The Analects of
CONFUCIUS

Translated and annot

ARTHUR

VINTAGE BOOKS

A DIVISION OF RANDOM HOUSE

New York

to C. G. SELIGMAN

True philosophy lies in being Humpty Dumpty without a great fall.

May Chesshire

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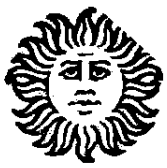

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Translations by Arthur Waley

THE NINE SONGS

THE REAL TRIPITAKA

THE POETRY AND CAREER OF LI PO

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF PO CHÜ-I

CHINESE POEMS

MONKEY

THREE WAYS OF THOUGHT IN ANCIENT CHINA

THE BOOK OF SONGS

THE WAY AND ITS POWER

THE TALE OF GENJI by Lady Murasaki

THE NŌ PLAYS OF JAPAN

THE TEMPLE

MORE TRANSLATIONS FROM THE CHINESE

THE PILLOW-BOOK OF SEI-SHONAGON

T ANALECTS OF CONFUCIUS

ARTHUR WALEY was born in 1889 and educated at Rugby, King's College, Cambridge, where he is an Honorary Fellow. Waley is the foremost translator from Chinese and Japanese of this century, and perhaps more than any other man, has brought the great works of Oriental Literature to Western readers.

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PREFACE

This book, begun years ago, has been several times rewritten and laid aside. My difficulties were due to the fact that the *Analects* really consist of two parts: Books III to IX, which form a perfectly consistent whole and apparently belong together; and Books I and II and X to XX, which are extremely miscellaneous in content and character. I thought at one time of dividing the translation into two parts, and writing a separate introduction to each. But this would have involved altering the order of the chapters, and such a re-arrangement, with its obvious inconveniences, is only worth while in cases (like that of the *Book of Songs*) where a text is impossible to study satisfactorily in its existing order. The introduction as it stands refers to both sections of the work; but it will be seen that the account of early Confucian ideas is based chiefly on Books III to IX.

The present book is somewhat dry and technical in character. But I would not have it supposed that I have definitely abandoned literature for learning, or forgotten the claims of the ordinary reader. My next

book, *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China,* will be wholly devoid of technicalities and indeed in most ways a contrast to this work on the *Analects.*

I wish to thank in particular Dr. Walter Simon, of the School of Oriental Studies, who supplied many valuable suggestions and corrections. Some Chinese characters have more than one reading, and where such characters occur in proper names there is often a doubt as to which reading should be followed. In several instances (e.g. Ch'ü Po Yü, P'i Ch'ên, Prince Ch'ao of Sung), Dr. Simon indicated to me which reading was followed by the seventeenth century Manchu translation, and I have thought it best to follow the Manchu readings, which are authoritative in such a case. I wish also to thank Professor Pelliot for lending me a reproduction of the Tun-huang MS., Professor Haloun for many valuable hints when the book was in its earlier stages, and Mr. R. C. Trevelyan for the great trouble he took in detecting misprints.

A.W.

INTRODUCTION

Thought grows out of environment. Ideally speaking the translator of such a book as the *Analects* ought to furnish a complete analysis of early Chinese society, of the processes which were at work within it and of the outside forces to which it reacted. Unfortunately our knowledge of the period is far too incomplete for any such synthesis to be possible. The literary documents are scanty and of uncertain date; scientific archaeology in China has suffered constant setbacks and is still in its infancy. All that I have attempted in the following pages is to arrange such information as is accessible under a series of disconnected headings, in a convenient order, but without pretence of unity or logical sequence.

Confucius

The Confucius of whom I shall speak here is the Confucius of the *Analects*.[1] One could construct half a dozen other Confuciuses by tapping the legend at different stages of its evolution. We should see the Master becoming no longer a moral teacher but a 'wise man' according to the popular conception of wisdom that existed in non-Confucian circles in China and in our own Middle Ages, an answerer of grotesque

[1] I omit the obviously legendary material in Book XVIII, and the ritual portrait in Book X, for reasons explained below, p. 55. Also a few passages akin to Book XVIII (such as XIV, 34, 41, 42, and XVII, 1) in that they clearly emanate from circles hostile to Confucius.

conundrums, a prophet, a magician even. We should see the disappointed itinerant tutor of the *Analects* turning into a successful statesman and diplomatist, employed not only in his own country but in neighbouring States as well.[1]

But I shall act here on the principle recently advocated by that great scholar Ku Chieh-kang, the principle of 'one Confucius at a time.' Not that we can regard the Confucius of the *Analects* as wholly historical; still less, that we must dismiss as fiction all data about the Master that do not happen to occur in this book. But in the first place the biographical facts deducible from the *Analects* are those which are most relevant to an understanding of the book itself; and secondly, the picture of Confucius given in the *Analects*, besides being the earliest that we possess, differs from that of all other books in that it contains no elements that bear patently and obviously the stamp of folk-lore or hagiography. What then was Confucius? It appears from the *Analects* that he was a private person who trained the sons of gentlemen in the virtues proper to a member of the ruling classes. It is clear, however, that he was not content with this position and longed for a more public one, either in his own State or in some other, which would give him the opportunity to put into practice the Way which he regarded as that of the Former Kings, the Way of Goodness, long ago discarded by the rulers of the world in favour of a Way of violence and aggression. There is not the slightest indication that he ever obtained such a position. Twice, however, he speaks of himself as 'following after' the Great Officers of Court. Those who ranked

[1] The legend of Confucius's worldly success, transferred to the West, has continued its growth on European soil. Meyer's *Konversationslexicon* (1896) goes so far as to say that he was 'received with the highest honours at every Court' in China.

next to the Great Officers (*Ta Fu*) were the Knights (*shih*), and if Confucius ranked immediately after the Great Officers (as he seems to suggest) he must at the time have been *Shih-shih*,[1] Leader of the Knights, which was not politically speaking a position of any importance. Discontented with the slow progress of his doctrines in the land of Lu, Confucius travelled from State to State,[2] seeking for a ruler who would give the Way its chance. The only disciples actually mentioned as accompanying him are Jan Ch'iu, Tzu-lu, and his favourite disciple Yen Hui. The States and towns which they visited (Ch'i, Wei, Ch'ên, Ts'ai and K'uang) all lay within the modern provinces of Shantung and Honan. The strangers evidently met with a hostile reception, and had occasionally to endure severe privation. Several of the disciples were in the service of Chi K'ang-tzu, the dictator of Lu; and it may have been owing to their good offices that Confucius was at last encouraged to return to his native State.

Concerning his private life, we learn from the *Analects* that he had been brought up in humble circumstances.[3] Of his marriage nothing is said; but two children are mentioned, a daughter[4] and a son

1 The original function of the *shih-shih* was to 'keep the Knights in order'; Cf. *Mencius* I, 2, VI, 2. In practice he acted under the orders of the Minister of Justice and functioned as a sort of police-magistrate. In the second stage of its development the Confucian legend represents the Master as achieving the position of Minister of Justice, an idea which may well have grown out of his having in fact been Leader of the Knights.

2 This mobility was typical of Chinese society. Not only moralists, but warriors, craftsmen and even peasants moved from State to State, if they thought that by doing so they could improve their chances of success.

3 IX, 6. But the saying from which we learn this was a disputed one, and an alternative version of it is given immediately afterwards, 'But Lao says the Master said . . .' etc. This alternative version refers to lack of official employment, but not to poverty. 4 V, 1.

whom the Master outlived.[1] An older brother is mentioned, but Confucius seems to have acted as head of the family, and this is explained by later tradition as due to the fact that the elder brother was a cripple.

Confucius speaks of himself in one place (II, 4) as being over seventy. As to the exact dates of his birth and death the *Analects* tell us nothing. It can be inferred, however, from references to contemporary persons and events, that the time of his main activity was the end of the sixth and the first twenty years or so of the fifth century.[2]

After his apotheosis in the Han dynasty Confucius was credited with the omniscience and moral infallibility of the Divine Sage. This view of him appears, indeed, to have been current even during his lifetime; for we find him at pains to disclaim any such attributes.[3] Nor would he allow himself to be regarded as Good,[4] a disclaimer that is natural enough, seeing that he accords this title only to a few legendary heroes of the remote past. Even in the social virtues which formed the basis of his teaching he claimed no pre-eminence. There was not, he said, a hamlet of ten houses but could produce men as loyal and dependable as himself. He denied (though one disciple at least seems to have had the opposite impression) that he possessed any unusual stock of knowledge;[5] still less would he admit that such knowledge as he possessed was innate or inspired.[6] What he regarded as exceptional in himself was his love of 'learning,' that is to say, of self-improvement, and his unflagging patience in insisting upon the moral principles that had (in his

[1] XI, 7.

[2] I will not here enter into the difficult question of how the dates (551-479 B.C.) later accepted as official were first arrived at. Cf. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, p. 455, and below, p. 78.

[3] VII, 33. [4] *Ibid.* [5] XV, 2. [6] VII, 19.

view) guided the godlike rulers of the remote past. His task, then, like that of the English trainer of *chün-tzu* (gentlemen's sons) in the great Public Schools, was not so much to impart knowledge as to inculcate moral principles, form character, hand down unaltered and intact a great tradition of the past.[1] He speaks of himself as a veritable P'êng Tsu (i.e. Nestor) in his devoted reliance upon 'antiquity'; and if we want further to define what he meant by this reliance on the past, we find it, I think, in Mencius's saying: Follow the rules of the Former Kings, and it is impossible that you should go wrong.[2]

What then was this antiquity, who were the great figures of the past whom Confucius regarded as the sole source of wisdom?

The Ancients

Were we to take them in the order of their importance to him, I think we should have to begin with the founders and expanders of the Chou dynasty; for in his eyes the cultures of the two preceding dynasties found their climax and fulfilment in that of the early Chou sovereigns.[3] Above all, we should have to deal first with Tan, Duke of Chou, who had not only a particular importance in the Lu State, but also a peculiar significance for Confucius himself.[4] But it is more convenient to take them in their 'chronological' order, that is to say, in the order in which the mythology of Confucius's day arranged them. We must begin then with the *Shêng*, the Divine Sages.[5] These were mythological figures, historicized as rulers of human 'dynas-

1 VII, 1. 2 *Mencius*, IV, 1. I. 3 III, 14. 4 VII, 5.
5 See *The Way and Its Power*, p. 91. Mencius and later writers use the term *shêng* in a much wider sense, applying it even to a comparatively recent person such as Liu-hsia Hui.

ties'; but still endowed with divine characteristics and powers. The *Analects* mention three of them, Yao, Shun and Yü the Great; but they occupy a very restricted place in the book.[1] Yao and Shun are twice[2] mentioned in the stock phrase (if a man were to do this), then 'even Yao and Shun could not criticize him'; meaning that such a man would himself be to all intents and purposes a *shêng*. Yao appears otherwise only in the eulogy of VIII, 19, where he is exalted as the equal of God.[3] The eulogy of Shun which follows tells us that with only five servants to help him he kept order 'everywhere under Heaven.' Elsewhere[4] he is said to have ruled by *wu-wei* (non-activity), through the mere fact of sitting in a majestic attitude 'with his face turned to the South.' We have here the conception, familiar to us in Africa and elsewhere, of the divine king whose magic power regulates everything in the land. It is one which is common to all early Chinese thought, particularly in the various branches of Quietism that developed in the fourth century B.C. The *shêng*, however, only 'rules by non-activity' in the sense that his divine essence (*ling*) assures the fecundity of his people and the fertility of the soil. We find Shun assisted in his task by 'five servants,'[5] who are clearly conceived of as performing the active functions of government.

Yao and Shun are not mentioned in the *Book of Songs*, and there is reason to suppose that their cult did not form part of the Chou tradition. The third

1 I except Book XX, which has not necessarily anything to do with the beliefs of Confucius. Yü is legendary; but the Hsia dynasty is probably not wholly mythological.

2 VI, 28; XIV, 45.

3 *T'ien;* literally, 'Heaven.'

4 XV, 4.

5 VIII, 20. One of them was presumably Kao Yao, mentioned in XII, 22.

Divine Sage, Yü the Great, generally[1] associated in Chinese legend with a Deluge Myth akin to that of the Near East, figures in the *Analects* not as the subduer of the Flood but as patron of agriculture. He drains and ditches the land[2] and tills the fields,[3] his name being coupled with that of the harvest-god Hou Chi. Yü the Great is 'historicized' as founder of the Hsia dynasty, whose 'times' (i.e. calendar of agricultural operations) Confucius recommends, in answer to a question about the ideal State.[4]

T'ang, the founder of the Shang-Yin dynasty which preceded the Chou, is only once mentioned. It was supposed in Confucius's day that the remnants of the Shang-Yin people had settled in Sung and that the Sung State perpetuated the traditions of the fallen dynasty. But Confucius himself doubted whether Yin culture could really be reconstructed by evidence supplied from Sung.[5]

The Disciples

Later tradition credits Confucius with seventy-two[6] disciples; but the compilers are hard put to it to bring the number up to anything like so imposing a total. In the *Analects* some twenty people figure, who might possibly be regarded as disciples, in so far as they are represented as addressing questions to Confucius. But far fewer appear as definite 'frequenters of his gate.' The most important of them, in the history of Confucianism, is

1 But not in the *Songs*, where he generally appears as a Creator connected indeed with irrigation, only once as a flood-subduer.
2 VIII, 21. 3 XIV, 6. 4 XV, 10.
5 III, 9. Systematic excavation at An-yang, the site of one of the Yin capitals, has put us in possession of far more information about Yin culture than Confucius was able to obtain.
6 Seventy-two is a sacred number, connected with the quintuple division of the year of 360 days. Cf. XI, 25.

Master Tsêng, who is credited in the *Analects* with twelve sayings of his own. The Master Tsêng of Book VIII is, however, a very different person from the Master Tsêng of Book I, the latter resembling far more closely the Tsêng of later tradition, and of the *Tsêng Tzu* fragments.[1] Humanly the most distinctive of the disciples are Yen Hui and Tzu-lu, who are perfect examples of the contrasted types of character that psychologists call introvert and extravert. Both of them died before Confucius, and were thus unable to influence the subsequent development of the school. Tzu-lu played a considerable part in contemporary history and is mentioned in the chronicles from 498 down to the time of his death in 480. Two other disciples are well known to history, Jan Ch'iu appears as a lieutenant of the usurping Chi Family from 484 till 472; and Tzu-kung figures largely in inter-State diplomacy from 495 till 468.

The name of Master Yu, who figures so prominently in Book I, only to disappear almost completely in the remaining Books, happens by chance to occur in the *Tso Chuan* Chronicle under the year 487. But he was evidently not a person of high social status; for he served as a foot-soldier.

It is clear that after the Master's death, Tzu-hsia, like Master Tsêng, founded a school of his own; for his disciples are spoken of in Book XIX. To him, too, are attributed about a dozen sayings. Two other disciples, Tzu-chang and Tzu-yu, are also obviously regarded by the compilers of the *Analects* as being of special importance; for they, too, are credited with sayings of their own.

1 Collected by Yüan Yüan, *Huang Ch'ing Ching Chieh*, 803-806.

The Analects[1]

There is not much doubt that *Lun Yü* (*Analects,* to use the English equivalent that Legge's translation has made so familiar) means 'Selected Sayings.' *Lun,* as a term connected with the editing of documents, occurs indeed in *Analects,* XIV, 9. The contents of the book itself make it clear that the compilation took place long after the Master's death. Several of the disciples already have schools of their own, and the death of Master Tsêng, which certainly happened well into the second half of the fifth century, is recorded in Book VIII. It is clear, too, that the different Books are of very different date and proceed from very different sources. I should hazard the guess that Books III-IX represent the oldest stratum. Books X and XX (first part) certainly have no intrinsic connexion with the rest. The former is a compilation of maxims from works on ritual; the latter consists of stray sentences from works of the *Shu Ching* type. Book XIX consists entirely of sayings by disciples. The contents of XVIII and of parts of XIV and XVII are not Confucian in their origin, but have filtered into the book from the outside world, and from a world hostile to Confucius. Book XVI is generally and rightly regarded as late. It contains nothing characteristic of the milieu that produced Books III-IX, and it would not be difficult to compile a much longer book of just the same character by stringing together precepts from works such as the *Tso Chuan* and *Kuo Yü.* Only in one passage of the *Analects* do we find any reference to ideas the development of which we should be inclined to place later than the ordinarily accepted[2] date of the book,

[1] This section might well be omitted by readers without special knowledge of Chinese literature.

[2] I mean accepted by scholars as the date of the material contained in the book. The date of its compilation may well be later.

namely the middle of the fourth century. I refer to the disquisition on 'correcting names' in XIII, 3. In *Mencius* (early third century B.C.) there is not a trace of the 'language crisis,'[1] and we have no reason to suppose that the whole sequence of ideas embodied in this passage could possibly be earlier in date than the end of the fourth century. That the writer of the passage realized its incompatibility with the doctrines of Confucius—the insistence on punishments is wholly un-Confucian—is naïvely betrayed in the introductory paragraphs. Tzu-lu is made to express the greatest astonishment that Confucius should regard the reform of language as the first duty of a ruler and tells him impatiently that his remark is quite beside the point.

We may, of course, be wrong in thinking that the whole complex of ideas connected with 'reforming language in order to adjust penalties' dates from as late as the end of the fourth century. There may be special reasons why we find no echo of such ideas in *Mencius*. Or again, the compilation of the *Analects* may be much later than we suppose; but this alternative involves linguistic difficulties. It may, on the other hand, be a better solution to regard this passage as an interpolation on the part of Hsün Tzu or his school, for whom the absence of any reference in the sayings of Confucius to what they themselves taught as a fundamental doctrine must certainly have been inconvenient.

It is curious that only one pre-Han text shows definite evidence of familiarity with the *Analects*. The *Fang Chi* (part of the *Li Chi;* supposed to be an extract from the *Tzu Ssu Tzu*) quotes *Analects,* II, 11, and names the *Lun Yü* as its source. The *Fang Chi* also quotes books of the *Shu Ching* which were unknown in Han times, not being found either in the official

[1] See *The Way and Its Power*, p. 59. *Mencius,* VI, 2. VI, is unintelligible, and has in any case never been interpreted as relevant.

collection or among the books rediscovered but uninterpreted. It is therefore certainly a pre-Han work. There are, apart from this, many cases in which pre-Han authors, such as Hsün Tzu, Lü Pu-wei, Han Fei Tzu, use maxims or anecdotes that are also used in the *Analects*. But there is nothing to show that the writer is quoting the book as we know it now. Mencius, it is clear, used a quite different collection of sayings, which contained, indeed, a certain number of those which occur in the *Analects,* often differently worded and allotted to quite different contexts; but he quotes at least three times as many sayings that do not occur in the *Analects* at all.

It would be rash, however, to conclude that the *Analects* were not known or did not exist in the days of Mencius and Hsün Tzu. We possess only a very small fragment of early Confucian literature. Could we read all the works that are listed in the *Han Shu* bibliography, we should very likely discover that some particular school of Confucianism based its teaching on the *Analects,* just as Mencius based his on another collection of sayings. The *Doctrine of the Mean* and the *Great Learning,* works of very uncertain date but certainly pre-Han, both use sayings from the *Analects,* which may well be actual quotations.

The history of the text from *c.* 150 B.C.[1] till the time (second century A.D.) when at the hands of Chêng Hsüan the book received something like its present form I must leave to others to write. The task is one which involves great difficulties. The data are supplied not by scientific bibliographers but by careless repeaters of legend and anecdote. Some of the relevant texts (e.g. *Lun Hêng,* P'ien 81) are hopelessly corrupt; the real dates of supposedly early Han works which show

[1] It is quoted by name in the *Han Shih Wai Chuan,* which presumably dates from the middle of the second century.

knowledge of the *Analects* are impossible to ascertain. At every turn, in such studies, we are forced to rely, without any means of checking their statements, upon writers who clearly took no pains to control their facts.

This much, however, is certain: during the period 100 B.C. to A.D. 100 two versions were currently used, the Lu version (upon which our modern version is chiefly based) and the Ch'i version,[1] which had two extra chapters. Much later (second century A.D.?)[2] a third version came into general use. This was the Ku Wên (ancient script) text collated by Chêng Hsüan when he made his famous edition, of which fragments have been recovered from Tun-huang. We know[3] some twenty-seven instances in which the Ku version differed from the Lu, and in all but two of these instances the version we use to-day follows Ku not Lu. I state these facts merely that the reader may know roughly what is meant when in the course of this book I mention Ku and Lu readings. The real origin of the Ku version[4] remains very uncertain and a discussion of the question, bound up as it is with the history of the other Ku Wên texts, would lead us too far afield.

1 Now lost, save for a few fragments.

2 Legge's suggestion that Chang Yü (died 5 B.C.) used the Ku version is not borne out by the texts.

3 Through the *Shih Wên* and the fragments from Tun-huang. The *Hsin-lun* of Huan T'an (*c.* A.D. 1) says that Ku had four hundred characters different from Lu.

4 Alleged to have been found, (1) during the Emperor Ching's reign (156-141 B.C.); (2) at the beginning of the Han Emperor Wu's reign (140 B.C.); (3) at the end of his reign (87 B.C.); by (1) Prince Kung of Lu (in Lu from 154-127 B.C.); (2) the Emperor Wu himself; (1) during the demolition of Confucius's house; (2) before the demolition, which was at once suspended; (1) according to some accounts without supernatural manifestations; (2) according to others, to the accompaniment of supernatural music.

