A SYSTEMATICAL DIGEST

OF THE

Doctrines of Confucius,

ACCORDING TO THE

ANALECTS, GREAT LEARNING, AND DOCTRINE OF THE MEAN,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON THE AUTHORITIES
UPON CONFUCIUS AND CONFUCIANISM,

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY

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SECOND EDITION.

With four new Appendixes containing other Essays of Dr. Faber on Confucianism.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE FIRST EDITION

By the Translator.

The translator is well aware that an English translation at the hands of a German, even if looked over by an Englishman, must necessarily fall short of the elegance which should characterize original compositions. Yet he hopes, that, by adding a really good book to the library of the sinologue, students will grant him the indulgence of overlooking the poverty of the garb, in consideration of the intrinsic value of the work.

P. G. von Möllendorff.

Kiukiang, December, 1873.
INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION,

Dr. E. Faber, the author of this valuable digest of the Doctrines of Confucius, and P. G. von Möllendorff, who has translated the book into English, have both been called away from this terrestrial sphere. The former died at Tsingtau, 26th September, 1899; the latter as Commissioner of Customs at Ningpo in April, 1901. Both were very able men, thorough scholars and accomplished sinologues; none were better qualified than they to write on Confucianism. We hope therefore by publishing a second edition of this important work, to render a real service to all those who take a deeper interest in the principles underlying the life and civilisation of China.

We have thought it opportune to reprint at the close of the book four other papers of Dr. Faber on Confucianism, in order to enable the reader to acquire as complete a knowledge of Dr. Faber’s views on this important subject as possible. In this way these valuable essays will be made accessible to all and preserved together.

P. Kranz.

Shanghai, 15th November, 1902.
PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL GERMAN EDITION.

The present little work is a lecture read before the conference of Rhenish missionaries at Hongkong on the 24th July, 1872. It is the first attempt to explain in brief the contents of the three principal books of Confucianism. Each sentence is well considered and mostly a literal translation of different passages, the accuracy of which all are able to examine.

The Chinese text given is cited according to Dr. Legge's edition, Vol. I:—A. standing for Analects, G. L. for Great Learning, D. M. for Doctrine of the Mean. The translation is rendered after the original text, being always independent, as every competent judge may at once perceive.

This publication required more laborious effort, than perhaps appears. A mere display of scholarship is intentionally avoided. Comparisons founded on parallel passages from European philosophers and the moral writers, which might be easily cited, are left out.

Should the little work find sufficient sale, more may soon follow. Two larger works are nearly finished in M.S. (in German.)

1. Translation of *Lieh tzŭ* 列子 (350 B. C.) with parallels from the ancient Chinese literature; also an introduction and commentary.

2. *Chuang-tzŭ* 莊子 (300 B. C.)

These are the best philosophical works of the Chinese language and ornaments of the ancient literature. No part of either has as yet been translated into any foreign language. As, however, such works ought only to be printed with the Chinese text and a good commentary, the cost of their publication would far surpass the small private means of the compiler.

E. Faber.
AUTHORITIES

UPON

Confucius and Confucianism.

Confucius is the greatest personage of the largest empire. He is the Chinese of the Chinese; in this even the learned are unanimous. There is, however, a sharp line of demarcation to be drawn between the historical Confucius and the one who is wrapped up in the incense of sacrifices—between the doctrine which was promulgated by himself and the explanations of later centuries. It is, however, not our intention to consider the individuality of Confucius, but merely his doctrine. We have therefore confined ourselves to original authorities, both with regard to the few sayings which are put into the mouth of Confucius himself, as also to the oldest expositions recognised by the Chinese as genuine for more than 2,000 years.

A summarised and withal, as far as possible, a systematic abridgment of the principal heads of canonical Confucianism is of importance in many regards, not only for practical missionaries, but also for sinologues and philosophers in general. Yet it is only the commencement of other and equally important works. To give Confucius his full value, a thorough treatment of the history of his time is indispensable. Confucius was as much, perhaps more, of a politician than of a moral philosopher, for the aim of his ethics is polity. All politicians are inwardly connected with the peculiarities of the public life of their time. The same observation may be applied with more right to Confucius, who, if only for a short time, was himself a practical statesman, than to many a modern school theorist.

We therefore need a clearly sketched and detailed historical background, in order to place the picture of Confucius in its
true light. But for this there are unfortunately divers preparatory works yet wanting.

Moreover, in the history of humanity no brilliant star rose meteor-like and disappeared in the same manner. For the more profound and complete comprehension of each culmination of literature, not only the dawn before the rising, but also the twilight before the setting are of the highest importance;—the harbingers as well as the epigones.

Confucius is esteemed as the culmination of the development of the Chinese mind, as regards ethics on one side and politics and literature on the other. The progress of the Chinese mind from primitive times to Confucius should therefore be explained according to the proper authorities. For this, likewise, many preparatory works are wanting. The same may be said of the chief representatives of the Confucian school from the time of the master to the present day. The names of many of these are scarcely known by sinologues; not to speak of a thorough acquaintance with their systems.

A scientific exposition of Confucianism remains therefore an unfulfilled desideratum. A lucid statement of its scheme may be, however, considered, as a step toward its completion. We will then point out briefly the first requisites.

1. What are the authorities bearing on the subject?
2. Critical sifting of all the available sources of information;
3. What is the literature which existed before Confucius, and what is the position of Confucius toward it?
4. What are the relations of the disciples and epigones of Confucius to their master and to each other?

We are for the present not in a position to treat these questions thoroughly, but confine ourselves to giving a brief survey of the literature, specially referring to these subjects. (Compare A. Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*, in which a part of the cited works is briefly described. Dr. Plath's *Quellen zu Confucius' Leben* indicates several authorities and treats more extensively of the *Chia-yü*. Dr. Plath's *Han-wei-ts'ung-shu* 漢魏叢書 is a short index of the works contained in
this collection, but too superficially sketched. Dr. Legge’s edition of the *Chinese Classics* in the prolegomena.)

The Chinese originals are nearly all in my possession. Besides these I have made use of the great cyclopædia with its continuation 文獻通考 Wen-hsien-t‘ung-k‘ao and su (續) Wen-hsien-t‘ung-k‘ao; the great catalogue of the imperial library 四庫全書總目 Ssū-ku-ch‘üan-shu-tsung-mu; the compilation of historical authorities called 經史 I-shih; several collection of examples from the philosophers, especially the 諸子彙涵 Chu-tzu-lui-‘han and 千古斯文 Ch‘ien-ku-ssū-men; the former with short historical remarks upon the authors, unfortunately very faulty; the latter a Japanese edition.
I. THE AUTHORITIES ON THE LIFE AND
DOCTRINES OF CONFUCIUS.

These we might class into (a) those which are considered by the Chinese as *canonical*; (b) those to which only literary value is ascribed, that is, *uncanonical* authorities; and (c) those which as *heretical* are totally rejected.

(a) Canonical Authorities. These are the nine sacred writings of the Chinese. The following belong specially to this category:—

1. The Book of Changes, 易經 I-ching: partly, *i.e.*, the explanations added by Confucius, called 象傳 T'uan-ch'uan and 象傳 Hsiang-ch'uan. The work needs, however, thorough critical investigation. The appendices 齋辞, 説卦, 序卦, 雜卦 are at all events not by the hand of Confucius himself. We have thought it the best to leave it for the present and to reserve a thorough investigation to some future period.

2. The Spring and Autumn 春秋 Ch'in-ch'iu, or the chronicle of the state of Lu, 722-494 B.C. This work is, according to some critics, not written by Confucius himself, and its contents are not adapted to our present purpose.

3. The Record of Rites (rules of propriety) 禮記 Li-chi, was collected at the time of the 'Han dynasty, about the commencement of the Christian era, and contains old traditions, true and false, as also later speculations. The use of it is, however, difficult, especially as we have not yet a complete translation of it. On 禮記 I-li and 周禮 Chou-li, see literature anterior to Confucius.

4. The Discourses, 論語 Lun-yü, the great doctrine, 大學 Ta-lisio, and the use of the mean, 中庸 Chung-yung. These three works too are not written by Confucius himself (see Dr. Legge); they are, however, considered among the Chinese as the most adequate expositions of his doctrine.
5. Mencius, 孟子, Meng-tzŭ. Although included in the Chinese Canon, we have thought it best to treat of him separately, and in this we appear justified, as the Chinese delayed for more than a thousand years to acknowledge him as canonical.

(b) Under the head of Uncanonical Authorities are included those, which, although enjoying high literary reputation among the Chinese, are not considered canonical in the same sense as those mentioned above, but must be verified according to them.

1. Historical Records 史記 Shih-chi (with commentary by 裴駄 P'ei-yin of the Sung dynasty). This work is, as regards authority, nearly equal to the canonical writings. As the oldest historical work of the Chinese it is deserving of all confidence. But it seems to have suffered at the hands of time, at least several passages are in utter confusion. A thorough treatment of it by a Western savant would be one of the greatest services rendered to sinology.

2. The three oldest commentaries on the Spring and Autumn by 左傳 Tso-ch'uen, 公羊 Kung-yang, and 貞梁 Ku-liang (see Dr. Legge, vol. V., proleg.).

3. The Family-discourses, 家語 Chia-yü, probably a work of 王肅 Wang-su, at the commencement of the 3rd century of our era, contains much traditional matter. (Compare Dr. Plath, I.c.)

4. The Canon of Filial Piety, 孝經 Hsiao-ching, treats according to its title of the chief subject of Confucian ethics. Although it is highly probable that it was not composed by Confucius himself, the little book may have originated in the time of the 周 Chou dynasty. There exist quite a number of commentaries.

5. The Speeches from the States, 國語 Kwo-yü.—It is uncertain whether they are written by 左氏 Tso-shih; they contain, however, much material for the history of the time immediately before and contemporary with Confucius. A commentary is extant by 韋昭 Wei-chiao, with amplifications by 朱熹 Sung-ch‘iang.
6. The Philosopher Hsün, 荀子 Hsün-tzu, contemporary
with Mencius, and his famous adversary. He attaches himself
especially to the canonical odes, which he often cites. Comment-
ary by 楊倞 Yung-ching of the Tang dynasty. A short
chapter is translated by Dr. Legge in the prolegomena to
Mencius.

7. The Annals of the 'Han, 漢書 'Han-shu.—Specially
important are those of the Western (or first) 'Han by Pan-ku.
Commentary by 顏師古 Yen-shih-ku of the Tang dynasty.—
Unfortunately Chinese history, with the exception of the former
works of the Jesuits, is not cultivated now by Western savants,
in spite of its great importance for the deeper understanding of
the literature as well as of the present social and political life of
the Chinese.

8. The Collection of Rules of Propriety by Tatai, 大戴
禮記 Ta-tai-li-chi.—It contains the remainder of the collection,
which was not admitted into the Canon (compare a, 3). The
work is divided into forty short chapters and presents some
antiquities of importance.

9. Sketch of the History of the Warring States, 戰國策
Chen-kwo-ts‘ê.—Liu-hsiang published a new edition of the work
in the first century B.C. It relates to the contest of the feudal
states in the two last centuries of the 周 Chou dynasty, in
consequence of which the latter was overthrown, but it also
contains many older references. Commentary originally by 劉
中壘 Liu Chung-lui of the later 'Han dynasty, completed by
鮑彪 Pao-piao and 吳師道 Wu-shih-tao.

10. The Collection of Traditions, by a descendant of
Confucius, under the title of 孔叢子 Kung-ts‘ung-tze.—The
name of the author is 孔鮑 Kung-fu, who lived at the time of
the conflagration of books, 212 B.C.

11. A system of Confucian dogmatics, 白虎通 Pai-'hu-
t‘ung, by the author of the history of the first 'Han, Pan-ku,
at the time of the emperor Chang, 76-89 A.D.—In this work
the orthodox doctrine on 44 points is compared with the same
number of heterodox views. This book itself, however, is not
considered purely orthodox.
12. Anecdotes to the Odes, 韓詩外傳 'Han-shih-wai-chuan, of the 'Han dynasty, by 韓嬰 'Han-ying, also called 封龍子 Fung-lung-tzu, about 150 B.C. They are various old stories illustrating passages out of the canonical Book of Odes.

13. The Beautiful Dew of the Spring and Autumn 春秋繁露 Ch‘un-ch‘iu-fan-lu, by 董仲舒 Tung-chung-shu, also called 桂巖子 Kwei-yen-tze, under the emperors Ching and Wu, 156-86 B.C. Victim of the envy of a high officer, named 公孫弘 Kung-sun-hung, he retired to the Kwei-yen mountain and composed the book, which does not lack originality in its expositions.

14. The new Reflections, 新論 Hsin-lun, by 陸賈 Lu-chia, of T‘su. He assisted 高祖 Kao-tsu (202 B.C.) to complete the subjection of China.

15. The New Book, 新書 Hsin-shu by 賈誼 Chia-i, also called 金門子 Chin Men-tze. Sen, 179-156 B.C., called him to court as a learned man, and he afterwards became instructor to the heir apparent. The book contains, like the two above mentioned, expositions on the Confucian doctrine.

16. 劉向 Liu-hsiang’s works, the collection called 説苑 Shuo-yuen, the New Preface 新序 Hsin-hsü and the 別錄 Pieh-lu. The latter I have not seen. These works contain many interesting tales of the Chou dynasty, which are valuable, though not quite trustworthy. Another name of Liu-hsiang is 子政 Tzŭ-cheng; he is also called 青黎子 Ching Li-tzu. He compiled the catalogue of the ‘Han under 兆 Kang, 48-32 B.C.

17. On Salt and Iron, 鹽鐵論 Yen-t‘ieh-lun; it treats mostly of state questions and is in sixty chapters. The author is 桓寬 ‘Huai-k‘uan (89-73 B.C.), also called 貞山子 Cheng Shan-tzu.

18. The Chronicle of the Two Empires Wu and Yüeh 吳越春秋 Wu-yüeh-ch‘iu, from the 12th to the 5th century B.C., by 趙曄 Chao-shui.

19. The Book of the Secession of Yüeh, 越絕書 Yüeh-chueh-shu, supposed to be written by 袁康 Yuan-keng of the ‘Han dynasty. The narration consists chiefly of Yüeh’s preparations for the conquest of Wu (472 B.C.); but there is
also a reference made to Confucius and his disciples. [Dr. Plath, in two different places, considers 亡名氏 (Wang-ming-shih anonymous) really to be a proper name.]

20. The Erh-ya 爵雅, the dictionary with technical arrangement of the time of the Chou dynasty, perhaps by a disciple of Confucius.

21. The Dictionary of the 'Han, 説文 Shuo-wen, by 許慎 Hsü-shen, 100 A.D. They are several editions with explanations; the best is perhaps the 説文通訓 Shuo-wen-t'ung-hsun, which is arranged according to finals, by which the search for a word is greatly simplified.

22. Contemplations of a Retired Scholar, 潛夫論 Ch'ien-fu-lun.—There are thirty-six chapters on Confucian ethics, faith and superstition. In the 35th chapter the origin of the family names is also given. Historical data are everywhere thrown in. The author is 王符 Wang-fu, 89-126 A.D., also called 仲子 'Hui Chung-tzŭ.

23. Shen Yang-tzŭ 慎陽子, i.e. 黃憲 'Huang-hsien, also 叔度 Shu-tu, under 'Huan-li, 147-168 A.D., author of the ‘‘External Affairs’’ 外史 Wai-shih;—8 divisions, in 102 short chapters with many old notes.

24. On the Customs of the People, 風俗通 Feng-su-t'ung. This is a review of the customs from ancient times up to the 'Han period; with descriptions of the most ancient superstitions, which are therefore important. It contains 70 chapters with many sub-heads. The author is 應劭 Ying-shao (168-190 B.C.), also called 仲遠 Chung-yüan.

25. Collection of Fragments 拾遺記 Shè-i-chi; it reaches from Fu-hsi to the Tsin dynasty, and contains in its ten chapters much of the marvellous. The author is 王嘉 Wang-chia.

26. Inquiries into Ghost Stories 搜神記 Sou-shen-chi, by 千寳 Kan-pao of the Tsin dynasty, with the continuation by 陶潛 T‘ao-ch‘ien. The work treats of apparitions and the agency of spirits, but it gives offence even to many Chinese.

27. On the Mean, 新論 Chung-lun. It contains twenty essays on different subjects by 徐幹 Hsü-‘han, also called 偉長 Wei-ch‘ang of the Wei dynasty, 220 A.D.
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28. The New Dissertation, 新語 Hsin-yü, i.e., short essays on fifty-five subjects by 劉勰 Liu-hsi, also called 雲門子 Yun Men-tzǔ, or 彦和 Yen-‘ho, of the Liang dynasty (502-555). The genuineness of the work is, however, contested. By the same author is the well known work 文心雕龍 Wen-hsintiao-lung, Literary Cultivation of the Mind.

 Works which are rejected by the Confucianists as heterodox.—The impartial observer naturally takes a different position. Even if the statements of decided adversaries can only be accepted with due caution, they are for that reason specially fitted to place the peculiarities and deficiencies of the Confucian system in their true light. Unfortunately, of most of the works under review, little more than the name is known to the majority of sinologues.

1. Journal of Yen-tzǔ, 墨子春秋 Yen-tzǔ-ch’ün-ch’iu, minister of Tsi 齊. He was a contemporary of Confucius, but older. As an experienced statesman he had no high idea of the Confucian polity. The present work seems to be genuine, only with some later additions. It contains many a striking and ingenious observation.

2. Mé-ti 墨翟. About him personally little is known. Certain it is that he is the chief representative of a system which already existed before him; we trace it up to ‘Hui of Lu 魯惠公 Lu-‘hui-kung (from — to 720 B.C.). The characteristic point of his system seems to be a kind of communism. After Mé’s death, his followers separated into three schools (see ‘Han-fei, chap. 50.) Besides Mencius the system found adversaries also in 莊子 Hsüen-tzǔ and 孔叢子 Kung Ts‘ung-tzǔ; defenders, on the other hand, were found in the Taoists who placed Mé among the Genii. (See 神仙傳 Shen-hsien-ch’uan); later again in 韓文公 ‘Han-wen-kung, who asserts “that Confucius has to be complemented by Mé and vice versa;” see 讀墨篇 Tu-mé-pien. Dr. Legge, vol. II., prol., gives text and translation of the chapter on “Universal Love.” A commentary upon Mé-tzǔ exists by 書沅 Pi-yuan.
3. The Taoist philosopher Wen-tzu. He is a disciple of Lao-tzu, but the now extant work is most probably not genuine, although older than the T‘ang dynasty, and certainly a compilation from ancient works. My copy is Wen-tzu-tsuen-i, with a good commentary by Tu-tao of the Sung dynasty.

4. Shen-tzu; the work of Shen-tao of Chao, of the 5th century B.C.; now only fragments are left. Chuang-tzu mentions him with some other authors at the same time of Hsün of Tsi, 454-404 B.C. (therefore not the 4th century, as Wylie says).

5. Lieh-tzu, about 400 B.C., a sceptic. Dr. Legge gives an extract of one of the eight chapters with translation, in Vol. II., prol. I possess three different commentaries.

6. Chuang-tzu, about 350 B.C., the most important of Chinese philosophers. The work is divided into thirty-three chapters. I possess nearly twenty different commentaries upon this philosopher, whose work, like that of Lieh-tzu, has been completely translated into German, but not yet published. A Chinese-German edition with commentary is in preparation.

7. Kwei-ku-tzu, lived about 380 B.C. He was born in T‘su, but retired to the valley of the demons (Kuei-ku). According to the “Book of the Genii” his name was Wang-hsu. He had several disciples, who are mentioned in the history of the three kingdoms. The still existing work, which bears his name, is composed by his disciple Su-ts‘in. The commentary is of the Leang dynasty, 502-557 A.D., by Sun Hsing-yen of the present dynasty.

8. Shih-tzu, about 280 B.C., seems to be a follower of Yang-chu. There are now only fragments (thirty-six leaves) remaining of his works. Shih-tzu is frequently cited in ancient works. His name is Chiao of Lu. Through his friend Shang-yang he was made counsellor in Ts‘in, but retired, however, after the latter’s death (248) to save his life. A commentary exists by Sun Hsing-yen of the present dynasty.

9. Han-fei-tzu. He was captured at the taking of Han (229 B.C.) by Ts‘in, but obtained office. Afterwards,
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at the instigation of the ill-renowned minister 李斯 Li-ssu, he had to poison himself. His works appear genuine and are important for the history of his time. 'Han-fei was a remarkable state-theorist, and at the same time a follower of the Taoist school. The existing work is edited by 趙用賢 Chao Yung-hsien, but is only scantily annotated.

10. The Chronicle of Lü Pu-wei, 吕氏春秋 Lü-shih-ch‘un-ch‘iu, likewise of the third century B.C. The work was composed by a number of savants under the presidency of Lü Pu-wei. It contains many facts, which in some cases are either not recorded at all elsewhere, or not so thoroughly, and is therefore of great historical value. His views are liberal, and this is apparent from the fact that the Confucianists reproach him with Buddhist, Taoist, and Mihist heresies. Commentary by 高誘 Kao-wei, 205 A.D., edited by Tê-yün, Governor of Shan-hsi.

11. 淮南子 'Huai Nan-tzŭ, properly 劉安 Liu-an, under Wen, 179-166 B.C.; he gives a great deal that is of antiquarian value. The work is edited by 黃賜贇 'Huang T‘zŭ-hsi, and another edition, called like the one above 淮南鴻烈列解 (鴻＝大; 烈＝明, because he throws much light on the Tao) ‘Huai-nan-hung-lixh-ch‘eh, with an exhaustive commentary by 高誘 Kao-yu of the 'Han dynasty, and 茅一桂 Mao I-kuei, otherwise 温博 Wen-po of the Ming dynasty.

12. 抱朴子, i.e., 葛洪 Ko-‘hung, also called 雅川 Chih-chuen; he lived on the Lo-fau mountains, near Canton, under Yuen-ti, 317-322 A.D. He is the author of a work on Genii, 神仙傳 Shen-hsien-chuan, in which he describes ninety-two; also of a work on the Pillow, 枕中書 Chen-ch'ung-shu, which contains speculations on Genii.

13. Apocrypha to the Book of Changes, 乾坤鑿度 Kun-k‘uan-tso-tu. Most of its material seems to reach farther than the time of the 'Han, and is said even to be of the time of the yellow emperor. Another apocrypha, 乾坤鑿度 Kun-tso-tu, is commented upon by 鄭康成 Ch‘eng K‘ang-ch‘eng of the 'Han dynasty.

(d) As indirect authorities may be considered:
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1. The Canon of the Hills and Waters, 山海经 Shan-hai-ching, fabulous accounts of strange countries and their productions, according to the traditions of the Hsia dynasty. The present title is said to have been given only in the time of the ‘Han dynasty, but the work was mentioned before that date by Lieh-tzŭ 1, 3; according to the catalogue it was composed not before the end of the Chou dynasty. The oldest commentary is by 郭璞 Kuo-po of the 晋 T'sin. A more profound treatment of the work is of the present dynasty: 山海经广注 Shan-hai-ching-kuang-chu by 吳任臣 Wu Yen-ch'en.

2. Lao-tzu-tao-te-ching 老子道德经, with many commentaries. As this little work has already been translated into French, English, and, even twice, completely into German, we only here mention it briefly, but shall in another place speak more extensively of it.

3. 管子 Kuan-tzŭ. Of the eighty-six chapters mentioned by Liu Hsiang (‘Han dynasty), ten are now lost. All the chapters are divided into twenty-four books. But there is also another division into eight rubrics: 1, characters (nine chapters); 2, external words (eight chapters); 3, internal words (nine chapters), etc. The work was written by 管仲 Kuan-chung, also called 夷吾 I-wu, prime minister of the duke of ‘Huan of T'si, 683-640 B.C. The work is now unfortunately no longer in its original state, but shows manifest traces of later hands. According to the imperial catalogue more than half of it is a later addition, or rather additions by different hands at different times. The commentary bears the name of the famous minister 房元齡 Fang Yuan-ling, who is, however, not mentioned in the Tang catalogue, but in his stead 尹知章 Yin Chih-chang. The bad style points to the latter, who lived about 700 A.D. The commentary was completed by 劉績 Liu Chieh, who, according to the title page, was also of the Tang, but according to the catalogue of the Ming dynasty. The contents of this work are polity, in rather tedious expositions.

4. 亢倉子 Kang-tsang-tzŭ, properly 庚桑 Keng-sang, also called 龜 Ts'u, lived under the emperor Ling, 570-543 B.C.
and was ambassador of Ching of Tsin, 575-535 B.C. The work with his name is probably of much later origin and is also called 洞灵真经 Tung-ling-chen-ching.

5. 子華子 Tzŭ-hua-tzŭ, properly 程本 Ch'eng-pen, of Tsin. He was called to office by 趙簡子 Chao Chien-tzŭ, the minister of Tsin, but withdrew. (See Dr. Legge, vol. V., Duke of Ch'au, 540-509 B.C.) Tzŭ-hua is often cited in the old literature, but the present work is a production of the Sung dynasty.

6. 殷析子 Tang Hsi-tzŭ of Tang, contemporary of Confucius; the extant work has only ten leaves. Tang Hsi-tzŭ is spoken of disparagingly by Hsün-tzŭ, III., II.

7. 公孫龍子 Kung-sun-lung-tzŭ is said to be Tzŭ-shih, disciple of Confucius; his work is a kind of logical investigation, especially on definitions.

8. 尹文子 Yin Wen-tzŭ, a disciple of the last. He is one of the jurists 刑名家 Hsing-ming-chia, of the time of Hsüan 宣 of Tsi, 454-404 B.C. His work, fourteen leaves in all, is divided into two chapters, 大道 Ta tao 上 and 下.

9. 孫武子 Sun Wu-tzŭ of Tsi. He was ordered by 'Ho-lü, king of Wu, 515-494 B.C., to write thirteen chapters on tactics.

10. Wu-tzŭ, surnamed Chü, 吳子起 of Wei, military writer under the prince Wen of Wei, 424-336 B.C.

11. 司馬子 Ssŭ Ma-tzŭ, properly 爨 直 Tang-ch'ü, ordered by the king Wei of Tsi, 337-331 B.C., to revise the ancient military laws.

12. 尉缭 Wei-liao, disciple of 'Hui-ku, under the king 惠 of Wei, 370-334 B.C., likewise a military writer. His work is in twenty-four divisions.

13. 禽冠子 'Ho Kuan-tzŭ, a taoist and hermit, under king Wu and Ling of Tsiao, 325-298 B.C. There exists a moderate-sized volume of his, to all appearance genuine. Commentary of the Sung dynasty by 陸佃 Lu-t‘ien and enlarged by 王守正 Wang Yu-yung.

14. 玉虛子 Yü 'Hu-tzŭ, or 扈平 Chü-p‘ing, surnamed 靈垢 Ling Chun, of the same family name, 半 Mi, as the
princes of Ts‘u. He was in high office under the king of Wei, 327-294, then fell into disfavour, was banished under K‘ing-hsiang, 294-281 B.C., and drowned himself. Before that he had written his famous poem 颛騷 Li-sao and some other small poems; these are contained in the work 楚辭 Ts‘u-tzŭ, which enjoys great authority and is often commented upon. The translations of the Li-sao into German and French (by Prof. Pfizmayer and Marquis Hervey de St. Denys) are not known to me.

15. The oldest work on Astronomy, 周髀算經 Chou pi-suan-ching, which is said to come from the Chou dynasty, also appertains to this section under this supposition. (See Wylie, p. 86.)

16. The Anthology, 文選 Wen-hsüan, with songs and other smaller poetical productions, from 250 B.C. to the Tang dynasty 500 A.D., contains many an allusion to the state of affairs of old times. (See Wylie, p. 192.)

17. Besides these there are many notices in the ancient commentaries upon the canonical books, but one but very seldom hears whence these originate. Several authors are cited, whose works are unknown to me, though I have extracts in my hands, e.g., 邑夷子 Hsü Hsü-tzŭ, i.e., 氏尹 Chiang-i, officer of Ts‘u, under Hsüan, 368-338 B.C. 波弄子 Po Lung-tzŭ, i.e., 湟於尹 Shun Yü-kuan, contemporary with Mencius, and 符生 Fu-tzŭ, whose real name is unknown. He retreated to the mountains on account of political disorders, but it is uncertain whether in 9 A.D. or 190 A.D.; and many others.
II. THE LITERATURE ANTERIOR TO CONFUCIUS.

Besides what is contained in the older canonical books, there are no authentic authorities of the time before Confucius. This is a fact, the importance of which does not seem to be sufficiently acknowledged. There are, however, still several allusions to, perhaps also citations from former works, which are not yet collected. About this we intend to speak more extensively in other places. Although all peculiarities of Confucianism can be derived from the old documents (Shu-king) and the classical odes (Shih-king), it is to be remarked that too high an authority is attributed to some of these works. We could comprehend the commencement of the Chinese literature at the beginning of the Chou dynasty, i.e., about 600 years before Confucius; but to go farther back, in fact to Yao and Shun, 1,800 years before Confucius, seems to us monstrous and unprecedented. Dr. Plath (Professor in Munich) takes great pains to defend the authenticity of the oldest records in the Shu, and adduces specially three arguments, which we will briefly examine.

1. "Offices are mentioned, which do not appear at a later age."

In Yu-tzu also offices are mentioned which do not appear anywhere else; the Chinese critics, however, take this fact as an evidence of its spuriousness. (Compare the catalogue.) But even if the offices according to Shu Y, 20, III., did exist, it does not follow that they were founded 1,100 or 1,200 years before the commencement of the Chou dynasty; and even less that the book which mentions them is as old.

2. "The style of these books is very different from that of later books."

Such differences may be explained in various ways. (a) Individually, i.e., as peculiarities of certain writers. Huai
Nan-tzü, e.g., has likewise a great many antique forms. If we possessed of him, instead of some thick volumes, only one or two short essays on ancient emperors, many might feel induced to accept him as ante-Confucian. (b) Locally: many differences of the older Chinese literature have their origin in local dialects, a fact analogous, though not completely so, to the attic and doric in Greek. For this reason the Chinese written language possessed, even in antiquity, a great wealth of synonyms. (Compare the Erh-ya.) Such peculiarities may have been preserved up to the time of the Chou and later. (Compare the 方 言 Fang-yen of the 'Han dynasty.) They certainly prove nothing less than a distance of 1,200 years. Furthermore, the style of the documents in question is already so refined and so similar in all main points and in many of the details to the later style that an interval of 1,200 years becomes unnecessary and even unimaginable. During this time we ought in any case to imagine a rich literary activity, and that is just what cannot be proved. It follows, however, from the text itself that it belongs to a later period, for it speaks of "investigation of antiquity," not of contemporary records.

3. "Yao's instructions for the determination of the equinoxes." But it remains to be proved that Yao actually issued them; they may, indeed, be older than the Chou dynasty, but there is not the slightest reason to assume that they were written down as early as 2,300 B.C. That even the ancient and orthodox Chinese placed no great confidence in the reliability of the ancient documents is proved incontestably by Mencius XII., 6, 3. "It would be better to have no documents than to place (absolute) reliance in them."

We therefore consider it an unscientific assumption to place the antiquity of the documents in the Shu long before the commencement of the Chou dynasty.

We arrive at the same result by a thorough examination of the component parts of the canonical Book of Odes. On this compare Dr. Eitel in China Review I. 1; it seems to us, however, to be going too far (as p. 12) to assert that "none
THE LITERATURE ANTERIOR TO CONFUCIUS.

of the pieces of the *Book of Odes* existed in its present form anterior to the eighth century (*i.e.*, only two centuries before Confucius.) Too many traditions point to the commencement of the Chou dynasty as a creative period, both in politics and in literature.

Of the *Book of Changes*, 易經 Y-ching, nothing but the eight diagrams existed anterior to the Chou dynasty with, it seems, foreign names. The sixty-four diagrams probably originated at the commencement of the Chou dynasty, and all Chinese critics agree that the text is certainly not older.

As regards ancient *Manners* and *Customs* it must appear remarkable that Confucius Anal. III., 9 (compare II., 23; D. M. XXVIII., 5) does not refer, as one might expect, to written records, *i.e.*, to writings existing at his time, but to tradition which, however, he still designates as doubtful. How, therefore, Confucius could speak of the manners of the Hsia (about 1,500 years before his time) is now difficult to prove.

