

# THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION

## I. Our Oriental Heritage

*History of civilization in Egypt and the Near East  
to the death of Alexander, and in India, China and Japan  
from the beginning to our own day; with an introduction  
on the nature and foundations of civilization*

By Will Durant

VOLUME II



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# The Life of the Mind

## I. HINDU SCIENCE

*Its religious origins—Astronomers—Mathematicism—The “Arabic” numerals—The decimal system—Algebra—Geometry—Physics—Chemistry—Physiology—Vedic medicine—Physicians—Surgeons—Anesthetics—Vaccination—Hypnotism*

INDIA'S work in science is both very old and very young: young as an independent and secular pursuit, old as a subsidiary interest of her priests. Religion being the core of Hindu life, those sciences were cultivated first that contributed to religion: astronomy grew out of the worship of the heavenly bodies, and the observation of their movements aimed to fix the calendar of festival and sacrificial days; grammar and philology developed out of the insistence that every prayer and formula, though couched in a dead language, should be textually and phonetically correct.<sup>1</sup> As in our Middle Ages, the scientists of India, for better and for worse, were her priests.

Astronomy was an incidental offspring of astrology, and slowly emancipated itself under Greek influence. The earliest astronomical treatises, the *Siddhantas* (ca. 425 B.C.), were based on Greek science,<sup>2</sup> and Varahamihira, whose compendium was significantly entitled *Complete System of Natural Astrology*, frankly acknowledged his dependence upon the Greeks. The greatest of Hindu astronomers and mathematicians, Aryabhata, discussed in verse such poetic subjects as quadratic equations, sines, and the value of  $\pi$ ; he explained eclipses, solstices and equinoxes, announced the sphericity of the earth and its diurnal revolution on its axis, and wrote, in daring anticipation of Renaissance science: “The sphere of the stars is stationary, and the earth, by its revolution, produces the daily rising and setting of planets and stars.”<sup>3</sup> His most famous successor, Brahmagupta, systematized the astronomic knowledge of India, but obstructed its development by rejecting Aryabhata's the-

ory of the revolution of the earth. These men and their followers adapted to Hindu usage the Babylonian division of the skies into zodiacal constellations; they made a calendar of twelve months, each of thirty days, each of thirty hours, inserting an intercalary month every five years; they calculated with remarkable accuracy the diameter of the moon, the eclipses of the moon and the sun, the position of the poles, and the position and motion of the major stars.\* They expounded the theory, though not the law, of gravity when they wrote in the *Siddhantas*: "The earth, owing to its force of gravity, draws all things to itself."<sup>9</sup>

To make these complex calculations the Hindus developed a system of mathematics superior, in everything except geometry, to that of the Greeks.<sup>7</sup> Among the most vital parts of our Oriental heritage are the "Arabic" numerals and the decimal system, both of which came to us, through the Arabs, from India. The miscalled "Arabic" numerals are found on the Rock Edicts of Ashoka (256 B.C.), a thousand years before their occurrence in Arabic literature. Said the great and magnanimous Laplace:

It is India that gave us the ingenious method of expressing all numbers by ten symbols, each receiving a value of position as well as an absolute value; a profound and important idea which appears so simple to us now that we ignore its true merit. But its very simplicity, the great ease which it has lent to all computations, puts our arithmetic in the first rank of useful inventions; and we shall appreciate the grandeur of this achievement the more when we remember that it escaped the genius of Archimedes and Apollonius, two of the greatest men produced by antiquity.<sup>8</sup>

The decimal system was known to Aryabhata and Brahmagupta long before its appearance in the writings of the Arabs and the Syrians; it was adopted by China from Buddhist missionaries; and Muhammad Ibn Musa al-Khwarazmi, the greatest mathematician of his age (d. ca. 850 A.D.), seems to have introduced it into Baghdad. The oldest known use of the zero in Asia or Europe\* is in an Arabic document dated 873 A.D., three years sooner than its first known appearance in India; but by general consent the Arabs borrowed this too from India,<sup>9</sup> and the most modest and most valuable of all numerals is one of the subtle gifts of India to mankind.

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\* It was used by the Mayas of America in the first century A.D.<sup>10</sup> Dr. Breasted attributes a knowledge of the place value of numerals to the ancient Babylonians (*Saturday Review of Literature*, New York, July 13, 1935, p. 15).



Algebra was developed in apparent independence by both the Hindus and the Greeks;\* but our adoption of its Arabic name (*al-jabr*, adjustment) indicates that it came to western Europe from the Arabs—i.e., from India—rather than from Greece.<sup>20</sup> The great Hindu leaders in this field, as in astronomy, were Aryabhata, Brahmagupta and Bhaskara. The last (b. 1114 A.D.), appears to have invented the radical sign, and many algebraic symbols.<sup>21</sup> These men created the conception of a negative quantity, without which algebra would have been impossible;<sup>22</sup> they formulated rules for finding permutations and combinations; they found the square root of 2, and solved, in the eighth century A.D., indeterminate equations of the second degree that were unknown to Europe until the days of Euler a thousand years later.<sup>23</sup> They expressed their science in poetic form, and gave to mathematical problems a grace characteristic of India's Golden Age. These two may serve as examples of simpler Hindu algebra:

Out of a swarm of bees one-fifth part settled on a Kadamba blossom; one-third on a Silindhra flower; three times the difference of those numbers flew to the bloom of a Kutaja. One bee, which remained, hovered about in the air. Tell me, charming woman, the number of bees. . . . Eight rubies, ten emeralds, and a hundred pearls, which are in thy ear-ring, my beloved, were purchased by me for thee at an equal amount; and the sum of the prices of the three sorts of gems was three less than half a hundred; tell me the price of each, auspicious woman.<sup>24</sup>

The Hindus were not so successful in geometry. In the measurement and construction of altars the priests formulated the Pythagorean theorem (by which the square of the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle equals the sum of the squares of the other sides) several hundred years before the birth of Christ.<sup>25</sup> Aryabhata, probably influenced by the Greeks, found the area of a triangle, a trapezium and a circle, and calculated the value of  $\pi$  (the relation of diameter to circumference in a circle) at 3.1416—a figure not equaled in accuracy until the days of Purbach (1423-61) in Europe.<sup>26</sup> Bhaskara crudely anticipated the differential calculus, Aryabhata drew up a table of sines, and the *Surya Siddhanta* provided a system of trigonometry more advanced than anything known to the Greeks.<sup>27</sup>

Two systems of Hindu thought propound physical theories suggestively similar to those of Greece. Kanada, founder of the Vaisheshika philosophy, held that the world was composed of atoms as many in kind as the various

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\* The first algebraist known to us, the Greek Diophantus (360 A.D.), antedates Aryabhata by a century; but Cajori believes that he took his lead from India.<sup>28</sup>

elements. The Jains more nearly approximated to Democritus by teaching that all atoms were of the same kind, producing different effects by diverse modes of combination.<sup>20</sup> Kanada believed light and heat to be varieties of the same substance; Udayana taught that all heat comes from the sun; and Vachaspati, like Newton, interpreted light as composed of minute particles emitted by substances and striking the eye.<sup>21</sup> Musical notes and intervals were analyzed and mathematically calculated in the Hindu treatises on music;<sup>22</sup> and the "Pythagorean Law" was formulated by which the number of vibrations, and therefore the pitch of the note, varies inversely as the length of the string between the point of attachment and the point of touch. There is some evidence that Hindu mariners of the first centuries A.D. used a compass made by an iron fish floating in a vessel of oil and pointing north.<sup>23</sup>

Chemistry developed from two sources—medicine and industry. Something has been said about the chemical excellence of cast iron in ancient India, and about the high industrial development of Gupta times, when India was looked to, even by Imperial Rome, as the most skilled of the nations in such chemical industries as dyeing, tanning, soap-making, glass and cement. As early as the second century B.C. Nagarjuna devoted an entire volume to mercury. By the sixth century the Hindus were far ahead of Europe in industrial chemistry; they were masters of calcination, distillation, sublimation, steaming, fixation, the production of light without heat, the mixing of anesthetic and soporific powders, and the preparation of metallic salts, compounds and alloys. The tempering of steel was brought in ancient India to a perfection unknown in Europe till our own times; King Porus is said to have selected, as a specially valuable gift for Alexander, not gold or silver, but thirty pounds of steel.<sup>24</sup> The Moslems took much of this Hindu chemical science and industry to the Near East and Europe; the secret of manufacturing "Damascus" blades, for example, was taken by the Arabs from the Persians, and by the Persians from India.<sup>25</sup>

Anatomy and physiology, like some aspects of chemistry, were by-products of Hindu medicine. As far back as the sixth century B.C. Hindu physicians described ligaments, sutures, lymphatics, nerve plexus, fascia, adipose and vascular tissues, mucous and synovial membranes, and many more muscles than any modern cadaver is able to show.<sup>26</sup> The doctors of pre-Christian India shared Aristotle's mistaken conception of the heart as the seat and organ of consciousness, and supposed that the nerves ascended to and descended from the heart. But they understood remarkably well the processes of digestion—the different functions of the gastric juices, the conversion of chyme into chyle, and of this into blood.<sup>27</sup> Anticipating Weismann by 2400 years,

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<sup>20</sup> E.g., in *The Ocean of Music (Samgita-ratnakara)* of Sharamgadeva (1210-47).

Atreya (ca. 500 B.C.) held that the parental seed is independent of the parent's body, and contains in itself, in miniature, the whole parental organism.<sup>25</sup> Examination for virility was recommended as a prerequisite for marriage in men; and the Code of Manu warned against marrying mates affected with tuberculosis, epilepsy, leprosy, chronic dyspepsia, piles, or loquacity.<sup>26</sup> Birth control in the latest theological fashion was suggested by the Hindu medical schools of 500 B.C. in the theory that during twelve days of the menstrual cycle impregnation is impossible.<sup>27</sup> Fœtal development was described with considerable accuracy; it was noted that the sex of the fœtus remains for a time undetermined, and it was claimed that in some cases the sex of the embryo could be influenced by food or drugs.<sup>28</sup>

The records of Hindu medicine begin with the *Atharva-veda*; here, embedded in a mass of magic and incantations, is a list of diseases with their symptoms. Medicine arose as an adjunct to magic: the healer studied and used earthly means of cure to help his spiritual formulas; later he relied more and more upon such secular methods, continuing the magic spell, like our bedside manner, as a psychological aid. Appended to the *Atharva-veda* is the *Ajurveda* ("The Science of Longevity"). In this oldest system of Hindu medicine illness is attributed to disorder in one of the four humors (air, water, phlegm and blood), and treatment is recommended with herbs and charms. Many of its diagnoses and cures are still used in India, with a success that is sometimes the envy of Western physicians. The *Rig-veda* names over a thousand such herbs, and advocates water as the best cure for most diseases. Even in Vedic times physicians and surgeons were being differentiated from magic doctors, and were living in houses surrounded by gardens in which they cultivated medicinal plants.<sup>29</sup>

The great names in Hindu medicine are those of Sushruta in the fifth century before, and Charaka in the second century after Christ. Sushruta, professor of medicine in the University of Benares, wrote down in Sanskrit a system of diagnosis and therapy whose elements had descended to him from his teacher Dhanwantari. His book dealt at length with surgery, obstetrics, diet, bathing, drugs, infant feeding and hygiene, and medical education.<sup>30</sup> Charaka composed a *Sambita* (or encyclopedia) of medicine, which is still used in India,<sup>31</sup> and gave to his followers an almost Hippocratic conception of their calling: "Not for self, not for the fulfillment of any earthly desire of gain, but solely for the good of suffering humanity should you treat your patients, and so excell all."<sup>32</sup> Only less illustrious than these are Vagbhata (625 A.D.), who prepared a medical compendium in prose and verse, and Bhava Misra (1550 A.D.), whose

voluminous work on anatomy, physiology and medicine mentioned, a hundred years before Harvey, the circulation of the blood, and prescribed mercury for that novel disease, syphilis, which had recently been brought in by the Portuguese as part of Europe's heritage to India.\*

Sushruta described many surgical operations—cataract, hernia, lithotomy, Cæsarian section, etc.—and 121 surgical instruments, including lancets, sounds, forceps, catheters, and rectal and vaginal speculums.\*\* Despite Brahmanical prohibitions he advocated the dissection of dead bodies as indispensable in the training of surgeons. He was the first to graft upon a torn ear portions of skin taken from another part of the body; and from him and his Hindu successors rhinoplasty—the surgical reconstruction of the nose—descended into modern medicine.\*\* “The ancient Hindus,” says Garrison, “performed almost every major operation except ligation of the arteries.”\*\* Limbs were amputated, abdominal sections were performed, fractures were set, hemorrhoids and fistulas were removed. Sushruta laid down elaborate rules for preparing an operation, and his suggestion that the wound be sterilized by fumigation is one of the earliest known efforts at antiseptic surgery.\*\* Both Sushruta and Charaka mention the use of medicinal liquors to produce insensibility to pain. In 927 A.D. two surgeons trepanned the skull of a Hindu king, and made him insensitive to the operation by administering a drug called *Samohini*.\*\*

For the detection of the 1120 diseases that he enumerated, Sushruta recommended diagnosis by inspection, palpation, and auscultation.\*\* Taking of the pulse was described in a treatise dating 1300 A.D.\*\* Urinalysis was a favorite method of diagnosis; Tibetan physicians were reputed able to cure any patient without having seen anything more of him than his water.\*\* In the time of Yuan Chwang Hindu medical treatment began with a seven-day fast; in this interval the patient often recovered; if the illness continued, drugs were at last employed.\*\* Even then drugs were used very sparingly; reliance was placed largely upon diet, baths, enemas, inhalations, urethral and vaginal injections, and blood-lettings by leeches or cups.\*\* Hindu physicians were especially skilled in concocting antidotes for poisons; they still excel European physicians in curing snake-bites.\*\* Vaccination, unknown to Europe before the eighteenth century,

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\* Hospitals were erected in Ceylon as early as 427 B.C., and in northern India as early as 126 B.C.\*\*

was known in India as early as 550 A.D., if we may judge from a text attributed to Dhanwantari, one of the earliest Hindu physicians: "Take the fluid of the pock on the udder of the cow . . . upon the point of a lancet, and lance with it the arms between the shoulders and elbows until the blood appears; then, mixing the fluid with the blood, the fever of the small-pox will be produced."<sup>44</sup> Modern European physicians believe that caste separateness was prescribed because of the Brahman belief in invisible agents transmitting disease; many of the laws of sanitation enjoined by Sushruta and "Manu" seem to take for granted what we moderns, who love new words for old things, call the germ theory of disease.<sup>45</sup> Hypnotism as therapy seems to have originated among the Hindus, who often took their sick to the temples to be cured by hypnotic suggestion or "temple-sleep," as in Egypt and Greece.<sup>46</sup> The Englishmen who introduced hypnotherapy into England—Braid, Esdaile and Elliotson—"undoubtedly got their ideas, and some of their experience, from contact with India."<sup>47</sup>

The general picture of Indian medicine is one of rapid development in the Vedic and Buddhist periods, followed by centuries of slow and cautious improvement. How much Atreya, Dhanwantari and Sushruta owed to Greece, and how much Greece owed to them, we do not know. In the time of Alexander, says Garrison, "Hindu physicians and surgeons enjoyed a well-deserved reputation for superior knowledge and skill," and even Aristotle is believed by some students to have been indebted to them.<sup>48</sup> So too with the Persians and the Arabs: it is difficult to say how much Indian medicine owed to the physicians of Baghdad, and through them to the heritage of Babylonian medicine in the Near East; on the one hand certain remedies, like opium and mercury, and some modes of diagnosis, like feeling the pulse, appear to have entered India from Persia; on the other we find Persians and Arabs translating into their languages, in the eighth century A.D., the thousand-year-old compendia of Sushruta and Charaka.<sup>49</sup> The great Caliph Haroun-al-Rashid accepted the preëminence of Indian medicine and scholarship, and imported Hindu physicians to organize hospitals and medical schools in Baghdad.<sup>50</sup> Lord Ampthill concludes that medieval and modern Europe owes its system of medicine directly to the Arabs, and through them to India.<sup>51</sup> Probably this noblest and most uncertain of the sciences had an approximately equal antiquity, and developed in contemporary contact and mutual influence, in Sumeria, Egypt and India.

## II. THE SIX SYSTEMS OF BRAHMANICAL PHILOSOPHY

*The antiquity of Indian philosophy — Its prominent rôle — Its scholars — Forms — Conception of orthodoxy — The assumptions of Hindu philosophy*

The priority of India is clearer in philosophy than in medicine, though here too origins are veiled, and every conclusion is an hypothesis. Some *Upanishads* are older than any *extant* form of Greek philosophy, and Pythagoras, Parmenides and Plato seem to have been influenced by Indian metaphysics; but the speculations of Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras and Empedocles not only antedate the secular philosophy of the Hindus, but bear a sceptical and physical stamp suggesting any other origin than India. Victor Cousin believed that "we are constrained to see in this cradle of the human race the native land of the highest philosophy."<sup>84</sup> It is more probable that no one of the civilizations known to us was the originator of any of the elements of civilization.

But nowhere else has the lust for philosophy been so strong as in India. It is, with the Hindus, not an ornament or a recreation, but a major interest and practice of life itself; and sages receive in India the honor bestowed in the West upon men of wealth or action. What other nation has ever thought of celebrating festivals with gladiatorial debates between the leaders of rival philosophical schools? We read in the *Upanishads* how the King of the Videhas, as part of a religious feast, set one day apart for a philosophical disputation among Yajnavalkya, Asvala, Artabhaga and Gargi (the Aspasia of India); to the victor the King promised—and gave—a reward of a thousand cows and many pieces of gold.<sup>85</sup> It was the usual course for a philosophical teacher in India to speak rather than to write; instead of attacking his opponents through the safe medium of print, he was expected to meet them in living debate, and to visit other schools in order to submit himself to controversy and questioning; leading philosophers like Shankara spent much of their time in such intellectual journeys.<sup>86</sup> Sometimes kings joined in these discussions with the modesty becoming a monarch in the presence of a philosopher—if we may credit the reports of the philosophers. The victor in a vital debate was as great a hero among his people as a general returning from the bloody triumphs of war.<sup>87</sup>

In a Rajput painting of the eighteenth century<sup>88</sup> we see a typical Indian "School of Philosophy"—the teacher sits on a mat under a tree, and his

pupils squat on the grass before him. Such scenes were to be witnessed everywhere, for teachers of philosophy were as numerous in India as merchants in Babylonia. No other country has ever had so many schools of thought. In one of Buddha's dialogues we learn that there were sixty-two distinct theories of the soul among the philosophers of his time.\* "This philosophical nation *par excellence*," says Count Keyserling, "has more Sanskrit words for philosophical and religious thought than are found in Greek, Latin and German combined."<sup>11</sup>

Since Indian thought was transmitted rather by oral tradition than by writing, the oldest form in which the theories of the various schools have come down to us is that of *sutras*—aphoristic "threads" which teacher or student jotted down, not as a means of explaining his thought to another, but as an aid to his own memory. These extant *sutras* are of varying age, some as old as 200 A.D., some as recent as 1400; in all cases they are much younger than the traditions of thought that they summarize, for the origin of these schools of philosophy is as old as Buddha, and some of them, like the *Sankhya*, were probably well-established when he was born.<sup>12</sup>

All systems of Indian philosophy are ranged by the Hindus in two categories: *Astika* systems, which affirm, and *Nastika* systems, which deny.\* We have already studied the *Nastika* systems, which were chiefly those of the Charvakas, the Buddhists, and the Jains. But, strange to say, these systems were called *Nastika*, heterodox and nihilist, not because they questioned or denied the existence of God (which they did), but because they questioned, denied or ignored the authority of the *Vedas*. Many of the *Astika* systems also doubted or denied God; they were nevertheless called orthodox because they accepted the infallibility of the *Scriptures*, and the institution of caste; and no hindrance was placed against the free thought, however atheistic, of those schools that acknowledged these fundamentals of orthodox Hindu society. Since a wide latitude was allowed in interpreting the holy books, and clever dialecticians could find in the *Vedas* any doctrine which they sought, the only practical requirement for intellectual respectability was the recognition of caste; this being the real government of India, rejection of it was treason, and acceptance of it covered a multitude of sins. In effect, therefore, the philosophers of India enjoyed far more liberty than their Scholastic analogues in Europe,

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\* *Asti*, it is; *n'asti*, it is not.

though less, perhaps, than the thinkers of Christendom under the enlightened Popes of the Renaissance.

Of the "orthodox" systems or *darshanas* ("demonstrations"), six became so prominent that in time every Hindu thinker who acknowledged the authority of the Brahmans attached himself to one or another of these schools. All six make certain assumptions which are the bases of Hindu thought: that the *Vedas* are inspired; that reasoning is less reliable as a guide to reality and truth than the direct perception and feeling of an individual properly prepared for spiritual receptiveness and subtlety by ascetic practices and years of obedient tutelage; that the purpose of knowledge and philosophy is not control of the world so much as release from it; and that the goal of thought is to find freedom from the suffering of frustrated desire by achieving freedom from desire itself. These are the philosophies to which men come when they tire of ambition, struggle, wealth, "progress," and "success."

### 1. The Nyaya System

#### *A Hindu logician*

The first of the "Brahmanical" systems in the logical order of Indian thought (for their chronological order is uncertain, and they are in all essentials contemporary) is a body of logical theory extending over two millenniums. *Nyaya* means an argument, a way of leading the mind to a conclusion. Its most famous text is the *Nyaya Sutra* ascribed without surety to a Gautama dated variously between the third century before, and the first century after, Christ.\* Like all Hindu thinkers, Gautama announces, as the purpose of his work, the achievement of *Nirvana*, or release from the tyranny of desire, here to be reached by clear and consistent thinking; but we suspect that his simple intent was to offer a guide to the perplexed wrestlers in India's philosophical debates. He formulates for them the principles of argument, exposes the tricks of controversy, and lists the common fallacies of thought. Like another Aristotle, he seeks the structure of reasoning in the syllogism, and finds the crux of argument in the middle term;\* like another James or Dewey he looks upon knowledge and thought as pragmatic tools and organs of human need and will, to be tested by their ability to lead to successful action.† He is a realist, and will have nothing to do with the sublime idea that the world ceases to exist when no one takes the precaution to perceive it.