The accounts also differ considerably as to what books were found and as to who hid them there.

A last question remains to be answered. How far can we regard any of the sayings in the *Analects* as actual words of Confucius? In searching for such authentic sayings we must use certain precautions. Obviously, we shall not find them in Book X,[1] nor in Book XX.[2] Books XVI-XVII clearly do not emanate from a source at all near to the earliest Confucianism. Book XVIII is, indeed, full of anti-Confucian stories, of just the same sort that we find in Taoist works, naïvely accepted by the compilers; Book XIV has a considerable element of the same description (34, 41, 42). The story of the meeting with Yang Huo (XVII, 1) is of just the same kind. We shall have to remember that in ancient Chinese literature sayings are often attributed to a variety of people; (indifferently, for example, to Master Tsêng and Confucius, or to Confucius and Yen Tzu) and bear in mind that such sayings were probably more or less proverbial. We certainly must not forget that Confucius describes himself as a transmitter, not an originator, and that the presence of rhyme or achaic formulae, or of proverbial shape in the sayings often definitely stamps them as inherited from the past. Bearing all these facts in mind I think we are justified in supposing that the book does not contain many authentic sayings, and may possibly contain none at all. As I have already pointed out, I use the term 'Confucius' throughout this book in a conventional sense, simply meaning the particular early Confucians whose ideas are embodied in the sayings.

Supposing, however, someone should succeed in proving that some particular saying was really uttered by the Master, it would still remain to be proved that

1 Which is simply a collection of traditional ritual maxims.
2 Which, apart from the few sayings appended at the end, is a collection of sentences from texts of the *Shu Ching* type.

the context in which the remark occurred in the *Analects* was really the original one; and the context of a remark profoundly affects its meaning. In later literature, particularly the *Li Chi* (Book of Rites) and *Shih Chi* (Historical Records), we find a good many of Confucius's more cryptic remarks given contexts, put into settings of an explanatory description, and it has been suggested that in such cases we have the original form and intention of the sayings, which in the *Analects* have for some reason become divorced from their proper surroundings. That this should be so is against all the canons of textual history. Always, in similar cases, we find that the contexts have been invented as glosses upon the original *logia*. In the oldest strata of the Synoptic Gospels isolated sayings occur which in the more recent strata are furnished, often very arbitrarily, with an explanatory setting. It is a process that we can see at work over and over again in Buddhist hagiography. I have therefore seldom called attention to these manipulations of the text by the later Confucian schools, and have been content to leave the isolated *logia* as I found them.

TERMS

Jên[1]

This word in the earliest Chinese means freemen, men of the tribe, as opposed to *min,* 'subjects,' 'the common people.' [2] The same word, written with a slight modification,[3] means 'good' in the most general sense of the word, that is to say, 'possessing the qualities of one's tribe.' For no more sweeping form of praise can be given by the men of a tribe than to say that someone is a 'true member' of that tribe. The same is true of modern nations; an Englishman can give no higher praise than to say that another is a true Englishman. In the *Book of Songs* the phrase 'handsome and good' (*jên*) occurs more than once as a description of a perfectly satisfactory lover. *Jên,* 'members of the tribe' show a forbearance towards one another that they do not show to aliens, and just as the Latin *gens,* 'clan,' gave rise to our own word 'gentle,' so *jên* in Chinese came to mean 'kind,' 'gentle,' 'humane.' Finally, when the old distinction between *jên* and *min,* freemen and subjects, was forgotten and *jên* became a general word for 'human being,' the adjective *jên* came to be understood in the sense 'human' as opposed to 'animal,' and to be applied to conduct worthy of a man, as distinct from the behaviour of mere beasts.

Of this last sense (human, not brutal) there is not a trace in the *Analects.* Of the sense 'kind,' 'tender-

1 See textual notes.

2 See the *Way and Its Power,* p. 148.

3 See textual notes.

hearted' there are only two examples,[1] out of some sixty instances in which the word occurs. Confucius's use of the term, a use peculiar to this one book, stands in close relation to the primitive meaning. *Jên,* in the *Analects,* means 'good' in an extremely wide and general sense. 'In its direction' [2] lie unselfishness and an ability to measure other people's feelings by one's own. The good man is 'in private life, courteous; in public life, diligent; in relationships, loyal.' [3] Goodness (on the part of a ruler) is complete submission to ritual.[4] The Good do not grieve[5] and will necessarily be brave.[6] At the same time, it cannot be said that *jên* in the *Analects* simply means 'good' in a wide and general sense. It is, on the contrary, the name of a quality so rare and peculiar that one 'cannot but be chary in speaking of it.' [7] It is a sublime moral attitude, a transcendental perfection attained to by legendary heroes such as Po I, but not by any living or historic person. This, however, is far from being understood by the disciples, who suggest as examples of goodness not only Tzu-wên (seventh century B.C.), Ch'ên Wên-tzu (sixth century), Kuan Tzu (seventh century), but even contemporaries and associates such as Tzu-lu, Jan Ch'iu, Kung-hsi Hua, Jan Yung. All such claims the Master abruptly dismisses. Indeed so unwilling is he to accord the title *jên* that he will not even allow it to a hypothetical person who 'compassed the salvation of the whole State.' [8] Such a one would be a Divine Sage (*shêng*), a demi-god; whereas *jên* is the display of human qualities at their highest. It appears indeed that *jên* is a mystic entity not merely analogous to but in certain sayings practically identical with the Tao of the Quietists. Like Tao,

1 XII, 22 and XVII, 21. 2 VI, 28. 3 XIII, 19.
4 XII, 1. 5 IX, 28. 6 XIV, 5. 7 XII, 3.
8 VI, 28.

it is contrasted with 'knowledge.' Knowledge is active and frets itself away; Goodness is passive and therefore eternal as the hills.[1] Confucius can point the way to Goodness, can tell 'the workman how to sharpen his tools,'[2] can speak even of things 'that are near to Goodness.' But it is only once, in a chapter bearing every sign of lateness,[3] that anything approaching a definition of Goodness is given.

In view of this repeated refusal to accept any but remote[4] mythological figures as examples of *jên,* to accept[5] or give a definition of Goodness, there is surely nothing surprising in the statement of Book IX (opening sentence) that 'the Master rarely discoursed upon Goodness.'[6]

It seems to me that 'good' is the only possible translation of the term *jên* as it occurs in the *Analects.* No other word is sufficiently general to cover the whole range of meaning; indeed terms such as 'humane,' 'altruistic,' 'benevolent' are in almost every instance inappropriate, often ludicrously so. But there is another word, *shan,* which though it wholly lacks the mystical and transcendental implications of *jên,* cannot conveniently be translated by any other word but 'good.' For that reason I shall henceforward translate *jên* by Good (Goodness, etc.) with a capital; and *shan* by good, with a small g.

1 VI, 21. For the capital G, see below.
2 XV, 9. 3 XVII.
4 Po I, Shu Ch'i, Pi Kan, Wei Tzu and Chi Tzu is the complete list. All of them belonged, according to legend, to the end of the Yin dynasty. The last three occur in Book XVIII, which emanated from non-Confucian circles. 5 Cf. XIV, 2.
6 A vast mass of discussion has centred round this passage. Cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* December 1933 and March 1934.

Tao

Unlike *jên, tao* has not in the *Analects* a technical or peculiar meaning, but is used there in just the same sense as in early Chinese works in general. *Tao* means literally a road, a path, a way. Hence, the way in which anything is done, the way in which, for example, a kingdom is ruled; a method, a principle, a doctrine. It usually has a good meaning. Thus 'when *tao* (the Way) prevails under Heaven' means when a good method of government prevails in the world; or rather 'when *the* good method prevails,' for Confucius 'believed in the ancients,' that is to say, he believed that the one infallible method of rule had been practised by certain rulers of old, and that statecraft consisted in rediscovering this method. But there seem to have been other 'Ways'; for Confucius[1] speaks of 'this Way' and 'my Way.' Moreover, in one passage[2] he is asked about *shan-jên chih Tao,* 'the Way of the good people,' and replies (according to my interpretation) disapprovingly that 'those who do not tread in the tracks (of the ancients)' cannot hope to 'enter into the sanctum.' 'Good people' is a term often applied in Chinese to those who share one's views. Thus Quietists called other Quietists 'good people.' The 'good people' here intended evidently sought guidance from some source other than the example of the ancients, and they may well have been Quietists.

But we are also told that Confucius did not discourse about the Will of Heaven[3] or about 'prodigies' and 'disorders' (of Nature).[4] We have only to read other early books to see that the world at large attached

[1] It would be pedantic always to say 'the early Confucians' or the compilers of the *Analects;* though that is, strictly speaking, what I mean when I say 'Confucius.'

[2] XI, 19. [3] V, 12. [4] VII, 20.

extreme importance to the Will of Heaven as manifested by portents such as rainbows, comets, eclipses; and to monstrosities such as two-headed calves and the like. It may be that the doctrine of those who sought guidance from such signs rather than from the records of the Former Kings came to be known as the 'Way of the good people.' In general, however, the word *Tao* in the *Analects* means one thing only, the Way of the ancients as it could be reconstructed from the stories told about the founders of the Chou dynasty and the demi-gods who had preceded them.

The aspect of Confucius's Way upon which Western writers have chiefly insisted is his attitude towards the supernatural. It has been rightly emphasized that he was concerned above all with the duties of man to man and that he 'did not talk about spirits.'[1] From a false interpretation of two passages (VI, 20 and XI, 11) the quite wrong inference has, however, been drawn that his attitude towards the spirit-world was, if not sceptical, at least agnostic. In the first passage a disciple asks about wisdom. The wisdom here meant is, of course, that of the ruler or member of the ruling classes, and the point at issue is one frequently debated in early Chinese literature: which should come first, the claims of the people or those of the spirit-world? In concrete terms, should the security of the whole State, which depends ultimately on the goodwill of the Spirits of grain, soil, rivers and hills, be first assured by lavish offerings and sacrifices, even if such a course involves such heavy taxation as to impose great hardship on the common people? Or should the claims of the people to what it is 'right and proper' (*i*) for them to have be satisfied before public expenditure is lavished upon the protecting spirits? The reply of Confucius is that the claims of the people should

[1] VII, 20.

come first; but that the spirits must be accorded an attention sufficient to 'keep them at a distance,' that is to say, prevent them from manifesting their ill-will by attacking human beings; for just as we regard sickness as due to the onslaught of microbes, the Chinese regarded it as due to demoniacal 'possession.'

The same question concerning the priority in budget-making of human and ghostly claims is discussed in the second passage. Tzu-lu asks about 'the service of spirits,' meaning, as has generally been recognized, the outlay of public expenditure on sacrifice and other ceremonies of placation. The Master's reply is, 'How can there be any proper service of spirits until living men have been properly served?' Tzu-lu then 'asked about the dead.' A much debated question was whether the dead are conscious; and it was suggested that if they are not, it must clearly be useless to sacrifice at any rate to that portion of the spirit-world which consists of the spirits of the dead, as opposed to those of hills, streams, the soil, etc. Confucius does not wish to commit himself to any statement about, for example, the consciousness or unconsciousness of the dead, and adroitly turns the question by replying, 'Until a man knows about the living,[1] how can he know the dead?' All that is meant by the reply (which is a rhetorical one and must not be analysed too logically) is that for the *Chün-tzu*[2] questions about the existence led by the dead are of secondary importance as compared to those connected with the handling of living men.

There is not, as Western writers have often supposed, any allusion to an abstract metaphysical problem concerning the ultimate nature of Life. Nor are the two passages discussed above in any way isolated or exceptional. They are, on the contrary, characteristic of the general diversion of interest from the dead to

1 Or 'knows about life.'

2 See below, p. 34.

the living, from the spirit-world to that of everyday life, which marks the break-up of the old Chou culture, founded upon divination and sacrifice.[1]

Tê[2]

This word corresponds closely to the Latin *virtus*. It means, just as *virtus* often does, the specific quality or 'virtue' latent in anything. It never (except by some accident of context) has in early Chinese the meaning of virtue as opposed to vice, but rather the meaning of 'virtue' in such expressions as 'in virtue of' or 'the virtue of this drug.' In individuals it is a force or power closely akin to what we call character and frequently contrasted with *li*, 'physical force.' To translate it by 'virtue,' as has often been done, can only end by misleading the reader, who even if forewarned will be certain to interpret the word in its ordinary sense (virtue as opposed to vice) and not in the much rarer sense corresponding to the Latin *virtus*. For this reason I have generally rendered *tê* by the term 'moral force,' particularly where it is contrasted with *li*, 'physical force.' We cannot, however, speak of a horse's *tê* as its 'moral force.' Here 'character' is the only possible equivalent; and in the case of human beings the term 'prestige' often comes close to what is meant by *tê*.

Shih[3]

This word is often translated 'scholar'; but this is only a derived, metaphorical sense and the whole force of many passages in the *Analects* is lost if we do not understand that the term is a military one and means 'knight.' A *shih* was a person entitled to go to battle

1 Cf. *The Way and Its Power*, pp. 24 seq.
2 Cf. *The Book of Songs*, p. 346. See below, p. 52.
3 See textual notes.

in a war-chariot, in contrast with the common soldiers who followed on foot. Confucius, by a metaphor similar to those embodied in the phraseology of the Salvation Army, calls the stout-hearted defenders of his Way 'Knights'; and hence in later Chinese the term came to be applied to upholders of Confucianism and finally to scholars and literary people in general. The burden of most of the references to *shih* in the *Analects* is that the Knight of the Way needs just the same qualities of endurance and resolution as the Soldier Knight. A saying such as 'A knight whose thoughts are set on home is not worthy of the name of knight'[1] refers in the first instance to real knights, and is only applied by metaphor to the spiritual warriors of Confucius's 'army.' If like Legge we translate 'the scholar who cherishes his love of comfort . . . ,' we lose the whole point. As we shall see later, Confucius was himself a knight in the literal sense, and it is probable, as we have seen, that in his later years he was senior knight, 'leader of the knights,' responsible for their discipline.

Chün-Tzu

Chün is the most general term for 'ruler,' and a *chün-tzu* is a 'son of a ruler.' The term was applied to descendants of the ruling house in any State, and so came to mean 'gentleman,' 'member of the upper classes.' But the gentleman is bound by a particular code of morals and manners; so that the word *chün-tzu* implies not merely superiority of birth but also superiority of character and behaviour. Finally the requisite of birth is waived. If an ox is of one colour and thus fit for sacrifice, what does it matter that its sire was brindled?[2] He who follows the Way of the

[1] XIV, 3. [2] VI, 4.

chün-tzu is a *chün-tzu;* he who follows the way of 'small' (i.e. common) people is common. And what is the Way of the Gentleman? With the detailed code of his manners I shall deal presently, when discussing Book X. As to his deportment in general, it is defined for us by the disciple Tsêng[1] in terms that exactly correspond to the traditional Western conception of a gentleman: we recognize him by the fact that his movements are free from any brusqueness or violence, that his expression is one of complete openness and sincerity, that his speech is free from any low and vulgar or as we should say 'Cockney' tinge.

As regards his conduct, he must be extremely careful to make friends only with people of his own sort.[2] But he need never be lonely; for so long as he behaves as a gentleman should, he will be welcomed by his 'brothers' (i.e. by other gentlemen) 'everywhere within the Four Seas.'[3] The whole world is his club. The alliances of 'small people' are directed against others, are hostile and destructive in intent; but those of the gentlemen exist only for mutual satisfaction. He has no politics, but sides with the Right wherever he finds it.[4]

He must not lay himself open to the accusation of 'talking too much';[5] still less must he boast[6] or push himself forward or in any way display his superiority, except in matters of sport,[7] and even here he is restrained by the complicated dictates of fair play, by the elaborate etiquette which constitutes the 'rules of the game.' Nor must he exalt himself by the indirect

[1] VIII, 4. [2] I, 8. [3] XII, 5. [4] IV, 10.
[5] XVII, 17.
[6] XIV, 29. Here, as in other points, the Chinese code has a particular affinity with ours. 'Swank' in all its forms is far more severely condemned by the English gentleman than by the patrician, for example, of Latin countries. [7] III, 7.

method of denigrating other people, a method characteristic of 'small men.'[1]

His education, like that given till recently at gentlemen's schools in England, consists chiefly of moral training; he learns in order to build up his *tê* (character). To learn anything of actual utility, to have practical accomplishments, is contrary to the Way of the *Chün-tzu*[2] and will lead to his merely becoming a 'tool,'[3] an instrument dedicated to one humdrum purpose. Such a general, moral education will produce a Knight of the Way ready to face all emergencies 'without fret or fear.'[4] His head will not be turned by success, nor his temper soured by adversity.[5] Success, however, is a theme seldom dealt with in the *Analects;* for it is well known that the Way 'does not prevail in the world,' and the merits of the true *chün-tzu* are not such as the world is likely to recognize or reward. 'Lack of recognition' is, indeed, one of Confucius's most frequent topics, and to feel no resentment (*yüan*) when repeatedly cashiered or neglected is the *chün-tzu's* highest virtue.

Moderation in conduct and opinion is a well-known hallmark of the true gentleman: 'The *chün-tzu* avoids the absolute, avoids the extreme.'[6] Mencius tells us that 'Confucius was one who abstained from extremes.'[7] 'To exceed is as bad as not to reach.'[8] This conception of virtue as a middle way between two extremes is one which we have no difficulty in understanding; for it is familiar to us as part of our popular heritage from Greek philosophy. It is, however, one which rapidly

[1] XII, 16. [2] IX, 6. [3] II, 12. [4] XII, 4. [5] I, 1.
[6] *Han Fei Tzu,* 33. (Roll XII); adapted in *Tao Tê Ching,* XXIX.
[7] *Mencius,* IV, 2. X.
[8] *Analects,* XI, 15. Cf. XIII, 21. I leave out of account the famous dictum (VI, 27) about the Golden Mean (*chung-yung*); for the original meaning of the passage is far from clear. See additional notes.

disappears so soon as purely magical, non-social virtues are held in esteem. The reputation of an Indian ascetic, for example, is in proportion to the 'excessiveness' of his behaviour; and a society which admired St. Simeon on his pillar would not easily have understood either the μηδὲν ἄγαν of the Classical Greeks or the 'middle conduct' (*chung hsing*) inculcated by Confucius.

That good lies between two extremes has been very generally accepted by those who have tried to view the world rationally. As a political principle it was the foundation of nineteenth-century Liberalism and in particular of English Liberalism. In many cases the doctrine is one which can hardly be disputed. Thus 'softness' (unwillingness to inflict pain or take life) carried to its logical conclusion involves extinction; and so, with equal sureness, does 'hardness' (indifference to the infliction of death and suffering). Unfortunately it is extremes and not compromises that most easily become associated with strong emotional impulse. The downfall of Liberalism has been due to the failure to associate the Middle Way with any strong trend of emotion. The success of Confucianism, its triumph over 'all the hundred schools' from the second century B.C. onwards, was due in a large measure to the fact that it contrived to endow compromise with an emotional glamour.

As regards the translation of the term *chün-tzu* I see no alternative but to use the word 'gentleman,' though the effect is occasionally somewhat absurd in English. One needs a word which primarily signifies superiority of birth, but also implies moral superiority. Neither Legge's 'superior man,' nor Soothill's various equivalents ('man of the higher type,' 'wise man,' etc.) fulfil this condition. The late Sir Reginald Johnston proposed 'the princely man'; but this seems to me (I may

be peculiar in my interpretation) to suggest lavish expenditure rather than superiority of birth or morals.[1]

Hsiao

This word seems originally to have meant piety towards the spirits of ancestors or dead parents.[2] In the *Analects* it still frequently has this meaning; but it is also applied to filial conduct towards living parents, and this is its usual meaning in current Chinese. In this change of meaning we may see, I think, another example of that general transference of interest from the dead to the living which marked the break-up of the old Chou civilization. There is, however, reason to believe that filial piety played a relatively small part in the teaching of the earliest Confucians. By far the larger number of references to it in the *Analects* occur in Books I and II which do not, I think, belong to the earliest strata of the work. But it seems clear that during the fourth century B.C. a place of extreme importance had already been allotted by the Confucians to *hsiao* in its extended sense of piety towards living parents. For it was with reference to this virtue that the followers of Confucius came into conflict with those of Mo Tzu, who taught that affection and solicitude ought to be equally extended to all mankind and not reserved in a special degree for parents or relations. Towards the end of the third century B.C. *hsiao* became, at any rate in certain Confucian schools, the summit of all virtues, and in the *Canon of Filial Piety* which

[1] This was written before Sir Reginald Johnston in his *Confucianism and Modern China* adopted 'gentleman' as the most exact equivalent to *Chün-tzu*.

[2] In the *Book of Songs hsiao* refers almost exclusively to piety towards the dead. Out of twelve instances nine can only be taken in this sense; the other three are non-committal.

may have existed[1] in some form in the third century, but did not, I think, reach its present form till at least a century later, *hsiao* is surrounded by the mysterious halo that attends the term *jên* in the *Analects*.

But it seems that the compilers of the *Canon of Filial Piety* were hard put to it to get their material. For in one place[2] they have reproduced a panegyric upon the potency of ritual observance, preserved in the *Tso Chuan* chronicle,[3] and by altering the word *li* ('ritual') to *hsiao* they have turned it into a eulogy of filial piety.

