xuan He 玄鶴). See Li Ziliang 劉子亮, Yang Jun 楊軍, and Xu Changqing 徐長青, "Handai Dongwang Gong chuanshuo yu tuxiang xintan: yi Xi-Han Haihunhou Liu He mu chutu 'Kongzi yijing' wei xiansuo" 漢代東王公傳說與圖像新探——以西漢海昏侯劉賀墓出土“孔子衣鏡”為線索, *Wenwu* 2018.11, 81–86.

12. The upper register has Kongzi on the left and Yan Hui on the right facing each other. The middle register contains Zigong on the left facing and Zilu who is facing forward. The lower register has Ziyu on the left facing away and Zixia on the right, reading. Each image is accompanied by between six and twelve columns of text about the lives of Kongzi and the disciple.

13. Both Andrew Hardy, "Imagining the Sage" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2019), 64–65 and Guo Jue 郭珏, "The Life and Afterlife of a Western Han 'Covered Mirror' from the Tomb of Marquis of Haihun (59 B.C.E.)," *Journal of Chinese History* 3.2 (2019), 1–30, 26–27) translate the poem. Guo also provides a convincing description of the mirror's role within the tomb context, with the aim of arguing against the name "Kongzi dressing mirror."

14. Editor's note [M. Nylan]: Michael Loewe has remarked to me (personal conversation, December 15, 2021) that this pairing of Xiwang Mu and Kongzi and his disciples is perhaps the most notable feature of the mirror stand, with the goddess standing perhaps for the unseen world and the Kongzi circle for the sociopolitical.

While initial scholarship attempted to reconstruct these wooden objects as a larger dressing mirror stand frame with a smaller mirror cover, more recently Wang Chuning 王楚甯 has argued that the two rectangular objects were originally arranged at a right angle on separate pedestals, screening the corner of a couch or bed. Wang argues that Kongzi, the seven disciples, and their biographies faced inward, while the mirror, surrounded by the embodiments of longevity, joined with Zhong Ziqi and the rhapsody, faced outward. This might suggest a division of the room into two spaces, one where the ruler might gain from auspicious images, and one where he might gain from Kongzi, his circle, and their biographies.¹⁵

Han Biographies of Kongzi and His Circle

The discovery of the screen and mirror stand provides important information about a moment in the Western Han when Kongzi and his disciples were becoming increasingly important. Elsewhere, I have talked about the “disciple vogue” of the first century B.C.E., and the placement of these images and biographies at the center of the former emperor’s tomb is consistent with this trend.¹⁶ Yet applying the term “biography” perhaps assumes too much about the function of the texts inscribed on the object, based on their close relationship to similar materials in the Han histories.

The two chapters devoted to Kongzi and his disciples in Sima Qian’s 司馬遷 (145–c. 87) *Shi ji* have been, until now, the foundational sources for early biographies of the master and his circle. The “Hereditary House of Kongzi” (“Kongzi shijia” 孔子世家) offers a chronological treatment of Kongzi’s life, connecting him to important ancestors when describing his birth and youth, recounting his words and deeds during his adult travel from court to court, followed by eulogies of him and brief descriptions of two aspects of his postmortem legacy: his shrine and his posthumous reputation reflecting his descendants’ accomplishments. Another chapter, “Zhongni’s [i.e., Kongzi’s] Disciples” (“Zhongni dizi liezhuan” 仲尼弟子列傳), identifies the seventy-two direct disciples Kongzi trained in ritual practice and study of the Classics, assigning the first ten of them to one of four categories: “virtuous conduct” (*dexing* 德行),

15. Wang Chuning 王楚甯, “Jiangxi Nanchang Xi-Han Haihunhou Liu He mu chutu ‘Kongzi jing ping’ fuyuan yanjiu” 江西南昌西漢海昏侯劉賀墓出土“孔子鏡屏”複原研究 *Wenwu* 2022.3, 52–63.

16. See Mark Csikszentmihalyi, “Interlocutor Collections, the *Lunyu*, and Proto-*Lunyu* Texts,” in *Confucius and The Analects Revisited: New Perspectives on Composition, Dating and Authorship*, ed. Michael Hunter and Martin Kern (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 218–40.

“government service” (*zhengshi* 政事), “oral rhetoric” (*yanyu* 言語), or “literary scholarship” (*wenxue* 文學).¹⁷ A greater proportion of the disciple chapter’s content overlaps with the content of the *Analects*, but the *Shi ji* disciple chapter and the *Analects* differ formally in that the *Shi ji* chapter arranges conversations by the identity of Kongzi’s interlocutor, while the *Analects* only rarely groups such passages in that way.¹⁸

Likely a sampling of a wide array of Kongzi-related works in circulation in mid-Western Han, these two *Shi ji* chapters not only preserve materials concerning the sage and his community not found in the *Analects*, but also reflect a construction of a particular image of Kongzi and his community, colored, perhaps, by Sima Qian’s own justification for writing his history, which has been characterized as becoming “a second Confucius.”¹⁹ Whatever Sima Qian’s intent, later readers across a number of social groups took the lives of the members of Kongzi’s community as paradigms of exemplary conduct, and the composition of the *Chunqiu* 春秋 as the prototype for later writers who wished to transmit their political and philosophical views to posterity.

The texts on the Haihunhou tomb’s screen and mirror frame, which I will call the “mirror texts” for the sake of simplicity, were likely composed in the decades following the compilation of Sima Qian’s masterwork. The mirror text biography of Kongzi differs from the those of his disciples in significant ways. For example, it is both longer and relies on chronologically arranged narratives rather than incorporating dialogues. In many ways, these formal distinctions mimic the bifurcation found in the two *Shi ji* chapters: one is a chronological biographical treatment of Kongzi followed by a short eulogy, while the second consists of brief biographical sketches and snatches of dialogue associated with several prominent disciples. Like the *Shi ji* chapter devoted to Kongzi, the Haihunhou Kongzi biography mentions key elements of Kongzi’s life, including his childhood mastery of ritual, his teachings, and his editorial work on the Classics, presented in the same order as in the longer *Shi ji* chapter. The Haihunhou text’s eulogy even represents a direct parallel to part of the *Shi ji* postface, minus any attribution to the “Senior Archivist” 太史公. While significant differences in content between the two texts will be discussed in more detail below, these similarities are largely compatible with a hypothesis that the mirror’s biography of Kongzi may be an abridgement of some version of the material known

17. *Analects* 11.3 contains a similar taxonomy.

18. For the *Shi ji* reliance on the *Analects* in these chapters, see Michael Hunter, *Confucius Beyond the “Analects”* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 167ff.

19. Stephen W. Durrant, *The Cloudy Mirror: Tension and Conflict in the Writings of Sima Qian* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 9.

from the “Hereditary House of Kongzi” that drew material either from other sections of the *Shi ji* or from some of the same texts consulted by its compiler.

Like the *Shi ji* disciples’ chapter, the Haihunhou narratives for the disciples evince slight interest in the disciples’ backstories prior to their inductions into Kongzi’s circle and focus instead on *Analects*-style dialogues between Kongzi and his disciples. As we will see, the mirror disciple texts differ from the treatments provided for these same disciples in the *Shi ji* in one significant way, despite the highly formulaic framing of each biography: the two texts differ in the selection of narratives and dialogues associated with each disciple. As a result, the mirror disciple texts *do not* simply represent excerpts of the longer treatments from the *Shi ji* “disciples” chapter.

The complex relationship between the excavated mirror texts and the two transmitted chapters of the *Shi ji* is the subject of the next two sections of this article, but these are by no means the only two texts concerned with Kongzi and his circle. Two chapters from the Eastern Han compilation *Kongzi jiaoyu* 孔子家語, entitled “Dizi xing” 弟子行 and “Qishi’er dizi jie” 七十二弟子解, contain some material that overlaps with the mirror texts and the *Shi ji* chapters. The *Han shu* catalog lists a *Kongzi turen tufa* 孔子徒人圖法, which likely also concerned the categorization and description of the disciples.²⁰ Rather than treating the textual record concerning the early Kongzi community as congeries of exemplary behaviors, in these texts their assembly was in itself authoritative. They rearranged earlier information to shed light on a particular typology or on the relationships between members of that set. The focus was not on the sage alone, but on the sage and the disciples together. The following sections examine these biographies, and then propose some tentative explanations for why this was the case.