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\* The *Nyaya* syllogism, however, has five propositions: theorem, reason, major premiss, minor premiss and conclusion. E.g.: (1) Socrates is mortal, (2) for he is a man; (3) all men are mortal; (4) Socrates is a man; (5) therefore Socrates is mortal.



Gautama's predecessors in *Nyaya* were apparently atheists; his successors became epistemologists.<sup>58</sup> His achievement was to give India an organon of investigation and thought, and a rich vocabulary of philosophical terms.

## 2. The Vaisheshika System

### *Democritus in India*

As Gautama is the Aristotle of India, so Kanada is its Democritus. His name, which means the "atom-eater," suggests that he may be a legendary construct of the historical imagination. The date at which the *Vaisheshika* system was formulated has not been fixed with excessive accuracy: we are told that it was not before 300 B.C., and not after 800 A.D. Its name came from *vishesha*, meaning particularity: the world, in Kanada's theory, is full of a number of things, but they are all, in some form, mere combinations of atoms; the forms change, but the atoms remain indestructible. Thoroughly Democritean, Kanada announces that nothing exists but "atoms and the void," and that the atoms move not according to the will of an intelligent deity, but through an impersonal force or law—*Adrishta*, "the invisible." Since there is no conservative like the child of a radical, the later exponents of *Vaisheshika*, unable to see how a blind force could give order and unity to the cosmos, placed a world of minute souls alongside the world of atoms, and supervised both worlds with an intelligent God.<sup>59</sup> So old is the "pre-established harmony" of Leibnitz.

## 3. The Sankhya System

*Its high repute — Metaphysics — Evolution — Atheism — Idealism*  
*— Spirit—Body, mind and soul—The goal of philosophy*  
*—Influence of the Sankhya*

This, says a Hindu historian, "is the most significant system of philosophy that India has produced."<sup>60</sup> Professor Garbe, who devoted a large part of his life to the study of the *Sankhya*, consoled himself with the thought that "in Kapila's doctrine, for the first time in the history of the world, the complete independence and freedom of the human mind, its full confidence in its own powers, were exhibited."<sup>61</sup> It is the oldest of the six systems,<sup>62</sup> and perhaps the oldest philosophical system of all.\* Of

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\* Its earliest extant literature, the *Sankhya-karika* of the commentator Ishvara Krishna, dates back only to the fifth century A.D., and the *Sankhya-sutras* once attributed to Kapila are not older than our fifteenth century; but the origins of the system apparently antedate Buddhism itself.<sup>63</sup> The Buddhist texts and the *Mahabharata*<sup>64</sup> repeatedly refer to it, and Winternitz finds its influence in Pythagoras.<sup>65</sup>

Kapila himself nothing is known, except that Hindu tradition, which has a schoolboy's scorn for dates, credits him with founding the *Sankhya* philosophy in the sixth century B.C.<sup>71</sup>

Kapila is at once a realist and a scholastic. He begins almost medically by laying it down, in his first aphorism, that "the complete cessation of pain . . . is the complete goal of man." He rejects as inadequate the attempt to elude suffering by physical means; he refutes, with much logical prestidigitation, the views of all and sundry on the matter, and then proceeds to construct, in one unintelligibly abbreviated *sutra* after another, his own metaphysical system. It derives its name from his enumeration (for this is the meaning of *sankhya*) of the twenty-five Realities (*Tattwas*, "Thatnesses") which, in Kapila's judgment, make up the world. He arranges these Realities in a complex relationship that may possibly be clarified by the following scheme:

- (1) A. SUBSTANCE (*Prakriti*, "Producer"), a universal physical principle which, through its evolutionary powers (*Gunās*), produces
- (2) I. Intellect (*Buddhi*), the power of perception; which, through its evolutionary powers (*Gunās*), produces
  - i. The Five Subtle Elements, or Sensory Powers of the Internal World:
    - (4) 1. Sight,
    - (5) 2. Hearing,
    - (6) 3. Smell,
    - (7) 4. Taste, and
    - (8) 5. Touch; (Realities (1) to (8) coöperate to produce (10) to (24) )
  - (9) ii. Mind (*Manas*), the power of conception;
  - iii. The Five Organs of Sense (corresponding with Realities (4) to (8) ):
    - (10) 1. Eye,
    - (11) 2. Ear,
    - (12) 3. Nose,
    - (13) 4. Tongue, and
    - (14) 5. Skin;
  - iv. The Five Organs of Action:
    - (15) 1. Larynx,
    - (16) 2. Hands,
    - (17) 3. Feet,
    - (18) 4. Excretory organs, and

- (19) 5. Generative organs;  
 v. The Five Gross Elements of the External World:
- (20) 1. Ether,  
 (21) 2. Air,  
 (22) 3. Fire and light,  
 (23) 4. Water, and  
 (24) 5. Earth.
- (25) B. SPIRIT (*Purusha*, "Person"), a universal psychical principle which, though unable to do anything of itself, animates and vitalizes *Prakriti*, and stirs its evolutionary powers to all their activities.

At its outset this seems to be a purely materialistic system: the world of mind and self as well as of body and matter appears entirely as an evolution by natural means, a unity and continuity of elements in perpetual development and decay from the lowest to the highest and back again. There is a premonition of Lamarck in Kapila's thought: the need of the organism (the "Self") generates the function (sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch), and the function produces the organ (eye, ear, nose, tongue and skin). There is no gap in the system, and no vital distinction in any Hindu philosophy, between the inorganic and the organic, between the vegetable and the animal, or between the animal and the human, world; these are all links in one chain of life, spokes on the wheel of evolution and dissolution, birth and death and birth. The course of evolution is determined fatalistically by the three active qualities or powers (*Gunas*) of Substance: purity, activity, and blind ignorance. These powers are not prejudiced in favor of development against decay; they produce the one after the other in an endless cycle, like some stupid magician drawing an infinity of contents from a hat, putting them back again, and repeating the process forever. Every state of evolution contains in itself, as Herbert Spencer was to say some time later, a tendency to lapse into dissolution as its fated counterpart and end.

Kapila, like Laplace, saw no need of calling in a deity to explain creation or evolution;" in this most religious and philosophical of nations it is nothing unusual to find religions and philosophies without a god. Many of the *Sankhya* texts explicitly deny the existence of a personal creator; creation is inconceivable, for "a thing is not made out of nothing";" creator and created are one." Kapila contents himself with writing (precisely as if he were Immanuel Kant) that a personal creator can never be demonstrated by human reason. For whatever exists, says this subtle sceptic, must

be either bound or free, and God cannot be either. If God is perfect, he had no need to create a world; if he is imperfect he is not God. If God were good, and had divine powers, he could not possibly have created so imperfect a world, so rich in suffering, so certain in death." It is instructive to see with what calmness the Hindu thinkers discuss these questions, seldom resorting to persecution or abuse, and keeping the debate upon a plane reached in our time only by the controversies of the maturest scientists. Kapila protects himself by recognizing the authority of the *Vedas*: "The *Vedas*," he says, simply, "are an authority, since the author of them knew the established truth."<sup>8</sup> After which he proceeds without paying any attention to the *Vedas*.

But he is no materialist; on the contrary, he is an idealist and a spiritualist, after his own unconventional fashion. He derives reality entirely from perception; our sense organs and our thought give to the world all the reality, form and significance which it can ever have for us; what the world might be independently of them is an idle question that has no meaning, and can never have an answer." Again, after listing twenty-four *Tattwas* which belong, in his system, under physical evolution, he upsets all his incipient materialism by introducing, as the last Reality, the strangest and perhaps the most important of them all—*Purusha*, "Person" or Soul. It is not, like twenty-three other *Tattwas*, produced by *Prakriti* or physical force; it is an independent psychical principle, omnipresent and everlasting, incapable of acting by itself, but indispensable to every action. For *Prakriti* never develops, the *Gunas* never act, except through the inspiration of *Purusha*; the physical is animated, vitalized and stimulated to evolve by the psychical principle everywhere." Here Kapila speaks like Aristotle: "There is a ruling influence of the Spirit" (over *Prakriti*, or the evolving world), "caused by their proximity, just as the loadstone (draws iron to itself). That is, the proximity of *Purusha* to *Prakriti* impels the latter to go through the steps of production. This sort of attraction between the two leads to creation, but in no other sense is Spirit an agent, or concerned in creation at all."<sup>9</sup>\*

Spirit is plural in the sense that it exists in each organism; but in all it is alike, and does not share in individuality. Individuality is physical; we are what we are, not because of our Spirit, but because of the origin,

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\* "The evolution of *Prakriti*," says one Hindu commentator on Kapila, "has no purpose except to provide a spectacle for the soul."<sup>8</sup> Perhaps, as Nietzsche suggested, the wisest way to view the world is as an esthetic and dramatic spectacle.

evolution and experiences of our bodies and minds. In *Sankhya* the mind is as much a part of the body as any other organ is. The secluded and untouched Spirit within us is free, while the mind and body are bound by the laws and *Gunas* or qualities of the physical world; it is not the Spirit that acts and is determined, it is the body-mind. Nor is Spirit affected by the decay and passing of the body and the personality; it is untouched by the stream of birth and death. "Mind is perishable," says Kapila, "but not Spirit"; only the individual self, bound up with matter and body, is born, dies, and is born again, in that tireless fluctuation of physical forms which constitutes the history of the external world.<sup>83</sup> Kapila, capable of doubting everything else, never doubts transmigration.

Like most Hindu thinkers, he looks upon life as a very doubtful good, if a good at all. "Few are these days of joy, few are these days of sorrow; wealth is like a swollen river, youth is like the crumbling bank of a swollen river, life is like a tree on the crumbling bank."<sup>84</sup> Suffering is the result of the fact that the individual self and mind are bound up with matter, caught in the blind forces of evolution. What escape is there from this suffering? Only through philosophy, answers our philosopher; only through understanding that all these pains and griefs, all this division and turbulence of striving egos, are *Maya*, illusion, the insubstantial pageantry of life and time. "Bondage arises from the error of not discriminating"<sup>85</sup>—between the self that suffers and the Spirit that is immune, between the surface that is disturbed and the basis that remains unvexed and unchanged. To rise above these sufferings it is only necessary to realize that the essence of us, which is Spirit, is safe beyond good and evil, joy and pain, birth and death. These acts and struggles, these successes and defeats, distress us only so long as we fail to see that they do not affect, or come from, the Spirit; the enlightened man will look upon them as from outside them, like an impartial spectator witnessing a play. Let the soul recognize its independence of things, and it will at once be free; by that very act of understanding it will escape from the prison of space and time, of pain and reincarnation.<sup>86</sup> "Liberation obtained through knowledge of the twenty-five Realities," says Kapila, "teaches the one only knowledge—that neither I am, nor is aught mine, nor do I exist;"<sup>87</sup> that is to say, personal separateness is an illusion; all that exists is the vast evolving and dissolving froth of matter and mind, of bodies and selves, on the one side, and on the other the quiet eternity of the immutable and imperturbable soul.

Such a philosophy will bring no comfort to one who may find some difficulty in separating himself from his aching flesh and his grieving memory; but it seems to have well expressed the mood of speculative India. No other body of philosophic thought, barring the *Vedanta*, has so profoundly affected the Hindu mind. In the atheism and epistemological idealism of Buddha, and his conception of *Nirvana*, we see the influence of Kapila; we see it in the *Mahabharata* and the Code of Manu, in the *Puranas*\* and the *Tantras*— which transform *Purusha* and *Prakriti* into the male and female principles of creation;† above all in the system of *Yoga*, which is merely a practical development of *Sankhya*, built upon its theories and couched in its phrases. Kapila has few explicit adherents today, since Shankara and the *Vedanta* have captured the Hindu mind; but an old proverb still raises its voice occasionally in India: “There is no knowledge equal to the *Sankhya*, and no power equal to the *Yoga*.”‡

#### 4. The Yoga System

*The Holy Men—The antiquity of “Yoga”—Its meaning—The eight stages of discipline—The aim of “Yoga”—The miracles of the “Yogi”—The sincerity of “Yoga”*

In a fair, still spot  
 Having fixed his abode—not too much raised,  
 Nor yet too low—let him abide, his goods  
 A cloth, a deerskin, and the *Kusha*-grass.  
 There, setting hard his mind upon the One,  
 Restraining heart and senses, silent, calm,  
 Let him accomplish *Yoga*, and achieve  
 Pureness of soul, holding immovable  
 Body and neck and head, his gaze absorbed  
 Upon his nose-end, rapt from all around,  
 Tranquil in spirit, free of fear, intent  
 Upon his *Brahmacharya* vow, devout,  
 Musing on Me, lost in the thought of Me.†

On the bathing-ghats, scattered here and there among reverent Hindus, indifferent Moslems and staring tourists, sit the Holy Men, or *Yogis*, in

\* Cf. the poem quoted on page 512 above.

† The *Bhagavad-Gita*, translated by Sir Edwin Arnold as *The Song Celestial*, London, 1925, bk. vi, p. 35. *Brahmacharia* is the vow of chastity taken by the ascetic student. “Me” is Krishna.

whom the religion and philosophy of India find their ultimate and strangest expression. In lesser numbers one comes upon them in the woods or on the roadside, immovable and absorbed. Some are old, some are young; some wear a rag over the shoulders, some a cloth over the loins; some are clothed only in dust of ashes, sprinkled over the body and into the mottled hair. They squat cross-legged and motionless, staring at their noses or their navels. Some of them look squarely into the face of the sun hour after hour, day after day, letting themselves go slowly blind; some surround themselves with hot fires during the midday heat; some walk bare-foot upon hot coals, or empty the coals upon their heads; some lie naked for thirty-five years on beds of iron spikes; some roll their bodies thousands of miles to a place of pilgrimage; some chain themselves to trees, or imprison themselves in cages, until they die; some bury themselves in the earth up to their necks, and remain that way for years or for life; some pass a wire through both cheeks, making it impossible to open the jaws, and so condemning themselves to live on liquids; some keep their fists clenched so long that their nails come through the back of the hand; some hold up an arm or a leg until it is withered and dead. Many of them sit quietly in one position, perhaps for years, eating leaves and nuts brought to them by the people, deliberately dulling every sense, and concentrating every thought, in the resolve to understand. Most of them avoid spectacular methods, and pursue truth in the quiet retreat of their homes.

We have had such men in our Middle Ages, but we should have to look for them today in the nooks and crannies of Europe and America. India has had them for 2500 years—possibly from the prehistoric days when, perhaps, they were the *shamans* of savage tribes. The system of ascetic meditation known as *Yoga* existed in the time of the *Vedas*;<sup>10</sup> the *Upanishads* and the *Mahabharata* accepted it; it flourished in the age of Buddha;<sup>11</sup> and even Alexander, attracted by the ability of these “gymnosophists” to bear pain silently, stopped to study them, and invited one of their number to come and live with him. The *Yogi* refused as firmly as Diogenes, saying that he wanted nothing from Alexander, being content with the nothing that he had. His fellow ascetics laughed at the Macedonian’s boyish desire to conquer the earth when, as they told him, only a few feet of it sufficed for any man, alive or dead. Another sage, Calanus (326 B.C.), accompanied Alexander to Persia; growing ill there, he asked permission to die, saying that he preferred death to illness; and calmly



FIG. 52—*Façade of the Gautami-Putra Monastery at Nasik*  
India Office, London



FIG. 53—*Chaitya hall interior, Cave XXVI, Ajanta*



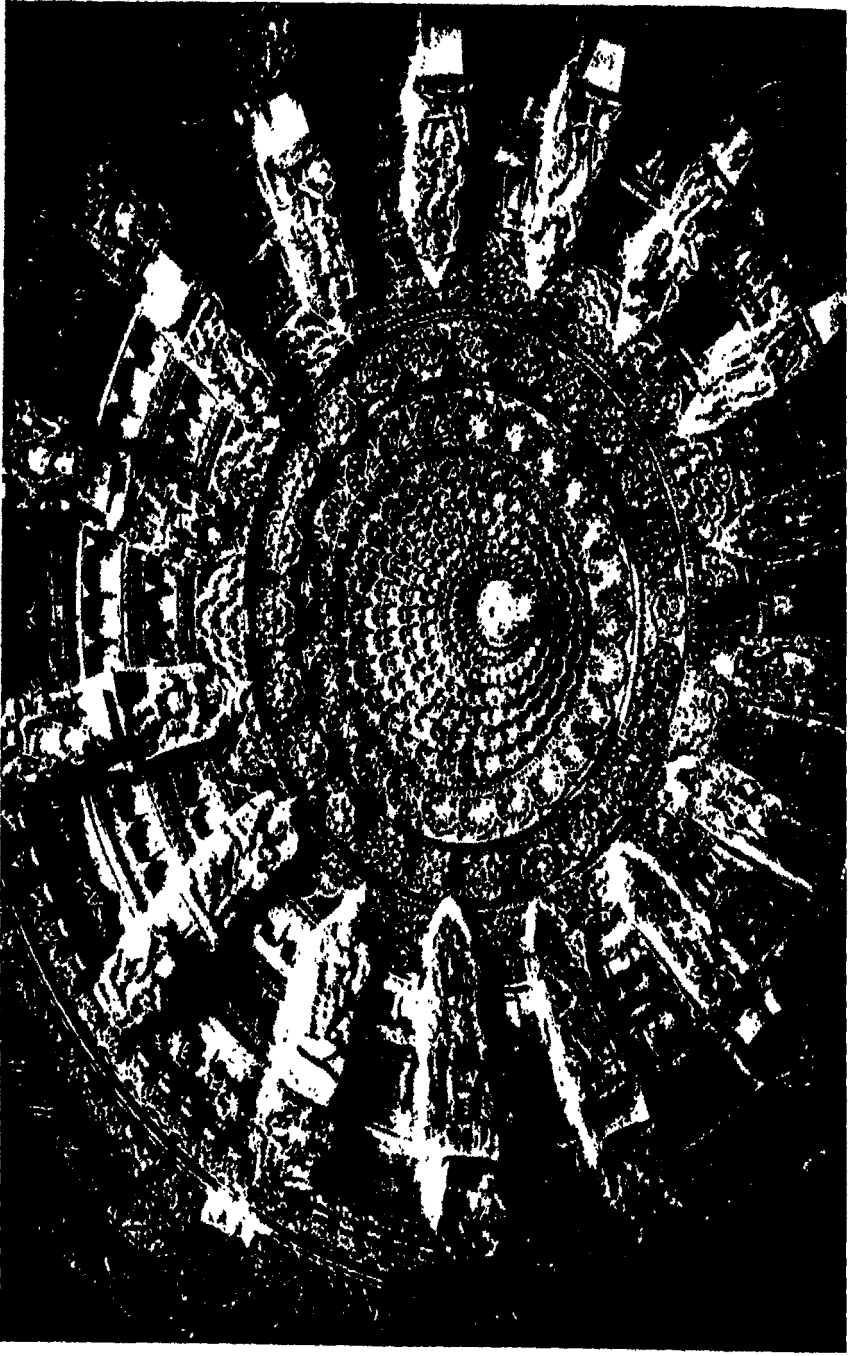


FIG. 54—Interior of dome of the Tejahpala Temple at Mt. Abu  
Johnston & Hoffman, Calcutta