Wên[4]

The original meaning of the word *wên* is criss-cross lines, markings, pattern. It also means a written character, an ideogram. This, however, is scarcely a separate meaning from that of pattern, for in early China certain patterns served equally as ideograms, both being conventionalizations of pictures. Thus the character for 'eye' also figures as a decoration on Chou bronzes. *Wên*, again, means what is decorated as opposed to what is plain, ornament as opposed to structure, and hence the things that vary and beautify human life, as opposed to life's concrete needs. In particular, *wên* denotes the arts of peace (music, dancing, literature) as opposed to those of war. The arts of peace, however, everything that we should call culture, have a *tê* that is useful for offensive purposes. They attract the inhabitants of neighbouring countries; and it must be remembered the States of ancient China were just as anxious to attract immigration as modern European States are to repel it. For vast areas still remained to

1 The allusion to the *Canon of Filial Piety* in *Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu* is probably an intrusion of commentary into text. 2 Paragraph 7.
3 Chao Kung, 25th year. 4 Cf. *The Book of Songs*, p. 346.

be opened up for agriculture; there was room for everyone, and fresh inhabitants meant fresh recruits for the army. 'If the distant do not submit, cultivate the power of *wên* to bring them to you.'[1] It is clear then that *wên* means something very like our own word culture and served many of the same purposes. The prestige (*tê*) of culture is to-day used by us for military purposes. During the War, for example, efforts were made by both sides to win over neutrals by displays of culture,[2] such as the sending of theatrical companies, pictures and the like. The power of *wên* is also used, as in ancient China, to attract immigrants, but only those of the temporary kind called tourists.

For Confucius the *wên* (culture) *par excellence* was that established by the founders of the Chou dynasty. To gather up the fragments of this culture and pass them on to posterity was the sacred mission entrusted to him by Heaven.[3] His native State, Lu, was generally regarded as the main depository of Chou culture;[4] but we find him, on a visit to Ch'i, ready to admit the superiority of a musical performance there to anything of the kind he had known in Lu,[5] and it was only 'after his return from Wei'[6] that the correct ritual use of the ancestral hymns and Court songs was properly established.

The term *wên* is, however, often used in the *Analects* in a narrower sense than that of civilization or culture. We have seen that one of its primary senses is that of 'a written character,' and it occurs once[7] in the *Analects* with this meaning. *Wên-hsüeh* (letter-study) is the ordinary Chinese term for literature or literary pur-

1 XVI, 1.
2 'Just as military preparations must not be revealed, so too culture must not be concealed.' *Kuo Yü*, ch. 2.
3 IX, 5.
4 Cf. *Tso Chuan*, Chao Kung, 2nd year.
5 VII, 13.
6 IX, 14.
7 XV, 25.

suits, and it already has this meaning in the *Analects*. Moreover, when we are told that one in whom 'substance preponderates over ornament' (*wên*) will degenerate into a mere savage; while one in whom ornament prevails over substance degenerates into a mere scribe, it is obvious that the *wên* in question is literature and not culture in general.

The earlier English translators were embarrassed by the term *wên*, because although they knew that it corresponded in a general way to our word 'culture,' they were entirely unfamiliar with the practical efficacies (*tê*) with which the Chinese associated the word. Legge, indeed, in one passage translates *wên* 'the Cause of truth,' not being able to convince himself that Confucius could have been interested in transmitting anything so frivolous as a mere 'culture.'

T'ien

Apart from cases where Heaven (*t'ien*) merely means 'the sky' (for example in the common phrase *t'ien-hsia*, 'that which is under heaven,' i.e. the whole world),[1] it clearly corresponds to our word Heaven and to the German *Himmel* in the sense of Providence, Nature, God. Heaven is the dispenser of life and death, wealth and rank (XII, 5). The *chün-tzu* must learn to know the will (*ming*) of Heaven and submit to it patiently, a hard lesson that Confucius himself did not master till the age of fifty (II, 4). Concerning 'the ways of Heaven' he was unwilling to discourse (V, 12); but its name lingered on his lips in certain ancient formulae, such as those of oath-taking and of submission to fate in times of affliction. His 'Heaven has bereft me!' at the time of Yen Hui's death and his 'It is (Heaven's) will that we should lose him,' at the death-bed of Po

1 Or again in the 'climbing to the sky' of XIX, 25.

Niu, correspond to the Moslem *kismet* and to our own 'God's will be done.' Confucius is made sometimes to speak as though he regarded himself as under the special protection of Providence, just as he certainly regarded himself as charged with a peculiar mission as transmitter of the rapidly disappearing Chou culture.[1] But I fancy that phrases such as 'Heaven implanted *tê* in me; what can such a one as Huan T'ui do to me?' (VII, 22) are, like 'Heaven has bereft me,' etc., pious formulae, signifying confidence in God's protection.

T'ien then corresponds for the most part to our Heaven and, as with us, occurs chiefly in pious, traditional formulae. There is, however, at any rate one passage where the translation 'Nature' would not be out of place: 'Does Nature (*t'ien*) speak? No; but the four seasons are regulated by it; the crops grow by it' (XVII, 19). The Chinese conception of Heaven is, then, a very familiar one. The only question that arises is why a word meaning 'sky' should also have the connotations God, Providence, etc.? The problem is clearly one which cannot be attacked from the Chinese side alone.

The Sanskrit *deva,* the Greek Θεός, the Latin *deus* —indeed the words for 'God' in most Indo-European languages—are sometimes alleged to be connected with roots meaning 'sky.' This is far from certain. It is only between Chinese and Germanic that we get a complete parallel in the use of *t'ien* and Heaven (*Himmel*). Is the original meaning of *t'ien* 'sky' and hence God, because God lives in the sky; or was it the other way round? To the term Heaven as used in the average early Chinese text exactly corresponds the term *Shang Ti* used constantly in the *Book of Songs,* and occasionally elsewhere. *Shang* means upper, top-

[1] IX, 5.

most, supreme; *Ti* means[1] 'ancestor' in the sense in which the Ancestors sometimes figure in the religions of the South Seas or Africa. A *Ti* is not simply an ancestor, i.e. a grandfather, great-grandfather or the like. It is not a word of relationship, but means a royal ancestor, the deified spirit of a former king. The *Ti* dwell in the Court of Heaven; and it seems to me that *t'ien,* 'Heaven,' is used in Chinese as a collective term meaning 'those who dwell in Heaven,' just as the 'House of Lords' frequently means those who sit in that House.[2] The older term *Shang Ti,* found side by side with *t'ien* in the *Book of Songs* and used apparently in exactly the same sense, originally meant, I think, the Supreme Ancestor, in the sense of the first of the line of Royal Ancestors. But it is commonly taken in the sense 'The *Ti* that is above,' i.e. in the sky, and alternates with *T'ien Ti,* 'Heavenly Ti.' The fuller expressions 'Supreme *Ti*' and 'Heavenly *Ti*' do not occur in the *Analects;* but in the collection of ancient fragments which constitutes Book XX, the word *Ti* is used by itself in the sense of Heaven or God, in a very personal sense, for *Ti* is spoken of as having servants and a heart.

Hsin

This character is written *jên* ('man') at the side of *yen* ('word'), and is generally translated 'good faith,' 'faithfulness,' 'truth,' etc. In early Chinese it almost always refers to keeping promises, fulfilling undertakings. It does not mean telling the truth; nor do all early peoples regard telling the truth as good in itself. What early Chinese literature, as also that of the

[1] i.e. in actual use. I am not concerned with the philosophic glosses of the early dictionaries and commentaries.

[2] Cf. *The Way and Its Power,* p. 21.

Hebrews, condemns is 'bearing false witness,' i.e. telling lies that lead to harm. Other sorts of lies are ritually enjoined; for example, that of saying one is ill instead of bluntly refusing an invitation or declining to see a visitor. The necessity of this sort of lie is recognized by 'society' in Europe; but not by the Church. Confucius once (XVII, 20) told a lie of this kind, and Soothill wrote (in 1910) concerning it, 'That such laxity on the part of China's noblest Exemplar has fostered that disregard for truth for which this nation is so notorious, can hardly be denied.' In this instance a man of the world would have understood Confucius better than a clergyman has done. In the passage concerned Confucius shows not 'laxity,' but on the contrary a strict attention to manners.

Ssu

The mere fact that the physical sensations connected by the Chinese with 'thinking' were evidently very different from our own, should warn us against believing that what they meant by *ssu* (the word ordinarily translated 'think') was identical with what we mean by 'to think.' The Chinese located thought as going on in the middle of the body. We locate it in the head, and though this may be due to self-suggestion, we definitely connect it with sensations in the head and not in the belly.

There is evidence that in its origin the word *ssu* meant to observe outside things. A *ssu-t'ing* was an observation-post in the market, from which the overseer could observe which stall-holders were cheating.[1] So it came to mean to fix the attention not only on something exterior but also on a mental image, as for

[1] There is, of course, the possibility that *ssu* is here merely a phonetic substitute for some other character.

example, that of a person from whom one is separated; hence 'to be in love.' This use occurs once in the *Analects* (IX, 30): 'It is not that I do not think of you. . . .' There are nine other passages where *ssu* occurs, and in all but two the meaning implied is that of 'directing one's attention,' or something very close to it. When one sees people who are better than oneself, one should turn one's attention to equalling them (IV, 17). One should not act till one has looked into the matter three times (V, 19). When one sees a chance of gain, one should divert one's attention to whether it can be pursued without violation of what is right (XIV, 13).[1] One should occupy one's attention with what belongs to one's own rank in society (XIV, 28). There are 'nine points' which should occupy a gentleman's attention (XVI, 10). One should question searchingly and pay close attention to what one is told (XIX, 6).

It may be rather forced to use the word 'attention' in some of these cases; but what I want to emphasize is that in each case we are dealing with a process that is only at a short remove from concrete observation. Never is there any suggestion of a long interior process of cogitation or ratiocination, in which a whole series of thoughts are evolved one out of the other, producing on the physical plane a headache and on the intellectual, an abstract theory. We must think of *ssu* rather as a fixing of the attention (located in the middle of the belly) on an impression recently imbibed from without and destined to be immediately re-exteriorized in action.

These considerations will help us to understand the two remaining passages in which *ssu,* 'to think,' is used. 'If one learns but does not think, one is lost; if one thinks but does not learn, one is in danger' (II, 15).

1 XIX, 1, is practically a repetition of this.

'I once ate nothing all day and did not go to bed all night in order to think. It was no use. Far better, to learn' (XV, 30).

'Learning,' as I clearly show in my note on the passage (see below, p. 199), means copying the ancients. It may be objected that the meaning of both passages is evident, and that I am making a great fuss about nothing. They are, however, certainly open to misunderstanding. Chu Hsi (died A.D. 1200) paraphrases *ssu* as 'seeking within the heart,' evoking a whole complex of ideas—the 'good knowledge' of Mencius, the 'inward power' of Lao Tzu, the *bodhi* of the Zen Buddhists—which are entirely foreign to the *Analects*. Mencius, the Quietists, the Buddhists all believed that a well of wisdom lay buried deep in the human breast. But Confucius believed nothing of the kind, and all suggestions that *ssu* in these passages means some kind of *yoga,* seem to me utterly unfounded. Moreover, I think that the average European reader of the current translations, coming across the maxim 'Learning without thought is useless' (Legge, Soothill), might easily imagine that 'thought' meant a process of logical reasoning, a sustained interior argumentation, full of 'therefores' and 'becauses.' There is, as a matter of fact, hardly a single example of these conjunctions in the *Analects*. The 'all day and all night' of XV, 30, is simply a way of saying 'you may think (i.e. survey the matter in hand as the overseer surveys the market) till you are blue in the face. You are wasting time. It is much better to find out what the ancients did under similar circumstances.' The theme of II, 15 is slightly different: Learning and turning over in your mind what you have learnt are equally important. Here again, however, the sort of 'thought' that we write with a capital, contrast with Action, and associate with a wrinkled brow, is not in the least what is meant.

Wang

Chou legend centres round its two first kings (*wang*), Wên and Wu. *Wên* in this name probably meant 'mighty';[1] Wu means 'warrior.' But in Confucius's time *wên,* as we have seen, meant the arts of peace as opposed to those of war, and a theory had grown up that every great armed conquest was preceded by a period of cultural preparation, a building up of *tê* (moral force) as distinct from the *li* (physical force) of the warrior, which unless backed by *wên* (culture) cannot prevail. King Wên, the first Chou monarch, was naturally credited with the initial, cultural achievements and King Wu (the Warrior) with the military triumphs which established the Chou hegemony.

To Confucius, however, it was neither Wên nor Wu, but Wu's brother Tan, Duke of Chou, who was the real hero of the Chou conquest. This point of view was a purely local one. The Duke of Chou is barely mentioned in the *Book of Songs.*[2] But legend regarded him as the founder of the Ducal House in Lu; and Confucius, as a professed Conservative and Legitimist, dwelt fondly on the memory of this local Ancestor and felt a profound discouragement when the Duke of Chou no longer appeared to him in his dreams.[3]

The coming of Divine Sages and World Monarchs, in China as elsewhere, was heralded by portents. Confucius watched in vain for the appearance of such signs: 'the Phoenix does not arrive and the river gives forth no chart.'[4] Birds have everywhere been regarded as intermediaries between Heaven and Earth. The sudden appearances and movements of birds were interpreted

1 As it presumably does when it occurs as a stock epithet of 'ancestor.' *Wên,* 'pattern' is probably quite a different word.
2 There are only two *Songs* (232 and 251) which mention him.
3 VII, 5. 4 IX, 8.

as ominous, in China as in the West. The sacred *fêng* (phoenix), half-bird, half-snake, acclaimed the holy kingship of Shun; it was a winged messenger, part man, part bird that heralded the coming of the western Saviour.

The legend of the river-omen existed in two forms, which were merely local variants of the same belief. The portent referred to in the *Analects* is the 'River Chart,'[1] which is brought out of the river (usually understood to mean the Yellow River) by an animal that is a mixture of horse and dragon. The variant legend concerns the 'Writings from the Lo River,' which are brought out of the Lo River (in Honan) by a Divine Tortoise. But the 'River Chart' is also sometimes spoken of as being brought by the Tortoise; indeed, the confusion between the two legends lasts till the thirteenth century.

There are two explanations as to what the Chart and the Writings consisted of. One is, that they contained the divinatory diagrams of the *Book of Changes,* that is to say the eight trigrams arrived at by arranging two symbols in every possible group of three. The other is, that they were magic arrangements of numbers. The two theories are closely related; for the process[2] of shuffling the forty-nine stalks in order to discover which divinatory diagram concerned one, was bound up both with ideas of numerical symbolism and with the natural properties of numbers. At the beginning of the Sung dynasty the theory was that the River Chart was the 'magic square'

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

[1] *T'u* means 'plan,' 'plot,' 'scheme'; it may be cognate to *t'u,* 'land,' and mean originally 'to plot out land.'

[2] Well described in Richard Wilhelm's book on the *I Ching,* which is about to appear in an English version.

in which the columns, whether added horizontally, vertically or diagonally always come to fifteen. Many Sung writers[1] are quite definite on this point. The River Chart with its nine chambers, they say, 'has five for its centre, carries nine on its head, treads on one, has three at the left, and seven at the right, has two and four on top, and six and eight below.'

But the magic square had behind it a long history. It was believed, certainly in the second century B.C. and probably much earlier, that the Nine chambers of the Ming T'ang (the ruler's audience-hall) had in ancient times been an architectural embodiment of the magic square.[2] It would then, I think, be fairly safe to assume that Confucius regarded the River Chart as a magic arrangement of symbols or numbers, and that he very likely identified it with the 'magic square' (492, 357, etc.) alluded to above.

Wang and Po

In the *Analects* and in subsequent Chinese literature we find the term *wang* (king) used in a very special sense, that of a Saviour King who, unlike the monarchs of the world around us, rules by *tê*, by magico-moral force alone. The coming of such a Saviour was looked forward to with Messianic fervour. Were a True King to come, says Confucius, in the space of a single generation Goodness would become universal.[3] With the Saviour King is always contrasted the *Po* (verb, *pa*, 'to be a *po*'). The word originally means 'elder,' 'senior,' and in the early days of the Chou dynasty when the various conquered domains were ruled by descendants of the conquering House it was applied to the senior

1 See *T'u Shu* encyclopaedia, XXI, 51, and charts on fols. III, 12 and IV, 12.

2 *Ta Tai Li Chi*, 67.

3 XIII, 12.

among the feudal barons. After the central authority of the Chou declined it was applied to any local ruler who succeeded in acquiring an ascendancy over the rest, with a view (in theory at any rate) to re-establishing the pontifical authority of the Chou monarch. The greatest of the *Po* were Huan of Ch'i (middle of the seventh century) and Wên of Chin (second half of the seventh century). A *Po* acts by *li* (physical force) and not by *tê*. His achievements cannot lead to the reign of universal Goodness. The material consequences of such a hegemony may be immense. The two great *Po* saved China from complete immersion by the barbarians: but for the efforts of Huan 'we should be wearing our hair loose and folding our garments to the left.'[1] But the *Po* is guided by opportunism alone, his Way is not that of the Former Kings, his achievements are in the political not in the moral sphere. His fellow barons may reluctantly yield to his superior strength; but he cannot inspire 'everywhere under Heaven' that longing for spontaneous submission which overcame even the wild tribes of the west and north when the Saviour King T'ang appeared: 'when he advanced towards the East, the savages of the West were jealous; when he advanced towards the South, the barbarians of the North were jealous, saying "Why did he not advance upon us first?" Everywhere the people turned their gaze towards him, as men gaze towards a rainbow in days of drought.'[2]

[1] XIV, 18. [2] *Mencius*, I, 2. XI.

Written Tradition[1]

No doubt what Confucius knew of the Former Kings and of the 'antiquity' which he loved so well was derived partly from oral, partly from written sources. We must not, however, in dealing with societies where both sorts of tradition exist, attempt to make too sharp a distinction between the two. Wherever texts exist at all, even if they are accessible only to a small minority, the two sorts of tradition are bound to infiltrate one another. A Mongol peasant who tells the story of Buddha's life may have learnt most of the episodes orally from other members of the tribe, who also learnt most of them orally. But he may very well have learnt other episodes from a Lama who has read them in a book. And the same Lama, should he write a book, would be likely enough to incorporate in his story folk-lore elements belonging to an oral tradition. A Majorcan peasant who tells one stories about the Moors has probably never read a book about the Moors or, indeed, any book at all. But much of what he tells could ultimately be traced to printed texts.

Knowledge, in ancient Chinese phraseology, consists in 'hearing much.' In the chronicles, when the judgments of a famous man upon episodes of the past (events, say, of the seventh and sixth centuries) are recorded, he is invariably spoken of as 'hearing about' the event, even if it occurred centuries before his time; seldom, as reading about it. Confucius continually quotes ancient sayings, many of them in the form of didactic verse. How many of these are drawn from written collections we have no means of knowing. The one written work which almost certainly existed in his time and to which we may reasonably suppose he had at least occasional access was the *Book of Songs*. Con-

1 This section too may be omitted by the general reader.

cerning this most important of all Chou texts I will say no more here, but refer the reader to my recently published *The Book of Songs*.[1] A far more thorny and complicated problem is presented by another book to which the *Analects* sometimes refer. This is the collection of documents known as *Shu Ching*. The European reader is familiar, through the translations of Legge and Couvreur, with a version of this text containing fifty-six books or chapters. Of these all but twenty-eight were strung together from very miscellaneous sources in the third century A.D. The sources used were mainly though not exclusively pre-Han, and the view is sometimes taken that even though the compilation of these forged books was late, their matter is early and therefore relevant to the study of Chou tradition. This is not really so; for isolated sentences have been detached from their context and strung together in such a way as completely to falsify the meaning. It may be convenient to the reader if I here give a list of the books which are not the work of a third-century forger:

(1) Yao Tien (second half now printed as Shun Tien)
(2) Kao Yao Mo (second half now printed as I Chi)
(3) Yü Kung
(4) Kan Shih
(5) T'ang Shih
(6) P'an Kêng
(7) Kao Tsung Yung Jih
(8) Hsi Po K'an Li
(9) Wei Tzu
(10) Mu Shih
(11) Hung Fan

[1] Allen and Unwin, 1937. Vol. I. Translations, Vol. II. Textual Notes.

(12) Chin T'êng
(13) Ta Kao
(14) K'ang Kao
(15) Chiu Kao
(16) Tzu Ts'ai
(17) Shao Kao
(18) Lo Kao
(19) To Shih
(20) Wu I
(21) Chün Shih
(22) To Fang
(23) Li Chêng
(24) Ku Ming (second half now printed as K'ang Wang Chih Kao)
(25) Pi Shih
(26) Lü Hsing
(27) Wên Hou Chih Ming
(28) Ch'in Shih

Those which have any chance of being contemporary documents are (13) to (28), excluding (26). (13), (15) and (21) are put in a class apart by Ho Ting-shêng,[1] as according most completely with the language and ideas of the inscriptions. In no document of the *Shu Ching,* however, does the use of pronouns (*wo,* 'I,' *êrh,* 'you,' etc.) concord with Western Chou inscriptions. P'an Kêng (6) is linguistically very close to (13)-(23) and was probably written as propaganda in favour of the transference of the Capital to the East at the close of the Western Chou period (*c.* 770 B.C.?). The rest are later texts which were dressed up in superficial resemblance to the style of the Books, in order to gain credence and authority. The *Analects* quote exclusively from Books that are now lost (only

1 National Sun Yat-sen University: *Linguistic and Historical Review* (in Chinese). V, 49 (1928).

the third-century A.D. forgeries of them exist); save in the one instance of XIV, 43 which is practically a quotation from Wu I (20). In general, however, the genuinely archaic books, being merely archival documents, are less quoted in Confucian literature than the later more moralistic compilations, intended at the outset for edification.