Although some maintain that the 儀禮 I-li is very ancient, it may scarcely reach farther back than Confucius. The imperial edition in thirty volumes does not adduce any older parallels than 句況 Hsün-huang, the young contemporary of Mencius. The same may be said of the 周禮 Chou-li, in which the duties of all the officers of the dynasty are described in detail. If these works had existed at the time of Confucius, we might with certainty expect some quotations from them as from the odes and the records, as Confucius had a great predilection in that direction. The imperial edition quotes authors of the ‘Han dynasty only as oldest references to the latter work. Compare for the Rites of the Chou the excellent translation of E. Biot, “Le Tschau-li,” Paris, 1851.

Individual writings, however, certainly existed already in olden times, but they were inaccessible at the time of Mencius, as far as they referred to matters of government (see V., 6. 2.) Several times Mencius uses the expression 禮曰 II., 6; II., 5 (to be found now in the Li-ki); III., 6; II., 2 (now in I-li) and III., II., 3 (also in Li-ki, but comprehending several passages.)
At any rate we allow space enough for all this ante-Confucian literature if we place its beginning at 1,100 B.C.

An essentially different question is "the age of the Chinese characters." Connected with this there are many points to be taken into consideration, i.e., inscriptions on vases and other utensils, especially those on stones and gems. The Chinese possess some interesting researches on these subjects in works, some of which are very voluminous. Here, too, everything which refers to the time before 1,100 B.C., is exceedingly scanty and by no means reliable.

The following works are compared:—

歷代鐘鼎彝器款識法帖, in four vols.
夏商周王之模楷, a splendid edition.

Of either work I now possess only extracts, facsimiles of the oldest characters.

積古齋鐘鼎彝器款識, see Wylie, p. 116.
錫溝館金石文字, in five vols., by 吳榮光 Wu Ying-kuang of the present dynasty; it contains the inscriptions of many vases, etc., of the Ts‘in, ‘Han, and Tang dynasties.

博古圖錄, see Wylie, p. 115.
金石萃編, in 160 books; see Wylie, p. 64. The work contains some very interesting illustrations.

On the ancient characters the different editions of the 六書 Luh-shu are of importance.

On the original characters of the Chinese more at some other time. I have already finished some preparatory essays on the subject.
III. THE PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOLS OF THE CHINESE.

That at the time of Confucius and shortly after his death there existed in China an active literary spirit, is evident from frequent notices in authentic ancient works. So 尸子 Shih-tzū says (上, 17): (1) Mih valued universality 墨兼; (2) Confucius publicity 公; (3) 'Huang 皇 earnestness 宮; (4) Tien 田 equality 物; (5) Lieh 列 emptiness 虛; (6) Liao 料 separation 別面 (for the latter character 原 is also used). To this is added that their followers mutually accused each other of heresy 相非. In conclusion another school is designated by 平易 facility, i.e., avoiding difficulties. The representative of this school, perhaps Shih-tzū himself, is not given. 'Huang-tzū and Liao-tzū would seem now to have completely disappeared. The 21st chapter of Chuang-tzū treats of Tien-tzū. The others have already been mentioned above. A kind of history of philosophy, comprising, however, only a very short period, is given in the 33rd chapter of Chuang-tzū, in which many explanations of the Mihists are given, and Lao-tzū with his friend 關子 Kuan-tzū are spoken of with the greatest acknowledgment, then several (five) contemporaries of Mencius, Chuang-tzū himself and three other philosophers of a kindred (though one-sided) school. More accurate details will be given in the commentary to Chuang-tzū. The Confucianists are not referred to by Chuang-tzū, but we find some explanation in 荀子 Hsün-tzū and 韓非子 Han-fei-tzū. The latter mentions (XIX., p. 10) that after the death of Confucius his school split into eight parties, which accused each other as schools of heresy.

1. Of 子張 Tzū-chang, properly 頡孫師, forty-eight years junior to Confucius, he is often mentioned in the Analects. According to Hsün III., 17, his low orthodoxy, 下儒, consisted in a noble cap, elegant phrases, and in comporting himself like Yū in walking and like Shun in running.
2. Of 子思 Tzŭ-ssŭ, grandson of Confucius, probably the author of the 中庸 Chung-yung. According to Hsūn III., 10, he laid chief stress on the style and Mencius agreed with him. Therefore both sinned against Confucius.

3. Of 顏 氏 Yen-shih, no details given.

4. Of Mencius, see No. 2.

5. Of 櫛 雕 Chi-tiao, also called 子開 or 若 from Tse-ts’ai, see Anal., V., 5. 世 禄 Shih-shuo is said to have been his disciple, the author of a (lost) work, 養書 Yang-shu, in which he asserts that man’s nature consists of good and evil; accordingly, as this or that side is developed, there are bad or good men, see 論衡, chapter 本性篇.

6. Of 仲 良 Chung-liang, nothing further known.

7. Of 孫 氏 Sun-shih, i. e., 句子 Hsūn-tzŭ, who asserts that man’s nature is evil.

8. Of 樂 正子 Lo-cheng-tzŭ, i. e., 子敖 Tzŭ-ou of Lu, disciple of Mencius. Why he, too, is mentioned, is not clear from the meagre accounts we have of Mencius’ disciples.

‘Han-fei-tzŭ places 櫛 雕 Chi-tiao and 宋 榮子 Sung Ying-tzŭ on the same page opposite each other and says: Chi-tiao pronounced one ought not to be excited by beauty, nor avert the eyes; crooked ways obstruct the discipline of subjects, straight ways excite the wrath of princes, but the world considers him modest and treats him politely. Sung Ying-tzŭ pronounced: make innovations without strife, take without enmity; prison is no shame, offence no disgrace, but the world considers him calm and treats him politely. The modesty of Chi-tiao, however, condemns Sung-ying as being without character and Sung-ying the former as being hard-hearted. But as these gentlemen have between themselves calmness, modesty, lack of character and hard-heartedness—those who esteem them both and treat them politely, are either fools or knaves 自愚 謹之學.

句子 Hsūn-tzŭ makes (III., 17), besides those quoted under 1 and 2, other acute remarks upon 子夏 Tzŭ-hsia, whose low orthodoxy consisted in arranging clothes and cap, in rules for the expression of his face, in self-love and in daylong
silence. The low orthodoxy of 子游 Tzŭ-yu is: to steal in among the orthodox, shameless aversion to labour, love of food and drink, frequent speeches on the superior man without troubling himself much thereon. After such attacks upon Confucianists by a Confucianist we need no longer wonder at the harsh judgment passed on Confucius and his school by Mih, Ngan-tzŭ, Lieh-tzŭ and Chuang-tzŭ, etc. Besides we might call the attention to the striking difference of Tso-shih and Confucius as regards the chronicle of Lu.

Of the scholars of the 'Han dynasty many contradictions are handed down, which partly take root in the Chou period (see the 'Han catalogue.) In dogmatics we may name 亞聖 Tung-tzŭ, 楊雄 Yang-hsiung, 班固 Pan-ku, 王充 Wang-ts'ung. Besides these the different exegetical schools are deserving of consideration (see Dr. Legge in loco.) At this period the influence of the Tao school on the orthodox development is especially manifest. Buddhism also is already efficacious, but more indirectly. The scholars of the Tsin dynasty, though not altogether unimportant, only form a continuation of the 'Han period.

The Tang dynasty is more important in exegesis than in dogmatics. Really speculative (metaphysical) thinkers of this time are unknown to me. The position, however, of 韓文公 Han Wen-kung, the most famous savant of the period, is a peculiar one, as he does not, in spite of his enthusiasm for Mencius, hold the same opinion with him as regards his fundamental doctrine "that man is good by nature," but maintains as essential the well known three-fold difference of men. Besides this he thinks that a union of Confucius and Mē-tzŭ is not only possible, but even necessary for either side.*

In the Sung dynasty 朱夫子 Chu Fu-tzŭ placed every other school so much in the shade that it has now become a by no means easy task to gain any clear notion of them.

* Han Wen had an opponent in Leu Tsung-yuen 篆宗元, styled 子厚. Leu wrote successfully against the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth which Han defended. Leu's treatise is called 封禪議. Leu also recommended the Buddhists, but Han was victorious in his opposition. Compare 三教平心論 by 劉謙.
His school may be described as dualistic-naturalistic. Its doctrine possesses a kind of systematical exposition in the 性理大全 Hsing-li-ta-ch’uan, thirty vols. This certainly is the most perspicuous and most detailed philosophical compendium in the Chinese language. Shorter editions of it exist in great variety, e.g., 性理精義 Hsing-li-ch‘ing-i, six vols., and others. An extensive collection of philosophical works is the 正説堂全書 by 張伯行 of the Kanghi period in 180 vols. In it several authors of the Sung dynasty are given in full, and several volumes by the author himself, with explanations by other writers, likewise in their original form. The work is, therefore, a collection of authorities on the philosophy of that school. We may denote the whole school as Buddhist-Confucian, for the Buddhist leavening in the most important, and especially in the peculiar doctrines, is not to be mistaken. With this assertion, however, we do not say that this school is amicably inclined to Buddhism, as the reverse is the case. But the polemics seldom or never enter thoroughly into the doctrines, which are really brought forward by their opponents, but instead they caricature them, so that their monstrosity is easily proved. In this way Mencius treated Me-ti, and it seems as if this method is especially adapted to the Chinese mind.

But the followers of Chu Fu-tzü soon found their opponents. Even during Chu-hsi’s lifetime (he was born 1131, in the 9th moon on the day 甲寅) 陸子 Lu-tzü, surnamed 九淵, titled 子靜, and called (號) 象山, opposed him. The latter was born 1140, in the second moon, on the day 乙亥. In opposition to the critical philosophical erudition of Chu-hsi, Lu desires rectification of heart and life to be the main point as the commencement and aim of study. There is no doubt that in this Confucius stands on his side. The opposition of these two Sung scholars, called forth a number of polemical treatises, nor are attempts to reconcile them wanting.

The difference between these two is pretty thoroughly treated in the 學説通辨 Hsio-pao-t‘ung-pien by 陳清澗 Chen Ching-lan of the present dynasty.
In the Ming dynasty also remarkable contradiction arose. See e. g. 任应《江》. His work is written in six books under the title of 江子中誼. He speaks specially sharply against the proposition of man's double nature, which forms one of the characteristics of the psychology of Chu-hsi's school.

During the present dynasty the opposition has been considerably more strengthened, and it has already somewhat diminished the prestige of Chu Fu-tzu. His chief opponent is 毛西河 Mao Hsi-‘ho, at the commencement of the present dynasty, whose works are very extensive (120 vols). But there are yet other significant names on this side, especially in the great work 皇清經解 'Huang-ch‘ing-ching-chieh (360 vols.), by which many explanations and theories of the Sung school are rendered obsolete.

Christian knowledge begins already to be perceptible. The great imperial catalogue (120 vols.) has already mentioned several works of Christian origin, and the imperial dictionary in general use (Kang-hi, new edition Tao-kuang,) explains many Christian expressions. Even the name of Jesus is quoted with the explanation "in the language of the west, saviour of the world, 西國言救世主." See 耶 under 禾. Unless the signs of the times deceive us, it will soon come to a thorough explanation between the Chinese and the Christian views; that this may turn out to be a blessing to China, is our heart-felt wish.

At present we confine ourselves to this limited sketch, as it seems wiser not to say all that one knows than to pretend to know more than one is able to prove.
A SYSTEMATICAL DIGEST
OF THE
Doctrines of Confucius,
ACCORDING TO TA-HSIO, CHUNG-YUNG AND LUN-YU.

The Doctrines of Confucius are exclusively ethico-anthropological. You may call the whole therefore as you please, either a system of ethics or of anthroplogy. The term 'anthropology' would seem to be more appropriate, if we define it on purely etymological grounds, as the doctrine of man, excluding at once all anatomical and physiological questions. Hereby come into consideration:—

1. The nature and origin of man, his relations to nature and to the heavenly powers, and his immortality.

2. Man as an individual, his qualities and personal cultivation.

3. Man as a member of society in his connection with the family and the state.

Exhaustive treatment of all these points is indispensable for an anthropology which would be complete in itself and thoroughly satisfactory. Disregard of any one of these points, gives the remaining portion of the doctrine an imperfect or fragmentary character.

These questions can, however, be comprehended and answered from different points of view:—

1. Materialistically; purely from the physical, mechanical, stand-point. Man is only the highest type of the animal creation and can expect no better lot than death and annihilation. Then naturally there can be no reference to God, but only to the powers of nature, or the laws of the
universe, which ever work independently and in harmony amongst themselves. If from this there be developed a system of Ethics—it is Utilitarianism or Eudaemonism.

2. Ideally, or humanistically; from the human-dynamic standpoint. Man is a free being and is master of his own destiny. He stands above nature and influences it. This doctrine leads to the apotheosis of one's self, it does not attain a proper relation to God. God is either a Nothing, a mere Fate, or the Transcendent.

3. Mystically; Man depends upon a superior power, which shapes his being, decreing his birth and fixing his death. Here also are different systems in which personal continuance after death soars above all other considerations. Nearly always the Human is absorbed by the Divine. To this belong the pantheistical systems, as also Determinism, Fatalism and rigid Predestination, which does not give its right to the Human.

4. Religiously; Man as a being, who forms his own destiny, is related to God (the Father), and is joined to Him through the Mediator. The Divine in its sublimity receives its full due, as does also the Human in its independent, and in its dependent relations to the Divine. All human relations are hallowed through the connexion with God; and the whole life partakes of a holy earnestness through the hope of eternal life with its just reward. Perfection like that of the Heavenly Father is the ethical aim, and divine glory in eternity, with personal continuance after death, the final award. This is the standpoint of the Christian revelation only.

Confucius has not the latter; he is neither mystical, nor materialist, but he is humanist in the sense of No. 2. His thoughts and doctrines do not rise higher than this temporal life. Man only, among all things in this world, is of interest to him, i.e., man as he really exists, as he has been pictured in ancient records, and as to what finally ought to become of him. According to those ancient records of Yao, Shun, the great Yu, the kings Wen and Wu (D. M. XXX.),
the Middle Kingdom was kept in order only through the influence of the virtue of those great rulers, whilst the age of Confucius showed everywhere the greatest confusion. Compare A. XIII., 4 (128); XIV., 22 (148). The Ch‘un Ch‘iu, with the commentaries of Tso, let us also look deeper into the sins and horrors which were prevalent, at the time immediately before Confucius, among high and low. Confucius found that the doctrines of the ancient holy man corresponded with the consciousness of Man (the conscience), above all with his own; he, therefore, felt all the more, the contradiction of his own times and tried to mould it after the ancient models.

Confucius is by no means a speculative thinker, nor has he developed any original doctrines, A. VII., 1 (59); on the contrary, the teachings of the ancients became flat and shallow under his hands, as for instance the doctrine of "a God" in "Heaven," etc.* Confucius has a practical head, which lays hold on the nearest and most comprehensible. He shows no trace of science; he throws out his thoughts without proving them and without bringing them into systematic connexion. But this deficiency of the Lun-yü is practically supplied by the two somewhat later works of savants of his school. The Ta-hsio as well as the Chung-yung are digests of the Confucian ethics. But both already differ somewhat from the Lun-yü or Analects, or go farther than it, especially the Chung-yung; not so much, however, that these works could not be admitted as adequate descriptions of the Confucian doctrine. Mencius differs more widely, so that it appeared best not to take notice of him now, but to treat of him separately another time.

* A searching comparison with the more ancient classics is reserved for some future occasion.
The first question which forces itself upon us in the anthropology, is: *What is Man?* To this question these three books furnish no distinct answer. Man is indeed a product of heaven and earth, as are all other natural bodies, the difference being in degree. However, Man as he is, is considered above nature, which latter is in many ways subjected to his influence, and even dependent upon him, D. M. I., 5 致中和天地位焉，萬物育焉; D. M. XXII. 能盡其性，則能盡人之性... 則能盡物之性... 則可以贊天地之化育; D. M. XXV. 誠者非自誠已而已也，所以誠物也.

In him the powers of Heaven and Earth are perfected so that Man with Heaven and Earth forms a trinity, D. M., XXII., 與天地參，XXVI. 配地... 配天... XXXI. 首天.

As regards the more special definition of Man's nature, Tzŭ-kung 子貢 says, "that the master’s words about nature and the Heavenly Tao cannot be heard," A. V., 12 (41) 夫子之言性與天道不可得而聞也. But Confucius nevertheless refers to it, XVII., 2 (182):—"By nature men are nearly alike, by practice they get to be wide apart," 性相近也，習相遠也，chapter 3 (182). Then it is said:—"Only the wise of the highest, and the stupid of the lowest class do not change;" 唯上知與下愚不移. The proper meaning of either expression may be inferred from A. XVI., 9 (177): "those that are born with the possession of knowledge, are the superior; the dull, who do not learn (although they could, because some do it), are the inferior." 生而知之者上也，學而知之者次
DOCTRINES OF CONFUCIUS.

The expression "inferior fool" refers therefore to practice, and not to nature. The opinion of Han Wen, who according to A. XVII., 3 (182) makes a distinction between three different classes of men, rests therefore upon a misunderstanding.

D. M. I., 1 (247) it is said: "The destiny (decree) of Heaven is called nature." 天命之謂性, XXI. (278): "From sincerity to clearness is called nature;" 自誠明謂之性 XXII. (279): "He who is possessed of the most complete sincerity, can give its full development to his nature, and, with it, to that of other men as well as to that of things." 至誠為能盡其性, XXV. (283): "The virtue of nature effects a union of the external and internal Tao, i.e., self-perfection and perfection of the things," 成己仁也, 成物知也, 性之德也合外內之道也; about the same sense XXVII., 6 (286).

性 HSING signifies, therefore, the ideal nature of men, but this is found extremely seldom in a pure state.

2. 聖人 SHENG-JEN, THE HOLY MAN.

The holy man enjoys the good fortune (of having a pure human nature) from the time of his birth; he is like the most perfect crystal, showing on all sides his peculiar form. He follows this, his complete and regular disposition, and the impulses which result from it, naturally, and without any effort, D. M. XX., 18 (277) 誠者, 不思而得, 不勉而中, 從容中道, 聖人也; compare XVII.; XXVII.; XXX., 1. He is, therefore, the spotless and sinless one, and the incorporated law for the rest of men, D. M. XXXI., 3 (293) 見而民莫不敬, 言而民莫不信, 行而民莫不說, ... 凡有血氣者, 莫不尊親; compare XXXII., A. XVI., 8 (177); XIX., 12 (207). His nature corresponds with his destiny and "the heavenly destiny is called nature," D. M. I. (247) 天命之謂性. This leads to the expressions 命 Ming and 天 Ti'en.
3. 命 MING, DESTINY.

Destiny is the heavenly intention or plan with the creature interested, A. VI., 2 (49) 順因不幸短命死亡, verbally the same XI., 6 (103); A. VI., 8 (52) 伯牛有疾子曰亡之命矣夫; or of the course of things in general, A. XIV., 38 (153) 道之將行也與, 命也, 道之將廢也與, 命也, 公伯寮其如命何; D. M. XVIII., 3 (265) 武王未受命. But “man may give up destiny,” A. XIV., 13 (144) 見危授命; XIX., 1 (203) 見危致命, or not accept it, A. XI., 18 (107) (子貢) 賜不受命. But no man can influence the ordered course of the Tao, A. XIV., 38 (153) ...... 命也 ...... 其如命何; compare A. IX., 5 (81). “The superior man, 君子 Chün-tzŭ, awaits quietly his destiny,” D. M. XIV. (260) 居易以俟命; he becomes a superior man by recognising destiny, A. XX., 3 (218) 不知命無以爲君子也 and stands in awe of it, A. XVI., 8 (177) 畏天命. Confucius himself arrived at this in his 50th year, A. II., 4 (II) 五十而知天命.

4. 天 TI'EN, HEAVEN.

Through the profound and unceasing destiny Heaven becomes Heaven, D. M. XXVI., 10 (285) 詩曰, 維天之命, 於穆不已, 蓋曰天之所以爲天也. This is an important explanation, which, excluding mere naturalism, already ascribed a kind of personality to heaven. Other expressions also point to this, as: “Heaven is going to use Confucius as an alarm bell,” A. III., 24 (28) 天將以夫子爲木鐸; “Will Heaven let this cultivation (文 wen) perish or not,” A. IX., 5 (32) 天之將喪斯文也; “May Heaven visit it,” A. VI., 26 (57) 天厭之天厭之; “Should I deceive Heaven?” A. IX., 11 (84) 欺天乎. “Offence against Heaven, which cannot be deprecated,” A. III., 13 (23) 罪於天無所禍也. “Knowledge of man is impossible without knowledge of Heaven,”
D. M. XX., 7 (270) 知人不可以不知天. “It is only Heaven that is great,” A. VIII., 19, 1 (78) 唯天爲大.
Heaven rejects me,” A. XI., 8 (103) 天棄予天棄予 “Authority and riches are from Heaven,” A. XII., 5 (117)
天何言哉四時行焉百物生焉天何言哉 “Like-wise the doings of Heaven have neither sound nor smell; this is the supreme,” D. M. XXXIII (297) 上天之載無聲無臭至矣. From this it results that Heaven is imagined as a divine power in the sense of deism, i. e., as Providence. Its will is the destiny of men and things; it forms their disposition and ethical tasks. But man stands, nevertheless, free in regard to it. Will and desire are in the power of man, and cannot be taken away from without, A. IX., 25 (88) 三軍可奪帥也,匹夫不可奪志也; VII., 29 (68) 我欲仁斯仁至矣. But only the holy man has a nature so pure, corresponding with his destiny. In the rest of men it appears dim; the holy man is the most beautiful natural crystal, whilst other men only through grinding and polishing gain their proper lustre, G. L. III. (227) 君子如切如磋...道學也,一如琢如磨...自修也; verbally the same A. I., 15 (8).

But what is the reason of this dimness, of this natural deviation from nature and destiny? To this question Confucius has no answer. But the fact sounds out everywhere, and the superior man, who sanctifies himself, is in himself the proof. For without destruction all men would be holy men, whilst Confucius now complains and dares not hope to be able to see such holy men, A. VII., 251 (67) 聖人吾不得而見之矣.

Nevertheless, the heavenly destiny is given to each man; it forms the innermost quintessence of human nature; again it stands on the outside of him, and above him as the infinite Heaven, as the destining power opposite to men, the destined. But the great deficiency is, that the heavenly power is transcendent in reference to the ethical subject, it
stands cold above man. Man has to stand by himself; he can expect nothing extraordinary, no favour from above. No helping hand is stretched out to him, no vivifying breath animates his fainting strength. Prayer has therefore no place in the system of Confucius; it must even appear as an absurdity, so far as it is not a mere showing of respect. Man must look to himself how he can get on with what he has received, once for all, from heaven, and what is at his disposal in the world, especially amongst men.

5. 鬼神 KWEI-SHEN, SPIRITS AND DEMONS.

Heaven is too high and heartless, therefore they cling to spirits and demons, A. III., 12 (23) 祭如在祭神如神在; though it also seems as if Confucius was not particularly attached to these. “How can you serve them?” A. XI., 11 (164) 須能事鬼. “They are to be kept aloof,” A. XVI., 29 (55) 敬鬼神而遠之. Even of prayer, when sick, Confucius will not hear anything, A. VII., 34 (70) 丘之禱久矣. In all likelihood spirits and demons are imagined as deceased men. The spirits take rank and are placed over mountains, streams, etc., A. VI., 4 (50) 山川...III., 21 (26) 社...以松...以柏...以栗. The demons correspond with the people. Confucius considers it a duty to sacrifice to those who belong to one’s own clan, A. III., 12 (23) 祭如在...吾不與祭如不祭, and praises Yü, that he did it with filial piety, A. VIII., 21 (79) 非飲食而致孝乎鬼神. “To sacrifice to others than to one’s own family demons is flattery,” A. II., 24 (18) 非其鬼而祭之詬也. In D. M. a much higher importance is ascribed to them. “How complete is the capacity of demons and spirits! We look for them, but we do not see them; we listen to them, but we do not hear them. They enter into all things, and there is nothing without them. They cause all the people in the empire to purify themselves and to array themselves in their richest dresses in order to attend at their sacrifices. Immense, immense they seem to
be overhead and to the right and left (of the sacrificing)," D. M. XVI., i-3 (261) 鬼神之為德, 其盛矣乎, 視之而弗見, 聽之而弗聞, 體物而不可遣, 使天下之人, 齊明盛服, 以承祭祀, 洋洋乎, 如在其上, 如在其左右. "To foreknow like a spirit," D. M. XXIV. (281) 前知, or 先知如神. The emperor attests his form of government (道 tao) through the demons and spirits, so that no doubt can assail it; he therefore comprehends heaven, D. M. XXIX., 4 (290) 質諸鬼神而無疑, 知天也.

We may, perhaps, gather from this, that the Chinese mind is unable to comprehend a personification other than the human, and that Heaven, in spite of all theistic contacts, is still far removed from the Christian God.

6. 上帝 SHANG-TI, GOD.

The expression 天 ti'en would then be totally inadmissible as a designation of the Christian God; 神 shen, in the Classics, especially in those here considered, is the equal to both our words, spirit and spirits. The expression 心神 hsin-shen is likewise known to the Chinese as "the spirit that dwells in man." The expression "God," 上帝 Shang-ti, only occurs D. M. XIX., 6 (268); "by the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, they served God" 郊社之禮, 所以事上帝也. A nearer determination of the nature of God, 上帝 Shang-ti, is, according to the sources before us, not possible.

G. L. X., 5 (239) is only a citation from the Odes 般之 未喪師, 克配上帝, and 帝 A. XX., 1, 3 (214) is taken from the ancient documents (Shu-king) 敢昭告於皇皇后帝, 有罪不敢赦, 帝臣不藏, 簡在帝心. Those ancient classics contain, however, in the many passages which treat of 上帝 Shang-ti, nothing at all that is offensive to the Christian idea of God. The comparison of 上帝 Shang-ti with Jupiter is absurd. That the ancient Chinese idea of God should
quite agree with the Jewish or the Christian, is just as little to be expected, as of all other Chinese ideas, which serve to designate expressions of revelation. A great advantage accrues from the use of the term 上帝 Shang-ti for God, viz., that we are able to tell the Chinese:—We do not preach to you new gods, but the same, whom your forefathers knew and partly served; repent, and be converted from your present idols and their foolish fables, to the true God of your forefathers. This makes an impression on the masses of the Chinese. To the full comprehension, however, and the appropriation of the Christian doctrine of redemption only a few chosen ones arrive. (See Appendix.)

But, as observed, Confucius himself is already estranged from the ancient God, and, because of this estrangement, promoted the worship of spirits without really intending it.

Yet we have in this belief of spirits an important doctrine enunciated: the continuance of man after death, i.e., immortality. As this doctrine appears, it is alas! the "Achilles' heel" of the Confucian system. It has no ethical weight for the individual, as there is no trace to be found of a future reward, or a corresponding state after death with the ethical standpoint on earth. The consequence is that the deceased are all dependent upon their living posterity, owing to the belief that future bliss is the result of the pious offerings of children and grand-children. Corresponding with this is the passage A. I., 19 (5): "The virtue of the people will be enriched through attention paid to the dead." 结 追 追, 民德歸厚矣. The remaining, i.e., the living, practise a sacred duty, and each fulfilment of duty is an enrichment of virtue. But the duty of sacrifice refers to all ancestors without regard to their former ethical conduct, and is participated in by monsters such as Chi 桀 and 纡 Chao, as well as by the holy Yao and Shun. So, all holy men are even made dependent upon their wicked descendants, which is perfectly immoral.

A farther consequence, drawn by Mencius, is, that it is the chief duty of sons to procure a posterity, in order that
the sacrifices may be continued. With this polygamy becomes an ethical necessity. Confucius certainly does not intimate that it is unlawful, neither can there be found any testimony against this social evil in the whole of Chinese literature.

Further, the departed shall be served, as if they were present, D. M. XIX., 5 (267) 事死如事生, 事亡如事存. With this the thought was soon, if not originally, connected, that the deceased have the same wants as the living; another source of manifold superstitions. From this also arises the aversion to the marriage of widows.

Whilst, then, Christianity with the doctrine of immortality, i.e., resurrection of the dead, spreads a holy earnestness and sweet consolation over the whole life, the Confucian doctrine only leads into absurd errors, without hallowing and blessing the dwellers upon earth. That earthly fortune depends on spirits is not openly pronounced by Confucius, but the thought lies not far away. In the passage A. XII., 5 (117), that riches and honour come from heaven, by many commentators spirits are understood. Certain it is that the Chinese now serve them out of pure egotism. According to the Christian doctrine, purification and perfection of the heart and of the whole person depends on the assistance of God; that is an ethical relation to God; whilst the service of spirits and demons has everywhere led to the corruption of morals.

Without the intimate relation to a personal God, and without the certainty of a future reward to the good as well as to the evil, positive ethics are no longer possible. It is sufficient, if judgments are administered on earth, to evade the consequences of evil deeds, and to cultivate pharisaical hypocrisy for the sake of attaining the lustre of holiness before the world, and with it the reward of virtue.

Confucius cannot avoid this. But he himself is free from hypocrisy, A. V., 27 (47); VII., 2, 3 (59); IX., 15 (86); XIV., 30 (150), etc. We must give him the testimony that he really aimed with sincerity at perfection, as far as he had knowledge of it, A. VII., 2, 3 (59).
Be perfect! is the ethical fundamental demand of Confucius, also A. VIII., 9 (75); D. M. XIII., 27; XI., 3; A. XIV., 13 (140). Although not like the Father in heaven, but like the abstract holy man.
II. 君子之道 CHUN-TSU-CHIH-TAO, THE WAY OF THE SUPERIOR MAN.

For all who are not holy by nature, the way of the superior man stands open. The whole Confucian morale directly leads to this; the 君子 Chun-tzu is the proper fundamental idea of the whole system and is repeated nearly 200 times. The way of the superior man leads from the near to the far, from the understanding and formation of the true and good to the transformation of the world.

In G. L. the whole gradation is laid down:—

1. 格物 Kē-wu, distinction of things.
2. 致知 CHIH-CHIH, completion of knowledge.
3. 誠意 CHÉNG-I, veracity of intention.
4. 正心 CHÉNG-HSIN, rectification of the heart.
5. 修身 HSIU-SHĒN, cultivation of the whole person.
6. 齊家 CHIA, management of the family.
7. 治國 CHIH-KUO, government of the state, and
8. 平天下 P'ING-TI'EN-HSIA, peace for the whole empire.

The three last points refer, therefore, to external efficiency in reference to other men, whilst the first five concern one's own person.

1. 格物 Kē-wu, distinction of things.

Distinction of Things is simply the same as study 學 hsi̇o, because all study is a discriminating contemplation of things, whether real or abstract. Certainly one must contemplate them, until from them a principle 理 li has been drawn; this is the understanding. It may therefore be said, 格物 kē-wu is a sifting of material. But it is not natural science, as the expression is now used; not husbandry, gardening, A. XIII., 4 (128), nor military tactics, A. XV.,
DISTINCTION OF THINGS.

1 (158), but refers to men. "The principles of Wen and Wu have not yet fallen to the earth; the excellent among men remember the sublime, inferior men remember the unimportant part of it, but nobody is without the principles of Wen and Wu. How could the master not learn and which teacher should he constantly employ!" A. XIX., 22 (210), 文武之道未墜於地，在人賢者，識其大者，不賢者，識其小者，莫不有文武之道焉，夫子焉不學，而亦何常師之有.

The conduct, i. e., the practice, must be kept in view in every study.

"The superior man, who does not seek in his food satiety, nor in his dwelling place comfort, but is earnest in what he is doing and careful in his speech, frequents the company of men of principle that he may be rectified; such a person may be said indeed to be a friend of study," A. I., 14 (7), 君子食無求飽，居無求安，敏於事而慎於言，就有道而正焉，可謂好學也已；I., 81 (5) 君子不重則不威，學則不固 compare, I., 7 (4).

Mere thought without learning, i. e., without addition of material, is perilous, A. II., 15 (14) 思而不學則殆，or at least useless, even if one sacrifices in the day-time eating, and in the night-time sleeping, to thinking, A. XV., 30 (166) 吾常終日不食，終夜不寢以思，無益，不如學也；compare A. IX., 29. (59). The objects are literature, 文 wen, combined with propriety, 禮 li, A. VI., 25 (57); especially the Odes 詩 shih, "Odes and rules of propriety," A. XVI., 13, 23 (179) 不學詩，無以言，不學禮，無以立；compare XVII., 9 (187). The I-king, 易經, or the book of changes, is also praised by Confucius as being very useful, A. VII., 16 (64) 五十以學易，可以無大過矣. The examples of the ancients, from Yao and Shun to the time of Confucius are so often mentioned, that history formed perhaps one of the chief branches of instruction, A. VII., 19 (65) 好古敏以求之者也. The conduct of the holy and just men of antiquity should inspire the scholar to emulate their example. For the study should serve the purpose of self-
improvement and not that of gaining the approbation of the people, A. XIV., 25 (149) 古之學者為己，今之學者為人。On the contrary through study, acquaintance will be made with our own faults and defects, A. XIX., 5 (205) 日知其所亡，月無忘其所能，可謂好學也已矣。Therefore not many things, but one, is sought after by Confucius, A. XV., 2 (159) 子曰，賜也，女以予為多學而識之者與，對曰，然，非與，曰，非也，予一以貫之；compare XV., 1 (158). No more than three years are required to accomplish something, A. VIII., 12 (76) 三年學，不至於谷，不易得也。Literally: he who learns three years without accomplishing something, does not easily attain it.

