opinion, Zhu Xi is less rigid on practical matters; (2) nonetheless, his normative and philosophical view on the male/*yang* and female/*yin* relationship is inconsistent and unnecessarily conservative.

Neo-Confucianism exerts tremendous influence on Korean culture. In Korea, Confucianism has historically been used to restrict women both socially and politically. In Chapter 4, "The Dream of Sagehood: A Re-Examination of Queen Sohae's *Naehoon*," Hye-Kyung Kim points out that there can be little doubt about two things: (1) Korea's Chosun dynasty was thoroughly Confucian and (2) under the Chosun, women were severely oppressed and disempowered, much more so than in any preceding period in Korea's history. Nonetheless, Kim argues, a sensitive and sympathetic reading of *Naehoon* reveals that the much maligned Queen Sohae in fact laid the groundwork for an inclusivist position three hundred years ago: both sexes are equally capable of virtue and sagehood is possible, desirable, and should be striven for by both sexes.

CHAPTER ONE

Women and Moral Dilemmas in Early Chinese Narrative

PAUL R. GOLDIN

The patrilocal structure of early Chinese society (Chen, 1937, pp. 23–24) placed women in moral dilemmas that men typically did not have to face. Likewise, filial piety (*xiao* 孝) was a more contested virtue for married women than for their husbands. While a man's parents were still alive, his obligations to them unquestionably outweighed his obligations to his wife, even to the point that he could be forced to divorce her unwillingly (e.g., He, 1990, p. 200).[1] For a married woman living among her in-laws, however, it was never clear whether her obligations to her husband or her parents were paramount, and writers interested in moral philosophy eagerly explored this area of uncertainty.

One tale in the canonical *Zuo Commentary to the Springs and Autumns* (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan* 春秋左傳)[2] highlights this tension. Yong Ji 雍姬 is the daughter of Zhai Zhong 祭仲 (d. 682 BC), a minister so powerful that his lord, Marquis Li of Zheng 鄭厲侯 (r. 700–696 and 680–673 BC), is intimidated and therefore plots to have him assassinated by a courtier named Yong Jiu 雍糾 (d. 697 BC)—who happens to be Yong Ji's husband. When Yong Ji learns of the plot, she is placed in an impossible situation:

> Zhai Zhong was monopolizing power. The Marquis of Zheng was concerned about this, and sent [Zhai Zhong's] son-in-law, Yong Jiu, to kill him at a feast to be held for him in the suburbs. Yong Ji knew of it, and addressed her mother, saying: "To whom is one closer: one's father or one's husband?"
> Her mother said: "Any man could be your husband, but you have just one father. How could you compare the two?"
> Thereupon [Yong Ji] informed Zhai Zhong, saying: "Sir, the Yong household is leaving its own residence in order to hold a feast for you in the suburbs. I am informing you because I am confused about this."
> Zhai Zhong killed Yong Jiu and left his corpse by the Zhou Family Pond. The Lord [of Zheng] carted off [the corpse], and said: "He let his wife in on the plot; his death is only fitting." [3] (Yang Bojun, 1990, p. 143)

One must bear in mind that although the characters in this vignette are all historical personages, they serve as mere instruments for the construction of a rich moral dilemma; one is not expected to judge the accuracy of the narration, and there is no reason to believe that the author or authors had access to transcripts of the discussions. (After all, who would have been present to record a private conversation between Yong Ji and her mother?) Yong Ji's mother suggests—without stating explicitly—that a married woman's obligations to her father outweigh those to her husband, but the situation is too hazy to permit definite moral inferences (Radice, 2006, pp. 62–64; Li, 2007, p. 150f.). For example, perhaps Yong Ji's mother encourages Yong Ji to remain loyal to Zhai Zhong and betray Yong Jiu only because she naturally feels closer to her own husband than her son-in-law; in other words, perhaps she does not intend to give a general moral instruction applicable to all married daughters in all situations. Finally, although Yong Ji is persuaded to betray her husband, she does so obliquely. She does not tell her father, "Yong Jiu is going to kill you"; rather, she conveys the necessary information without spelling it out, leaving the matter to his discretion. In the end, the text deftly assigns blame not to Yong Ji, but to Yong Jiu for letting her in on the plot in the first place. Her situation, we are given to understand, did not permit any more praiseworthy resolution.

