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THE CHINA REVIEW.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

Edited by F. Max Müller, Vols. XXVII and XXVIII.—The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Confucianism, Translated by James Legge. Parts III and IV. The Lê *Ki*.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1885. Lane, Crawford, & Co., Hongkong and Shanghai.

The completion of the translation of the Chinese Classics—The Four Books and the Five *Ching*—commenced nearly thirty years ago, by Dr. Legge, marks an epoch in the history of Sinology. Well may the translator 'be permitted to express his satisfaction' that the work is done; and, however much or little it may add to that satisfaction, the present reviewer takes it upon him to pronounce the work from first to last right nobly done. Truly it is a colossal work; but not on bulk alone does the monument rest its claim to be more perennial than brass; the impress of a master's hand must be everywhere upon it. Dr. Legge's first volume sufficiently proved him to be a master of his subject, and each successive instalment that appeared only served to confirm the indications of the first. It was impossible for him not to leave his own features imprinted on every page of these translations and notes; but one of the most striking of those features is his thoroughgoing fidelity as a translator. This does not mean that as a rule he has translated verbatim. Sometimes he may have done so in defiance of English idiom. But more frequently, especially in the later volumes, he has expanded a single Chinese word into a whole line of English, thus giving the resultant of endless Chinese speculations on classic enigmas. If hereafter sceptical critics should seek to go behind Dr. Legge, they will find that they must go for the most part behind the best Chinese commentators as well. We have therefore represented to us in these translations what their Classics have been to the Chinese themselves. The man of the future who shall succeed in proving that the Chinese Classics are something quite different from what the people have taken them to be, as for instance that the *Yi Ching* is an Accadian vocabulary, will not thereby invalidate Dr. Legge's work. The so-called histories and the prevailing beliefs and practices of the ancient Chinese are before us in intelligible English,—thanks to the indefatigable Professor,—and, whatever superior aptitude there may be in others for concocting theories, the man has not yet appeared who should not sit at his feet as a translator of Confucian Classics.

In the last volume published, the *Yi*

* 禮記 *Li Chi.*

Ching, Professor Legge himself had somewhat of a theory to propound; but it is refreshing to find that in the two now before us he has absolutely none, not even the infallibility theory of the Confucian school, which somewhat hampered the free discussion of the meaning of the other Classics. The miscellaneous collection of treatises which make up the *Li Chi*, are, like the writings of the Christian Fathers, mere human productions, being all compiled after the age of Classic inspiration, if I may use such a bold comparison, so that there is no harm in pronouncing much that is found up and down in this book to be but ill worthy of the place and the labour that have been bestowed upon it. And yet a record of folly, if it is taken for what it is, may be well worth preserving. The *Li Chi*, while it is the latest, the longest, and the lumberingest, is at the same time decidedly the most instructive of all the Chinese Classics. But the difficulties and trials of the translator of such a book must be enormous; and it was well that Professor Legge left it to the last that he might bring all the force and adroitness gained by a long experience to bear upon it. It seems the Chinese, conscious of the unwieldy proportions of their Book of Rites, had an abridged edition, which Callery translated and published in French in 1853; and Zottoli has lately published some portions of the *Li Chi* in Latin at Shanghai, but 'the present is the first translation that has been published in any European language of the whole' Book. Mr. Wylie had, however, at an early period of his Chinese studies made a translation of the whole, the manuscript of which he placed at Professor Legge's disposal.

There are two things about the get-up, otherwise admirable, of the later volumes of the Chinese Classics which cannot fail to cause much inconvenience and disappointment to Chinese students. One is the new Oxford transliteration, and the other is the absence of the Chinese Text. The latter defect greatly aggravates the former. A Chinese character merely spelt in any way is difficult to identify, spelt in the Peking dialect it is specially difficult, and spelt in the Peking dialect with an unfamiliar set of letters it is little better than a symbol for an unknown quantity, or a blank. Excusable slips in the representation of Pekingese serve to complete the obscurity. Probably in China we shall unanimously refuse the new spelling, and as a matter of fact we cannot get it printed. I must therefore have recourse to Wade's *Syllabary* for the most part in introducing quotations from the *Li Chi*. The Chinese characters are beautifully printed; would that there were more of them! And the illustrations are all that could be wished, both useful and ornamental.

As unfortunately no complete list of Contents is found in plain English anywhere in these volumes, the following has been made up from two for the convenience both of the reviewer and of readers:—

CONTENTS OF THE 禮記,

OR, CHINESE COLLECTION OF TREATISES ON CEREMONIAL.