The Haihunhou Biography of Kongzi

To the left of Kongzi’s image, the thirteen-line text summarizing Kongzi’s life contains significant parallels to the earliest biography of the sage in the *Shi ji*. While the *Shi ji* “Hereditary House of Kongzi” is certainly

20. *Han shu*, 30.1717. Chin-Shing Huang, *Confucianism and Sacred Space: The Confucius Temple from Imperial China to Today* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020) translates *tu fa* as “icons,” while Lai Guolong 來國龍 argues that the text was not visually oriented but rather consisted of *tuji* 圖籍 and *fadian* 法典; “Han Jin zhi jian hegui shu de shanbian he guishen hua de yuanliu,” 漢晉之間劾鬼術的嬗變和鬼神畫的源流, in *Yishu shi zhong de Han Jin yu Tang Song zhi bian* 藝術史中的漢晉與唐宋之變, ed. Yuan Juanying 顏娟英 and Shi Shouqian 石守謙 (Taipei: Shitou, 2014), 63–94, 66n22.

a more comprehensive treatment of Kongzi's life story, three passages in the mirror text contain extended parallels with the *Shi ji* biography. The first set of parallels corresponds to the initial segment of the *Shi ji* chapter, detailing Kongzi's ancestors, birth, youth, and early career; the second set, to a *Shi ji* passage covering a late stage of Kongzi's life, from age sixty-three through his final years; and the third set, to the final textual block in the *Shi ji* biography, the Postface by the Senior Archivist (shortened in the Haihunhou text). Compared with the *Shi ji*, the mirror text lacks episodes from the middle of Kongzi's life: his travels to the states of Qi and Zhou, his attainment of office, his stays at the courts of Wei, Chen, Zheng, Cai, and then his return to Lu. Also missing are any final statements about Kongzi's death, eulogies by Lord Ai of Lu and the disciple Zigong, an account of the burial and the shrine that grew up around the grave, and a summary of Kongzi's noteworthy descendants.

Below is the transcription of the mirror text's treatment of Kongzi, translated in four sections, followed by a discussion of key contrasts with the *Shi ji* text.

1. Kongzi's Family, Birth, and Childhood

1. 孔子生魯昌平縣聚邑。其先宋人也²¹曰房叔。房叔生伯夏，伯夏生叔梁紇。紇與顏氏女墅居而生孔子。疇於尼丘。2魯襄公廿二年孔子生。生而首上汗頂。故名丘云。字中尼。姓孔子氏。孔子為兒嬉戲。常陳俎豆。設容禮。人皆圍之。²²

• Kongzi was born in the settlement of Zou 聚 in the district of Changping 昌平, in Lu. An ancestor named Fangshu 房叔 [had come from Song], and had a son named Boxia 伯夏. Boxia had a son named Shuliang He 叔梁紇, who dwelt in the wilderness with a daughter of the Yan 顏 clan, and it was she who gave birth to Kongzi. They cultivated fields on Ni Hill 尼丘. In the twenty-second year of Lord Xiang of Lu [551], Kongzi was born. Because he was born with a depression on the top of his head, he was called by the personal name of "Qiu" [meaning "hill"]. His courtesy name was "Second-son Ni," and he carried the Kong master's clan name.

21. Boxes in the Chinese and ellipses in the English indicate missing or illegible graphs in the mirror text, based on the 2020 transcription in Zhu Fenghan, *Haihun jian du chulun*. I have also indicated Zhu's guesses based on parallel passages in the English version. Subscript numbers inserted into the text indicate column numbers on the manuscript, and bullet points are internal section markers in the original text. Column numbers mark the beginning of the column.

22. Wang Yile and Wu Zhenhua, "Kongzi yijing chudu," 368.

As a child, Kongzi took delight, when playing, in setting out the sacrificial vessels in a ritually correct. . . [fashion]. Everyone thought him. . . [extraordinary].

The opening section contains many parallels to the beginning of the *Shi ji* chapter, but some of the minor variations suggest a different understanding of Kongzi's family background. Where the *Shi ji* somewhat notoriously says, "Shuliang He had a tryst in the wilderness with a daughter of the Yan 顏 clan, and she gave birth to Kongzi," and "they prayed at Ni Hill and were granted [the child] Kongzi," the Haihunhou version reads *zhu* 居 rather than *he* 合, and *chou* 疇 rather than *dao* 禱.²³ The interpretation of *ye he* 野合 has long been the subject of acrimonious debate, with some commentaries explaining defensively that their joining was "wild" because of the age difference between Shuliang He and the Yan girl, making a formal marriage ritually incorrect.²⁴ Since the Haihunhou text instead says they "dwelt in the wilds," there has been rejoicing in some quarters because now "we can put an end to this malicious slander about Confucius' birth."²⁵ The character *chou* may well be meant to be read as *dao* (prayer), but here I have read it as "cultivated a field" based on the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 explanation for *chou* as "cultivated farmland" (耕治之田也). Kongzi's connection to Ni Hill is considerably simpler than in other Han narratives.²⁶

While both the *Shi ji* and the mirror text refer to the child Kongzi's elaborate ritual play, the *Shi ji* version embeds it in a longer set of narratives about the burials of his father and mother. In the *Shi ji* telling, Kongzi's status as a ritual prodigy follows his mother's refusal to tell him where his father was buried.²⁷ In the mirror text, Kongzi's parents'

23. 紘與顏氏女野合而生孔子……禱於尼丘得孔子. *Shi ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1959), 47.1905.

24. Sima Zhen's 司馬貞 (679–732 C.E.) commentary justifies Shuliang He's marriage to a daughter of the Yan clan by explaining he had already had nine daughters but only one son, and that son had a medical problem with his leg. Zhang Shoujie's 張守節 (fl. 736 C.E.) subcommentary extends this approach, citing a numerological explanation for why men can and should marry before sixty-four *sui*, and saying that since Shuliang He was older than that, it was irregular (*Shi ji*, 47.1905).

25. Yang Jun 楊軍, En Zijian 恩子健, and Xu Changqing 徐長青, "Haihunhou fajue yu lishi wenhua ziliao zhengli yanjiu" 海昏侯發掘與歷史文化資料整理研究, *Jiangxi shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexueban)* 江西師範大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 2018.1, 104–15.

26. The *Shi ji* reading of "pray" is supported by an early parallel from the *Kongzi jiaoyu* (Shandong: Shandong renmin, 1989), 9.10b ("Ben xing jie" 本姓解), that says they "privately prayed to Mount Niqui for an auspicious outcome" (私禱尼丘山以祈焉) about his gender.

27. *Shi ji*, 47.1906, compare *Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋, ed. Huang Hui 黃暉, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1990), 26.1089.

burials present no special challenges worth noting. Essentially, the two texts differ where the mirror text omits elements found in the *Shi ji* account.

2. Kongzi's Early Career

孔子年十七，諸侯稱其賢也。魯昭公六年，孔子蓋卅矣。孔子長九尺有六寸，人皆謂之長人異之。孔子行禮樂仁義久。天下聞其聖。自遠方多來學焉。孔子弟子顏回子贛之徒七十有七人，皆異能之士。孔子游諸侯毋所遇。困于陳蔡之間。²⁸

When Kongzi was seventeen, the various lords . . . praised his worthiness.

In the sixth year of the reign of Lord Zhao of Lu [536], Kongzi reached the age of thirty. Kongzi's height was nine *chi* and six *cun*, and people referred to him as "that tall guy" and thought him on that basis exceptional.

Kongzi practiced the rites and music, benevolence, and righteousness . . . for a long time. The people of the world heard about his sagacity and came from far and wide to learn from him. Kongzi's disciples, and the followers of Yan Hui and Zigong numbered seventy-seven; all were *shi* 士 [i.e., men of breeding] with exceptional abilities.

[Kongzi journeyed] to the courts of the various lords, but none recognized him. He suffered hardship between [Chen and Cai].

This outline of Kongzi's early career contains so many elements familiar from the *Shi ji* account that it is easy to miss a key contrast: there are no references to Kongzi holding any office whatsoever. By contrast, the *Shi ji* account of this period of his life seems to link Kongzi's social origins to his incipient career, forming a portrait of an official whose demonstrated effectiveness leads to the greater responsibilities of higher office:

孔子貧且賤。及長，嘗為季氏史，料量平；嘗為司職吏而畜蕃息。由是為司空。

Kongzi was poor and he lacked official rank. When he grew up, he once served as scribe for the Ji clan, and he measured grains fairly. He once served as official in charge of the pastures, and the domestic animals multiplied. As a result, he was made Commissioner of Public Works.²⁹

28. Wang Yile and Wu Zhenhua, "Kongzi yijing chudu," 368.

29. *Shi ji*, 47.1909.