Such dilemmas are rare but memorable, inasmuch as they test the limits of the traditional moral system. A paradigm that stresses thoughtful service as the measure of a person's moral performance (cf. Goldin, 2011, pp. 13ff.) risks collapse in situations where serving one person precludes serving another. In another case in the *Zuo Commentary* pitting a woman's obligations to her father against her obligations to her husband, the outcome is even more difficult to parse. Crown Prince Yu of Jin 晉太子圉, the future Lord Huai of Jin 晉懷公 (r. 637–636 BC), has been sent by his father, Lord Hui 惠公 (r. 650–637 BC), as a hostage to Qin 秦 in order to mollify that enemy, which recently inflicted a crippling defeat on Jin (Yang Bojun, 1990, p. 372). When Crown Prince Yu hears that his father is ailing, he wishes to return home in order to stake his claim to the throne, and asks his wife, Lady Ying 嬴氏, to join him. The problem is that she is the daughter of his captor, Lord Mu of Qin 秦穆公 (r. 659–621 BC):

> Yu, Crown Prince of Jin, was a hostage in Qin and was going to abscond and return home. He said to Lady Ying: "Will you come with me?"
> She replied: "Sir, you are the Crown Prince of Jin, and are being humiliated in Qin. Your wish to return home is quite appropriate. My lord [i.e. her father, Lord Mu of Qin] deputed me, your handmaiden, to attend you, bearing towel and comb; this was to keep you in place. If I were to follow you and go home with you, I would be disregarding my lord's command. I dare not follow you, but I dare not speak of this, either." Thereupon he absconded. (Yang Bojun, 1990, p. 394)

At first, Lady Ying seems to be saying that she cannot betray her father and declines her husband's invitation on those grounds. But her final sentence, in which she promises not to inform her father, has the effect of subverting his careful plans to keep Crown Prince Yu in Qin. (Holding Crown Prince Yu hostage must have meant a great deal to Lord Mu if he was prepared to marry off his daughter as part of the strategy.) Once again, it is difficult to judge the married woman's actions, and in this case it is not even clear whom she betrays (Radice, 2006, p. 64f.). In the *Zuo Commentary*, one can often infer the rightness of an action by examining its consequences; yet, here too the results are mixed. Crown Prince Yu does return to Jin and is enthroned as Lord Huai, but he is killed the very next year when Lord Mu of Qin, offended by Yu's deception, supports an invasion by his uncle and main rival, namely Chong'er 重耳, the future Lord Wen 晉文公 (r. 636–628 BC).

This is not to say that men did not face moral dilemmas too. Conflicting familial and political considerations frequently placed men in such situations. The first major narrative of the *Zuo Commentary* is a famous example: the struggle between Lord Zhuang of Zheng 鄭莊公 (r. 743–701 BC) and his mother, Wu Jiang 武姜, who hated him because he was "born backwards" (*wusheng* 寤 [=牾] 生) and therefore conspired against him with his younger brother, Gongshu Duan 共叔段 (Yang Bojun, 1990, pp. 10–16).

Wu Jiang hoped to have Gongshu Duan named Crown Prince, but her husband, Lord Wu 武公 (r. 770–744 BC), repeatedly refused, selecting Lord Zhuang instead. After Lord Zhuang is enthroned, Wu Jiang makes increasingly brazen requests for territory in behalf of Gongshu Duan, forcing Lord Zhuang to balance his obligation to respect his mother with his need to maintain control of the state (and, lest we forget the fate of most deposed rulers, to keep himself alive). Finally, when he learns of a coup planned by Wu Jiang and Gongshu Duan, he decides that this is the right time to attack his brother. Gongshu Duan is destroyed and Lord Zhuang vows never to see his mother again—an impetuous act that he comes to regret, and overcomes only with the help of an admirer, Kaoshu of Ying 穎考叔, who conveniently twists the words of Lord Zhuang's oath: Lord Zhuang said that he would not see her until they reach the Yellow Springs 黃泉, the mythic land of the dead (Loewe, 1982, p. 34), so Kaoshu arranges a reconciliation between mother and son in a tunnel near a spring (Li, 2007, pp. 59ff.; Schaberg, 2001, pp. 183ff.).