1. Summary of the Rules of Propriety.
2. Death and Mourning Rites.
3. The Royal Regulations.
4. Proceedings of Government in the Different Months.
5. Questions on Ceremonial addressed to Confucius by Tsăng-tsze, a Disciple, and the Answers.
6. King Wăn as Son and Heir.
7. Ceremonial Usages:—their Origin, Development, and Intention.
8. Rites in the Formation of Character.
9. The Single Victim at the Border Sacrifices.
10. The Pattern of the Family.
11. The Jade-stone Pendants of the Royal Cap.
12. The Places in the Hall of Distinction.
13. Record of Smaller Matters in the Dress of Mourning.
14. The Great Treatise—Ancestral Rites.
15. Smaller Rules of Demeanour.

16. Record on the Subject of Education.
17. Record of Music.
18. Miscellaneous Records.
19. The Greater Record of Mourning Rites.
20. The Law of Sacrifices.
21. The Meaning of Sacrifices.
22. A Summary Account of Sacrifices.
23. The Different Teaching of the Different Classics.
24. Questions of Duke Ai and Confucius' Answers.
25. Confucius at Home at Ease.
26. Confucius at Home at Leisure.
27. Record of the Dykes:—Restraints.
28. The State of Equilibrium and Harmony.
29. The Record on Example.
30. The Black Robes.
31. Rules on Hurrying to Mourning Rites.
32. Questions about Mourning Rites.
33. Subjects for Questioning about the Mourning Dress.
34. Treatise on Subsidiary Points in Mourning Usage.
35. Questions about the Mourning for Three Years.
36. The Long Dress in one Piece.
37. The Game of Pitch-Pot.
38. The Conduct of the Scholar.
39. The Great Learning.
40. The Meaning of the Ceremony of Capping.
41. The Meaning of the Marriage Ceremony.
42. The Meaning of the Drinking Festivity in the Districts.
43. The Meaning of the Ceremony of Archery.
44. The Meaning of the Banquet.
45. The Meaning of the Interchange of Missions between Different Courts.
46. The Four Principles underlying the Dress of Mourning.

It is not intended in this article to criticise the translation. A comparison with the original in many places, during the process of identifying the proper names and untranslated words, has satisfied me that it is not as a whole open to any criticism of mine beyond the general remarks already made. I propose therefore to give in the following pages as briefly as possible a review of the *Li Chi* itself.

The *Li Chi*, as has been already said, is a large collection of separate and independent treatises on 禮 *Li*, that is, ceremonial in the widest sense of the word. In some places it is clearly set forth that this *Li* is a matter of the heart and not merely of outward forms. Thus on the very first page we read, 'Always and in everything let there be reverence.' The 'Record of Music' (Bk. xvii), is well worth reading in this connection, and still more the brief fragment called 'Confucius at home at leisure' (Bk. xxvi), in which the sage is made to describe 'music that has no sound, ceremonial that has no embodiment, and mourning that has no garb.' Whatever, therefore, there is of *religion* in Confucianism must be included under *Li*, and in this light the name and the Book appear to have a much weightier import and much deeper interest for us than when spoken of as 'Ceremonial Usages,' 'Rules of Propriety,' 'Book of Rites,' and the like. It is in this book if anywhere that we are to learn all about Confucian Religion,—not indeed all about Chinese Religion, for Taoism and the naturalised Buddhism are different in this respect, but Confucian Religion—which, such as it is, is here set forth as fully as we can expect to find it. There are traces of Taoism here and there in the *Li Chi*, but the reader is duly warned of their presence by the translator. And indeed it is not the religion of the one sect or of the other that we are most interested to know about, but the Religion which was common to the Chinese people before the sects divided.

The *Li Chi* is of too recent origin to give the best picture of the state of China at the dawn of history. Compiled three or four centuries after the time of Confucius (B. C.

552—479), its accounts even of things in his time are partly imaginary, and much more so must be those of things a thousand or two thousand years before. But it is a great thing to be able to sit down with some 30 or 40 writers who contributed their treatises long or short to this collection and who all lived before the Christian era, and take notes of what they thought and said about the long past. Very disjointed and unspeakably drivelling are these treatises in some parts; but the student of folk-lore must take the folk as they are. The history of Religion, of Morality, and of Civilization in China has to be dug out of amorphous records like these.