All inclinations and moral endeavors decay, if not regulated by learning. “Humanity becomes folly, wisdom vagueness, confidence rapaciousness, straight-forwardness rudeness, valour disorder (insubordination), firmness foolishness,” A. XVII., 8, 3 (186) 仁者恱愚，智者恱狂，信者恱賊，直者恱絹，勇者恱亂，剛者恱狂。Therefore “to be fond of learning is to be in the proximity of wisdom,” D. M. XX., 10 (271) 好學近乎知。And for this reason “the superior man continues his studies,” D. M. XXVII. (286) 道問學。

2. 致知 CHIH-CHIH, COMPLETION OF KNOWLEDGE.

From learning, i. e., the attentive contemplation of materials, results knowledge, 知 chih, that is comprehension and wisdom. Three things are necessary to know: one’s destiny, 命 ming, propriety, 禮 li, and words (eloquence), 言 yun, A. XX., 3 (218). The comprehension of the heavenly destiny is also, in other passages, laid stress on, A. II., 44 (11) 五十而知天命；“comprehension of heaven,” D. M. XXIX., 4 (290) 知天；further, “knowledge of men,” A. XII., 22, 1 (124) 問知，子曰，知人；compare XIII., 3 (12). “One should not be afflicted at not being known by men, but rather because of not knowing men,” A. I., 16 (9) 不
患人之不已知，患不知人也。‘Knowledge of history,’ A. II., 23 (17) 患因於夏禮，所損益，可知也，周因於殷禮，所損益，可知也，其或繼周者，雖百世，可知也。According to this passage one is able to understand even 100 generations, if one comprehends the historical development of the present. So the manners of the 殷 Yin developed themselves out of those of the 夏 Hsia, those of the 周 Chow, out of those of the Yin, and those of the following generations naturally out of those of the Chow. If one knows the former, one easily comprehends what later times have added or abolished.

But “men should also comprehend the limits of their knowledge,” i. e., obtain clear views as to what they know and what they do not know, A. II., 17 (15) 知之為知之，不知為不知，是知也；compare XIII., 3 (127). “Knowledge points to the causes of things,” D. M. XX., 10, 11 (271) 五學近乎知，力行近乎仁，知恥近乎勇，知斯三者，則知所以修身，知所以治人，知所以治天下國家矣；“to cause and effect,” G. L. I., 3 (221) 知所先後。Yet “mere knowledge is useless,” A. XV., 32 (167) 知及之，仁不能守之，雖得之，必失之。‘Perfect knowledge ought to be followed by the choice of what is good,’ A. VII., 27 (67) 多聞擇其善者而從之，多見而識之，知之次也。‘The man of understanding is therefore free from uncertainty,’ A. IX., 28 (89) 知者不惑；compare XIV., 30 (150). Even then, ‘knowledge is not like loving (好) what is good, nor this like finding pleasure (樂) in it,’ A. VI., 18 (55) 知之者，不如好之者，好之者，不如樂之者。 ‘It consists in completing things,’ D. M. XXV., 3 (282) 成物知也；this is the highest aim.

But from all this it follows that study as well as knowledge have entirely a moral significance and do not aim at mere scholarship. Practical ends are all-important; compare A. XIII., 5 (196).
3. 誠意 CHENG-I, VERACITY OF INTENTION.

But the term 意 $I$ is meant, firstly, the thoughts, and secondly, the will and intention. The expression 意 $I$ is explained G. L. VI., 1 (230): "not to allow oneself to be deceived, but to investigate the principles of things, as when we loathe bad smells and love that which is beautiful." This is called self-satisfaction. Therefore the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone, 所謂誠其意者, 毋自欺也, 如惡惡臭, 如好好色, 此之謂自謙; 故君子必慎其獨也. The following sentences, too, point to intentions; compare VII. on the heart; D. M. XXIII. (249). Therefore we may use for it the more frequent and more expressive term 志 chih, so A. IX., 4 (81) 意 wu-i forgone conclusions; 志 chih also rendered by 主意 chu-i, will or ruling idea. With 志 chih the direction of the internal life is denoted, of which the thoughts form part; compare A. V., 25 (46); XI., 25, 79 (112) 各言其志; I., 11 (6) 觀其志. The will is the proper individuality, the innermost property of man; it cannot be gained over by force. A. VI., 25 (88) 三軍可奪帥也, 匹夫不可奪志也; A. XVIII., 8 (200) 不降其志. "The will is rightly directed when it is set on learning," A. II., 4 (10) 志於學, on "humanity;" A. IV., 4 (30) 志於仁, "on Tao;" A. IV., 9 (32) 志於道, A. VII., 6 (60), compare A. XIX., 6 (205). The 誠意 cheng-i therefore requires that all contradicting elements, all fluctuations be removed; this can only be effected when a clear knowledge is already possessed, to obtain which a distinct direction of the mind is absolutely necessary.

4. 正心 CHENG-HSIN, RECTIFICATION OF THE HEART.

Under the word 心 hsin, heart, all the feelings and desires, often also the thoughts are comprised.
But as the thoughts have already been considered separately, we have now only to deal with the former parts of the definition.

According to the illustration of G. L. VII., 1-3, it is said: "Under the influence of passion, terror, fondness, regard or of sorrow, one does not attain to correct conduct. When the mind is otherwise engaged, one does not see, nor understand, nor taste properly," 所謂修身，在正其心者，身有所惡懼，則不得其正，有所恐懼，則不得其正，有所好樂，則不得其正，有所憂患，則不得其正，心不在焉，視而不見，聽而不聞，食而不知其味，此謂修身，在正其心。 All four (afterwards seven) expressions of man's heart given in D. M., I. (248), as pleasure 喜 hsi, anger 怒 ni, pain 哀 ai, joy 樂 lo, may be reduced to the two motions of 好 'hao and 恶 wu; they are in fact the attractive and repulsive movements of the heart.

The term 好 'hao may be used for "the love of questioning and investigating," D. M., VI. (252) 好問好察邇言; for "the love of study," A. I., 14 (8) 好學也; V., 27 (47); VI. (49); XIX., 5 (205), "which brings us near to knowledge," D. M. XX., 10 (272) 好學近乎知; for "the love of 仁 jen humanity," A. IV., 6 (31) 好仁者; for "the love of righteousness," A. XII., 205 (123) 好義; XIII., 5 (129); for "the love of propriety," 禮 lì, A. XIII., 4 (129), XIV., 44 (156); for the love of good faith 信 hsin, A. XIII., 4 (129), and "virtue in general," 德 tè, A. IX., 17 (86); XV., 12 (162). Love so directed stands in connection with the development of the superior man, 君子 chün-tzu, as above described.

But "the love of the people, the multitude, is very fickle," A. XIII., 24 (137) 鄉人皆好之，未可也; "it requires to be scrutinised," A. XV., 27 (166) 衆惡之，必察焉，衆好之，必察焉。 "The love of petty cunning is to be rejected," A. XV., 16 (163) 好行小慧難矣哉; "carnal love" also, A. IX., 17 (86) 吾未見好德，如好色者也，XV., 12 (162); and "self-love," D. M. XXVIII. (287) 賤而好自專，或及其身者也，while "the love of riches is equivocal," A. VII., 11 (62) 富而可求也，雖執鞭之士，吾亦為之，如不可求，從吾所好.
DOCTRINES OF CONFUCIUS.

These passages define clearly enough the good and bad movements of the heart. The good movements constitute, and were afterwards denominated, the five cardinal virtues.

For 好 'hao is often put 欲 yu, A. IV., 5 (30), which means nothing else than desire in general, A. II., 46 (10) 從心所欲; III., 10 (22) 欲觀之矣; 17 (25) 欲去告語之賦羊, etc.; 爭 ai also is synonymous, A. XII., 10 (120) 愛之欲其生。

惡 wu, hatred, is the contrary as well of 好 'hao as of 欲 yu, A. IV., 3, 6 (30); XIII., 24 (137); XV., 27 (166); IV., 5 (30); it therefore needs no special explanation.

5. 修身 HSIU-SHEN, CULTIVATION OF THE WHOLE PERSON.

According to what is said above, the expression can only refer to the conduct, the formation or expression by word and deed of that which lies concealed in the heart.

Firstly caution in speaking, 言 yu, is recommended, A. I., 14 (8) 慎於言; II., 18 (15) 慎言其餘; XII., 3 (115) 仁者其言也讱. “Confucius was taciturn,” A. X., 1 (91) 慎慎如也似不能言者. “When one speaks, it should be to the point,” A. XI., 13 (105) 夫人不言, 言必有中; XIII., 3, 7 (128) 君子於其言, 無所苟而巳矣.

“The superior man speaks and is silent at the proper time,” A. XV., 7 (161); “men do not get tired of speaking when it is seasonable and proper,” A. XIV., 14 (144) 時然後言, 人不厭其言. “Speech should be sincere,” A. I., 7 (5) 言而有信; XIII., 20, 3 (135) 言必信; XV., 2, 5 (159) 言忠信; “fine words are rarely connected with humanity,” A. I., 3 (3) 巧言...鮮矣仁; A. V., 24 (46); XV., 26 (166); XVII., 18 (190).

“Genuine speech bears a constant relation to the conduct, which is the main point: words follow,” A. II., 13 (14) 先行其言, 而後從之; IV., 22 (35) 古者言之不出, 聲聳之不逮也; 24 (36) 君子欲訥於言, 而敏於行; D. M. XIII., 4 (259) 言顧行, 行顧言. “Where virtue exists, language corresponds, but not vice versa,” A. XIV., 5 (140) 有德者, 必
有言，有言者，不必有德。‘We ought therefore not to trust in mere words, but to examine the expression of the countenance and especially the conduct,’ A. XII., 20 (123) 察言而觀色；A. V., 9, 2 (40) 子曰：始吾於人也，聽其言，而信其行，今吾於人也，聽其言，而觀其行；A. XV., 22 (164) 君子不以言舉人。 ‘Being silent is better than speaking, for heaven does not speak,’ A. XVII., 19 (190) 天何言哉，四時行焉，百物生焉，天何言哉。 But ‘from words one learns to know men,’ A. XX., 3 (218) 不知言，無以知人也， and ‘the words of the superior man are examples for the ages,’ D. M. XXIX., 5 (290) 言而世為天下則；‘his words are generally believed,’ XXXI., 3 (293) 言而民莫不信。

In the Conduct, 行 hsing, is shown the value of the law of reciprocity amongst men. It is expressed in negative form A. XX., 23 (165) 有一言而可以終身行之者乎，子曰：其恕乎，己所不欲，勿施於人；compare D. M. XIII., 3 (258). In positive form it plainly stands D. M. XIII., 4 (258): 君子之道四，丘未能一焉；所求乎子，以事父未能也，所求乎臣，以事君未能也，所求乎弟，以事兄未能也。所求乎朋友，先施之未能也：the superior man is guided by four principles, of which Confucius has not yet attained to one；‘to serve the father, as it is required from the son, to serve the prince, as it is required from one’s servant, to serve the elder brother, as it is required from the younger one, to offer first to friends, what one requires from them.’ In meaning D. M. X., 3 (254) agrees with this as plainly, also A. VI., 28, 2 (58): ‘the man of humanity wishes to be established himself and helps others to it；he wishes to be acknowledged himself and is ready to acknowledge others also’ 人者，己欲立而立人，己欲達而達人。 It is important to give prominence to this positive side of the doctrine of reciprocity. The Christian preacher finds in it one of the closest connecting links. The excellence of Christianity loses nothing by the connexion, for after all in carrying out the principle the intention weighs most. Christianity, on the one hand, prescribes it from the divine standpoint, considering human relations in the light of eternity；Confucius, on the other hand, recommends it from a merely
earthly and temporal standpoint. If therefore I am fond
of flattery, e.g., I am myself obliged, according to Confucius,
to flatter others. The modern Chinese go still farther and
apply the principle to social enjoyments and amusements, such
as opium smoking, drinking, etc. Here lies the error. The
good part of the maxim is therefore simply negative—a passive
avoidance of doing wrong to your neighbour, rather than as
in the Christian code, an active seeking of his welfare, and
runs thus:—Do not put on others unbearable burdens, which
you do not yourself touch with one of your fingers.

"The superior man acts according to the Tao," D. M.
XI. (255) 帝子遵道而行; "his actions are therefore the law
for generations," D. M. XXIX., 5 (290) 爺而世為天下法;
"Virtuous conduct in general avails," A. XI., 2 (101) 德行,
especially filial piety, brotherly love, diligence, faith, love
towards the people, attachment to the humane, A. I., 6 (4) 入
則孝, 出則弟, 謹而信, 汎愛衆, 而親仁; in other passages
also it is said: "let the conduct be honorable and respectful;"
A. XV., 5, 2 (159) 處篤敬; "not for the sake of gain," A.
IV., 12 (33) 放於利而行, 多怨. In matters of conduct
reflecting thrice is too much, twice is sufficient, A. V., 19 (44)
季文子, 三思而後行, 子聞之曰, 再斯可矣. "The lazy
to be urged, the overzealous are to be restrained," A. XI., 21
(108) 退故進之者人故退之.

Speaking of the conduct, we naturally come to the
notion of virtue, 德 té. "The superior man cherishes virtue,"
A. IV., 11 (32) 君子懷德; "virtue must be cultivated,"
A. VII., 3 (59) 節; "it must be firmly grasped," 據 6 (60)
and "enlarged," 弘, XIX., 2 (203). "For inconstancy in
virtue leads to disgrace," A. XIII., 22 (136) 不恒其德, 或
承之羞. "Virtue is of divine nature," D. M. XXXII. (293)
天德; A. VII., 22 (66) 天生德於子. "The highest virtue
has certainly for a long time been rare among the people,"
A. VI., 27 (57) 中庸之道為德也, 其至矣乎, 民鮮能久矣;
"also the knowledge of it is rare," A. XV., 3 (159) 知德者貴
矣; "the love of virtue is not to be seen at all," A. XV., 12
(162) 已矣乎, 吾未見好德如好色者也; 17 (86) verbally
the same. "The prince who reigns by means of it, may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place, and round which all the stars revolve," A. II., i (9) 為政以德，譬如北辰，居其所，而衆星共之. "He who practises virtue is not left to stand alone, but finds neighbours," A. IV. (36) 德不孤，必有鄰. "By means of it people are subdued," A. IV., i, ii (173) 遠人不服，則修文德以來之. The three virtues are: "wisdom, humanity and valour," D. M. XX., 8 (270) 知，仁，勇，三者，天下之達德也；A. XIV., 30 (150) is the same, but 仁 jen stands first, A. IX., 28 (89) 知者不惑，仁者不憂，勇者不懼. In another passage it is said: "to hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles and to follow after righteousness, this is the way to exalt virtue," A. XII., io, i (120) 主忠信，徙義崇德也. In another passage the exaltation of virtue is found in "doing what is to be done, i.e., one's duty is our first business, but success should be only a secondary consideration," 21, 3 (124) 先事後得，非崇德與. "The virtue of the people is enriched by attention paid to the dead," A. I., 9 (5) 慎終追遠，民德歸厚矣，i.e., by it the human feelings are nourished and personal attachment fostered. (More under 孝 hsiao No. 6.)

Further, great and small virtues are distinguished: "The great virtue keeps within its boundary line, the small one may pass and repass it," A. XIX., ii (206) 大德不踰閭，小德出入可也. "Great virtue certainly obtains its reward," D. M. XVII., 2 (263) 大德必得其位，必得其祿，必得其名，必得其壽，the small one therefore uncertainly. The difference of their efficiency is, D. M. XXX. (291) more plainly shown: "the small virtue is seen in river currents, the large one in mighty transformations. It is this which makes heaven and earth so great," 小德川流，大德敦化，此天地之所以為大也.

Applied to men, this means that the small virtue operates only and fructifies in one direction. Further the highest virtue is mentioned. "Tai-pai 羲伯 possessed the highest virtue, as he declined the empire thrice; also Chou served Yin, although two-thirds of the empire followed him", A.
DOCTRINES OF CONFUCIUS.

XIII. (71) 泰伯其可謂至德也已矣，三以天下讓；民無
得而稱焉，20 (79) 三分天下有其二，以服事殷，周之德，
其可謂至德也已矣。

Virtue consists therefore not so much in a single virtue, but in a general capacity. Therefore it is said, A. XIV., 35 (152) that a good horse is called 騥 ch‘i, not because of his strength, but because of his virtue (speed) 騥不稱其力，稱其
德也. Therefore it is mentioned, as above the virtue of heaven and earth, so with the virtue of spirits and demons, D. M. XVI., 1 (261) 鬼神之為德，其盛矣乎. Human virtue always corresponds with the inner, ethical standpoint, therefore “the self-conceited people of the village are called robbers of virtue,” A. XVII., 13 (189) "the self-conceited people of the village are called robbers of virtue,” A. XVII., 13 (189) 鄉原德之賊也. On the other side virtue, if native, is the pure nature of man, in full activity, and combines therefore the Tao of the external and internal, D. M. XXV., (283) 性之德也，合內外之道也.

The division of virtue into the three chief virtues, 知 chih, 仁 jen, 勇 yung, is better than the later division of it into five, 仁 jen, 義 i, 禮 li, 知 chih, 信 hsin; 知 chih, knowledge or wisdom, is a part by itself and already explained above.

Valour, 勇 yung, means bravery, fortitude, resistance against all adverse circumstances, A. IX., 28 (89); XIV., 30 (150) 不懼. But “it leads to disorder without righteousness,” A. XVII., 23 (193) 君子有勇而無義為亂；“without propriety,” A. VIII., 2, 1 (72) 勇而無禮則亂，10 (75) 好勇疾貧亂 "without study," i. e., perception. "The man of humanity is sure to possess valour, whilst on the other hand, the brave and intrepid man does not always possess humanity,” A. XIV., 5 (140) 仁者必有勇，勇者不必有仁.

The same may be said of justice, for "who sees what is right and does it not, is a coward,” A. II., 24 (18) 見義不為，無勇也. Therefore he who so dares to practise it, is likewise brave.

Humanity, 仁 jen, is the real human virtue. We cannot translate the word with love, as it excludes, e. g., the love of wisdom, etc., for which the text always gives 好. Likewise "perfect virtue" is not adequate, as this would be 至德 chih-lé. A. VII., 6 (60) 仁 jen, is even distinguished from
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德 

德 té, from 知 chih, A. VI., 21 (56), etc. 仁 is the virtue of man to man; it includes everything which refers to 德 té and excludes everything which refers only to the individual; it is in fact a necessary condition of his proper conduct amongst men. "Without it propriety and music are worthless," A. III., 3 (19) 人而不仁, 如禮何, 人而不仁, 如樂何. A capacity for administration does not yet come up to it, A. V., 7, 2-4 (39) 可使治其賦也, 不知其仁也, 可使為之宰也, 不知其仁也, 可使與賓客言也, 不知其仁也, nor purity 清 ch'ing, nor loyalty 忠 chung, A. V., 18 (43). It is strengthened by friendship, A. XII., 24 (126) 以及友輔仁. It is the proprium of man, and attachment to relatives is its highest development, D. M. XX., 5 (269) 仁者人也, 親親為大; A. VIII., 2, 2 (72) 君子篤於親, 則民興於仁; filial piety and brotherly love are its basis, A. I., 2 (2) 孝弟也者, 其為仁之本與. Hence we come to the description of that in which the 仁 really consists. It will appear extraordinary to read in D. M. XXV., 3 (202), "humanity is self-perfection," 成己仁也. But this is clear at once if we consider that all virtue in its external relations is only the manifestation, the simple natural manifestation of that which is contained in one's own personality. Without self-perfection humanity in its widest sense is unattainable. Justly therefore moral self-perfection is called 仁 jen. For all truly moral perfection demands intercourse with our fellow-men. The sphere of man lies among men; there lies his way to perfection, his first aim. In this the Confucian doctrine compares favourably both with Taoist and Buddhist and approaches nearest to Evangelical Christianity. Humanity is something that grows in us. There are superior men without it, but no inferior man with it, A. XIV., 7 (141) 君子而不仁者有矣夫, 未有小人而仁者也.

Therefore it is said, A. IV., 5, 2-3 (30), that "the superior man does not for a moment abandon it, but attains his name by it and through all emergencies cleaves to it," 君子去仁, 惡乎成名, 君子無終食之間違仁, 造次必於是, 竭沛必於是. In the passage above, A. XIV., 7 (141) a higher
degree of humanity is certainly meant, than is expressed, for there is no man, who wholly lacks humanity.

"Whoever seeks for humanity and attains it, why should he repine?" A. VII., 14 (63) 求仁而得仁, 又何怨. "It is not remote, and is, if wished for, at hand," A. VII., 27 (68) 仁遠乎哉, 我欲仁, 斯仁至矣. "It is the burden which the scholar has to sustain, and is heavy," A. VIII., 7 (75) 仁以爲己任, 不亦重乎. "A man's strength is sufficient for the practice of humanity, but people do not try. Should there possibly be any case in which one's strength should be insufficient, I have not seen it," A. IV., 6, 2 (31) 有能一日用其力於仁矣乎, 我未見力不足者. "People in a manner dread humanity more than water and fire; we see the people fall into the water and the fire and perish, but as yet nobody has been seen who fell into (was treading the course of) humanity (love) and died of it," A. XV., 34 (168) 民之於仁也, 甚於水火, 水火吾見蹈而死者矣, 未見蹈仁而死者也. "But one can do things which are hard to be done, and yet not possess it (humanity)," A. XIX., 15 (208) 爲難能也, 然而未仁; compare 16 (208). "If the will be set on virtue, there will be no practice of wickedness," A. IV., 4 (30) 功至於仁矣, 無惡也. Confucius himself does not dare yet to call himself a man of humanity in the full sense of the word, A. VII., 33 (70) 若聖與仁, 則吾豈敢; he spoke seldom of it, A. IX., 1 (80) 子罕言利, 與命, 與仁. But by this is not meant that it is not often spoken of in the selected sentences of the master. The word occurs often, especially in the Analects. It is said, however, that Confucius frequently spoke of the Odes, the documents and the maintenance of the rules of propriety, A. VII., 17 (64) 子所雅言, 詩書執禮, 曹雅言也, also of literature, 文章 wen-chang, A. V., 2 (41) 夫子之文章, 可得而聞也, which Confucius asserted he understood, although he had not yet attained in his own person to the representation of the superior man, A. VII., 32 (69) 文莫吾猶人也, 躬行君子, 則吾未之有得. But in an embodiment of the superior man the 仁 jen inheres, and so the seeming contradiction between those passages is
removed. The idea of 仁 jen then is, “to subdue one's self and return to propriety,” A. XII., 1 (114) 克己復禮, “not to see, hear, speak or move contrary to the rules of propriety.” This only defines the limits of 仁 jen, the negative side, which is mentioned under 禮 li. In A. XII., 2 (115) it is said: “When you go abroad to behave as if you were receiving a guest, to employ the people as if you were assisting at a great sacrifice, not to do to others as you would not wish done to yourself, to have no murmuring against you in the country, and none in the family, this is 仁 jen.” 出門如見大賓, 使民如承大祭, 己所不欲, 勿施於人, 在邦無怨,在家無怨. Along with this, good conduct is generally required, which is embraced in the two notions 敬 ching, reverence, and 恭 shu, reciprocity. For in A. XIII., 19 (135) 敬 ching is divided into: 恭 kung, in retirement to be sedately grave, 敬 ching, in the management of business to be reverently attentive, 賽 chung, in intercourse with others to be strictly sincere. As 恭 kung and 敬 ching are ideas which hang together, this passage differs from the one above mentioned only in the exchange of 恭 shu and 賽 chung.

But reciprocity, 恭 shu, and loyalty, 賽 chung, also go together, as is proved by the passage, A. IV., 15 (33) 吾道一以貫之, 爲子之道, 恭而巳矣. 恭 shu refers more to maxims and to the heart, whilst 賽 chung signifies more the practice, especially towards superiors, A. III., 19 (25) 臣事君以忠; it is devotedness or loyalty, A. II., 20 (17) 使民敬以勸; but also often practiced towards inferiors, 行之以忠, D. M. XX., 14 (274) 忠信重禄, 所以勸士也; generally in the service of other men, A. I., 4 (3) 為人謀;而不忠乎; in intercourse with friends, A. XII., 23 (125) 子貢問友, 子曰: “忠, 而不相遠]; it is also said of words, combined with 言 hsin, whilst for the actions, the conduct, 篤 tu and 敬 ching are put, A. XV., 5, 2 (159) 言忠信, 行篤敬. “Loyalty must lead to instruction,” A. XIV., 8 (142) 忠焉能勿誦乎; compare V., 18, 7 (43) 嘉令尹之政, 必以告新令尹, 何如, 子曰, 忠矣, 日, 仁矣乎, 日, 未知焉得仁, where it is said at the same time that 賽 chung is not yet 仁 jen. There-
fore loyalty in general seems to refer more to speech; in the passage A. XII., 14 (121) we have to think of proclamations of the government. With 忍 shu, reciprocity, loyalty is combined, also D. M. XIII., 3 (258), where it is said, that it does not differ much from Tao 忍忍遂道不遠; here also 忍 chung is an adjective.

Reverence, 敬 ching, or respect, is the other meaning of 恭 kung, esteem, dignity. The latter refers therefore also to the remaining in retirement, A. XIII., 19 (135) 居處恭, but it is also interchanged with 敬 ching, A. XII., 5 (117) 君子敬而無失; 與人恭而有禮. Reverence is especially necessary towards parents, A. II., 7 (12) 今之孝者, 是謂能養, 至於犬馬, 皆能有養, 不敢何以別乎, A. IV., 18 (34) 奉敬不違; towards superiors, A. V., 15 (42) 事上也敬; A. XV., 37 (169) 事君敬其事而後其食; the people towards the government, etc., A. II., 20 (16) 使民敬; XIII., 4 (129) 去上好禮, 則民莫敢不敬; VI., 1 (48) 民敬; D. M. XIX., 5 (267) 敬其所尊; towards spiritual beings, A. VI., 20 (55) 敬鬼神; in sacrificing, A. XIX., 1 (203) 祭思敬; the prince towards ministers, D. M. XX., 13 (273) 敬大臣, 則不眩; respect for official duties, A. I., 5 (4) 敬事; respect for the superior man in general, A. XII., 5 (117) 君子敬而無失; A. XIV., 45 (156) 君子修己以敬; D. M. XXXIII., 3 (296) 君子不動而敬.

Propriety, i. e., ceremonies, performed without true reverence are not deserving of regard, A. III., 26 (28) 爲禮不敬, 吾何以觀之哉; A. III., 3 (19) the same without 仁 jen, 人而不仁, 如禮何. This passage clearly shows the near relation of 仁和敬 ching, as well as the close connection of either with filial piety 孝 hsiao.

In A. XVII., 6 (184) the practice of five things constitutes jen 仁: 恭 kung dignity, 宽 kuan indulgence, 信 hsin, sincerity, 敏 min, earnestness, and 惠 'hui, kindness. The explanation is given in the text: dignity will not be mocked, indulgence wins the multitude, in sincerity the people will place their trust, earnestness has merit, kindness enables one to employ men, 能行五者於天下為仁矣, 請問之曰, 恭寬信敏惠,
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Of 恭 kung we have already spoken above. That indulgence and kindness are expressions of humanity is clear in itself.

In FAITH, 信 hsin, we have to consider, that it is not at all the Christian notion of faith, which is here meant, but only confidence in social life, trust, and it is therefore often combined with loyalty 忠 chung; A. I., 8, 2 (5); XI., 24 (110); XII., 10 (120); XV., 5, 2 (159) 忠信; D. M. XX., 14 (274) “Without confidence men cannot get on, as carriages cannot without the crossbar for harnessing the beasts,” A. II., 22 (17) 人而 無 信, 不 知 其 可 也, 大 車 無 視, 小 車 無 軽, 其 何 以 行 之 哉. “Faith is necessary between friends,” A. I., 4 (3), and especially between government and subjects, A. I., 5 (4); XII., 7 (118); XIII. 4 (128); XV. 17 (163); XIX., 10 (206); XX., 1 (214); D. M. XXIX. (289); XXXI. (292); XXXIII. (294.)

EARNESTNESS, 敏 min, one would suppose to belong more to bravery, but it describes humanity as real action, not as passive feeling; A. I., 14 (7); V., 14 (42); VII., 19 (65); XII., 1 (114); XX., 1 (214); D. M. XX. (268).

DIFFICULTY, 難 nan. Another definition of仁 jen is given in A. VI., 20 (55). The humane man has firstly difficulty, then success, which may be called 仁 jen, 仁者 先 難 而 後 獲, 可 謂 仁 吾. This refers more to practice. The “recollection of difficulties” would belong to wisdom. The right explanation is given in A. XII., 3 (116): the humane man is cautious and slow in his speech, for he knows the difficulty of doing (為): 爲之難言之得無詬乎. According to A. XIV., 2 (140) it is the negative part of humanity and it must as such precede the real 仁 jen: 克伐怨 欲, 不 行 焉, 可 以 爲 仁 吾, 子 曰, 可 以 爲 難 吾, 仁 則 吾 不 知 也; this part consists in the subduing of pride, arbitrariness, resentment and desire, 克, 伐, 怨, 欲. Hence that passage, A. XIX., 15 (208), which is quoted above, is clear, that 張 Chang can accomplish the difficulty, 爲 之, but not yet humanity, 仁 jen, i. e., he does not possess the positive or real part of it.
6. 齊家 CHI-CHIA, MANAGEMENT OF THE FAMILY.

We have now to consider the social virtues in family and state. In the family the chief virtue is FILIAL PIETY, 孝 hsiao, on which strong stress is laid, as the fundamental virtue of social life, A. I., 2, 2 (2) 孝弟也者, 其為仁之本與; A. II., 21, 2 (16) 書云孝乎, 惟孝友子兄弟, 施於有政; compare XIII., 20 (135). It consists "in not being disobedient, in serving the parents, when alive, according to propriety, when dead in burying them according to propriety and in sacrificing to them according to propriety," A. II., 5, 3 (11) 生事之以禮, 死葬之以禮, 祭之以禮. Confucius deplores, that "he is not able to serve his father, as he requires his son to serve him" (but his father was dead a long time), D. M. XIII., 4 (258) 所求手子, 以事父未能也. In this all is comprised. But also particular explanations are given, e. g., the conduct of children should be such that parents have no other sorrows than "that arising from their sickness," A. II., 6 (12) 父母惟其疾之憂.

"While the parents are alive (the sons) should not go abroad; if they do so, then to a fixed place," A. IV., 19 (35) 父母在, 不遠遊, 遊必有方. "Mere support of one's parents without reverence is beastly," A. II., 7 (12) 今之孝者, 是謂能養, 至於犬馬, 皆能有養, 不敬何以別乎.

"The difficulty lies with the expression of the face, that everything be done with the expression of cheerfulness and filial respect and love, to undertake the toil of difficult affairs and to give up food, is not difficult," A. II., 8 (12) 色難, 有事弟子服其勞, 有酒食先生餉, 道是之為孝乎.