It must have been perilous indeed to be a newly installed ruler with a mother who is determined to dethrone him. (Twenty-first-century readers can only imagine what it would have been like to be ensnared in this kind of palace drama.) The *Zuo Commentary* leaves little doubt that Lord Zhuang handled this crisis correctly, for he not only eliminates the threats to his rule but also manages to reunite with his once implacable mother. ("Thereafter they become mother and son as before" 遂為母子如初—though one has to wonder what time "before" refers to, since we are told that Wu Jiang hated Lord Zhuang from the moment of his abnormal birth.) The very intensity of the dilemma makes Lord Zhuang's happy resolution that much more admirable. Moreover, the narrative presents a parallel dilemma implicitly but no less starkly: the dilemma facing Gongshu Duan. Should he comply with his mother's ambitious plans for him or submit to his elder brother and duly installed sovereign? As clearly as we learn from Lord Zhuang's victory that he acted appropriately, we learn from Gongshu Duan's demise that he failed to find the right way out.[4]

What men never had to endure, however, was a situation like that of Yong Ji or Lady Ying, who were asked to balance loyalty to their spouses with loyalty to their fathers. In addition, women's roles as social inferiors could place them in unique dilemmas, as in the following account from *Stratagems of the Warring States* (*Zhanguo ce* 戰國策).[5] It is presented as undisguised fiction, but it must have resonated with audiences of the time:

> In the household neighboring mine, there was someone serving as an official far [from home], whose wife was having an affair with another man. Her husband was about to return home, and her lover was worried. The wife said: "Sir, do not worry; I have already made poisoned wine to receive him with." Two days later, the husband arrived. The wife sent her maidservant to carry the goblet of wine and present it to [the husband], but the servant knew that it was poisoned wine. If she were to present it, she would be killing her master, but if she were to speak of it, she would be ousting her mistress. So she pretended to be clumsy and spilled the wine. Her master was enraged and flogged her. Thus the maidservant, by being clumsy just one time and spilling the wine, kept her master alive and saved her mistress as well. She was as loyal as this, yet could not escape being flogged. She is one who was found guilty by being loyal and faithful.[6] (He, 1990, p. 1091)

This tale problematizes "loyalty and faithfulness" (*zhongxin* 忠信), two ostensibly unexceptionable virtues: the maidservant is supposed to be loyal and faithful to both her master and her mistress, but in extreme situations such as this one, loyalty to one precludes loyalty to the other. Once again, there is no way out; the speaker appears to endorse the servant's selfless solution, but, far from earning her either party's gratitude, it causes her to be flogged. True loyalty does not always lead to a just reward (Radice, 2006, pp. 67–70).

Complicating women's choices yet further was the difficulty that canonical sources of moral advice did not always agree with one another. Consider the classical commentaries on the gruesome death of Bo Ji 伯姬 (d. 543 BC),[7] the widow of Lord Gong of Song 宋共公 (r. 588–576 BC). The *Springs and Autumns* (*Chunqiu* 春秋) chronicle merely states the facts: "In the fifth month, on *jiawu* 甲午 day, there was a conflagration in Song. Bo Ji of Song died" (Yang Bojun, 1990, p. 1169). The two great catechisms on *Springs and Autumns*, namely the *Gongyang Commentary* 公羊傳 and *Guliang Commentary* 穀梁傳,[8] explain that Bo Ji chose to die in the fire rather than violate rules of propriety. First the *Gongyang* version:

> While Bo Ji was still alive during the conflagration in Song, the functionaries said repeatedly: "The fire is approaching; we request that you depart."
> Bo Ji said: "That would not be acceptable. I have heard it said that when a married woman goes out after dark, if she does not see her tutor and governess, she does not descend from her hall. The tutor has arrived, but the governess has not." She was entrapped by the flames and died. (Ruan, 1980, p. 2314ab)

The corresponding entry in *Guliang* is similar, but adds a coda that both praises her and interprets the presence of the tutor and governess as a precaution to protect a woman's chastity (*zhen* 貞):

> When Bo Ji's lodgings had caught fire, her attendants said: "Madam, will you take the smallest measures to avoid the fire?"