If the course of civilization in the case of the Chinese race, isolated as it has been on the whole from rival civilizations, can be taken as typical of what would occur in other cases similarly conditioned, I fear we must recognise not only advancement but culmination and inevitable decline in the life of races as well as of individuals in this world. Somewhere about the time of Confucius, Chinese civilization culminated. There may have been advancement in some respects since then, but on the whole the spirit of origination which 'starts the world along,' religiously, morally, and intellectually, has been wanting. The distinction hinted at above between a Classic and a post-Classic age is far from being imaginary. The modern Chinese essayist no doubt exaggerates this distinction and carries back the classic age into a fabulous antiquity. According to him the course of the world has been on the whole downward ever since Yau and Shun (B.C. 2000).* The downward flow has been stemmed at times by the sage founders of new dynasties but never permanently stopped. Even Confucius himself had little practical effect in this way. He taught the perfect way as none ever did before or since, but it was not walked in. He also was a transmitter and not an originator. By his time there was nothing more to be originated; he could only interpret the past, and express in articulate language what had been already felt and acted out by 'the former kings.' But Confucius is the representative of the real classic age, the golden age of teaching, writing, thinking (Vol. II., p. 103, *Note*). The activity of China during the Christian era in the estimation of most of us has been chiefly base imitation. This is perhaps partly a prejudiced view, but it is powerfully and universally held in China itself, and no doubt it also tends to perpetuate and aggravate the evil. There is no faith extant in any inventive power. Those who invented the Chinese characters must have been deities. The authors of all the wisdom and all the moral and material civilization which has been declining rather than otherwise for two millenniums must have been deities. The modern Chinaman could not invent a spade. So much for the declining side. We know less about the upward growth and development. The classic age could write its own history, but could only write in part and imagine in part the history of ages gone by. But if we see a spade, we are right in concluding that somebody invented it. Those ancient kings did exist; and they had a busy time of it inventing everything. I take it however as a matter of course that they did not write their own history. It was written for them in the subsequent classic age and is mostly legendary. I propose therefore to leave those inventive geniuses and their Dynasties nameless for the present, and to try and find out chiefly from the traditional statements in the *Li Chi* what the manners and customs in the remote past were, and what had to be done and actually was done to bring civilization up to what it was in the time of Confucius.

'When the sages arose, they framed the rules of propriety in order to teach men and cause them to make a distinction between

* I put a round number for a date regardless of a few centuries more or less, because I do not believe in the personal names or the biographies of these men.

themselves and brutes' (Vol. I., p. 65). Confucius having stated, as in the *Analects*, that he had entirely failed to get any authentic account of the manners and customs of the two dynasties (in round numbers B.C. 2000-1000), is made to speak as follows:—'Formerly the ancient kings had no houses. In winter they lived in caves which they had excavated, and in summer in nests which they had framed. They knew not yet the transforming power of fire, but ate the fruits of plants and trees, and the flesh of birds and beasts, drinking their blood, and swallowing also the hair and feathers. They knew not yet the use of flax and silk, but clothed themselves with feathers and skins. The later sages then arose, and men learned to take advantage of the benefits of fire. They moulded the metals and fashioned clay, so as to rear towers with structures on them, and houses with windows and doors. They toasted, grilled, boiled, and roasted. They produced must and sauces. They dealt with the flax and silk so as to form linen and silken fabrics. They were thus able to nourish the living, and to make offerings to the dead; to serve the spirits of the departed and God. In all these things we follow the example of that early time' (Vol. I., p. 369). Divination was an early invention:—'Divination by the shell is called *pu* (卜); by the stalks, *shih* (筮). The two were the methods by which the ancient sage kings made the people believe in seasons and days, revere spiritual beings, stand in awe of their laws and orders; the methods also by which they made them determine their perplexities and settle their misgivings. Hence it is said, "If you doubted and have consulted the stalks, you need not any longer think that you will do wrong. If the day be clearly indicated, boldly do on it what you desire to do"' (Vol. I., p. 94). Obviously neither Confucius nor anybody else could have made the above statements from any written history. They are like the statements of geologists about prehistoric man. Yet the 'sage king' who invented cooking and divination is named and dated (B.C. 3332-3217) as the first historic ruler, in the authorized Chronicles of China! To quote Professor Legge's words on something of a much later date, 'this constitution of the kingdom is imaginary' (Vol. I., p. 213).