Confucius has been represented by some European writers as a bookish man. Soothill even went so far as to suggest that he had 'the scholar's indifferent digestion.' We have, however, no reason to suppose that his reading went beyond the *Songs* and *Shu Ching*, possibly some ritual texts and collections of moral sayings, and perhaps the Court annals of his own State.[1] His youth (of which we know little) was certainly not spent in poring over books, but presumably in hunting and fighting, the occupations common to his class. In the chronicles we find his disciples (for example, Jan Ch'iu and Fan Ch'ih) riding out to battle together; and again we have no reason to suppose that the Master's active years were spent differently from theirs.

Ritual

It is very unlikely that any ritual texts existed until the decline of Chou civilization. So long as the rites were practised, it was unnecessary to fix them in writing. Probably the first books of ritual were composed for the benefit of such offshoots of the Chou ruling caste as were settled in the remoter conquered territories, and were in danger of becoming out of contact with the central culture. Whether Confucius knew any such texts or derived his knowledge of ritual solely from oral maxims is uncertain. All of the ritual books that we possess contain ancient material; but

1 This is very doubtful. Official annals were only accessible to high officers of state.

all[1] of them were certainly composed long after the time of Confucius.

The Confucius of the *Analects* is not much concerned with the details of ritual, either public or domestic. Correct observance of small social rites, what we call 'good manners,' belongs, of course, equally to the Chinese and to our conception of the gentleman, as does also the insistence upon 'giving a fair chance' both to one's competitors in sport[2] and to one's victims in the chase.[3] But the actual text of the *Analects* is concerned with the general principles of conduct, with morality rather than manners; and so little guidance on the details of behaviour could the composers of the work find in the traditional sayings of the Master that they were obliged to insert in it, in order to meet the demands of a later Confucianism that was preoccupied above all with the details of ritual, a long ritual text, dealing in reality with the behaviour of gentlemen in general, but adapted and amplified in such a way as to read as though it were a description of Confucius's own behaviour. This text (Book X), though we cannot (as many western writers have done) use it as biographical material, throws so much light on early Confucian ideas that it will be worth while to consider its contents in detail. The first characteristic about it that strikes us is the profusion of reduplicative words (similar to such English formations as 'sing-song,' 'hurly-burly' and the like). In fulfilling religious rites it is not sufficient merely to say the correct words or perform the correct actions. Each rite requires also an appropriate

[1] Some Western scholars make an exception of the *I Li*, which is mainly concerned with the domestic ritual of everyday life. But this book, too, shows, for example, in the sections on mourning, the same tendency to build up theoretical schematizations rather than to describe actual practices, which marks the other ritual works.
[2] III, 7. [3] For fishing and shooting, see VII, 26.

'attitude,' one of reverence, eagerness, reluctance, joy, gloom and so on.[1] It is these attitudes (*jung*) that are defined by the expressive reduplicatives mentioned above. Such definitions are not confined to behaviour on ritual occasions. In VII, 4, we find the Master's attitude when sitting quietly at home described by a pair of typical 'expressive reduplicatives.' There was, in fact, no circumstance in life for which a particular attitude was not seemly and appropriate. In this respect we do not differ substantially from the Chinese. Anyone who knows how to behave adopts a special attitude when in church, one of reverence and constraint; he listens to the observations of his superiors in a special attitude of alert attention, his tenderly admirative attitude when taking the hand of an influential hostess is as different as possible from that which he adopts when shaking hands with a tennis opponent. A gentleman who adopted the wrong attitude on any one of these or a hundred other occasions would show grave ill-breeding. The assumption, for example, of a playful attitude when handing round the collecting-box in church or of the 'tenderly admirative' attitude when interviewing a male superior would be sufficient to close the most promising social or public career.

It might be objected that our 'attitudes' are of a spontaneous, instinctive kind—that they arise 'naturally' out of the situations to which they belong. But in point of fact they only seem to us natural and inevitable because we are used to them. The English church-going attitude, so far from arising naturally from the feelings connected with a place of worship, is peculiar to Anglicanism. It is far more extreme, in its contrast with the attitudes of everyday life, far more stylized and artificial than that practised in other Protestant countries (the 'off-hand' attitude of the

[1] See *The Way and Its Power*, p. 160.

Dutch when in church has often impressed English travellers); in a southern Catholic church the contrast is even less noticeable, with the Moslem (whose religion functions equally inside and outside the Mosque) it hardly exists at all.

The difference, in respect of 'attitudes,' between us and the ancient Chinese is that we learn them and practise them unconsciously; whereas with the Chinese they were a subject of conscious interest and attention. A high standard was set, gentility implied a fastidious *expertise* in the niceties of bearing, a whole armoury of gesture and attitude was developed, beside which our humble stock (hat-raising, hand-shaking and the like) seems meagre indeed.

The commonest method of symbolizing one's own 'smallness' as contrasted with the 'greatness' of another is to shrink oneself. Even we, with our impoverished vocabulary of attitude, maintain various forms of ceremonial 'shrinking,' such as bowing, nodding, kneeling. The Chinese *chün-tzu* knew a far wider range of bendings and contractions, many of which (but by no means all) are mentioned in Book X of the *Analects*. He 'made himself small' now by, as we should say, grogging at the knees, now by squeezing himself as though creeping through a hole, now by stooping across the bar of his chariot, now by bending at the waist.

Anthropologists are or were in the habit of trying to discover the 'real reason' why particular injunctions or prohibitions were imposed among primitives. In the reason given by the people themselves seemed to them trivial or unintelligible they set it down as a rationalization or, alternatively, attributed it to secretiveness regarding the 'real reason.'

The truth, however, is that there is no 'real reason' for ritual acts. In any community where the perform-

ance of such acts is linked to a general system of thought, they will be explained in terms of that system. If the system changes, as frequently happens, without disturbing these ritual acts, they will be reinterpreted in terms of the new system. Where such acts or some of them have not been linked, at any rate in the mind of the person questioned, to any system of thought, they sink to the role of mere etiquette and will be explained as 'customary,' as being 'good manners,' 'the thing to do,' or the like. The ultimate origin of the act or abstentions concerned is a matter for the psychologist, who is at present only able to furnish very speculative and provisional answers.

If, however, we find among people in many parts of the world a prohibition against treading on[1] or lying across thresholds, we can at least say that some of the reasons given for this prohibition belong to ways of thought that are older than others. Huai-nan Tzu,[2] in the second century B.C., gives two alternative reasons for not lying with the head across a threshold, (1) because ghosts inhabit the threshold; (2) because one will catch cold from the draught. It is not difficult to decide which of these two reasons belongs to the earlier way of thinking; and it might seem at first sight as though in this case we had tracked down the prohibition to its source; had found not only an initial but a 'real' reason. For it is well known that in primitive societies the dead were often buried under the threshold, and this practice seems to give an adequate explanation of the threshold 'taboo.'[3] But we are still confronted with the question, why were ghosts believed in and why were they feared? Once more we are in the realm not of anthropology but of psychological speculation.

The *Analects* simply record that on entering the rul-

[1] Book X, 4. [2] P'ien 13, 2 fols. from end.
[3] See Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament,* Vol. III, p. 11.

er's palace a gentleman does not step on the threshold and the commentators can tell us no more than that it was not ritually correct to do so. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that in this case an old religous 'taboo' (i.e. a prohibition formally connected with a set of obligatory beliefs) has passed into the domain of etiquette, of things that are done because they are done. It was the task of the ritual theorists in the third century B.C. to detrivialize ritual, to arrest its lapse into the domain of mere etiquette or good manners, by reintegrating it into the current system of thought. The Jews have made similar efforts to reinterpret religious taboos in terms of scientific hygiene.

Matter very like parts of the *Analects* is contained in the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra,* a Sanskrit work probably contemporary with the *Analects,* and in the *Mārkandeya Purāna,* which is certainly subsequent to the Christian era. In Chapter XXXIV of the latter work we read that the 'master of the household' must not sleep with his head to the north or the west; compare *Analects,* X, 16. He must not eat stale rice (*Analects,* X, 8, 2) and must not converse 'while impure owing to the fact that he is taking food' (*Analects,* X, 8, 8). The injunction against eating food bought in the market (*Analects,* X, 8, 5) is, of course, inevitable in the case of anyone whose eating is subject to strict taboos, and applied also to Brahmins and Buddhist monks. We also read in the *Purāna* that the 'householder' must not sit with his feet stretched out (XXXIV, 44), which reminds us of *Analects,* XIV, 46, where a disciple is chastised for sitting in a sprawling position.

Dress

It would be surprising if any code of upper-class behaviour did not deal with the subject of dress, and

equally surprising if the dress-regulations contained in the *Analects*[1] meant much more to us than our own upper-class dress-regulations (with a white stiff shirt a gentleman wears a white tie if his waistcoat is white, a black tie if his waistcoat is black; with a white waistcoat he wears a long coat, with a black waistcoat he wears a short coat, etc.) would mean to a resurrected Confucius. To understand early Chinese dress-ritual would demand a detailed knowledge of early Chinese social history, such as we are far indeed from possessing. There are, however, certain general analogies to the dress-rules that we are bound by; and I have tried to point out some of these analogies in my notes on the relevant passages. It is my impression that the 'knightly' origin of some regulations had been forgotten. I would hazard the guess that the shortness of the right sleeve was not (as the commentators tell us) intended (originally, at any rate) to facilitate the use of the right hand in general, but in particular to leave it free to defend the *chün-tzu's* honour with the sword.[2] It is possible that the regulation about bed-coverings has a similar origin. They are to be one and a half times (and not twice) as long as the sleeper, lest trapped in a complete bag of bed-clothes, he may be unable if attacked to defend himself with alacrity. But this is only a speculation.

The Dead

No practices have been subject to a more constant reinterpretation than those connected with mourning and burial. In some places,[3] for example, the plugging of all the orifices of the corpse is regarded as a device for preventing the soul escaping and doing harm to

1 X, 6. 2 Or dagger. Swords do not seem to belong to Western Chou culture.

3 See Sir James Frazer, *Fear of the Dead,* Vol. II, p. 109.

the community. In China, mortuary jades, used in just the same way, were looked upon as a means of fortifying the 'life' of the departed in his new abode. We find among mankind in general, indeed, two sharply contrasted attitudes towards the dead. In some societies they are feared; in others they are reverenced. The first attitude can exist without any admixture of the second. But the attitude of reverence and love seldom exists without some admixture of fear. Those, for example, who honour and love the dead by day walk none too boldly through a graveyard by night.

Now it is perfectly possible that both these attitudes are expressions of the same fundamental feeling. Certain psychologists call this feeling a 'sense of guilt,' and imply that somewhere at the bottom of our hearts we feel that it was we who slew those whom we profess to love. Be that as it may, we find among men as we know them these two sharply contrasted conscious attitudes, and there is not I think the slightest doubt that the attitude of fear is the more primitive. For example, in societies where the two attitudes exist side by side, it is always the less developed members of the community who fear the dead—who refuse, for example, to cross the cemetery by night.

In China the attitude towards the dead was, among the upper classes, at any rate, one solely of love and reverence; and all the rites of burial, mourning and sacrifice to immediate forefathers were interpreted in this sense. It does not, however, by any means follow that these rites and practices had always been so interpreted or that any of them had their origin in the attitude of tenderness and regret. The personal name of the dead was not allowed to be mentioned.[1] If his

[1] The evidence of the inscriptions is that the Chou conquerors themselves did not practise this taboo. It had, however, become general long before Confucius's time.

fame had not spread beyond the family circle he was known as 'the departed father,' 'the late uncle,' or the like; if he were a person of public importance, destined to become as we say, 'known to history,' he received a 'posthumous name,' descriptive of his virtues:[1] the Steadfast, the Cultured, the Pious. This avoidance of the personal name was interpreted as due to 'respect' for the dead. But it is difficult not to regard it merely as a particular example of the general rule that to name a spirit is to compel its presence; and we may be fairly sure that there was once a time in China when, if the dead were not named, it was through fear lest they should suddenly appear.

As with us, an important feature of funeral rites was the eulogy (*lei*) pronounced over the dead. Later *lei* are, like ours, for the most part merely laudatory, but in that quoted by Tzu-lu in the *Analects* is manifest the desire not merely to placate the dead but to disclaim responsibility, to remind him that the living 'did everything they could': 'we prayed for you (i.e. during your illness) upwards and downwards, to the spirits of Heaven and to the spirits of earth below.' [2]

Mourning

The mourner leads a life apart, wears special clothes, eats special food, abstains from physical pleasures, retires from public life, and so on. One explanation of why he does these things is that he has been contaminated by contact with death; he has become a sinister person and must be segregated in order to go through

[1] Or of his vices? It is a disputed question whether certain 'posthumous names' are to be taken in a bad sense. Was Li Wang (died 828 B.C.) the Cruel King or the Dignified King? Many Western sovereigns are, of course, 'known to history' by bad names. e.g. Bloody Mary and Theophylact the Unbearable. [2] VII, 34.

a process of 'disinfection.' A quite different interpretation of the mourner's behaviour is given in ancient China. If he leads an abnormal life it is not because he is ritually unclean and must, so to speak, be cured. It is because he would not 'feel at ease' [1] in his ordinary clothes, on his ordinary mat, eating his usual food, doing his habitual work. And if someone brought into contact with a mourner must behave towards him in a propitiatory fashion, and even for the time being follow the mourner's regime,[2] it is not (as in some communities) because the mourner may well try to transfer some of his uncleanness to those with whom he comes in contact, and this secondary taint requires to be removed by the same means as the original one; on the contrary, these precautions are due in Chinese theory to respect for the mourner's feelings. But there are practices which fit in badly with this explanation; for example, the prohibition, mentioned in other books besides the *Analects*,[3] against singing on the same day that one has wailed at a funeral.

Preparation for sacrifice, to which Book X devotes a long section, bears a strong resemblance to mourning. The sacrificer segregates himself, alters all his habits, denies himself every indulgence; this time certainly not in order to rid himself of a taint caused by contact with the dead, but to purify himself, to spiritualize himself in such a way as to be fit for contact with the spirit world and at the same time to impress the spirits with the earnestness of the appeals he is about to make.

Spirits are fastidious; it cannot be expected that they will accept the sacrifice and come in person to partake of it, if the sacrificer is in a condition which even his earthly wives or concubines would object to, if he smells of wine or garlic. This idea, I think, un-

[1] XVII, 21. [2] VII, 9; IX, 9; X, 16.
[3] VII, 9.

derlies the prohibitions against eating onions, garlic, ginger[1] and so on, that we find not only in the regime of the sacrificer, who is a temporary priest; but also in that of the permanent priests of Buddhism.

The Magic Efficacy of Ritual

The word *li* ('ritual') is expressed in writing by a picture of a ritual vessel. The original meaning is said to be 'arranging ritual vessels'; and this may very well be true, for it appears to be cognate to a number of words meaning 'to arrange in proper order,' 'to put in sequence,' etc. But as used in early China *li* would cover everything from the opening of the great doors of St. Peter's down to saying 'Bless you!' when some one sneezes.[2] Modern writers have said that Confucius, in common with the early Chinese in general, attributed a magic influence to ritual. In a sense this is true. The influence of saying 'God bless you!' can hardly be considered otherwise than a magic one; and no doubt Confucius attributed a like influence to all the small prescriptions and conventions that we should put under the heading of good manners. But the rites to which Confucius attributed a true magic efficacy in the fullest sense were, naturally enough, not those that he saw practised around him in everyday life, nor the usurped rites illicitly carried on by the dictators of Lu;[3] but those enacted by the ideal monarchs of the legendary past, by Yao and Shun, by Yü the Great, by Wên

[1] The 'He does not eschew ginger-food' (i.e. food sprinkled with ginger), of Book X, takes for granted that the mourner does eschew the eating of ginger as a separate dish. It follows that if pungent herbs, etc., are avoided when we wish to attract spirits they will be used when we wish to repel spirits. It is therefore not surprising that peasants in many parts of Europe hang garlic at their doors to drive away evil spirits.

[2] There are other words for 'deportment,' 'seemliness,' and so on. But *li* is the generic word which covers them all. [3] III, 1 and 2.

and Wu of Chou, and above all by the Duke of Chou, patron saint of Lu.

Wherever the idea of divine kingship prevails we find coupled with it the conviction that upon the correct performance of kingly ritual depends the whole welfare of the State, the fertility of its lands, the fruitfulness of its trees, the fecundity both of its women and of its herds and flocks. The Divine King (*T'ien wang*) in ancient China was the Emperor (the 'Son of Heaven') and the State rulers merely inherited a fraction of his divinity. In Confucius's time there was no longer a Son of Heaven. The King of Chou still used this title, but the mere fact that the local rulers no longer deferred to him showed that he had lost his heavenly 'appointment.' The Imperial rites, too, had long ago fallen into abeyance; with the parody of them that was enacted in his native State Confucius had no patience: 'At the Ancestral Sacrifice, as for all that comes after the libation—I had rather not witness it!' [1]

Not only were the rites incorrectly performed, but their *shuo* (explanation) was lost,[2] and with it the magic power that enabled Divine Kings to 'deal with all things under Heaven as easily as I lay my finger here.' [3]

That countries could really adopt with success a home policy of government by the magic of ritual (as opposed to government by penalties) and a foreign policy of 'giving way' (*jang*) as opposed to one of push and grab (*chin-ch'ü*) is a fundamental part of Confucius's Way. If a king could for a single day fully and completely carry out the kingly ritual, the whole country would 'surrender' to his Goodness.

1 III, 10.

2 i.e. They had become divorced from the circle of ideas to which they originally belonged, and had not been successfully reinterpreted. A rite divorced from its *Shuo* has as little efficacy as a scripture apart from its traditional interpretation (also called *Shuo*).

3 III, 11.

'Keep order among them by chastisement and they will flee from you; keep order among them by ritual and they will come to you of their own accord.' [1]

I do not think Confucius attributed this magic power to any rites save those practised by the divinely appointed ruler. It is true that the correct practice of ritual by 'those above' (as opposed to 'those below,' i.e. the *min,* 'masses') also exercises a profound influence upon the populace. In a country where the *chün-tzu* are punctilious in their ritual observances[2] the small people will be punctilious in the discharge of their duties towards their superiors,[3] and will be easy to rule.[4] It is for the upper classes to 'set a good example,' as we say; to exert a good influence. In regard to this function of the *chün-tzu* I do not think that the Confucian conception was very different from ours. The idea that human institutions should be harmonized (*ho*) with the operations of Nature, should for example be arranged in categories, corresponding to the seasons, the planets, the points of the compass, though it is referred to by Master Yu in one entirely isolated passage,[5] does not belong to the teaching of Confucius in the *Analects.*

The Chinese have a special word for things done 'after a fashion,' in a hugger-mugger way, but not according to the proper ritual.[6] Such things are said to be fluked (*kou*). What is done in this way may seem for the moment to 'work,' just as a hastily patched tyre may carry us for a mile or two as comfortably as a properly mended one. But the *chün-tzu's* code, like that of the old-fashioned artisan, compels him to 'make a good job' of whatever he undertakes. A temporary success secured by irregular means gives him

1 II, 3. 2 Including, of course, etiquette and manners.
3 XIII, 4. 4 XIV, 44. 5 I, 12.
6 See additional note on XIII, 3.

no satisfaction; it is stolen (*t'ou*), not honestly come by.[1] True, the social virtues (loyalty, promise-keeping, respect for elders, courage in the cause of right) come first, are the groundwork upon which *li* (ritual) must be built.[2] 'A man that is not good, what can he have to do with ritual?' [3] But right conduct does not proceed automatically from right feelings. It is virtuous to respect Heaven; but if (to take a Western equivalent) one took off one's shoes in church instead of one's hat as a sign of respect, *pu hsing:* 'it would not work.' The domain of Chinese ritual, of obligatory acts and abstentions was a vast one. Three hundred rules of major ritual and three thousand minor observances had, according to the usual computation,[4] to be mastered. The expression 'to know,' used by itself, means 'to know the rites,' and he who lacked this *savoir faire* could not be regarded as a gentleman. It might, indeed, seem to us that the *chün-tzu,* faced with the necessity of learning 3,300 injunctions,[5] was in some danger of turning into precisely what is everywhere held to be inconsistent with his status—was in danger, that is to say, of turning into a qualified specialist. But it was with the relation of ritual as a whole to morality and not with the details of etiquette and precedence that the early Confucians were chiefly concerned. Master Tsêng, indeed, even goes so far as to

1 The word 'steal' is often coupled with or substituted for *hou.*
2 *Li hou yeh,* 'Ritual is secondary.' III, 8. 3 III, 3.
4 e.g. *Chung-yung,* XXVII, 3 and *Li Chi,* X.
5 Some of them seem to us superfluous: 'If when you are calling on another gentleman, he begins to yawn and stretch himself, twiddles his hair-pins, fiddles with the knob of his sword, shuffles his feet and asks how the time is going, you will not be at fault in proposing to retire.' (*Li Chi,* XVII.) This is less absurd than it sounds; for the wording implies that the visitor is inferior in age or status, and in such cases (as in our own Court etiquette) it was for the host and not the guest to terminate the interview.

say that the ordering of ritual vessels is a matter for the special officers put in charge of them, and does not fall within the *chün-tzu's* proper sphere.[1]

Music and Dancing (Yo)

Our view of music as an agreeable arrangement of sounds,[2] listened to solely for enjoyment, and of dancing as a means of social distraction combined with mild bodily exercise, is a very abnormal one. Everywhere during the greater part of man's history and by a large portion of the world's inhabitants even to-day these related arts are regarded in a way wholly different from the way in which we regard them. Music, in the view not only of primitives, but in that of almost all non-European peoples, exercises a magic power not only over the heart of man (as we in Europe would to some extent admit), but also over the forces of nature. Everyone familiar with early Chinese books knows the story, existing in countless variants, of Duke P'ing of Chin[3] and the baleful music—how drawn by the magic of an evil tune eight huge black birds swooped from the south and danced on his terrace, black clouds blotted out the sky, a tempest tore down the hangings of his palace, broke the ritual vessels, hurled down the tiles from the roof; the king fell sick, and for three years no blade of grass grew in Chin, no tree bore fruit.