"In serving his parents (a son) may gently remonstrate with them; when he sees that they do not incline to follow his advice, let him show an increased degree of reverence, but no obstinacy, let him suffer without murmuring," A. IV., 18 (34) 事父母幾諫, 見志不從, 又敬不違, 勞而不怨. "The age of one's parents should be known, as an occasion
at once for joy (as they attain old age) and for apprehension" (as they go nearer to death), A. IV., 21 (35) 父母之年，不可不知也，一則以喜，一則以懼。

But especially “filial piety is shown after the death of parents in not changing the customs of the father for three years,” A. I., 11 (6) 父在觀其志，父沒觀其行，三年無改於父之道，可謂孝矣; the same IV., 20 (35); compare XII., 18 (128). “King 文 Wen is considered blessed in having his work founded by his father and carried out by his son 武 Wu,” D. M. XVIII., 1 (264) 無憂者，其惟文王乎；以王季為父，以武王為子，父作之，子述之。The nature of the obsequies 養之以禮，is regulated according to the rank of the father, the nature of the sacrifice 祭之以禮, according to the rank of the son, D. M. XVIII., 3 (265). The mourning for three years is defended by Confucius with this, that “we are fostered by our parents for three years,” A. XVII., 21, 6 (192) 子生三年，然後免於父母之懷，夫三年之喪，天下之通喪也。 “The sacrifices for the dead should be plentiful,” A. VIII., 21 (79) 非飲食，而致孝乎鬼神；D. M. XVII., 1, and especially XIX. 5 it is said as summa summarum of the ancestral worship “to serve the dead as the living, the departed as the present” 事死如事生，事亡如事存，孝之至也。

As these filial duties pervade the whole of Chinese life, especially the constitution of the state, A. II., 21 (17); XIII., 20 (135); D. M. XIX. (266), and as the most absurd errors are mixed with elements of considerable truth—this doctrine becomes so fatal to the progress of Christianity in China and an almost insurmountable bulwark. It follows as a simple consequence that it is the most important business of sons to provide for posterity, D. M. XVII., 1 (262) 子孫保之, already points to this plainly and Meng-tzü has afterwards shaped the sentence.

The Paternal virtue practised towards sons is called 慈 ssū, sympathy, A. II., 20 (16). It is, however, mentioned in this one passage only. The expression which means sympathy, indicates that the father has no real duties to fulfil
towards his sons, at least nowhere is mention made of them. Hence important conclusions may be drawn upon the relations of the sovereign (as a father) to his subjects (as children).

Fraternal love, 弟ervative love, 弟 is often spoken of together with filial piety. A. I., 2, 6 (4); II., 21 (17); XI., 4; XIII., 20 (102); D. M. XIX., (266). It consists in "mutual friendship," A. II., 21 (17) 惟孝友于兄弟; in "joyful harmony," A. XIII., 28 (138) 兄弟怡怡; compare the quotation from the Shih-king, D. M. XV. (260); but especially in the subordination of the younger brothers to the eldest, A. IX., 15 (86) 入则事父兄; "rash persons, who have a father and older brother, must not act without consulting them," A. XI., 21 (108) 有父兄在, 如之何其間斯行之; "phlegmatical persons, however, should act immediately," A. XI., 21 (108) 間斯行之. Confucius himself complains at "not being able to serve his elder brother, as he would require his younger brother to serve him," D. M. XIII., 4 (258) 所求乎弟, 以事兄未能也. This lifelong subordination of younger brothers is the root of many evils and only tenable by its connection with ancestral worship.

Sisters are not even mentioned.

Neither is anything said about the relations of married people, 夫婦 fu-fu, only mentioned parabolically, D. M. XII. (257), as also A. XIV., 18, 2 (147) 今若匹夫匹婦之為諒也, 自經於淪漬而莫之知也. Attachment to death, 諒 liang, to drown oneself in a ditch no one knowing anything about it: "this cannot be a model for the superior man, although this devotedness seems also, D. M. (257) to be tertium comparationis." Then A. XVII., 25 (194) it is said, that "女子和小人 (nü-tzä and hsiao-jen) are difficult to manage; if you are familiar with them, they are not humble; if you keep them distant, they become discontented," 唯女子與小人, 爲難養也, 近之則不孫, 遠之則怨. According to the commentaries these 女子 nü-tzä are not women in general, but concubines. By female musicians Confucius was compelled to leave 魯 Lu, A. XVIII., 4 (196) 齊人歸女樂, 季桓子受之, 三日不朝, 孔子行. Against carnal lust, 色, sê, i. e., sensual
pleasure (or beauty, especially female), Confucius speaks often, A. I., 3, 7; II., 8; V., 24, etc.

There is, however, a considerable defect in the system of Confucius as regards the female sex, but this is caused chiefly by the anciently transmitted practice of polygamy, against which Confucius has nothing to object, he himself being the son of a concubine.

Friendship, 友 (yu), occupies the middle place between family virtues and public virtue, for “he who does not obey his relations, does not trust his friends; does not get the confidence of his superiors;” D. M. XX., 17 (276) 不順手親, 不信手朋友矣, 不信手朋友, 不獲手從矣. “Have no friends not equal to yourself,” A. I., 8, 3 (5) 無友不如己者; A. IX., 24 (85) verbally the same; “To conceal resentment and appear as a friend, is a shame,” A. V., 24 (46) 公怨而友其人, 左丘明耻之, 丘亦耻之. “The superior man gains friends by literary exertions and enhances his humanity by friendship,” A. XII., 24 (126) 君子以文會友, 以友辅仁. “To find enjoyment in having many worthy friends is advantageous,” A. XVI., 5 (176) 優多賢友, 益矣. “It forms part of humanity to have as friends the humane amongst the scholars,” A. XV., 9 (161) 仁...友 其士之仁者. There are three advantageous kinds of friendship: with the upright, with the sincere, and with the experienced; three injurious kinds of friendship: with the haughty, with the coxcomb, and with the glibtongued (sophists), A. XVI., 4 (175) 益者三友, 損者三友, 友直, 友諒, 友多聞, 益矣, 友便辟, 友善柔, 友便佞, 損矣. “To set the example in behaving to a friend, as one would require him to behave to oneself: to this Confucius had not yet attained,” D. M. XIII., 4 (258) 所求乎朋友, 先施之未能也.

“In intercourse with friends confidence, 信 hsìn, is required,” A. I., 4 (3) 與 朋友交, 而不 信乎, A. V., 25 (46) 朋友信之. The same is in I., 7 (39) referred to 言 yén words: 與 朋友交, 言而有信. “Among his friends the scholar is earnest and meditative,” A. XIII., 28 (138) 士...朋友切切偲. “Importunity estranges friends,” A. IV., 26 (36) 朋友數, 其
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Friendship consists in faithful admonitions and good advice; if you cannot do it, stop and do not disgrace yourself,” A. XII., 23 (125) 忠告而善道之，不可則止，毋自辱焉． “Tsū-lu, 子路, would like to share with his friends, whatever he had, that is splendid, and though they should spoil it, he would not be displeased,” A. V., 25 (46) 朋友共，敝之而無憾． “Whenever a friend of Confucius died, who had nobody to depend upon, he buried him, whilst on the other hand he did not bow before presents of friends, which did not consist in the flesh of sacrifice, though they were carriage and horses,” A. X., 15 (99) 朋友死，無所歸，日，於我殯，朋友之饋，雖車馬，非祭肉 不拜.

Friendship is therefore characterised as being disinterested as regards money and property, while community of goods and furtherance of mutual ideal endeavours forms the substance (essence) of it.

We come now to public life. There are two notions of special prominence, 義 i and 禮 ii.

Right and Righteousness, 義 i stand in antithesis to profit, A. XIX., 1. (203) 見得思義；IV., 16 (34) 君子 喻於義 小人喻於利，and to prejudice, IV., 10 (32) 君子之於天下也，無適也，無莫也，義之與比． “Righteousness is that which is suitable” 宜，D. M. XX., 5 (269) 義者宜也；“it therefore forms the essential part of the superior man,” A. XV., 17 (163) 君子義以為質；XII., 20 (123) 夫達也者，質直而好義． “Virtue is exalted by righteousness,” A. XII., 10 (120) 徒義崇德也： “to know what is right and not to do it, is cowardice,” A. II., 24 (18) 見義不 為，無勇也． “Bravery, however, without righteousness leads in the superior man to disturbance of the country, in one of the lower people to robbery,” A. XVII., 23 (193) 君子義以為上，君子有勇而無義為亂 小人有勇而無義為 煪． “Not to take office is not right; for the order between old and young may not be neglected, how much less the right between prince and minister?” A. XVIII., 7, 5 (200) 不仕 無義，長幼之節，不可廢也，君臣之義，如之何其廢之． Also “the service of the people shall only be justly claimed,” A. V., 15 (42) 其使氏
If the superiors keep in the right, the people will remain willingly submissive," A. XIV., 14 (144) 義然後,人不違其取; XIII., 4, 3 (129) 上好禮,則民莫敢不敬. Confucius complains also of the want of righteousness in his time, "the multitude sits and jabbers for a whole day without the conversation turning on righteousness," A. XV., 16 (163) 萬居終日言不及義. "Men so superior as to practise righteousness in order to make manifest their tao, Confucius has not yet seen," A. XVI., 11 (179) 行義以達其道, and it occasions him solicitude to hear RIGHT himself and not to be able to devote himself to it, A. VII., 3 (59) 聞義不能徒,是吾憂也.

Of far greater importance in the system of Confucius than the right are the CEREMONIES 礼 li. "Ceremonies, 礼 li (also demeanour, manners, decency) consist not in gems and silks," A. XVII., 11 (188) 礼云禮云,玉帛云手哉, but proceed from the degrees of relationship and steps of honour, and form therefore the distinctions of social life, D. M. XX., 5 (270) 親親之殺,尊賢之等,義所生也. With the strong stress on the 礼 li, Confucius' aim is therefore to oppose communism, the equality of all. He knows no common right of men, but only the privileges of one class over another, compare D. M. XIX., 4 (266); A. III., 22 (27); XIII., 3 (127). Therefore "the ceremonies are strictly to be observed, especially by superiors," A. XIII., 4, 3 (129) 上好禮,則民莫敢不敬; XIV., 44 (156) 上好禮,則民易使也, III., 19 (25) 君使臣以義; D. M. XX., 14 (274) 齊明盛服,非禮不動. "The superior man shows respect and propriety in his intercourse with men," A. XII., 5 (117) 君子與人恭而有禮. "The superior man considers righteousness to be essential and performs it according to the rules of propriety," A. XV., 17 (163) 君子義以為質,禮以行之. "Rich men, who love propriety, rank high," A. I., 15, 1 (8) 富而好禮者也. "Ceremonies are, however, only like external decoration," A. III., 8 (21) 繪事後素,日禮後手; "Propriety without humanity is worth nothing," A. III., 3 (19) 人而不仁,如禮何, "the same if performed without reverence," A. III., 26 (28) 爲禮不敬,臨
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“But the virtues are completed by propriety,” D. M. XX., 5 (270) 仁義...禮所生也; XXVII., 6 (286) 敦厚以崇禮。 “Respect combined with propriety keeps off shame and disgrace,” A. I., 13 (7) 尊敬於禮,遠恥辱也; “without propriety respectfulness becomes laborious bustle, carefulness becomes timidity, boldness insubordination, straightforwardness rudeness,” A. VIII., 2, 1 (72) 恭而無禮則勞; 恐而無禮則葸, 勇而無禮則亂, 直而無禮則绞; A. XVII., 24, I (194) 君子惡勇而無禮也。 “Without禮义 we have nothing to establish the character,” A. XX., 3 (218) 不知禮, 無以立也。 “The superior man subdues himself and submits to these rules of propriety, he looks, hears, speaks and makes no movement contrary to them,” A. XII., 1, I (114) 克己復禮,非禮勿視,非禮勿聽,非禮勿言,非禮勿動; D. M. XX., 14 (274) 非禮不動,所以修身也。 “In propriety gracefulness is to be prized as the chief quality, but gracefulness unregulated by propriety, is impracticable,” A. I., 12 1.2 (7) 禮之用和為貴,有所不行,知和而和,不以禮節之,亦不可行也; Confucius frequently spoke of the maintenance of the rules of propriety, A. VII., 17 (64) 子所雅言,詩書執禮,皆雅言也。 His position, however, as regards the traditionary customs seems not to be consequent; in A. III., 4 (21) he says, that the foundation of 仁義 is to be economical rather than extravagant, but still he prefers the custom itself to the sheep employed in it, 林放問禮之本,子曰,大哉問,禮與其奢也寧儉; A. III., 17 (25) 爾愛其羊,我愛其禮; he follows at one time the multitude in the face of antiquity, another time he goes against it, A. IX., 3 (81) 麻冕禮也,今也,純儉,吾從衆,拜下禮也,今拜手乎泰也,雖違衆,吾從下。 According to A. II., 23 (17), the禮義 ceremonies of the 周 Chou dynasty are the more excellent, because they are based on those of the 舜 Yin and these latter upon those of the 夏 Hsia: 舜因於夏禮, 簡賢益,可因也, 周因於舜禮, 简賢益,可因也。 According to D. M. XXVIII., 5 (288) 吾說夏禮, 简不足徵也, 吾學殷禮,有宋存焉, 吾學周禮,今用之從周, compared with A. III., 9 (22) 殷不足徵也, Confucius follows the周禮 Chou-
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lî, because the 夏 Hsia and the 般 Yin possessed in his time insufficient authority. A promiscuous mixture is given, A. XV., 1o (2-4) (162): follow the seasons of 夏 Hsia, ride in the carriage of 般 Yin, wear the cap of 周 Chou. According to A. XI., 1 (101) Confucius follows those who brought forward propriety and music, and those whom he calls rustics in opposition to the superior men of later times: 先進於禮樂, 野 人也, 後進於禮樂, 君子也, 如用之, 則吾從先進. It seems also not to agree with the above mentioned passages, that “only the emperor may determine what is to be custom, and of the emperors only the virtuous ones,” D. M. XXVIII., 2-4 (288) 非天子不議禮, 雖有其位, 荒無其德,不敢作禮樂焉, 雖有其德, 荒無其位, 亦不敢作禮樂焉, A. XI., 25 (110) 如其禮樂, 以俟君子; A. XVI., 2 (174) 天下有道, 則禮樂征伐, 自天子出. As these rules of propriety are so important in all the relations of social, A. II., 5 (11) 生事之以禮, 死事之以禮, 祭事之以禮, and political life, A. II., 5, 3 (10) 齊之以禮, and as they are to be considered at the same time as something sacred and something not to be tampered with by any but the virtuous emperor, it follows as a matter of course, that they are of vital importance; the more so, as, in spite of all precepts, many deviations, and mostly for the worse, which no one is willing to reform, they find their way by degrees amongst the people. So it is a fact, that many of the modern customs ran directly contrary to those prescribed in the 禮記 li-chî, e. g., the worship at the tombs, music at marriages, the reception of the bride; also the sheep, A. III., 17 (25), is given up in spite of Confucius. In any case it would be interesting to group together all the modified customs; the preacher would then be able to refute many an objection on the part of the Chinese to Christianity. It is interesting to know, that Confucius according to A. XVI., 46 (156) does not consider it below him, to belabour an insolent man with his cane.

In close proximity with 禮 li stands music 樂 yo. Confucius devotes much attention to it, but there is no information as to its real theory, although this seems to be very ancient, e. g.,
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史記 shih-chi, the oldest historical record and 雅雅 erh ya, the oldest dictionary, contained theoretical treatises on music. What Confucius discusses with the music-master refers only to the performance; "The commencement (overture) should be as if mixed (unharmonious); as it proceeds it should become unmixed, cleared off as it were, unfolding itself as it concludes," A. III., 23 (27) 子語魯大師樂曰, 樂其可知也, 小作翕如也, 從之純如也, 肆如也, 維如也以成. "How magnificently the pell-mell of the Kuan-Chi, 關雎, filled the ears, when the music-master Chih began," A. VIII., 15 (77) 師敘之始, 關雎之亂, 洋洋乎, 盈耳哉. When Confucius heard the 韶 Shao music in Chi齊, he lost the taste for meat for three months. "I did not think," he said, "that music could have been brought to such a pitch as this," A. VII., 13 (63) 子在齊聞韶, 三月不知肉味, 曰, 不圖為樂, 之至斯也. "After Confucius had returned from 衛 Wei to 魯 Lu, the music was reformed, the festive songs and the songs of praise all found their proper places," A. IX., 14 (85) 子曰, 吾自衛反魯, 然後樂正, 雅頌各得其所. "Let the music be the Shao韶 with its pantomimes, dispense with the songs of Cheng, for they are licentious," A. XV., 10, 5-6 (162) 樂則韶舞, 放鄭聲, 鄭聲淫. Hence follows already, that music, song and dance or pantomime were combined in the old musical performances. Of instruments several are mentioned, e. g., "bells and drums, but these alone do not form music," A. XVII., 11 (188), also two kinds of harpsichords 琴瑟, D. M. XV. (260); A. XI., 14 (106); XVII., 20 (191). 孔子取琴而歌. Confucius played himself and sung also; his scholars understood it likewise; compare A. XI., 25 (112). Every well instructed one should, nay must, practise music, for "by poetry the mind is aroused, by propriety the character is established and from music the finish is received," A. VIII., 8 (75) 興於詩, 立於禮, 成於樂. The introduction of new music or the transformation of the old emanates from the emperor alone, A. XVI., 2 (174) 天下有道則禮樂征伐, 自天子出, that is only from the virtuous; "he who has only the throne without having virtue, may not dare to make
ceremonies and music, as also he, who has virtue but not the throne,’” D. M. XXVIII., 4 (288) “苟有其位，苟無其德，不敢作禮樂焉，雖有其德，苟無其位，亦不敢作禮樂焉。Confucius did not like the extravagant music of his time, although it is praised as the superior one; “he rather follows those who made a beginning in propriety and music and are said to be rustics,” A. XI., 1 (101). “For the individual, music without humanity is useless,” A. III., 3 (19) “仁而不仁如樂何。 In political life it has also great importance in connection with propriety. For “when affairs are not carried on to success, propriety and music will not flourish, and if that is not the case, punishments will not be properly awarded,” A. XIII., 3, 6 (128) “事不成，則禮樂不興；禮樂不興，則刑罰不中。”

This is a strange exaggeration and inversion of the true state of things. There is no doubt, that music on the whole is connected with the character of the people, for music which is strange to the taste of the people, never becomes popular. We cannot, however, reasonably speak of the influence of music upon the customs of the people or even upon the application of the law. Man makes music, music not man.

7. 治國 CHIH-KUO, ORDER OF THE STATE.

Now we have arrived at the state science 政, cheng. The good order of the state, 治國 chih-kuo, and peace for the whole empire, 平天下 ping tien hsia, are included in this. The science of state takes for granted all the above mentioned notions or virtues, i. e., the complete cultivation of one’s own person, A. XIII., 13 (132) “苟正其身矣，於從政乎何有，不能正其身，如正人何；” D. M. XX., 14 (274). “If government is exercised by means of virtue, it is made as steadfast as the north pole,” A. II., 1 (9) “政以德，譬如北辰，居其所，而衆星共之。” “Mere external government (i. e., orders) is opposed to virtue,” A. II., 3, 1-2 (10) “道之以政，齊之以刑，民免而無恥；道之以德，齊之以禮，有
Filial piety and brotherly love are necessary; besides these two there are no other special rules," A. II., 21 (17)

Government consists altogether in regulating, i.e., setting to right," 正 cheng, A. XII., 17 (122)

This is achieved when the prince is prince and the minister is minister; when the father is father and the son is son," A. XII., II, 1, 2 (120)

But the prince must desire what is good, and the people will be good; therefore capital punishment is not necessary," A. XII., 19 (122)

Princes ought to go before the people, then the people follow" (A. XII., 17 (122)) and should not become weary of it, A. XIII., 1 (126)

The question is: "to have sufficiency of food for the people, weapons and confidence. If necessary, weapons can be dispensed with, then food, but without mutual confidence, especially of the people towards the superiors, there is no standing for the state," A. XII., 7 (118)

These are certainly healthy principles—"It should be the care of the government to call everything by its right name, so that no wrong be secreted behind a surreptitious and hypocritical name. The result of this is, that the punishments are adequate and that the people know how to be able to move hand and foot," A. XIII., 3 1-6 (127)

名不正, 則言不順, 言不順, 則事不成, 事不成, 則禮樂不興, 禮樂不興, 則刑罰不中, 刑罰不中, 則民無所措手足; (this passage is also explained according to A. XII., II (120) 君君, 臣臣, 父父, 子子, that everybody really represents what he calls himself). "There ought to be no precipitation as thoroughness suffers thereby; no ogling after
petty profits, as this prevents the accomplishment of large affairs,' A. XIII., 17 (134). 子貢為吾父宰問政，子曰，無欲速，無見小利，欲速則不達，見小利則大事不成。

In A. XX., 2, 1 (216) Confucius answers the questions of Tzu-chang, how he should act in order that he might conduct government properly: 'Let him honour the five excellent, and eschew the four bad things: 1, bounty without extravagance 惠而不費，i. e., that which is of benefit to the people, he makes still more beneficial 因民之所利而利之；2, to burden (with socage) without exciting discontent 勞而不怨，i. e., election of those labours which can be done 择可勞而勞之；3, desire without covetousness 欲而不貪，i. e., to desire humanity only and to attain it 欲仁而得仁；4, dignity without haughtiness 氣而不驕，i. e., whether he has to do with many people or few, with things great or small, the superior man does not dare to be careless 無衆寡，無小大，無敢慢；5, striking with dignity without being fierce 威而不猛，i. e., he adjusts his clothes and cap, his looks have the expression of dignity, so that the people look at him earnestly with awe 正其衣服，尊其瞻視，儼然人望而畏之。

The four wicked things are: 1, to kill without (previous) advice, i. e., cruelty 不教而殺謂之虐；4, to expect perfection without warning, i. e., oppression，不戒視成謂之暴；3, to issue orders as if without urgency and to insist on them at a certain time is robbery，慢令致期謂之賊；4, finally, in the intercourse with men to expend and receive in a stingy way is acting the part of a mere gatherer of taxes 詐之與人也，出納之吝，謂之有司。Good government depends therefore chiefly upon the excellence of the prince, besides also upon qualified officials, in the election of which the sovereign must take an interest,' A. XIII., 2 (127) 曰，先有司，赦小過，舉賢才，曰，焉知賢才而舉之，曰，舉爾所知，爾所不知，人其舍諸；D. M. XX., 1 (268) 悲公問政，子曰，文武之政在方策，其人存，則其政舉，其人亡，則其政息，人道敏政，地道敏樹，夫政也者，師於道也，故為政在人，取人以身，修身以道，修道以仁。"People of decision 果，of discernment 達，of technical ability 藝，are

We may distinguish three kinds of qualified officials: "The first and best are those who in their conduct maintain a sense of shame, and when sent to any quarter will not disgrace the sovereign's commission. The second are those whom the relatives pronounce to be filial and the clansmen pronounce to be fraternal. The third are those whose words are true and whose conduct is decided. They are obstinate little men," A. XIII., 20, 1-3 (135). The officials of his time Confucius calls Jackanapes (Maulaffen), ib. 斗筲之入.

If the individual states as also the imperial domain are swayed in this way, the peaceful order of the whole empire follows as a matter of course, especially if a virtuous emperor be at the head of it. In A. XX., 1 (214) a short but good characteristic of.

8. 平天下 PING-TIEN-HSIA, THE OLD IMPERIAL MODEL GOVERNMENT IS GIVEN.

The chief points are of Yao and Shun: "the order of succession which heaven has bestowed rests now in thy person; maintain without wavering the mean; should misery arise within the four seas, thy heavenly revenue will come to an eternal end;" compare A. XIV., 45 (156); VIII., 19 (18); S. L. IX., 4 (228); D. M. VI. (252); XVII., 1 (262); XXX., 1 (291); A. VI., 28 (58); XII., 22, 6 (125); XV., 4 (159).

Hence it follows that government is considered as an institution by the grace of God or at least of Heaven. But just because of this the sovereign has to exert himself to keep within the heavenly ways, i.e., in the centre of the Tao, which is the established course of things. He is not allowed to transgress the heavenly ways, nor to oppose them. If the prince does the latter, he disturbs the general harmony, and confusion and misery arise. Then the people turn away from him and the sovereign loses his revenue, i.e., his throne.
Tang, 漢, is more profound. He sacrifices and vows he will not dare to forgive (to suffer to pass) sins, nor to put in the dark the servants of God; he will select them after God's own heart 簡在帝心. If I leave sin on my own person, it shall have nothing to do with the 10,000 territories; if the territories have sin, the sin be on my person, A. XX., A. XII., 22, 6 (125); G. L. II., 1 (225).

Here we have something that stands high above Confucius and which may be considered as the ideal of a theistic monarch. Three important points are especially prominent: 1, the recognition of dependence upon the majestic ruler on high, God; 2, the selection of officials, according to the will of God, i. e., of such as realize God's demands upon men, but not merely the materially technical ones; 3, the earnest conception of sin; it is too vast to be forgiven by men, but the sovereign represents the people.

It is to be deplored that Confucius did not continue in this way. The Chous, 周, i. e., Wen, 文, Wu, 武, and especially Duke Chou are only statesmen and men of the world, the special models of Confucius.

The Chous possessed great gifts and the good men were enriched by them. They provided weights and measures, revised the laws, reinstituted the abolished offices, rebuilt the destroyed cities, continued the hereditary titles, raised to rank the retired scholars; the most important objects of their care were the nourishment, mourning and sacrifices of the people.

Their mildness captivated the multitude, their confidence made the people willing; zeal had a reward, disinterestedness, 公, rendered the people happy.

In spite of their shallowness, when compared with Tang, 漢, the Chous have still more ideal value than many modern politicians, to whom the highest aim in public life is wealth, i. e., a material National Economy, the finance with its powerful agencies; commerce and industry, objectively, desire and enjoyment, subjectively. In Chinese politics man forms the chief object; firstly of course according to his physical
necessities, 食 ssū, but especially man as an ethical being, whose moral perfection should not only not be obstructed by the state, but in every way advanced. There is unfortunately a great gulf between theory and practice in China. Notwithstanding, the Chinese will never conceive any respect for a Western civilisation, the representatives of which only shows interest in material welfare and are indifferent as regards the higher necessities of human nature. The Chinese themselves at least have a general idea in what the higher aim consists, even if they do not act accordingly.

We have already explained the normal development of the superior man, 君子 Chun tsu, from the early intrinsic beginning to his highest perfection in public. But even according to Confucius this is not done uninterruptedly in a normal way, but there are irregularities.
III. 過，KUO, FAULTS AND TRANSGRESSIONS.

We therefore consider now faults and transgressions, 過kuo; "to go beyond, is as wrong as to fall short," A. XI., 15, 3 (106), 過猶不及. "The intelligent and the distinguished men go beyond it, the fools and unworthy do not come up to it," D. M. IV., 1 (251) 道之不行也，我知之矣，知者過之，愚者不及也，道之不明也，我知之矣，賢者過之，不肖者不及也 (sins of omission and commission). "The transgressions of men are characteristic of the class to which they belong; by observing their transgressions, we know the condition of their humanity," A. IV., 7 (31)

The superior man is not afraid to correct his fault," A. I., 8, 4 (5) 君子...過則勿憚改；A. IX., 24 (88) verbally the same. "Yin Hui did not commit the same fault twice," A. VI., 2 (49) 有顔回者好學，不遷怒，不貳過。 "Chiu Pai Yu is anxious to make his faults few, but he does not succeed," A. XIV., 26 (150) 遼伯玉使人於孔子，孔子與之坐而問焉，曰，夫子何為，對曰，夫子欲寡其過，而未能也，使者出，子曰，使乎使乎。 "To have faults and not to reform them, is a fault," A. XV., 29 (166) 過而不改，是謂過矣。 "The mean man is sure to gloss his faults," A. XIX., 8 (206) 小人之過也必文。 "The faults of the superior man are like the eclipses of the sun and moon, apparent before the eyes of the world," A. XIX. 21 (210) 君子之過也，如日月之食焉，過也，人皆見之，更也，人皆仰之。 "Confucius is therefore fortunate in that people are certain to know his faults," A. VII., 30 (69) 子曰，丘也幸，苟有過，人必知之。 But he calls out, in sadness at the world: "It is all over! I have not yet seen a man who could perceive his faults and inwardly accuse himself," A. V., 26 (47) 已矣乎，吾未見能見其過，而內自誣者也。 "In affairs of government it behoves one to commit few faults," D. M. XXIX., 1 (289) 天下有三重焉，其寡過矣乎， ‘and to pardon small faults,’ A. XIII., 2 (127)
"For the superior man governs men humanely: as soon as they change (what is wrong), he stops," D. M. XIII., 2 (258) 君子以人治人，改而止．

"Through the study of the book of changes, Yi King, one may keep free from great faults," A. VII., 16 (64) 學易可以無大過矣.

"Everybody who knows the Yi King will call this superstition. This, however, is to be acknowledged, that much stress is laid upon the fact, that the individual should perceive and rid himself of his faults. The improvement of the world must begin in our own hearts, the world then follows of itself."

"We should therefore not assail the wickedness of others, but only that of ourselves," A. XII., 21, 3 (124) 攻其惡, 無攻人之惡．

"The attack upon error also, he considers as only dangerous," A. II., 16 (14) 攻乎異端，斯害也已．

But in this Confucius goes too far to the other extreme. Without polemics truth is soon choked by the overgrowth of error, and the good by the overwhelming power of evil.
IV. 君子. CHUN TZU, THE SUPERIOR MAN.

If we now return to the superior man, we are able to comprehend, why in the three books, especially in the Analects, this expression is of so much importance, and is in fact the fundamental notion.