What we have to recognise as facts in the above are the inventions only. Divination, for example, was invented. And we may even go a step farther in this case and affirm that it was invented at a time when the characters did not exist wherewith to record who did it. If the reader will look back to the character for divining by the shell, he will see that it is a very simple one consisting of only two strokes. In the first place, this simple symbol was made and used solely to denote divination by the shell, according to all the evidence we have on the subject. It must therefore have been made after divination existed. In the next place, this symbol of two strokes enters into the composition of other common characters to such an extent that it would be difficult to write half a dozen sentences without it. It is used phonetically in 攴 *pu*, to strike with the hand, one of the most common radicals or classifiers; it makes part of the character 外 *wai*, outside, of the character 用 *yung*, use, of 周 *chou*, the Chou dynasty, and many others; and of course in the structure of more complicated characters relating to divination by the tortoise-shell it plays an important part. It seems as if the written language of China could not exist without this 卜 and there is no reason to think that it ever did exist without it. Then, it follows that the invention of this kind of divination was prehistoric, and the stories about the inventor are imaginary. The character for divination by stalks 筮 is of a different order, being compounded of three others, and it suggests a later origin for this method. But the peculiar belief that the shell of the tortoise possessed the power of revealing future events came down from a time when

the 'sage kings' had advanced little beyond cooking their own food instead of swallowing it raw, or at least from a time when they could not write. Confucius had to fall in with the prevailing belief. He had not originality enough to be a reformer. We may, however, be pretty sure that at no time before or after did the intelligence and wisdom of China come nearer to the point of doing away with such senseless superstitions than during the classical period which produced men like Confucius and Lao-tsze and Mencius and Chwang-tsze.

One of the wonderful things which the ancient sages did we are told was to domesticate the four intelligent creatures—the chi-lin, the phoenix, the tortoise, and the dragon—from which 'there would be constant sources of food and drink' (Vol. I., p. 384); on which Professor Legge remarks, 'All the four excepting the tortoise are fabulous animals, and even Confucius believed in them (Anal. IX. 8).' *Even* Confucius, who occupied as it were the meridian of Chinese civilization, believed in them. I suppose he tried to believe that these things and a multitude of others—legends, superstitions, ceremonies, customs which came down from a darker age—were harmless or even beneficial. But there was another class of things which serve more clearly to prove that Confucius and the more intelligent men of his time were in advance of their progenitors. I mean gross barbarities which lingered on still in the Middle Kingdom, and which Confucius did indeed somewhat to reform. In one place he speaks of the danger of the custom of making wooden figures to bury with the dead 'leading to the use of living men' (Vol. I., p. 173); but there was not a future danger merely, for, on two occasions mentioned, a disciple and a contemporary of his had to interfere to prevent the burying of the living with the dead (p. 182-3). It was a custom of savages which was only just disappearing before advancing civilization. They had a character 殉 for the custom. Another barbarous custom which existed in Confucius' own State, and was with difficulty suppressed, was scorching deformed persons in the sun in time of drought to move the pity of Heaven (Vol. I., p. 201). It is scarcely possible that such a practice could have arisen after a period of superior civilization, such for instance as the *Shu Ching* and Chinese writers generally declare the duke of Chou to have inaugurated only a few centuries before. I fear that it is not the XIIth Book of the *Li Chi* only which is destitute of 'historical value' and 'glaringly false' in regard to the achievements of the duke of Chou (Vol. II., p. 39). It was not till 300 years after the death of Confucius that the inhuman punishments said to have been instituted by the miserable Shun—branding, cutting off the ears, the nose, and the feet, and castration—began to be removed from the statute book of China (*Shu Ching*, p. 39 note), and then probably more through the influence of Lao-tsze's teaching than that of Confucius. See what the Taoist Empress said at that very time to the Confucian scholar who despised the *Tao Tê Ching* as 'a book of family sayings' (史記儒林):—'The Empress was angry and said, 安得司空城旦書 "Would you have it to be a criminal judge's book on great wall slave-labour?"' The king Mu of Chou (B.C. 957-946) is much blamed for trying to substitute heavy fines for the cruel punishments (*Shu Ching*, V. xxvii); but indeed I think he is more to be sympathized with than blamed. He, or whoever was the author of that part of the *Shu*, may have been weak, but he had a kind heart. It seems as if he wanted also to screen the sage kings (Shun &c.) from blame, by imputing the 'five punishments' to the Miau people; and it is worth noting that the *Li Chi*, which quotes from 'the Punishments of Fu' (king Mu's 呂刑) several times, speaks also of 'the errors of Shun.' This is rank heresy in the estimation of a Confucianist, but the author of that part of the *Li*