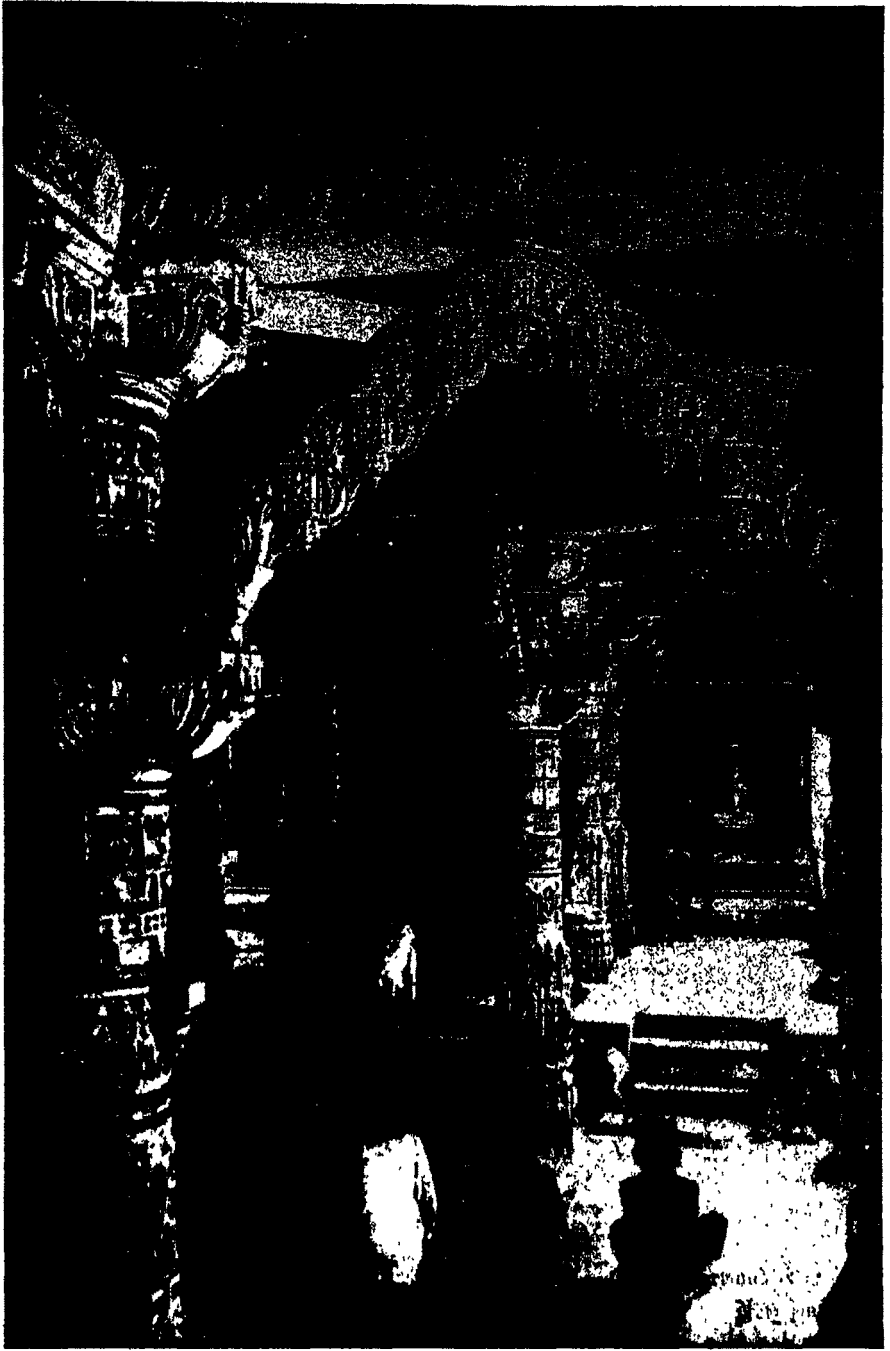


FIG. 55—*Temple of Vimala Sah at Mt. Abu*  
Underwood & Underwood

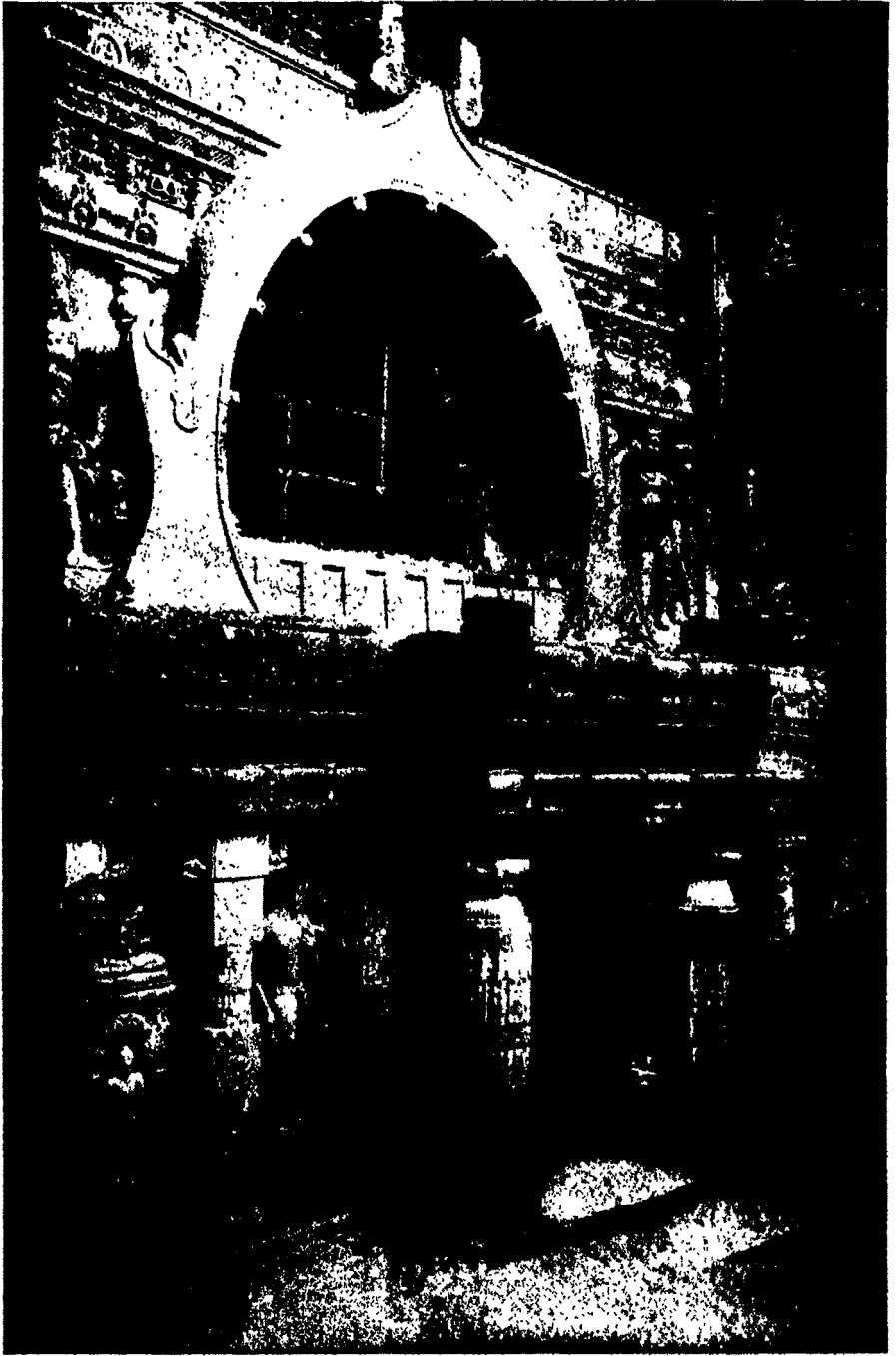


FIG. 56—*Cave XIX, Ajanta*  
Indian State Railways

mounting a funeral pyre, he allowed himself to be burned to death without uttering a sound—to the astonishment of the Greeks, who had never seen this unmurderous sort of bravery before.<sup>19</sup> Two centuries later (ca. 150 B.C.), Patanjali brought the practices and traditions of the system together in his famous *Yoga-sutras*, which are still used as a text in *Yoga* centers from Benares to Los Angeles.<sup>20</sup> Yuan Chwang, in the seventh century A.D., described the system as having thousands of devotees;<sup>21</sup> Marco Polo, about 1296, gave a vivid description of it;<sup>22</sup> today, after all these centuries, its more extreme followers, numbering from one to three million in India,<sup>23</sup> still torture themselves to find the peace of understanding. It is one of the most impressive and touching phenomena in the history of man.

What is *Yoga*? Literally, a yoke: not so much a yoking or union of the soul with the Supreme Being,<sup>24</sup> as the yoke of ascetic discipline and abstinence which the aspirant puts upon himself in order to cleanse his spirit of all material limitations, and achieve supernatural intelligence and powers.<sup>25</sup> Matter is the root of ignorance and suffering; therefore *Yoga* seeks to free the soul from all sense phenomena and all bodily attachment; it is an attempt to attain supreme enlightenment and salvation in one life by atoning in one existence for all the sins of the soul's past incarnations.<sup>26</sup>

Such enlightenment cannot be won at a stroke; the aspirant must move towards it step by step, and no stage of the process can be understood by anyone who has not passed through the stages before it; one comes to *Yoga* only by long and patient study and self-discipline. The stages of *Yoga* are eight:

I. *Yama*, or the death of desire; here the soul accepts the restraints of *ahimsa* and *Brahmacharia*, abandons all self-seeking, emancipates itself from all material interests and pursuits, and wishes well to all things.<sup>27</sup>

II. *Niyama*, a faithful observance of certain preliminary rules for *Yoga*: cleanliness, content, purification, study, and piety.

III. *Asana*, posture; the aim here is to still all movement as well as all sensation; the best *asana* for this purpose is to place the right foot upon the left thigh and the left foot upon the right thigh, to cross the hands and grasp the two great toes, to bend the chin upon the chest, and direct the eyes to the tip of the nose.<sup>28</sup>

IV. *Pranayama*, or regulation of the breath: by these exercises one may forget everything but breathing, and in this way clear his mind for the pas-

sive emptiness that must precede absorption; at the same time one may learn to live on a minimum of air, and may let himself, with impunity, be buried in the earth for many days.

V. *Pratyahara*, abstraction; now the mind controls all the senses, and withdraws itself from all sense objects.

VI. *Dharana*, or concentration—the identification or filling of the mind and the senses with one idea or object to the exclusion of everything else.\* The fixation of any one object long enough will free the soul of all sensation, all specific thought, and all selfish desire; then the mind, abstracted from things, will be left free to feel the immaterial essence of reality.†

VII. *Dhyana*, or meditation: this is an almost hypnotic condition, resulting from *Dharana*; it may be produced, says Patanjali, by the persistent repetition of the sacred syllable *Om*. Finally, as the summit of *Yoga*, the ascetic arrives at

VIII. *Samadhi*, or trance contemplation; even the last thought now disappears from the mind; empty, the mind loses consciousness of itself as a separate being;‡ it is merged with totality, and achieves a blissful and god-like comprehension of all things in One. No words can describe this condition to the uninitiate; no intellect or reasoning can find or formulate it; “through *Yoga* must *Yoga* be known.”§

Nevertheless it is not God, or union with God, that the *yogi* seeks; in the *Yoga* philosophy God (*Ishvara*) is not the creator or preserver of the universe, or the rewarder and punisher of men, but merely one of several objects on which the soul may meditate as a means of achieving concentration and enlightenment. The aim, frankly, is that dissociation of the mind from the body, that removal of all material obstruction from the spirit, which brings with it, in *Yoga* theory, supernatural understanding and capacity.¶ If the soul is cleansed of all bodily subjection and involvement it will not be united with *Brahman*, it will be *Brahman*; for *Brahman* is precisely that hidden spiritual base, that selfless and immaterial soul,

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\* Cf. Hobbes: *Semper idem sentire idem est ac nihil sentire*: “always to feel the same thing is the same as to feel nothing.”

† Eliot compares, for the illumination of this stage, a passage from Schopenhauer, obviously inspired by his study of Hindu philosophy: “When some sudden cause or inward disposition lifts us out of the endless stream of willing, the attention is no longer directed to the motives of willing, but comprehends things free from their relation to the will, and thus observes them without subjectivity, purely objectively, gives itself entirely up to them so far as they are ideas, but not in so far as they are motives. Then all at once the peace that we were always seeking, but which always fled from us on the former path of the desires, comes to us of its own accord, and it is well with us.”§§

which remains when all sense attachments have been exercised away. To the extent to which the soul can free itself from its physical environment and prison it *becomes Brahman*, and exercises *Brahman's* intelligence and power. Here the magical basis of religion reappears, and almost threatens the essence of religion itself—the worship of powers superior to man.

In the days of the *Upanishads*, *Yoga* was pure mysticism—an attempt to realize the identity of the soul with God. In Hindu legend it is said that in ancient days seven Wise Men, or *Rishis*, acquired, by penance and meditation, complete knowledge of all things.<sup>100</sup> In the later history of India *Yoga* became corrupted with magic, and thought more of the power of miracles than of the peace of understanding. The *Yogi* trusts that by *Yoga* he will be able to anesthetize and control any part of his body by concentrating upon it;<sup>101</sup> he will be able at will to make himself invisible, or to prevent his body from being moved, or to pass in a moment from any part of the earth, or to live as long as he desires, or to know the past and the future, and the most distant stars.<sup>102</sup>

The sceptic must admit that there is nothing impossible in all this; fools can invent more hypotheses than philosophers can ever refute, and philosophers often join them in the game. Ecstasy and hallucinations can be produced by fasting and self-mortification, concentration may make one locally or generally insensitive to pain; and there is no telling what reserve energies and abilities lurk within the unknown mind. Many of the *Yogis*, however, are mere beggars who go through their penances in the supposedly Occidental hope of gold, or in the simple human hunger for notice and applause.\* Asceticism is the reciprocal of sensuality, or at best an attempt to control it; but the attempt itself verges upon a masochistic sensuality in which the ascetic takes an almost erotic delight in his pain. The Brahmins have wisely abstained from such practices, and have counseled their followers to seek sanctity through the conscientious performance of the normal duties of life.<sup>103</sup>

### 5. The *Purva-Mimansa*

To step from *Yoga* to the *Purva-Mimansa* is to pass from the most renowned to the least known and least important of the six systems of Brahmanical philosophy. And as *Yoga* is magic and mysticism rather than phil-

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\* The blunt Dubois describes them as "a tribe of vagabonds."<sup>100</sup> The word *fakir*, sometimes applied to *Yogis*, is an Arab term, originally meaning "poor," and properly applied only to members of Moslem religious orders vowed to poverty.

osophy, so this system is less philosophy than religion; it is an orthodox reaction against the impious doctrines of the philosophers. Its author, Jaimini, protested against the disposition of Kapila and Kanada to ignore, while acknowledging, the authority of the *Vedas*. The human mind, said Jaimini, is too frail an instrument to solve the problems of metaphysics and theology; reason is a wanton who will serve any desire; it gives us not "science" and "truth," but merely our own rationalized sensuality and pride. The road to wisdom and peace lies not through the vain labyrinths of logic, but in the modest acceptance of tradition and the humble performance of the rituals prescribed in the Scriptures. For this, too, there is something to be said: *cela vous abêtira*.

### 6. The Vedanta System

*Origin — Shankara — Logic — Epistemology — "Maya" — Psychology — Theology — God — Ethics — Difficulties of the system — Death of Shankara*

The word *Vedanta* meant originally the end of the *Vedas*—that is, the *Upanishads*. Today India applies it to that system of philosophy which sought to give logical structure and support to the essential doctrine of the *Upanishads*—the organ-point that sounds throughout Indian thought—that God (*Brahman*) and the soul (*Atman*) are one. The oldest known form of this most widely accepted of all Hindu philosophies is the *Brahma-sutra* of Badarayana (ca. 200 B.C.)—555 aphorisms, of which the first announces the purpose of all: "Now, then, a desire to know *Brahman*." Almost a thousand years later Gaudapada wrote a commentary on these *sutras*, and taught the esoteric doctrine of the system to Govinda, who taught it to Shankara, who composed the most famous of *Vedanta* commentaries, and made himself the greatest of Indian philosophers.

In his short life of thirty-two years Shankara achieved that union of sage and saint, of wisdom and kindliness, which characterizes the loftiest type of man produced in India. Born among the studious Nambudri Brahmans of Malabar, he rejected the luxuries of the world, and while still a youth became a *sannyasi*, worshiping unpretentiously the gods of the Hindu pantheon, and yet mystically absorbed in a vision of an all-embracing *Brahman*. It seemed to him that the profoundest religion and the profoundest philosophy were those of the *Upanishads*. He could pardon the polytheism of the people, but not the atheism of *Sankhya* or the agnosticism of Buddha. Arriving in the north as a delegate of the south, he

won such popularity at the University of Benares that it crowned him with its highest honors, and sent him forth, with a retinue of disciples, to champion Brahmanism in all the debating halls of India. At Benares, probably, he wrote his famous commentaries on the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad-Gita*, in which he attacked with theological ardor and scholastic subtlety all the heretics of India, and restored Brahmanism to that position of intellectual leadership from which Buddha and Kapila had deposed it.

There is much metaphysical wind in these discourses, and arid deserts of textual exposition; but they may be forgiven in a man who at the age of thirty could be at once the Aquinas and the Kant of India. Like Aquinas, Shankara accepts the full authority of his country's Scriptures as a divine revelation, and then sallies forth to find proofs in experience and reason for all Scriptural teachings. Unlike Aquinas, however, he does not believe that reason can suffice for such a task; on the contrary he wonders have we not exaggerated the power and rôle, the clarity and reliability, of reason.<sup>131</sup> Jaimini was right: reason is a lawyer, and will prove anything we wish; for every argument it can find an equal and opposite argument, and its upshot is a scepticism that weakens all force of character and undermines all values of life. It is not logic that we need, says Shankara, it is insight, the faculty (akin to art) of grasping at once the essential out of the irrelevant, the eternal out of the temporal, the whole out of the part: this is the first prerequisite to philosophy. The second is a willingness to observe, inquire and think for understanding's sake, not for the sake of invention, wealth or power; it is a withdrawal of the spirit from all the excitement, bias and fruits of action. Thirdly, the philosopher must acquire self-restraint, patience, and tranquillity; he must learn to live above physical temptation or material concerns. Finally there must burn, deep in his soul, the desire for *moksha*, for liberation from ignorance, for an end to all consciousness of a separate self, for a blissful absorption in the *Brahman* of complete understanding and infinite unity.<sup>132</sup> In a word, the student needs not the logic of reason so much as a cleansing and deepening discipline of the soul. This, perhaps, has been the secret of all profound education.

Shankara establishes the source of his philosophy at a remote and subtle point never quite clearly visioned again until, a thousand years later, Immanuel Kant wrote his *Critique of Pure Reason*. How, he asks, is knowledge possible? Apparently, all our knowledge comes from the senses, and reveals not the external reality itself, but our sensory adapta-



tion—perhaps transformation—of that reality. By sense, then, we can never quite know the “real”; we can know it only in that garb of space, time and cause which may be a web created by our organs of sense and understanding, designed or evolved to catch and hold that fluent and elusive reality whose existence we can surmise, but whose character we can never objectively describe; our way of perceiving will forever be inextricably mingled with the thing perceived.

This is not the airy subjectivism of the solipsist who thinks that he can destroy the world by going to sleep. The world exists, but it is *Maya*—not delusion, but phenomenon, an appearance created partly by our thought. Our incapacity to perceive things except through the film of space and time, or to think of them except in terms of cause and change, is an innate limitation, an *Avidya*, or ignorance, which is bound up with our very mode of perception, and to which, therefore, all flesh is heir. *Maya* and *Avidya* are the subjective and objective sides of the great illusion by which the intellect supposes that it knows the real; it is through *Maya and Avidya*, through our birthright of ignorance, that we see a multiplicity of objects and a flux of change; in truth there is only one Being, and change is “a mere name” for the superficial fluctuations of forms. Behind the *Maya* or Veil of change and things, to be reached not by sensation or intellect but only by the insight and intuition of the trained spirit, is the one universal reality, *Brahman*.

This natural obscuration of sense and intellect by the organs and forms of sensation and understanding bars us likewise from perceiving the one unchanging Soul that stands beneath all individual souls and minds. Our separate selves, visible to perception and thought, are as unreal as the phantasmagoria of space and time; individual differences and distinct personalities are bound up with body and matter, they belong to the kaleidoscopic world of change; and these merely phenomenal selves will pass away with the material conditions of which they are a part. But the underlying life which we feel in ourselves when we forget space and time, cause and change, is the very essence and reality of us, that *Atman* which we share with all selves and things, and which, undivided and omnipresent, is identical with *Brahman*, God.<sup>128</sup>

But what is God? Just as there are two selves—the ego and *Atman*—and two worlds—the phenomenal and the noumenal—so there are two deities: an *Ishvara* or Creator worshiped by the people through the patterns of space, cause, time and change; and a *Brahman* or Pure Being worshiped

by that philosophical piety which seeks and finds, behind all separate things and selves, one universal reality, unchanging amid all changes, indivisible amid all divisions, eternal despite all vicissitudes of form, all birth and death. Polytheism, even theism, belongs to the world of *Maya* and *Avidya*; they are forms of worship that correspond to the forms of perception and thought; they are as necessary to our moral life as space, time and cause are necessary to our intellectual life, but they have no absolute validity or objective truth.<sup>224</sup>

To Shankara the existence of God is no problem, for he defines God as existence, and identifies all real being with God. But of the existence of a personal God, creator or redeemer, there may, he thinks, be some question; such a deity, says this pre-plagiarist of Kant, cannot be proved by reason, he can only be postulated as a practical necessity,<sup>225</sup> offering peace to our limited intellects, and encouragement to our fragile morality. The philosopher, though he may worship in every temple and bow to every god, will pass beyond these forgivable forms of popular faith; feeling the illusoriness of plurality, and the monistic unity of all things,\* he will adore, as the Supreme Being, Being itself—indescribable, limitless, spaceless, timeless, causeless, changeless Being, the source and substance of all reality.† We may apply the adjectives “conscious,” “intelligent,” even “happy” to *Brahman*, since *Brahman* includes all selves, and these may have such qualities;<sup>226</sup> but all other adjectives would be applicable to *Brahman* equally, since It includes all qualities of all things. Essentially *Brahman* is neuter, raised above personality and gender, beyond good and evil, above all moral distinctions, all differences and attributes, all desires and ends. *Brahman* is the cause and effect, the timeless and secret essence, of the world.

The goal of philosophy is to find that secret, and to lose the seeker in the secret found. To be one with God means, for Shankara, to rise above—or to sink beneath—the separateness and brevity of the self, with all its narrow purposes and interests; to become unconscious of all parts, divisions, things; to be placidly at one, in a desireless *Nirvana*, with that great ocean of Being in which there are no warring purposes, no competing selves, no

\* Hence the name *Advaita*—non-dualism—often given to the *Vedanta* philosophy.