> Bo Ji said: "What is right for a married woman is not to descend from her hall at night if her tutor and governess are not present."
> Her attendants said again: "Madam, will you take the smallest measures to avoid the fire?"
> Bo Ji said: "What is right for a married woman is not to descend from her hall at night if her tutor and governess are not present." Thereupon she was entrapped by the flames and died. Among married women who have acted in accordance with chastity, Bo Ji's Way of Womanhood was the most thoroughgoing. This affair is presented in detail so as to record Bo Ji's excellence. (Ruan, 1980, p. 2432ab)

Where *Gongyang* merely implies the point, *Guliang* states explicitly that the requirements of chastity must be observed even if doing so entails dying in a fire. From a twenty-first-century perspective, it may seem grim, but at least the guidance is consistent: any wife or widow in Bo Ji's unfortunate situation should be prepared to die if she cannot leave the building with dignity.

The *Zuo Commentary* 左傳, the third and most famous of the three surviving canonical commentaries, does not tell the story as fully (Yi, 2011, p. 118), and comes to a radically different judgment:[9]

> Bo Ji of Song died waiting for her governess. A noble man would refer to [her] as a girl and not a married woman: a girl would wait for someone else, but a married woman would act as befits the situation. (Yang Bojun, 1990, p. 1174)

Reminding the reader that Bo Ji was no longer a "girl" (*nü* 女)—she would have been an elderly lady by 543 BC, widowed for over thirty years—this text suggests that she should have responded to the danger more maturely. It does not deploy the keyword *quan* 權 (literally "weighing"), which is used elsewhere in traditional texts to denote the act of disregarding an otherwise binding norm in exigent circumstances (Goldin, 2005, pp. 19ff.; Vankeerberghen, 2005–2006), but the underlying logic is the same: under normal circumstances it may be appropriate for a married woman to wait for her chaperone before venturing out of her apartment, but when the whole palace is burning down, one should temporarily override this rule. After the palace has been rebuilt and life returns to normal, waiting for the chaperone will become the right course of action once again.

An exchange in *Mencius* (*Mengzi* 孟子) discloses the typical understanding of *quan*:

> Chunyu Kun 淳于髡 said: "Is it ritually correct that when males and females give and take, they are not to touch each other?"
> Mencius said: "That is ritually correct."
> [Chunyu Kun] said: "If one's sister-in-law is drowning, does one extend one's hand to her?"
> [Mencius] said: "One who does not extend [his hand] when his sister-in-law is drowning is a jackal or a wolf. It is ritually correct that when males and females give and take, they are not to touch each other, but to extend one's hand to one's sister-in-law when she is drowning—that is *quan*. (*Mencius* 4A.17; Jiao, 1987, pp. 520–21)

What are women supposed to do? Accidents involving fire were common in premodern societies (e.g., Goudsblom, 1992, pp. 65–71), so presumably many married women were caught at some point in a burning building and had to decide whether to flee or steadfastly await their chaperones. The *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries would have told them unmistakably that they should stay and accept their fate; the *Zuo Commentary* would have told them nearly as unmistakably that they should save themselves; and *Mencius* strongly suggests the same. This is yet another type of dilemma that no male would ever have faced, because no ritual code demanded that males wait for a governess before evacuating a burning building. That would have been considered absurd.

Moreover, there is a paradox that cannot be swept aside: the opinion of the *Zuo* is probably the oldest of the above (Zeng and Wang, 2008), yet it is the one that most readers today would undoubtedly favor. Early imperial discussions of Bo Ji's predicament repeatedly view it in accordance with the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* (Yang Zhaogui, 2014); in fact, as far as I know, no Han source even mentions the *Zuo* in this connection. The discomforting inference is that the degree to which women were welcome to assess the right course of action for themselves *shrank* over time, however much one might expect the opposite (Wawrytko, 2000, p. 188; Goldin, 2002, p. 95). When critics sometimes complain that Han thought is narrower and more rigid than the pre-imperial sources that preceded it (e.g., the question is raised in Schwartz, 1985, p. 419), the changing judgments of Bo Ji may be the sort of example that they have in mind.

One illustrative Han text is *Categorized Biographies of Women* (*Lienü zhuan* 列女傳), which was compiled by Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BC) from extant historical records, but with strong editorial interventions reflecting his own judgments (Hinsch, 2007; Kinney, 2014, pp. xlvii–xlix). While it would be reductionist to regard this document as representative of the full variety of Han thought, comparing it to the material surveyed above is nevertheless instructive because of its systematic tendency to defuse rather than to explore moral dilemmas. In *Categorized Biographies of Women*, the right course of action is always crystal clear: women confronted by intractable moral dilemmas should commit suicide.