Notably, the Haihunhou version contains no reference to Kongzi's initial career or to his noble descent from displaced Shang ancestors forced to move to Song, one of whom showed proper humility in the context of repeated official promotions,³⁰ a point emphasized in the *Shi ji*. The effect of both of these omissions is that neither the Haihunhou Kongzi nor his ancestors are ever portrayed explicitly as officials.

The treatments regarding Kongzi's training of disciples also exhibit a telling difference. The mirror text biography puts Yan Hui and Zigong alongside Kongzi in the context of his training of disciples. Recall that on the mirror frame, Yan Hui is visually placed on a par with Kongzi. The *Shi ji* itself is inconsistent in its references to the number of disciples. The "Hereditary House of Kongzi" counts seventy-two,³¹ but the *Shi ji* disciples chapter uses seventy-seven instead, describing them, as does the mirror text, as "shi of exceptional abilities."³² It is far from clear whether the number seventy-seven was intended to include Zigong and Yan Hui, but it seems notable that the mirror text elevates particular disciples (conventionally construed as his two "teaching assistants") to share the limelight with the sage, as do its visual complements.

3. Kongzi's Legacy

魯哀公六年，孔子六十三。當此之時，周室威，王道壞，禮樂廢，₆盛德衰。上毋天子，下毋方伯。臣訖君，子□必，四面起矣。強者為右，南夷與北夷交，中國不絕弟縷耳。³³

In the sixth year of Lord Ai of Lu [489]. Kongzi was sixty-three *sui*.

At that time, the Zhou ruling house had been extinguished, its Kingly Way was destroyed, its rites and music discarded, and its flourishing virtue in decline. Above there was no Son of Heaven, and below there were no great loyal officials. Ministers cheating rulers, and

30. *Shi ji*, 47.1908 makes this connection via Meng Xizi's 孟釐子 deathbed testimonial regarding Kongzi; as Meng explains to his heir: "I have heard that although the descendants of a sage may not hold office, they will necessarily understand [ritual]. Now, in his youth Kongzi is good at the rites, and this shows he understood ritual" (吾聞聖人之後，雖不當世，必有達者。今孔丘年少好禮，其達者歟？吾即沒，若必師之。).

31. *Shi ji*, 47.1938: "Kongzi used the *Odes*, *Documents*, ritual, and music in his teaching. In all, he reached three thousand people, but seventy-two personally mastered the Six Attainments" (孔子以詩書禮樂教，弟子蓋三千焉，身通六藝者七十有二人). Note that while the transmitted *Shi ji* has 72, the Tang *zhengyi* 正義 commentary specifies 77.

32. In turn, the same elements are reused in the geographical treatise of the *Han shu* ("Dili zhi, xia" 地理志下), 28B.1662.

33. Wang Yile and Wu Zhenhua, "Kongzi yijing chudu," 368.

sons . . . [fathers],³⁴—such conduct arose everywhere. Warlords became confederates; the Southern Yi and the Northern Yi became allies, and the Central States were basically hanging by a thread.

孔子退，監於史記，說上世之成敗，古今之□□。始於隱公，終於哀公，列十二公事，是非二百卅年之中，弑君卅一，亡國五十二，刺幾得失，以為天下儀表。子曰：吾懲載之空言，不如見行事，深切著明也。故作春秋。³⁵

Kongzi retired and surveyed the historical records to explain the [political] successes and failures in previous generations . . . past and present. Beginning with Lord Yin and ending with Lord Ai, he laid out events under the twelve lords of Lu, approving or condemning [the various historical actors] over their 240 years, for their thirty-one [regicides] and fifty-two instances of domains destroyed. He needled [the powerful for their] successes and failures, to make [an exemplary model] for the people of the realm. The Master said, “If I desire to convey my abstract views, nothing is as good as demonstrating them through the conduct of events, rendering them deeply felt and clearly shown.” Thus, he made the *Spring and Autumn* classic.

上明三王之道，下辯人事經紀。決嫌疑，□□惡。舉賢才，廢不肖。賞有功，誅桀暴。長善莠惡以備王道。論必稱師而不敢專己。追跡三代之禮，序書傳。上紀唐虞之際，下至秦繆，綸次其事，約其文辭。¹¹詩書禮樂，雅頌之音，自此可得而述也。以成六藝。³⁶

Above, he clarified above the Way of Three Kings, and below he distinguished proper guidelines for human affairs. With it [his chronicle], one may [resolve doubtful points and] . . . wrongdoing, promote the worthy and dismiss the unfit, reward the meritorious and execute the violent, encourage good actions and root out the bad, and, in doing so, complete the Kingly Way. In his judgments, Kongzi always praised his models, never daring to monopolize credit for himself. So he pursued the traces of the Three Dynasties rituals and put in order the old manuscripts and traditions. He arranged the records from the time of Tang-Yao and Yu-Shun all the way down to Lord Mu of Qin, analyzing and putting events in their proper sequence, while abridging their words and phrases. It was from this time forward that the *Odes*, *Documents*, ritual and music, and the notes of the “Elegantiae” and “Hymns” were passed down. This brought the “Six Arts” into full existence.

34. Here, I have departed from the transcription, presuming that the phrase “ministers kill their rulers, children kill their parents” is a set phrase, and so *bi* 必 might be a copyist’s error for *fu* 父.

35. Wang Yile and Wu Zhenhua, “Kongzi yijing chudu,” 368.

36. Wang Yile and Wu Zhenhua, “Kongzi yijing chudu,” 368.

This passage, devoted to Kongzi's writings as record of his political vision and ethical ambitions, is notable for how it gives the writer of history agency in the righting of wrongs and in doing so makes a moving case that literature is capable of administering justice. Conspicuously absent are the descriptions of his numerous encounters with the rulers of his day, as found in the *Shi ji* biography. In their stead, the mirror text biography highlights his transmission of the rites and music inherited from earlier ages, and his editorial labors on the Classics—directly describing his work on the *Odes*, *Documents*, and, most centrally, his compilation of the *Spring and Autumn* chronicle. Whereas the *Shi ji* “Hereditary House of Kongzi” includes the *Changes* among its list of the Classics, and even has a separate passage discussing Kongzi's study of it near the end of his life, the *Changes* is noticeably absent from the discussion of Kongzi's literary work in the mirror text.³⁷

The long discussion of the *Spring and Autumn* classic is set within a narrative of Zhou decline and has parallels not just to the *Shi ji* “Hereditary House” but also to a discussion of the *Spring and Autumn* recorded in the final *Shi ji* chapter often called the “Personal Narrative of the Senior Director of the Archives” (*Taishi Gong zixu* 太史公自序). In a dialogue between Hu Sui 壺遂 and a Taishi Gong (probably Sima Qian), we read:³⁸

「余聞董生曰：『周道衰廢，孔子為魯司寇，諸侯害之，大夫壅之。孔子知言之不用，道之不行也，是非二百四十二年之中，以為天下儀表，貶天子，退諸侯，討大夫，以達王事而已矣。』子曰：『我欲載之空言，不如見之於行事之深切著明也。』夫春秋，上明三王之道，下辨人事之紀，別嫌疑，明是非，定猶豫，善善惡惡，賢賢賤不肖，存亡國，繼絕世，補敝起廢，王道之大者也。撥亂世反之正，莫近於春秋。春秋文成數萬，其指數千。萬物之散聚皆在春秋。春秋之中，弑君三十六，亡國五十二，諸侯奔走不得保其社稷者不可勝數。」

[i.] I have heard Master Dong say, “When the Way of the Zhou declined and was lost, Kongzi was serving as Director of Brigands, but local lords slandered him, and high officials obstructed his career. Knowing his words would be ignored and his way would not be implemented, Kongzi used his approval or disapproval of events spanning

37. Editor's note [M. Nylan]: as it is absent from the *Xunzi*'s list of the Classics.

38. Zhang Hanmo's *Authorship and Text-Making in Early China* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2018) argues that Hu Sui's conversation was with Sima Tan (265), and that the entirety of chapter 130 of the *Shi ji* was compiled by Sima Qian's grandson Yang Yun 楊惲 (285). On Yang Yun's role, see also below. Esther Sunkyung Klein's *Reading Sima Qian from Han to Song: The Father of History in Pre-Modern China* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), p. 32ff, offers a careful discussion of the identity of “Taishi Gong.”