† Shankara and the *Vedanta* are not quite pantheistic: things considered as distinct from one another are not *Brahman*; they are *Brahman* only in their essential, indivisible and changeless essence and reality. “*Brahman*,” says Shankara, “resembles not the world, and (yet) apart from *Brahman* there is naught; all that which seems to exist outside of It (*Brahman*) cannot exist (in such fashion) save in an illusory manner, like the semblance of water in the desert.”<sup>225a</sup>

parts, no change, no space, and no time.\* To find this blissful peace (*Ananda*) a man must renounce not merely the world but himself; he must care nothing for possessions or goods, even for good or evil; he must look upon suffering and death as *Maya*, surface incidents of body and matter, time and change; and he must not think of his own personal quality and fate; a single moment of self-interest or pride can destroy all his liberation.<sup>129</sup> Good works cannot give a man salvation, for good works have no validity or meaning except in the *Maya* world of space and time; only the knowledge of the saintly seer can bring that salvation which is the recognition of the identity of self and the universe, *Atman* and *Brahman*, soul and God, and the absorption of the part in the whole.<sup>130</sup> Only when this absorption is complete does the wheel of reincarnation stop; for then it is seen that the separate self and personality, to which reincarnation comes, is an illusion.<sup>131</sup> It is *Ishtvara*, the *Maya* god, that gives rebirth to the self in punishment and reward; but "when the identity" of *Atman* and *Brahman* "has become known, then," says Shankara, "the soul's existence as wanderer, and *Brahman's* existence as creator" (i.e., as *Ishtvara*) "have vanished away."<sup>132</sup> *Ishtvara* and *Karma*, like things and selves, belong to the exoteric doctrine of *Vedanta* as adapted to the needs of the common man; in the esoteric or secret doctrine soul and *Brahman* are one, never wandering, never dying, never changed.<sup>133</sup>

It was thoughtful of Shankara to confine his esoteric doctrine to philosophers; for as Voltaire believed that only a society of philosophers could survive without laws, so only a society of supermen could live beyond good and evil. Critics have complained that if good and evil are *Maya*,

\* Cf. Blake:

"I will go down to self-annihilation and Eternal Death.  
Lest the Last Judgment come and find me unannihilate,  
And I be seized and given into the hands of my own Selfhood."<sup>134</sup>

Or Tennyson's "Ancient Sage":

"For more than once when I  
Sat all alone, revolving in myself  
The word that is the symbol of myself,  
The mortal limit of the Self was loosed,  
And passed into the Nameless, as a cloud  
Melts into Heaven. I touched my limbs—the limbs  
Were strange, not mine—and yet not shade of doubt  
But utter clearness, and through loss of Self  
The gain of such large life as matched with ours  
Were Sun to spark—unshadowable in words,  
Themselves but shadows of a shadow-world."<sup>135</sup>

part of the unreal world, then all moral distinctions fall away, and devils are as good as saints. But these moral distinctions, Shankara cleverly replies, are real *within* the world of space and time, and are binding for those who live in the world. They are not binding upon the soul that has united itself with *Brahman*; such a soul can do no wrong, since wrong implies desire and action, and the liberated soul, by definition, does not move in the sphere of desire and (self-considering) action. Whoever consciously injures another lives on the plane of *Maya*, and is subject to its distinctions, its morals and its laws. Only the philosopher is free, only wisdom is liberty.\*

It was a subtle and profound philosophy to be written by a lad in his twenties. Shankara not only elaborated it in writing and defended it successfully in debate, but he expressed snatches of it in some of the most sensitive religious poetry of India. When all challenges had been met he retired to a hermitage in the Himalayas, and, according to Hindu tradition, died at the age of thirty-two.<sup>34</sup> Ten religious orders were founded in his name, and many disciples accepted and developed his philosophy. One of them—some say Shankara himself—wrote for the people a popular exposition of the *Vedanta*—the *Mohamudgara*, or “Hammer of Folly”—in which the essentials of the system were summed up with clarity and force:

Fool! give up thy thirst for wealth, banish all desires from thy heart. Let thy mind be satisfied with what is gained by thy *Karma*. . . . Do not be proud of wealth, of friends, or of youth; time takes all away in a moment. Leaving quickly all this, which is full of illusion, enter into the place of *Brahman*. . . . Life is tremulous, like a water-drop on a lotus-leaf. . . . Time is playing, life is waning—yet the breath of hope never ceases. The body is wrinkled, the hair grey, the mouth has become toothless, the stick in the hand shakes, yet man leaves not the anchor of hope. . . . Preserve equanimity always. . . . In thee, in me and in others there dwells Vishnu alone; it is useless to be angry with me, or impatient. See every self in Self, and give up all thought of difference.<sup>35</sup>

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\*We do not know how much Parmenides' insistence that the Many are unreal, and that only the One exists, owed to the *Upanishads*, or contributed to Shankara; nor can we establish any connection, of cause or suggestion, between Shankara and the astonishingly similar philosophy of Immanuel Kant.

## III. THE CONCLUSIONS OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY

*Decadence—Summary—Criticism—Influence*

The Mohammedan invasions put an end to the great age of Hindu philosophy. The assaults of the Moslems, and later of the Christians, upon the native faith drove it, for self-defense, into a timid unity that made treason of all debate, and stifled creative heresy in a stagnant uniformity of thought. By the twelfth century the system of the *Vedanta*, which in Shankara had tried to be a religion for philosophers, was reinterpreted by such saints as Ramanuja (ca. 1050) into an orthodox worship of Vishnu, Rama and Krishna. Forbidden to think new thoughts, philosophy became not only scholastic but barren; it accepted its dogmas from the priesthood, and proved them laboriously by distinctions without difference, and logic without reason.<sup>128</sup>

Nevertheless the Brahmins, in the solitude of their retreats and under the protection of their unintelligibility, preserved the old systems carefully in esoteric *sutras* and commentaries, and transmitted across generations and centuries the conclusions of Hindu philosophy. In all these systems, Brahmanical or other, the categories of the intellect are represented as helpless or deceptive before a reality immediately felt or seen;\* and all our eighteenth-century rationalism appears to the Indian metaphysician as a vain and superficial attempt to subject the incalculable universe to the concepts of a *salonnière*. "Into blind darkness pass they who worship ignorance; into still greater darkness they who are content with knowledge."<sup>129</sup> Hindu philosophy begins where European philosophy ends—with an inquiry into the nature of knowledge and the limitations of reason; it starts not with the physics of Thales and Democritus, but with the epistemology of Locke and Kant; it takes mind as that which is most immediately known, and therefore refuses to resolve it into a matter known only mediately and through mind. It accepts an external world, but does not believe that our senses can ever know it as it is. All science is a charted ignorance, and belongs to *Maya*; it formulates, in ever changing concepts and phrases, the rationale of a world in which reason is but a part—one shifting current in

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\* "No Indian saint ever had anything but contempt for the knowledge gained by the senses and the intellect."<sup>127</sup> "Never have the Indian sages . . . fallen into our typical error of taking any intellectual formation seriously in the metaphysical sense; these are no more substantial than any *Maya* formation."<sup>128</sup>

an interminable sea. Even the person that reasons is *Maya*, illusion; what is he but a temporary conjunction of events, a passing node in the curves of matter and mind through space and time?—and what are his acts or his thoughts but the fulfilment of forces far antedating his birth? Nothing is real but *Brahman*, that vast ocean of Being in which every form is a moment's wave, or a fleck of froth on the wave. Virtue is not the quiet heroism of good works, nor any pious ecstasy; it is simply the recognition of the identity of the self with every other self in *Brahman*; morality is such living as comes from a sense of union with all things.\* “He who discerns all creatures in his Self, and his Self in all creatures, has no disquiet thence. What delusion, what grief can he with him?”<sup>10</sup>

Certain characteristic qualities which would not seem to be defects from the Hindu point of view have kept this philosophy from exercising a wider influence in other civilizations. Its method, its scholastic terminology, and its Vedic assumptions handicap it in finding sympathy among nations with other assumptions or more secularized cultures. Its doctrine of *Maya* gives little encouragement to morality or active virtue; its pessimism is a confession that it has not, despite the theory of *Karma*, explained evil; and part of the effect of these systems has been to exalt a stagnant quietism in the face of evils that might conceivably have been corrected, or of work that cried out to be done. None the less there is a depth in these meditations which by comparison casts an air of superficiality upon the activist philosophies generated in more invigorating zones. Perhaps our Western systems, so confident that “knowledge is power,” are the voices of a once lusty youth exaggerating human ability and tenure. As our energies tire in the daily struggle against impartial Nature and hostile Time, we look with more tolerance upon Oriental philosophies of surrender and peace. Hence the influence of Indian thought upon other cultures has been greatest in the days of their weakening or decay. While Greece was winning victories she paid little attention to Pythagoras or Parmenides; when Greece was declining, Plato and the Orphic priests took up the doctrine of reincarnation, while Zeno the Oriental preached an almost Hindu fatalism and resignation; and when Greece was dying, the Neo-Platonists and the Gnostics drank deep at Indian wells. The impoverishment of Europe by the

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\* Cf. Spinoza: “The greatest good is the knowledge of the union which the mind has with the whole of Nature.”<sup>11</sup> “The intellectual love of God” is a summary of Hindu philosophy.

fall of Rome, and the Moslem conquest of the routes between Europe and India, seem to have obstructed, for a millennium, the direct interchange of Oriental and Occidental ideas. But hardly had the British established themselves in India before editions and translations of the *Upanishads* began to stir Western thought. Fichte conceived an idealism strangely like Shankara's;<sup>100</sup> Schopenhauer almost incorporated Buddhism, the *Upanishads* and the *Vedanta* into his philosophy; and Schelling, in his old age, thought the *Upanishads* the maturest wisdom of mankind. Nietzsche had dwelt too long with Bismarck and the Greeks to care for India, but in the end he valued above all other ideas his haunting notion of eternal recurrence—a variant of reincarnation.

In our time Europe borrows more and more from the philosophy of the East,\* while the East borrows more and more from the science of the West. Another world war might leave Europe open again (as the break-up of Alexander's empire opened Greece, and the fall of the Roman Republic opened Rome)—to an influx of Oriental philosophies and faiths. The mounting insurrection of the Orient against the Occident, the loss of those Asiatic markets that have sustained the industry and prosperity of the West, the weakening of Europe by poverty, faction and revolution, might make that divided continent ripe for a new religion of celestial hope and earthly despair. Probably it is prejudice that makes such a *dénouement* seem inconceivable in America: quietism and resignation do not comport with our electric atmosphere, or with the vitality born of rich resources and a spacious terrain. Doubtless our weather will protect us in the end.

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\* Cf. Bergson, Keyserling, Christian Science, Theosophy.

# The Literature of India

## I. THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA

### *Sanskrit—The vernaculars—Grammar*

**J**UST as the philosophy and much of the literature of medieval Europe were composed in a dead language unintelligible to the people, so the philosophy and classic literature of India were written in a Sanskrit that had long since passed out of common parlance, but had survived as the *Esperanto* of scholars having no other common tongue. Divorced from contact with the life of the nation, this literary language became a model of scholasticism and refinement; new words were formed not by the spontaneous creations of the people, but by the needs of technical discourse in the schools; until at last the Sanskrit of philosophy lost the virile simplicity of the Vedic hymns, and became an artificial monster whose *sesquipedalia verba* crawled like monstrous tapeworms across the page.\*

Meanwhile the people of northern India, about the fifth century before Christ, had transformed Sanskrit into Prakrit, very much as Italy was to change Latin into Italian. Prakrit became for a time the language of Buddhists and Jains, until it in turn was developed into Pali—the language of the oldest extant Buddhist literature.\* By the end of the tenth century of our era these “Middle Indian” languages had given birth to various vernaculars, of which the chief was Hindi. In the twelfth century this in turn generated Hindustani as the language of the northern half of India. Finally the invading Moslems filled Hindustani with Persian words, thereby creating a new dialect, Urdu. All these were “Indo-Germanic” tongues, confined to Hindustan; the Deccan kept its old Dravidian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam—and Tamil became the chief literary vehicle of the south. In the nineteenth century Bengali replaced Sanskrit as the literary language of Bengal; the novelist Chatterjee was its Boccaccio, the poet Tagore was its Petrarch. Even today India has a hundred languages, and the literature of *Swaraj*† uses the speech of the conquerors.

\* Some examples of Sanskrit agglutination: *citeraprasamkramesyastadakarapatiau, upadanavisvamasattakakaruspastih*.<sup>1</sup>

† The movement for self-rule.



At a very early date India began to trace the roots, history, relations and combinations of words. By the fourth century B.C. she had created for herself\* the science of grammar, and produced probably the greatest of all known grammarians, Panini. The studies of Panini, Patanjali (ca. 150 A.D.) and Bhartrihari (ca. 650) laid the foundations of philology; and that fascinating science of verbal genetics owed almost its life in modern times to the rediscovery of Sanskrit.

Writing, as we have seen, was not popular in Vedic India. About the fifth century B.C. the Kharosthi script was adapted from Semitic models, and in the epics and the Buddhist literature we begin to hear of clerks.<sup>8</sup> Palm-leaves and bark served as writing material, and an iron stylus as a pen; the bark was treated to make it less fragile, the pen scratched letters into it, ink was smeared over the bark, and remained in the scratches when the rest of it was wiped away.<sup>4</sup> Paper was brought in by the Moslems (ca. 1000 A.D.), but did not finally replace bark till the seventeenth century. The bark pages were kept in order by stringing them upon a cord, and books of such leaves were gathered in libraries which the Hindus termed "Treasure-houses of the Goddess of Speech." Immense collections of this wooden literature have survived the devastations of time and war.<sup>†</sup>

## II. EDUCATION

### *Schools—Methods—Universities—Moslem education—An emperor on education*

Writing continued, even to the nineteenth century, to play a very small part in Indian education. Perhaps it was not to the interest of the priests that the sacred or scholastic texts should become an open secret to all.<sup>6</sup> As far as we can trace Indian history we find a system of education,<sup>7</sup> always in the hands of the clergy, open at first only to the sons of Brahmans, then spreading its privileges from caste to caste until in our time it excludes only the Untouchables. Every Hindu village had its schoolmaster, supported out of the public funds; in Bengal alone, before the coming of the British, there were some eighty thousand native schools—one to every four

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\* The Babylonians had done likewise; cf. p. 250 above.

† Of printing there is no sign till the nineteenth century—possibly because, as in China, the adjustment of movable type to the native scripts was too expensive, possibly because printing was looked upon as a vulgar descent from the art of calligraphy. The printing of newspapers and books was brought by the English to the Hindus, who bettered the instruction; today there are 1,517 newspapers in India, 3,627 periodicals, and over 17,000 new books published in an average year.<sup>8</sup>

hundred population.<sup>9</sup> The percentage of literacy under Ashoka was apparently higher than in India today.<sup>9</sup>

Children went to the village school from September to February, entering at the age of five and leaving at the age of eight.<sup>10</sup> Instruction was chiefly of a religious character, no matter what the subject; rote memorizing was the usual method, and the *Vedas* were the inevitable text. The three R's were included, but were not the main business of education; character was rated above intellect, and discipline was the essence of schooling. We do not hear of flogging, or of other severe measures; but we find that stress was laid above all upon the formation of wholesome and proper habits of life.<sup>11</sup> At the age of eight the pupil passed to the more formal care of a *Guru*, or personal teacher and guide, with whom the student was to live, preferably till he was twenty. Services, sometimes menial, were required of him, and he was pledged to continence, modesty, cleanliness, and a meatless diet.<sup>12</sup> Instruction was now given him in the "Five *Shastras*" or sciences: grammar, arts and crafts, medicine, logic, and philosophy. Finally he was sent out into the world with the wise admonition that education came only one-fourth from the teacher, one-fourth from private study, one-fourth from one's fellows, and one-fourth from life.<sup>13</sup>

From his *Guru* the student might pass, about the age of sixteen, to one of the great universities that were the glory of ancient and medieval India: Benares, Taxila, Vidarbha, Ajanta, Ujjain, or Nalanda. Benares was the stronghold of orthodox Brahman learning in Buddha's days as in ours; Taxila, at the time of Alexander's invasion, was known to all Asia as the leading seat of Hindu scholarship, renowned above all for its medical school; Ujjain was held in high repute for astronomy, Ajanta for the teaching of art. The façade of one of the ruined buildings at Ajanta suggests the magnificence of these old universities.<sup>14</sup> Nalanda, most famous of Buddhist institutions for higher learning, had been founded shortly after the Master's death, and the state had assigned for its support the revenues of a hundred villages. It had ten thousand students, one hundred lecture-rooms, great libraries, and six immense blocks of dormitories four stories high; its observatories, said Yuan Chwang, "were lost in the vapors of the morning, and the upper rooms towered above the clouds."<sup>15</sup> The old Chinese pilgrim loved the learned monks and shady groves of Nalanda so well that he stayed there for five years. "Of those from abroad who wished to enter the schools of discussion" at Nalanda, he tells us, "the majority,

beaten by the difficulties of the problem, withdrew; and those who were deeply versed in old and modern learning were admitted, only two or three out of ten succeeding.<sup>128</sup> The candidates who were fortunate enough to gain admission were given free tuition, board and lodging, but they were subjected to an almost monastic discipline. Students were not permitted to talk to a woman, or to see one; even the desire to look upon a woman was held a great sin, in the fashion of the hardest saying in the New Testament. The student guilty of sex relations had to wear, for a whole year, the skin of an ass, with the tail turned upward, and had to go about begging alms and declaring his sin. Every morning the entire student body was required to bathe in the ten great swimming pools that belonged to the university. The course of study lasted for twelve years, but some students stayed thirty years, and some remained till death.<sup>129</sup>

The Mohammedans destroyed nearly all the monasteries, Buddhist or Brahman, in northern India. Nalanda was burned to the ground in 1197, and all its monks were slaughtered; we can never estimate the abundant life of ancient India from what these fanatics spared. Nevertheless, the destroyers were not barbarians; they had a taste for beauty, and an almost modern skill in using piety for the purposes of plunder. When the Moguls ascended the throne they brought a high but narrow standard of culture with them; they loved letters as much as the sword, and knew how to combine a successful siege with poetry. Among the Moslems education was mostly individual, through tutors engaged by prosperous fathers for their sons. It was an aristocratic conception of education as an ornament—occasionally an aid—to a man of affairs and power, but usually an irritant and a public danger in one doomed to poverty or modest place. What the methods of the tutors were we may judge from one of the great letters of history—the reply of Aurangzeb to his former teacher, who was seeking some sinecure and emolument from the King:

What is it you would have of me, Doctor? Can you reasonably desire that I should make you one of the chief *Omrabs* of my court? Let me tell you, if you had instructed me as you should have done, nothing would be more just; for I am of this persuasion, that a child well educated and instructed is as much, at least, obliged to his master as to his father. But where are those good documents\* you have given me? In the first place, you have taught me that

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\* I.e., instructions.

all Frangistan (so it seems they call Europe) was nothing but I know not what little island, of which the greatest king was he of Portugal, and next to him he of Holland, and after him he of England: and as to the other kings, as those of France and Andalusia, you have represented them to me as our petty rajas, telling me that the kings of Indostan were far above them altogether, that they (the kings of Indostan) were . . . the great ones, the conquerors and kings of the world; and those of Persia and Usbec, Kashgar, Tartary and Cathay, Pegu, China and Matchina did tremble at the name of the kings of Indostan. Admirable geography! You should rather have taught me exactly to distinguish all those states of the world, and well to understand their strength, their way of fighting, their customs, religions, governments, and interests; and by the pursual of solid history, to observe their rise, progress, decay; and whence, how, and by what accidents and errors those great changes and revolutions of empires and kingdoms have happened. I have scarce learned of you the name of my grand-sires, the famous founders of this empire; so far were you from having taught me the history of their life, and what course they took to make such great conquest. You had a mind to teach me the Arabian tongue, to read and to write. I am much obliged, forsooth, for having made me lose so much time upon a language that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection; as if the son of a king should think it to be an honor to him to be a grammarian or some doctor of the law, and to learn other languages than of his neighbors when he can well be without them; he, to whom time is so precious for so many weighty things, which he ought by times to learn. As if there were any spirit that did not with some reluctance, and even with a kind of debasement, employ itself in so sad and dry an exercise, so longsome and tedious, as is that of learning words.<sup>18</sup>

“Thus,” says the contemporary Bernier, “did Aurangzeb resent the pedantic instructions of his tutors; to which ’tis affirmed in that court that . . . he added the following reproof”;<sup>\*</sup>

Know you not that childhood well governed, being a state which is ordinarily accompanied with an happy memory, is capable of

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<sup>\*</sup> We cannot tell how much of the following (and perhaps of the preceding) quotation is Bernier’s, and how much Aurangzeb’s; we only know that it bears reprinting.

thousands of good precepts and instructions, which remain deeply impressed the whole remainder of a man's life, and keep the mind always raised for great actions? The law, prayers and sciences, may they not as well be learned in our mother-tongue as in Arabick? You told my father Shah Jehan that you would teach me philosophy. 'Tis true, I remember very well, that you have entertained me for many years with airy questions of things that afford no satisfaction at all to the mind, and are of no use in humane society, empty notions and mere fancies, that have only this in them, that they are very hard to understand and very easy to forget. . . . I still remember that after you had thus amused me, I know not how long, with your fine philosophy, all I retained of it was a multitude of barbarous and dark words, proper to bewilder, perplex and tire out the best wits, and only invented the better to cover the vanity and ignorance of men like yourself, that would make us believe that they know all, and that under those obscure and ambiguous words are hid great mysteries which they alone are capable to understand. If you had seasoned me with that philosophy which formeth the mind to ratiocination, and insensibly accustoms it to be satisfied with nothing but solid reasons, if you had given me those excellent precepts and doctrines which raise the soul above the assaults of fortune, and reduce her to an unshakable and always equal temper, and permit her not to be lifted up by prosperity nor debased by adversity; if you had taken care to give me the knowledge of what we are and what are the first principles of things, and had assisted me in forming in my mind a fit idea of the greatness of the universe, and of the admirable order and motion of the parts thereof; if, I say, you had instilled into me this kind of philosophy, I should think myself incomparably more obliged to you than Alexander was to his Aristotle, and believe it my duty to recompense you otherwise than he did him. Should you not, instead of your flattery, have taught me somewhat of that point so important to a king, which is, what the reciprocal duties are of a sovereign to his subjects and those of subjects to their sovereigns; and ought not you to have considered that one day I should be obliged with the sword to dispute my life and my crown with my brothers? . . . Have you ever taken any care to make me learn what 'tis to besiege a town, or to set an army in array? For these things I am obliged to others, not at all to you. Go, and return to the village whence you are come, and let nobody know who you are or what is become of you.<sup>29</sup>

## III. THE EPICS

*The "Mahabharata"—Its story—Its form—The "Bhagavad-Gita"—  
The metaphysics of war—The price of freedom—The "Ra-  
mayana"—A forest idyl—The rape of Sita—The Hindu  
epics and the Greek*

The schools and the universities were only a part of the educational system of India. Since writing was less highly valued than in other civilizations, and oral instruction preserved and disseminated the nation's history and poetry, the habit of public recitation spread among the people the most precious portions of their cultural heritage. As nameless *racconteurs* among the Greeks transmitted and expanded the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, so the reciters and declaimers of India carried down from generation to generation, and from court to people, the ever-growing epics into which the Brahmans crowded their legendary lore.

A Hindu scholar has rated the *Mahabharata* as "the greatest work of imagination that Asia has produced";<sup>8</sup> and Sir Charles Eliot has called it "a greater poem than the *Iliad*."<sup>9</sup> In one sense there is no doubt about the latter judgment. Beginning (ca. 500 B.C.) as a brief narrative poem of reasonable length, the *Mahabharata* took on, with every century, additional episodes and homilies, and absorbed the *Bhagavad-Gita* as well as parts of the story of Rama, until at last it measured 107,000 octameter couplets—seven times the length of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* combined. The name of the author was legion; "Vyasa," to whom tradition assigns it, means "the arranger."<sup>10</sup> A hundred poets wrote it, a thousand singers moulded it, until, under the Gupta kings (ca. 400 A.D.), the Brahmans poured their own religious and moral ideas into a work originally Kshatriyan, and gave the poem the gigantic form in which we find it today.