A similar view of the magic power of music over the forces of nature still prevails in India; it is by music and dancing that rain is produced all over Africa, just as it was in ancient China. I do not think that Con-

[1] VIII, 4.

[2] Obviously there are in our use of music some remnants of an earlier conception; particularly its use in connection with war.

[3] The incident is placed by legend in about 533 B.C.

fucius would have questioned the possibility of music possessing such power; but it was to the music of the Divine Sages and not to the 'songs of Wei and Chêng' that he attributed it; and this 'music of the ancients' had all but disappeared. The music of the Succession Dance (*Shao*), which Confucius characterizes as 'perfectly beautiful' apparently did not exist in Lu. Later legend regarded it as the accession music of the Divine Sage Shun; but it also figures as a Chou dance, and we do not know whether Confucius regarded any of the magical music of the Sages as surviving in his time.

When he heard the Succession music, he 'did not notice what he was eating' for three months afterwards. This gives the impression that Confucius's whole being was profoundly stirred by the performance, much in the same way as the young Bach was moved by the organ-playing of Buxtehude. And, indeed, if we could register the exact physiological reactions in the two cases, we might well find that they were very much the same. But we should be mistaken if we supposed that Confucius's conscious attitude towards music, his 'interpretation' of its place in life, concorded in the least with that of a European musician. To him, as to the ancient Greeks, it was important above all as an instrument of education.[1] It promotes virtue; it is an intrinsic part of the Way that causes gentlemen to love other gentlemen and makes small men easy to rule.

1 VIII, 8.

APPENDIX I

The Interpretations

There are two main interpretations of the *Analects,* the 'old' and the 'new.' The old interpretation is that of the *Lun Yü Chi Chieh,* 'Collected Explanations of the *Lun Yü,*' presented to the throne by a committee of scholars about A.D. 240. The chief commentators whose explanations were here collected are Pao Hsien (6 B.C.-A.D. 65), Ma Jung, Chêng Hsüan, Wang Su, the noted literary forger (A.D. 195-256) and Chou-shêng Lieh, who is interesting to us from the fact that he was a native of Tun-huang, the scene of Sir Aurel Stein's and Professor Pelliot's epoch-making archaeological discoveries. A commentary falsely attributed to K'ung An-kuo (*c.* 130-90 B.C.) was also used. It seems likely that the editors did not originally indicate which explanations were extracted from which commentaries. Possessors of the book added the names as best they could, and there was subsequently a good deal of confusion as to which commentary any particular gloss really came from; for the commentaries themselves fell out of use and disappeared. It seemed, indeed, in the highest degree unlikely that any of them would be recovered. But as has already been mentioned, a considerable part of Chêng Hsüan's commentary was found at Tun-huang. Many of the glosses that the current *Lun Yü Chi Chieh* attributes to him occur *verbatim* in the Tun-huang fragments; but there are also many discrepancies.

The main object of the old interpreters[1] was to make

[1] What follows, refers in the main to the *Chi Chieh;* Huang K'an (died A.D. 545) is already considerably more expatiatory; his sub-commentary on the *Chi Chieh* was lost in China, but rediscovered

the text easily comprehensible to current readers. They do not use it as a peg either for pure philology or for moral edification. To this end they explain allusions to persons and events by reference to the annals and to the much-expanded legend of Confucius and his disciples, as it existed in their time. For the rest, they confine themselves to translating archaisms into the language of their own day, and to bringing allusions to rituals and usages into line with current ritual theories. Almost all the information they supply is such as anyone familiar with extant early literature could even to-day easily supply for himself. They are valuable in that they show the new interpretation to have had no ancient authority. But they seldom help anyone with a complete knowledge of early Chinese literature a step further towards understanding the real difficulties of the text.

The old interpretation, in all its essentials at any rate, held the field until the second half of the twelfth century. Hitherto the *Analects* had been a scripture among other scriptures, studied by those who were adept in ancient literature. But in the Sung dynasty it became a school-book, and finally not merely *a* school-book, but *the* school-book, basis of all education. This transformation was due almost entirely to the efforts of one very remarkable man, Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130-1200). Chu Hsi was occupied with the *Analects* during the greater part of his life. His labours were embodied in a series of books, culminating in the *Lun Yü Chi Chu* of 1177. But we possess very minute

in Japan in 1720 by Nemoto Hakushu, who published it at Yedo in 1750, with a preface by the well-known scholar Fukube Genkyo. It was reprinted in China in the nineteenth century. Fragments have also been recovered at Tun-huang, and these show that the current text is a contamination of the Huang K'an commentary with later commentaries.

records of his conversations,[1] and we see him down till his last years still wrestling with the problems that the *Chi Chu* had provisionally disposed of, meeting criticisms of that work and constantly modifying his published opinions.

Chu Hsi, like Confucius, was a 'transmitter rather than an originator.' His main object was to popularize the new approach to the Confucian Classics taught by the brothers Ch'êng.[2]

Neo-Confucianism, as we call the school to which the Ch'êng brothers belonged, had its origins in the ninth century.[3] If it seems to us to spring into the world unheralded upon the rise of the Sung, it is only because of the hiatus due to the disturbed state of China in the long period of anarchy between T'ang and Sung. The method of this school, as applied to the Classics, was a complete reinterpretation in terms of the syncretist philosophy (deeply influenced by Taoism and Zen Buddhism) which had gradually grown up since the ninth century.

Chu Hsi has been called a great scholar, but no one would call him so who had any experience of the difference between scholarship and theology. For though Chu Hsi was not a theologian in the literal sense of the term, though he is concerned with a Truth rather than with a God, his methods are at every point those of the theologian, not those of the scholar. It was not his aim to discover, as a scholar would have done, what the Classics meant when they were written. He assumed that there was one Truth, embodied equally in the teachings of the brothers Ch'êng and in the

1 Those referring to the *Analects* are conveniently collected in chapters 10 to 19 of the *Chu Tzu Ch'üan Shu.*

2 Ch'êng Hao (A.D. 1032-1085), Ch'êng I (1033-1107).

3 The mental furniture of the average chün-tzu in the ninth century was derived impartially from Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism.

sayings of Confucius. In the teachings of the brothers this Truth lay on the surface; in the *Analects* it lay hidden behind the words, and was not easily accessible even to those who had fully embraced it in its more exoteric manifestations. Chu Hsi's task was to make this hidden Truth, ensconced in the Classical books, accessible to everybody. To him every sentence vibrated with this Truth. The old interpreters allowed the reader to go his own way, only coming to his assistance occasionally where an archaism or allusion was likely to hold him up. Chu Hsi is always at our elbow, ready to save us from the 'obfuscation' of thinking that the text really means what it says. Again and again Confucius confesses to ignorance and imperfection. Chu Hsi is at hand to tell us that this is only ritual modesty; 'How could a Sage really err, how could a Sage truly not know?'; or to construe the sentence differently, so that 'You and I are not equal to him' (V, 8) becomes 'I grant you are not equal to him'; or to make a Sage figure as a Sage should, so that 'sent on a mission' becomes 'sent on a mission by Confucius' (VI, 3). He is there to save us from supposing that a Sage ever spoke the dialect of his native State (VII, 17); and all the time, by perpetual paraphrase and adaptation, he brings the recalcitrant text into line with Truth, so that in the end the *Analects* become as orthodox a Neo-Confucian treatise as any that proceeded from the class-room of the brothers Ch'êng. Chu Hsi was a great popular educator, a great evangelist; but in no sense was he a scholar.

The following discourse of Yu Tso (flourished *c.* A.D. 1100) on *Analects,* XII, 1, contained in his *Lun Yü Tsa Chieh,* is a good example of the mixed Taoist-Buddhist interpretation of the *Analects,* which prevailed in Sung times:

Goodness is the heart of man. All that the word

Goodness means is 'getting access to one's real heart.' In its true and original state the heart did not experience pleasure, anger, grief or delight. But once a man begins to pursue his own private ends, harassed by rage and desire, he ceases to be in any proper sense a man. If on the other hand, he can overcome the personal cravings of his human heart and return to the impersonal state that belongs to the heart of Tao, then he will regard others just as he regards himself, will regard things just as he regards men, and the true original state of this man's nature will be manifested. Henceforward he will be seen to treat his parents as parents should be treated, to show consideration to his inferiors and affection towards all creatures, all of which will follow spontaneously from workings of his real, unspoiled heart. That is what is meant by the saying 'Goodness is overcoming one's personal self and returning to *li*.' [1] For *li* simply means the natural state of the heart. It is a question of getting the heart back to its original state; that one thing and no more. It is not a question of recognizing a duty as a duty, and doing it; or of recognizing a creature as a creature, and loving it. Nor is it a matter of piling day on day or month on month before one can attain to the end desired. If a man can for a single day return to the original state, go back to the always-so,[2] then the ten thousand things will be for him all of like form and condition, and wherever he goes there will be Goodness. That is why the Master said, 'If for a single day a man can overcome his personal self and return to *li*, everything under Heaven for that man turns into Goodness.'

1 Literally 'ritual'; but in the language of the Sung philosophers it had come to mean 'the natural.'

2 The vocabulary belongs to Taoism; the conception, to the Sudden Illumination branch of Zen Buddhism.

Chu Hsi himself is, as a rule, careful to avoid interpretations too markedly Buddhist or Taoist in character. He does not, however, refrain from using expositions wholly bound up with Sung scholasticism and having no connexion whatever with doctrines which could possibly have existed in the time of Confucius. For example, on *Analects,* 1, 2, he reproduces a passage from Ch'êng Hao which insists that while Goodness is inborn, family piety is not; for it is well known that 'nature' consists 'solely of four constituents, Goodness, Conscience, Reverence and Knowledge.' All this is not merely alien to but directly contradicts the teaching of the *Analects.* Confucius would, for example, have been surprised indeed to learn that Goodness, the quality he so persistently refused to accord even to his most favoured disciples, was common to all men; and that inborn knowledge, which he himself expressly disclaimed,[1] was to be reckoned as an inevitable part of human equipment.

The methods of critical philology were first applied to the text by scholars such as Yüan Yüan (1764-1849), Wang Nien-sun (1744-1832),[2] Wang Yin-chih (1766-1834), Yü Yüeh (1821-1906). The only European writer who has used these native studies to any purpose is Chavannes, in dealing with the biography of Confucius in *Mémoires Historiques,* Vol. V. All existing translations of the *Analects* rely entirely on the 'scriptural' interpretations of Chu Hsi. It is the Chu Hsi interpretation which, except in small academic

1 VII, 19.

2 Valuable commentaries on passages in the *Analects* will be found scattered about his *Tu Shu Tsa Chih,* and in the *Ching I Shu Wen* of his son Wang Yin-chih. Much of the best work of the eighteenth and nineteenth century scholars is collected in the *Huang Ch'ing Ching Chieh* ('Classical Commentaries of the Ch'ing Dynasty') and its continuation *Huang Ch'ing Ching Chieh Hsü Pien,* referred to henceforward as H.C.C.C. and H.P.

circles, is still accepted unquestioningly everywhere in the Far East and which, in so far as Confucius has not been replaced by Sun Yat-sen, still forms the basis of moral education. Translations such as those of Legge, Soothill, Couvreur and Richard Wilhelm have therefore by no means lost their value; at the same time, there is room for a version such as mine, which attempts to tell the European reader not what the book means to the Far East of to-day, but what it meant to those who compiled it. I have used the work of the eighteenth century and nineteenth century native scholars, and appreciated it. But in many ways, especially as regards phonology, it is completely out of date; and my chief guide throughout has been a knowledge of the rest of early Chinese literature.

The references to *Chou Li* are to the *Chou Li Chêng I* of Sun I-jang. The transliteration used throughout is that of Wade, save for the omission of the short mark over *u* following *ss* and *tz,* and the occasional use of *Yi* for *I* where confusion with the English first person singular was likely. The substitution of an apostrophe for the 'rough breathing,' to mark aspirated consonants, is a concession to the preferences of the printer.

APPENDIX II

Biographical Dates

Interest tends to centre upon certain kinds of biographical data to the exclusion of others. Western scholars think it extremely important to discover exactly when people were born and exactly when they died. About various other kinds of biographical data we have no curiosity at all. Chinese legend finds it consequent to record the exact height of its heroes,[1] and the American writer, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, reflecting presumably a fairly general interest in the subject, records[2] that one of her characters 'did not weigh over 110 pounds at most.' A European biographer is not expected to give exact data about height or weight; but he is prepared to spend months in discovering whether his subject was born on the first or the second of July, and no one would consider that he was wasting his time.

The Chinese were not lacking in a sense of chronology. But they applied it exclusively to public events and persons connected with public events. If you take up an ordinary Chinese biographical dictionary, such as the fat green one published by the Commercial Press, you will find that exact dates are given only in the case of persons who held high official positions and whose lives were intertwined with high affairs of State. Otherwise we are generally only told to what dynasty a person belonged, which is fairly vague, considering that dynasties often lasted for several hundred years. At the most, we are told during what period (and the Ch'ien Lung period, for example, lasted

[1] See Granet, *La Pensée Chinoise*, pp. 202 seq.
[2] *The Worlds and I*, p. 273.

sixty years) he passed his official examinations.

The Confucius of the *Analects* did not hold any high official rank. That his real dates should really have been handed down is against all probability. We do not, for example, know the dates of other great teachers, such as Mo Tzu, Chuang Tzu, Mencius. I do not personally doubt that the currently accepted dates (551-479 B.C.) and the slight variants upon them still current in the Han dynasty were supplied at a time when legend had turned Confucius into a great statesman, a person of public importance, the dates of whose birth and death were matters that concerned the State. What his family must in any case have known is the day of the year upon which his anniversary was kept. If it was known that he died on the twenty-sixth day of the sixty-day cycle, in the fourth month, it could be discovered which years had a day answering to this description, and of the possible years one could be fastened upon as the official date. M. Maspero has suggested that the actual date may quite likely have been a quarter of a century later than the accepted one.

THE ANALECTS

THE ANALECTS

(*Lun Yü*)

BOOK I

1. The Master said, To learn and at due times to repeat what one has learnt, is that not after all [1] a pleasure? That friends should come to one from afar,[2] is this not after all delightful? To remain unsoured even though one's merits are unrecognized by others, is that not after all what is expected of a gentleman?

2. Master Yu[3] said, Those who in private life behave well towards their parents and elder brothers, in public life seldom show a disposition to resist the authority of their superiors. And as for such men starting a revolution, no instance of it has ever occurred. It is upon the trunk[4] that a gentleman works. When that is firmly set up, the Way grows. And surely proper behaviour towards parents and elder brothers is the trunk of Goodness?

1 The 'after all' implies 'even though one does not hold office.'
2 Several of the disciples belonged to other States (e.g. Wei and Ch'i); but there is no evidence that they came to Lu on account of Confucius. Unless, however, there is here some allusion that escapes us, the phrase must refer to the visits of admirers from abroad, perhaps friends made during the Master's journeys in Honan. 3 See p. 20.
4 i.e. upon what is fundamental, as opposed to 'the twigs,' i.e. small arts and accomplishments, which the gentleman leaves to his inferiors.

3. The Master said, 'Clever talk and a pretentious manner' [1] are seldom found in the Good.

4. Master Tsêng[2] said, Every day I examine myself on these three points: in acting on behalf of others, have I always been loyal to their interests? In intercourse with my friends, have I always been true to my word? Have I failed to repeat[3] the precepts that have been handed down to me?

5. The Master said, A country of a thousand war-chariots cannot be administered unless the ruler attends strictly to business, punctually observes his promises, is economical in expenditure, shows affection towards his subjects in general, and uses the labour of the peasantry only at the proper times of year.[4]

6. The Master said, A young man's duty is to behave well to his parents at home and to his elders abroad, to be cautious in giving promises and punctual in keeping them, to have kindly feelings towards everyone, but seek the intimacy of the Good. If, when all that is done, he has any energy to spare, then let him study the polite arts.[5]

7. Tzu-hsia said, A man who

> Treats his betters as betters,
> Wears an air of respect,
> Who into serving father and mother
> Knows how to put his whole strength,

1 Traditional phrase. Cf. *Shu Ching,* Kao Yao Mo.
2 See p. 20. 3 And so keep in memory.
4 i.e. not when they ought to be working in the fields. Bad rulers, on the contrary, listen to music or go hunting when they ought to be attending to business, continually employ labour on ostentatious building-schemes, etc.
5 i.e. learn to recite the *Songs,* practise archery, deportment, and the like.

Who in the service of his prince will lay down his life,
Who in intercourse with friends is true to his word——

others may say of him that he still lacks education,[1] but I for my part should certainly call him an educated man.

8. The Master said, If a gentleman is frivolous,[2] he will lose the respect of his inferiors and lack firm ground [3] upon which to build up his education. First and foremost he must learn to be faithful to his superiors, to keep promises, to refuse the friendship of all who are not like him.[4] And if he finds he has made a mistake, then he must not be afraid of admitting the fact and amending his ways.

9. Master Tsêng said, When proper respect towards the dead is shown at the End and continued after they are far away the moral force (*tê*)[5] of a people has reached its highest point.

10. Tzu-Ch'in[6] said to Tzu-kung,[7] When our Master arrives in a fresh country he always manages to find out about its policy.[8] Does he do this by asking ques-

1 i.e. knowledge of ritual, precedents, the correct use on social occasions of verses from the *Songs*, etc.
2 i.e. irresponsible and unreliable in his dealings with others.
3 The sentence runs awkwardly and is probably corrupt.
4 i.e. of those who still reckon in terms of 'profit and loss,' and have not taken *jên* (Goodness) as their standard.
5 Cf. Introduction, p. 33.
6 Disciple of Confucius. See XVI, 13 and XIX, 25.
7 See Introduction, p. 20.
8 Not, of course, about the details of administration, but about the secret, general maxims which inspire the ruler.

tions, or do people tell him of their own accord? Tzu-kung said, Our Master gets things by being cordial, frank, courteous, temperate, deferential. That is our Master's way of enquiring—a very different matter,[1] certainly, from the way in which enquiries are generally made.

11. The Master said, While a man's father is alive, you can only see his intentions; it is when his father dies that you discover whether or not he is capable of carrying them out. If for the whole three years of mourning he manages to carry on the household exactly as in his father's day, then he is a good son indeed.[2]

12. Master Yu said, In the usages of ritual it is harmony[3] that is prized; the Way of the Former Kings from this[4] got its beauty. Both small matters and great depend upon it. If things go amiss, he who knows the harmony[5] will be able to attune them. But if harmony itself is not modulated by ritual, things will still go amiss.[6]

13. Master Yu said,

> In your promises cleave to what is right,
> And you will be able to fulfil your word.
> In your obeisances cleave to ritual,
> And you will keep dishonour at bay.

[1] The double particle *ch'i-chu,* peculiar to the *Analects* and *Kungyang Chuan,* does not seem to differ in meaning from the ordinary modal *ch'i.* [2] See Introduction, p. 38.
[3] Harmony between man and nature; playing the musical mode that harmonizes with the season, wearing seasonable clothes, eating seasonable food, and the like. [4] i.e. from harmony.
[5] i.e. the act that harmonizes with the moment.
[6] See Introduction, p. 66.

Marry one who has not betrayed her own
kin,
And you may safely present her to your
Ancestors.[1]

14. The Master said, A gentleman who never goes on eating till he is sated, who does not demand comfort in his home, who is diligent in business and cautious in speech, who associates with those that possess the Way and thereby corrects his own faults—such a one may indeed be said to have a taste for learning.

15. Tzu-kung said, 'Poor without cadging, rich without swagger.' What of that?[2] The Master said, Not bad. But better still, 'Poor, yet delighting in the Way; rich, yet a student of ritual.' Tzu-kung said, The saying of the *Songs*,[3]

As thing cut, as thing filed,
As thing chiselled, as thing polished

refers, I suppose, to what you have just said? The Master said, Ssu, now I can really begin to talk to you about the *Songs*, for when I allude to sayings of the past, you see what bearing they have on what was to come after.