Bo Ji, as one might expect, is praised for bravely accepting death when no other dignified course of action presented itself (Wang, 1937, pp. 62–63). Other dilemmas are resolved with similar moral certitude. A certain Master Qiu 丘子 of the tiny state of Ge 蓋 feels obliged to commit suicide out of loyalty to his lord, who has been deposed and slain by invaders, but desists because the enemies have announced that they will kill the wives and children of all who do so, and naturally he wishes to spare her. His wife promptly frees him from this dilemma by killing herself (Wang, 1937, pp. 84–85)—and we are never told whether Master Qiu displayed the same conviction by following suit.

Another woman finds herself in a brutal predicament when her husband's enemies abduct her father and force him to ask her to help them kill her husband. If she refuses, they will kill her father, but if she acquiesces, she will be complicit in the murder of her own husband. Her solution is to save both by sacrificing herself: she tells the bandits to enter the house the following night, but then reclines in the bed where she said her husband would be. The bandits behead her, mistaking her sleeping body for his (Wang, 1937, p. 97).

But most revealing of all is Liu Xiang's version of the story of the maid who was commanded by her adulterous mistress to serve poisoned wine to her master. Since Liu Xiang himself edited the received text of *Stratagems of the Warring States* (Crump, 1996, pp. 27–40), and presumably lifted the story from that source, it provides a valuable opportunity to see how he refashioned the narrative for different purposes. This time, the cuckolded husband happens to have a younger brother who informs him of the truth after the maid has been flogged. The wicked wife is immediately flogged to death herself, and the newly widowed master, impressed by the maid's probity, wishes to marry her. By now readers cannot be surprised that she too threatens to commit suicide—lest she be suspected of having engineered her mistress's demise in order to take her place—and relents only when the master rewards her and finds another husband for her (Wang, 1937, pp. 91–92). Whereas the moral of the same tale in *Stratagems of the Warring States* was that loyalty is not always recognized, let alone rewarded, in *Categorized Biographies of Women* the providentially placed witness secures a just outcome, and the maid is recorded as a paragon for posterity. Liu Xiang adds a verse from the *Odes* (Mao 256) that is diametrically opposed to the realism of *Stratagems of the Warring States*: "No word is unrequited, no virtue unrecompensed" (Wang, 1937, p. 92).

One tirelessly repeated lesson in *Categorized Biographies of Women* is that women must be prepared to die for the sake of their reputation. Philosophically, this reduces a discourse that encouraged people to think through their moral obligations independently to one that judges them solely on the basis of their willingness to die in defense of unquestioned ideals such as chastity and loyalty. Rarely is there any consideration of the social costs of righteous suicide. Just think of all the children who would have had to grow up without their mothers.[10]

There is one final problem with the sources addressed in this essay: they were compiled by and for the elite and, consequently, afford at best a partial glimpse of the range of standards accepted throughout society. How many women of a lower ~~strata~~ stratum would have known of the example of Bo Ji, let alone modeled their own conduct after it? Not until much later in Chinese history are there robust sources (notably digests of legal cases) attesting to the lives of ordinary women, and preliminary indications are that the moral principles observed by the elite did not generally apply to the rest of the population.

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Chastity, for example, was regarded as a privilege rather than an imposition: only women of a certain standing were *entitled* to protect their chastity; the rest were essentially unfree and had scant power to shield themselves from sexual advances by their male masters (Sommer, 2000, p. 6f.). Though it is always dangerous to project insights gleaned from later sources back onto periods for which the sources are silent, there remains good reason to suppose that ordinary women trapped in a burning building would not have considered dying for the sake of their chastity. Life on the farm was probably a good deal less ritualized than life in a didactic narrative.

Some early legal texts that have been archaeologically recovered over the past few decades confirm the suspicion that courts did not judge women by the same protocols as the familiar ritual codices. There was substantially less anxiety about chastity: although the details are unspecified, it is clear that, in contrast to later times, a woman could not be punished solely for "fornication" (*jian* 奸).[11] For example, according to the Qin 秦 laws from Shuihudi 睡虎地 (sealed in 217 BC), if a woman's two lovers injured each other in a fight, they would both be sentenced—but she would not (Shuihudi Qinmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu, 1990, p. 134; Goldin, 2002, p. 94). The conception of chastity as a privilege of the elite rather than a universal expectation must underlie such legal dispositions.