The central subject was not precisely adapted to religious instruction, for it told a tale of violence, gambling and war. Book One presents the fair Shakuntala (destined to be the heroine of India's most famous drama) and her mighty son Bharata; from his loins come those "great Bharata" (*Maha-Bharata*) tribes, the Kurus and the Pandavas, whose bloody strife constitutes the oft-broken thread of the tale. Yudhishtira, King of the Pandavas, gambles away his wealth, his army, his kingdom, his brothers, at last his wife Draupadi, in a game in which his Kuru enemy plays with loaded dice. By agreement the Pandavas are to receive their kingdom

back after enduring a twelve-year banishment from their native soil. The twelve years pass; the Pandavas call upon the Kurus to restore their land; they receive no answer, and declare war. Allies are brought in on either side, until almost all northern India is engaged.\* The battle rages for eighteen days and five books; all the Kurus are slain, and nearly all the Pandavas; the heroic Bhishma alone slays 100,000 men in ten days; altogether, the poet-statistician reports, the fallen numbered several hundred million men.\* Amid this bloody scene of death Gandhari, queen consort of the blind Kuru king, Dhritarashtra, wails with horror at the sight of vultures hovering greedily over the corpse of Prince Duryodhan, her son.

Stainless Queen and stainless woman, ever righteous, ever good,  
 Stately in her mighty sorrow on the field Gandhari stood.  
 Strewn with skulls and clotted tresses, darkened by the stream of  
 gore,  
 With the limbs of countless warriors is the red field covered o'er. . . .  
 And the long-drawn howl of jackals o'er the scene of carnage rings,  
 And the vulture and the raven flap their dark and loathsome wings.  
 Feasting on the blood of warriors foul *Pishachas* fill the air,  
 Viewless forms of hungry *Rakshas* limb from limb the corpses tear.

Through this scene of death and carnage was the ancient monarch  
 led,  
 Kuru dames with faltering footsteps stepped amidst the countless  
 dead,  
 And a piercing wail of anguish burst upon the echoing plain,  
 As they saw their sons or fathers, brothers, lords, amidst the slain,  
 As they saw the wolves of jungle feed upon the destined prey,  
 Darksome wanderers of the midnight prowling in the light of day.  
 Shriek of pain and wail of anguish o'er the ghastly field resound,  
 And their feeble footsteps falter and they sink upon the ground,  
 Sense and life desert the mourners as they faint in common grief,  
 Death-like swoon succeeding sorrow yields a moment's short relief.

Then a mighty sigh of anguish from Gandhari's bosom broke,  
 Gazing on her anguished daughters unto Krishna thus she spoke:  
 "Mark my unconsolated daughters, widowed queens of Kuru's house,

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\* References in the *Vedas* to certain characters of the *Mahabharata* indicate that the story of a great intertribal war in the second millennium B.C. is fundamentally historical.

Wailing for their dear departed, like the osprey for her spouse;  
 How each cold and fading feature wakes in them a woman's love,  
 How amidst the lifeless warriors still with restless steps they rove;  
 Mothers hug their slaughtered children all unconscious in their  
 sleep,  
 Widows bend upon their husbands and in ceaseless sorrow  
 weep. . . ."

Thus to Krishna Queen Gandhari strove her woeful thoughts to tell,  
 When, alas, her wandering vision on her son Duryodhan fell.  
 Sudden anguish smote her bosom, and her senses seemed to stray;  
 Like a tree by tempest shaken, senseless on the earth she lay.  
 Once again she waked in sorrow, once again she cast her eye  
 Where her son in blood empurpled slept beneath the open sky.  
 And she clasped her dear Duryodhan, held him close unto her breast,  
 Sobs convulsive shook her bosom as the lifeless form she prest,  
 And her tears like rains of summer fell and washed his noble head,  
 Decked with garlands still untarnished, graced with *nishkas* bright  
 and red.

"'Mother,' said my dear Duryodhan, when he went unto the war,  
 'Wish me joy and wish me triumph as I mount the battle-car.'  
 'Son,' I said to dear Duryodhan, 'Heaven avert a cruel fate,  
*Yato dharma stato jayah*—triumph doth on virtue wait.'  
 But he set his heart on battle, by his valor wiped his sins;  
 Now he dwells in realms celestial which the faithful warrior wins.  
 And I weep not for Duryodhan, like a prince he fought and fell,  
 But my sorrow-stricken husband, who can his misfortunes tell? . . .

"Hark the loathsome cry of jackals, how the wolves their vigils  
 keep—

Maidens rich in song and beauty erst were wont to watch his sleep.  
 Hark the foul and blood-beaked vultures flap their wings upon the  
 dead—

Maidens waved their feathery *pankhas* round Duryodhan's royal  
 bed. . . .

Mark Duryodhan's noble widow, mother proud of Lakshman bold,  
 Queenly in her youth and beauty, like an altar of bright gold,  
 Torn from husband's sweet embraces, from her son's entwining  
 arms,

Doomed to life-long woe and anguish in her youth and in her  
 charms.



Rend my hard and stony bosom crushed beneath this cruel pain,  
Should Gandhari live to witness noble son and grandson slain?

Mark again Duryodhan's widow, how she hugs his gory head,  
How with gentle hands and tender softly holds him on his bed;  
How from dear departed husband turns she to her dearest son,  
And the tear-drops of the mother choke the widow's bitter groan;  
Like the fibre of the lotus tender-golden is her frame.

O my lotus, O my daughter, Bharat's pride and Kuru's fame!  
If the truth resides in *Vedas*, brave Duryodhan dwells above;  
Wherefore linger we in sadness severed from his cherished love?  
If the truth resides in *Shashtra*, dwells in sky my hero son;  
Wherefore linger we in sorrow since their earthly task is done?"<sup>86</sup>

Upon this theme of love and battle a thousand interpolations have been hung. The god Krishna interrupts the slaughter for a canto to discourse on the nobility of war and Krishna; the dying Bhishma postpones his death to expound the laws of caste, bequest, marriage, gifts and funeral rites, to explain the philosophy of the *Sankhya* and the *Upanishads*, to narrate a mass of legends, traditions and myths, and to lecture Yudishthira at great length on the duties of a king; dusty stretches of genealogy and geography, of theology and metaphysics, separate the oases of drama and action; fables and fairy-tales, love-stories and lives of the saints contribute to give the *Mahabharata* a formlessness worse, and a body of thought richer, than can be found in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. What was evidently a Kshatriyan enthronement of action, heroism and war becomes, in the hands of the Brahmans, a vehicle for teaching the people the laws of Manu, the principles of *Yoga*, the precepts of morality, and the beauty of *Nirvana*. The Golden Rule is expressed in many forms;\* moral aphorisms of beauty and wisdom abound;† and pretty stories of marital fidelity (Nala and Damayanti, Savitri) convey to women listeners the Brahman ideal of the faithful and patient wife.

Embedded in the narrative of the great battle is the loftiest philosophical poem in the world's literature—the *Bhagavad-Gita*, or Lord's Song. This

\* E.g.: "Do naught to others which if done to thee would cause thee pain."<sup>86</sup> "Even if the enemy seeks help, the good man will be ready to grant him aid."<sup>87</sup> "With meekness conquer wrath, and ill with ruth; by giving niggards vanquish, lies with truth."<sup>88</sup>

† E.g.: "As in the great ocean one piece of wood meets another, and parts from it again, such is the meeting of creatures."<sup>87</sup>

is the New Testament of India, revered next to the *Vedas* themselves, and used in the law-courts, like our Bible or the *Koran*, for the administration of oaths.<sup>28</sup> Wilhelm von Humboldt pronounced it "the most beautiful, perhaps the only true, philosophical song existing in any known tongue; . . . perhaps the deepest and loftiest thing the world has to show."<sup>29</sup> Sharing the anonymity that India, careless of the individual and the particular, wraps around her creations, the *Gita* comes to us without the author's name, and without date. It may be as old as 400 B.C.,<sup>30</sup> or as young as 200 A.D.<sup>31</sup>

The *mise-en-scène* of the poem is the battle between the Kurus and the Pandavas; the occasion is the reluctance of the Pandava warrior Arjuna to attack in mortal combat his own near relatives in the opposing force. To Lord Krishna, fighting by his side like some Homeric god, Arjuna speaks the philosophy of Gandhi and Christ:

"As I behold—come here to shed  
 Their common blood—yon concourse of our kin,  
 My members fail, my tongue dries in my mouth. . . .  
 It is not good, O Keshav! Naught of good  
 Can spring from mutual slaughter! Lo, I hate  
 Triumph and domination, wealth and ease  
 Thus sadly won! Alas, what victory  
 Can bring delight, Govinda, what rich spoils  
 Could profit, what rule recompense, what span  
 Of life itself seem sweet, bought with such blood? . . .

Thus if we slay  
 Kinsfolk and friends for love of earthly power,  
*Abovat!* what an evil fault it were!  
 Better I deem it, if my kinsmen strike,  
 To face them weaponless, and bare my breast  
 To shaft and spear, than answer blow with blow."<sup>32</sup>

Thereupon Krishna, whose divinity does not detract from his joy in battle, explains, with all the authority of a son of Vishnu, that according to the Scriptures, and the best orthodox opinion, it is meet and just to kill one's relatives in war; that Arjuna's duty is to follow the rules of his Kshatriya caste, to fight and slay with a good conscience and a good will; that after all, only the body is slain, while the soul survives. And he ex-

pounds the imperishable *Purusha* of *Sankhya*, the unchanging *Atman* of the *Upanishads*:

“Indestructible,  
Learn thou, the Life is, spreading life through all;  
It cannot anywhere, by any means,  
Be anywise diminished, stayed or changed.  
But for these fleeting frames which it informs  
With spirit deathless, endless, infinite—  
*They* perish. Let them perish, Prince, and fight!  
He who shall say, ‘Lo, I have slain a man!’  
He who shall think, ‘Lo, I am slain!’ those both  
Know naught. Life cannot slay! Life is not slain!  
Never the spirit was born; the spirit shall cease to be never;  
Never was time it was not; End and Beginning are dreams!  
Birthless and deathless and changeless remaineth the spirit forever;  
Death hath not touched it at all, dead though the house of it  
seems.”<sup>108</sup>

Krishna proceeds to instruct Arjuna in metaphysics, blending *Sankhya* and *Vedanta* in the peculiar synthesis accepted by the Vaishnavite sect. All things, he says, identifying himself with the Supreme Being,

“hang on me  
As hangs a row of pearls upon its string.  
I am the fresh taste of the water; I  
The silver of the moon, the gold o’ the sun,  
The word of worship in the Veds, the thrill  
That passeth in the ether, and the strength  
Of man’s shed seed. I am the good sweet smell  
Of the moistened earth, I am the fire’s red light,  
The vital air moving in all which moves,  
The holiness of hallowed souls, the root  
Undying, whence hath sprung whatever is;  
The wisdom of the wise, the intellect  
Of the informed, the greatness of the great,  
The splendor of the splendid. . . .

To him who wisely sees,  
The Brahman with his scrolls and sanctities,  
The cow, the elephant, the unclean dog,  
The outcaste gorging dog’s meat, all are one.”<sup>109</sup>

It is a poem rich in complementary colors, in metaphysical and ethical contradictions that reflect the contrariness and complexity of life. We are a little shocked to find the man taking what might seem to be the higher moral stand, while the god argues for war and slaughter on the shifty ground that life is unkillable and individuality unreal. What the author had in mind to do, apparently, was to shake the Hindu soul out of the enervating quietism of Buddhist piety into a willingness to fight for India; it was the rebellion of a Kshatriya who felt that religion was weakening his country, and who proudly reckoned that many things were more precious than peace. All in all it was a good lesson which, if India had learned it, might have kept her free.

The second of the Indian epics is the most famous and best beloved of all Hindu books,<sup>28</sup> and lends itself more readily than the *Mahabharata* to Occidental understanding. The *Ramayana* is briefer, merely running to a thousand pages of forty-eight lines each; and though it, too, grew by accretion from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D., the interpolations are fewer, and do not much disturb the central theme. Tradition attributes the poem to one Valmiki, who, like the supposed author of the larger epic, appears as a character in the tale; but more probably it is the product of many wayside bards like those who still recite these epics, sometimes for ninety consecutive evenings, to fascinated audiences.<sup>29</sup>

As the *Mahabharata* resembles the *Iliad* in being the story of a great war fought by gods and men, and partly occasioned by the loss of a beautiful woman from one nation to another, so the *Ramayana* resembles the *Odyssey*, and tells of a hero's hardships and wanderings, and of his wife's patient waiting for reunion with him.<sup>30</sup> At the outset we get a picture of a Golden Age, when Dasa-ratha, from his capital Ayodhya, ruled the kingdom of Kosala (now Oudh).

Rich in royal worth and valor, rich in holy Vedic lore,  
 Dasa-ratha ruled his empire in the happy days of yore. . . .  
 Peaceful lived the righteous people, rich in wealth, in merit high;  
 Envy dwelt not in their bosoms, and their accents shaped no lie.  
 Fathers with their happy households owned their cattle, corn and  
 gold;  
 Galling penury and famine in Ayodhya had no hold.<sup>31</sup>

Nearby was another happy kingdom, Videha, over which King Janak ruled. He himself "held the plough and tilled the earth" like some doughty Cincinnatus; and one day, at the touch of his plough, a lovely daughter, Sita, sprang up from a furrow of the soil. Soon Sita had to be married, and Janak held a contest for her suitors: he who could unbend Janak's bow of war should win the bride. To the contest came the oldest son of Dasa-ratha—Rama "lion-chested, mighty armed, lotus-eyed, stately as the jungle tusker, with his crown of tresses tied."<sup>88</sup> Only Rama bent the bow; and Janak offered him his daughter with the characteristic formula of Hindu marriage:

This is Sita, child of Janak, dearer unto him than life;  
Henceforth sharer of thy virtue, be she, prince, thy faithful wife;  
Of thy weal and woe partaker, be she thine in every land;  
Cherish her in joy and sorrow, clasp her hand within thy hand;  
As the shadow to the substance, to her lord is faithful wife,  
And my Sita, best of women, follows thee in death or life."<sup>89</sup>

So Rama returns to Ayodhya with his princess-bride—"ivory brow and lip of coral, sparkling teeth of pearly sheen"—and wins the love of the Kosalas by his piety, his gentleness, and his generosity. Suddenly evil enters into this Eden in the form of Dasa-ratha's second wife, Kaikeyi. Dasa-ratha has promised her any boon she may ask; and now, jealous of the first wife, whose son Rama is heir to the throne, she requires Dasa-ratha to banish Rama from the kingdom for fourteen years. Dasa-ratha, with a sense of honor which only a poet unacquainted with politics could conceive, keeps his word, and, broken-hearted, exiles his favorite son. Rama forgives him handsomely, and prepares to go and live in the forest, alone; but Sita insists upon going with him. Her speech is part of the memory of almost every Hindu bride:

"Car and steed and gilded palace, vain are these to woman's life;  
Dearer is her husband's shadow to the loved and loving wife. . . .  
Happier than in father's mansions, in the woods will Sita rove,  
Waste no thought on home or kindred, nestling in her husband's love. . . .  
And the wild fruit she will gather from the fresh and fragrant wood,  
And the food by Rama tasted shall be Sita's cherished food."<sup>90</sup>

Even his brother Lakshman begs leave to accompany Rama:

“All alone with gentle Sita thou shalt trace thy darksome way;  
Grant it that thy faithful Lakshman shall protect her night and day;  
Grant it with his bow and quiver Lakshman shall all forests roam,  
And his axe shall fell the jungle, and his hands shall rear the  
home.”<sup>44</sup>

The epic becomes at this point a sylvan idyl, telling how Rama, Sita and Lakshman set out for the woods; how the population of Ayodhya, mourning for them, travel with them all the first day; how the exiles steal away from their solicitous company at night, abandon all their valuables and princely raiment, dress themselves in bark and matted grass, clear a way through the forest with their swords, and live on the fruits and nuts of the trees.

Oft to Rama turned his consort, pleased and curious ever more,  
Asked the name of tree or creeper, fruit or flower unseen before. . . .  
Peacocks flew around them gayly, monkeys leapt on branches  
bent. . . .

Rama plunged into the river 'neath the morning's crimson beam,  
Sita softly sought the waters as the lily seeks the stream.”<sup>45</sup>

They build a hut beside the river, and learn to love their life in the woods. But a southern princess, Surpa-nakha, wandering in the forest, meets Rama, falls in love with him, resents his virtue, and instigates her brother Ravan to come and kidnap Sita. He succeeds, snatches her away to his distant castle, and tries in vain to seduce her. Since nothing is impossible to gods and authors, Rama raises a great army, invades Ravan's realm, defeats him in battle, rescues Sita, and then (his years of exile having ended) flies with her in an airplane back to Ayodhya, where another loyal brother gladly surrenders to him the Kosala throne.

In what is probably a later epilogue, Rama gives way to the sceptics who will not believe that Sita could have been so long in Ravan's palace without being occasionally in his arms. Though she passes through the Ordeal of Fire to prove her innocence, he sends her away to a forest hermitage with that bitter trick of heredity whereby one generation repeats upon the next the sins and errors which it suffered from its elders in its youth. In the woods Sita meets Valmiki, and bears two sons to Rama.

Many years later these sons, as traveling minstrels, sing before the unhappy Rama the epic composed about him by Valmiki from Sita's memories. He recognizes the boys as his own, and sends a message begging Sita to return. But Sita, broken-hearted over the suspicion to which she has been subjected, disappears into the earth that was once her mother. Rama reigns many years in loneliness and sorrow, and under his kindly sway Ayodhya knows again the Utopia of Dasa-ratha's days:

And 'tis told by ancient sages, during Rama's happy reign,  
Death untimely, dire diseases, came not to his subject men;  
Widows wept not in their sorrow for their lords untimely lost,  
Mothers wailed not in their anguish for their babes by Yama cross;  
Robbers, cheats and gay deceivers tempted not with lying word,  
Neighbor loved his righteous neighbor, and the people loved their  
lord.

Trees their ample produce yielded as returning seasons went,  
And the earth in grateful gladness never-failing harvest lent.  
Rains descended in their season, never came the blighting gale,  
Rich in crop and rich in pasture was each soft and smiling vale.  
Loom and anvil gave their produce, and the tilled and fertile soil,  
And the nation lived rejoicing in their old ancestral toil."

It is a delightful story, which even a modern cynic can enjoy if he is wise enough to yield himself now and then to romance and the tilt of song. These poems, though perhaps inferior to the epics of Homer in literary quality—in logic of structure, and splendor of language, in depth of portraiture and fidelity to the essence of things—are distinguished by fine feeling, a lofty idealization of woman and man, and a vigorous—sometimes realistic—representation of life. Rama and Sita are too good to be true, but Draupadi and Yudhishtira, Dhrita-rashtra and Gandhari, are almost as living as Achilles and Helen, Ulysses and Penelope. The Hindu would rightly protest that no foreigner can judge these epics, or even understand them. To him they are not mere stories, they are a gallery of ideal characters upon whom he may mould his conduct; they are a repertory of the traditions, philosophy and theology of his people; in a sense they are sacred scriptures to be read as a Christian reads *The Imitation of Christ* or *The Lives of the Saints*. The pious Hindu believes that Krishna and Rama were incarnations of divinity, and still prays to them; and when he reads their story in these epics he feels that he derives religious merit as well as literary

delight and moral exaltation. He trusts that if he reads the *Ramayana* he will be cleansed of all sin, and will beget a son;“ and he accepts with simple faith the proud conclusion of the *Mahabharata*:

If a man reads the *Mahabharata* and has faith in its doctrines, he becomes free from all sin, and ascends to heaven after his death. . . . As butter is to all other food, as Brahmans are to all other men, . . . as the ocean is to a pool of water, as the cow is to all other quadrupeds—so is the *Mahabharata* to all other histories. . . . He who attentively listens to the *shlokas*\* of the *Mahabharata*, and has faith in them, enjoys a long life and solid reputation in this world, and an eternal abode in the heavens in the next.“

#### IV. DRAMA

*Origins—“The Clay Cart”—Characteristics of Hindu drama—Kalidasa—The story of “Shakuntala”—Estimate of Indian drama*

In one sense drama in India is as old as the *Vedas*, for at least the germ of drama lies in the *Upanishads*. Doubtless older than these Scriptures is a more active source of the drama—the sacrificial and festival ceremonies and processions of religion. A third origin was in the dance—no mere release of energy, much less a substitute for coitus, but a serious ritual imitating and suggesting actions and events vital to the tribe. Perhaps a fourth source lay in the public and animated recitation of epic verse. These factors coöperated to produce the Indian theatre, and gave it a religious stamp that lingered throughout the classic age† in the serious nature of the drama, the Vedic or epic source of its subjects, and the benediction that always preceded the play.

Perhaps the final stimulus to drama came from the intercourse, established by Alexander's invasion, between India and Greece. We have no evidence of Hindu dramas before Ashoka, and only uncertain evidence during his reign. The oldest extant Hindu plays are the palm-leaf manuscripts lately discovered in Chinese Turkestan. Among them were three dramas, one of which names as its author Ashvaghosha, a theological luminary at Kanishka's court. The technical form of this play, and the resemblance of its buffoon

\* Couplets.

† I.e., the age in which literature used Sanskrit as its medium.



to the type traditionally characteristic of the Hindu theatre, suggest that drama was already old in India when Ashvaghosha was born." In 1910 thirteen ancient Sanskrit plays were found in Travancore, which are dubiously ascribed to Bhasa (ca. 350 A.D.), a dramatic predecessor much honored by Kalidasa. In the prologue to his *Malavika* Kalidasa unconsciously but admirably illustrates the relativity of time and adjectives: "Shall we," he asks, "neglect the works of such renowned authors as Bhasa, Saumilla, and Kaviputra? Can the audience feel any respect for the work of a *modern* poet, a Kalidasa?"<sup>48</sup>

Until recently, the oldest Hindu play known to research was *The Clay Cart*. The text, which need not be believed, names as author of the play an obscure King Shudraka, who is described as an expert in the *Vedas*, in mathematics, in the management of elephants, and in the art of love.<sup>49</sup> In any event he was an expert in the theatre. His play is by all means the most interesting that has come to us from India—a clever combination of melodrama and humor, with excellent passages of poetic fervor and description.