"Solid qualities and accomplishments keep in him the equilibrium," A. VI., 16 (54) 質勝文則野文勝質則史,文質彬彬,然後君子; XII., 8 (119) 文猶質也,質猶文也,虎豹之鞟,猾犬羊之鞟. "He stands in awe of the ordinances of heaven,—for without this knowledge it is impossible to be a superior man," A. XX., 3 (218) 不知命,無以爲君子也, "in awe of great men, and of the words of the sages," A. XVI., 8 (177) 君子有三畏;畏天命,畏大人,畏聖人之言. "Mere eloquence does not make him," A. XI., 20 (108) 論䇲是與,君子者手. "He has an extensive learning in literature and keeps himself under the restraint of propriety," A. VI., 25 (57) 君子博學於文,約之以禮; "in music and in manners he is qualified," A. XI., 25 (111) 其禮樂,以俟君子. "In his deportment he keeps from violence and heedlessness, in his expression he is sincere, in the tone of his words he holds himself aloof from vulgarity," A. VIII., 4 (73) 動容貌, 斯遠暴慢矣, 正顏色, 斯近信矣, 出辭氣, 斯遠鄙倍矣. "Nothing puts him out of countenance," A. VIII., 6 (74) 臨大節, 而不可奪也, 君子八已, 君子八也, "he has neither anxiety nor fear nor doubt," A. XIV., 30 (150) 君子道者三, 我無能焉, 仁者不憂,知者不惑, 勇者不懼; "but wisdom, humanity and valour, and that because the scrutiny of his inner man betrays no blemish," A. XII., 4 (116) 內省不疚,夫何憂何懼. "He is grand, but not overweening," A. XIII., 26 (138) 君子泰而不驕,小人驕而不泰; "he endures want," A. XV., 1, 3 (158) 君子固窮, 小人窮斯濁矣, "for his aims are directed to Tao, not to eating; the object of his anxiety is Tao, not poverty," A. XV., 31 (167) 君子謀道不謀食, 君子憂道
不憂貧。 “He abstains, when a youth from lust, when a man 
from quarrelsomeness, when he is old from covetousness,” 
A. XVI., 7 (177) 君子有三戒, 少之時, 血氣未定, 戒之 
在色, 及其壯也, 血氣方剛, 戒之在願, 及其老也, 血氣 
既衰, 戒之在得。 “Righteousness is his essence, he acts 
according to it with propriety, he brings it forth in humility 
and completes it with sincerity,” A. XV., 17 (163) 君子義以 
為質, 禮以行之, 孫以出之, 信以成之, 君子哉。 “He 
learns in order to attain Tao, and then loves men,” A. 
XIX., 7 (205) 君子學以致其道; XVII., 4, 3 (183) 君子學 
道則愛人。 “He considers nine things: in seeing to see 
clearly, in hearing to hear distinctly, in expression to be 
benign, in his demeanour to be decorous, in speaking to be 
sincere, in his duties to be respectful, in doubt to inquire, 
in resentment to think of difficulties, when he sees prospects 
before him, he thinks of righteousness,” A. XVI., 10 (178) 
君子有九思, 視思明, 聽思聰, 色思温, 貌思恭, 言思忠, 
事思敬, 議思問, 恐思難, 見得思義。 “He undergoes three 
changes: at a distance he is earnest; when approached, mild; 
in his words he is decided,” A. XIX., 9 (206) 君子有三變, 
望之偲然, 即之也温, 聽其言也欽。 “His want of ability 
distresses him,” A. XV., 18 (164) 君子病無能焉。 “He 
exacts nothing from others, but all from himself,” A. XV., 
20 (164) 君子求諸己, 小人求諸人。 “He is troubled that 
his name will not be mentioned after his death,” A. XV., 
19 (164) 君子疾没世, 而名不稱焉。 “He is cautious as 
regards that which he does not see, and apprehensive as 
regards that which he does not hear; he is watchful, when 
he is alone,” D. M. I., 2, 3 (248) 君子戒懼乎其所不睹, 
懼懼乎其所不聞, 莫見乎隱, 莫顯乎微, 故君子慎其獨 
也; “He corrects himself, and seeks for nothing from men, 
he maintains a repose (gracefulness), awaiting destiny,” D. 
M. XIV., 3, 4 (260) 正己而不求於人, 故君子居易以 
俟命。 “His way goes from the near to the far, from the low 
to the high,” D. M. XV. (266) 君子之道, 聰如行遠, 必自 
達, 聰如登高, 必自卑。 “He constantly inquires and learns, 
and carries it out to its length and breadth; his way consists
in the application of the mean, he cherishes the past, is acquaintance
ed with the present and gives proper value to the rules of propriety; when occupying a high position, he is not proud, and in a low situation not insubordinate,” D. M. XXVII. (286)

君子尊德性，而道間學，致廣大，而器精微，極高明，而
道中庸，溫故而知新，敦厚以崇禮，是故居上不驕，為
下不倍。“He bends his attention to what is radical, i.e.,
filial piety and brotherly love,” A. I., 2, 2 (2) 君子務本，本
立而道生，孝弟也者。

“He is earnest in what he is doing and careful in his speech,” A. I., 14 (8) 敏於事，而慎於言;

IV., 24 (36) 君子欲訥於言，而敏於行。“Action is more
to him than words,” A. XIV., 29 (150) 君子耻其言，而過其
行，“or both are completely alike,” D. M. XIII. (258) 庸德
之行，庸言之謹，有所不足，不敢不勉，有餘不敢過，言
顧行，行顧言，君子胡不慥慥爾。“He is grave in order
that he may be venerated,” A. I., 8 (5) 君子不重，則不威;

“he is catholic and no partisan,” II., 14 (14) 君子周而不
比，小人比而不周; VII., 30 (69) 君子不黨; XV., 21 (164)
君于矜而不爭，羣而不黨; “He does not quarrel, but if he
quarrels, still as a superior man,” A. III., 7 (21) 君子無所
爭，其爭也君子; compare XV., 21 (164). “He is neither
conservative, nor obstructive, but follows what is right,” A.
IV., 20 (32) 君子之於天下也，無適也，無莫也，義之與
比，“and converses about it,” 16 (34) 君子喻於義，小人喻
於利；“he never acts contrary to humanity,” A. IV., 5, 2-3
(30) 君子去仁，惡乎成名，君子無終食之間違仁; “He
associates with his equals,” A. V., 2 (37) 君子哉若人，魯無
君子者，斯焉取斯。“He finds friends by means of literary
studies, and promotes his virtue through his friends,” A. XII.,
24 (126) 君子以交於會友，以友輔仁。Therefore “he does
not associate with persons who are not good themselves,”
A. XVII., 7, 2 (185) 親於其身，為不善者，君子不入也。

“He is grave in his conduct 器 kung, in serving his superiors
respectful 敬 ching, in fostering the people kind 惠 hui, in
employing the people just,” A. V., 15 (42) 其行己也恭，其
事上也敬，其養民也 惠，其使民也 善。“He thinks as
much of virtue as of punishment,” A. IV., 11 (32) 君子懷德,
He helps the distressed without adding to the wealth of the rich,” A. VI., 3 (50) 周急不繼富; “he cannot be befooled,” A. VI., 24 (57) 君子可違也, 不可陷也, 可欺也, 不可罔也; “he does not oppose” (what is right) 25 (57) 亦可以弗畔矣夫 “He is sincere towards relatives and does not neglect old acquaintances,” A. VIII., 2 (72) 君子篤於親, 則民興於仁, 故舊不遺, 則民不偷, “all men are his brothers, because he is reverential,” A. XII., 5 (117) 君子敬而無失, 與人恭而有禮, 四海之内, 貌兄弟也, 君子何患乎, 無兄弟也. “His presence scares away rudeness,” A. IX., 13 (85) 子欲居九年, 或曰陋, 如之何, 子曰, 君子居之, 何陋之有; “he seeks to perfect the admirable, not the bad qualities in men,” A. XII., 16 (122) 君子成人之美, 不成人之惡, 小人反是. “His virtue is like the wind, before which men bend like grass,” A. XII., 19 (123) 君子之德風, 小人之德草, 草上之風必偃. “He shows a cautious reserve in regard to what he does not know,” A. XIII., 3, 4 (127) 君子於其所不知, 蓋闔如也; “he is affable without adulation,” XIII., 23 (137) 君子和而不同, 小人同而不和; “he is easy to serve and difficult to please, as the latter must be according to Tao,” A. XIII., 25 (137) 君子易事而難說也, 說之不以道, 不說也; “He cultivates himself with reverential care and in this way gives rest to the people,” A. XIV., 45 (156) 脩己以敬, 日, 如斯而已乎, 日, 修己以安人. “He takes office when Tao prevails in the state, but keeps his affairs in his breast, when Tao is not to be found,” A. XV., 6 (160) 君子邦有道, 則仕, 邦無道, 則可卷, 而懷之; XVIII., 7, 5 (200) 道之不行, 已知之矣; “he cannot be known in little matters, but he keeps great concerns,” A. XV., 33 (168) 君子不可小知, 而可大受也, 小人不可大受, 而可小知也. “He places righteousness above valour,” A. XVII., 23 (193) 君子義以為上; “He does not promote men simply on account of words, nor does he contemn good words, on account of men,” A. XV., 22 (164) 君子不以言舉人, 不以人廢言. “Even he is counted wise or foolish by the effect of a single word,” A. XIX., 25, 2 (212) 君子一言以爲信, 一言以爲不知.
"He becomes indignant at maxims like this: I want it, therefore I must do it," A. XVI., 1, 9 (172) 王子疾夫 舍日, 欲之而必为之辞。 "He dislikes to speak of men's faults, he dislikes men in low position, who slander their superiors, compare D. M. XIV. (259), he hates men valorous without propriety and hates audacious men of narrow understanding," A. XVII., 24, 1 (193) 君子亦有 惡 手, 惡稱 入 之惡者, 惡居下流而 諂上者, 惡勇而無禮者, 惡果敢 而 窮者. "He treats his children just as other people's children," A. XVI., 13, 5 (180) 君子之遠其子也. "His teaching is classified," A. XIX., 12 (207) 君子之道, 鄭先傳焉, 鄭後 倖焉, 警諸草木區以別矣. "He does not neglect his relations, he does not cause statesmen to feel resentment by not employing them. Without some great cause, he does not dismiss the members of old families. He does not seek in one man talents for every employment," A. XVIII., 10 (202) 君子不施其親, 不使大臣怨乎, 不以故 舗, 無 大 故, 則不棄也, 無求備於一人. "He honours the excellent, bears with all, praises the good and pities the incompetent," A. XIX., 3 (204) 君子尊賢而容眾, 嘉善而 矜不能. "After having obtained their confidence he imposes socage on the people," A. XIX., 10 (206) 君子信, 而後 勞其 民, 未信, 則以 己 爲 厲己也. "He honours the five excellent things, beneficence without extravagance, socage without aversion, desire without covetousness, dignity without pride, fear without abuse of power," A. XX., 2, 1 (216) 尊 五 美 無費, 勞而 不怨, 欲而不貪, 泰而不驕, 威而不猛, and eschews the four bad things; i.e. cruelty, oppression, rapine and red tapism, 罪 四 惡 虐, 暴, 賊, 有司. "He hates to occupy a low position where all the filth flows in upon him," A. XIX., 20 (209) 君子惡居 下流, 天下之 惡, 皆歸焉. "His faults are like the eclipses of the sun and moon, which can be seen by every one," A. XIX., 21 (210) 君子之過也, 如 日 月 之 貧 焉, 過也, 人皆見之, 更也, 人 皆 仰 之. "He always uses the medium," D. M. II., 2 (250) 君子之中庸也, 君子而 時中. "He cultivates harmony without being inconstant, he stands erect in the centre and remains the same, be
the government good or bad," D. M. X., 5 (254) 君子和而不流, 强哉矫, 中立而不倚, 强哉矫; 國有道, 不變塞焉, 強哉矫, 國無道, 至死不變, 強哉矫. "His energy consists in showing mildness in teaching and in not revenging injury received," D. M. X., 3 (254) 宽柔以教, 不報無道, 南方之強也, 君子居之. "He does not abandon his course half-way," D. M. XI., 2 (255) 君子遵道而行, 半途而廢, 吾弗能巳矣. "His way is the same as that of heaven and earth and of all things," D. M. XII., 4 (257) 君子之道, 造端乎夫婦, 及其至也, 察乎天地.
The word Tao appears in a double form: with the hook, denoting the 3rd tone, then it means "to rule, to lead," to rule an empire 道 國, A. I., 5 (4); II., 3 (10); a friend 道 友, A. XII., 23 (125); the people 道 民, A. XIX., 25 (213). But also without the hook it stands as a verb in the sense of "to mean, to signify," G. L. III., 4 (227) 道 學 也 and 道 盛 德 至 善; X., 5 (239) 道 君 衆, II (240) 道 善 則 得 之. In these latter passages 道 tao follows a quotation and draws from it the moral, and is therefore rather more than "to mean." "To say" and "to speak to" are false translations, A. XII., 23 (125). Wherever the word is a noun, it has the double meaning of our word "way," i. e., in its proper sense of highway, and metaphorically "doctrine, principle." A way is the connecting line between two points, and only becomes a way when something moves upon it. Every way has a distinct beginning or starting point and also a distinct goal, towards which it tends. Though the end of a way is often unknown or unattainable, still the direction can be given with certainty. As regards man, the point from where he starts is his individual nature, his own self. Thence he may take different directions or ways, in circular movements round himself, upwards or downwards in divers turnings and directions, or in a straight line, which however hardly ever happened or will. But Tao always denotes the endeavour to reach a certain aim. Confucius shows this aim, as we have seen, in the shape of the holy man. But the way that leads to this, goes farther than the holy man into the community of the world, D. M. XII., 2 (256) 其 至 也, 雖 聖 人, 亦 有 所 不 知 焉, 有 所 不 能 焉, 天 地 之 大 也, 人 猶 有 所 懷, 故 君 子 謂 大, 天 下 莫 能 載 焉, 謂 小, 天 下 莫 能 破 焉. On this point Confucius is always wisely silent. At all events there are indications enough to satisfy us, that there is no material difference in this point between Confucius and the Tao-doctrine, i. e., 老 子 Lao-tzu, and at the same time
before the Han dynasty Confucius has never been placed in opposition to Lao-tzü, but always to 魯子 Mé-tzu.

"Tao" (i.e., manner, endeavour) of the ancients in archery was: "Hitting through the leather is not the principal thing, because people's strength is not equal." A. III., 16 (24) 射不主皮, 為力不同科, 古之道也; "the Tao to lead the blind," A. XV., 14 (170) 然固稽師之道也. These applications too, of the word, although they seem strange to us, emanate from the fundamental idea of the word. The following passages are, however, more profound:

"The development of one's nature is Tao (The right way), the cultivation of Tao is instruction," D. M. I., (247) 率性之謂道, 修道之謂教. "Man can enlarge Tao (the way), Tao cannot enlarge man," A. XV., 28 (166) 人能弘道, 非道弘人. "It may not be abandoned for an instant (without injury)," D. M. I., 2 (248) 道者, 不可須臾離也. "The reason that it is not travelled, is that wise men go beyond it, and that fools do not come up to it," D. M. IV., 1 (251) 道之不行也, 我知之矣, 知者過之, 愚者不及也, 道之不明也, 我知之矣, 賢者過之, 不肖者不及也; D. M. V. (248) 道其不行矣夫.

"The Tao of the holy man waits for the proper men to be trodden," D. M. XXVII., 4 (286) 待其人, 而後行. "It is not far from men," D. M. XIII., 1 (257) 道不遠人, 人之為道, 而遠人, 不可以為道. "He who hears it in the morning, may quietly die in the evening," A. IV., 8 (32) 朝聞道, 夕死可矣. "The superior man learns to attain his Tao, as the mechanic sits in his shop to accomplish his work," A. XIX., 7 (205) 百工居肆, 以成其事, 君子學以致其道. "Following Tao he proceeds," D. M. XI., 2 (255) 君子遵道而行. "In this he goes from the near to the far, from the low to the high," D. M. XV., 1 (260) 君子之道, 譬如行遠, 必自邁, 譬如登高, 必自卑.

"If the Tao is previously determined, the practice of it will be inexhaustible," D. M. XX., 16 (276) 道前定, 則不窮. "A oneness pervades the Tao of Confucius, that is 忠恕 (Chung-shu)," A. IV., 15 (33) 吾道一以貫之. "To reject
nothing and to seek for nothing, is not sufficient for Tao,” A. IX., 26 (89) 不忮不求，何用不臧，是道也，何足以臧. “Riches and honours are not to be obtained without Tao, poverty and meanness not to be avoided without Tao,” A. IV., 5, i (30)富與貴，是人之所欲也，不以其道得之，不處也，貧與賤，是人之所惡也，不以其道得之，不去也. “The superior man does not revenge conduct of others, which is without Tao,” D. M. X., 3 (254)不報無道. “The object of the superior man is Tao, not eating,” A. XV., 31 (167)君子謀道，不謀食. “His will is set on Tao,” A. VII., 6 (60)志於道，‘and is therefore not ashamed of bad clothes and bad food,” A. IV., 9 (32)士志於道，而恥惡衣，惡食者，未足與議也.

“The Tao of the superior man is of 4 kinds: in his conduct grave, in serving his superiors respectful, in nourishing the people kind, in employing the people just,” A. V., 15 (42)有君子之道四焉，其行己也恭，其事上也敬，其養民也惠，其使民也義. “He esteems 3 kinds of Tao: in his deportment he is free from arrogance, in his countenance he maintains sincerity, in his words he is free from vulgarity,” A. VIII., 4, 3 (73)君子所貴乎道者三，動容貌，斯遠暴慢矣，正顏色，斯近信矣，出辭氣，斯遙鄙倍矣. “Sincere faith, love of learning, holding firm unto death, is good Tao,” A. VIII., 13 (76)篤信好學，守死善道. “The Tao of the superior man is three-fold: he is humane without sadness, wise without doubts, bold without fear,” A. XIV., 30 (150)君子道者三，我無能焉，仁者不憂，知者不惑，勇者不懼. “The joy of the superior man is always in accordance with Tao,” A. XIII., 25 (137)說之不以道，不説也. “One’s person should be cultivated by Tao, Tao by humanity,” D. M. XX., 4 (269)修身以道，修道以仁.

“The general Tao of the empire is five fold: sovereign, minister, etc., and these are practised by means of the three virtues, and their motive is only one,” D. M. XX., 8 (270)天下之達道五，所以行之者三，曰，君臣也，父子也，夫婦也，昆弟也，朋友之交也，五者，天下之達道也，知仁勇，三者，天下之達德也，所以行之者一也.
"To obtain the confidence of one's superiors, the trust of friends, obedience towards parents, sincerity in one's own person, and clearness in what is good, that is Tao," D. M. XX., 17 (276) 獲手於, 有道, 信乎朋友, 有道, 順手親, 有道, 誠身, 有道, 明手善. "Truth is the Tao of Heaven, the attainment of truth is the Tao of man, the sage attains it instinctively and without an effort," D. M. XX., 18 (277) 誠者, 天之道也, 誠之者, 人之道也, 誠者, 不勉而中, 不思而得, 從容中道, 聖人也. "If the Tao is believed in, but without sincerity, then it is neither something nor nothing," A. XIX., 2 (203) 執德不弘, 信道不篤, 焉能為有, 焉能為亡. "Even the smallest Tao should be treated with consideration," A. XIX., 4 (204) 雖小道, 必有可觀者焉. "When the superior man learns it, he loves men; when the low man learns it, he is easily made use of," A. XVII., 4, 3 (183) 君子學道則愛人, 小人學道則易使也. "But he who speaks on the road of the Tao he has heard, thrusts virtue from him," A. XVII., 14 (188) 道聽而塗說, 德之棄也. "The Tao of the superior man makes no distinctions in the department of knowledge," A. XIX., 12 (207) 君子之道, 謹先慎焉, 僕後僥焉. "There are some with whom we may study together, but not broach Tao; or this and not get established with him; even this perhaps, but not weigh with him in the scale (give decisions)," A. IX., 29 (89) 可與共學, 未可與道, 可與道道, 未可與立, 可與立, 未可與權.

"The Tao of the good man does not tread in footsteps nor does it enter the chamber, i.e., it is neither imitative nor independent," A. XI., 19 (107) 善人之道, 不跡迹, 亦不入於室. "If the Tao be not the same, one cannot take counsel," A. XV., 39 (169) 道不同, 不相為謀. "The superior man frequents the company of men, who have Tao," A. I., 14 (8) 就有道. "Not to alter the Tao of one's father, is filial piety," A. I., 11 (6) 三年無改, 於父之道, 可謂孝矣; IV., 20 (25) verbally the same. "If the basis (孝 hsiao and 弟 t'i) is once established, Tao is brought to light," A. I., 2 (2) 君子務本, 本立而道生. "In the Tao of the ancient kings the excellence consisted in their being unaffected in practising the
rules of propriety," A. I., 12 (7) 禮之用, 和為貴, 先王之道,斯 爲美. " A return on the part of the people of the present age to the Tao of the ancients is not advisable," D. M. XXVIII. (287) 生手今之世; 反古之道, 如此者, 裁及其身者也. "The empire has long been without Tao," A. III., 24 (28) 天下之無道也久矣; "a district ( 邦 pang) with Tao and without Tao," A. V., I (37) 邦有道, 邦無道, V., 20 (44), VIII., 13 (76); XIV., 1, 4 (139-140); XV., 6 (160). "A state with Tao and without Tao," D. M. X., 5 (254) 國有道, 國無道; XXVII., 7 (287). "The superiors have lost their Tao, the people consequently have been disorganized, for a long time," A. XIX., 19 (209) 上失其道, 民散久矣. "If the empire had the Tao, Confucius need not change anything," A. XVIII., 6, 4 (198) 天下有道, 丘不與易也; "but the Tao does not take effect," A. XVIII., 7, 5 (200) 道之不行, 已知之矣. "Chi 齊 by one change would come to Lu, and this by one change to Tao," A. VI., 22 (56) 齊一變至於魯, 魯一變至於道. "Duke Ling of Wei, although without Tao, is sustained by able ministers," A. XIV., 20 (147) 子言 衆靈共之無道也. "Great ministers serve their princes with Tao," A. XI., 23, 3 (109) 大臣者, 以道事君. "Killing those who have no Tao for the good of those who have it, is not approved," A. XII., 19 (122) 如殺無道, 以就有序, 何如, 盖, 焉 用殺. "If a good minister serves according to conscientious Tao, he is everywhere repeatedly dismissed; but if according to a crooked Tao, there is no necessity for his leaving the country of his parents," A XVIII., 2 (195) 直道而事人, 焉 往而不三 點, 糺道而事人, 何必去父母之邦. "Those who practise righteousness to carry out their Tao, Confucius has not seen yet," A. XVI., 11 (199) 行義以達其 道, 吾未見其人也.

"It was through the people that the Three dynasties walked in the straight Tao," A. XV., 24 (165) 斯 民也, 三代 之所以直道而行也. "But the Tao of Wen 文 and Wu 武 has not yet fallen to the earth, for all men have some of it," A. XIX., 22, 2 (210) 文武之道, 未墜於地, 在人 莫不有, 文武之道 焉. "Whether the Tao progresses or not, depends
on the destiny,” A. XIV., 38 (153) 道之將行也與, 命也,道之將廢也與, 命也.

“The master’s words about nature and heavenly Tao cannot be heard,” A. V., 12 (41) 夫子之言, 性與天道, 不可得而聞也. D. M. contains, however, several passages, stating “that it is quite in common use and yet secret; that it is familiar to foolish men and women, and that it surpasses the comprehension as well as the practice of the sage,” D. M. XII., I, 2 (255) 君子之道, 費而隱, 夫婦之道, 可以與知焉,及其次也, 雖聖人, 亦有所不知焉, 夫婦之不肖, 可以能行焉, 及其次也, 雖聖人, 亦有所不能焉. “Tao is self-tao, divided into internal, referring to the human self, and into external, operating amongst things, both are combined in the virtue of nature,” D. M. XXV., 3 (283) 性之德也, 合內外之道也. “The Tao of Heaven and Earth is alone in its kind and produces therefore things without measure; it is large, thick, high, clear, long (in space and time,)” D. M. XXVI., 7, 8 (284) 天地之道, 可一言而盡也, 其為物不貳, 則其生物不測, 天地之道, 博也, 厚也, 高也, 明也, 悠也, 久也. “The Tao of things is without collision,” D. M. XXX., 3 (291) 萬物並育, 而不相害, 道並行, 而不相悖.

The D. M. ends with a recapitulation of the superior man’s Tao as opposed to the inferior man’s, D. M. XXX. (291). With this we arrive at the conclusion of the Confucian system. Each reader will agree that the position of Confucius as teacher of morals is a high one. We wish to render it full justice and point out as deserving special attention: that Confucius exhorts men to self-examination, A. I., 4 (3); IV., 17 (34); to a knowledge of men, A. II., 10 (12); to self-denial, A. XII., 1 (114). He is opposed to mere rites, A. III., 3, 4 (19-20). Talents without a moral basis are not worthy of consideration, A. VIII., 11 (76). If the will be set on virtue, it preserves one against wickedness, A. IV., 4 (30). The golden rule is given negatively and positively: all men within the four seas are brothers, A. XII., 5 (117). Enthusiasm for the old and a knowledge of the new makes the teacher, A. II., 11, (12). The sins of the fathers
shall not be visited on the children, A. VI., 4; if there is a conflict between natural duty and the law of the state, the first is to be followed, A. XIII., 18 (134); law-suits should be prevented, A. XII., 23. In the same way capital punishment is not looked upon favourably, A. XIII., 11 (131). Unlawful gain of property and honours should be despised, A. VII., 15 (64). Confucius himself shows sympathy with mourners, A. VII., 9 (9); IX., 9 (83), and great grief on the death of his favourite disciple, A. XI., 9 (104), compassion for the blind, A. XV., 41 (170). He is considerate even towards beasts, A. VII., 26 (67).

The complaints of Confucius are: nobody loves humanity and hates the reverse, A. IV., 6 (31); nobody sees his own faults, A. V., 26 (47); nobody loves study, A. VI., 2 (49); smooth words and a beautiful figure are necessary to go through the world, A. VI., 14 (54); men will not enter the gate, A. VI., 13 (53); following in the mean has always been rare, A. VI., 27 (57). There exists no holy man, no good man, and even constancy is difficult, A. VI., 25 (57); nobody loves virtue as he loves beauty, A. IX., 17 (86); the officers are good for nothing, A. XIII., 20 (135). He cannot get any disciples who stand in the mean; those who know virtue are few, A. XV., 3 (159). He has not seen a man, who in retirement studies his aim and who practises righteousness to carry out Tao, A. XVI., 11 (179).

In spite of this wretchedness of the world, Confucius does not retire from it in despair, A. XVIII., 6, 4 (198).

Speaking about himself Confucius always keeps within modest bounds, is never proud, A. VI., 19 (55); etc. But unfortunately his disciples find it easier to extol the master to heaven with their words, than to elevate themselves through the words of the master. "This people cometh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me," Confucius would certainly say to the Chinese of the present age. But also from the mouth of Christian missionaries such preaching is never without effect. The conscience is awakened. When the conscience is awakened, the gospel of the redeemer of sinners finds the hearts prepared! The faith that blesseth also follows psychological rules.
THE DEFECTS AND ERRORS OF CONFUCIANISM.

Though readily acknowledging much that is excellent in Confucian doctrines concerning the relation of man to man, and remembering the various points in which Confucianism almost echoes the doctrines of Christian revelation, we cannot but point out a considerable number of defects and errors.

1

Confucianism recognises no relation to a living God.

2

There is no distinction made between the human soul and the body, nor is there any clear definition of man, either from a physical or from a psychological point of view.

3

There is no explanation given, why it is that some men are born as saints, others as ordinary mortals.

4

All men are said to possess the disposition and strength necessary for the attainment of moral perfection (君子 Chün-tzu), but the contrast with the actual state remains unexplained.

5

There is wanting in Confucianism a decided and serious tone in its treatment of the doctrine of sin, for with the exception of moral retribution in social life it mentions no punishment for sin.

6

Confucianism is generally devoid of a deeper insight into sin and evil.

7

Confucianism finds it therefore impossible to explain death.
THE DEFECTS AND ERRORS OF CONFUCIANISM.

8

Confucianism knows no mediator, none that could restore original nature in accordance with the ideal which man finds in himself.

9

Prayer and its ethical power finds no place in the system of Confucius.

10

Though confidence (信心 hsin) is indeed frequently insisted upon, its presupposition, viz., truthfulness in speaking, is never practically urged, but rather the reverse (A. XVII., 20 (191); VI., 3 (49); V., 6 (38)).

11

Polygamy is presupposed and tolerated.

12

Polytheism is sanctioned.

13

Fortune-telling, choosing of days, omens, dreams and other illusions (phœnixes, etc.) are believed in.

14

Ethics are confounded with external ceremonies and a precise despotic political form.

15

The position which Confucius assumed towards ancient institutions is a capricious one.

16

The assertion that certain musical melodies influence the morals of the people is ridiculous.

17

The influence of mere good example is exaggerated, and Confucius himself proves it least of all.
In Confucianism the system of social life is tyranny. Women are slaves. Children have no rights in relation to their parents, whilst subjects are placed in the position of children with regard to their superiors.

Filial piety is exaggerated into deification of parents.

The net result of Confucius' system, as drawn by himself, is the worship of genius, *i.e.*, deification of man. A. II., 4 (10); XIX., 24, 25 (212).

There is, with the exception of ancestral worship which is devoid of any true ethical value, no clear conception of the dogma of immortality.

All rewards are expected in this world, so that egotism is unconsciously fostered, and if not avarice, at least ambition. A. II., 18; V., 24; XV., 19, etc.

The whole system of Confucianism offers no comfort to ordinary mortals, either in life or in death.

The history of China shows, that Confucianism is incapable of effecting for the people a new birth to a higher life and nobler efforts; and Confucianism is now in practical life quite alloyed with Shamanistic and Buddhistic ideas and practices.
CONFUCIANISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

PROPOSITIONS CONCERNING THE DOCTRINES OF CONFUCIUS AS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF CHRISTIANITY.

The following propositions can present, of course, only the main points of each system, and it is our chief aim to give prominence to the contrasts.

CONFUCIAN DOCTRINE.

1
Man is considered not from a religious, not from a mystical, nor again from a materialistic, but from a humane-moral point of view, i.e., man as man in relation to men.

2
It contains nothing on the origin of man. He appears as a blossom of Nature and in highest perfection as an associate of Heaven and Earth.

3
The ideal and the powers for carrying it out, lie only in man himself. The holy man is the representative of the ideal man by nature, and the superior man of the ideal man by moral perfection.

4
Sin is the excess in human desires and endeavours; by re-

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

1
Man is essentially considered from a religious point of view, i.e., in his relation to the living, personal God.

2
The necessary explanation about the origin of man is given and his fundamental nature explained as being an image of God.

3
The task of man is subjectively objective, i.e., realization or formation of the created image of God only through the means afforded by God.

4
Sin is something positive: abandoning God and turning to
tering into the right path it ceases.

5

Man is free, destiny only presents bounds, which it is useless, even injurious to break.

6

All virtues are directly connected with humanity, 仁 as virtue par excellence.

7

All public virtue presupposes private virtue. The latter must therefore be the chief aim of the superior man, 君子 chün tzŭ. But not as hermit, but as child, brother, friend and subject.

8

The steps on the way to perfection are: perfect knowledge, a true mind, right sentiment of the heart, culture of the whole person, furthermore an influence over family, state and things generally.

evil, i. e., the destruction of God's image. It demands atonement or leads absolutely to perdition.

5

The will of man (not freedom) and the will of God (freedom, no caprice) in their conflicts form the real ethical problem.

6

The Christian virtues are: faith, hope and charity; and by prayer immediate intercourse with God, the all perfect being, is held and connection with the other world sustained.

7

Christianity likewise does not conceive man as an abstract individual, but as one who, whilst standing in relation with God, is also continually in relation with his fellow-creatures. The human relations become more intimate, more spiritual, and therefore nobler and more lasting by means of the spiritual relations.

8

The steps for the Christian are: repentance and conversion, then inheritance by degrees of the means of grace in Christ with continual fellowship with Him, i. e., justification and sanctification. Through this the Christian becomes a fellow-labourer with God for the salvation of all creatures.
The state (empire) is the full development of human nature. In the reciprocity of all, the peculiar value of the individual is evinced.

The task of the state is the physical charge and the moral education of the people; the highest glory is peace, not war and anarchy.

The Christian doctrine finds a better conclusion in the doctrine of the kingdom of God in its eternal glory, begun in lowliness, completed with the resurrection of the dead and the regeneration of the world.

The Christian state is the steward of the natural gifts of God, the church the trustee of the gifts of grace. The former has to promote temporal welfare, the latter to care for the eternal welfare of the soul; both must be servants of God and stand in harmonious reciprocity with each other.

THE END.
Appendix I.

A MISSIONARY VIEW OF CONFUCIANISM.

(First published in the "China Mission Handbook," 1896.)

This subject is still but little known. As I have an exhaustive work in preparation I will take the liberty of stating here its programme:


II. The other Ancient Literature of China, i.e., a description of all the original works still in existence and not included in the Confucian Sacred Books.

III. Outline of a History of the Pre-Confucian Period, from these sources (under 17), compared with such accidental notices as the Confucian Classics* (under 1) may contain.

IV. The Life and Work of Confucius, with a sketch of the history of his time.

V. The Doctrinal Contents of the thirteen Classics.

VI. The Historical Development of Confucianism. Its divisions, causes of opposition, relation to Taoism and Buddhism, etc. Its influence on the interpretation of the Classics.

VII. The Relation of the Classics;
   (a.) to the Christian Religion,
   (b.) to the Needs of Modern Life.

VIII. Characteristics of Modern Confucianism.

As for my present task I have only a few pages at my disposal I thought it best to confine myself strictly to

A MISSIONARY VIEW OF CONFUCIANISM.

In order to avoid misunderstanding the reader is reminded that Confucianism is not identical with Chinese life. There have always been other agencies at work for good and for evil in China. Though we do not confine Confucianism to the person of Confucius, nor to the teachings of the Classics, fairness

* This term is so commonly used for the more correct one, "Confucian Sacred Books," that I adopted it for the sake of shortness. The idea of Confucianists is, "The Moral Standard in accomplished language," and not merely the beauty of style and expression.
requires us to regard as genuine only such later developments as can be shown to have their roots in the Classics. The Classics again have to be explained in the spirit of the whole contents of the Canon, and care must be taken not to force a meaning into single passages which may be contrary to that spirit. To the question: How far is Confucianism responsible for the present corrupt state of Chinese life? the correct answer seems to be, so far as the principles which led to this corruption are sanctioned in the Classics. The missionary view of Confucianism can treat of nothing but the relation between Confucianism and Christianity. When we speak of such a relation we mean that both systems have points of similarity and agreement. A clear statement of these and the cheerful acknowledgment of their harmonious teaching makes mutual understanding between adherents of the two systems possible and easy. There are also points of difference and antagonism, and a clear perception of these will guard against confusion and perversion of truth. There are other points which may exist in a rudimentary state in one system and be highly developed in the other, or may only occur in one and be absent in the other. This points to deficiencies in one system which may be supplemented from the other. Our subject divides itself accordingly into three parts:—

I. POINTS OF SIMILARITY.

1. Divine Providence over human affairs and visitation of human sin are acknowledged. Both Confucius and Mencius had a firm belief in their special mission. A plain and frequent teaching of the Classics, on the other hand, is that calamities visit a country and ruin overcomes a dynasty through the displeasure of heaven. The metaphysical speculations of Chu Fu-tsze and his school (Sung) only differ in their explanation of it, not in the fact.

2. An Invisible World above and around this material life is firmly believed in. Man is considered to stand in connection with spirits, good and bad.

3. Moral Law is positively set forth as binding equally on man and spirits. The spirits appear as the executors of the moral law. This is, however, little understood by the Chinese people who attempt to bribe and cheat the spirits as well as their mandarins. Still the Moral Law is proclaimed in the Classics.

4. Prayer is offered in public calamities as well as for private needs, in the belief that it is heard and answered by the spiritual powers.
5. *Sacrifices* are regarded as necessary to come into closer contact with the spiritual world. Even its deeper meanings of self-sacrifice and of a vicarious sacrifice are touched upon, which are two important steps toward an understanding of the sacrificial death of Christ.