Nevertheless, early imperial laws institutionalized asymmetrical bonds between husband and wife. Polygyny, as manifested in the recognized status of female but never male concubines (*qie* 妾), was one obvious type of asymmetry (Zhang, 1999).[12] The early Han laws from Zhangjiashan 張家山 (sealed in 186 BC) tell us that a husband could injure his wife with impunity as long as he did not use a blade (Peng et al., 2007, p. 103), but woe unto any woman who intentionally injured her husband, regardless of the implement. One notorious case from Zhangjiashan involves a young widow who was arrested after copulating with a man during the wake for her husband (Xing, 2008; Lau and Lüdke, 2012, pp. 282–99). The presiding judges released her, but only after initially considering a punishment for "unfiliality" (*buxiao* 不孝), perhaps because it was her dead husband's offended mother who filed the complaint (Goldin, 2012, p. 17). In any case, it is doubtful that a young widower in an analogous situation would have had to answer to the law.

To conclude: early Chinese sources acknowledged that the performance of moral duties was often less tractable for women than for men (Goldin, 2002, p. 55). The demands of interpersonal relationships occasionally thrust men into agonizing moral dilemmas too,[13] but women were inherently more vulnerable. Whereas earlier traditions tended to use such dilemmas as opportunities to reflect on the precedence of conflicting moral obligations, Han texts such as *Categorized Biographies of Women* lavish attention on female characters who resolve them by zealously ending their own lives.

NOTES

1. Despite this well-known principle, Dull (1978, pp. 62ff.) shows that, in Han times at least, it was more common for the wife's parents to initiate a divorce than for the husband's parents to do so. This is one example of Dull's general thesis that Han society was "pre-Confucian" in the sense that even elites did not necessarily abide by what have subsequently come to be regarded as Confucian rituals of conduct. For more recent reflections on this point, see Knapp (2010, p. 144); and Xing (2008, p. 125).
2. The most judicious discussion of the date of this text is Li (2007, pp. 33–59).
3. All translations in this chapter are my own. I am grateful to Ann A. Pang-White and Yuri Pines for their comments and suggestions on the entire piece.
4. See Pines (2002, pp. 195ff.), for other problems of conflicting allegiance faced by men in the *Zuo Commentary*.
5. For the date and characteristics of this text, see Goldin (2005, pp. 76–89).

6. There is a parallel account in the same text: He (1990, p. 1123).
7. On her life and relatives, see Kinney (2013).
8. For the possible dates and circumstances of composition of these two texts, see Cheng (1993).
9. Such instances of divergent judgment are isolated but not unattested. Yuri Pines (private communication) points out that Lord Xiang of Song 宋襄公 (r. 650–637) is praised in the *Gongyang* for refusing to attack the troops of Chu 楚 while they are in disarray in the midst of crossing the River Hong 泓 (Ruan, 1980, p. 2259a), even though this leads to a catastrophic defeat, whereas the *Guliang* (Ruan, 1980, p. 2400bc) and *Zuo* (Yang Bojun, 1990, pp. 397–98) both criticize his decision. It is perhaps not a coincidence that this affair also involves Song (Gentz, 2001, p. 285).
10. *Categorized Biographies of Women* contains a biography of a woman who disfigured herself rather than committing suicide because she wished to raise her children (Wang, 1937, p. 75). I am indebted to Oliver Weingarten for this reference.
11. The circumstances under which fornication was and was not punishable remain uncertain (Goldin, 2012, p. 14; Lau, 2005, p. 348).
12. Polygyny was enshrined in myth as well: Sage King Yao 堯 gave not one but *both* of his daughters to Shun 舜 in marriage (Birrell, 1993, pp. 74–76).
13. Such dilemmas, naturally, can arise in modern Western societies as well, and, notwithstanding our very different moral framework, such instances can likewise elicit visceral reactions. Consider the case of David Greenglass, whose actions most Americans would condemn today: in the notorious Rosenberg espionage case of 1951, he testified against his sister, Ethel Rosenberg, even though she may have been innocent, in order to protect his wife, who was complicit but remained unindicted (Roberts, 2001, p. 484: "My wife is more important to me than my sister"). Largely on the basis of her brother's false testimony, Ethel Rosenberg was convicted and executed two years later.

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