Chi (xxix, xxx) was Taoistic. Before we have done with punishments, it is worth while quoting one paragraph from another part of the *Li Chi*. We seem to hear more about the punishments than about the crimes, but the following is a remarkable list of capital crimes:—'Splitting words so as to break (the force of) the laws; confounding names so as to change what had been definitely settled; practising corrupt ways so as to throw the government into confusion: all guilty of these things were put to death. Using licentious music, strange garments, wonderful contrivances and extraordinary implements, thus raising doubts among the multitudes: all who used or formed such things were put to death. Those who were persistent in hypocritical conduct and disputatious in hypocritical speeches, who studied what was wrong, and went on to do so more and more, and whoever increasingly followed what was wrong so as to bewilder the multitudes: these were put to death. Those who gave false reports about the (appearances of) spirits, about seasons and days, about consultings of the tortoise-shell and stalks, so as to perplex the multitudes: these were put to death. These four classes were taken off, and no defence listened to' (Vol. I., p. 237). The crimes for which the other penalties would be inflicted must have been lighter than these. Oh horrors! And it was a capital crime to frame or use a new invention (作奇技奇器殺). No wonder that China became stagnant with such a penal code as this. No wonder that the people tell you it is not their fault and refer you to the 'Hwang ti' (emperor). The 'Hwang ti' perhaps would refer to the scholars, the scholars to Shun and company, and so the loaded wheel of Chinese life would make one round turn and stop again.

Mourning is the principal subject of these two volumes, to which you are brought back again in almost every treatise from all digressions to more cheerful matters. Nothing of the mournful kind seems to be omitted from the death of the son of Heaven or of both parents at once to the funeral of a dog (Vol. II., 166). The translator remarks that 'perhaps we like Confucius better for keeping a dog, and seeing after its burial.' Quite so; but there is something ludicrous about the paragraph on his dog, coming as it does after one about a man killing his father, and another about a house warming, and then followed by one about the death of somebody's mother. What they did, what they ought to have done, and what it was wrong to do, in every case from the emperor downwards, might all be ascertained from a comparison of treatises, and stated in some kind of order in much smaller compass than we have it here; but it would be a business involving considerable labour, and, if I am not mistaken, considerable discrimination on account of conflicting views in different treatises. Some leading points are clear enough. A filial son should mourn nearly to the same extent for his father and for his mother, and this is the greatest ceremonial of all, extending over three years nominally, but in reality twenty-five or twenty-seven months (Vol. II., pp. 192, 391). Delicate distinctions however were made in regard to the sackcloth worn for a father and for a mother, and we are told, 'The wailing of one wearing the sackcloth for his father seems to go forth in one unbroken strain; that of one wearing sackcloth for a mother is now and then broken.' 'When wearing sackcloth for a father one indicates that he hears what is said to him, but does not reply in words; when wearing that for a mother, he replies but does not speak of anything else.' 'When a mourner has assumed the sackcloth for a father, for three days he abstains from food; for a mother, for two days' (Vol. II., p. 385). A great deal of the *Li Chi* is like the above. Mourners are told when to abstain from food or eat only gruel, when to bare and beat their breasts, when to wail and when to sigh, when to leap and when to put their

foreheads on the ground; and so forth without end. Mourning for a ruler is similar to that for parents but on a grand scale. 'The grief in mourning for a wife was like that for an uncle or an aunt' (Vol. II., p. 154). There is some ground for thinking that Confucius not only did not originate any part of this grotesque and interminable ritual of mourning, but tried to keep it within bounds. Suttee of course he could not endure. 'Confucius disliked those who wailed in the open country' (Vol. I., 160). 'I heard the Master say that in the rites of mourning, exceeding grief with deficient rites is better than little demonstration of grief with superabounding rites; and that in those of sacrifice exceeding reverence with deficient rites is better than an excess of rites with but little reverence' (Vol. I, p. 141). One would have been glad to find in him a more decided dislike to demonstration as well as to expense. But his reverence extended even to the forms which had come down from antiquity. A kind of pantheistic reverence was his religion. All his antecedents and all his surroundings, except where he saw positive evil, were embraced in this reverence. The dead were special objects of it; and grief and reverence for the dead was a thing which ought to be encouraged and shewn forth in all authenticated ways. Each man's antecedents and surroundings determined for him what his demonstrations of reverence should be. What an individual's private judgment might be about the condition of the dead, or about spiritual beings, or about God was a matter of minor importance; the essential thing for each man, woman, or child was to shew forth reverence in his own sphere, and not to go beyond that. The peculiar old customs of calling back the souls of the dead, of plugging the teeth open, filling the mouth with uncooked rice and precious shells (Vol. I., p. 157), placing raw and half cooked flesh about the dead, 'the dark coloured liquor' (water), personation of the dead, &c. &c. were all sacred in the estimation of Confucius because they were very old; and he would probably have attributed every one of them to a sort of divine wisdom; but the *Li Chi* makes him speak more truly, in the same section where the savage state is described (Vol. I., 369). Taoistic it is but prosaic fact nevertheless:—'This paragraph teaches us,' says Hsü Shih-tsăng 徐師曾, 'that the burial and other mourning ceremonies were not inventions of latter sages, but grew from the natural feelings and sorrows of the earliest men.' Professor Legge expresses a similar judgment about the employment of certain functionaries often mentioned in this book:—'I suspect that the sorcerer and exorcist were ancient superstitions, not established by the former kings' (I. 172), meaning by 'the former kings' civilized men like Confucius.