6. *Miracles* are believed in as the natural efficacy of *Spirits*. This is a fruitful source of superstition among the people. Western science, on the other hand, lays all stress on force inherent in matter and stimulates scepticism. We can point to the great power of the human intellect over the material forces. God's intellect is all comprehensive. God is working miracles, not by suspending the laws of nature, *nor by acting contrary to them*, but by *using them*, as their omnipotent Master, to serve *His will and purpose*. The Divine purpose distinguishes God's miracles from miraculous occurrences.

7. *Moral Duty* is taught, and its obligations in the five human relations—sovereign and minister, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger, friend and friend. There are errors connected with the Confucian teaching of these duties pointed out below II, 8-13 and defects, illustrated III, 13. It remains, nevertheless, an excellent feature of Confucianism that moral duty is inculcated, and that the *social* obligations are made so prominent. We may say that it is the quintessence of Confucian education.

8. *Cultivation of the Personal Moral Character* is regarded as the basis for the successful carrying out of the social duties. That self-control should *not be abandoned in private when no moral being is near to observe it*, is repeatedly emphasized.

9. *Virtue* is valued above riches and honor. The strong tendency of the great mass of Chinese is certainly to money and pleasure, but it is to be *regretted* that foreign improvements are too often recommended on account of their *profit*, or because they would improve the material conditions of comfortable living. The Christian view is first of all the kingdom of God, then all other things as natural results. The dominion of virtue, though not identical with the kingdom of God, is a close approximation to it. It is a solemn lesson which we may learn from ancient and modern history, that *wealth has ruined more nations than poverty*.

10. *In case of failure* in political and social life the moral self-culture and the practice of humanity are to be attended to even more carefully than before, according to opportunities. This is *the great moral victory which Confucius gained*, and the same may be said of his distinguished followers, the greatest among whom are Mencius and Chu Fu-tsze. None of these pillars of Confucianism turned to money-making or sought vain glory in the service of the State by sacrificing their principles to gain
access to official employment or by a promise to keep their conviction secret in their own bosoms. They gained greater ultimate success by their failure in life. The cross of Christ has a similar meaning, and we should not expect worldly triumph as long as our Lord is despised and even blasphemed among the higher classes of China.

II. Sincerity and truth are shown to be the only basis for self-culture and the reform of the world. This gives to self-culture a high moral tone. It is not only external culture, such as fine manners and good works, nor is it intellectual improvement but a normal state of the intentions of the mind, combined with undefiled feelings and emotions of the heart. We should not question whether any Chinaman ever reached this ideal, but ask those we have to deal with, Have you attained it? If not, what is the cause of your failure? Will you not seek and find it in Christ?

12. The Golden Rule is proclaimed as the principle of moral conduct among our fellow-men. This is egoism ennobled by altruism. The rule is given not only in a negative but also in the positive form. It can, however, be fully understood and carried out only by one born of God, whom the love of Christ constraineth. Still, that this rule entered a Chinese mind and found expression from the mouth of Confucius raises Confucianism to a high standard of morality. We may welcome it as a powerful assistance to bring about a conviction of sin among the Chinese; for who ever acted up to it?

13. Every ruler should carry out a Benevolent Government for the benefit of the people. He must not endure the suffering of the people. If the Chinese emperors and mandarins would really act up to what they pretend to be (viz., the fathers and mothers of the people) with the same care, affection and even self-sacrifice, as good parents do for their children, China would be in a different condition. Still, we can avail ourselves of this high ideal and show its fulfilment in Christ who gave His life for the world.

II. POINTS OF ANTAGONISM.

1. God, though dimly known, is not the only object of religious worship. This cannot be regarded as only a deficiency, it is a fatal error. Polytheism is taught in the Classics. Idolatry is the natural consequence, and all the superstitions in connection with it among the people are its inevitable results.

2. The Worship of Spiritual Beings is not done in spirit and in truth, but by punctilious observance of prescribed ceremonies to the minutest detail. The offerings and sacrifices consist in materials procurable with money. Though the Classics also point to a deeper meaning, this superficial ritualism,
with absence of elevating devotional feeling and renovating influence in heart and life, has grown from the seed sown by the Classics.

3. The *Worship of Ancestral Spirits*, tablets and graves, we have to regard as a sin, for it takes the place of the worship of God. It is an error so far as it rests on wrong notions in regard to the departed in the other world; their happiness being thought dependent on the sacrifices from their descendants and the fortune of the living as caused by the dead. It is an evil, because selfish considerations take the place of moral and religious motives. The superstitions of geomancy, spiritualism, exorcism and all kinds of deceit practised by Buddhist and Taoist priests, have their origin in it. Confucianism is responsible for all this religious corruption, for sacrificing to the dead is taught as the highest filial duty in the Classics, and Mencius sanctions polygamy on its account. The ritual duties for the dead in dressing the corpse, burial, mourning and periodical sacrifices, are so numerous, onerous and expensive that, if carried out conscientiously by everybody, very little of wealth and of energy could be left for anything else. Christianity acknowledges no other duty to the dead beyond a decent burial and tender memory, remembering and honoring all their good for our imitation. This is in accordance even with some Confucian teaching in the Classics.

4. The *Erection of Temples* to great warriors and to other men of eminence in which sacrifices are offered and incense is burned to their shades. They are invoked to be present at the service; prayers are offered, and help is asked and believed to have been received more or less frequently. This goes far beyond the honor due to benefactors of mankind. There are certainly over a hundred thousand such temples in China. They absorb a great proportion of the revenue without giving any return but the increase of superstition. Noble ambition could be inspired more effectively in the Christian way. Though the practice of building temples to heroes arose shortly after the classical period its roots can be found in the Classics. The spirits of departed benefactors were appointed by Imperial authority to certain offices in the invisible world. This is one of the Imperial prerogatives in Confucianism. We consider it, of course, either as a sacrilege or as nonsense. The myriads of War-god Temples, dedicated to Kwan-ti, an ancient warrior, may suffice as a striking example of the extent of this error.

5. The *Memorial Arches* erected to persons that committed suicide, especially to widows, are throwing a sad light on the morality of a community where such crimes are necessitated. Confucianism is responsible for it by the low place it allows to women, by the wrong feeling of honor it awakens in men and
women and by the meagre religious consolation it can provide for the afflicted. Death is sought as the only escape from unbearable misery.

6. Oracles, by stalks and the tortoise-shell, are declared necessary for the right conduct of human affairs. They certainly point to the need of a revelation of the Divine Will. It is, however, sought in a mechanical way, and chance is taken instead. Astrology and magic, in all its modern forms, are the evil results, and a confusion between what is right and wrong is the moral consequence. The interpretation of the oracles is in the hands of shrewd persons who take advantage of it for their own benefit. The whole system of divination is a caricature of biblical revelation and its corresponding human side of inspiration. God reveals Himself, but the human mind must be prepared to receive it as an inspiration, i.e., must come under the influence of God's spirit.

7. Choosing Lucky Days is a sacred duty demanded by the Classics and enforced by law. This duty involves much loss of valuable time to all Chinese. The yearly publication of the Imperial Almanac, the standard for this absurdity, demonstrates the fossilized state of the Chinese mind. European astronomy has been taught to the Chinese Imperial court for over three hundred years; many books have been published too, the influence of which is so imperceptible because only the Confucian Classics fill and shape the Chinese mind. Many other superstitions prevail for the same reason.

8. Polygamy is not only wrong; it has ever been a curse in Chinese history. Many intrigues, crimes and wars have been caused by it. Confucianism has not only no censure for it, not even for its detestable accumulation in the Imperial palace, that greatest slum of the world, but sanctions it in the Classics. Confucianism is, therefore, responsible for this great social and political evil. The misery of eunuchs, secondary wives, slave-girls, feet-binding, degradation of women in general, are accompaniments which magnify this vice. Instead of extolling the Confucian moral teaching on the five human relations all Confucianists, together with their foreign admirers, ought to hide their faces in shame that the most important of the human relations is treated so viciously.

9. Rebellion. Confucius praising Yao and Shun as the highest pattern of moral accomplishment points principally to the fact that both rulers selected the worthiest of their subjects to become their co-regents and their successors. This high example has not found one follower among 244 emperors (according to Mayer’s Reader’s Manual) of China, from Confucius’ death to the present day. This in spite of Confucianism as the state-religion of China. Confucius himself appears to have regarded
with favor rebellious movements in the hope of bringing a sage to the throne. Mencius is certainly very outspoken in this respect. He justifies dethroning and even the murder of a bad ruler. No wonder then that rebellions have occurred, on a large scale, over fifty times in about 2,000 years, and local rebellions are almost yearly events. It is impossible to calculate how many hundred millions of human lives have been sacrificed during these rebellions. Confucianism is to blame for it. Neither Confucius himself, nor one of his followers, ever thought of establishing a constitutional barrier against tyranny and providing a magna charta for the security of life and property of the ministers and people of China. The hands of the executioner ended the noble lives of many of China’s best men. It cannot be otherwise as long as the capricious will of a self-conceited ruler is supreme law. The remedy has been found in Western (Christian) countries in the separation of the executive from the legislative power. Law is no more the will of one man, but of the majority of the people, its formulation is done by an assembly of chosen men, etc. The people must also have a legal way to make their grievances known and find relief in a peaceful manner. Confucianism, however, regards the people as little children that must be fed, protected and taught their duties. They have only the right to obey under these circumstances and to rebel if the contrary should become intolerable.

10. Confucianism attaches too high authority to the Emperor. He is called the son of Heaven, the only supreme authority on earth. Every law and custom must emanate from him. The emperor of China cannot acknowledge another sovereign as his equal. In this respect he can be compared with the pope of Rome. The treaties with foreign powers have already upset this fundamental doctrine of Confucianism.

11. Patria Potestas. Corresponding to the extreme view of Imperial authority Confucianism has also fostered an extreme idea of paternal power. A father may kill his offspring, may sell even grown sons and daughters into slavery. Their property belongs to him under all circumstances, even their families are absolutely subject to him, as long as he, the father, lives.

12. Blood Revenge. It is a strict demand of Confucius in the Classics, that a son should lose no time in revenging the death of his father, or of a near relative. A younger brother has the same duty in regard to the death of an older, and a friend to a friend. This means that they have to take the law into their own hands. They will be guided by their feelings, and in many cases more serious wrong is done by their revenge than by the original act which may present mitigating circumstances, or be not murder at all, perhaps even justifiable under enlightened examination. If the accompanying circumstances are not taken
into consideration by impartial judges, where and when can the shedding of blood be stopped? Logically only with the total extermination of one of the respective families. Even several families may share this fate, as friends have to take up the same cause. The *jus talionis* belongs to a primitive period of human society. Moses mitigated it and brought it under the control of impartial legal authority. Confucius not only sanctioned an ancient usage, but raised it to a moral duty, poisoning by it three of his five social relations. As the remaining two relations have been shown as vicious in part (see above Nos. 4 and 5) Confucianists have really no reason for their extravagant boasting.

13. The absolute *Subordination* of sons to their fathers and of younger brothers to their eldest brother during life-time, is also a source of many evils. It may work well enough in a primitive society and in wealthy families, but not in a dense population among poor people. In China the inevitable result has been much misery and contention in families; ruins everywhere testify to it. Progress is also made impossible, as there will always be some old people obstinately against any modern improvement. *Nepolism* also is made a moral obligation by the Classics.

14. *Official corruption* is to a great extent due to the custom of making presents to the superior in office. This bad usage is sanctioned in the classics and by Confucius himself carrying such presents with him on his journeys. Its worst abuse is the sale of offices and bribery. Present-giving and receiving should be confined to friendly intercourse, but official relations should be kept free from it under penalty of dismissal from office. See the Old Testament on this point.

15. *The Sacredness of a promise*, contract, oath, treaty, etc., is often violated when opportunity is favorable to a personal advantage. Though Christian nations commit also too many trespasses of this kind, the difference is, that the teaching and example of Christ and His apostles is against it, even against falsehood of any shape. But *Confucius himself broke a solemn oath and excused it*. The Chinese moral sentiment is, therefore, misguided, whereas the Christian feeling is up to the standard. Lying and deceitfulness are so highly developed in China, probably to a great extent, from this cause.

16. *Identity* of physical, moral and political law is presumed by Confucianism and finds its canonical expression especially in the I-king or Book of Changes. But the same idea runs through all the Classics and later doctrinal developments of Confucianism. The truth of this doctrine can only be sought in the person of one almighty God, but it is a serious error when applied to man, especially to sinful man. This is the deeper root of Confucian pride and of much nonsense in regard to natural
events. It is also the source of Taoist magic, charms, etc., shared by modern Chinese Buddhism.

III. POINTS OF DEFICIENCY IN CONFUCIANISM WHICH ARE PERFECT IN CHRISTIANITY.

1. The God of Confucianism is the majestic Ruler on High inaccessible to the people. The emperor of China is the only person privileged to approach Him. God is not known in His nature of love as our Heavenly Father.

2. The Confucian Divine Providence appears in conflict with the Confucian notion of Fate. Providence presupposes a personal God, omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent, a God who can feel compassion with living creatures, as in Christianity.

3. Confucianism acknowledges a Revelation of God in nature and in human history, but a revelation of God's nature, will and intentions (plan) for the salvation and education of the human race remains unknown. See II, 6.

4. There is no conviction of an unconditioned Responsibility to God, the majestic Ruler of the universe who will judge in righteousness. Therefore a deep sense of sin and sinfulness is absent.

5. The necessity of an Atonement is not conceived, because neither the holiness of God, nor the depth of human sin are taught in the Classics.

6. As the deepest cause of death and of all the evils in the world is not sought and found in sin, therefore the need of a Saviour is not felt; salvation is sought in external performances, in self-correction too, but not in the grace of God who sent the only true Saviour from Heaven to Earth to reunite man with God.

7. Confucianism has produced many theories on the Nature of Man, but none that man is the image of the personal God. Hence the perfect union of the divine and the human, as it has been realized in the person of Christ, has never been anticipated by a Chinese mind.

8. As every man has to save himself there cannot be a Universality of salvation in Confucianism. Such can only be the case when salvation is God's work; God was in Christ and reconciled the world to Himself. The conditions of a participation cannot be in man's own judgment, but are laid down by God himself—faith in Christ. Through it every man can become a partaker of God's grace.

9. Confucianists remain, in spite of their best efforts, estranged from God. They may improve themselves and come into communion with the spirits of the departed (?), but NOT
with the Spirit of God, for enlightenment in eternal truths, for strength to a holy living, for comfort in the struggles of life, for peace and hope in death.

10. Confucianism teaches the immortality of the soul, but in a disembodied state dependant for all its needs on the goodwill of living men. Resurrection in a spiritual body for eternal happiness in God's glory is unknown.

11. The highest ideal of Confucianism, its sumnum bonum, is political, the government and state of China. This has ever remained an utopian idea, a fiction like the republic of Plato. Christ shows us another ideal, the Kingdom of God. It begins in the heart of the believer which becomes regenerated. It then extends to the Church, i.e., a brotherhood of men in Christian spirit, embraces all nations and finds its glorious perfection at the second coming of Christ in the resurrection of the dead, i.e., the reunion of all generations of mankind and the new heaven and new earth, when God will be all in all.

12. Christianity can supplement striking deficiencies not only in religion proper but also in the morality of Confucianism. Self-examination, for example, one of the excellent fundamental principles of Confucianism, has a deeper meaning in Christianity. We attend to it before God, the most holy one, who is perfection in every sense, and who is our pattern, especially in His incarnate form of Christ. Every other merely human model has imperfections. Yao and Shun had theirs, and Confucius was conscious of his own. We certainly estimate Confucius higher for his expressions of humility than for the pompous eulogies from his haughty followers.

13. Self-culture also has a deeper sense in Christianity. It implies purity in every way. Sexual impurity is tolerated by Confucianism to a shocking extent. Confucius himself was pure, and the Classics are remarkable for the spirit of purity that permeates the whole of them. There is, however, nowhere an intimation given of the importance of consistent purity of soul and body for the improvement of personal character as well as for society. Internal purity and external cleanliness are deficient qualities in Confucian morality. It has not even the same moral standard of purity for male and female persons. We have to confess that there is still much impurity exhibited in Christian lands, but it is of heathen origin, against the principles of Christianity, and true Christians feel ashamed of it.

14. The Human Relations. The grave errors of Confucianism in regard to the social relations have already been exposed (11, 8–13). But there are besides deficiencies apparent, for the five do not exhaust all human relations. One important relation has become prominent in all civilized countries in our times, that of the employer to the employed, or as it is sometimes
put impersonally of "capital to labour." Christian brotherhood contains the solution of this problem (see Paul's letter to Philemon, etc.). There is another relation of the Wealthy to the Poor and Needy. Christ's answer to the question, "Who is my neighbour," is the best possible. There is a relation to Foreigners. In this we know it is our duty to bring the Gospel and all its blessings to all creatures. When compared with this universal spirit of the Christian human relations* Confucianism appears primitive and clannish.

15. Confucianism keeps certain days as festivals, but has no regular day of rest, no Sabbath-day. This deficiency leaves not only the working classes without a relief in their hardships, but allows the nobler aspirations of human nature to be submerged in the unbroken turmoil of daily life. The Christian Sabbath is no more the Jewish Sabbath of the law, but God's rest in the reborn heart of man as His temple, and man's rest from earthly toil and care, a foretaste of the eternal rest in God.

16. The Fulness of Christian Life. Christians become, through faith in Christ, children of God, members of the body of the glorified Christ, co-inheritors of the heavenly kingdom. Christ is born in the hearts of His believers. Our bodies are then temples of the triune God and become gradually instruments of His glory. Although on earth our treasure is kept in earthen vessels, though we still live by faith, not by sight, though it has not yet appeared what we shall be—still we have the assurance of it in the ever present communion with God in His grace. Confucianism has nothing of the kind. Its cold abstract morality and cool ceremonial religion cannot produce the warmth of feeling on which human life depends. There is nothing approaching to the Lord's prayer in Confucianism, nor to that concise expression of the fullness of Christian life in the apostolic blessing, "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you." Although theologians differ in their metaphysical explanations of this mystery, the trinity of divine life animates every true Christian's heart. Its absence separates the non-Christian from the Christian. What Confucianism really needs is this Divine Life. May God's Spirit move the field of dry bones!

*I cannot possibly attempt here to treat exhaustively the subject of "Christian Ethics." We might go on and add a relation to enemies, another between teacher and pupil, another between the individual and the community, political as well as ecclesiastical. The Confucian relation between "king and minister" can also not exhaust our present complicated relations to a modern civilized state, nor can the Confucian "husband-wife" relation solve all the perplexed "woman questions," etc.
CONFUCIANISM comprises all the Chinese doctrines and practices acknowledged by Confucius himself and his best followers in ancient and modern times during a period of 2,400 years of Chinese thought and life. We have to acknowledge that Confucianism has become the characteristic feature of the millions of China in religious, social and political life. Confucianism is therefore the key to a deeper understanding of China and the Chinese. Mankind is a whole, the Chinese are a part of it. The whole will influence every part, and every part must have an effect on the whole. But I cannot enter here into an investigation of the relation of Chinese history or of Confucianism to the history of mankind, nor seems it appropriate to speak on the relation of Confucianism to Christianity in an assembly where discussion is excluded. I cannot presume that everybody present would be kind enough to agree with my view of Christianity, nor could I expect any sound Chinese scholar to accept in politeness my exposition of Confucianism without scrutinizing the reasons which led to it. I shall therefore confine myself to Confucianism on its own ground. Confucianism is a living body. Life is organic. Hence Confucianism is to be regarded as an organism. Natural organisms can scientifically be best understood by tracing their origin and observing their development, growth and decay. The best method to arrive at a thorough understanding of Confucianism will be a close examination of its first beginning, or genesis, and then describing its division and gradual development into Modern Confucianism.

*Note.—Of the original paper, as presented in Chicago, only a very abridged sketch has been published in the Records of the Parliament (Vol. II, p. 1350). The paper itself was kept there by some appointed authorities. Dr. Faber applied afterwards by letter for his paper, but it could not be found. Lately Dr. Faber's Mission in Tsingtau sent me a box with manuscripts left by Dr. Faber, and amongst them I found on some loose sheets the first draught of that Chicago paper. As it may interest many readers in the East I publish this original draught here, as far as I could bring these loose sheets together.—P. Kranz.
Confucius, who professed to be a transmitter, not an originator, received his ideas from ancient records, of which he collected and published what suited his purpose in the Five Sacred Books. To these were added his own sayings (Analects) and, centuries later, a few other works, till the Canon of the Chinese Sacred Scriptures was completed in the seventh century of our era. It comprises thirteen different works of various contents and unequal value. Most of them are compilations, neither written by one author nor at one period of time. The text also has undergone many changes during the disasters and wars of a period of about a thousand years of Chinese history. About the true meaning of the Sacred Books the best Chinese scholars never agreed among themselves; there have always been opposing school of interpretation from the death of Confucius to the present day. Moreover, Taoism, Buddhism and some other external agencies have conjointly with those internal causes gradually modified the Ancient into Modern Confucianism. Thus we shall have to treat

I. The period of Chinese life before Confucius.
II. Confucius and his work.
III. The Sacred Books of China.
IV. The different schools of Confucianism.
V. Modern Confucianism.

I. THE PERIOD OF CHINESE LIFE BEFORE CONFUCIUS.

(i). The Sources of our Knowledge of it.

There are monumental remnants, cities, graves, altars, inscriptions in stone and metal, various kinds of weapons, of utensils, coins, seals, ornaments, etc., still surviving in some parts of the vast Chinese empire, ascribed with more or less probability to the pre-Confucian period, but they all are still too doubtful to serve our purpose. I do not mean to say that none of them are genuine, but they are too isolated to allow any sound theory to be based on them. If excavations were to be conducted in a methodical way at the places near the Yellow River and the Wei, where the earliest seats of Chinese government and civilisations were located, we should soon be in possession of reliable facts to rectify the floating traditions. As investigations in those localities could easily be carried on, it is a strong proof of the absence of scientific spirit among the Chinese that nothing is done. We have therefore to confine ourselves to what we can find in the ancient literature of China. As, however, the critical questions in connection with this literature have scarcely been touched, we have to be cautious in regard to details, though we may arrive at a degree of certainty in the general features. The critical questions about the Confucian Sacred Books
DOCTRINES OF CONFUCIUS.

will be briefly related in our third chapter. All other ancient literary works have received less attention than the Classics; their text and explanations therefore must be expected to be even in a less satisfactory condition than the text and interpretation of the Sacred Books.

(a) Foremost among the literary sources from which we can collect much information about the pre-Confucian period in China, are the writings of the earlier Taoists.


4. Me-ti (Micius); s. Doctr. of Conf., p. 13, 2; China Review, p. 234. My work in German, "Der Socialismus bei den alten Chinesen,"* gives an exhaustive analysis of the works of this remarkable man.

5. Lü Pu-wei; s. Doctr. of Conf., p. 16, 10; China Review, p. 235.


7. The Annals of the Bamboo Books. They are recognised by the Taoists, but their genuineness is vigorously attacked by Confucianists.

8. Kuan Tsz; he lived before Lao Tsz; the work under his name contains, however, many later additions; Doctr. of Conf., p. 18, 3; China Review, p. 234.

9. Yen P'ing Tsz; Doctr. of Conf., p. 13, 1.

10. The Canon of Hills and Waters; Doctr. of Conf., p. 17, 1; China Review, p. 242.

11. The most ancient medical and military writers point to pre-Confucian times; Doctr. of Conf., p. 19, 9-12; China Review, pp. 234, 235.

(b) Not less important are writers of the Confucian school.

1. The Speeches from the States and Sketch of the History of the Warring States; Doctr. of Conf., p. 7, 5 and p. 8, 9.

2. Hstín Tsz; Doctr. of Conf., p. 8, 6.

3. Historical Records; ib., p. 7, 1.


5. A number of minor works, as Records of Ceremonials by Ta Tai; ib., p. 8, 8. Anecdotes to the Odes; ib., p. 9, 12; the Beautiful Dew, p. 9, 13; Liu Hsiang's works, p. 10, 16, etc., etc.

(c) Last but not least, all the Thirteen Confucian Sacred Books. These will be treated one by one in Chapter III, but

* Translated into English by Dr. C. F. Kupfer.
see *China Review*, 239, 242; Doctr. of Conf. p. 5, 6 and 40-123. Of these thirteen, three have not yet been translated and two only in French, eight in English (two of the Four Books belong to the Book of Rites).

(2). *Confucianism only a branch of ancient Chinese life.*

The short survey of the literature of pre-Confucian China shows unmistakably that *both Confucianism and Taoism are based on Chinese antiquity*. Chinese antiquity can be compared with a large river that flows along from its unknown source and then divides itself into two main branches. On closer examination we discover that ancient China flowed on in its old channel and Confucianism branched off from the main stream. This means in plain English that ancient Taoism represents ancient China in its principal features. Taoism, though not called so at the time, was in fact prevailing in politics, in morals and in religion during the time of Confucius and several centuries later. This is a truth so simple and so well corroborated by the Chinese literature mentioned above, that it is astonishing that Western students should not have discovered it long ago. The reason is that all knowledge of ancient China has been principally derived from about six or seven of the Confucian Sacred Books. It is most probable that there is not one foreigner living who has read all the thirteen books of the Chinese Canon. Of the other literature, including the ancient Taoist texts, only four works have been translated. Confucianists take occasional notice of the earlier Taoist literature, even admire it in some respects, but their mind is too much biased for an adequate appreciation of the value of any statements not in accordance with their preconceived ideas. The Taoist writers are not superior in this respect, especially those of modern days; they are, moreover, overwhelmed by superstitious beliefs. All Chinese writers are deficient in method. They mix up all kinds of statements which they find, without reference to age and reliability. The true method would be to trace each statement to its source, give a critical sifting of all available sources, then take not only their age but also their quality into consideration, guarding against party misrepresentations of the ancient authors. That Taoism forms the main stream down from Chinese antiquity, the Taoism prevailing during the time of Confucius and for several centuries after his death demonstrates to a certainty. That Confucianism is *only a branch* of ancient Chinese life, not representing the conviction of the majority of the people and their rulers, but of a select few, is shown by the uncontroversible fact that Confucius met with such solid opposition during his life-time and that the Confucian Sacred Books do not present a continuous history of China in ancient times, but
contain only some selected documents. These are facts of great importance. The only history which Confucius published comprises 250 years of his native country, the small State of Lu, and not even this commences at the beginning of Lu, but four centuries later. The best elucidation of it, called Tso-chuan, gives ample evidence of the prevailing Taoist tendencies even during this period. The same fact is apparent from the first History of China from its remotest antiquity to about 100 B. C. Confucianism had nevertheless its root in Chinese antiquity, else the Confucian Sacred Books could never have gained the influence on the Chinese mind which they soon had in the school of Confucius and received 300 years later over all China.

Further we find sufficient evidence in the literature quoted, that these two branches, Confucianism and Taoism (always remembering that these names are much later), had their origin a few centuries before Confucius. The overthrow of the Shang dynasty by the rulers of Chou, appears as the first cause of the division into two parties. The Taoists remained loyal to the house of Shang, and the rulers of Chou respected public opinion so much as not to exterminate the surviving descendants of the former ruler, but appointed them lords over the feudal State of Sung. The same favour was extended to descendants of other ancient rulers. Of the new dynasty, the Duke of Chou, a younger brother of Wu, the great warrior and first king of the Chou, was the greatest politician and law-giver of ancient China. Confucius acknowledged this Duke of Chou as his great master and ideal. Most of the famous men of the Shang dynasty, if not all, were raised by the Taoists into the rank of deities, and many are worshipped in China even to the present day. The time before the Chou, the Shang and still more the Hia (because the Shang had become too much the party-emblem of the Taoists during the Chou dynasty) we can regard as the period in Chinese history when Confucianism (Ju Kiao) and Taoism were not yet separate parties. Uniformity of opinion seems to have prevailed during the Hia period.

(3.) The Period before the Separation into two Parties.

Some years ago I published an essay on "Prehistoric China" (see Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIV.) There I question the antiquity of Chinese literature, the origin of which I place between 800 to 1200 B. C., but I do not call in doubt that genealogies and other memos in pictorial as well as in ideographic writing. . . . . . [Note by P. Kranz: Here Faber's manuscript breaks off, and I cannot find the closing paragraphs of this first part among his papers. The following, however, is an extract of it, published in the Records of the Parliament of Religions (II, p. 1350):]—
"The elements of Confucianism go back centuries before Confucius. The religious features of pre-Confucianism were these: Mankind was regarded as subject to a superior power called heaven, the supreme ruler (Shang-ti) or God (Ti). Under him many minor deities ruled as ministering spirits over lesser or larger spheres. A multitude of spirits roamed about, evil spirits causing all evil. Animals and trees were inhabited by spirits and worshipped. Sacrifices were offered to propitiate the higher beings. Exorcism and deprecatory services warded off evil. Oracles, etc., revealed the will of the gods, or fate, and thus directed human action. A primitive philosophy based on dualism and the evolution of the five elements explained all. Under the Chou dynasty (B. C. 1123?) ancestor-worship became the most prominent religious service."

II. CONFUCIUS AND HIS WORK.*

1. He was the descendant of a noble family. He acquired an early control of himself and observed an aristocratic dignity under all circumstances of his life.

2. He was the most learned man of his age. Learning was the privilege of only a few persons in China in those days. The schools mentioned as national or rather Imperial institutions were intended only for the sons of nobles, to prepare them for the various offices of State service.

3. Confucius started probably the first private school in China and distinguished himself as a teacher of first rank. His pupils belonged to the best families.

4. He was of a superior moral character, a standard to his pupils and in later ages to all his admirers.

5. His aim was political, the re-establishment of a strong Imperial government.

6. Against the anarchy of his time he found it necessary to lay the greatest stress on the principles of authority and subordination.

7. In his moral teaching he regarded man principally as a political being on the basis of his social relations.

8. Personal character in its development is not overlooked, but made subordinate to the social and political duties. The family is held responsible for the individual, though Confucius was in favour of not extending the punishment of criminals to their innocent descendants.

9. All education and learning he brought into direct bearing on his political aim.

10. Confucius' idea of the Chinese empire, his "All under heaven," was a visible heaven on earth, the emperor, the only son of heaven, holding, as such, power and dominion over all

* This is the continuation of Faber's original draught.
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The earth as his indisputable right. His Imperial laws were heavenly laws, like the laws of nature inalterable; every transgression causing evil consequences, even in nature. A return into the right path restores the perturbed harmony. The foreign treaties, forcing on China the acknowledgment of other independent States as equal if not superior to China, crushes this fundamental doctrine of Confucianism.

11. Ancient religion was simply continued, but made subordinate to the government of the State. The emperor as son of heaven is subject only to heaven; all gods and spirits are subject to him, are rewarded and punished, promoted or degraded by the emperor and his mandarins in accordance with their rank. This peculiarity has become very prominent in Modern Confucianism.

12. As the Chinese empire is regarded as a visible heavenly kingdom on earth, so the invisible world corresponds exactly to every Chinese institution, even in its smallest details. There is one highest ruler in heaven corresponding to the emperor on earth; under Him are innumerable gods of all degrees, rulers of States or large provinces down to invisible constables and kitchen gods. (Modern Confucianism went consistently into the extreme, that the deceased have the same needs in the other world as on earth, which needs have to be supplied by their descendants. There are also the same punishments; the torments in hell are counterfeits of the tortures in Chinese courts of law, in prisons and on the execution ground. The gods are just as accessible to bribes as the mandarins on earth). Confucius preferred to speak of heaven instead of God and gods, probably in order to avoid confusion with such beings called gods at the time, but he allowed error to have its own way. He sacrificed to the spirits as if they were present (Anal. III, 12) and believed in the effect of exorcism (Liki), placing himself in court-dress at the entrance of his ancestral temple.

13. Confucius placed his ideal government not in the future, but in the past as an accomplished fact. What was possible then, must be possible at any time, as man and the laws of the universe remain the same.

14. Human nature is of the same kind in every man; every one can become a sage and reach the same standard, though under difficulties; no excuse is allowed for not reaching the moral standard.

15. Education is required to make man conscious of what is in his nature and of the duties he has to perform.

16. Example is the most effective teaching.

17. All fundamental views of Confucius are optimistic; human depravity and sin are not taken into account. As sin was left unremoved, nothing but failure could be the result.
18. Confucius regarded the model of antiquity as the only safeguard against all error and misrule. Every new measure had to be proved to be in accordance with the ancient patterns, which led to much sophistry and fraud.