16. The Master said, (the good man) does not grieve that other people do not recognize his merits. His only anxiety is lest he should fail to recognize theirs.

1 Lines 2, 4, and 6 rhyme. For the last rhyme, which belongs to a well-established type, see Karlgren, *The Rimes in the Sung section of the Shi King*. For the presentation of the bride to the husband's ancestors, see *The Book of Songs*, p. 90.

2 i.e. what of it as a motto?

3 *The Book of Songs* p. 46, which describes the elegance of a lover. Tzu-kung interprets it as describing the pains the gentleman has taken to improve his character, and suggests that Confucius prefers the second maxim ('Poor, yet delighting . . .') because it implies a greater effort of self-improvement.

BOOK II

1. The Master said, He who rules by moral force (*tê*) is like the pole-star, which remains in its place while all the lesser stars do homage to it.

2. The Master said, If out of the three hundred *Songs* I had to take one phrase to cover all my teaching, I would say 'Let there be no evil in your thoughts.' [1]

3. The Master said, Govern the people by regulations, keep order among them by chastisements, and they will flee from you, and lose all self-respect. Govern them by moral force, keep order among them by ritual [2] and they will keep their self-respect and come to you of their own accord.

4. The Master said, At fifteen I set my heart upon learning. At thirty, I had planted my feet firm upon the ground. At forty, I no longer suffered from perplexities. At fifty, I knew what were the biddings of Heaven. At sixty, I heard them with docile ear. At seventy, I could follow the dictates of my own heart; for what I desired no longer overstepped the boundaries of right.

5. Mêng I Tzu[3] asked about the treatment of parents. The Master said, Never disobey! When Fan

[1] *The Book of Songs*, p. 275, l. 7, where, however, *ssu* does not mean 'thoughts,' but is an exclamation, 'oh,' 'ah,' or the like; but in applying ancient texts it is the words themselves that matter, not the context; and these words can be reapplied in any sense which they are conceivably capable of bearing.

[2] See Introduction, p. 66.

[3] A young grandee of Lu, whose father sent him to study with Confucius. He died in 481 B.C.

Ch'ih[1] was driving his carriage for him, the Master said, Mêng asked me about the treatment of parents and I said, Never disobey! Fan Ch'ih said, In what sense did you mean it? The Master said, While they are alive, serve them according to ritual. When they die, bury them according to ritual and sacrifice to them according to ritual.[2]

6. Mêng Wu Po[3] asked about the treatment of parents. The Master said, Behave in such a way that your father and mother have no anxiety about you, except concerning your health.

7. Tzu-yu[4] asked about the treatment of parents. The Master said, 'Filial sons' nowadays are people who see to it that their parents get enough to eat. But even dogs and horses are cared for to that extent. If there is no feeling of respect, wherein lies the difference?

8. Tzu-hsia[5] asked about the treatment of parents. The Master said, It is the demeanour[6] that is difficult. Filial piety does not consist merely in young people undertaking the hard work, when anything has to be done, or serving their elders first with wine and food. It is something much more than that.

1 A disciple.

2 Evidently by 'disobey' Confucius meant 'disobey the rituals.' The reply was intended to puzzle the enquirer and make him think. In *Mencius,* III, 1, II, 2, 'While they are alive . . .', etc., is given as a saying of Master Tsêng. Here and elsewhere 'sacrifice' means offerings in general and not only animal-sacrifice.

3 Son of Mêng I Tzu. 4 A disciple; see Introduction, p. 20.

5 See Introduction, p. 20.

6 This is Chêng Hsüan's interpretation. Pao Hsien (6 B.C.–65 A.D.) takes *sê* to mean the expression of one's parents, which must be watched for hints of approval or disapproval.

9. The Master said, I can talk to Yen Hui[1] a whole day without his ever differing from me. One would think he was stupid. But if I enquire into his private conduct when he is not with me I find that it fully demonstrates what I have taught him. No, Hui is by no means stupid.

10. The Master said, Look closely into his aims, observe the means by which he pursues them, discover what brings him content—and can the man's real worth[2] remain hidden from you, can it remain hidden from you?

11. The Master said, He who by reanimating[3] the Old can gain knowledge of the New is fit to be a teacher.

12. The Master said, A gentleman is not an implement.[4]

13. Tzu-kung asked about the true gentleman. The

1 The favourite disciple. His early death is several times referred to in this book. It would be possible to put this passage in the past and suppose it to have been spoken after Yen Hui's death; but I see no reason to do so.

2 i.e. whether he is fit to be entrusted with office. There is no need to have seen him actually handling practical issues. Cf. *Mencius*, IV, I, XV.

3 Literally, 'warming up.' The business of the teacher is to give fresh life to the Scriptures by reinterpreting them so that they apply to the problems of modern life. All scriptures (Homer, the *Koran*, our own Bible) have been used in this way. I have seen 'The poor ye have always with you' used as an argument against slum-clearance. We have read above how Tzu-kung showed himself to be a true teacher by 'reanimating' a passage from the *Songs*.

4 i.e. a specialist, a tool used for a special purpose. He need only have general, moral qualifications.

Master said, He does not preach what he practises till he has practised what he preaches.

14. The Master said, A gentleman can see a question from all sides without bias. The small man[1] is biased and can see a question only from one side.

15. The Master said, 'He who learns but does not think,[2] is lost.' He who thinks but does not learn is in great danger.[3]

16. The Master said, He who sets to work upon a different strand destroys the whole fabric.[4]

17. The Master said, Yu,[5] shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, to recognize that you know it, and when you do not know a thing, to recognize that you do not know it. That is knowledge.[6]

18. Tzu-chang was studying the *Song* Han-lu.[7] The

1 Cf. Introduction, p. 35. For the maxim, Cf. *Kuo Yü*, 8.
2 For 'thinking,' see Introduction, p. 44.
3 I imagine that the first clause is a proverbial saying, and that Confucius meets it with the second clause. The proverb says: 'To learn without thinking is fatal.' Confucius says: To think but not to learn (i.e. study the Way of the ancients) is equally dangerous.
4 The metaphor is one of weaving or netting. 'Strand' (*tuan*) is a sprout, something that sticks out, and so 'the loose end of a thread.' The moral Way as opposed to the opportunist Way of the World must be followed consistently. It is no use working at it in disconnected patches.
5 Familiar name of the disciple Tzu-lu, see Introduction, p. 20.
6 That knowledge consists in knowing that one does not know is a frequent theme in early Chinese texts. Cf. Tao Tê Ching, ch. LXXI.
7 *The Book of Songs*, p. 213. It puns on Han-lu, the name of a mountain, and *han-lu* 'seeking princely rewards, preferment.'

Master said, Hear much, but maintain silence[1] as regards doubtful points and be cautious in speaking of the rest; then you will seldom get into trouble. See much, but ignore what it is dangerous to have seen, and be cautious in acting upon the rest; then you will seldom want to undo your acts. He who seldom gets into trouble about what he has said and seldom does anything that he afterwards wishes he had not done, will be sure incidentally[2] to get his reward.

19. Duke Ai[3] asked, What can I do in order to get the support of the common people? Master K'ung[4] replied, If you 'raise up the straight and set them on top of the crooked,' the commoners will support you. But if you raise the crooked and set them on top of the straight, the commoners will not support you.

20. Chi K'ang-tzu[5] asked whether there were any form of encouragement by which he could induce the common people to be respectful and loyal. The Master said, Approach them with dignity, and they will respect you. Show piety towards your parents and kindness toward your children, and they will be loyal to you. Promote those who are worthy, train those who are incompetent; that is the best form of encouragement.

21. Someone, when talking to Master K'ung, said, How is it that you are not in the public service? The

1 Literally, 'leave a gap,' a metaphor derived from the language as copyists and scribes. Cf. XV, 25.
2 See additional notes. From 'Hear much' to 'acts' is in rhyme, but would be awkward to print as verse.
3 Duke of Lu from 494-468. 4 i.e. Confucius.
5 Head of the three families who were *de facto* rulers of Lu. Died 469 B.C.

Master said, The Book[1] says: 'Be filial, only be filial and friendly towards your brothers, and you will be contributing to government.' There are other sorts of service quite different from what you[2] mean by 'service.'

22. The Master said, I do not see what use a man can be put to, whose word cannot be trusted. How can a waggon be made to go if it has no yoke-bar or a carriage, if it has no collar-bar?

23. Tzu-chang[3] asked whether the state of things[4] ten generations hence could be foretold. The Master said, We know in what ways the Yin modified ritual when they followed upon the Hsia.[5] We know in what ways the Chou[6] modified ritual when they followed upon the Yin.[7] And hence we can foretell what the successors of Chou will be like, even supposing they do not appear till a hundred generations from now.

24. The Master said, Just as to sacrifice to ancestors other than one's own is presumption, so to see what is right and not do it is cowardice.

1 i.e. what Europeans call the *Book of History*. The passage does not occur in the genuine books (see Introduction, p. 53). What it meant in its original context no doubt was 'Be pious to your ancestors . . . be generous in rewarding your officers of State.' Confucius 'reanimates' the ancient text, in order to prove that a virtuous private life makes a real contribution towards the public welfare.

2 *Ch'i* corresponds to the Latin *iste*.

3 See Introduction, p. 20.

4 As regards ritual.

5 Supposed to have ruled in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C.

6 The dynasty which still had a nominal hegemony in the time of Confucius.

7 The fall of Yin took place in the eleventh century B.C. It was on the site of one of their capitals that the famous 'Honan oracle-bones' were found.

BOOK III

1. Master K'ung said of the head of the Chi Family[1] when he had eight teams[2] of dancers performing in his courtyard, If this man can be endured, who cannot be endured!

2. The Three Families used the *Yung Song*[3] during the removal of the sacrificial vessels. The Master said,

> *By rulers and lords attended,*
> *The Son of Heaven, mysterious*——

What possible application can such words have in the hall of the Three Families?

3. The Master said, A man who is not Good, what can he have to do with ritual? A man who is not Good, what can he have to do with music?

4. Lin Fang asked for some main principles in connexion with ritual. The Master said, A very big question. In ritual at large it is a safe rule always to be too sparing rather than too lavish; and in the particular case of mourning-rites, they should be dictated by grief rather than by fear.

5. The Master said, The barbarians of the East

[1] One of the Three Families that had usurped most of the powers of the Duke of Lu. [2] See additional notes.
[3] 'He comes in solemn state . . .' *The Book of Songs*, p. 231. Its use was obviously only appropriate at the Emperor's Court. It would have been out of place at the Duke's palace, and was still more so in the hall of the Three Families.

and North have retained their princes. They are not in such a state of decay as we in China.[1]

6. The head of the Chi Family was going to make the offerings on Mount T'ai.[2] The Master said to Jan Ch'iu,[3] Cannot you save him from this? Jan Ch'iu replied, I cannot. The Master said, Alas, we can hardly suppose Mount T'ai to be ignorant of matters that even Lin Fang enquires into![4]

7. The Master said, Gentlemen never compete. You will say that in archery they do so. But even then they bow and make way for one another when they are going up to the archery-ground, when they are coming down and at the subsequent drinking-bout. Thus even when competing, they still remain gentlemen.

8. Tzu-hsia asked, saying, What is the meaning of

> *Oh the sweet smile dimpling,*
> *The lovely eyes so black and white!*
> *Plain silk that you would take for coloured stuff.*[5]

The Master said, The painting comes after the plain groundwork.[6] Tzu-hsia said, Then ritual comes after-

1 Where in several States the ruling families had been ousted by usurpers.
2 To the spirit of the mountain, a thing which the Duke alone had the right to do. The offering is said to have consisted of jade objects. 3 Who was in the service of the Chi Family.
4 The mountain must surely know enough of ritual to be aware that no sacrifice but the Duke's could be accepted. The sense is carried on from IV, 4.
5 So dazzling is the contrast that the effect is that of painted stuff rather than of a design in black and white. The first two lines occur in *Song* 86, where however they are not followed by the third line.
6 Confucius reinterprets the third line of verse in the sense 'It is on plain silk that one makes coloured designs,' or the like. In scriptural reinterpretation the fact that the new meaning does not fit in with the original context is of no consequence.

wards?[1] The Master said, Shang[2] it is who bears me up. At last I have someone with whom I can discuss the Songs!

9. The Master said, How can we talk about the ritual of the Hsia? The State of Ch'i[3] supplies no adequate evidence. How can we talk about the ritual of Yin? The State of Sung supplies no adequate evidence. For there is a lack both of documents and of learned men. But for this lack we should be able to obtain evidence from these two States.

10. The master said, At the Ancestral Sacrifice, as for all that comes after the libation, I had far rather not witness it! [4]

11. Someone asked for an explanation of the Ancestral Sacrifice. The Master said, I do not know. Anyone who knew the explanation could deal with all things under Heaven as easily as I lay this here; and he laid his finger upon the palm of his hand.[5]

1 Can only be built upon Goodness.

2 Familiar names of Tzu-hsia. For a further discussion of this passage, see additional notes.

3 In Honan, where descendants of the Hsia still carried on the sacrifices. Confucius laments that these States had not preserved the documents and rites of their ancestors. The interrogative particles seem to have been accidentally omitted.

4 In interpreting such passages as this we have to be careful not to read them in the light of later and to a large extent Utopian, theoretical books of ritual. Confucius was obviously displeased by the way in which the *Ti* (Ancestor-sacrifice) was carried out in Lu; presumably because it was too closely modelled on Imperial ritual; more than that we cannot say. See above p. 65.

5 For the magical effect of ritual in controlling men and things, see Introduction, p. 64. For the anecdote, cf. *Chung Yung*, XIX, 6, and *K'ung Tzu Chia Yü*, 27. (Lun Li).

12. Of the saying, 'The word "sacrifice" is like the word "present"; one should sacrifice to a spirit as though[1] that spirit was present,' the Master said, If I am not present at the sacrifice, it is as though there were no sacrifice.[2]

13. Wang-sun Chia[3] asked about the meaning of the saying,

> Better pay court to the stove
> Than pay court to the Shrine.[4]

The Master said, It is not true. He who has put himself in the wrong with Heaven has no means of expiation left.

14. The Master said, Chou could survey the two preceding dynasties. How great a wealth of culture! And we follow upon Chou.[5]

15. When the Master entered the Grand Temple[6]

1 i.e. with the same demeanour and expression. Cf. *Li Chi,* XIII, end, 'In general, in sacrifice demeanour and expression should be as though one were in the presence of the person who is being sacrificed to.'

2 i.e. do not worry about 'spirits being present' and the like. What matters is the state of mind of the sacrificer. If he is not heart and soul 'there,' the sacrifice is useless. On the purely subjective value of sacrifice, see *Hsün Tzu,* P'ien XIX, end.

3 Commander-in-chief in the State of Wei, mentioned under the year 502 B.C. in the *Tso Chuan.*

4 This rhymed saying means that it is better to be on good terms with the hearth-god and have a full belly than waste one's food on the Ancestors, who cannot enjoy it. Confucius, who is usually able to reinterpret old maxims in a new, moral sense, finds himself obliged to reject this cynical piece of peasant-lore *in toto.*

5 i.e. we in Lu have all three dynasties, Hsia, Yin, and Chou to look back upon and imitate.

6 Erected in honour of the first Duke of Chou.

he asked questions about everything there. Someone said, Do not tell me that this son of a villager from Tsou[1] is expert in matters of ritual. When he went to the Grand Temple, he had to ask about everything. The Master hearing of this said, Just so! such is the ritual.[2]

16. The Master said, the saying

> *In archery it is not the hide that counts,*
> *For some men have more strength than others,*

is the way of the Ancients.[3]

17. Tzu-kung wanted to do away with the presentation[4] of a sacrificial sheep at the Announcement[5] of each New Moon. The Master said, Ssu! You grudge sheep, but I grudge ritual.

18. The Master said, Were anyone to-day to serve his prince according to the full prescriptions of ritual, he would be thought a sycophant.

19. Duke Ting (died 495 B.C.) asked for a precept concerning a ruler's use of his ministers and a min-

1 A village with which Confucius's family had been connected.
2 i.e. precisely by doing so I showed my knowledge of ritual; for the asking of such questions is prescribed by ritual. For questions of this sort, see additional notes.
3 i.e. it is not piercing the hide stretched as a target that counts. In this ancient rhymed saying Confucius saw a maxim which metaphorically resumed the whole way of the Ancient Sages, who ruled by Goodness, not by force. For the first of the two lines, cf. *I Li,* Couvreur's translation, p. 173. Cf. also *Chou Li,* where *chu p'i* seems merely to mean 'hitting the target.' See additional notes.
4 By the Duke to his State officers. This is the explanation of Liu T'ai-kung (1751-1805). See H.C.C.C. 798.
5 To the Ancestors, who are kept informed of everything that goes on below.

ister's service to his ruler. Master K'ung replied saying, A ruler in employing his ministers should be guided solely by the prescriptions of ritual. Ministers in serving their ruler, solely by devotion to his cause.

20. The Master said, The Ospreys![1] Pleasure not carried to the point of debauch; grief not carried to the point of self-injury.

21. Duke Ai asked Tsai Yü[2] about the Holy Ground. Tsai Yü replied, The Hsia sovereigns marked theirs with a pine, the men of Yin used a cypress, the men of Chou used a chestnut-tree, saying, 'This will cause the common people to be in fear and trembling.'[3] The Master hearing of it said, What is over and done with, one does not discuss. What has already taken its course, one does not criticize; what already belongs to the past, one does not censure.[4]

22. The Master said, Kuan Chung[5] was in reality a man of very narrow capacities. Someone said, Surely

1 *The Book of Songs,* No. 87, which begins by describing a lover's grief at being separated from his lady and ends by describing their joyful union. Confucius sees in it a general guide to conduct, whether in joy or affliction. The opening words are: *'Kuan, kuan* cry the ospreys.'

2 A disciple in whom Confucius was much disappointed.

3 Pun on *li* a chestnut-tree and *li* 'to be in awe.'

4 The usual explanation of this passage makes Confucius's comment refer to Tsai Yü's pun 'which might lead the Duke to severe measures' in dealing with his people (Legge, p. 26). The comment, however, is phrased in such a way that it must be taken as referring to the remote and not to the immediate past. It is perhaps unfortunate, Confucius suggests, that the founders of the Chou dynasty chose a tree with so inauspicious a name; but it was ill-bred of Tsai Yü to criticize them in conversation with Duke Ai of Lu, who was their direct descendant.

5 Kuan Tzu, seventh century B.C., the statesman who built up the power of the Ch'i kingdom. Confucius regarded him as having merely increased the political prestige of his country without raising its moral status. See Introduction, p. 50.

he displayed an example of frugality? The Master said, Kuan had three lots of wives,[1] his State officers performed no double duties. How can he be cited as an example of frugality? That may be, the other said; but surely he had a great knowledge of ritual? The Master said, Only the ruler of a State may build a screen to mask his gate; but Kuan had such a screen. Only the ruler of a State, when meeting another such ruler, may use cup-mounds; [2] but Kuan used one. If even Kuan is to be cited as an expert in ritual, who is not an expert in ritual?

23. When talking to the Grand Master [3] of Lu about music, the Master said, Their music [4] in so far as one can find out about it began with a strict unison. Soon the musicians were given more liberty; [5] but the tone remained harmonious, brilliant, consistent, right on till the close.

24. The guardian of the frontier-mound at I [6] asked to be presented to the Master, saying, No gentleman arriving at this frontier has ever yet failed to accord me an interview. The Master's followers presented him. On going out the man said, Sirs, you must not be disheartened by his failure. It is now a very long while[7] since the Way prevailed in the world. I feel sure that Heaven intends to use your Master as a wooden bell.[8]

1 Each consisting of a wife and two 'understudies' (bridesmaids); only a feudal lord was entitled to such an establishment.
2 A mound upon which to stand pledge-cups.
3 The *maestro*, music-master, who was always a blind man.
4 The music of the ancients. 5 To improvise.
6 On the borders of the State of Wei.
7 Sages appear at regular intervals. One is now due.
8 A rattle, used to arouse the populace in times of night-danger, and in general by heralds and town-criers; cf. *Li Chi*, Yüeh-ling. (Couvreur's translation, I, 343).

25. The Master spoke of the Succession Dance[1] as being[2] perfect beauty and at the same time perfect goodness; but of the War Dance as being perfect beauty, but not perfect goodness.

26. The Master said, High office filled by men of narrow views, ritual performed without reverence, the forms of mourning observed without grief—these are things I cannot bear to see!

1 This dance (at any rate according to the later Confucian theory) mimed the peaceful accession of the legendary Emperor Shun; the War Dance mimed the accession by conquest of the Emperor Wu, who overthrew the Yin. See above, p. 93.

2 Or as we should say, 'as embodying.'

BOOK IV

1. The Master said, It is Goodness that gives to a neighbourhood its beauty.[1] One who is free to choose, yet does not prefer to dwell among the Good—how can he be accorded the name of wise?[2]

2. The Master said. Without Goodness a man

Cannot for long endure adversity,
Cannot for long enjoy prosperity.

The Good Man rests content with Goodness; he that is merely wise pursues Goodness in the belief that it pays to do so.