A synopsis of its plot will serve better than a volume of commentary to illustrate the character of Indian drama. In Act I we meet Charu-datta, once rich, now impoverished by generosity and bad fortune. His friend Maitreya, a stupid Brahman, acts as jester in the play. Charu asks Maitreya to offer an oblation to the gods, but the Brahman refuses, saying: "What's the use, when the gods you have worshiped have done nothing for you?" Suddenly a young Hindu woman, of high family and great wealth, rushes into Charu's courtyard, seeking refuge from a pursuer who turns out to be the King's brother, Samsthanaka—as completely and incredibly evil as Charu is completely and irrevocably good. Charu protects the girl, sends Samsthanaka off, and scorns the latter's threat of vengeance. The girl, Vasanta-sena, asks Charu to keep a casket of jewels in safe custody for her, lest her enemies steal it from her, and lest she may have no excuse for revisiting her rescuer. He agrees, takes the casket, and escorts her to her palatial home.

Act II is a comic interlude. A gambler, running away from two other gamblers, takes refuge in a temple. When they enter he eludes them by posing as the idol of the shrine. The pursuing gamblers pinch him to see if he is really a stone god, but he does not move. They abandon their search, and console themselves with a game of dice at the foot of the altar. The game becomes so exciting that the "statue," unable to control himself, leaps off his pedestal, and asks leave to take part. The others beat him; he again finds

help in his heels, and is saved by Vasanta-sena, who recognizes in him a former servant of Charu-datta.

Act III shows Charu and Maitreya returning from a concert. A thief, Sharvilaka, breaks in, and steals the casket. Charu, discovering the theft, feels disgraced, and sends Vasanta-sena his last string of pearls as a substitute.

In Act IV Sharvilaka is seen offering the stolen casket to Vasanta-sena's maid as a bribe for her love. Seeing that it is her mistress' casket, she berates Sharvilaka as a thief. He answers her with Schopenhauerian acerbity:

A woman will for money smile or weep  
According to your will; she makes a man  
Put trust in her, but trusts him not herself.  
Women are as inconstant as the waves  
Of ocean, their affection is as fugitive  
As streak of sunset glow upon a cloud.  
They cling with eager fondness to the man  
Who yields them wealth, which they squeeze out like sap  
Out of a juicy plant, and then they leave him.

The maid refutes him by forgiving him, and Vasanta-sena by allowing them to marry.

At the opening of Act V Vasanta-sena comes to Charu's house to return both his jewels and her casket. While she is there a storm blows up, which she describes in excellent Sanskrit.\* The storm obligingly increases its fury, and compels her, much according to her will, to spend the night under Charu's roof.

Act VI shows Vasanta leaving Charu's house the next morning. By mistake she steps not into the carriage he has summoned for her, but into one which belongs to the villainous Samsthanaka. Act VII is concerned with a subordinate plot, inessential to the theme. Act VIII finds Vasanta deposited, not in her palace as she had expected, but in the home, almost in the arms, of her enemy. When she again spurns his love he chokes her, and buries her. Then he goes to court and lodges against Charu a charge of murdering Vasanta for her jewels.

Act IX describes the trial, in which Maitreya unwittingly betrays his master by letting Vasanta's jewels fall from his pocket. Charu is condemned to death. In Act X Charu is seen on his way to execution. His child pleads with the executioners to be allowed to take his place, but they refuse. At the

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\* An exceptional instance. Usually, in Hindu plays, the women speak Prakrit, on the ground that it would be unbecoming in a lady to be familiar with a dead language.

last moment Vasanta herself appears. Sharvilaka had seen Samsthanaka bury her; he had exhumed her in time, and had revived her. Now, while Vasanta rescues Charu, Sharvilaka accuses the King's brother of murder. But Charu refuses to support the charge, Samsthanaka is released, and everybody is happy.<sup>25</sup>

Since time is more plentiful in the East, where nearly all work is done by human hands, than in the West, where there are so many labor-saving devices, Hindu plays are twice as long as the European dramas of our day. The acts vary from five to ten, and each act is unobtrusively divided into scenes by the exit of one character and the entrance of another. There are no unities of time or place, and no limits to imagination. Scenery is scanty, but costumes are colorful. Sometimes living animals enliven the play,<sup>26</sup> and for a moment redeem the artificial with the natural. The performance begins with a prologue, in which an actor or the manager discusses the play; Goethe seems to have taken from Kalidasa the idea of a prologue for *Faust*. The prologue concludes by introducing the first character, who marches into the middle of things. Coincidences are innumerable, and supernatural influences often determine the course of events. A love-story is indispensable; so is a jester. There is no tragedy in the Indian theatre; happy endings are unavoidable; faithful love must always triumph, virtue must always be rewarded, if only to balance reality. Philosophical discourse, which obtrudes so often into Hindu poetry, is excluded from Hindu drama; drama, like life, must teach only by action, never by words.\* Lyric poetry alternates with prose according to the dignity of the topic, the character, and the action. Sanskrit is spoken by the upper castes in the play, Prakrit by the women and the lower castes. Descriptive passages excel, character delineation is poor. The actors—who include women—do their work well, with no Occidental haste, and with no Far-Eastern fustian. The play ends with an epilogue, in which the favorite god of the author or the locality is importuned to bring prosperity to India.

Ever since Sir William Jones translated it and Goethe praised it, the most famous of Hindu dramas has been the *Shakuntala* of Kalidasa. Nevertheless we know Kalidasa only through three plays, and through

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\* The great Hindu theorist of the drama, Dhanamjaya (ca. 1000 A.D.), writes: "As for any simple man of little intelligence who says that from dramas, which distil joy, the gain is knowledge only—homage to him, for he has averted his face from what is delightful."<sup>27</sup>

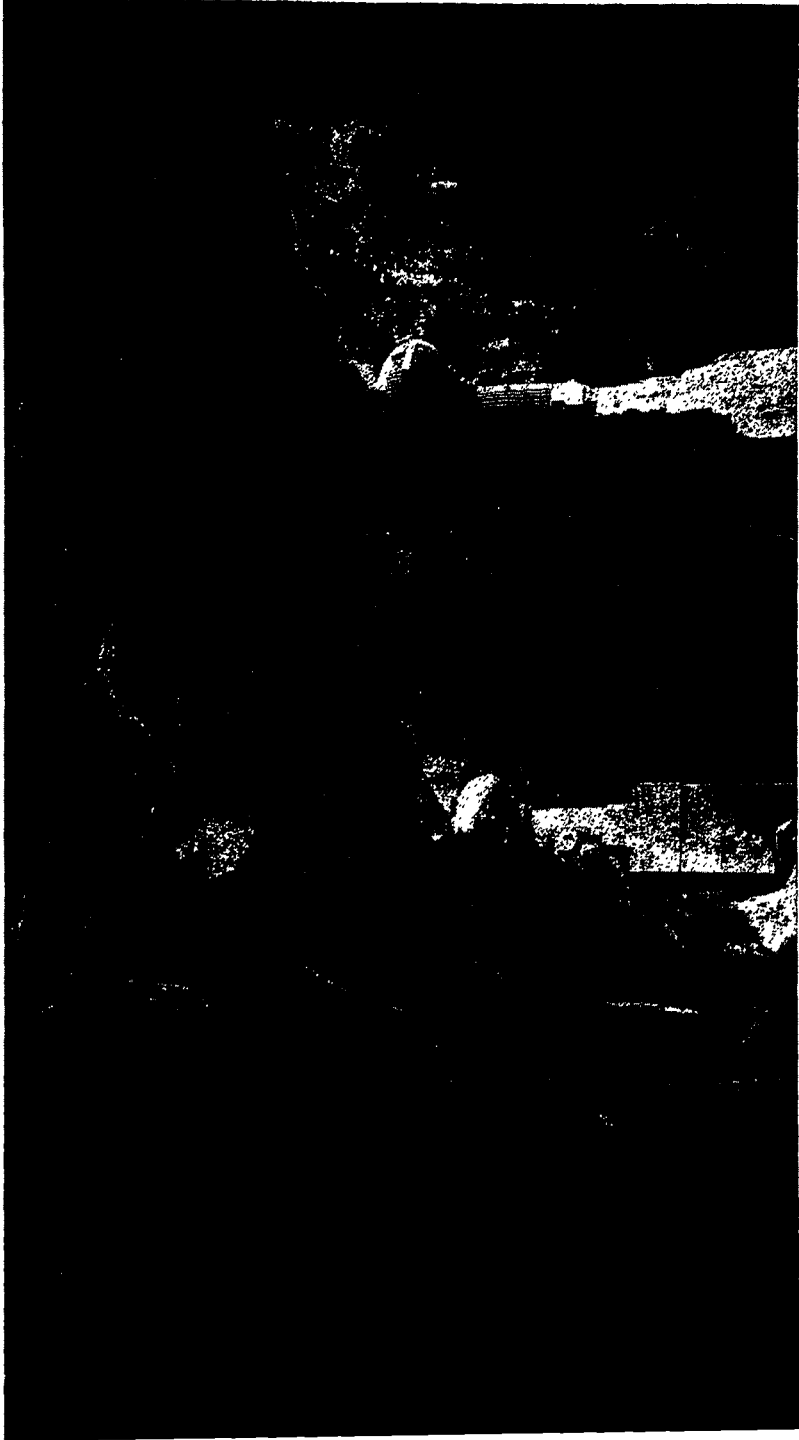


FIG. 57—*Elephantia Caves, near Bombay*  
By Cowling, from Ewing Galloway, N. Y.



FIG. 58—The rock-cut Temple of Kailasha



FIG. 59—*Guardian deities, Temple of Elara*  
Indian State Railways

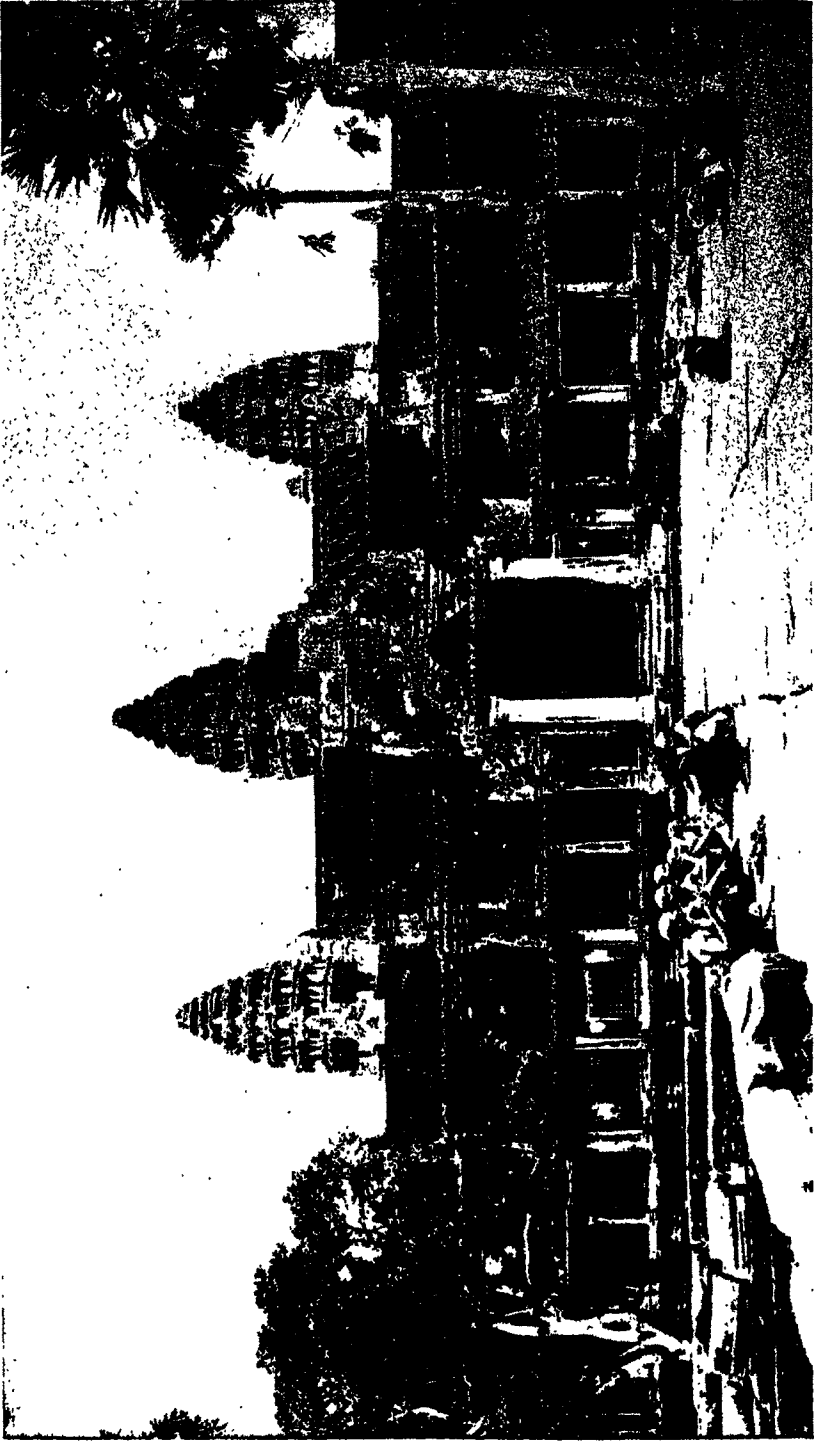


FIG. 60—*Facade, Angkor Wat, Indo-China*  
Publishers' Photo Service

the legends that pious memory has hung upon his name. Apparently he was one of the "Nine Gems"—poets, artists and philosophers—who were cherished by King Vikramaditya (380-413 A.D.) in the Gupta capital at Ujjain.

*Shakuntala* is in seven acts, written partly in prose, partly in vivid verse. After a prologue in which the manager invites the audience to consider the beauties of nature, the play opens upon a forest glade in which a hermit dwells with his foster daughter Shakuntala. The peace of the scene is disturbed by the noise of a chariot; its occupant, King Dushyanta, appears, and falls in love with Shakuntala with literary speed. He marries her in the first act, but is suddenly called back to his capital; he leaves her with the usual promises to return at his earliest convenience. An ascetic tells the sorrowing girl that the King will remember her as long as she keeps the ring Dushyanta has given her; but she loses the ring while bathing. About to become a mother, she journeys to the court, only to discover that the King has forgotten her after the manner of men to whom women have been generous. She tries to refresh his memory.

*Shakuntala.* Do you not remember in the jasmine-bower,  
One day, how you had poured the rain-water  
That a lotus had collected in its cup  
Into the hollow of your hand?

*King.*

Tell on,

I am listening.

*Shakuntala.* Just then my adopted child,  
The little fawn, ran up with long, soft eyes,  
And you, before you quenched your own thirst, gave  
To the little creature, saying, "Drink you first,  
Gentle fawn!" But she would not from strange hands.  
And yet, immediately after, when

I took some water in my hand, she drank,  
Absolute in her trust. Then, with a smile,  
You said: "Each creature has faith in its own kind.

You are children both of the same wild wood, and each  
Confides in the other, knowing where its trust is."

*King.* Sweet, fair and false! Such women entice fools. . . .

The female gift of cunning may be marked  
In creatures of all kinds; in women most.  
The cuckoo leaves her eggs for dupes to hatch,  
Then flies away secure and triumphing.<sup>88</sup>



Shakuntala, spurned and despondent, is miraculously lifted into the air and carried off to another forest, where she bears her child—that great Bharata whose progeny must fight all the battles of the *Mahabharata*. Meanwhile a fisherman has found the ring, and seeing the King's seal on it, has brought it to Dushyanta. His memory of Shakuntala is restored, and he seeks her everywhere. Traveling in his airplane over the Himalayas, he alights by dramatic providence at the very hermitage where Shakuntala is pining away. He sees the boy Bharata playing before the cottage, and envies his parents:

“Ah, happy father, happy mother, who,  
 Carrying their little son, are soiled with dust  
 Rubbed from his body; it nestles with fond faith  
 Into their lap, the refuge that he craves—  
 The white buds of his teeth just visible  
 When he breaks out into a causeless smile,  
 And he attempts sweet wordless sounds, . . .  
 Melting the heart more than any word.”<sup>104</sup>

Shakuntala appears, the King begs her forgiveness, receives it, and makes her his queen. The play ends with a strange but typical invocation:

“May kings reign only for their subjects' weal!  
 May the divine Sarasvati, the source  
 Of speech, and goddess of dramatic art,  
 Be ever honored by the great and wise!  
 And may the purple, self-existent god,  
 Whose vital energy pervades all space,  
 From future transmigrations save my soul!”<sup>105</sup>

Drama did not decline after Kalidasa, but it did not again produce a *Shakuntala* or a *Clay Cart*. King Harsha, if we may believe a possibly inspired tradition, wrote three plays, which held the stage for centuries. A hundred years after him Bhavabhuti, a Brahman of Berar, wrote three romantic dramas which are ranked second only to Kalidasa's in the history of the Indian stage. His style, however, was so elaborate and obscure that he had to be—and of course protested that he was—content with a narrow audience. “How little do they know,” he wrote, “who speak of us with censure. The entertainment is not for them. Possibly some one exists or will exist, of similar tastes with myself; for time is boundless, and the world is wide.”<sup>106</sup>

We cannot rank the dramatic literature of India on a plane with that of Greece or Elizabethan England; but it compares favorably with the theatre of China or Japan. Nor need we look to India for the sophistication that marks the modern stage; that is an accident of time rather than an eternal verity, and may pass away—even into its opposite. The supernatural agencies of Indian drama are as alien to our taste as the *deus ex machina* of the enlightened Euripides; but this, too, is a fashion of history. The weaknesses of Hindu drama (if they may be listed diffidently by an alien) are artificial diction disfigured with alliteration and verbal conceits, monochromatic characterization in which each person is thoroughly good or thoroughly bad, improbable plots turning upon unbelievable coincidences, and an excess of description and discourse over that action which is, almost by definition, the specific medium by which drama conveys significance. Its virtues are its creative fancy, its tender sentiment, its sensitive poetry, and its sympathetic evocation of nature's beauty and terror. About national types of art there can be no disputation; we can judge them only from the provincial standpoint of our own, and mostly through the prism of translation. It is enough that Goethe, ablest of all Europeans to transcend provincial and national barriers, found the reading of *Shakuntala* among the profound experiences of his life, and wrote of it gratefully:

Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms, and the fruits of its decline,  
 And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed;  
 Wouldst thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one sole name combine?

I name thee, O Shakuntala! and all at once is said.<sup>27</sup>

#### V. PROSE AND POETRY

*Their unity in India—Fables—History—Tales—Minor poets—Rise  
 of the vernacular literature—Chandi Das—Tulsi Das—  
 Poets of the south—Kabir*

Prose is largely a recent phenomenon in Indian literature, and might be termed an exotic corruption through contact with Europeans. To the naturally poetic soul of the Hindu everything worth writing about had a poetic content, and invited a poetic form. Since he felt that literature should be read aloud, and knew that his work would spread and endure,

if at all, by oral rather than written dissemination, he chose to give to his compositions a metric or aphoristic form that would lend itself to recitation and memory. Consequently nearly all the literature of India is verse: scientific, medical, legal and art treatises are, more often than not, presented in metre or rhyme or both; even grammars and dictionaries have been turned into poetry. Fables and history, which in the West are content with prose, found in India a melodious poetic form.

Hindu literature is especially rich in fables; indeed, India is probably responsible for most of the fables that have passed like an international currency across the frontiers of the world.\* Buddhism flourished best in the days when the Jataka legends of Buddha's birth and youth were popular among the people. The best-known book in India is the *Panchatantra*, or "Five Headings" (ca. 500 A.D.); it is the source of many of the fables that have pleased Europe as well as Asia. The *Hitopadesha*, or "Good Advice," is a selection and adaption of tales from the *Panchatantra*. Both, strange to say, are classed by the Hindus under the rubric of *Niti-shastra*—i.e., instructions in politics or morals; every tale is told to point a moral, a principle of conduct or government; usually these stories pretend to have been invented by some wise Brahman for the instruction of a king's sons. Often they turn the lowliest animals to the uses of the subtlest philosophy. The fable of the monkey who tried to warm himself by the light of a glow-worm, and slew the bird who pointed out his error, is a remarkably apt illustration of the fate that awaits the scholar who exposes a popular delusion.†

Historical literature did not succeed in rising above the level of either bare chronicles or gorgeous romance. Perhaps through a scorn of the *Maya* events of space and time, perhaps through a preference of oral to written traditions, the Hindus neglected to compose works of history that could bear comparison with Herodotus or Thucydides, Plutarch or Tacitus, Gibbon or Voltaire. Details of place and date were so scantily recorded, even in the case of famous men, that Hindu scholars assigned to their greatest poet, Kalidasa, dates ranging over a millennium.<sup>20</sup> Living to our own time in an almost unchanging world of custom, morals and beliefs, the Hindu hardly dreamed of progress, and never bothered about antiquities. He was content

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\* Sir William Jones reported that the Hindus laid claim to three inventions: chess, the decimal system, and teaching by fables.