242 years as an exemplary model for the people of the realm. He censured Sons of Heaven, demoted Lords, and condemned high officials, for no reason other than to fully realize the affairs of the true king.”

[ii.] As the Master said, “If I wished to set forth my views in the abstract, it would not be as good as clearly illustrating through the conduct of events, rendering them deeply felt and clearly shown.” So the *Spring and Autumn* clarified for rulers the Way of Three Kings and discriminated for subjects guidelines for human affairs. With it, one may resolve suspicions and vacillation, set right apart from wrong, make the hesitant firm, treat the good as good and the bad as bad, acknowledge the worthy as worthy and the unworthy as base, preserve lost domains and continue lines that have ended, remedy the depleted and rescue the perished, and, in doing so, perfectly illustrate the greatness of the Kingly Way.

[iii.] To dispel the chaos of generations and return the society to rectitude, nothing is as good as the *Spring and Autumn* classic. The text of the *Spring and Autumn* consists of several tens of thousands of words, and it has several thousand instances of censure, yet the gathering and dispersal of the myriad things is contained in the *Spring and Autumn*. The *Spring and Autumn* records thirty-six regicides and fifty-two domains destroyed. As for the Lords who fled and could not protect their altars of the soil and grain, their number is too high to count.³⁹

The final chapter of the *Shi ji* contains multiple speakers, and I have cited this passage *in extenso* to highlight the way that elements of each of the voices are combined without attribution in the Haihunhou biography. This passage contains three sections parallel to this part of the Haihunhou biography: (i) a long quotation usually attributed to Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 about the decline of the Zhou rule as a motive impelling Kongzi to write the *Spring and Autumn*, (ii) a quotation ascribed to Kongzi about the benefits of the writing of history and an expansion of that quotation that highlights the capacity of the brush to overcome the sword, and (iii) a third section with the latter-day description by the Senior Director of the Archives of the miraculous effects the *Spring and Autumn* can achieve. Although sections (ii) and (iii) are separated in the *Shi ji* by a passage about the *Changes* (perhaps interpolated), the fact that these three sections appear in the same order in both texts strongly suggests an intertextual connection between the Hu Sui conversation in the last chapter of the *Shi ji* and the mirror text biography. If the latter is

39. *Shi ji*, 120.3285.

based on the *Shi ji*, it draws from more than one chapter of that compilation.

Other aspects of this section of the Haihunhou biography have parallels in other Han sources. For example, the Haihunhou tallies of key phenomena in the *Spring and Autumn* also appear in the earlier *Huainanzi* 淮南子, which reads, “The *Spring and Autumn* covers two 242 years, with fifty-two cases of domains destroyed and thirty-six regicides. It selects the good actions and expunges the bad, in order to complete the Kingly Way.”⁴⁰ Two different parts of the above translation of the Haihunhou account of this part of Kongzi’s life end on a parallel with a part of this *Huainanzi* passage. For the transmitted Han texts, we should consider Wang Gang’s 王剛 observation that the mirror narrative indicates that the Zhou line has been entirely extinguished (superseded by the Qin and Han empires), as opposed to simply entering into a period of decline, as indicated in other sources.⁴¹ Parallels from the first half of the first century show that this part of the Haihunhou treatment of Kongzi is not simply an abridgment of the *Shi ji* “Hereditary House.”

Kongzi’s Death and Eulogy

孔子年七十三，魯哀公十六年四月己丑卒。天下君王₁₂至於賢人眾矣，當時則榮，歿則已焉。孔子布衣，傳十餘世，至于今不絕，學者宗之。自王侯，中國₁₃言六藝者折中於夫子，可謂至聖矣！⁴²

Kongzi lived for seventy-three years, dying in the fourth month of Year 16 of Lord Ai of Lu [479], on the *jijiu* day of the sexagenary cycle. There have been many past lords and kings on down to worthies in the realm. They were glorified in their own eras, but once they died, their reputations were finished. Kongzi was a commoner, in plain dress, and yet his way has been transmitted over ten generations down to the present, without interruption, and he has been the founder figure for scholars. From kings and nobles on down, he is the one that those who speak of the Six Arts in the central states all acknowledge, and so he may be called the ultimate sage!

40. *Huainanzi jiaoshi* 淮南子校釋, ed. Zhang Shuangdi 張雙棣 (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 1997), 9.1010 (“Zhu shu” 主術). See *The Huainanzi*, edited and translated by John Major, Sarah A. Queen, Andrew Seth Meyer, and Harold D. Roth (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 335.

41. See Wang Gang, “‘Zhou shi mie’ yu ‘Gongyang xue’ wenti: Nanchang Haihunhou mu ‘Kongzi yijing’ wen fawei” “周室威”與《公羊學》問題：南昌海昏侯墓“孔子衣鏡”文發微, *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線 2019.4, 87.

42. Wang Yile and Wu Zhenhua, “Kongzi yijing chudu,” 368.

While the *Shi ji* contains further content following the sentence about Kongzi's late years, the final part of the mirror biography is almost an exact parallel to the final section of "Hereditary House of Kongzi," aside from the Haihunhou omission of two eulogies, information on Kongzi's descendants, and the first part of the Postface comment attributed to the Taishi Gong. Only the second part of the Taishi Gong comment, about Kongzi's glorious reputation continuing after more than ten generations, is shared as the final word in both the "Hereditary House" *Shi ji* chapter and the Haihunhou text, in nearly identical prose.

The two texts summarized here—the transmitted *Shi ji* "Hereditary House" biography submitted to the throne some four decades before the excavated Haihunhou text dating to 59 B.C.E. or before—share so many key passages that there must be a fairly direct connection between the two. Yet, the third of the Haihunhou text's four sections about the *Spring and Autumn* clearly has parallels with other parts of the *Shi ji* and, equally importantly, with other second-century B.C.E. texts, demonstrating that the Haihunhou text is not simply excerpted from the transmitted version of the "Hereditary House of Kongzi," contra some initial assessments. But what is the relationship between the two, then?

There are several plausible hypotheses. First, it is worth considering whether the mirror was made in Chang'an, since the *Han shu* explains that the *Shi ji* was not widely disseminated and likely would have been hard to access during Liu He's exile. The work was not circulated until the reign that followed Liu He's exile from Chang'an, we are told:

遷既死後，其書稍出。宣帝時，遷外孫平通侯楊惲祖述其書，遂宣布焉。

After Sima Qian's death, his writings were not well disseminated. During the reign of Emperor Xuan (74–48 B.C.E.), [Sima] Qian's daughter's son Yang Yun, Noble of Pingtong, sought to follow his grandfather's precedents and widely disseminate Qian's book.⁴³

43. *Han shu*, 62.2737. Prior to 66, serving as Bureau Head of the Left (Zuo Cao 左曹), Yang Yun was the fourth in a chain of five officials who relayed accusations against the Huo clan (*Han shu*, 68.2931). *Shi ji*, 20.1066 ("Jianyuan yilai houzhe nianbiao" 建元以來侯者年表) says that Yang Yun (d. 55) was enfeoffed as Noble of Pingtong in 61, in part as reward for his role in implicating Huo Yu 霍禹 (d. 66), brother of Empress Huo (Huo Chengjun 霍成君, d. 54), in the Huo clan's treasonous plot. Michael Loewe explains how the opponents of the Huos were rewarded with titles in 66: "The edict granted an amnesty to all those who had been tricked by the Huo family into compliance and whose degree of complicity had not yet been reported; and nobilities were conferred on a number of men who had been concerned in revealing the plot." Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict in Han China, 104 B.C. to A.D. 9* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974), 139. Interestingly, the mirror texts, with clear links to numerous chapters of the Sima oeuvre

footnote continued on next page

Notably, the Haihunhou text includes two extensive quotations that are explicitly attributed in the *Shi ji* to Taishi Gong. When these passages appear in the Haihunhou biographical treatment they are unattributed, perhaps indicating they derive from materials held in the palace archives available in Chang'an prior to the completion of the *Shi ji*. Finally, if the mirror was made in 74 B.C.E. or before in the capital, it is the sort of luxury item consistent with the use of state resources for personal ends of which Liu He was accused when he was deposed in that same year.