3, 4. Of the adage[3] 'Only a Good Man knows how to like people, knows how to dislike them,' the Master said, He whose heart is in the smallest degree set upon Goodness will dislike no one.

5. Wealth and rank are what every man desires; but if they can only be retained to the detriment of the Way he professes, he must relinquish them. Poverty and obscurity are what every man detests; but if they can only be avoided to the detriment of the Way he

[1] Cf. *Mencius*, II, 1, VII, 2.

[2] A justification of the maxim, 'When right does not prevail in a kingdom, then leave it,' and of Confucius's own prolonged travels.

[3] Cf. *Ta Hsüeh* ('The Great Learning'), commentary, X, 15. 'Only the Good man is considered capable of loving (*ai*) men, capable of hating them.' In the *Kuo Yü* (ch. 18), however, the saying is quite differently interpreted: 'Only a good man is safe to like and safe to dislike. . . . For if you like him, he will not take undue advantage of it; and if you dislike him, he will not resent it.' The words 'The Master said' at the beginning of paragraph 3 should be omitted, and paragraphs 3 and 4 taken together.

professes, he must accept them. The gentleman who ever parts company with Goodness does not fulfil that name. Never for a moment[1] does a gentleman quit the way of Goodness. He is never so harried but that he cleaves to this; never so tottering but that he cleaves to this.

6. The Master said, I for my part[2] have never yet seen one who really cared for Goodness, nor one who really abhorred wickedness. One who really cared for Goodness would never let any other consideration come first. One who abhorred wickedness would be so constantly doing Good that wickedness would never have a chance to get at him. Has anyone ever managed to do Good with his whole might even as long as the space of a single day? I think not. Yet I for my part have never seen anyone give up such an attempt because he had not the *strength* to go on. It may well have happened, but I for my part have never seen it.[3]

7. The Master said, Every man's faults belong to a set.[4] If one looks out for faults it is only as a means of recognizing Goodness.

8. The Master said, In the morning, hear the Way; in the evening, die content! [5]

9. The Master said, A Knight whose heart is set upon the Way, but who is ashamed of wearing shabby

1 Literally, 'for as long as it takes to eat' one bowl of rice. A common impression, simply meaning a very little while.
2 *Wo* as a nominative is more emphatic than *wu*.
3 It is the will not the way that is wanting.
4 i.e. a set of qualities which includes virtues.
5 The well-known saying *Vedi Napoli e poi mori* follows the same pattern. The meaning is, you will have missed nothing.

clothes and eating coarse food, is not worth calling into counsel.

10. The Master said, A gentleman in his dealings with the world has neither enmities nor affections; [1] but wherever he sees Right he ranges himself beside it.

11. The Master said, Where gentlemen set their hearts upon moral force (*tê*),[2] the commoners set theirs upon the soil.[3] Where gentlemen think only of punishments, the commoners think only of exemptions.[4]

12. The Master said, Those[5] whose measures are dictated by mere expediency will arouse continual discontent.

13. The Master said, If it is really possible to govern countries by ritual and yielding, there is no more to be said. But if it is not really possible, of what use is ritual? [6]

14. The Master said, He[7] does not mind not being

1 Reading uncertain, but general sense quite clear. See textual notes.
2 As opposed to physical compulsion. See additional notes.
3 They *an t'u*, 'are content with the soil,' and prepared to defend it.
4 *Hui* means amnesties, immunities, exemptions, as opposed to what is 'lawful and proper.'
5 The rulers and upper classes in general.
6 The saying can be paraphrased as follows: If I and my followers are right in saying that countries can be governed solely by correct carrying out of ritual and its basic principle of 'giving way to others,' there is obviously no case to be made out for any other form of government. If on the other hand we are wrong, then ritual is useless. To say, as people often do, that ritual is all very well so long as it is not used as an instrument of government, is wholly to misunderstand the purpose of ritual.
7 The gentleman. But we might translate 'I do not mind,' etc.

in office; all he minds about is whether he has qualities that entitle him to office. He does not mind failing to get recognition; he is too busy doing the things that entitle him to recognition.

15. The Master said, Shên! My Way has one (thread) that runs right through it. Master Tsêng said, Yes. When the Master had gone out, the disciples asked, saying What did he mean? Master Tsêng said, Our Master's Way is simply this: Loyalty, consideration.[1]

16. The Master said, A gentleman takes as much trouble to discover what is right as lesser men take to discover what will pay.

17. The Master said, In the presence of a good man, think all the time how you may learn to equal him. In the presence of a bad man, turn your gaze within![2]

18. The Master said, In serving his father and mother a man may gently remonstrate with them. But if he sees that he has failed to change their opinion, he should resume an attitude of deference and not thwart them; may feel discouraged, but not resentful.

19. The Master said, While father and mother are

1 Loyalty to superiors; consideration for the feelings of others, 'not doing to them anything one would not like to have done to oneself,' as defined below, XV, 23. 'Loyalty and Consideration' is one of the Nine Virtues enumerated by the *I Chou Shu*, 29, 1 verso. Cf. also XV, 2 below.

2 'Within yourself scrutinize yourself.' *êrh* is the second person singular pronoun, not the conjunction?

alive, a good son does not wander far afield; or if he does so, goes only where he has said he was going.[1]

20. The Master said, If for the whole three years of mourning a son manages to carry on the household exactly as in his father's day, then he is a good son indeed.[2]

21. The Master said, It is always better for a man to know the age of his parents. In the one case[3] such knowledge will be a comfort to him; in the other,[4] it will fill him with a salutary dread.

22. The Master said, In old days a man kept a hold on his words, fearing the disgrace that would ensue should he himself fail to keep pace with them.

23. The Master said, Those who err on the side of strictness are few indeed!

24. The Master said, A gentleman covets the reputation of being slow in word but prompt in deed.[5]

25. The Master said, Moral force (*tê*) never dwells in solitude; it will always bring neighbours.[6]

26. Tzu-yu said, In the service of one's prince repeated scolding[7] can only lead to loss of favour; in friendship, it can only lead to estrangement.

1 Particularly in order that if they die he may be able to come back and perform the rites of mourning.
2 Cf. I, 11.
3 If he knows that they are not so old as one might think.
4 If he realizes that they are very old.
5 Cf. *The Way and Its Power,* p. 198.
6 Whenever one individual or one country substitutes *tê* for physical compulsion, other individuals or other countries inevitably follow suit.
7 Cf. XII, 23 and additional notes.

BOOK V

1. The Master said of Kung Yeh Ch'ang, Though he has suffered imprisonment, he is not an unfit person to choose as a husband; for it was not through any fault of his own. He married him to his daughter.

The Master said of Nan Jung,[1] In a country ruled according to the Way, he would not be overlooked; in a country not ruled according to the Way, he would manage to avoid capital punishment or mutilation. He married him to his elder brother's[2] daughter.

2. Of Tzu-chien[3] he said, A gentleman indeed is such a one as he! If the land of Lu were indeed without gentlemen, how could he have learnt this?

3. Tzu-kung asked saying, What do you think of me? The Master said, You are a vessel.[4] Tzu-kung said, What sort of vessel? The Master said, A sacrificial vase of jade![5]

4. Someone said, Jan Yung is Good, but he is a poor talker. The Master said, What need has he to be a good talker? Those who down others with clap-trap are seldom popular. Whether he is Good, I do not know. But I see no need for him to be a good talker.

1 The commentators identify Nan Jung with Nan-kung Kuo, son of Mêng I Tzu, head of the powerful Mêng Family. This is, however, no ground for this identification, nor any reason to suppose that Confucius ever formed so exalted a family connection.

2 According to later tradition Confucius's elder brother was a cripple and for this reason his duties devolved on Confucius.

3 The disciple Fu Tzu-chien, who figures in later legend as model governor of the town of Shan-fu. See additional notes.

4 A man of particular capacities, but lacking the general state of electness known as *Jên* (Goodness).

5 i.e. the highest sort of vessel.

5. The Master gave Ch'i-tiao K'ai leave to take office, but he replied, 'I have not yet sufficiently perfected myself in the virtue of good faith.' The Master was delighted.

6. The Master said, The Way makes no progress. I shall get upon a raft and float out to sea.[1] I am sure Yu would come with me. Tzu-lu on hearing of this was in high spirits. The Master said, That is Yu indeed! He sets far too much store by feats of physical daring. It seems as though I should never get hold of the right sort of people.[2]

7. Mêng Wu Po[3] asked whether Tzu-lu was Good. The Master said, I do not know. On his repeating the question the Master said, In a country of a thousand war-chariots Yu could be trusted to carry out the recruiting. But whether he is Good I do not know. 'What about Ch'iu?' [4] The Master said, In a city of a thousand families or a baronial family with a hundred chariots he might do well as Warden. But whether he is Good, I do not know. 'What about Ch'ih? [5] The Master said, Girt with his sash, standing in his place at Court he might well be charged to converse with

1 What Confucius proposes is, of course, to go and settle among the barbarians. Cf. III, 5 and IX, 13. A certain idealization of the 'noble savage' is to be found fairly often in early Chinese literature; cf. the eulogy of the barbarians put into the mouth of a Chinese whose ancestors had settled among them, *Shih Chi V*, and the maxim 'When the Emperor no longer functions, learning must be sought among the Four Barbarians,' north, west, east, and south (*Tso Chuan*, Chao Kung seventeenth year).

2 Literally, 'get material.' Cf. *I Chou Shu* VIII, 1 verso. Yu (familiar name of Tzu-lu) figures in later legend as a converted swashbuckler, who constantly shocked Confucius by his pugnacity.

3 See above, II, 6. 4 The disciple Jan Ch'iu.

5 The disciple Kung-hsi Hua.

strangers and guests. But whether he is Good, I do not know.[1]

8. The Master in discussing Tzu-kung said to him, Which do you yourself think is the better, you or Hui? [2] He answered saying, I dare not so much as look at Hui. For Hui has but to hear one part in ten, in order to understand the whole ten. Whereas if I hear one part, I understand no more than two parts. The Master said, Not equal to him—you and I are not equal to him! [3]

9. Tsai Yü[4] used to sleep during the day. The Master said, Rotten wood cannot be carved, nor a wall of dried dung be trowelled.[5] What use is there in my scolding him any more?

The Master said, There was a time when I merely listened attentively to what people said, and took for granted that they would carry out their words. Now I am obliged not only to give ear to what they say, but also to keep an eye on what they do. It was my dealings with Tsai Yü that brought about the change.

10. The Master said, I have never yet seen a man who was truly steadfast.[6] Someone answered saying, 'Shên Ch'êng.' The Master said, Ch'êng! He is at the mercy of his desires. How can *he* be called steadfast?

1 Jan Ch'iu is known to history as a faithful henchman of the Lu dictator. Kung-hsi Hua's ambition was to perfect himself in the etiquette of State ceremonies. See XI, 25.

2 See above, II, 9. 3 See p. 74. 4 See III, 21.

5 i.e. patterned with the trowel. To translate 'be plastered' destroys the parallelism.

6 Impervious to outside influences, intimidations, etc.

11. Tzu-kung said, What I do not want others to do to me, I have no desire to do to others. The Master said, Oh Ssu! You have not quite got to that point yet.

12. Tzu-kung said, Our Master's views concerning culture[1] and the outward insignia[2] of goodness, we are permitted to hear; but about Man's nature[3] and the ways of Heaven[4] he will not tell us anything at all.

13. When Tzu-lu heard any precept and was still trying unsuccessfully to put it into practice, his one fear was that he might hear some fresh precept.

14. Tzu-kung asked saying, Why was K'ung Wên Tzu called Wên ('The Cultured')? [5] The Master said, Because he was diligent[6] and so fond of learning that he was not ashamed to pick up knowledge even from his inferiors.

15. Of Tzu-ch'an[7] the Master said that in him were to be found four of the virtues that belong to the

1 See Introduction, p. 39.

2 *Chang* ('insignia') means literally 'emblems' (usually representations of birds, beasts or plants) figuring on banners or dresses to show the rank of the owner. Hence metaphorically, the outward manifestations of an inner virtue.

3 As it is before it has been embellished with 'culture.'

4 T'ien Tao. The Tao taught by Confucius only concerned human behaviour ('the ways of man'); he did not expound a corresponding Heavenly Tao, governing the conduct of unseen powers and divinities.

5 i.e. why was he accorded this posthumous title? See Introduction, p. 39. He was a statesman of the Wei State who died between 484 and 480 B.C. He figures in the chronicles as a disloyal and self-seeking minister.

6 There is perhaps a play on *wên* and *min* ('diligent'); the two words were pronounced very similarly in ancient Chinese.

7 Minister in the Chêng State; died 522 B.C.

Way of the true gentleman. In his private conduct he was courteous, in serving his master he was punctilious, in providing for the needs of the people he gave them even more than their due; in exacting service from the people, he was just.

16. The Master said, Yen P'ing Chung is[1] a good example of what one's intercourse with one's fellow-men should be. However long he has known anyone he always maintains the same scrupulous courtesy.

17. The Master said, Tsang Wên Chung[2] kept a Ts'ai tortoise[3] in a hall with the hill-pattern on its pillar tops and the duckweed pattern on its king-posts.[4] Of what sort, pray, was his knowledge? [5]

18. Tzu-chang asked saying, The Grand Minister Tzu-wên[6] was appointed to this office on three separate occasions, but did not on any of these three occasions display the least sign of elation. Three times he was deposed; but never showed the least sign of disappointment. Each time, he duly informed his successor con-

1 Or 'was.' The Ch'i minister Yen Tzu, famous for his wise counsels, died in 500 B.C.

2 Minister of Lu in the seventh century B.C.

3 The country of Ts'ai was famous for its tortoises.

4 Such decoration was proper only to the Emperor's ancestral temple and palace. Cf. *I Chou Shu* 48, end. Kuan Tzu (*Li Chi,* Tsa Ch'i, Couvreur's translation, II, 187) is accused of decorating his palace in the same way.

5 i.e. his knowledge of ritual. For a tortoise kept on a special terrace and smeared daily with the blood of four bulls, see *Kuan Tzu,* P'ien 75. Strictly speaking only rulers kept tortoises for use in divination (*Li Chi X*); ministers used the yarrow-stalks. But we find Tsang's grandson still in possession of a Ts'ai tortoise (*Tso Chuan,* Duke Hsiang twenty-third year); so perhaps the family claimed an hereditary privilege.

6 Middle of the seventh century B.C.

cerning the administration of State affairs during his tenure of office. What should you say of him? The Master said, He was certainly faithful to his prince's interests. Tzu-chang said, Would you not call him Good? The Master said, I am not sure. I see nothing in that to merit the title Good.

(Tzu-chang said) When Ts'ui Tzu assassinated the sovereign of Ch'i,[1] Ch'ên Wên Tzu[2] who held a fief of ten war chariots gave it up and went away. On arriving in another State, he said, 'I can see they are no better here than our minister Ts'ui Tzu'; and he went away. On arriving in the next country, he said, 'I can see they are no better here than our minister Ts'ui Tzu'; and went away. What should you say of him? The Master said, He was certainly scrupulous. Tzu-chang said, Would you not call him Good? The Master said, I am not sure. I see nothing in that to merit the title Good.

19. Chi Wên Tzu[3] used to think thrice before acting. The Master hearing of it said, Twice is quite enough.[4]

20. The Master said, Ning Wu Tzu[5] 'so long as the Way prevailed in his country showed wisdom; but when the Way no longer prevailed, he showed his folly.'[6] To such wisdom as his we may all attain; but not to such folly!

1 In 548 B.C. The Duke of Ch'i had seduced his wife.
2 Another Ch'i minister. 3 Died 568 B.C.
4 Ch'êng Hao (A.D. 1032-1085) says that if one thinks more than twice, self-interest begins to come into play.
5 A minister of Wei (seventh century B.C.), famous for his blind devotion to his prince, whose enemies had incarcerated him in a deep dungeon. Here Ning managed to feed his prince through a tube. 6 Such was the judgment of the world.

21. When the Master was in Ch'ên[1] he said, Let us go back, let us go back! The little ones[2] at home are headstrong and careless. They are perfecting themselves in all the showy insignia of culture without any idea how to use them.

22. The Master said, Po I and Shu Ch'i[3] never bore old ills in mind and had but the faintest feelings of rancour.

23. The Master said, How can we call even Wei-shêng Kao upright? When someone asked him for vinegar he went and begged it from the people next door, and then gave it as though it were his own gift.[4]

24. The Master said, Clever talk, a pretentious

1 About 492 B.C.? 2 Disciples.

3 Legendary brothers, almost always bracketed together in this way. The 'old ills' were the misdeeds of the last Yin ruler. When he was attacked by the Chou tribe, the brothers refused to take up arms against their sovereign, despite his great wickedness. Their lack of *yüan* ('rancour') was a classical theme; cf. VII, 14. This was shown by their attitude after each in turn had resigned his rights of accession to the rulership of the small State to which they belonged. Having proposed this act of 'cession' (*jang*), they carried it out loyally and uncomplainingly.

4 Wei-shêng Kao (see *Chuang Tzu XXIX*, 1, *Chan Kuo Ts'ê*, Yen stories, Pt. 1, *Huai-nan Tzu* XVII, end) is the legendary paragon of truthfulness. Confucius adopts the same formula as the rhyme:

The Germans in Greek
Are sadly to seek.
All except Hermann;
And Hermann is a German.

How rare, how almost non-existent a quality uprightness must be, Confucius bitterly says, if even into the legend of the most upright of all men there has crept an instance of falsity!

Translators have supposed Wei-shêng Kao to have been some actual contemporary of Confucius, whose conduct the Master was criticizing. This misses the whole point.

manner and a reverence that is only of the feet[1]—Tso Ch'iu Ming[2] was incapable of stooping to them, and I too could never stoop to them. Having to conceal one's indignation and keep on friendly terms with the people against whom one feels it—Tso Ch'iu Ming was incapable of stooping to such conduct, and I too am incapable of stooping to such conduct.[3]

25. Once when Yen Hui and Tzu-lu were waiting upon him the Master said, Suppose each of you were to tell his wish. Tzu-lu said, I should like to have carriages and horses, clothes and fur rugs, share them with my friends and feel no annoyance if they were returned to me the worse for wear. Yen Hui said, I should like never to boast of my good qualities nor make a fuss about the trouble I take on behalf of others. Tzu-lu said, A thing I should like is to hear the Master's wish. The Master said, In dealing with the aged, to be of comfort to them; in dealing with friends, to be of good faith with them; in dealing with the young, to cherish them.

26. The Master said, In vain I have looked for a single man capable of seeing his own faults and bringing the charge home against himself.

27. The Master said, In an hamlet of ten houses you may be sure of finding someone quite as loyal and true to his word as I. But I doubt if you would find anyone with such a love of learning.[4]

1 Cf. *Ta Tai Li Chi*, 49, where 'foot reverence' is coupled with 'mouth holiness.' 2 See additional notes.

3 And am therefore unfitted for Court life, where such behaviour is the sole way to preferment.

4 i.e. self-improvement in the most general sense. Not book-learning.

BOOK VI

1. The Master said, Now Yung,[1] for example. I should not mind setting him with his face to the south.[2] Jan Yung then asked about Tzu-sang Po-tzu.[3] The Master said, He too would do. He is lax.[4] Jan Yung said, I can understand that such a man might do as a ruler, provided he were scrupulous in his own conduct and lax only in his dealings[5] with the people. But you would admit that a man who was lax in his own conduct as well as in government would be too lax.[6] The Master said, What Yung says is quite true.

2. Duke Ai asked which of the disciples had a love of learning. Master K'ung answered him saying, There was Yen Hui. He had a great love of learning. He never vented his wrath upon the innocent nor let others suffer for his faults. Unfortunately the span of life allotted to him by Heaven was short, and he died. At present there are none or at any rate I have heard of none who are fond of learning.[7]

3. When Kung-hsi Hua was sent on a mission to Ch'i, Master Jan asked[8] that Hua's mother might be granted an allowance of grain. The Master said, Give her a cauldron[9] full. Jan said that was not enough. The Master said, Give her a measure.[10] Master Jan

1 The disciple Jan Yung. 2 Trying him as a ruler.
3 Cf. the Tzu-sang of *Chuang Tzu* VI, 11.
4 This is a paradox, *chien* ('lax') being generally used in a bad sense.
5 i.e. in the exaction of taxes, corvées, and the like. I punctuate after *ching*, not after *chien*.
6 i.e. too lax to 'set with his face to the south.' 7 Cf. XI, 6.
8 i.e. asked the government (the Chi Family), in whose service he was.
9 A merely nominal amount. Confucius disapproved of her being given any at all.
10 A good deal more; but still not a great deal.

gave her five bundles.[1] The Master said, When Ch'ih[2] went to Ch'i he drove sleek horses and was wrapped in light furs. There is a saying, A gentleman helps out the necessitous; he does not make the rich richer still.

When Yüan Ssu was made a governor, he was given an allowance of nine hundred measures of grain, but declined it. The Master said, Surely you could find people who would be glad of it among your neighbours or in your village?

4. The Master said of Jan Yung, If the offspring of a brindled[3] ox is ruddy-coated[4] and has grown its horns, however much people might hesitate to use it,[5] would the hills and streams really reject it?