19. Strict ceremonial observances Confucius regarded as indispensable. He considered them to be the highest perfection of human action. Every performance in human life and death was regulated by minute rules. Minister Yen’s objection.

20. Ancestral worship became the characteristic feature of Confucian religion. The aim in it is apparently to confine religious worship to the worshipper’s sphere of life. This was a failure, as it favoured the spread of Buddhism, and idolatry increased in the course of time.

21. Confucius laid much stress on the five human relations, the first of which is that between husband and wife. He had, however, no word of comment on the disgrace of the Imperial harem; nor on the prevailing evil of polygamy; consequently he had no influence on the elevation of women. Confucius had a low opinion of female nature. He demanded the strict separation of the two sexes, he allowed no social intercourse between the two. Females should not appear in public, not even be heard of, neither for good or evil. If they had to walk on the streets, they should take one side of the road, the males the other.

Young people of different sex should not speak nor look one to another; they were not allowed to choose a companion for life; marriage was negotiated by the parents through a go-between without the least reference to the feelings of the young people, for marriage was regarded as a duty to the ancestors, not as a means of promoting the happiness of the young pair.

22. Confucius attempted to strengthen those in power by his principle of authority and subordination. In allowing, however, rebellion of subjects against tyrannical rule, he not only justified the extinction of the two dynasties before his time amidst much bloodshed, but encouraged the fifty similar larger attempts and the hundreds of local risings after his death, in which many millions of lives were sacrificed.

23. Confucius never thought of a legal check to tyrannical excesses. It is true he may have hinted at hereditary succession as the cause of the existing imperial weakness by praising Yao and Shun, who had passed over their own sons and elected the worthiest man of the empire to be co-regent and then successor. He even suggested the thought that he himself would be the man for such a position even in a small State. But no other sage-emperor has been on the throne of China after the death of Shun, about 4,000 years ago, who appointed another sage as his successor.
24. Confucius taught according to the second book of the Liki the duty of blood revenge, the bad effects of which are evident even in the present time.

25. We see that three of the highly extolled Confucian social rules * are not fit for moral standards; their practice has been of disastrous consequences, a fruitful cause of disorder in the history of China.

26. The fourth relationship between elder and younger brother binds every younger brother for ever to submission under his oldest brother without prospect of ever attaining to the rights of full manhood. This principle works well in the comparatively few noble families and in a primitive state of rural society, but is an impossibility among the inhabitants of large cities and among the working classes in China.

27. The best teaching of Confucius and his school is on friendship, but I must leave it to the Chinese to find out, whether Confucius ever found such a friend, and whether he himself became one to somebody else. The same is true of Mencius. I know Confucius was often friendly, but this is different from being a friend. See Dr. Legge’s remarks on Confucius' reliability in regard to speaking the truth, Vol. I, 79. 100.

28. Confucius, when in high office, had a rich and influential man, named Shao, summarily executed instead of transforming him by his saintly virtue according to his theory (see Kia-yii). That he punished a father together with his disobedient son for not having given him a better education, shows Confucius in this respect as superior to modern Confucianists.

29. Confucius must, nevertheless, notwithstanding many defects of his doctrines, be called the greatest Chinese teacher of the Chinese. He is the embodiment of all ideal qualities of the Chinese national character, the incorporation of the Chinese national idea. This is the secret of his strength and of his weakness. The mind of the Chinese is shaped by their course of study, by their Classics, and to Confucius they owe these books.

30. Confucius is worshipped as the teacher of all Chinese, but not as a helper in times of need. For this purpose an ancient warrior (600 years younger than Confucius) has become more popular than any other object of worship (Kuan Ti, the god of war). For mercy and grace the Chinese adopted a Buddhist god, turning him into a woman, Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy. We see here the three essential qualities of our Saviour divided into three distinct individuals, i.e., revelation of eternal

* Father and son (ancestral worship); husband and wife; ruler and subject.
truth (the divine teacher); power and safe protection against all enemies, visible and invisible; mercy and grace to the repenting sinner by pardon and forgiveness.*

[Note by P. Kranz: In the Records of the Parliament a note is here inserted after Part II: "Prof. Faber did not discuss the Sacred Books and the Schools of Confucianism." Also among his manuscripts I do not find anything with reference to these originally intended third and fourth parts of his paper. So I suppose he omitted these two parts, fearing the Paper would become too long. But I found on some slips of paper, kept by Faber in the same cover as the other loose sheets referring to this essay, the following dates of the life of Confucius and some general remarks about him:]

LIFE OF CONFUCIUS.

B. C.

551. Born.
549. His father died.
532. Married.
531. His son Li born. Keeper of stores of grain.
529. Begins teaching.
528. His mother died.
524. The Chief of T'an visits Lu.
523. He studies music under Siang.
517. Minister Mang Hsi orders his son to become Confucius' pupil. Visit in Chou.
516. Duke Ch'ao of Lu, defeated by the three families—Ki, Shuh and Mang—flees to Ts'i. Confucius to Ts'i.
501. The officers defeated; Yang Ho flees to Ts'i.
500. Confucius magistrate of Chung-tu, then minister of Works and of Crime.
499. Lu and Ts'i covenant at Kia-kuh.
496-483. He wanders from State to State. Ten months at Wei; he receives a revenue, starts for Ch'in, but returns from K'uang. Lady Nan Tsz. At Ch'eng at the east-gate like a "stray dog."
494. At Ch'en.
493. Confucius breaks his oath in going from P'u to Wei.
492-491. In Ch'en with the warden of the city wall.
490. He goes to Ts'ai; no provisions on the way. To the capital of Ts'iu; the Premier against him.
481. Ch'un Ts'iu completed.
479. Confucius' death.

* Cf. Faber's critique of Confucianism in the China Mission Hand-book, p. 1-11, reprinted as appendix to his "China in the Light of History;" also my pamphlet, "Some of Prof. Legge's Criticisms on Confucianism" and my Chinese tract "Christianity fulfils Confucianism."
GENERAL REMARKS ON CONFUCIUS.

Confucius was not a dreamer who construed a world of opinions. There were at that time, as in all times among somewhat civilized people, too many opinions in the world. Abstract thinkers lose their contact with the realities of human life to a degree. Confucius, though the most learned scholar of his time, confined his studies of mankind to the men he saw around him and their needs. He was a man of political instinct and of social feelings. Though he did not sacrifice himself for the welfare of the people and never identified himself with the poor and suffering, but always maintained an aristocratic dignity, he clearly understood the duties of the government towards the people. Man is a social being and must be treated as such in his social relations, not as an abstract individual. Recognising social relations, there must be the distinction of superiors and inferiors; equality is a social impossibility. Though he had no place nor part for the people in the government, Confucius taught the same moral nature of all men and thus an essential equality. He spoke not only of the duty of the inferiors to obey, but also urged on the superiors the higher duty to govern well, to provide for all the necessities of the people and to help them to develop their moral nature. Every metaphysical politician is in danger of pessimistic views, finding it impossible to carry his ideal out among the people. The best Taoists became sceptics, pessimists, and as such repulsive or even cruel. Confucius' personal experience was discouraging; he also became dissatisfied and wavering towards the end of his life, but this was in contrast with his own optimistic doctrines which remained untouched. Man's nature being good, he only needs some instruction to make him conscious of his duty; there can then be no difficulty to make all people virtuous. A sage as king can accomplish it. Then all nature will be in harmony and heaven be found on earth. We see the practical Confucius was after all a mere theorist. We can see his failure, but we must also acknowledge his partial success. It was not Confucius, nor his doctrine, that saved China from falling into anarchy. The course of history went against Confucius for 400 years. His teaching of the social duties and his principle of authority, which had been kept in the hearts of a few, became then gradually recognized as the pillars of Chinese government.

(Part III and IV are omitted).

LAST PART (V) MODERN CONFUCIANISM.

Principal Literature: All Historical Works. Matuanlin and other Encyclopedias. The Statutes of the Present Dynasty.

If Confucius and Mencius would return to earthly life and pay a visit to China, they would probably not recognise it as their own native country!

1. Its size has been multiplied not by peaceful attraction of neighbouring States, but by bloody wars and suppression. The Ts‘in dynasty extended its Imperial sway south of the Yangtse River to the Canton province. The Han conquered those districts finally and made them provinces (Fuhkien, Kuang, Yün-nan and part of Szechuen). The T‘ang conquered Corea after several years of hard fighting. War with the northern tribes of Mongolia and Manchuria and of Thibet continued through all Chinese history. The Tartars ruled over parts of China from 907-1234. The Mongols from 1206 till 1367. The Ming were Chinese and ruled from 1368-1643. Since 1644 Tartars rule again. They have added to China by conquest Mongolia, Kashgar, Ili, Thibet, Formosa. The hill tribes never submitted themselves voluntarily to Chinese civilisation, but were, many times, nearly exterminated by overwhelming Chinese military forces. China’s enlargement to the present gigantic size is due to the sword and bow and during this dynasty to more superior weapons than those subdued tribes could bring into the field. Mencius would call these conquests, as he called those of the Warring States, “wars of unrighteousness.”

2. Confucius and Mencius would find the constitution of China changed, all feudal States absorbed into one central State. Every mandarin holding office only for a short period of years in one place, which gives him no opportunity for great undertakings in the interest of the people. Not only titles but also offices are sold to unworthy persons.

3. They would see ruins everywhere, roads and bridges not in order, traces of huge inundations, fields lying waste, people starving from famines, pestilences arising from uncleanliness, and to all these miseries heavy likin-taxes exacted everywhere.

4. They would see splendid temples and rich monasteries all over the country to a hundred thousand, but the majority of the people living near them poor and sunk in the vice of opium, gambling, etc.

5. They would find most of the temples dedicated to gods, of which they had never heard, being of later date. They would feel sorry that even the great duke of Chou had been turned out of his place of honour and that Confucius himself was made to displace his ancient teacher.
6. Confucius would notice with disgust, that in the temples in his own honour several thousand heads of cattle, an equal number of sheep, pigs, fish and fowl were slaughtered every year, and ten thousands of pieces of silk burnt, which had never reached him in the other world, and if they had, he would not even have room enough to store them. He would shake his head saying, "the Ancients did not do so; how can people be so foolish and invite my presence to 2,000 distant places at the same time? How could I manage to be present everywhere? The ancients did it at one place only and thought it enough. Why should not the silk be given to poor deserving scholars, many of whom walk through the streets in dirty and miserable clothing; why not honour me in the poorest of my followers?—disgraceful!"

7. Confucius and Mencius would come across benevolent institutions and rejoice at their sight and over their charitable aim, but they would soon discover that a large proportion of the funds found its way into the pockets and bellies of respectable managers, dressed in long silk robes.

8. They would find everywhere in China a considerable change in the style of dressing. They would also observe males wearing a queue. "It is not a custom of the Middle Kingdom," they would exclaim, "we only saw it among some barbarous tribes to the N. E. of China." In seeing the small feet of women, they would turn pale and say: "Is it punishment? Are their feet cut off and only the heel left?" "No," the smiling husbands would answer, "it is for beauty, an improvement on nature!" "O, how sad," they would respond with a sigh, "to consider it beauty, when the noble human form is turned into the shape of the feet of cattle, but even cattle can use their feet; they are strong and swift; here nature is spoiled and you mean to improve it? How sad, how sad!"

9. Visiting a high-school in the city, they would find the books looking very different from those they had used, printed on paper, bound in volumes, containing characters of a form quite unknown to them; they could not make out one sentence; the students using brushes and ink for writing instead of the ancient iron stiligo; neither Confucius nor Mencius could succeed in writing one graceful character with a brush on paper. The language of the teacher and of the students also differed so much from their own that both exclaimed, "How strange, how strange!"

10. "Come brother Mencius," said Confucius, "let us take a walk to the next city. I know it is a pleasant road, shady and not too far." Mencius was also tired of the shaking car, and gladly consented. They went together, but found the road without tree; only four or five isolated ones remained at long
intervals. They also noticed the road often making sharp turns, which increased its length to more than twice the straight line distance. "Why has this been done so?" Confucius asked an intelligent looking man, who rested under one of the trees. "Fung-shui," was his reply. "And why were the trees cut and no others planted?" "They injured the Fung-shui," was the answer. Mencius noticed some pagodas in the distance. "What strange buildings those are," he said. "Who lives there?" he asked a passer-by. "Nobody." "Are they pleasure towers to enjoy the beautiful scenery?" "No, they cannot be ascended." "What then is their object?" "Fung-shui," he said. Confucius pointed to the shoe-like masonry scattered over the hills. "What are they for?" "Those are graves." "But why this peculiar shape?" "To offer sacrifices to the deceased." "Oh," said Confucius, "I never did so, nor have I read that the ancients sacrificed to the graves." "Nor did I," said Mencius, "but there was a custom forming in my time to sacrifice to the presiding spirit of the locality where the grave was situated. I cannot understand, however, why the graves are scattered about so much, mounds being seen everywhere in cultivated fields, in gardens, before houses, some even obstructing the roads; why is that?" "Fung-shui," the man answered. "What then do you mean by Fung-shui," Confucius and Mencius exclaimed with an impatient voice, "we know nothing of the kind, nor is such a phrase mentioned in the ancient records." "It means good luck," said the man. "Strange indeed," said Confucius, "to expect luck from such external things; it is in contradiction to the teachings of the ancients, who cultivated virtue and expected blessings from Heaven!"

11. Walking one day through the streets, they saw crowds of students enter the gate to an extensive building. "What on earth may this mean?" asked Confucius of one of the students. "Examination!" answered the young man, astonished at the question. Confucius inquired more into the matter. Both he and Mencius shook their heads and said: "Far away from the pattern of the ancients! Nothing but phraseology and empty routine. Where is the purified character, the basis for the emperor as well as for the common people? Can you in this way get men, strong to withstand all temptation, strong to overcome the evils of the world, strong to sacrifice themselves for the welfare of the people?"

12. Passing by a large book-store they entered and looked about, surprised at the thousands of different works. They spent some days in examining their contents. "Alas," said Confucius, "the same state of things which I found in China 2400 years ago and which induced me to purge the ancient literature from thousands of useless works. I found only a few, filling five
volumes in all, worthy to be transmitted to after ages. Is nothing left of my spirit among the myriads of scholars professing to be my followers? Why do they not clear away the heaps of rubbish that accumulated during twenty centuries? They should, like myself, transmit only the essence of former ages to the young generation as an inheritance of wisdom, which they have to turn into practice and to increase. Shall I send you a broom? Or do you wait for me to return? Have you not my example? Alas, that the heaps of old rubbish are allowed to suffocate the germs of young growth in the Middle Kingdom!"

13. A gentleman invited them into his house; there they were asked to take chairs. They looked around for a mat spread on the ground, but seeing none, they followed the example of their host without saying a word. After some polite words, pipes were handed to the sages. They had observed before that almost everybody in China, male and female, used a similar instrument to draw in smoke and puff it out again. "It is no ancient custom," said Confucius, and Mencius nodded assent, "the ancients valued pure air most highly." Tea was offered. Both sages shook their heads; it was neither water, nor was it soup, but as they had refused the pipes, they wished to please their host in this respect, especially as the perfume of the tea was agreeable and its effect refreshing and harmless; a good explanation of the infusion could also be given either as flavoured hot water or as thin soup, bringing it thus in connection with ancient usage.

14. Seeing many arches erected in honour of famous women, they wondered again, that the fame of women should enter the streets and be proclaimed on highways. "The rule of antiquity," said Confucius, "is that nothing should be known of women outside of the female departments, neither good nor evil." They found out that most of the arches erected were for females that had committed suicide, or for cutting a little flesh from their own body, from the arm or thigh, as a medicine for a sick parent; others had refused marriage to nurse their old parents; a few, for having reached an old age and others for charitable work. Though neither Confucius nor Mencius agreed with most of these reasons, they as sages thought it better not to raise an objection if the praise would only be confined to the inner apartment. "Will not strangers think that the arches commemorate all the female virtue in China and that it must be rare indeed?"

15. Many other things which they saw and heard, they did not approve, as the Imperial sanction of the Taoist pope, the favour shown to Buddhism and especially to the Lamas in Peking, the widespread superstition of spiritism, worship of animals, as the fox, tiger, monkey, snake, (stone-) lions, of trees
and stones, the clay-ox at the reception of spring, fortune-telling, excessive abuses in ancestral worship, theatrical performances, dragon-boat festival, idol processions and displays in the streets, infanticide, prostitution, retribution made a prominent motive in morals, codification of penal law, publication of the statutes of the empire, cessation of the imperial tours of inspection, and many other things. "The Middle Kingdom is changed, my brother," said Confucius with a sigh; "if I should live again on earth, I should need not only fifty years, but a long life-time to study Changes."

16. On their way back to the other world, they came across a railroad. The steam engine whistled and passed in full speed with a dozen of cars behind it. They saw in the next harbour steamers of immense size moving on quickly, even against wind and tide; they saw lamps, brighter than the moon, lighting themselves, burning without oil, and they saw many other things. "Wonderful, wonderful!" they both exclaimed more than once. Then turning to a multitude of scholars gazing after him, Confucius said: "The spirit of the ancients has come down on earth again, now appearing in Western lands as millenniums ago in China. Those sage rulers of ancient China exerted themselves in all kinds of work for the good of the people; their methods of agriculture were the best known in the world; their mining processes productive in all kinds of metals and precious stones, and the industrial arts developing from generation to generation; their knowledge of medicines, of textile plants and silks, of dyeing in many colours, of embroidery in beautiful designs, of carving wood and cutting stones, of architecture in building temples and palaces; their locomotion by water and on land, using wind and the strength of animals as moving power; their methods of war and military tactics leading to victory over all their enemies; their educational system; their benevolent and righteous government,—this made ancient China the first power in Asia, if not in the whole world. Our sages kept China marching on at the head of civilisation; all nations around us looked up to China with awe. Others have now surpassed you. O my little children, all ye who honour my name, the Western people are in advance of you. Therefore learn from them what they have good, and correct their evil by what you have better; this is my meaning of the great principle of Reciprocity!"
Appendix III.

Notes on Taoism and Confucianism.
From his unpublished manuscripts, edited by P. Kranz.

I. PECULIARITIES OF ORIGINAL TAOISM IN COMPARISON WITH CONFUCIANISM.

These peculiarities of Taoism were:

1. Individual liberty *versus* Confucian subordination under the absolute authority of the government in power. "No interference" was the political measure. Nature should take its course, not the will of man against it.

2. Liberty of thought independent of, or at least not tied to, any written authority in sacred books or creed. The Taoists made use of ancient works, where and how it suited them. Of all Confucian books only the Book of Changes is highly valued by the Taoists. How far the explanations of King Wen, of the duke of Chou and of Confucius were accepted by the earlier Taoists, remains to be investigated. Only the socialists refer also to the Book of Documents and to the Odes. As ideal rulers of antiquity were acknowledged not Yao and Shun but Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor, and Shen Nung, the Divine Husbandman.

3. *No place was allowed to ancestral worship.* Dependence on the all-producing and all-reducing Tao became most prominent.

4. No formalism of ceremonial, but natural simplicity characterised all transactions.

5. A higher reverence of nature than of man, of fate than of morals is manifested.

6. It was firmly believed that man could raise himself above nature by magical art (the power of a knowledge of the *arcana*).

7. It was attempted to reach the state of immortality by means of physical and moral exercises, assisted by medicines.

8. In politics Taoism upheld the particularism of independent states against the universalism and centralisation of the Chou government, maintained by Confucianism.
Early Taoism and Confucianism had *in common:*—

1. One supreme God (Shangti or Ti), the ruler and judge of men.
2. Heaven, providence and moral order.
3. A number of gods (shen), superintendents of the heavenly bodies, natural objects and phenomena.
4. The belief in a multitude of spirits, good and evil.
5. Sacrifices of various kinds, as a propitiation and exorcism against their influence.
6. Confident faith in omina, oracles, dreams, etc., as revelations of the divine will. Hence astrology and divination as manifestations of supernatural agencies.
7. Worship of animals, trees, etc. (as inhabited by spirits), especially the dragon and phoenix.
8. A primitive philosophy based on dualism and the evolution of the five elements.

II. THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA IN PRE-CONFUCIAN TIME.

The Taoist writers mention several rulers as Fuh-hsi, Shennung, Huang-ti and others, which Confucius passes over. He begins with Yao and Shun. Thus we may conclude that according to Confucius' judgment real government began with them in China. Those persons, mentioned before, had distinguished themselves as inventors of useful things and had become temporary chiefs as leaders of their equals, who of their own free will followed them. Though a number of ministers are mentioned of Huang-ti, it seems all more mythological than real.

Yao is much extolled by Confucius. No reason is given why. We find mentioned in the Documents: 1, his personal dignity or self-possession; 2, that he made the able and virtuous distinguished; 3, that he loved the nine classes of his kindred; 4, that he regulated and polished the people. In detail are mentioned: 1, his regulation of the calendar by two officials; 2, his attempt to reduce the flood of the Yellow River; 3, his election of a coregent and successor, passing over his son; 4, his giving his two daughters to Shun in marriage. The Bamboo books add: he made the first tour of inspection to the four mountains, formed an army, made a pleasure-trip to a mountain in a carriage drawn by horses, divided the empire into twelve provinces, built a pleasure-palace, where he died. The Bamboo books, though not accepted as genuine by many Confucianists, certainly relate ancient traditions. *We see at once that Confucius did not publish those ancient documents as he found them.* The additional points mentioned in the Bamboo books did not suit Confucius' ideal. Confucius points to three most important duties of rulers: 1, a reliable calendar, so that the people can do their work in proper season; 2, well-regulated water courses;
and 3, able men for co-operation in the government. Yao failed, however, in K'wan, his minister of works.

**Shun.**—His faithfulness and accomplishment as co-regent is mentioned. As emperor he made astronomical observations, sacrificed to God and gods (four grades?); he inspected the five kinds of gem-emblems of the high nobles at audience and made four tours of inspection with sacrifices and audiences. The calendar of the nobles was rectified, the different measures made uniform, he regulated the five ceremonies, the presents of three kinds of silk, of two living animals and of one dead animal (pheasant). Sacrifice of a single bullock to his ancestor. (Legge, Shuking, p. 34-37).

Some commentators doubt the possibility of his accomplishing these four tours of inspection in one year. The solution is probably, that he did not go so far as now is supposed. He divided the empire into twelve provinces, raised altars on twelve mountains and deepened the rivers. He modified the five kinds of punishment, punished the four offenders (nobles). Mourning for Yao (three years?); no music. He deliberated with his counsellors and called Yu to be General Regulator; besides he appointed Ministers of Agriculture, Instruction, Crime, Works, Forests, Religion (the three ceremonies observed in worshipping the spirits of heaven, earth and men; the minister was to be "Arranger of the Ancestral temple,"), of Music and Communication. There were besides these nine ministers the twelve pastors of the provinces and their superior. (Legge, Shuking, p. 39-51). He said (see Legge, p. 79): "My ministers constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. I wish to help and support my people; you give effect to my wishes. I wish to spread the influence (of my government) through the four quarters; you are my agents. When I am doing wrong, it is yours to correct me; do not follow me to my face and, when you have retired, have other remarks to make." The Bamboo-book is very short on Shun, and differs widely. The record of the Shuking gives the impression, that it was Shun who first employed officers to this extent and established division of labour in governmental affairs. Stress seems laid on his listening to advice and that he allowed his appointed officers all liberty in the execution of their duties; he gave them good advice and held them responsible to himself. The Bamboo-book knows nothing of this and nothing also of the high praise of the intellectual and moral excellency which the Shuking bestows on Shun as well as on Yao.*

* Legge, III, p. 53; Shun says as emperor: "To ascertain the views of all, to give up one's own opinion and follow that of others, to refrain from oppressing the helpless, and not to neglect the straitened and poor; it was only the emperor Yao who could attain to this."
The Shuking contains three other books of counsels by four of Shun's great ministers which may have been based on ancient traditions, but are surely in their present form later revisions. It matters nothing to our purpose; the text contains the ideas which Confucius learned and taught from ancient times.

Excellent is the advice to the emperor, p. 55. "Do not fail in due attention to the law and ordinances. Do not find your enjoyment in indulgent ease. Do not go to excess in pleasure. In your employment of men of worth, let none come between you and them. Put away evil without hesitation. Do not try to carry out doubtful plans. Study that all your purposes may be with the light of reason. Do not go against what is right to get the praise of the people. Do not oppose the people to follow your own desires. Attend to these things without idleness or omission, and from the four quarters the barbarous tribes will come and acknowledge your sovereignty."

The Minister of Crime could address Shun in almost incredible words: "Your virtue, O emperor, is faultless. You condescend to your ministers with a liberal ease, you preside over the multitude with a generous forbearance. Punishments do not extend to the criminals' heirs, while rewards reach to after generations. You pardon inadvertent faults, however great, and punish purposed crimes, however small. In cases of doubtful crimes, you deal with them lightly; in cases of doubtful merit, you prefer the high estimation. Rather than put to death an innocent person, you will run the risk of irregularity and error. This life-loving virtue has penetrated the minds of the people, and this is why they do not render themselves liable to be punished by your officers." Legge, p. 59. In his charge to Yii, Shun uses the remarkable words: "The human heart is unreliable; its principles being weak. Be discriminating, be undivided, that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean." Utilitarian are the sentences: "If the sovereign had not the multitude, there would be none to guard the country for him," and "If within the four seas there be distress and poverty, your heaven-conferred revenues will come to a perpetual end" (Legge, p. 62).

All may be condensed into three sentences: 1. Superior intelligence and exemplary morality of the ruler; 2. Appointment of able officers and willingness to learn from their experience; 3. Compassionate care for the people, supplying their physical and intellectual wants.

Yii, the Great, became famous especially by his regulating the water. The Shuking records many excellent sayings of him. With his son, who succeeded Yii, the throne of China became hereditary.
Tang, the first rebel on the throne.—He attacked and killed the last ruler of the Hia (house of Yii), who had become an abominable tyrant. Nobody objected to his taking possession of the throne. His descendants ruled till Wu of Chou followed T'ang's example and dethroned the last king of the Shang (house of T'ang).

It is very peculiar that neither Confucius nor one of his school could see the great contradiction in this to one of the fundamental doctrines of Confucianism. The moral relation between prince and minister, or ruler and subject, was violated by rebellion. Much effort has been wasted to show that the action was in accordance with the will of heaven. But heaven could have disposed of a wicked man in many other inoffensive ways. I point this out, as it is a fatal precedent to many attempted rebellions in China that have shed the blood of millions of men. The right, if not duty of rebellion under a government which causes dissatisfaction, is a serious flaw in the political doctrine of Confucianism. I point in contrast to Saul and David. Though Saul had been rejected by God, and David had been appointed, the latter waited patiently under severe persecution about thirteen years, till Saul was removed.

INNOVATIONS BY THE CHOU DYNASTY.

It seems that the constitution and laws of China remained almost the same from the Emperor Yao and Shun to Wu, the first king of the Chou. Under the new dynasty a stricter form of imperial government was inaugurated by the great statesman, the Duke of Chou. Its principal features were:—

1. The institution of Feudalism. In earlier times the so-called princes seem to have been chiefs of their clans, who had received different titles, perhaps according to the number of their subjects and in a few cases as a reward for special services. The Chou appointed relatives and adherents to be rulers of feudal States. In some of them, as in Lu and Tsin, the clans got the power in their hands, even in the time of Confucius and Mencius.

2. The establishment of an imperial harem, which was imitated by every feudal prince and more or less by every officer of government. A consequence was the corresponding number of eunuchs and their ruinous influence. The imperial palace has been the source of deep corruption and extensive bloodshed in Chinese history.

3. An enormous increase of officials and bureaucratic rule. The people became in consequence overburdened by heavy taxation.

4. Ceremonial observances became multiplied and so complicated that only a few could master them, the majority prefer-
red therefore to follow their own convenience. General disorder was the result.

5. A new marriage-law, strictly forbidding marriage with a woman bearing the same surname, was enforced. This was a wise political measure to bring the different clans more closely together. The law is still observed.

6. Ancestral worship was made the most prominent religious service and mourning for the dead the most important domestic duty. Titles were given to the departed and a sacrificial name.

The imperial authority soon became a shadow. With the growing power of the feudal States wars began among them. They gradually absorbed one another, till finally, 250 years after Confucius, only one remained. Feudalism had destroyed itself and the dynasty which had created it.

Confucius was unable to foresee this tragic end. He did his best to revive the vanishing power of the Chou by moral teaching, based on the ancient patterns, and especially by a strict observance of all the rules of etiquette and ceremonial once established and then forgotten. Confucius and his school failed utterly in their best endeavours. He could not see that a multiplicity of ceremonials interferes with sincerity in observance and draws the attention from what is important to mere trifles, attaching more importance to the latter than to the requirements of thorough business management. Confucius had no word of disapproval in regard to the abominable imperial harem and polygamy in general. From this we see of how little value the preaching of his much extolled five cardinal relations was, for one of them is the relation between husband and wife. The same defect has been weakening and even demoralizing Confucianism to our present day.
Appendix IV.

THE RISE OF THE CHOU DYNASTY.

Notes by Dr. E. Faber, with references to the Classics. Edited by P. Kranz.

A KNOWLEDGE of the Rise of the Chou Dynasty is indispensable for a proper understanding of the Chinese Classics.

All Chinese scholars are just as familiar with it as we are with the book of Genesis. The following sketch will therefore, we hope, be useful to all who take a real interest in the mental attitude of the Chinese.

As first ancestor of the Chou is celebrated K'i 棄, Yao's and Shun's 后稷 Ho Tsièh, i.e., minister of agriculture, about B. C. 2286 (Legge, Shuking, p. 43, note). He is said to have been a son of Emperor K'u'uh (B. C. 2435) and is worshipped as god of agriculture. Shun had invested him in 2276 with the small fief of T'ai on the river Wei 沂 [T'ai 郏 in the present district of Wu-kung 武功, K'ien-chou 乾州, Shensi (s. Sheking, p. 470, note), but according to others the present district of Fu-fung 扶風, department Fung-tsiang 凤翔]. K'i's son is said to have withdrawn from the disorder in China to the wild tribes of the west and north.

Duke Liu 公劉, a descendant of K'i, returned to China 1796 and settled at Pin 翟 (present Pin-chou 彭州, near San-shui 三水), about hundred miles north of T'ai. Mencius (p. 39) praises Liu as a pattern of a ruler, who had his riches in common with his subjects and shared everything with them. That Liu should have moved into China just under the rule of the tyrant Kie of the Hia, who was overthrown 1766, is remarkable (see Sheking, p. 483-489, where his settling in Pin is described; Legge on p. 437 calls these odes legends, dressed up by the writers of the odes, carrying back into antiquity the state of things which was existing around them in their own days, cp. Legge, Odes, p. 227). This duke Liu, the real ancestor of the Chou, came out from the wild tribes of the west (Mencius, p. 192, therefore says that king Wen was a Western barbarian). Very slowly his tribe grew in civilisation and, being pushed by fresh immigrations from its earlier seats, moved southwards and eastwards, till it came in contact and collision with the rulers of Shang, whose dominions constituted the Middle Kingdom or the China of that early time (Legge, Odes, p. 2).
A descendant of Liu, the old duke **Tan fu 古公亶父** (afterwards styled king T'ai 太王), moved 1325 farther south to K'i 基, in the present district of K'i-shan, department of Fung-tsiang 凤翔. A description of this is given, Odes, p. 437. The reason why he left Pin was: the barbarians from the north wanted his territory and made constant incursions (s. Mencius, p. 52.) The plain southward of K'i received the name of Chou 周. Tan Fu's tender love to his wife, lady Kiang, is mentioned, Mencius, p. 39 (cp. Odes, p. 438, verse 2), and in consequence "at that time, in the seclusion of the house, there were no dissatisfied women, and abroad there were no unmarried men." Mencius, p. 31, praises his wisdom in serving with his small State the Hsin Yu 禹, his powerful northern neighbours.

Tan Fu's (or T'ai Wang's) eldest son was T'ai Peh 太伯, his second son Chung-yung 仲雍. As his third son Ki-li 季历 had a promising son Ch'ang 昌 (born B. C. 1231, * later on called the chief (earl) of the West, Wen-wang, father of Wu-wang), whom T'ai wished to be the successor on the throne, the two elder brothers withdrew across the Yangtse and settled at Mei-li 梅里 in modern Kiangsu (Analects, p. 207; Giles' Biographical Dictionary, 2348). Tan Fu died the same year (1231, Giles' Biographical Dictionary, 1868).