大行在前殿，發樂府樂器，引內昌邑樂人，擊鼓歌吹作俳優。會下還，上前殿，擊鐘磬，召內泰壹宗廟樂人鞞道牟首，鼓吹歌舞，悉奏眾樂。

When the coffin of the prior emperor was in the front hall, [Liu He] ordered musical instruments be brought from the Music Bureau and musicians brought up from Changyi to play drums and sing songs. After the assembly was over, he ascended the front hall. The bells and chime stones were struck and musicians from the Shrine of Grand Unity were summoned to the inner precincts via the dedicated imperial road to Lake Moushou. There they struck, blew, sang, and danced, performing all kinds of music for him.⁴⁴

In such an atmosphere, it is not hard to imagine a member of another bureau being commissioned to collaborate with craftsmen to create an object like the mirror for the new emperor.

Second, we can say with confidence that the Haihunhou prose biography of Kongzi reflects several clear editorial decisions relative to the content of the corpus of Kongzi stories in circulation at the time. As we have seen, the mirror text's Kongzi is missing certain aspects that are present in other Han portrayals like service in various official capacities. Significantly, relative to the many Han images of Kongzi in circulation, the cultural attainments of Kongzi as preserver of the Classics, as well as rites and music practices, are foregrounded, while Kongzi the political advisor is completely absent. In particular, the Haihunhou narrative highlights his political vision in the *Spring and Autumn* and elaborates on how others may use that text to access Kongzi's "Kingly Way."⁴⁵

Thirdly, while the Haihunhou text omits mention of the many dialogues reported between Kongzi and the rulers of his day, it emphasizes his teaching of disciples. In addition, his disciples are placed on a level

preserved by the anti-Huo hero Yang Yun, were found in the tomb of an emperor deposed by the Huo.

44. *Han shu*, 68.2940.

45. That this emphasis on Gongyang-style readings of the *Spring and Autumn* is so central to the Haihunhou portrayal of Kongzi is an important aspect of this find.

with Kongzi visually, while the disciples Yan Hui and Zixia are singled out in the accompanying rhapsody, and Yan Hui and Zigong are singled out in the description of Kongzi's teaching of disciples in the biography. While the Kongzi biography may largely be an abridgement of *Shi ji* materials, the process reflected specific editorial choices. Now we turn to shorter texts that accompany the images of the disciples, texts with major formal differences from the Kongzi biography.

The Haihunhou Disciple Biographies

The connections between the *Shi ji* chapter containing disciple biographies and the mirror text disciple biographies are extremely interesting. To introduce these biographies, here is a complete translation of the text to the right to Yan Hui's image (with line numbers added):

1 • 孔子弟子曰：顏回魯人。字子淵。少孔子卅歲。顏回問仁。子曰：克己復禮為仁。一日克己復禮，天下歸仁焉。為仁由己，而由人乎哉。顏淵曰：請問其目。子曰：非禮勿視，非禮勿聽，非禮勿言，非禮勿動。顏淵曰：回雖不敏也，請事此語也。顏回涓然歎之曰：仰之彌高，鑽之彌堅，瞻之在前，忽焉在後。夫子循循然善誘人，博我以文，約我以禮。欲罷不能，既竭吾才，如有所立卓爾。雖欲從之，無由也已。孔子曰：顏回為淳仁。子謂顏回曰：用之則行，舍之則藏，唯我與爾有是夫。孔子曰：自我得回也，門人日益親。11 • 右顏淵⁴⁶

*Kongzi's Disciples*⁴⁷ says:

Yan [Hui was from Lu]. His cognomen was Ziyuan. He was thirty *sui* younger than Kongzi.⁴⁸

Yan Hui asked about benevolence. The Master said,

"Overcoming oneself and returning to ritual is how to be benevolent. If for a single day one can [overcome oneself] and return to ritual propriety, then the people of the world will return to benevolence. Being benevolent comes from oneself, how could it come from others?"

Yan Yuan: "May I ask about the program?"

The Master said, "Do not look at what goes against ritual, do not listen to what goes against ritual, do not speak of what goes against ritual, and do not do anything that goes against ritual."

46. Wang Yile and Wu Zhenhua, "Kongzi yijing chudu," 370.

47. The justification for reading this as a title is addressed at length below.

48. *Kongzi jiaoyu* and *Shi ji* both specify that Yan was from the state of Lu, but the Haihunhou treatment omits this information.

Yan Yuan said: "Though I, Hui, am not clever, allow me to put these phrases into practice."⁴⁹

Yan Hui heaved [a sigh] and said,

"I look up at it, and it rises further. I bore into it, and it grows harder. I see it in front of me, and suddenly it is behind me. In an orderly manner, my master excels at drawing people in, he broadens me with literature, and then reins me in with ritual. If I wanted to stop, I don't know how to go about doing so."⁵⁰

Kongzi said, "Yan Hui is pure in his benevolence and [uprightness]."⁵¹

The Master told Yan Hui, "To work when employed but hide oneself when cast aside, only you and I can do this."⁵²

Kongzi said, "Since I got hold of Hui, my followers have grown closer each day."⁵³

- On the right is Yan Yuan.

This biography begins with information about Yan Hui's name and age relative to Kongzi. It then proceeds to three sections having to do with Kongzi, treating the training of Yan Hui in Kongzi's ritual program and Yan Hui's struggles to internalize it. In what is perhaps the most significant line, Kongzi tells Yan Hui, "Only you and I can do this," a literary echo of the placement of the two figures on the top register. What is it only they can do? The line "work when employed but hide oneself when

49. This passage is parallel to *Analects* 12.1 (*Lun yu jishi* 論語集釋, ed. Cheng Shude 程樹德 [Beijing: Zhonghua, 1990], 24.817–24). Note the shift in the Haihunhou version from Yan Hui to Yan Yuan once it moves past this first exchange.

50. Parallel to *Analects* 9.11 (*Lun yu jishi*, 17.593–598).

51. This line does not appear in the *Analects* or other disciple texts.

52. Only the first part of *Analects* 7.11, is quoted here, and also in the *Shi ji*. See *Lun yu jishi*, 13.450–53. In the *Analects*, the second part of 7.11 is a somewhat unrelated dialogue between Zilu and the Master about military virtue.

53. This passage does not appear in the *Analects*. *Shi ji*, 61.2188 prefaces the saying with the words 孔子哭之慟 "Kongzi wept bitterly for him" (a version of the beginning of *Analects* 11.10, as in *Lun yu jishi*, 22.758–59: "When Yan Hui died, the Master wept bitterly for him. His followers said: "Our Master is weeping bitterly." The Master said: "Am I? For whom should I weep bitterly if not for such a man?" (顏淵死，子哭之慟。從者曰：「子慟矣。」曰：「有慟乎？非夫人之為慟而誰為！」). *Kongzi jiaoyu*, 9.1a, adds a final assessment of Yan that includes the saying before it ends on a more general evaluation: "When he was twenty-nine, his hair turned white, and he died at the young age of thirty-one. Kongzi said, 'Since I have had Hui, my followers have grown increasingly close.' Hui was famous for his virtuous actions, and Kongzi praised his benevolence" (年二十九而髮白，三十一，早死。孔子曰：「自吾有回，門人日益。」回以德行著名，孔子稱其仁焉)。

cast aside” seems particularly significant for a former emperor in remote exile, although it is possible that the screen and mirror stand predates that event.

Yan Hui’s mirror text portrayal is in some ways similar to the *Shi ji* section on Yan Hui. Yet there are also meaningful differences: the former does not include several *Shi ji* passages (parallel to *Analects* 6.11, 2.9, and 6.3) found in the *Shi ji* disciples chapter. It also includes a line about Yan Hui’s benevolence and uprightness with parallels in neither the *Analects* nor the *Shi ji*—indicating that the mirror text is not a simple abridgment of the *Shi ji* disciples chapter.

The other disciple texts underscore this conclusion. In every case, the Haihunhou capsule disciple biographies quote dialogues that are not found in the *Shi ji* version. Indeed, the relationship of mirror texts to the *Shi ji* disciples chapter is a fascinating one precisely because they each contain a different (if at times overlapping) selection of anecdotes. At times, the different choices made by the compilers result in very different portrayals of the disciples.⁵⁴

To analyze this further, it helps to formally divide each of the Haihunhou texts into two parts: (1) the *biographical narratives* for each disciple, plus (2) *dialogues or anecdotes* featuring said disciple as interlocutor or subject. Contrasting these two parts of the mirror disciple texts, it is clear that each has a very different relationship to the *Shi ji* chapter. While there is a high degree of overlap between the biographical (i.e., non-dialogical) sections at the beginning and end of the disciple texts, when it comes to the choices of dialogues to be supplied for each disciple, the two texts are completely different.