Where they got it from we cannot tell, but it is certain that the Chinese had before Confucius, probably long before him, the idea and the worship of a Supreme Being. Confucius' own theory was that none should publicly worship God and sacrifice to him but the highest man; and it was one of the trials of his life that he could not prevent the prince of his own State, Lu, from usurping the exclusive prerogative of the king in this matter. It is however boldly affirmed in one part of the *Li Chi*, that by express authority from king Wu's successor, 'the rulers of Lu sacrificed to God in the suburb of their metropolis' (Vol. II., p. 32). One would fain believe that there was a more extensive and more rational worship of God (上帝) than Confucius sanctioned. According to him not even a duke or a great officer could look up to Heaven, even to the sun, moon, or stars, in his worship, which was to be altogether earthly and human, directed to the spirits of his own locality and to the manes. The only privilege the people had in connection with the worship of God, was that of contributing of their substance to the Grand Sacrifice. They were to confine their sacrificing to their dead and

the smaller tutelary spirits of their fields. Very little is said about the latter. But sacrificing to the dead was a most elaborate business in every family, properly graduated of course, from the highest to the lowest. The rules here given, however, are mostly applicable only to the well-to-do. We are told that 'The rules of ceremony do not go down to the lower people,' and 'The penal statutes do not go up to great officers' (Vol. I., p. 90). Considering what the rules and statutes were we might hold both parties lucky in their exemption.

The course and ultimate destination of the disembodied spirit is by no means settled. In the Taoist sections it is said to go up and to be recalled from the house top. 'The body and the animal soul go downwards; and the intelligent spirit is on high' (Vol. I., p. 369). But elsewhere the ruler's soul is sought in the small and large chambers, 'and in the suburbs all round' (Vol. I., p. 157). Again, 'In calling back, they stood with their faces to the north inclining to the west' (Vol. II., p. 136). 'The turning the face to the north springs from the idea of its being in the dark region' (Vol. I., p. 167). However it is satisfactory to find that the Master said, 'the spirit issues forth and is displayed on high in a condition of glorious brightness' (Vol. II., p. 220). But a dreary feeling arises again when we are told that after seven generations or so even the ancestor of a king will be 'left in his ghostly state' (Vol. II., p. 205). We leave this part of the subject with the full assurance that the ancient kings came somehow or another to believe in God and in spirits and in a future state; and so far, if we except a few philosophers, all the world is kin.

It is impossible to give an exhaustive view or any adequate conception of the *Li Chi* within the limits of a review. The whole field of human life in China is traversed in it; and something may be found here and there to interest or amuse all sorts and conditions of men and women. The Xth Book, 'The Pattern of the Family,' introduces us to a Chinese home. The relative position and duties of the different members of the family, the wardrobe, the nursery, the grand-parents' chamber, the culinary department are all described; and the minute attention given by the ancient kings to the nourishing of the aged is incidentally brought in as an example to all. Sucking pig, beef and mutton, venison of three kinds, dog's liver, and wolf's breast were cooked and seasoned in certain ways as eight Delicacies for the aged. 'Snail-juice and condiment of the broad-leaved water-squash were used with pheasant soup' and found to make an excellent 'relish.'

The XVIIth Book is 'The Record of Music.' It is almost certain that the law against 'using licentious music' has never been enforced, and that the principles laid down in this Record have not been acted upon to any extent in China. Nevertheless the possibilities of music are here set forth with wonderful eloquence. Where did the writer get his ideas? If he had been an enthusiastic admirer of Handel he could not have said more. Either music is a relative term and what is virtuous music to them is licentious to us, or else the Chinese have degenerated in this beyond conception. Music and ceremony are the necessary complements of each other. 'Music springs from the inward movements of the soul; ceremonies appear in the outward movements of the body.' 'Music is an echo of the harmony between heaven and earth.' 'Music has its origin from heaven.' Let us have music and ceremonies in perfection, and mankind will be happy, oppression will cease, 'there will be no occasion for weapons of war, and no employment of the five punishments: the common people will have no distresses, and the son of Heaven no need to be angry:—such a state of things would be an universal music.' The same writer further on describes its effect upon all nature beginning with 'Heaven and Earth' and ending we may say pathetically and batheti-

cally with—'no eggs will be broken or addled.' The feeling is excusable.