† A lively war rages in the fields of Oriental scholarship as to whether these fables passed from India to Europe, or turn about; we leave the dispute to men of leisure. Perhaps they passed to both India and Europe from Egypt, via Mesopotamia and Crete. The influence of the *Panchatantra* upon the *Arabian Nights*, however, is beyond question.<sup>21</sup>

to accept the epics as authentic history, and to let legend serve for biography. When Ashvaghosha wrote his life of Buddha (the *Buddha-charita*), it was legend rather than history; and when, five hundred years later, Bana wrote his *Harsha-charita*, it was again an idealization rather than a reliable portrait of the great king. The native chronicles of Rajputana appear to be exercises in patriotism. Only one Hindu writer seems to have grasped the function of the historian. Kalhana, author of the *Rajatarangini*, or "Stream of Kings," expressed himself as follows: "That noble-minded poet alone merits praise whose word, like the sentence of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in recording the past." Winternitz calls him "the only great historian that India has produced."<sup>100</sup>

The Moslems were more acutely conscious of history, and left some admirable prose records of their doings in India. We have mentioned Alberuni's ethnographical study of India, and Babur's *Memoirs*. Contemporary with Akbar was an excellent historian, Muhammad Qazim Firishta, whose *History of India* is our most reliable guide to the events of the Moslem period. Less impartial was Akbar's prime minister or general political factotum, Abu-l Fazl, who put his master's administrative methods down for posterity in the *Ain-i Akbari*, or "Institutes of Akbar," and told his master's life with forgivable fondness in the *Akbar Nama*. The Emperor returned his affection; and when the news came that Jehangir had slain the vizier, Akbar burst into passionate grief, and cried out: "If Salim (Jehangir) wished to be emperor, he might have slain me and spared Abu-l Fazl."<sup>101</sup>

Midway between fables and history were the vast collections of poetic tales put together by industrious versifiers for the delectation of the romantic Indian soul. As far back as the first century A.D. one Gunadhya wrote in one hundred thousand couplets the *Bribatkatha*, or "Great Romance"; and a thousand years later Somadeva composed the *Kathasaritzagara*, or "Ocean of the Rivers of Story," a torrent 21,500 couplets long. In the same eleventh century a clever story-teller of uncertain identity built a framework for his *Vetalpanchavimchatika* ("The Twenty-five Stories of the Vampire") by representing King Vikramaditya as receiving annually from an ascetic a fruit containing a precious stone. The King inquires how he may prove his gratitude; he is asked to bring to the *yogi* the corpse of a man hanging on the gallows, but is warned not to speak if the corpse should address him. The corpse is inhabited by a vampire who, as the King stumbles along, fascinates him with a story; at the end of the story the vampire propounds a question which the King, forgetting his instructions, answers. Twenty-five times the King attempts the task of bringing a corpse to the ascetic and holding his peace; twenty-four times he is so absorbed in the story that the

vampire tells him that he answers the question put to him at the end.\* It was an excellent scaffold on which to hang a score of tales.

Meanwhile there was no dearth of poets writing what we should call poetry. Abu-l Fazl describes "thousands of poets" at Akbar's court; there were hundreds at minor capitals, and doubtless dozens in every home.\* One of the earliest and greatest was Bhartrihari, monk, grammarian and lover, who, before retiring into the arms of religion, instructed his soul with amours. He has left us a record of them in his "Century of Love"—a Heine-like sequence of a hundred poems. "Erstwhile," he writes to one of his loves, "we twain deemed that thou wast I and I was thou; how comes it now that thou are thou and I am I?" He did not care for reviewers, and told them: "It is easy to satisfy one who is ignorant, even easier to satisfy a connoisseur; but not the Creator himself can please the man who has just a morsel of knowledge."<sup>3</sup> In Jayadeva's *Gita-Govinda*, or "Song of the Divine Cowherd," the amorousness of the Hindu turns to religion, and intones the sensuous love of Radha and Krishna. It is a poem of full-bodied passion, but India interprets it reverently as a mystic and symbolic portrayal of the soul's longing for God—an interpretation that would be intelligible to those immovable divines who composed such pious headings for the *Song of Songs*.

In the eleventh century the vernaculars made inroads upon the classical dead language as a medium of literary expression, as they were to do in Europe a century later. The first major poet to use the living speech of the people was Chand Bardai, who wrote in Hindi an immense historical poem of sixty cantos, and was only persuaded to interrupt his work by the call of death. Sur Das, the blind poet of Agra, composed 60,000 verses on the life and adventures of Krishna; we are told that he was helped by the god himself, who became his amanuensis, and wrote faster than the poet could dictate.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile a poor priest, Chandi Das, was shocking Bengal by composing Dantean songs to a peasant Beatrice, idealizing her with romantic passion, exalting her as a symbol of divinity, and

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\* Poetry tended now to be less objective than in the days of the epic, and gave itself more and more to the interweaving of religion and love. Metre, which had been loose and free in the epics, varying in the length of the line, and requiring regularity only in the last four or five syllables, became at once stricter and more varied; a thousand complications of prosody were introduced, which disappear in translation; artifices of letter and phrase abounded, and rhyme appeared not only at the end but often in the middle of the line. Rigid rules were composed for the poetic art, and the form became more precise as the content thinned.

making his love an allegory of his desire for absorption in God; at the same time he inaugurated the use of Bengali as a literary language. "I have taken refuge at your feet, my beloved. When I do not see you my mind has no rest . . . . I cannot forget your grace and your charm,—and yet there is no desire in my heart." Excommunicated by his fellow Brahmans on the ground that he was scandalizing the public, he agreed to renounce his love, Rami, in a public ceremony of recantation; but when, in the course of this ritual, he saw Rami in the crowd, he withdrew his recantation, and going up to her, bowed before her with hands joined in adoration.<sup>44</sup>

The supreme poet of Hindi literature is Tulsi Das, almost a contemporary of Shakespeare. His parents exposed him because he had been born under an unlucky star. He was adopted by a forest mystic, who instructed him in the legendary lore of Rama. He married; but when his son died, Tulsi Das retired to the woods to lead a life of penance and meditation. There, and in Benares, he wrote his religious epic, the *Ramacharita-manasa*, or "Lake of the Deeds of Rama," in which he told again the story of Rama, and offered him to India as the supreme and only god. "There is one God," says Tulsi Das; "it is Rama, creator of heaven and earth, and redeemer of mankind. . . . For the sake of his faithful people a very god, Lord Rama, became incarnate as a king, and for our sanctification lived, as it were, the life of any ordinary man."<sup>45</sup> Few Europeans have been able to read the work in the now archaic Hindi original; one of these considers that it establishes Tulsi Das as "the most important figure in the whole of Indian literature."<sup>46</sup> To the natives of Hindustan the poem constitutes a popular Bible of theology and ethics. "I regard the *Ramayana* of Tulsi Das," says Gandhi, "as the greatest book in all devotional literature."<sup>47</sup>

Meanwhile the Deccan was also producing poetry. Tukaram composed in the Mahrathi tongue 4600 religious songs which are as current in India today as the Psalms of "David" are in Judaism or Christendom. His first wife having died, he married a shrew and became a philosopher. "It is not hard to win salvation," he wrote, "for it may readily be found in the bundle on our back."<sup>48</sup> As early as the second century A.D. Madura became the capital of Tamil letters; a *Sangam*, or court of poets and critics, was set up there under the patronage of the Pandya kings, and, like the French Academy, regulated the development of the language, conferred titles, and gave prizes.<sup>49</sup> Tiruvallavar, an Outcaste weaver, wrote in the most

difficult of Tamil meters a religious and philosophical work—the *Kurral*—expounding moral and political ideals. Tradition assures us that when the members of the *Sangam*, who were all Brahmans, saw the success of this Pariah's poetry, they drowned themselves to a man;” but this is not to be believed of any Academy.

We have kept for the last, though out of his chronological place, the greatest lyric poet of medieval India. Kabir, a simple weaver of Benares, prepared for his task of uniting Islam and Hinduism by having, we are told, a Mohammedan for his father and a Brahman virgin for his mother.” Fascinated by the preacher Ramananda, he became a devotee of Rama, enlarged him (as Tulsi Das would also do) into a universal deity, and began to write Hindi poems of rare beauty to explain a creed in which there should be no temples, no mosques, no idols, no caste, no circumcision, and but one god.\* “Kabir,” he says,

is a child of Ram and Allah, and accepteth all *Gurus* and *Pirs*. . . .  
O God, whether Allah or Rama, I live by thy name. . . . Lifeless  
are all the images of the gods; they cannot speak; I know it, for I  
have called aloud to them. . . . What avails it to wash your mouth,  
count your beads, bathe in holy streams, and bow in temples, if,  
whilst you mutter your prayers or go on pilgrimages, deceitfulness  
is in your hearts?”

The Brahmans were shocked, and to refute him (the story runs) sent a courtesan to tempt him; but he converted her to his creed. This was easy, for he had no dogmas, but only profound religious feeling.

There is an endless world, O my brother,  
And there is a nameless Being, of whom naught can be said;  
Only he knows who has reached that region.  
It is other than all that is heard or said.  
No form, no body, no length, no breadth is seen there;  
How can I tell you that which it is?  
Kabir says: “It cannot be told by the words of the mouth, it cannot  
be written on paper;  
It is like a dumb person who tastes a sweet thing—how shall it be  
explained?”

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\* Rabindranath Tagore has translated, with characteristic perfection, one hundred *Songs of Kabir*, New York, 1915.

He accepted the theory of reincarnation which was in the air about him, and prayed, like a Hindu, to be released from the chain of re-birth and redeath. But his ethic was the simplest in the world: live justly, and look for happiness at your elbow.

I laugh when I hear that the fish in the water is thirsty;  
You do not see that the Real is in your home, and you wander from  
forest to forest listlessly!  
Here is the truth! Go where you will, to Benares or to Mathura,  
if you do not find your soul, the world is unreal to you. . . .  
To what shore would you cross, O my heart? There is no traveler  
before you, there is no road. . . .  
There there is neither body nor mind; and where is the place that  
shall still the thirst of the soul? You shall find naught in the  
emptiness.  
Be strong, and enter into your own body; for there your foothold  
is firm. Consider it well, O my heart! Go not elsewhere.  
Kabir says: Put all imaginations away, and stand fast in that which  
you are."

After his death, runs the legend, Hindus and Mohammedans contended for his body, and disputed whether it should be buried or burned. But while they disputed some one raised the cloth that covered the corpse, and nothing could be seen but a mass of flowers. The Hindus burned a part of the flowers in Benares, and the Moslems buried the rest.<sup>76</sup> After his death his songs passed from mouth to mouth among the people; Nanak the Sikh was inspired by them to found his sturdy sect; others made the poor weaver into a deity.<sup>77</sup> Today two small sects, jealously separate, follow the doctrine and worship the name of this poet who tried to unite Moslems and Hindus. One sect is Hindu, the other is Moslem.



# Indian Art

## I. THE MINOR ARTS

*The great age of Indian art—Its uniqueness—Its association with industry—Pottery—Metal—Wood—Ivory—Jewelry—Textiles*

**B**EFORE Indian art, as before every phase of Indian civilization, we stand in humble wonder at its age and its continuity. The ruins of Mohenjo-daro are not all utilitarian; among them are limestone bearded men (significantly like Sumerians), terra-cotta figures of women and animals, beads and other ornaments of carnelian, and jewelry of finely polished gold.<sup>1</sup> One seal<sup>2</sup> shows in bas-relief a bull so vigorously and incisively drawn that the observer almost leaps to the conclusion that art does not progress, but only changes its form.

From that time to this, through the vicissitudes of five thousand years, India has been creating its peculiar type of beauty in a hundred arts. The record is broken and incomplete, not because India ever rested, but because war and the idol-smashing ecstasies of Moslems destroyed uncounted masterpieces of building and statuary, and poverty neglected the preservation of others. We shall find it difficult to enjoy this art at first sight; its music will seem weird, its painting obscure, its architecture confused, its sculpture grotesque. We shall have to remind ourselves at every step that our tastes are the fallible product of our local and limited traditions and environments; and that we do ourselves and foreign nations injustice when we judge them, or their arts, by standards and purposes natural to our life and alien to their own.

In India the artist had not yet been separated from the artisan, making art artificial and work a drudgery; as in our Middle Ages, so, in the India that died at Plassey, every mature workman was a craftsman, giving form and personality to the product of his skill and taste. Even today, when

factories replace handicrafts, and craftsmen degenerate into "hands," the stalls and shops of every Hindu town show squatting artisans beating metal, moulding jewelry, drawing designs, weaving delicate shawls and embroideries, or carving ivory and wood. Probably no other nation known to us has ever had so exuberant a variety of arts.<sup>3</sup>

Strange to say, pottery failed to rise from an industry to an art in India; caste rules put so many limitations upon the repeated use of the same dish\* that there was small incentive to adorn with beauty the frail and transient earthenware that came so rapidly from the potter's hand.<sup>4</sup> If the vessel was to be made of some precious metal, then artistry could spend itself upon it without stint; witness the Tanjore silver vase in the Victoria Institute at Madras, or the gold Betel Dish of Kandy.<sup>5</sup> Brass was hammered into an endless variety of lamps, bowls and containers; a black alloy (*bidri*) of zinc was often used for boxes, basins and trays; and one metal was inlaid or overlaid upon another, or encrusted with silver or gold.<sup>6</sup> Wood was carved with a profusion of plant and animal forms. Ivory was cut into everything from deities to dice; doors and other objects of wood were inlaid with it; and dainty receptacles were made of it for cosmetics and perfumes. Jewelry abounded, and was worn by rich and poor as ornament or hoard; Jaipur excelled in firing enamel colors upon a gold background; clasps, beads, pendants, knives and combs were moulded into tasteful shapes, with floral, animal, or theological, designs; one Brahman pendant harbors in its tiny space half a hundred gods.<sup>7</sup> Textiles were woven with an artistry never since excelled; from the days of Cæsar to our own the fabrics of India have been prized by all the world.<sup>†</sup> Sometimes, by the subtlest and most painstaking of precalculated measurements, every thread of warp and woof was dyed before being placed upon the loom; the design appeared as the weaving progressed, and was identical on either side.<sup>8</sup> From homespun *khaddar* to complex brocades flaming with gold, from picturesque pyjamas‡ to the invisibly-seamed shawls of Kashmir,§ every garment woven in India has a beauty that comes only of a very ancient, and now almost instinctive, art.

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\* Cf. p. 497 above.

† Perhaps the oldest printing of textiles from blocks was done in India,<sup>9</sup> though it never grew there into the kindred art of block-printing books.

‡ From the Hindu *pajamas*, meaning leg-clothing.

§ These fine woolen shawls are made of several strips, skilfully joined into what seems to be a single fabric.<sup>20</sup>

## II. MUSIC

*A concert in India—Music and the dance—Musicians—Scale and forms—Themes—Music and philosophy*

An American traveler, permitted to intrude upon a concert in Madras, found an audience of some two hundred Hindus, apparently all Brahmans, seated some on benches, some on a carpeted floor, listening intently to a small *ensemble* beside which our orchestral mobs would have seemed designed to make themselves heard on the moon. The instruments were unfamiliar to the visitor, and to his provincial eye they looked like the strange and abnormal products of some neglected garden. There were drums of many shapes and sizes, ornate flutes and serpentine horns, and a variety of strings. Most of these pieces were wrought with minute workmanship, and some were studded with gems. One drum, the *mridanga*, was formed like a small barrel; both ends were covered with a parchment whose pitch was changed by tightening or loosening it with little leather thongs; one parchment head had been treated with manganese dust, boiled rice and tamarind juice in order to elicit from it a peculiar tone. The drummer used only his hands—sometimes the palm, sometimes the fingers, sometimes the merest finger-tips. Another player had a *tambura*, or lute, whose pitch was changed by tightening or loosening it with little leather ground for the theme. One instrument, the *vina*, was especially sensitive and eloquent; its strings, stretched over a slender metal plate from a parchment-covered drum of wood at one end to a resounding hollow gourd at the other, were kept vibrating with a plectrum, while the player's left hand etched in the melody with fingers moving deftly from string to string. The visitor listened humbly, and understood nothing.

Music in India has a history of at least three thousand years. The Vedic hymns, like all Hindu poetry, were written to be sung; poetry and song, music and dance, were made one art in the ancient ritual. The Hindu dance, which, to the beam in the Occidental eye, seems as voluptuous and obscene as Western dancing seems to Hindus, has been, through the greater part of Indian history, a form of religious worship, a display of beauty in motion and rhythm for the honor and edification of the gods; only in modern times have the *devadasis* emerged from the temples in great number to entertain the secular and profane. To the Hindu these dances

were no mere display of flesh; they were, in one aspect, an imitation of the rhythms and processes of the universe. Shiva himself was the god of the dance, and the dance of Shiva symbolized the very movement of the world.\*

Musicians, singers and dancers, like all artists in India, belonged to the lowest castes. The Brahman might like to sing in private, and accompany himself on a *vina* or another stringed instrument; he might teach others to play, or sing, or dance; but he would never think of playing for hire, or of putting an instrument to his mouth. Public concerts were, until recently, a rarity in India; secular music was either the spontaneous singing or thrumming of the people, or it was performed, like the chamber music of Europe, before small gatherings in aristocratic homes. Akbar, himself skilled in music, had many musicians at his court; one of his singers, Tansen, became popular and wealthy, and died of drink at the age of thirty-four.<sup>24</sup> There were no amateurs, there were only professionals; music was not taught as a social accomplishment, and children were not beaten into Beethovens. The function of the public was not to play poorly, but to listen well.<sup>25</sup>

For listening to music, in India, is itself an art, and requires long training of ear and soul. The words may be no more intelligible to the Westerner than the words of the operas which he feels it his class duty to enjoy; they range, as everywhere, about the two subjects of religion and love; but the words are of little moment in Hindu music, and the singer, as in our most advanced literature, often replaces them with meaningless syllables. The music is written in scales more subtle and minute than ours. To our scale of twelve tones it adds ten "microtones," making a scale of twenty-two quarter-tones in all. Hindu music may be written in a notation composed of Sanskrit letters; usually it is neither written nor read, but is passed down "by ear" from generation to generation, or from composer to learner. It is not separated into bars, but glides in a continuous *legato* which frustrates a listener accustomed to regular emphases or beats. It has no chords, and does not deal in harmony; it confines itself to melody, with perhaps a background of undertones; in this sense it is much simpler and more primitive

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\* The secular Hindu dance has been revealed to Europe and America by the not quite orthodox art of Shankar, in which every movement of the body, the hands, the fingers and the eyes conveys a subtle and precise significance to the initiated spectator, and carries an undulating grace, and a precise and corporeal poetry, unknown in the Western dance since our democratic return to the African in art.

than European music, while it is more complex in scale and rhythm. The melodies are both limited and infinite: they must all derive from one or another of the thirty-six traditional modes or airs, but they may weave upon these themes an endless and seamless web of variation. Each of these themes, or *ragas*,\* consists of five, six or seven notes, to one of which the musician constantly returns. Each *raga* is named from the mood that it wishes to suggest—"Dawn," "Spring," "Evening Beauty," "Intoxication," etc.—and is associated with a specific time of the day or the year. Hindu legend ascribes an occult power to these *ragas*; so it is said that a Bengal dancing-girl ended a drought by singing, as a kind of "Rain-drop Prelude," the *Megh mallar raga*, or rain-making theme.<sup>33</sup> Their antiquity has given the *ragas* a sacred character; he who plays them must observe them faithfully, as forms enacted by Shiva himself. One player, Narada, having performed them carelessly, was ushered into hell by Vishnu, and was shown men and women weeping over their broken limbs; these, said the god, were the *ragas* and *raginis* distorted and torn by Narada's reckless playing. Seeing which, we are told, Narada sought more humbly a greater perfection in his art.<sup>34</sup>

The Indian performer is not seriously hampered by the obligation to remain faithful to the *raga* that he has chosen for his program, any more than the Western composer of sonatas or symphonies is hampered by adhering to his theme; in either case what is lost in liberty is gained in access to coherence of structure and symmetry of form. The Hindu musician is like the Hindu philosopher; he starts with the finite and "sends his soul into the infinite"; he embroiders upon his theme until, through an undulating stream of rhythm and recurrence, even through a hypnotizing monotony of notes, he has created a kind of musical *Yoga*, a forgetfulness of will and individuality, of matter, space and time; the soul is lifted into an almost mystic union with something "deeply interfused," some profound, immense and quiet Being, some primordial and pervasive reality that smiles upon all striving wills, all change and death.

Probably we shall never care for Hindu music, and never comprehend it, until we have abandoned striving for being, progress for permanence, desire for acceptance, and motion for rest. This may come when Europe again is subject, and Asia again is master. But then Asia will have tired of being, permanence, acceptance and rest.

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\* More strictly speaking there are six *ragas*, or basic themes, each with five modifications called *ragini*. *Raga* means color, passion, mood; *ragini* is its feminine form.

## III. PAINTING

*Prehistoric — The frescoes of Ajanta — Rajput miniatures — The Mogul school—The painters—The theorists*

A provincial is a man who judges the world in terms of his parish, and considers all unfamiliar things barbarous. It is told of the Emperor Jehangir—a man of taste and learning in the arts—that when he was shown a European painting he rejected it summarily; being “in oyle, he liked it not.”<sup>22</sup> It is pleasant to know that even an emperor can be a provincial, and that it was as difficult for Jehangir to enjoy the oil-painting of Europe as it is for us to appreciate the minatures of India.

It is clear, from the drawings, in red pigment, of animals and a rhinoceros hunt in the prehistoric caves of Singanpur and Mirzapur, that Indian painting has had a history of many thousands of years. Palettes with ground colors ready for use abound among the remains of neolithic India.<sup>23</sup> Great gaps occur in the history of the art, because most of the early work was ruined by the climate, and much of the remainder was destroyed by Moslem “idol-breakers” from Mahmud to Aurangzeb.<sup>24</sup> The *Vinaya Pitaka* (ca. 300 B.C.) refers to King Pasenada’s palace as containing picture galleries, and Fa-Hien and Yuan Chwang describe many buildings as famous for the excellence of their murals;<sup>25</sup> but no trace of these structures remains. One of the oldest frescoes in Tibet shows an artist painting a portrait of Buddha;<sup>26</sup> the later artist took it for granted that painting was an established art in Buddha’s days.

The earliest dateable Indian painting is a group of Buddhist frescoes (ca. 100 B.C.) found on the walls of a cave in Sirguya, in the Central Provinces. From that time on the art of fresco painting—that is, painting upon freshly laid plaster before it dries—progressed step by step until on the walls of the caves at Ajanta\* it reached a perfection never excelled even by Giotto or Leonardo. These temples were carved out of the rocky face of a mountain-side at various periods from the first to the seventh century A.D. For centuries they were lost to history and human memory after the decay of Buddhism; the jungle grew about them and almost buried them; bats, snakes and other beasts made their home there, and a thousand varieties of birds and insects fouled the paintings with their waste. In 1819 Europeans stumbled into the ruins, and were amazed to find on the walls frescoes that are now ranked among the masterpieces of the world’s art.<sup>27</sup>

The temples have been called caves, for in most cases they are cut into the mountains. Cave No. XVI, for example, is an excavation sixty-five feet

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\* Near the village of Fardapur, in the native state of Hyderabad.

each way, upheld by twenty pillars; alongside the central hall are sixteen monastic cells; a porticoed veranda adorns the front, and a sanctuary hides in the back. Every wall is covered with frescoes. In 1879 sixteen of the twenty-nine temples contained paintings; by 1910 the frescoes in ten of these sixteen had been destroyed by exposure, and those in the remaining six had been mutilated by inept attempts at restoration.<sup>22</sup> Once these frescoes were brilliant with red, green, blue and purple pigments; nothing survives of the colors now except low-toned and blackened surfaces. Some of the paintings, thus obscured by time and ignorance, seem coarse and grotesque to us, who cannot read the Buddhist legends with Buddhist hearts; others are at once powerful and graceful, a revelation of the skill of craftsmen whose names perished long before their work.