The biographical narratives appear, for most part, at the beginning and end of each disciple section. For each disciple, [Table 1](#) compares the sections that occur before or after the central dialogic passages in both the *Shi ji* and the mirror texts. There are, to be sure, some significant differences, such as the way Zigong is introduced and whether his service at the end of his life is recounted, or Zixia’s age difference with Kongzi. That said, differences occur within a relatively regular formal pattern

54. In the case of Zigong, the *Shi ji* narrative contains tropes of misrepresentation and shady business dealings. When a dialogue about wealth and poverty in *Analects* 1.15 is quoted, the second part, in which Zigong is complimented by Kongzi, is left out (70.2195). By contrast, the capsule biography from Haihunhou says nothing about Zigong’s clever speech or *Analects* 1.15 dialogue, and only briefly touches on his economic activities in a neutral fashion. Instead, the Haihunhou passage ends on Zigong’s effusive praise of Kongzi also found in *Analects* 19.25 (Wang Yile and Wu Zhenhua, “Kongzi yijing chudu,” 372). The portrayals of Zigong illustrate how despite formal similarities, the two sets of disciple biographies selectively use information to paint rather different portraits.

Table 1. The biographical narratives (non-dialogic elements) in the Haihunhou disciple texts, compared with *Shi ji* “Zhong Ni’s disciples” counterparts. Note that the Haihunhou narratives for Ziyu and Ziwo are part of the same block of text, and that block ends with a shared assessment.

Disciple	Haihunhou narrative: beginning	SJ narrative: beginning	Haihunhou narrative: end	SJ narrative: end
子張 Zizhang	孔子弟子曰：顓孫師，陳人，字子張。少孔子□八歲。 Kongzi’s Disciples says: Zhuansun Shi was from Chen, and his cognomen was Zizhang. He was forty-eight sui Kongzi’s junior.	顓孫師，陳人，字子張。少孔子四十八歲。		
顏回 Yan Hui	孔子弟子曰：顏回魯人。字子淵。少孔子卅歲。 Kongzi’s Disciples says: Yan [Hui] was from Lu. His cognomen was Ziyuan. He was thirty sui younger than Kongzi.	顏回者，魯人也，字子淵。少孔子三十歲。	孔子曰：自我得回也，門人日益親。 Kongzi said, “Since I got hold of Hui, my followers have grown closer each day.”	回年二十九，發盡白，蚤死。孔子哭之慟曰：「自吾有回，門人益親。」 When Hui was twenty-nine, his hair turned completely white, and he came to an early death. Kongzi was moved to cry at this and grieved, “Since we have had Hui among us, my disciples have grown closer.”

(Continued)

Table 1: (Continued)

Disciple	Haihunhou narrative: beginning	SJ narrative: beginning	Haihunhou narrative: end	SJ narrative: end
子貢 Zigong	孔子弟子曰：端木賜，衛人也。字子貢。少孔子卅一歲。子貢為人結駟鬻財...接既已受業... <i>Kongzi's Disciples</i> says: Duanmu Ci was from Wei. His cognomen was Zigong. He was thirty-one years old. As a person, Zigong could ride [a chariot and buy] and sell. . . . received. Once he had entered into training . . .	端木賜，衛人，字子貢。少孔子三十一歲。子貢利口巧辭，孔子常黜其辯。 Duanmu Ci was from Wei. His cognomen was Zigong. He was thirty-one years old. As a person, Zigong used clever phrases, and Kongzi often dismissed his arguments.		子貢好廢舉，與時轉貨貴。喜揚人之美，不能匿人之過。常相魯衛，家累千金，卒終于齊。 Zigong was a speculator who manipulated the value of goods. He praised others' good points, but was unable to conceal other's faults. Once he had served as Chancellor of Lu and Wei, his family grew wealthy. He ended up dying in Qi.

(Continued)

Table 1: (Continued)

Disciple	Haihunhou narrative: beginning	SJ narrative: beginning	Haihunhou narrative: end	SJ narrative: end
子路 Zilu	孔子弟子曰：中由，卞人。字子路。[少孔子九歲。]子路性鄙，好勇力，伉直，冠雄雞，配佩羆豚，陵暴孔子。孔子設禮稍誘子路，子路設[]藝稍誘子路，子路后儒服委質，因門人請為孔子弟子。	仲由，字子路，卞人也。少孔子九歲。子路性鄙，好勇力，志伉直，冠雄雞，佩羆豚，陵暴孔子。孔子設禮稍誘子路，子路後儒服委質，因門人請為弟子。	孔子曰：自吾得由也，惡言不聞吾耳。	故孔子曰：「自吾得由，惡言不聞於耳。」是時子貢為魯使於齊。
	<i>Kongzi's Disciples</i> says: Zhong You was from Bian, and his cognomen was Zilu. [He was nine <i>sui</i> Kongzi's junior. Zilu's nature was coarse, he excelled in courage and strength, and was honorable. He cocked his hat jauntily, wore a pigskin sheath, and was insulting to Kongzi... Kongzi guided Zilu in ceremonial, and afterwards Zilu wore Ru garb and was loyal. He relied on [Kongzi's] followers to request he become Kongzi's disciple.	Zhong You's cognomen was Zilu, and he was nine <i>sui</i> Kongzi's junior. Zilu's nature was coarse, and his intentions were honorable. He cocked his hat jauntily, wore a pigskin sheath, and was insulting to Kongzi... Kongzi guided Zilu in ceremonial, and afterwards Zilu wore Ru garb and was loyal. He relied on [Kongzi's] followers to request he become Kongzi's disciple.	So Kongzi said, "Since the time I got hold of [Zhong] You, baleful words have not been heard by our ears."	So Kongzi said, "Since the time that I got hold of [Zhong] You, baleful words have not been heard by ears." At this time, Zigong was sent by Lu as an emissary to Qi.

(Continued)

Table 1: (Continued)

Disciple	Haihunhou narrative: beginning	SJ narrative: beginning	Haihunhou narrative: end	SJ narrative: end
子羽 Ziyu	孔子弟子曰：堂駘滅明，武城人。字子羽...甚惡。欲事孔子。孔子以為材薄，曰：然烏得揚...已受業，退而修行。行不由徑，非公事不見...子三百人，設去就取予，□□□以... Kongzi's Disciples says: Tangtai Mieming was from Wucheng. His cognomen was Ziyu... very ugly. He wished to serve Kongzi, but because Kongzi thought he had few skills, he said: "So how will he be able to spread...?" Once he received training, he retired to cultivate his conduct. When he walked he didn't take shortcuts, and only saw [high officials] on public business... three hundred disciples, ... knowing how to evaluate proposals and make plans...	澹臺滅明，武城人，字子羽。少孔子三十九歲。狀貌甚惡。欲事孔子，孔子以為材薄。既已受業，退而修行。行不由徑，非公事不見卿大夫。南游至江，從弟子三百人，設取予去就，名施乎諸侯。 Tantai Mieming was from Wucheng. His cognomen was Ziyu. He was thirty-nine sui Kongzi's junior. His appearance was deeply ugly. He wished to serve Kongzi, but Kongzi thought he had few skills. Once he received training, he retired to cultivate his conduct. When he walked he didn't take shortcuts, and only saw high officials on public business. He wandered south until he reached the Jiang River, where he had over three hundred disciples follow him. He became famous among the various lords of that area for knowing how to make plans and evaluate proposals.		