Wen, (i.e., Ch'ang, Wen-wang) subdued the States of Mih 密 and Ts'ung 崇; he then moved his capital across the Wei to Fung 凤, south-west of Si-ngan. [The tower, the park, the pond and the hall of music which he built, were all in connection with Fung.] He then separated the original Chou (K'i Chou 基周) into Chou and Shao 召, which he made the appanages of his son **Tan† 亶**, hence called the Duke of Chou and of Shih 歙, one of his principal supporters (Sheking, p. 2, Shuking, p. 420, note).

Confucius said (Chung-yung, cap. 18, p. 400): "It is only king Wen, of whom it can be said, that he had no cause for grief (in comparison to Yao, Shun and Yu with regard to their fathers and their sons). His father was king Ki (Ki Li), his son was king Wu. His father laid the foundation of his dignity and his son transmitted it. King Wu continued the enterprise of king T'ai (Tan Fu), king Ki and king Wen. He once buckled on his armour and got possession of the kingdom."

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*Legge, Liki I, p. 344, says B.C. 1258; in the Shuking, p.286, he says, B.C. 1229; Giles' Biographical Dictionary, 2308, says B.C. 1231; the dates are all in confusion. Compare the statement Liki I, p. 344, that king Wen was 97 when he died and king Wu 93, because Wen had given to the latter (his son) three years of his life, with the statement, Shuking, V, 6, (p. 351 note, 357 note), where the Duke of Chou gives five of his years to king Wu.

†This Tan 亶, the Duke of Chou, was the younger brother of Wu-wang and famous as statesman, the ideal teacher of Confucius; he died B. C. 1105.
Wen-wang died 1134. The merits of Liu, T'ai, Ki and Wen are shortly characterised, Shuking V. 3, 5 (p. 311).

The last emperor of the Shang 窮 or Yin 殷 dynasty, the tyrant Chou Sin 紂辛 (Giles' Biographical Dictionary, 414; his name was Shou 受) had succeeded to the imperial throne in the year 1154. His two elder brothers—K'i, the viscount of Wei 微子啟, and Chung Yen 仲衍—were born when their mother occupied still a secondary position in the harem of the emperor Ti Yih. Before the birth of Chou Sin, however, she was raised to the dignity of empress, and therefore Chou Sin was appointed to be the successor. His natural abilities were more than ordinary, his sight and hearing were remarkably acute, his strength made him a match for the strongest animals, he could make the worse appear to be the better reason, when his ministers attempted to remonstrate with him. He was most intemperate, extravagant, and would sacrifice everything to the gratification of his passions. He was the first, we are told, to use ivory chopsticks, which made the viscount of Chi 畿子 sorrowfully remonstrate with him. "Ivory chopsticks, he said, will be followed by cups of gem; and then you will be wanting to eat bears' paws and leopards' wombs and proceed to other extravagances. Your indulgence of your desires may cost you the empire." (Quoted from Legge, Shuking, p. 269, also the following).

In an expedition against the prince of Su 有蘇氏, 1146 (according to the entirely different chronology of the Bamboo books, 1093), he received from him a lady of extraordinary beauty, called Ta Ki 姬己, of whom he became the thrall. Ta Ki was shamelessly lustful and cruel. The most licentious songs were composed for her amusement and the vilest dances exhibited. A palace was erected for her with a famous terrace two li wide, and the park around stocked with the rarest animals. At Sha-k'iu 沙邱 there was still greater extravagance and dissipation. There was a pond of wine, the trees were hung with meat, men and women chased each other about, quite naked. In the palace there were nine market-halls, where they drank all night. The princes began to rebel, when Ta Ki said, that the majesty of the throne was not sufficiently maintained, that punishments were too light and executions too rare. She therefore advised two new instruments of torture. One of them was called the "heater," and consisted of a piece of metal made hot in a fire, which people were compelled to take up in their hands. The other was a copper-pillar, greased all over and placed above a pit of live charcoal. The culprit had to walk across the pillar, and when his feet slipped and he fell down into the fire, Ta Ki was greatly delighted. This was called the punishment of "roasting." It made the whole empire groan
with indignation. (According to the Bamboo books he invented this punishment of roasting in his fourth year, 1098, see Pro-
legomena to Shuking, p. 139).

Chou Sin appointed the "chief of the West" (i.e., Ch‘ang, Wen-wang), the prince of Kiu 九侯 and the prince of Ngo 鄓侯 to be his three principal ministers 三公. The prince of Kiu added his own daughter to the imperial harem, and when she would not enter into its debaucheries, Chou put her to death and ordered her father to be cut into small pieces. The prince of Ngo returned to remonstrate, and was also sliced to pieces for his courage. Ch‘ang fell at the same time under suspicion, and was put in prison in a place called Yu-li 義里, in modern Ho-
nan, in 1143. There he occupied himself with the sixty-four hexagrams of the Viking. "He named the figures, each by a
term descriptive of the idea, with which he had connected it in
his mind, and then he proceeded to set that idea forth, now with
a note of exhortation, now with a note of warning. It was an
attempt to restrict the follies of divination within the bounds of
reason." (Legge, Introduction to the Viking, p. 21.) In 1141
Wen-wang’s sons and subjects propitiated the tyrant Chou Sin
with immense gifts and a girl. Ch‘ang was released and invest-
ed with greater authority than before. He obtained the aboli-
tion of the punishment of roasting and drew the hearts and
thoughts of princes and people more and more to himself and his
house. He died 1134, and his son 資 Wu-wang succeeded in
Chou 周. Ten years passed till Wu-wang conquered Li 西伯
覇黎 B. C. 1123. (But this is ascribed by the Sze-ki and others
to king Wen and made to be the cause of his imprisonmen.t.)
Li 黎 was in the present department Lu-ngan 潞安, in Shansi.
(The above is taken from Legge, Shuking, p. 270.)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHOU ACCORDING TO THE
BAMOON BOOKS.

According to the Bamboo books (Legge, Proleg., Shuking,
p. 138) Tan Fu died 1138 and Ki Li succeeded in Chou 周. In
1135 Ki Li defeated Ch‘eng 程 and subdued Pih 輝. Six years
later he attacked I K‘u 義渠 (in Kansu) and returned with its
ruler as a captive. In 1125, thirteen years after becoming duke
of Chou, Ki Li did homage at court, when the emperor (Wu Yih)
conferred on him thirty 里 of ground, ten pairs of gems, and ten
horses. The year after Ki Li smote the demon hordes of the
Western tribes. Two years later (1122) he attacked the hordes of
Yen King 燕京 and was defeated. 1120 he attacked the hordes
of Yü Wu 余無 and subdued them, after which he received from
Emperor T‘ai Ting (Wen Ting) the dignity of pastor and teacher
牧師. 1119 Ki Li built the fortified city of Ch‘eng 程. 1117
he subdued the hordes of Shih Hu 始呼. 1113 he smote the
hordes of T’u 繇徒 and, having taken their three great chiefs, came with them to court to report his victory. The Emperor put Ki Li to death (1113). The note says: “The king (Emperor) at first appreciated the services of Ki Li, gave him a libation mace with flavored spirits of the black millet and then nine ensigns of distinction as chief of the princes, and after all that he confined him in the house of restraint, so that Ki Li died from the trouble and gave occasion to the saying that Wen Ting killed him.” In the following year, first year of Wen-wang of Chou, phœnixes collected on mount K‘i 岐. Wen-wang, the chief of the West, offered sacrifice to his ancestors at Pih, where Ki Li was buried, for the first time in 1096, i.e., seventeen years after Ki Li’s death. (Sixth year of Ti Sin or Chou Sin.) In Chou Sin’s seventeenth year, 1085, Wen-wang, the chief of the West, smote the Tih 翆. Four years later the princes went to Chou to do homage. Pè I and Su Ts‘i went to Chou from Ku-chu (s. Analects, p. 181, Mencius, p. 179). The tyrant Chou Sin in his twenty-third year imprisoned Wen-wang in Yu-li and liberated him six years later, 1073. Many princes escorted Wen-wang back to Ch‘eng. Next year Wen-wang led the princes to the court with their tribute, but during 1071 he began to form a regular army in Pih 堡 with Li Shang 麗昌 as its commander. In 1069 Mih 密 surrendered to the army of Chou (Wen-wang), and was removed to Ch‘eng 程 (the fortress of Chou). The Emperor granted power to Wen-wang to punish and attacking States on his own discretion. In 1068 the forces of Chou took K‘i 堆 and Yu 薛, and then attacked Ts‘ung 崇, which surrendered. In the winter of the same year Chou was overrun by the hordes of the K‘un 桿; the famine in the following year was probably caused by this invasion. Wen-wang moved from Ch‘eng to Fung. In 1066 the princes went to court at Chou and then they smote the hordes of K‘un. Wen-wang caused his son Wu-wang to fortify Hao 鍾. In the following year Wen-wang built an imperial college (this was exercising an imperial prerogative, see Sheking, p. 280) and in 1062 he built the spirit-tower. The following year (41st, 1061) Wen-wang died and was buried at Pih, thirty li west from Fung (s. Prolegomena, Shu-king, p. 140). This account of the Bamboo books shows a consistent and determined policy of the Chou to extend their power from the beginning of Ki Li’s reign. But the chronology is entirely different from that of the Shu-king.

REFERENCES FROM THE CLASSICS.

Analects, XIX, 20, p. 345: Tsze Kung said, Chou’s 爾 (the tyrant’s) wickedness was not so great as that name implies. (It means “cruel, unmerciful, injurious to righteousness.”)
Mencius, p. 277: With Chou (the tyrant) as nephew and sovereign, there were K'î, the viscount of Wei 微子啟, and the royal prince Pi Kan (his uncle) 比干.

Analects, p. 331: The viscount of Wei withdrew from the court; the viscount of Chi 熊子 became a slave (to the tyrant Chou); Pi Kan remonstrated with him and died.

The viscount of Wei 微子, named K’î，elder brother of the tyrant Chou Sin, seeing that remonstrances availed nothing, withdrew from court, wishing to preserve the sacrifices of their family amid the ruin which he saw coming. (It is interesting to know that Confucius was a descendant of the younger brother and heir of this viscount of Wei, through the princes of Sung; see Legge, Prolegomena, Analects, p. 56, and Dvorak, Confucius und seine Lehre, p. 4-7.) Chi Tsze and Pi Kan were uncles of the tyrant; Chi Tsze was thrown into prison and, to escape death, feigned madness. He was then used by the tyrant as a buffoon (jester). Pi Kan, persisting in his remonstrances, was put barbarously to death; the tyrant having his heart torn out, that he might see, he said, a sage's heart. (Shuking, p. 269, 274; Analects, p. 331.) Confucius said (Analects, p. 331, verse 2): The Yin dynasty possessed these three men of virtue.

REFERENCES ABOUT King Wen, 文王.

Mencius said (58): How can king Wen be matched? From T'ang to Wu Ting there had appeared six or seven worthy and sage sovereigns. The empire had been attached to Yin for a long time, and this length of time made a change difficult. Wu Ting had all the princes coming to his court, and possessed the empire, as if it had been a thing which he moved round in his palm. Then Chou (the tyrant) was removed from Wu Ting by no great interval of time. There were still remaining some of the ancient families and of the old manners, of the influence also, which had emanated (from the earlier sovereigns) and of their good government. Moreover there were the viscount of Wei and Wei-chung 徽仲 (his younger brother, Legge says his second son), their Royal Highnesses Pi Kan and the viscount of Chi and Kiao-ki 膠鬲 (he was discovered by Wen selling fish and salt, and on Wen's recommendation was raised to office by the last Emperor of Yin, to whose fortunes he remained faithful), all men of ability and virtue, who gave their joint assistance to Chou (the tyrant) in his government. In consequence of these things, it took a long time for him to lose the empire.

Pê I 伯夷 and Su Ts'î 叔齊, two brothers, were the sons of the king of Ku-chu 孤竹 in Chihli. Their father left his kingdom to Su Ts'î, who refused to take the place of his elder
brother. Pê I in turn also declined the throne; so they both abandoned it and retired into obscurity. Mencius, p. 179, says: Pê I that he might avoid Chou (the tyrant) was dwelling at the coast of the northern sea. When he heard of the rise of king Wen, he roused himself and said: "Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old." But when king Wu was starting the rebellion against the tyrant Chou, they made their appearance and remonstrated against his course. Finally they died of hunger rather than live under the new dynasty. (Analects, p. 181, 315.)

Mencius (p. 179, continued) said: T'ai Kung 太公, that he might avoid Chou (the tyrant), was dwelling on the coast of the eastern sea. When he heard of the rise of king Wen, he followed Wen from the same motives as Pê I. (Pê I, s. Giles' Biographical Dictionary, 1657.)

T'ai Kung was Lü Shang 呂尚 (see Faber's History, year 1140, 1112; Giles' Biographical Dictionary, 343, 1862), a great counsellor of the kings Wen and Wu. Wen-wang met him first on a hunting trip, when Lü was fishing. Wen was impressed by his appearance and exclaimed: "Ah! it is you, for whom my grandfather looked long ago!" 吾 太公 望子 久矣. (In Kia-yü, II, 4, a, Confucius says, that Tai Tien and Chung Tien were Wen's ministers.)

Analects, p. 215: King Wen possessed two of the three parts of the empire, and with those he served the dynasty of Yin. The virtue of the house of Chou may be said to have reached the highest point indeed (this is an exaggeration, but important in point of doctrine).

Great Learning, p. 362: In the book of Poetry it is said: "Profound was king Wen. With how bright and unceasing a feeling of reverence did he regard his resting places!" As a sovereign, he rested in benevolence 仁; as a minister, he rested in reverence 敬; as a son, he rested in filial piety 孝; as a father, he rested in kindness 慈; in communication with his subjects, he rested in good faith 信.

Mencius, p. 38: King Wen's government of K'i was as follows: The husbandmen cultivated for the government one-ninth of the land, the descendants of officers were salaried (pensioned); at the passes and in the markets strangers were inspected, but goods were not taxed; there were no prohibitions respecting the ponds and weirs; the wives and children of criminals were not involved in their guilt. There were the old and wifeless or widowers, the old and husbandless or widows, the old and childless or solitaries, the young and fatherless or orphans; these four classes are the most destitute of the people and have none to whom they can tell their wants, and king Wen
in the institution of his government with its benevolent action made them the first objects of his regard.

PRINCIPLES OF WEN'S GOVERNMENT.

1. Wise measures with regard to agriculture.
2. Pensions to the families of officials.
3. No taxations on trades from abroad, etc.
4. Fishing free, also hunting.
5. No relatives involved in punishments.
6. Free support of the helpless.

Mencius, p. 30: The park of king Wen contained seventy square li, but the grass-cutters and fuel-gatherers had the privilege of entrance into it; so also had the catchers of pheasants and hares. He shared it with the people, and was it not with reason, that they looked on it (the park) as small?

Mencius, p. 4: King Wen used the strength of the people to make his tower and his pond, and yet the people rejoiced to do the work, calling the tower the "spirit-tower," calling the pond the "spirit-pond," and rejoicing that he had his large deer, his fishes and turtles. The ancients caused the people to have pleasure as well as themselves, and therefore they could enjoy it.

Mencius, p. 19, recommends to teach others by one's own example and points to king Wen. He says: Treat with the reverence due to age the elders in your own family, so that the elders in the families of others shall be similarly treated; treat with the kindness due to the youth the young in your own family, so that the young in the families of others shall be similarly treated; do this and the empire may be made to go round in your palm. It is said in the Book of Poetry (p. 447): "His (Wen-wang's) example affected his wife. It reached to his brothers, and his family of the State was governed by it." The language shows, how king Wen simply took this kindly heart and exercised it towards those parties, etc. The way in which the ancients came greatly to surpass other men, was no other than this: simply that they knew well how to carry out, so as to affect others, what they themselves did. (Mencius, p. 20).

Mencius, p. 192: Wen was born and died a Western barbarian, as Shun was an Eastern barbarian.

Mencius, p. 300: Wen was ten cubits high (two meters).

Mencius, p. 173: For a prince who is ashamed of this (humiliation by others) the best plan is to imitate king Wen, and in five years, if his State be large, or in seven years, if it be small, he will be sure to give laws to the empire.

Mencius, p. 32: Wen's valour was not that of a common man. It is said in the Book of Poetry (p. 453): "The king
blazed with anger and he marshalled his hosts to stop the march to Kū, to consolidate the prosperity of Chou, to meet the expectations of the empire.' This was the valour of king Wen. King Wen in one burst of anger gave repose to all the people of the empire. (The ode refers to Wen's war against Mil 密, which had invaded Yüan and marched against Kung. Wen then settled south of K'it and the war with the Ts'nung followed.)

Mencius, p. 202: King Wen looked on the people as he would on a man who was wounded, and he looked towards the right path as if he could not see it.

His wife T'ai Sze 姐 (s. Odes I, 1, p. 3, note) was a daughter of the house of Yu Sin 有辛. She is famous for her freedom of jealousy and her constant anxiety to fill the harem of the king with virtuous ladies; cp. Odes 5 and 6, p. 11, 12.

Wen's mother was T'ai Jen 太任 (Odes III, a, II, p. 433, note). She was the second princess of Chih 繼 of the imperial house Yin 殷. Both she and her husband Ki Li 季歷 were entirely virtuous, especially in their behaviour to her mother-in-law Chou Kiang 周姜, the wife of Tan Fu. Kiang accompanied her husband (Tan Fu) on horseback in search of a new settlement, s. Odes, p. 438. Mencius, p. 39, recommends Tan Fu, who confined his love of beauty to his wife (a strong recommendation of monogamy!).

The duke of Chou said about Wen-wang (Shuking, p.469): Admirably mild and beautifully humble, he cherished and protected the inferior people and showed a fostering kindness to the widower and widows. From morning to midday, and from midday to sundown, he did not allow himself time to eat; thus seeking to secure the happy harmony of the myriads of the people.

REFERENCES ABOUT King Wu 武王.

[Note by P. Kranz: King Wu is said to have been eighty-seven years old when he became Emperor B. C. 1122, and he only reigned seven years (Legge, Chung-yung, p. 401, note). The Li-ki, I, p. 344, says he died ninety-three years old; he died 1115, therefore he must have been born 1208. According to Giles (Biographical Dictionary, 2353) he was born 1169 (Legge, Shu-king, p. 269, says 1168); it is impossible to decide which is correct. The years of the first rulers of Chou, as far as I can make them out, are:—


Tan fu (T'ai-wang) died 1231 (his wife Chou Kiang 周姜; monogamy!) His son Ki Li, born 1258, died 1184.
His son Ch'ang (Wen-wang), born 1231, died 1134.
His son Fa (Wu-wang), born 1208 (or 1169), died 1115.
His younger brother Tan, the Duke of Chou, died 1105.]

Ahalects, p. 351 (paragraph 4-9): Chou (i.e. Wu-wang) conferred great gifts, and the good were enriched. (5). Though the Yin emperors had many relatives, they were not equal to the virtuous men of Wu. The people found fault in him, the one man (for not delivering them from their misery under the tyrant.}
The meaning seems to be that Wu acted under the pressure of the popular feeling when he took up arms against his sovereign. He carefully attended to the weights and measures, examined the body of the laws, restored the discarded officers, and the good government of the kingdom took its course. (7). He revived States that had been extinguished, restored families whose line of succession had been broken, and called to office those who had retired into obscurity, so that throughout the kingdom the hearts of the people turned towards him. (8). What he attached chief importance to were the food of the people, the duties of mourning and sacrifices. (9). By his generosity 亙, he won all; by his sincerity 輔, he made the people repose trust in him; by his earnest activity 洋, his achievements were great; by his justice 糜, all were delighted.

Mencius, p. 356: When King Wu punished Yin, he had only three hundred chariots of war and three thousand life-guards.

The number of soldiers furnished by his allies—the Yung, Shuh, Kiang, Mao, Wei, Lu, P'ang and Po—is nowhere given. See Speech at Muh, Shu-king, p. 301. In the battle at Muh the front of Shou's army (Shou was the name of Chou Sin) inverted their spears and attacked those behind till they fled and the blood flowed, so that it floated the pestles about (the wooden pestles of the mortars which the soldiers carried with them to prepare their rice). See Shu-king, p. 315. If this was not prearranged treachery, it is certain that at the critical moment a considerable number of Shou's (Chou Sin's) soldiers joined Wu, so that the latter gained an easy victory.

WU WANG'S CHARGES AGAINST THE TYRANT CHOU SIN.

Shu-king, p. 284: He does not reverence Heaven above and inflicts calamities on the people below. He has been abandoned to drunkenness and reckless in lust. He has dared to exercise cruel oppression. Along with criminals he has punished all their relatives. He has put men into office on the hereditary principle. He has made it his pursuit to have palaces, towers, pavilions, embankments, ponds, and all other extravagances to the most painful injury of you, the myriad people. He has burned and roasted the loyal and good; he has ripped up pregnant women; he has no repentant heart; he abides squatting on his heels, not serving God or the spirits of heaven and earth, neglecting also the temple of his ancestors and not sacrificing in it.

Shu-king, p. 290: He has cast away the time-worn sires and cultivates intimacies with wicked men. Dissolute, intemperate, reckless, oppressive, his ministers have become assimilated to him, and they form parties and contract animosities and depend
on the Emperor’s power to exterminate one another. The innocent cry to heaven. The odour of such a state is plainly felt on high.

Page 294: Shou treats with contemptuous slight the five constant virtues and abandons himself to wild idleness and irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven and brought enmity between himself and the people. He cut through the leg-bones of those who were wading in the morning; he cut out the heart of the worthy man. By the use of his power, killing and murdering, he has poisoned and sickened all within the four seas. His honour and confidence are given to the villainous and bad. He has driven from him his instructors and guardians; he has thrown to the winds the statutes and penal laws; he has imprisoned and enslaved the upright officer; he neglects the sacrifice to heaven and earth; he has discontinued the offerings in the ancestral temple; he makes contrivances of wonderful device and extraordinary cunning to please his woman.

Speech at Muh, p. 303: Shou follows only the words of his wife. He has blindly thrown away the sacrifices which he should present, and makes no response; he has blindly thrown away his paternal and maternal relatives, not treating them properly. They are only the vagabonds of the empire, loaded with crimes, whom he honours and exalts, whom he employs and trusts, making them great officers and nobles, so that they can tyrannize over the people, exercising their villainies in the city of Shang. Now I, Fa, am simply executing respectfully the punishment appointed by Heaven.

Page 286 (Justification of his punishment): Heaven to protect the inferior people, made for them rulers and made for them instructors, that they might be able to be aiding to God and secure the tranquillity of the four quarters of the empire. In regard to who are criminals and who are not, how dare I give any allowance to my own wishes? . . . I have received charge from my deceased father Wen; I have offered special sacrifice to God; I have performed due services to the great earth; and I lead the multitude of you to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven. Heaven compassionates the people. What the people desire, Heaven will be found to give effect to.

Page 290: Heaven loves the people, and the sovereign should reverence this mind of Heaven . . . . It would seem that Heaven is going by means of me to rule the people. My dreams coincide with my divinations; the auspicious omen is double. My attack on Shang must succeed.

Page 296: “God will no longer indulge him, but with a curse is sending down on him this ruin. Do ye support me with untiring zeal, the one man, reverently to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven! The ancients have said: ‘He
who soothes us, is our sovereign; he who oppresses us, is our enemy.' This solitary fellow Shou, having exercised great tyranny, is your perpetual enemy. Oh! my deceased father Wen was like the shining and influence of the sun and moon. His brightness extended over the four quarters (of the empire) and shone signally in the western region. Hence it is that our Chou has received the allegiance of many States. If I subdue Shou, it will not be my prowess, but the faultless virtue of my deceased father Wen. If Shou subdue me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wen, but because I, who am a little child, am not good.'

The battle between Wu-wang and Chou Sin took place at Mu-hye 牧野 (left side of the Ho, near Wei-huei, Honan province, Shu-king, p. 289). Sze Ma-ts'ien says that Chou Sin had 700,000 soldiers; but their front ranks turned their weapons against those behind them, and so they destroyed one another. Chou Sin fled and burned himself with all his treasures at the Deer Terrace. His body was found among the ruins. Wu-wang, after having received the congratulations of the princes, went on to the capital of Shang. There the people were waiting outside the walls in anxious expectation, which the king relieved by sending his officers among them with the words: "Supreme Heaven is sending down blessings" (上天降休). The multitudes reverently saluted the king, who bowed to them in return and hurried on to the place where the dead body of Shou was. Having discharged three arrows at it from his chariot, he descended, struck the body with a light sword and cut the head off with his 'yellow' battle-axe and made it be suspended from the staff of a large white flag. (From the Sze-ki, but discredited by Chinese scholars as legend). Ta Ki, the wicked empress, apparelled herself splendidly and went out to meet the conqueror. She was, however, made prisoner by a detachment of his troops and put to death by his order without having the opportunity to present herself before him. (Shu-king, p. 279, note.) Next day Wu entered the capital of Shang in great state, attended by his brothers and the chiefs of his host and solemnly accepted the charge of the empire. It was said to him on behalf of all the nobles: "The last descendant of the House of Yin having destroyed and disowned the bright virtue of his forefathers, having insolently discontinued the sacrifices to the spirits, and having blindly tyrannised over the people of Shang, the report of his deeds ascended to the great God in heaven." On this Wu bowed twice with his head to the ground and said: "It is right that I should change the great charge, that I should put away the House of Yin and receive myself the great appointment of Heaven." He then again bowed twice with his head to the ground and went out. In this way Wu-
Wang took on himself the sovereignty of the empire (Shu-king, p 308, note).

Wu appointed the son of Chou Sin as earl of Yin and his own three brothers as superintendents. The viscount Chi Ts'z was set free from prison, and he (not the viscount of Wei, as Macgowan says in his History, p. 43) proposed the “great plan” of government (Shu, p. 320) and then withdrew to Corea. The viscount of Wei was appointed as prince of Shang and continued there as representative of the dethroned House of Shang (Shu-king, p. 278, note), that the sacrifices to the spirits of this dynasty might not fall into disuse (Shu, p. 317, note).

Before settling out on his war against Chou Sin, Wu-wang had sacrificed to his father, to Shang-ti, and the Earth (Shu, p. 287); now after the victory he sacrificed again to them and gave thanks (Shu, p. 309). He went first to Fung, the capital of his father Wen, where the ancestral temple of the princes of Chou was (p. 309, note). Wu’s own capital was Hao near Si-ngan in Shensi. He sent away all horses and oxen which he had used in the war, thus showing to the people that the war was over and peace should reign (p. 308). He raised a monument on Pi Kan’s grave, put an inscription on the residence of Shang Yung (Shu, p. 315 differs and distributed the grain stored up in the granary and what remained of the treasures of the Deer Terrace. He arranged the orders of nobility into five; a duke and marquis received one hundred square li, an earl seventy, a viscount and baron fifty. (Mencius, p. 250, the Chou-li IX differs; Shu, p. 316. He gave offices only to the worthy and employment only to the able. He attached great importance to the people’s being taught the duties of the five relations of society and to take care for food, for funeral ceremonies, and for sacrifices. He showed the reality of his truthfulness and proved clearly his righteousness. He honoured virtue and rewarded merit. Then he had only to let his robes fall down and fold his hands, and the empire was orderly ruled. (Shu-king, p. 316.)

In the Li-ki, Yo-ki II, p. 123, Confucius says: King Wu after the victory over Yin proceeded to the capital of Shang, and before he descended from his chariot, he invested the descendants of Huang Ti with Ki, those of Ti Yao with Chu, and those of Ti Shun with Chi’en. When he had descended from it, he invested the descendant of the sovereign of Hia with Ki, appointed the descendants of Yin to Sung, raised a mound over the grave of the king’s son Pi Kan, released the count of Chi from his imprisonment and employed him to restore to their places the officers who were acquainted with the ceremonial usages of Shang. The common people were relieved from the pressure of the (bad) government which they had endured, and the emoluments of the
multitude of (smaller) officers were doubled... The leaders and commanders were then constituted feudal lords, and it was known throughout the kingdom, that king Wu would have recourse to weapons of war no more. The army having been disbanded, the king commenced a practice of archery at the colleges in the suburbs.... The king offered sacrifice in the Hall of Distinction and the people learned to be filial. He gave audiences at court, and the feudal lords knew how they ought to demean themselves. He ploughed in the field set apart for that purpose, and the lords learned what should be the object of reverence to them (in their states). These five things constituted great lessons for the whole kingdom. In feasting the three classes of the old and the five classes of the experienced in the Great College, he himself (the son of heaven) had his breast bared and cut up the animals. He also presented to them the condiments and the cups. He wore the royal cap and stood with a shield before him. In this way he taught the lords their brotherly duties. In this manner the ways of Chou penetrated everywhere. (Li-ki, II, p. 125.)

Mencius, p. 149: There being some who would not become the subjects of Chou, king Wu proceeded to punish them on the east. He gave tranquillity to their people, who welcomed him with baskets full of their black and yellow silks, saying "From henceforth we shall serve the sovereign of Chou, that we may be made happy by him." So they joined themselves as subjects to the great city of Chou. Thus the men of station (of Shang) took baskets full of black and yellow silks to meet the men of station (of Chou), and the lower classes of the one met those of the other with baskets of rice and vessels of congee. Wu saved the people from the midst of fire and water, seizing only their oppressors (and destroying them).

According to the Chung-yung, p. 402, Confucius said: "How far extending was the filial piety of king Wu and the duke of Chou! Filial piety is seen in the skilful carrying out of the wishes of our forefathers and the skilful carrying forward of their undertakings. In spring and autumn they repaired and beautified the temple halls of their fathers, set forth their ancestral vessels, displayed their various robes and presented the offerings of the several seasons. By means of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple they distinguished the royal kindred according to their order of descent. By ordering the parties present according to their rank, they distinguished the more noble and the less. By the arrangement of the services, they made a distinction of the talents and worth. In the ceremony of general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to their superiors, and thus something was given to the lowest to do. At the concluding feast, places were given according to the hair, and thus
was made the distinction of years. They occupied the places of their forefathers, practised their ceremonies and performed their music. They reverenced those whom they honoured and loved those whom they regarded with affection. Thus they served the dead, as they would have served them alive; they served the departed, as they would have served them had they been continued among them. By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to heaven and earth, they served God; and by the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, they sacrificed to their ancestors. He who understands the ceremonies of the sacrifices to heaven and earth and the meaning of the several sacrifices to ancestors, would find the government of a kingdom as easy as to look into his palm.'"

Chung-yung, p. 405: The Master said: The government of Wen and Wu is displayed in the records—the tablets of wood and bamboo. Let there be the men and the government will flourish; but without the men, their government decays and ceases.

Analects, p. 346: The doctrines of Wen and Wu have not yet fallen to the ground. They are to be found among men. Men of talent and virtue remember the greater principles of them, and others, not possessing such talent and virtue, remember the smaller.

Analects, p. 214: Shun had five ministers (Yü of works, Tsieh of agriculture, Hsieh of instruction, Kao Yao of justice, P: I of forestry) and the empire was well governed. King Wu said: I have ten able ministers. Confucius said: Is not the saying that talents are difficult to find, true? Only when the dynasties of T'ang and Yü met, were they more abundant than in this of Chou, yet there was a woman among them [Legge's translation is not intelligible; the meaning is: from the time of T'ang and Yü (i.e. Yao and Shun) able ministers were the most numerous in this (Chou) dynasty under Wu-wang, and yet there was a woman among those ten.—P. Kr.] The able ministers were not more than nine men (the duke of Chou 周, the duke of Shao 召, Grandfather Hope 太公望, the duke of Pi 睦, the duke of Yung 榮, T'ai Tien 太顓, Hung Yao 閎, San I-sheng 散宜生, Nan Kung-kua 南宮適, and the wife or mother of king Wen. As the mother of Wen would have been over 110 years of age and even Wu's mother nearly 100, the third commentation is preferable, that it was Wu's wife 邑姜 Yi Kiang, daughter of T'ai Kung 太公, i.e. Lü Shang).

Wu in beginning the campaign could say (in his Great Declaration, Shu, p. 287): Shou (the tyrant) has hundreds of thousands and myriads of ministers, but they have hundreds of thousands and myriads of minds. I have three thousand ministers, but they have one mind.
Shu-king p. 292, Wu says: Shou has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men, divided in heart and divided in practice. I have of ministers capable of government ten men; one in heart and one in practice. Although he has his nearest relatives with him, they are not like my virtuous men.

B. C. 1121 Wu-wang fell seriously ill, and the duke of Chou addressed an intercessory prayer to the spirits of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, pleading with them to spare Wu and sooner take his own life (Shu, p. 353). This written prayer was enclosed in a box, and it convinced afterwards Wu's son, the young emperor Ch'eng, of the loyalty of the duke of Chou. Wu recovered the next day after the prayer, and lived five years longer. He died 1115, according to the Li-ki, 93 years old.