5. The Master said, Hui is[6] capable of occupying his whole mind for three months on end with no thought but that of Goodness. The others can do so, some for a day, some even for a month; but that is all.[7]

6. Chi K'ang-tzu[8] asked whether Tzu-lu was the right sort of person to put into office. The Master

1 Ten times (?) more than a measure. Jan entirely disregards Confucius's advice.
2 i.e. Kung-hsi Hua. He ought to have left behind sufficient provision for his mother. 3 i.e. one unsuitable for sacrifice.
4 All over. Only animals of one colour could be used for sacrifice.
5 In sacrificing to the hills and streams. The implication is that Jan Yung was of humble origin. This, says Confucius, ought not to prejudice us against him.
6 There is nothing to indicate whether this was said before or after Yen Hui's premature death.
7 On the strength of sayings such as this, the Taoists claimed Yen Hui as an exponent of *tso-wang* ('sitting with blank mind'), the Chinese equivalent of *yoga*.
8 Became head of the actual administration of Lu in 492 B.C.

said, Yu is efficient. It goes without saying that he is capable of holding office. Chi K'ang-tzu said, How about Tzu-kung? Would he be the right sort of person to put into office? The Master said, He can turn his merits to account.[1] It goes without saying, that he is capable of holding office. Chi K'ang-tzu said, How about Jan Ch'iu? Would he be the right sort of person to put into office? The Master said, He is versatile. It goes without saying that he is capable of holding office.

7. The Chi Family[2] wanted to make Min Tzu-ch'ien governor of Pi.[3] Min Tzu-ch'ien said, Invent a polite excuse for me. If that is not accepted and they try to get at me again, I shall certainly install myself on the far side of the Wên.[4]

8. When Jan Kêng was ill, the Master went to enquire after him, and grasping his hand through the window said, It is all over with him! Heaven has so ordained it——[5] But that such a man should have such an illness! That such a man should have such an illness! [6]

9. The Master said, Incomparable indeed was Hui! A handful[7] of rice to eat, a gourdful of water to drink, living in a mean street—others would have found it unendurably depressing, but to Hui's cheerfulness it

1 For *ta*, see additional notes.
2 i.e. the government. He would not serve a usurper.
3 The great stronghold of the Chi Family.
4 i.e. I shall take refuge in the neighbouring land of Ch'i, where I cannot be got at. He was faithful to the legitimate ruler, the Duke of Lu. 5 And we must not repine.
6 Later tradition very naturally explains the passage by saying that Jan Kêng's illness was leprosy. This fits in with the concluding words and also explains why Confucius did not enter the house. 7 Literally, a split bamboo-sectionful.

made no difference at all. Incomparable indeed was Hui![1]

10. Jan Ch'iu said, It is not that your Way does not commend itself to me, but that it demands powers I do not possess. The Master said, He whose strength gives out collapses during the course of the journey (the Way); but you deliberately draw the line.[2]

11. The Master said to Tzu-hsia, 'You must practise the *ju*[3] of gentlemen, not that of the common people.

12. When Tzu-yu was Warden of the castle of Wu, the Master said, Have you managed to get hold of the right sort of people there? Tzu-yu said, There is someone called T'an-t'ai Mieh-ming who 'walks on no by-paths.'[4] He has not once come to my house except on public business.

13. The Master said, Mêng Chih-fan is no boaster. When his people were routed[5] he was the last to flee; but when they neared the city-gate, he whipped up his

1 Cf. *Mencius*, IV, 2, XXIX.

2 Metaphor of marking boundary-lines of estates or the like.

3 A word of very uncertain meaning. Perhaps 'unwarlikeness.' See additional notes. The meaning of the saying may be 'The unwarlikeness of gentlemen means a preference for *tê* (moral force), that of inferior people is mere cowardice.'

Hu came ultimately to be the general name for followers of the Confucian Way.

4 i.e. strictly follows our Way. There is probably some further point in this story, that is lost to us owing to our knowing so little about T'an-t'ai Mieh-ming.

5 At a battle with Ch'i outside the Lu capital in 484 B.C. To belittle his own achievements (the opposite of boasting) is the duty of a gallant gentleman. So a modern airman who had stayed behind to fight a rear action might say, 'I was in a funk all the time, but I couldn't get away; my engine was missing fire.'

horses, saying, It was not courage that kept me behind. My horses were slow.

14. The Master said, Without the eloquence of the priest[1] T'o and the beauty of Prince Ch'ao of Sung it is hard nowadays to get through.

15. The Master said, Who expects to be able to go out of a house except by the door? How is it then that no one follows this Way of ours? [2]

16. The Master said, When natural substance prevails over ornamentation,[3] you get the boorishness of the rustic. When ornamentation prevails over natural substance, you get the pedantry of the scribe. Only when ornament and substance are duly blended do you get the true gentleman.

17. The Master said, Man's very life is honesty, in that without it he will be lucky indeed if he escapes with his life.[4]

18. The Master said, To prefer it[5] is better than only to know it. To delight in it is better than merely to prefer it.

19. The Master said, To men who have risen at all above the middling sort, one may talk of things higher yet. But to men who are at all below the middling sort it is useless to talk of things that are above them.[6]

1 The *chu* ('priest') recited invocations addressed to the ancestors. Both T'o and Chao flourished about 500 B.C.
2 Though it is the obvious and only legitimate way out of all our difficulties. 3 i.e. when nature prevails over culture.
4 I punctuate after *chih,* not after *yeh.* 5 The Way.
6 that belong to a higher stage of learning.

20. Fan Ch'ih asked about wisdom.[1] The Master said, He who devotes himself to securing for his subjects what it is right they should have, who by respect for the Spirits keeps them at a distance,[2] may be termed wise. He asked about Goodness. The Master said, Goodness cannot be obtained till what is difficult[3] has been duly done. He who has done this may be called Good.

21. The Master said, The wise man delights in water, the Good man delights in mountains. For the wise move; but the Good stay still. The wise are happy; but the Good, secure.[4]

22. A single change could bring Ch'i to the level of Lu; and a single change would bring Lu to the Way.

23. The Master said, A horn-gourd that is neither horn nor gourd! A pretty horn-gourd indeed, a pretty horn-gourd indeed.[5]

1 i.e. to what rulers the title 'Wise' could be accorded.

2 When the Spirits of hills and streams do not receive their proper share of ritual and sacrifice they do not 'keep their distance,' but 'possess' human beings, causing madness, sickness, pestilence, etc.

3 This only becomes intelligible when we refer to XIV, 2, where we see that the 'difficult thing' is to rid oneself of love of mastery, vanity, resentment, and covetousness.

4 For the origin of this saying, which has here taken on a form distorted by quietist influences, see additional notes and Introduction, p. 29.

5 A particular sort of bronze goblet was called *ku,* which is written 'horn' beside 'gourd,' though the object in question is not shaped like a gourd and is not a drinking-horn. The saying is, of course, a metaphorical way of lamenting over the political state of China, 'ruled over' by an Emperor who had no temporal power and local sovereigns whose rights had been usurped by their ministers.

24. Tsai Yü asked saying, I take it a Good Man, even if he were told that another Good Man were at the bottom of a well, would go to join him? The Master said, Why should you think so? 'A gentleman can be broken, but cannot be dented;[1] may be deceived, but cannot be led astray.' [2]

24 (Paraphrased). Tsai Yü, half playfully asked whether, since the Good always go to where other Good Men are, a Good Man would leap into a well on hearing that there was another Good Man at the bottom of it. Confucius, responding in the same playful spirit, quotes a maxim about the true gentleman, solely for the sake of the reference in it to *hsien,* which means 'throw down' into a pit or well, but also has the sense 'to pit,' 'to dent.'

25. The Master said, A gentleman who is widely versed in letters and at the same time knows how to submit his learning to the restraints of ritual is not likely, I think, to go far wrong.

26. When the Master went to see Nan-tzu,[3] Tzu-lu was not pleased. Whereupon the Master made a solemn declaration[4] concerning his visit, saying, Whatsoever I have done amiss, may Heaven avert it, may Heaven avert it!

27. The Master said, How transcendent is the

1 Cf. *Shuo Yüan,* XVII: The gentleman (like jade) can be broken, but not bent.
2 i.e. deceived as to facts; but cannot be enticed into wrong conduct. Cf. *Mencius,* V, 1, II, 4; Legge, p. 224.
3 The wicked concubine of Duke Ling of Wei.
4 See additional notes.

moral power of the Middle Use! [1] That it is but rarely found among the common people is a fact long admitted.[2]

28. Tzu-kung said, If a ruler not only conferred wide benefits upon the common people, but also compassed the salvation of the whole State, what would you say of him? Surely, you would call him Good? The Master said, It would no longer be a matter of 'Good.' He would without doubt be a Divine Sage.[3] Even Yao and Shun could hardly criticize him.[4] As for Goodness—you yourself desire rank and standing; then help others to get rank and standing. You want to turn your own merits to account; then help others to turn theirs to account—in fact, the ability to take one's own feelings as a guide—that is the sort of thing that lies in the direction of Goodness.[5]

[1] Confucius's Way was essentially one of moderation: 'to exceed is as bad as to fall short.' See additional notes and Introduction, p. 37.

[2] *Chiu i* constantly has an idiomatic sense of this sort, and does not mean simply 'a long while.' Cf. *Doctrine of the Mean,* III. Legge, p. 251.

[3] See introduction, p. 17.

[4] Cf. XIV, 45, and *Han Shih Wai Chuan,* VII, 9.

[5] For *fang,* 'direction,' cf. XI, 25.

BOOK VII

1, 2, 3. The Master said, I have 'transmitted what was taught to me without making up anything of my own.' [1] I have been faithful to and loved the Ancients. In these respects, I make bold to think, not even our old P'êng[2] can have excelled me. The Master said, I have listened in silence and noted what was said, I have never grown tired of learning nor wearied of teaching others what I have learnt. These at least are merits which I can confidently claim.[3] The Master said, The thought that 'I have left my moral power (*tê*) untended, my learning unperfected, that I have heard of righteous men, but been unable to go to them; have heard of evil men, but been unable to reform them' [4] —it is these thoughts that disquiet me.

4. In his leisure hours the Master's manner was very free-and-easy, and his expression alert and cheerful.

5. The Master said, How utterly have things gone to the bad with me! It is long now indeed since I dreamed that I saw the Duke of Chou.[5]

6. The Master said, Set your heart upon the Way,

[1] Cf. *Mo Tzu*, P'ien 46. 'A gentleman does not make anything up; he merely transmits.'
[2] The Chinese Nestor. It is the special business of old men to transmit traditions.
[3] For the idiom *ho yu*, 'there is no further trouble about,' see above, IV, 13.
[4] The passage in inverted commas consists of two rhymed couplets, and is probably traditional. For the rhymes, see Liu Pao-nan.
[5] See Introduction, p. 17.

support yourself by its power, lean upon Goodness, seek distraction in the arts.[1]

7. The Master said, From the very poorest upwards —beginning even with the man who could bring no better present than a bundle of dried flesh[2]—none has ever come to me without receiving instruction.

8. The Master said, Only one who bursts with eagerness do I instruct; only one who bubbles with excitement, do I enlighten. If I hold up one corner and a man cannot come back to me with the other three,[3] I do not continue the lesson.

9. If at a meal the Master found himself seated next to someone who was in mourning, he did not eat his fill. When he had wailed at a funeral, during the rest of the day he did not sing.[4]

10. The Master said to Yen Hui, The maxim

When wanted, then go;
When set aside; then hide.

is one that you and I could certainly fulfil. Tzu-lu said, Supposing you had command of the Three Hosts,[5] whom would you take to help you? The Master said, The man who was ready to 'beard a tiger or rush a river' [6] without caring whether he lived or died—that sort of man I should not take. I should certainly take

1 Music, archery and the like. 2 See additional notes.
3 Metaphor from laying out of field-plots?
4 Both of these are common ritual prescriptions. Cf. *Li Chi* III, fol. 6 and I, fol. 6. 5 i.e. the whole army.
6 Cf. *The Book of Songs,* No. 295, verse 6. The reply is clearly intended as a snub to the impulsive Tzu-lu. The song is one which I omit in my translation.

someone who approached difficulties with due caution and who preferred to succeed by strategy.

11. The Master said, If any means of escaping poverty presented itself, that did not involve doing wrong, I would adopt it, even though my employment were only that of the gentleman who holds the whip.[1] But so long as it is a question of illegitimate means, I shall continue to pursue the quests that I love.[2]

12. The rites to which the Master gave the greatest attention were those connected with purification before sacrifice, with war and with sickness.[3]

13. When he was in Ch'i the Master heard the Succession,[4] and for three months did not know the taste of meat.[5] He said, 'I did not picture to myself that any music existed which could reach such perfection as this.[6]

14. Jan Ch'iu said, Is our Master on the side of the Prince of Wei?[7] Tzu-kung said, Yes, I must ask him about that. He went in and said, What sort of peo-

1 i.e. the most menial. 'Gentleman,' *shih*, in such contexts is used with a slightly ironical intention, as one might say in French, le monsieur qui . . . .' Cf. *Chuang Tzu* XV, 1.

2 The study of the Ancients.

3 A special sacrifice was held before the departure of military expeditions, and the sacrificial meat was distributed among the soldiers. The populace flocked to the Ancestral Shrines, wailing to the Ancestors for assistance. Sickness was exorcized by sacrifices to hills and streams. 4 See III, 25.

5 i.e. did not notice what he was eating.

6 The older commentators take 'this' to mean the land of Ch'i, i.e. 'I did not expect to find such music here in Ch'i.' This may be right.

7 When Duke Ling died in the summer of 493 B.C., the throne passed to his grandson, his son having previously abdicated his rights to the accession. Soon, however, the son went back on his word and attempted to oust the grandson from the throne.

ple were Po I and Shu Ch'i?[1] The Master said, They were good men who lived in the days of old. Tzu-kung said, Did they repine? The Master said, They sought Goodness and got Goodness. Why should they repine? On coming out Tzu-kung said, Our Master is not on his side.

15. The Master said, He who seeks only coarse food to eat, water to drink and bent arm for pillow, will without looking for it find happiness to boot.[2] Any thought of accepting wealth and rank by means that I know to be wrong is as remote from me as the clouds that float above.

16. The Master said, Give me a few more years, so that I may have spent a whole fifty in study,[3] and I believe that after all I should be fairly free from error.

17. The occasions upon which the Master used correct pronunciations[4] were when reciting the *Songs*

1 See above, V, 22. The contrast is between Po I and Shu Ch'i on the one hand (they are always spoken of as though they were to all intents and purposes a single person) and Duke Ling's son on the other. The two 'good men of old' harboured no rancour after their act of cession; whereas Ling's son became discontented with his lot. Tzu-kung sounds Confucius indirectly upon his attitude, because the Master was at this time living in Wei and would have been loath to make an open pronouncement on the question.

2 For the idiom, see II, 18.

3 In common with most scholars, I follow the Lu version here. The Ku version introduces a reference to the *Book of Changes*. But there is no reason to suppose that the *Changes* had in Confucius's time been philosophized, or that he regarded it as anything but a book of divination.

4 Whereas in daily life he used the Lu dialect. See above, p. 74. Similarly the Swiss, for example, use their own dialect in daily life, but Hochdeutsch in church services or in reciting a poem by Schiller. Cf. *Hsün Tzu*, P'ien 4, A man of Yüeh is at ease in Yüeh speech, a man of Ch'u in Ch'u speech; gentlemen, in the 'correct pronunciation,' *ya*, the same term as is used here. See further, additional notes.

or the *Books* and when practising ritual acts. At all such times he used the correct pronunciation.

18. The 'Duke of Shê' [1] asked Tzu-lu about Master K'ung (Confucius). Tzu-lu did not reply. The Master said, Why did you not say 'This is the character of the man: so intent upon enlightening the eager that he forgets his hunger, and so happy in doing so, that he forgets the bitterness of his lot and does not realize that old age is at hand.[2] That is what he is.'

19. The Master said, I for my part[3] am not one of those who have innate knowledge. I am simply one who loves the past and who is diligent in investigating it.

20. The Master never talked of prodigies, feats of strength, disorders[4] or spirits.

21. The Master said, Even when walking in a party of no more than three I can always be certain of learning from those I am with. There will be good qualities that I can select for imitation and bad ones that will teach me what requires correction in myself.

22. The Master said, Heaven begat the power (*tê*) that is in me. What have I to fear from such a one as Huan T'ui? [5]

1 An adventurer, known originally as Shên Chu-liang; first mentioned in 523 and still alive in 475. The title 'Duke of Shê' was one which he had invented for himself.

2 According to the traditional chronology Confucius was sixty-two at the time when this was said.

3 *Wo,* emphatic as opposed to the simple nominative *wu.* Cf. *Hu Shih Wên Ts'un,* Vol. II, p. 13. Cf. p. 103 above.

4 Disorders of nature; such as snow in summer, owls hooting by day, or the like.

5 Minister of War in Sung. Cf. *Tso Chuan,* Duke Ai fourteenth year.

23. The Master said, My friends, I know you think that there is something I am keeping from you. There is nothing at all that I keep from you. I take no steps about which I do not consult you, my friends. Were it otherwise, I should not be Ch'iu.[1]

24. The Master took four subjects for his teaching: culture, conduct of affairs, loyalty to superiors and the keeping of promises.

25. The Master said, A Divine Sage[2] I cannot hope ever to meet; the most I can hope for is to meet a true gentleman. The Master said, A faultless man I cannot hope ever to meet; the most I can hope for is to meet a man of fixed principles. Yet where all around I see Nothing pretending to be Something,[3] Emptiness pretending to be Fullness, Penury pretending to be Affluence, even a man of fixed principles will be none too easy to find.

26. The Master fished with a line but not with a net; when fowling he did not aim at a roosting bird.[4]

27. The Master said, There may well be those who can do without knowledge; but I for my part am certainly not one of them. To hear much, pick out what is good and follow it, to see much and take due

[1] Familiar name of Confucius. There is no evidence that Confucius is here disclaiming the possession of an esoteric doctrine. The wording (*hsing*, 'steps,' '*démarches*') suggests that practical steps (with a view to office, patronage or the like) are all that is intended. [2] See Introduction, p. 17.

[3] An impotent cipher pretending to be a Duke, powerless tools of adventurers such as Yang Huo pretending to be Ministers.

[4] See Introduction, p. 35. For 'fowling,' see the *Book of Songs*, p. 36.

note of it,[1] is the lower[2] of the two kinds of knowledge.

28. At Hu village[3] the people were difficult to talk to.[4] But an uncapped[5] boy presented himself for an interview. The disciples were in two minds about showing him in. But the Master said, In sanctioning his entry here I am sanctioning nothing he may do when he retires. We must not be too particular. If anyone purifies[6] himself in order to come to us, let us accept this purification. We are not responsible for what he does when he goes away.

29. The Master said, Is Goodness indeed so far away? If we really wanted Goodness, we should find that it was at our very side.

30. The Minister of Crime in Ch'ên asked whether Duke Chao of Lu knew the rites. Master K'ung said, He knew the rites. When Master K'ung had withdrawn, the Minister motioned Wu-ma Ch'i[7] to come

1 As I do.

2 The higher being innate knowledge, which Confucius disclaims above, VII, 19. He thus (ironically) places himself at two removes from the hypothetical people who can dispense with knowledge, the three stages being, (1) those who do not need knowledge; (2) those who have innate knowledge; (3) those who accumulate it by hard work.

3 Unknown. Probably one of the places Confucius passed through during his travels. 4 About the Way. Cf. XV, 7.

5 The 'capping' of boys marked their initiation into manhood.

6 A suppliant of any kind (whether asking a Master for teaching or Heaven for good crops) purifies himself by fasting and abstinence in order to enhance the power of his prayer. For abstinence before entertaining a teacher, cf. *Kuan Tzu*, P'ien 19, where the purification consists in washing in water from a new well, making a burnt offering, and ten days' abstinence and fasting. 7 Later regarded as a disciple of Confucius.

forward and said, I have heard the saying 'A gentleman is never partial.' But it seems that some gentlemen are very partial indeed. His Highness[1] married into the royal family of Wu who belong to the same clan as himself, calling her Wu Mêng Tzu.[2] If his Highness knew the rites, who does not know the rites? Wu-ma Ch'i repeated this to the Master, who said, I am a fortunate man. If by any chance I make a mistake, people are certain to hear of it! [3]

31. When in the Master's presence anyone sang a song that he liked, he did not join in at once, but asked for it to be repeated and then joined in.

32. The Master said, As far as taking trouble goes, I do not think I compare badly with other people. But as regards carrying out the duties of a gentleman in actual life, I have never yet had a chance to show what I could do.

33. The Master said, As to being a Divine Sage or even a Good Man, far be it from me to make any such claim. As for unwearying effort to learn and unflagging patience in teaching others,[4] those are merits that I do not hesitate to claim. Kung-hsi Hua said, The trouble is that we disciples cannot learn!

34. When the Master was very ill, Tzu-lu asked leave to perform the Rite of Expiation. The Master

1 Duke Chao, reigned from 541 to 510 B.C.

2 He broke the rule of exogamy and hoped to pass this off by speaking of her in a way that might lead people to think she belonged to another clan, the Tzu.

3 This is, of course, ironical. It would have been improper for Confucius to criticize his own late sovereign.

4 Cf. *Mencius,* II, 1, II, 19.

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