(Continued)

Table 1: (Continued)

Disciple	Haihunhou narrative: beginning	SJ narrative: beginning	Haihunhou narrative: end	SJ narrative: end
子我 Ziwo	<p>宰予，字... 以為可教。既已受業，修於學...</p> <p>Zai Yu's cognomen was... found him teachable. Once he received training, he cultivated himself through study...</p>	<p>宰予，字子我。利口辯辭。既受業... Zai Yu's cognomen was Ziwo. He was sharp-tongued and argumentative. Once he received training...</p>	<p>臨菑大夫，與田常亂，死... 失之子羽，以言取人，失之宰予。</p> <p>[He was a] high official in Linzi. He rebelled alongside Tian Chang and after he died... ".... then I erred with Ziyu; if one uses speech to select a person, then I erred with Zai Yu."</p>	<p>宰我為臨菑大夫，與田常作亂，以夷其族，孔子恥之。</p> <p>When Zai Wo served as a high official in Linzi, he rebelled alongside Tian Chang, and as a result his entire clan was executed. Kongzi was ashamed of this.</p>
子夏 Zixia	<p>孔子弟子曰：卜商，字子夏。少孔子十四歲。</p> <p>Bu Shang's cognomen was Zixia. He was forty-four sui Kongzi's junior.</p> <p>Kongzi's Disciples says: Bu Shang's cognomen was Zixia. He was twenty-four sui Kongzi's junior.</p>	<p>卜商，字子夏。少孔子四十四歲。 Bu Shang's cognomen was Zixia. He was forty-four sui Kongzi's junior.</p>	<p>孔子既沒，子夏居西河。致為文侯師。其子死，哭之失明。 Once Kongzi died, Zixia dwelt in Xihe where he was a tutor to the Noble Wen of Wei. When his son died, he cried so hard he could not see.</p>	<p>孔子既沒，子夏居西河教授，為魏文侯師。其子死，哭之失明。 Once Kongzi died, Zixia dwelt in Xihe where he was a tutor to the Noble Wen of Wei. When his son died, he cried so hard he could not see.</p>

shared in both texts. Looking at the mirror text disciple treatments as a whole, we find a general formula, even if not every item occurs in every treatment:

1. Identification: name, cognomen, age difference with Kongzi
2. General description of disciple's character
3. The phrase "once they received training" (*ji shou ye* 既受業)
4. Dialogues
5. Evaluative comment by Kongzi and/or comments on the disciple's career

While the first and fourth of these elements appear in every biography, [Table 1](#) shows that the other elements are in many (but not all) of the treatments. Despite inconsistencies, when the elements do appear, they appear almost always in the same sequence. However, there are two very notable features that distinguish the mirror text biographies from those of the *Shi ji*. First, every Haihunhou illustration of a disciple begins with the five-character phrase "Kongzi's disciples says" (孔子弟子曰), a phrase that appears to make at least the "identification" section of the treatment a direct quotation from a manuscript title or a standard oral treatment. Second, for several of the disciples, the *Shi ji* passages include an additional characterological assessment at the end. For example, both texts end the passage on Zixia by noting he taught Noble Wen of Wei, but the *Shi ji* treatment ends with the flourish: "When his son died, Zixia cried so hard his vision was impaired."⁵⁵ The overall formal similarities between the two texts in terms of these biographical sections (items 1, 2, 3, and 5 above) might suggest that the Haihunhou artist was drawing on materials that looked more like the *Shi ji* chapter, were it not for the fact that the dialogue sections (item 4 above) are so different.

By contrast, the dialogues chosen for each disciple differ substantially in the *Shi ji* and Haihunhou disciple treatments. [Table 2](#) summarizes these differences using the shorthand of *Analects* chapter numbers to identify the various dialogues, although it is important to point out that there are variations and discontinuities within many of the dialogues relative to the *Analects*. The lengths of their accounts differ quite a bit, with the *Shi ji* parallels often shorter than either the *Analects* or mirror text versions. The *Shi ji* also fills in narrative elements more frequently, for example, locating the dialogue between Zizhang and Kongzi found in *Analects* 15.6 or prefacing the severely abridged dialogue between the

55. *Shi ji*, 67.2203.

Table 2. Dialogic parallels to chapters in the *Analects* in the Haihunhou disciple texts, compared with *Shi ji* “Zhong Ni dizi liezhuan.”

Disciple	Haihunhou dialogues identified by <i>Analects</i> chapter number parallel	<i>Shi ji</i> dialogues identified by <i>Analects</i> chapter number parallel
子張 Zizhang	2.18, 19.3	2.18, 15.6, 12.20
顏回 Yan Hui	12.1, 9.11, other source, 7.11	12.1, 6.11, 2.9, 7.11, 6.3
子貢 Zigong	15.24, 19.25	5.9, 5.4, 19.22, 1.10, 1.15
子路 Zilu	17.23	13.1, 17.23, 5.14, 12.12, 5.7, 11.13, 9.27, 11.15, 5.8, 18.6–7, 11.24
子羽 Ziyu	other source	other source
子我 Ziwo	other source, 17.21, 5.10, other source	other source, 17.21, 5.10, other source
子夏 Zixia	3.8, 1.7, 19.6	3.8, 11.6, 6.13

Master Ji and Kongzi found in *Analects* 11.24 with a sentence contextualizing the exchange: “Zilu was serving as steward for the Ji clan.”⁵⁶ The systematic differences suggest both works independently drew upon a common fund of disciple dialogues, or abridged a similar source that had many more dialogues than either compiler chose to include.

One passage is especially telling about the complex relationship between the two texts and between their dialogic and biographical elements. Both the Haihunhou and *Shi ji* disciple treatments of the disciple Zigong begin with passages that start by locating successive dialogues with the preface “Once he received training, he asked” (既已受業問曰) and “Chen Ziqin asked Zigong” (陳子禽問子贛曰). These narrative elements are followed in the Haihunhou texts by dialogues corresponding to *Analects* 15.24 and 19.25, respectively. However, in the *Shi ji* chapter, these very same narrative markers, in the same order, lead into dialogues found in *Analects* 5.4 and 19.22, respectively. This is evidence that

56. See Hunter, *Confucius*, on the “between Chen and Cai” stories. The phrase “Zilu was serving as steward for the Ji clan” appears in the “Liqi” 禮器 chapter of the *Li ji*, while *Analects* 13.2, has the same phrase, but describes a different disciple, Zhonggong 仲弓.

the texts are using a shared narrative frame but inserting different dialogues to enliven their portrayals.

A further complication is the fact that the second of these passages in the *Shi ji*, parallel to *Analects* 19.22, identifies the interlocutor as Chen Ziqin, rather than Gongsun Zhao of Wei 衛公孫朝, as does *Analects* 19.22. Both the Haihunhou treatment of Zigong and the *Analects* mention Chen Ziqin only as the interlocutor in the single dialogue parallel to *Analects* 19.25. It is hard to imagine how both texts could have mined sources like the *Analects* for Zigong stories, and coincidentally placed Chen Ziqin dialogues at the same stage of their Zigong biography—especially since the *Shi ji* altered it from a Gongsun Zhao dialogue. This strongly suggests that the compilers of both the mirror text and *Shi ji* disciple treatments (or their proximate sources) were working from *similar narrative summaries about the disciples* but filled the summaries in with *different dialogues and anecdotes*. If so, the division of the *Shi ji* chapters into one chapter on Kongzi and another on the disciples may not have been an editorial decision as much as a consequence of two different corpuses available in the Western Han.

Another passage that appears to confirm this hypothesis is one that appears to capture a Haihunhou artist or copyist making a spontaneous decision to add a narrative summary about one disciple to the biography of another disciple. The biography of Ziyu appears to end on a statement also found in the *Lun heng* 論衡 about the two times that Kongzi used physiognomy on his disciples but got it wrong: “In using appearance to select a person, he erred with Ziyu, in using his words, he erred with Zai Yu” (以貌取人，失於子羽；以言取人，失於宰予也).⁵⁷ However, inserted into the middle of that statement is the biographical narrative for Zai Yu, complete with several elements of the narrative formula outlined above.⁵⁸ That the Haihunhou treatments contain dialogues not present in the *Shi ji* treatments, and vice versa, is less significant, I believe, than the fact that the two select dialogues *differently* for each disciple. As luck would have it, both versions provide information on the different sources they used to construct their disciple biographies.

In the Haihunhou treatments of the disciples, each illustrated disciple text begins with the same phrase (*Kongzi dizi yue* 孔子弟子曰). It is possible but unlikely that the mirror text simply is talking about the *Shi ji* chapter and using a different name. However, the pattern of differences between the dialogues used in the *Shi ji* disciple chapter and the mirror

57. See the “Gu xiang” 骨相 chapter, see *Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋, 3.123. Almost the same phrase appears in the chapter “Zilu chu jian” 子路初見 from the *Da Dai Li ji* 大戴禮記.