A good deal of attention is given to education, and *The Great Learning* (XXXIX.) and *The Doctrine of the Mean* (XXVIII. now translated 'The State of Equilibrium and Harmony'), two of the Four Books, are included in the *Li Chi*, perhaps as specimens of books for the higher education. Schools are described, and examinations. Boys were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, music, poetry, dancing, archery, and chariot-driving. Girls were taught nothing but 'the arts of pleasing speech and manners, to be docile and obedient, to handle the hempen fibres,' and the like. In Book VI. entitled 'King Wăn as son and Heir,' which has only the first paragraph on him and the next on his son Wu, there is a curious story about Wu's son, the boy-king Ch'ăng, being taken in hand by his uncle the duke of Chou. The duke of Chou put his own little son to live with the king his cousin, that when the father chastised the son king Ch'ăng being an orphan might see how it was done, and thus learn the proper relation between father and son. The poor little victim, Po-ch'in (伯禽), was afterwards the first marquis of Lu.

The amusements of the ancient Chinese do not seem to have been very numerous. Hunting is referred to several times, and archery has a short Book devoted to it; so also has 'the game of pitch-pot,' pitching arrows into a pot. We know they had the game of Chess (弈棊); and there was a good deal of gambling by the end of the Chou dynasty at least. At the time when the *Li Chi* was compiled they had cock-fighting, dog-racing, horse-racing, hunting, and gambling (博戲惡業也, see 史記 30, and 129) which was 'a bad business.' Drinking was encouraged, but regulated with the usual amount of ceremonies (Bk. XLII.).

As may be known already many of the directions given in the *Li Chi* are to us amusing and absurd. The following are a few examples:—

'He who is inquiring after another that is ill, and is not able to send anything to him, should not ask him what he would like. In a house of mourning one should not laugh. When one sees at a distance a coffin with a corpse in it he should not sing. When eating with others he should not sigh. When presenting himself at any mournful rites, one should have a sad countenance. When holding the rope one should not laugh.' These are specimens from the 1st Book.

'Three days before the thunder, a bell with a wooden tongue is sounded, to give notice to all the people' (Book IV.).

A new born baby, if his father has just died, must take part in the mourning rites. The person that brings him in makes a short speech for him addressed to the corpse. 'The boy is then made to do obeisance, with his forehead on the ground, and wail' (Book V.).

'At the marriage ceremony, they did not employ music,—having regard to the feeling of solitariness and darkness (natural to the separation from parents). Music expresses the energy of the bright and expanding influence. There was no congratulation on marriage,—it indicates how one generation of men succeeds another' (Book IX.).

'The regular place for a gentleman was exactly opposite the door facing the light. He slept with his head to the east. When there came violent wind, or rapid thunder, or a great rain, he changed countenance. It was the rule for him then, even in the night, to get up, dress himself, put on his cap, and take his seat. He washed his hands five times a day' &c., &c. (Book XI). For the rest the reader must consult the Book.

The title of Book VIII is 禮器 *Li-Ch'i* which means literally 'ceremonial vessel,' but, as the translator explains in the Introduction, the expression is figurative and denotes what the gentleman will

become by the study and practice of Chinese ceremonies. We believe it.

Confucius rose early one day, and with his hands behind him, and trailing his staff, moved slowly about near the door, singing,—

"The great mountain must crumble;
The strong beam must break;
The wise man must wither away like a plant."

Having thus sung he entered and sat down opposite the door. Tsze Kung had *heard him, and said, "If the great mountain crumble to what shall I look up? If the strong beam break on what shall I lean? If the wise man wither like a plant whom shall I imitate? The Master, I am afraid, is going to be ill."* He then hastened into the house. The Master said, "Ts'ze, what makes you so late? Under the sovereigns of Hsia, *the body was dressed and coffined* at the top of the steps on the east, so that it was where the deceased used to go up. The people of Yin performed the same ceremoney between the two pillars, so that the steps for the host were on one side of the corpse, and those for the guests on the other. The people of Chou performed it at the top of the western steps treating the deceased as if he were a guest. I am a man descended from the house of Yin, and last night I dreamt that I was sitting with the offerings to the dead between the two pillars. Intelligent kings no more arise; and what one under heaven is able to make me his Master? I apprehend I am about to die." With this he took to his bed, was ill for seven days, and died' (Vol. I, pp. 138-9). *Requiescat.*