58. Wang Yile and Wu Zhenhua, “Kongzi yijing chudu,” 376.

texts shows that the current version of the latter could not be the *only* source for the former. It is possible that the citation of *Kongzi dizi* might only extend to the identification of the disciple's names, cognomens, and relative ages. In that case, the *Kongzi dizi* cited in the Haihunhou text from around 59 is formally very similar to a text with a similar title attributed to a figure who lived two centuries later, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200). The *Sui shu* 隋書 lists Zheng as compiler of the *Lun yu Kongzi dizi mulu* 論語孔子弟子目錄.⁵⁹ Perhaps Zheng Xuan's innovation was to take earlier *Kongzi dizi* texts, like the one the Haihunhou artist may have consulted, and trim them to try to produce authoritative identifications for a subset of disciples in the *Analects*.⁶⁰

In the case of the *Shi ji*, Sima Qian's comment on his disciple chapter contains a statement that he was using a different source for his biographies of the disciples than others were. The chapter reads:

太史公曰：學者多稱七十子之徒，譽者或過其實，毀者或損其真，鈞(均?)之未覩厥容貌，則論言。弟子籍出孔氏古文，近是。余以弟子名姓文字悉取論語弟子問并次為篇，疑者闕焉。

The Grand Archivist said: When most scholars invoke the 70 followers of the Master, their praise sometimes exceeds the truth, and their criticism sometimes minimizes the reality. In weighing them (or, "In both cases"), since no one can see their personal appearances then we must judge their words. The *Dizi ji* comes from the Kong clan ancient texts and so is close to the truth. I have used the disciples' surnames, given names, and its text in all cases to select from the *Lun yu* disciples' questions and arrange them in this chapter. Little of it is doubtful.⁶¹

Sima Qian identifies the *Dizi ji* 弟子籍 as a source that is superior to others (perhaps like the *Kongzi dizi*) in part because of its pedigree as a document found in the Kong family source. Above, it was argued that what we appear to be seeing is the matching of shared biographical narrative

59. *Sui shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1973), 32.936. See a fuller discussion in Csikszentmihalyi, "Interlocutor Collections." Qing reconstructions of *Lun yu Kongzi dizi mulu* are divided between thirty-eight or thirty-nine disciple versions by those scholars who believed the original text only covered the disciples who appeared in the *Analects*, and seventy-something disciple versions by those who believed the original text covered all who were mentioned in the *Shi ji* disciples chapter.

60. Especially interesting in this respect is Zheng Xuan's citation of the title of the book, which the *Sui shu* says he wrote, in Pei Yin's 裴駟 Liu Song period commentary to *Shi ji*, 67.2189: "Zheng Xuan said: 'The *Catalog of Kongzi's Disciples in the Analects* says he is from Lu'" (鄭玄曰：「孔子弟子目錄云魯人」).

61. *Shi ji*, 70. 2226. Byung-joon Kim 김병준 pointed me to this passage in connection with the *Dizi ji*.

sources with different selections of dialogues. Sima Qian's own description of his procedure says something very much like this.

While the shared narrative biography sections of the mirror texts and the *Shi ji* biographies may have relied on *mu lu* style texts, it is also possible that the section quoted as part of *Kongzi dizi* (oral or written) was a longer part of each capsule biography or the entire biography. In that case, a *Kongzi dizi* may have originally been compiled from narrative biographies of the disciples, but without dialogues, perhaps in the late second century B.C.E., and would have looked more like the narrative entries in Table 1. At the start of the first century B.C.E., at the beginning of the period of "disciple vogue" and the wide circulation of the *Analects*, Sima Qian or perhaps his grandson Yang Yun decided to fill in the narrative framework with passages coming from the *Analects* or the same compilations of dialogues from which the *Analects* were later drawn. Those would be more like the strings of dialogues in Table 2, a process recalling the *Zuo zhuan's* 左傳 addition of narratives to the narrative framework of the *Chunqiu* 春秋. This alternative might explain why the *Shi ji* disciples chapter is unique in the *Shi ji* in being primarily composed of dialogic building blocks. It might be the case, then, that our two sets of disciple treatments represent two draft collations in that process, or two independent selections from another larger collation.

The Significance of Kongzi and His Disciples in Han Court Culture

Michael Loewe has recently observed that during the two Han dynasties Kongzi was not seen as a figure whose "pronouncements affected the choice of a policy to be taken by the imperial government."⁶² Since Kongzi was an increasingly important figure, where did his cultural significance in this period come from?

In the first century B.C.E., portraits of Kongzi's disciples were closely intertwined with the development of the image of Kongzi, just as their voices were a major part of most of the dialogues of the *Analects*. Independent texts devoted to particular disciples circulated in the late Warring States period, and texts that centered on the disciples circulated as a group in the late Western Han and early Eastern Han.⁶³ A related aspect of the special role of Kongzi's disciples in Han culture may be glimpsed in the *Lunheng* of Wang Chong 王充. Wang begins the "Questioning Kongzi" ("Wen Kong" 問孔) chapter by arguing that Kongzi's disciples

62. Michael Loewe, "Attitudes to Kongzi in Han Times," *Journal of Asian History* 55.1 (2021), 1.

63. See Gu Shikao 顧史考 (Scott Cook), *Shangbo zhushu Kongzi yulu wenxian yanjiu* 上博竹書孔子語錄文獻研究 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2021).

were no more gifted than the men of letters in Wang's day. Yet Wang repeatedly makes the point that Kongzi's disciples were exemplary in their willingness to question Kongzi in ways that Wang's contemporaries are unwilling or unable to do.⁶⁴ Kongzi's disciples were good candidates for high office because they recognized their responsibilities to interrogate the pronouncements of a fallible leader. This shows how the relationship between Kongzi and his disciples was read in some Han sources as a model for that between a ruler and his ministers.

In this light, the wise ruler might, each day, look to his screen and mirror stand to be reminded of the time Kongzi placed himself on the same level as Yan Hui, a theme of Yan Hui's mirror text, which recounts Kongzi saying, "Only you and I are capable of doing this" (唯我與爾有是夫).⁶⁵ He might also be reminded of Kongzi's admonition against superficially evaluating people based on looks or words, the chief theme of the shared biography of Ziyu and Zai Yu. The visual image of the disciples, next to biographies full of Kongzi's evaluative comments, speak to the Kongzi's importance as a judge of good character. After all, according to the "Kongzi shijia," Kongzi told Duke Ai of Lu that: "good government lies in the selection of ministers" (政在選臣).⁶⁶

The richness of these Haihunhou materials suggests many avenues for research. It has significance not just for the formation of the early images of Kongzi and his disciples, but also about the ways that chapters of the *Shi ji* and other transmitted texts were formed from earlier materials and subsequently emended. In addition, it shows how stories about Kongzi and his disciples were used in the Han as a didactic proxy for lessons about the ruler and his officials, with an emphasis on the superior's correct evaluations of the skills and character of subordinates. This also suggests an explanation for Loewe's observation that Kongzi was not often invoked during the two Han dynasties in specific policy debates. In the Haihunhou mirror texts, Kongzi may have stood in for an ideal ruler, celebrated for his training and evaluation of his subordinates, instead of a successful official or itinerant advisor, roles

64. Alexis McLeod writes that "questioning" here is a technical term for a process that "operates through presenting questions to clarify, asking for clarification of certain points of a view," which in turn operates in tandem with a method of appraisal based on objections to the point of view. See McLeod, "A Reappraisal of Wang Chong's Critical Method through the Wenkong Chapter of the *Lunheng*," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 34.4 (2007), 588. Wang Chong's view of Kongzi is pushing back against a view that Kongzi and his disciples were more talented than people of the current age (夫古人之才，今人之才也). Reading between the lines, Wang argues against views that certain Kongzi texts were inerrant.

65. Wang Yile and Wu Zhenhua, "Kongzi yijing chudu," 370.

66. *Shi ji*, 47.1935.

central to other early accounts. Kongzi's interactions with his disciples were models for Liu He, and their images and biographies on the mirror frame served as a historical example of the "Kingly Way" that rendered it "deeply felt and clearly seen."

海昏侯墓出土的孔子及其弟子傳記性文字

齊思敏

提要

本文介紹2015年出土於南昌附近的海昏侯墓所見孔子衣鏡鏡框背板的孔子弟子畫像，以及與畫像關聯的孔子及其弟子的傳記性文字。在分析相關文本信息時，作者注重考察孔子形象在漢代的形成與變化，尤其關注傳記與《史記》中兩篇相關文本的比較分析。最為有趣的是海昏侯墓孔子弟子傳記與傳世史料所共享的文本元素，傳記為每一個孔子弟子選擇了不同的對話，這些對話的內容多見於《論語》。這提示我們鏡框的設計者與《史記》的編纂者依靠不同的材料來源，但或許二者都部分參考了一個名為“孔子弟子”的文本，其中包含孔子弟子相關的圖像和文字信息。這些傳記也表明當時人對孔子弟子以及孔子對他們的評價的高度重視，也與漢代認為選人任賢是孔子“王道”觀念的關鍵這一看法是一致的。

Keywords: Kongzi/Confucius (aka Zhong Ni), *Shi ji*, Han thought, Haihunhou

孔子/仲尼, 史記, 漢代思想, 海昏侯