In conclusion we may ask, is there any hope for the future of China with this incubus of ancient rubbish upon her? Yes, a glorious hope. It lies in a powerful reaction, which is sure to come, against ritual and worship of antiquity merely as antiquity, and in favour of the five cardinal virtues whose names are as old as Chinese literature. Translated in the light we now have, these virtues may be called humanity (love), righteousness, religion, knowledge, and faith. With humanity first and religion in the centre, what better foundation could China build on than this? *Li*, the Chinese word for the central virtue, we have seen includes religion. 'Mint, anise, and cummin' must go down; 'judgment, mercy, and faith' must go up. The sale of indulgences must be denounced; a more credible way of salvation must be proclaimed. China is not going to accept Christianity and European civilization as a boon from us, and thank us for it. We have, all things considered, scarcely deserved it. The preaching of Christianity makes some converts, and irritates the nation in general; the integrity of Europeans provokes a few to emulation, and weakens the power of corruption in general; while every instance, in peace or war, of unfair dealing and self-seeking on our part gives inward pleasure to the national mind, because it gives opportunity for the retort, 'physician heal thyself,' or else for the vain boast that with all our advancement the knowledge of the five cardinal virtues belongs to China alone. But the total effect of European encroachment upon China can ultimately be nothing short of a thorough rousing up from centuries of torpor, and when China is thoroughly roused she will have power and discernment given her to work round to the adoption in her own way of all our best ideas. In the meantime, we may depend upon it, China takes the measure of us just as we take the measure of her; and it becomes us, as we prize the Christian religion above everything else, to commend it to the adoption of the Chinese not in word only but in deed and in truth.

Examples of the new spelling:—

周	*K*âu	Wade	Chou.
晉	*J*in	,,	Chin.
秦	*K*hin	,,	Ch'in.
牲	Săng	,,	Shêng.
展	*K*en	,,	Chan.

Omissions and misprints:—

Vol. I. p. 62 憎而知其善, omitted.
II. p. 254 八佾以舞大夏 ,,
I. p. 35 'a Chen Ch'in,' add 'usually supposed to be 柳下惠.'
I. p. 19 for 乎 read 平.
I. p. 20 ,, 命 ,, 明.
I. p. 205 ,, 痳 ,, 麻.
II. p. 11 ,, 緣 ,, 綠.
II. p. 265 ,, 延 ,, 廷.
I. p. 190 ,, 'hastened,' read 'listened.'
I. p. 201 ,, 'eat,' ,, 'act.'
I. p. 344 ,, 'I am 100; and you are 90,' read 'I should die at 100; and you at 90.'
I. p. 245 ,, 'eighty trillions,' read '8,100,000,000.'
II. p. 31 ,, 'fu,' read 'fau.'

JOHN CHALMERS.

THE LIFE OF TSZE-CH'AN 子產.

PRIME MINISTER OF CHĂNG 鄭.

581-521 B.C.

Among the many ministers of the States whose names are mentioned and whose deeds are recorded in the Tso-chwan 左傳, Tsze-ch'an is one of the most illustrious. He was a contemporary of Confucius and the latter bestowed on more than one occasion the highest praise on his statesmanship. 'I respect Tsze-ch'an,' he said (Sze Ki, chap. 42), and 'He was a kind man' (Ana. XIV. X. 1); and again, 'Tsze-ch'an had four characteristics of a superior man:—in his conduct of himself he was humble; in serving his superiors, he was respectful; in nourishing the people, he was kind; in ordering the people he was just' (Ana. V. XV). The man whom Confucius thus esteemed was indeed a remarkable character. He was not only highly gifted, but providence had put him in such a difficult position, that he was compelled to use and to develop his talent of statesmanship. His native land, the small, feudal State of Chăng, was situated between the two great rival States of Ch'u 楚, in the south, and Tsin 晉, in the north. At one time it was obliged to rely on the former, at another time it had to go over to the latter; and often it was imposed upon and invaded by both. (See Legge, Classics, Vol. V. pp, 395, 398, 403, 404.) If we add to this that the people of Chăng were barbarous and rude and often revolted against the government, that the ruling House of Chăng was weak and the old and strong families often took the government in their own hands and quarrelled about their precedence, we shall have a fair idea of the state of things in Chăng at the time when Tsze-ch'an was about to make his appearance. Before introducing him to our readers it is, however, necessary to make a few other introductory remarks.

The two main sources of the life of Tsze-ch'an are the Tso-chwan 左傳 and the Sze-ki 史記. Though the former has been translated into English by Dr. Legge, it was impossible only to refer to the page or chapter where the reader might look up matters relating to Tsze-ch'an. If this had been done, the following biography would have been for the most part a dry and annoying list of references. It was therefore, after much hesitation, deemed better to use