Despite these depredations, Cave I is still rich in masterpieces. Here, on one wall, is (probably) a *Bodhisattwa*—a Buddhist saint entitled to *Nirvana*, but choosing, instead, repeated rebirths in order to minister to men. Never has the sadness of understanding been more profoundly portrayed;<sup>23</sup> one wonders which is finer or deeper—this, or Leonardo's kindred study of the head of Christ.\* On another wall of the same temple is a study of Shiva and his wife Parvati, dressed in jewelry.<sup>24</sup> Nearby is a painting of four deer, tender with the Buddhist sympathy for animals; and on the ceiling is a design still alive with delicately drawn flowers and fowl.<sup>25</sup> On a wall of Cave XVII is a graceful representation, now half destroyed, of the god Vishnu, with his retinue, flying down from heaven to attend some event in the life of Buddha;<sup>26</sup> on another wall is a schematic but colorful portrait of a princess and her maids.<sup>27</sup> Mingled with these *chef-d'œuvres* are crowded frescoes of apparently poor workmanship, describing the youth, flight and temptation of Buddha.<sup>28</sup>

But we cannot judge these works in their original form from what survives of them today; and doubtless there are clues to their appreciation that are not revealed to alien souls. Even the Occidental, however, can admire the nobility of the subject, the majestic scope of the plan, the unity of the composition, the clearness, simplicity and decisiveness of the line, and—among many details—the astonishing perfection of that bane of all artists, the hands. Imagination can picture the artist-priests† who prayed in these cells and perhaps painted these walls and ceilings with fond and pious art while Europe lay buried in her early-medieval darkness. Here at Ajanta religious devotion fused architecture, sculpture and painting into a happy unity, and produced one of the sovereign monuments of Hindu art.

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\* Among his preliminary sketches for *The Last Supper*.

† A supposition. We do not know who painted these frescoes.

When their temples were closed or destroyed by Huns and Moslems the Hindus turned their pictorial skill to lesser forms. Among the Rajputs a school of painters arose who recorded in delicate miniatures the episodes of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, and the heroic deeds of the Rajputana chieftains; often they were mere outlines, but always they were instinct with life, and perfect in design. There is, in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, a charming example of this style, symbolizing one of the *ragas* of music by means of graceful women, a stately tower, and a lowering sky.<sup>89</sup> Another example, in the Art Institute of Detroit, represents with unique delicacy a scene from the *Gita-Govinda*.<sup>90</sup> The human figures in these and other Hindu paintings were rarely drawn from models; the artist visualized them out of imagination and memory. He painted, usually, in brilliant *tempera* upon a paper surface; he used fine brushes made from the most delicate hairs that he could get from the squirrel, the camel, the goat or the mongoose;<sup>91</sup> and he achieved a refinement of line and decoration that delight even the foreign and inexpert eye.

Similar work was done in other parts of India, especially in the state of Kangra.<sup>92</sup> Another variety of the same *genre* developed under the Moguls at Delhi. Rising out of Persian calligraphy and the art of illuminating manuscripts, this style grew into a form of aristocratic portraiture corresponding, in its refinement and exclusiveness, to the chamber music that flourished at the court. Like the Rajput school, the Mogul painters strove for delicacy of line, sometimes using a brush made from a single hair; and they, too, rivaled one another in the skilful portrayal of the hand. But they put more color into their drawings, and less mysticism; they seldom touched religion or mythology; they confined themselves to the earth, and were as realistic as caution would permit. Their subjects were living men and women of imperial position and temper, not noted for humility; one after another these dignitaries sat for their portraits, until the picture galleries of that royal dilettante, Jehangir, were filled with the likenesses of every important ruler or courtier since the coming of Akbar to the throne. Akbar was the first of his dynasty to encourage painting; at the end of his reign, if we may believe Abu-l Fazl, there were a hundred masters in Delhi, and a thousand amateurs.<sup>93</sup> Jehangir's intelligent patronage developed the art, and widened its field from portraiture to the representation of hunting scenes and other natural backgrounds for the human figure—which still dominated the picture; one miniature shows the Emperor himself almost in the claws of a lion that has clambered upon the rump of the imperial elephant and is reaching for the royal flesh, while an attendant realistically takes to his heels.<sup>94</sup> Under Shah Jehan the art reached its height, and began to decline; as in the case of Japanese prints, the widened popularity of the form gave it at once a



wider audience and a less exacting taste.\* Aurangzeb, by restoring strict rule of Islam against images, completed the decay.

Through the intelligent beneficence of the Mogul kings Indian painting enjoyed at Delhi a prosperity that they had not known for many centuries. The guild of painters, which had kept itself alive from Buddhist times, renewed its youth, and some of its members escaped from the anonymity with which time's forgetfulness, and Hindu negligence of the individual, cover most Indian art. Out of seventeen artists considered preëminent in Akbar's reign, thirteen were Hindus.\* The most favored of all the painters at the great Mogul's court was Dasvanth, whose lowly origin as the son of a palanquin-bearer aroused no prejudice against him in the eyes of the Emperor. The youth was eccentric, and insisted on drawing pictures wherever he went, and on whatever surface he found at hand. Akbar recognized his genius, and had his own drawing-master teach him. The boy became in time the greatest master of his age; but at the height of his fame he stabbed himself to death."

Wherever men do things, other men will arise who will explain to them how things should be done. The Hindus, whose philosophy did not exalt logic, loved logic none the less, and delighted to formulate in the strictest and most rational rules the subtle procedure of every art. So, early in our era, the *Sandanga*, or "Six Limbs of Indian Painting," laid down, like a later and perhaps imitative Chinese,\* six canons of excellence in pictorial art: (1) the knowledge of appearances; (2) correct perception, measure and structure; (3) the action of feelings on forms; (4) the infusion of grace, or artistic representation; (5) similitude; and (6) an artistic use of brush and colors. Later an elaborate esthetic code appeared, the *Shilpa-shastra*, in which the rules and traditions of each art were formulated for all time. The artist, we are told, should be learned in the *Vedas*, "delighting in the worship of God, faithful to his wife, avoiding strange women, and piously acquiring a knowledge of various sciences."<sup>8</sup>

We shall be helped in understanding Oriental painting if we remember, first, that it seeks to represent not things but feelings, and not to represent but to suggest; that it depends not on color but on line; that it aims to create esthetic and religious emotion rather than to reproduce reality; that it is interested in the "soul" or "spirit" of men and things, rather than in their material forms. Try as we will, however, we shall hardly find in Indian painting the technical development, or range and depth of significance, that characterize the pictorial art of China and Japan. Certain Hindus explain

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\* Hsieh Ho; cf. p. 752 below. The *Sandanga* is of uncertain date, being known to us through a thirteenth-century commentary.

this very fancifully: painting decayed among them, they tell us, because it was too easy, it was not a sufficiently laborious gift to offer to the gods.\* Perhaps pictures, so mortally frail and transitory, did not quite satisfy the craving of the Hindu for some lasting embodiment of his chosen deity. Slowly, as Buddhism reconciled itself to imagery, and the Brahmanic shrines increased and multiplied, painting was replaced by statuary, color and line by lasting stone.

#### IV. SCULPTURE

##### *Primitive—Buddhist—Gandhara—Gupta—“Colonial”—Estimate*

We cannot trace the history of Indian sculpture from the statuettes of Mohenjo-daro to the age of Ashoka, but we may suspect that this is a gap in our knowledge rather than in the art. Perhaps India, temporarily impoverished by the Aryan invasions, reverted from stone to wood for its statuary; or perhaps the Aryans were too intent upon war to care for art. The oldest stone figures surviving in India go back only to Ashoka; but these show a skill so highly developed that we cannot doubt that the art had then behind it many centuries in growth.<sup>40</sup> Buddhism set up definite obstacles to both painting and statuary in its aversion to idolatry and secular imagery: Buddha forbade “imaginative drawings painted in figures of men and women”;<sup>41</sup> and under this almost Mosaic prohibition pictorial and plastic art suffered in India as it had done in Judea and was to do in Islam. Gradually this Puritanism seems to have relaxed as Buddhism yielded its austerity and partook more and more of the Dravidian passion for symbol and myth. When the art of carving appears again (ca. 200 B.C.), in the stone bas-reliefs on the “rails” enclosing the Buddhist “stupas” or burial mounds at Bodh-gaya and Bharhut, it is as a component part of an architectural design rather than as an independent art; and to the end of its history Indian sculpture remained for the most part an accessory to architecture, and preferred relief to carving in the round.\* In the Jain temples at Mathura, and the Buddhist shrines at Amaravati and Ajanta, this art of relief reached a high point of perfection. The rail at Amaravati, says a learned authority, “is the most voluptuous and the most delicate flower of Indian sculpture.”<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile, in the province of Gandhara in northwestern India, another type of sculpture was developing under the patronage of the Kushan kings. This mysterious dynasty, which came suddenly out of the north—probably

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\* An exception outweighing this generalization was the copper colossus of Buddha, eighty feet high, which Yuan Chwang saw at Pataliputra; through Yuan and other Far Eastern pilgrims to India this may have been one ancestor of the great Buddhas at Nara and Kamakura in Japan.

from Hellenized Bactria—brought with it a tendency to imitate Greek forms. The *Mahayana* Buddhism that captured the council of Kanishka opened the way by rescinding the prohibition of imagery. Under the tutelage of Greek instructors Hindu sculpture took on for a time a smooth Hellenistic face; Buddha was transformed into the likeness of Apollo, and became an aspirant to Olympus; drapery began to flow about Hindu deities and saints in the style of Pheidias' pediments, and pious *Bodhisattwas* rubbed elbows with jolly drunken Sileni.<sup>45</sup> Idealized and almost effeminate representations of the Master and his disciples were offset with horrible examples of decadent Greek realism, like the starving Buddha of Lahore, in which every rib and tendon is shown underneath a feminine face with ladylike coiffure and masculine beard.<sup>46</sup> This Greco-Buddhist art impressed Yuan Chwang, and through him and later pilgrims found its way into China, Korea and Japan;<sup>47</sup> but it had little influence upon the sculptural forms and methods of India itself. When, after some centuries of flourishing activity, the Gandhara school passed away, Indian art came to life again under Hindu rulers, took up the traditions left by the native artists of Bharhut, Amaravati and Mathura, and paid scant attention to the Greek interlude at Gandhara.

Sculpture, like nearly everything else in India, prospered under the Gupta line. Buddhism had now forgotten its hostility to images; and a reinvigorated Brahmanism encouraged symbolism and the adornment of religion with every art. The Mathura Museum holds a highly finished stone Buddha, with meditative eyes, sensual lips, too graceful a form, and clumsy Cubist feet. The Sarnath Museum has another stone Buddha, in the seated pose that was destined to dominate Buddhist sculpture; here the effect of peaceful contemplation and a pious kindness is perfectly revealed. At Karachi is a small bronze Brahma, scandalously like Voltaire.<sup>48</sup>

Everywhere in India, in the millennium before the coming of the Moslems, the art of the sculptor, though limited as well as inspired by its subservience to architecture and religion, produced masterpieces. The pretty statue of Vishnu from Sultanpur,<sup>49</sup> the finely chiseled statue of Padmapani,<sup>50</sup> the gigantic three-faced Shiva (commonly called "*Trimurti*") carved in deep relief in the caves at Elephanta,<sup>51</sup> the almost Praxitelean stone statue worshiped at Nokkas as the goddess Rukmini,<sup>52</sup> the graceful dancing Shiva, or *Nataraja*, cast in bronze by the Chola artist-artisans of Tanjore,<sup>53</sup> the lovely stone deer of Mamallapuram,<sup>54</sup> and the handsome Shiva of Perur<sup>55</sup>—these are evidences of the spread of the carver's art into every province of India.

The same motives and methods crossed the frontiers of India proper, and produced masterpieces from Turkestan and Cambodia to Java and Ceylon. The student will find examples in the stone head, apparently of a boy, dug up from the sands of Khotan by Sir Aurel Stein's expedition;<sup>56</sup> the head of

Buddha from Siam;<sup>28</sup> the Egyptianly fine "Harihara" of Cambodia;<sup>29</sup> the magnificent bronzes of Java;<sup>30</sup> the Gandhara-like head of Shiva from Prambanam;<sup>31</sup> the supremely beautiful female figure ("Prajnaparamita") now in the Leyden Museum; the perfect *Bodhisattwa* in the Glyptothek at Copenhagen;<sup>32</sup> the calm and powerful Buddha,<sup>33</sup> and the finely chiseled Avalokiteshvara ("The Lord who looks down with pity upon all men"),<sup>34</sup> both from the great Javanese temple of Borobudur; or the massive primitive Buddha,<sup>35</sup> and the lovely "moonstone" doorstep,<sup>36</sup> of Anuradhapura in Ceylon. This dull list of works that must have cost the blood of many men in many centuries will suggest the influence of Hindu genius on the cultural colonies of India.

We find it hard to like this sculpture at first sight; only profound and modest minds can leave their environment behind them when they travel. We should have to be Hindus, or citizens of those countries that accepted the cultural leadership of India, to understand the symbolism of these statues, the complex functions and superhuman powers denoted by these multiple arms and legs, the terrible realism of these fanciful figures, expressing the Hindu sense of supernatural forces irrationally creative, irrationally fertile and irrationally destructive. It shocks us to find that everybody in Hindu villages is thin, and everybody in Hindu sculpture is fat; we forget that the statues are mostly of gods, who received the first fruits of the land. We are disconcerted on discovering that the Hindus colored their statuary, whereby we reveal our unawareness of the fact that the Greeks did likewise, and that something of the classic nobility of the Pheidian deities is due to the accidental disappearance of their paint. We are displeased at the comparative paucity of female figures in the Indian gallery; we mourn over the subjection of women which this seems to indicate, and never reflect that the cult of the nude female is not the indispensable basis of plastic art, that the profoundest beauty of woman may be more in motherhood than in youth, more in Demeter than in Aphrodite. Or we forget that the sculptor carved not what he dreamed of so much as what the priests laid down; that every art, in India, belonged to religion rather than to art, and was the handmaiden of theology. Or we take too seriously figures intended by the sculptor to be caricatures, or jests, or ogres designed to frighten away evil spirits; if we turn away from them in horror we merely attest the fulfilment of their aim. Nevertheless, the sculpture of India never quite acquired the grace of her literature, or the sublimity of her architecture, or the depth of her philosophy; it mirrored chiefly the confused and uncertain insight of her religions. It excelled the sculpture of China and Japan, but it never equaled the cold perfection of Egyptian statuary, or the living and tempting beauty of Greek marble. To understand even its assumptions we should have to renew in our hearts the earnest and trusting piety of medieval days. In truth we ask too

much of sculpture, as of painting, in India; we judge them as if they had been there, as here, independent arts, when in truth we have artificially isolated them for treatment according to our traditional rubrics and norms. If we could see them as the Hindu knows them, as integrated parts of the unsurpassed architecture of his country, we should have made some modest beginning towards understanding Indian art.

## V. ARCHITECTURE

### 1. *Hindu Architecture*

#### *Before Ashoka — Ashokan — Buddhist — Jain — The masterpieces of the north — Their destruction — The southern style— Monolithic temples — Structural temples*

Nothing remains of Indian architecture before Ashoka's time. We have the brick ruins of Mohenjo-daro, but apparently the buildings of Vedic and Buddhist India were of wood, and Ashoka seems to have been the first to use stone for architectural purposes.<sup>4</sup> We hear, in the literature, of seven-storied structures,<sup>5</sup> and of palaces of some magnificence, but not a trace of them survives. Megasthenes describes the imperial residences of Chandragupta as superior to anything in Persia except Persepolis, on whose model they seem to have been designed.<sup>6</sup> This Persian influence persisted till Ashoka's time; it appears in the ground-plan of his palace, which corresponded with the "Hall of a Hundred Columns" at Persepolis;<sup>7</sup> and it shows again in the fine pillar of Ashoka at Lauriya, crowned with a lion-capital.

With the conversion of Ashoka to Buddhism, Indian architecture began to throw off this alien influence, and to take its inspiration and its symbols from the new religion. The transition is evident in the great capital which is all that now remains of another Ashokan pillar, at Sarnath;<sup>8</sup> here, in a composition of astonishing perfection, ranked by Sir John Marshall as equal to "anything of its kind in the ancient world,"<sup>9</sup> we have four powerful lions, standing back to back on guard, and thoroughly Persian in form and countenance; but beneath them is a frieze of well-carved figures including so Indian a favorite as the elephant, and so Indian a symbol as the Buddhist Wheel of the Law; and under the frieze is a great stone lotus, formerly mistaken for a Persian bell-capital, but now accepted as the most ancient, universal and characteristic of all the symbols in Indian art.<sup>10</sup> Represented upright, with the petals turned down and the pistil or seed-vessel showing, it stood for the womb of the world; or, as one of the fairest of nature's manifestations, it served as the throne of a god. The lotus or water-lily symbol migrated with Buddhism, and permeated the art of China and Japan. A like form, used as

a design for windows and doors, became the "horseshoe arch" of Ashokan vaults and domes, originally derived from the "covered wagon" curvature of Bengali thatched roofs supported by rods of bent bamboo.<sup>72</sup>

The religious architecture of Buddhist days has left us a few ruined temples and a large number of "topes" and "rails." The "tope" or "stupa" was in early days a burial mound; under Buddhism it became a memorial shrine, usually housing the relics of a Buddhist saint. Most often the tope took the form of a dome of brick, crowned with a spire, and surrounded with a stone rail carved with bas-reliefs. One of the oldest topes is at Bharhut; but the reliefs there are primitively coarse. The most ornate of the extant rails is at Amaravati; here 17,000 square feet were covered with minute reliefs of a workmanship so excellent that Fergusson judged this rail to be "probably the most remarkable monument in India."<sup>73</sup> The best known of the *stupas* is the Sanchi tope, one of a group at Bhilsa in Bhopal. The stone gates apparently imitate ancient wooden forms, and anticipate the *pailus* or *torii* that usually mark the approach to the temples of the Far East. Every foot of space on pillars, capitals, crosspieces and supports is cut into a wilderness of plant, animal, human and divine forms. On a pillar of the eastern gateway is a delicate carving of a perennial Buddhist symbol—the Bodhi-tree, scene of the Master's enlightenment; on the same gateway, gracefully spanning a bracket, is a sensuous goddess (a *Yakshi*) with heavy limbs, full hips, slim waist, and abounding breasts.<sup>74</sup>

While the dead saints slept in the topes, the living monks cut into the mountain rocks temples where they might live in isolation, sloth and peace, secure from the elements and from the glare and heat of the sun. We may judge the strength of the religious impulse in India by noting that over twelve hundred of these cave-temples remain of the many thousands that were built in the early centuries of our era, partly for Jains and Brahmans, but mostly for Buddhist communities. Often the entrance of these *viharas* (monasteries) was a simple portal in the form of a "horseshoe" or lotus arch; sometimes, as at Nasik, it was an ornate façade of strong columns, animal capitals, and patiently carved architrave; often it was adorned with pillars, stone screens or porticoes of admirable design.<sup>75</sup> The interior included a *chaitya* or assembly hall, with colonnades dividing *navé* from aisles, cells for the monks on either side, and an altar, bearing relics, at the inner end.\* One of the oldest of these cave-temples, and perhaps the finest now surviving, is at Karle, between Poona and Bombay; here *Hinayana* Buddhism achieved its *chef-d'œuvre*.

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\* The correspondence of this interior with that of Christian churches has suggested a possible influence of Hindu styles upon early Christian architecture.<sup>76</sup>

The caves at Ajanta, besides being the hiding-place of the greatest of Buddhist paintings, rank with Karle as examples of that composite art, half architecture and half sculpture, which characterizes the temples of India. Caves I and II have spacious assembly halls whose ceilings, cut and painted in sober yet elegant designs, are held up by powerful fluted pillars square at the base, round at the top, ornamented with flowery bands, and crowned with majestic capitals;<sup>76</sup> Cave XIX is distinguished by a façade richly decorated with adipose statuary and complex bas-reliefs;<sup>77</sup> in Cave XXVI gigantic columns rise to a frieze crowded with figures which only the greatest religious and artistic zeal could have carved in such detail.<sup>78</sup> Ajanta can hardly be refused the title of one of the major works in the history of art.

Of other Buddhist temples still existing in India the most impressive is the great tower at Bodh-gaya, significant for its thoroughly Gothic arches, and yet dating, apparently, back to the first century A.D.<sup>79</sup> All in all, the remains of Buddhist architecture are fragmentary, and their glory is more sculptural than structural; a lingering Puritanism, perhaps, kept them externally forbidding and bare. The Jains gave a more concentrated devotion to architecture, and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries their temples were the finest in India. They did not create a style of their own, being content to copy at first (as at Elura) the Buddhist plan of excavating temples in the mountain rocks, then the Vishnu or Shiva type of temples rising usually in a walled group upon a hill. These, too, were externally simple, but inwardly complex and rich—a happy symbol of the modest life. Piety placed statue after statue of Jain heroes in these shrines, until in the group at Shatrunjaya Fergusson counted 6449 figures.<sup>80</sup>

The Jain temple at Aihole is built almost in Greek style, with rectangular form, external colonnades, a portico, and a cell or central chamber within.<sup>81</sup> At Khajuraho Jains, Vaishnavites and Shivaites, as if to illustrate Hindu tolerance, built in close proximity some twenty-eight temples; among them the almost perfect Temple of Parshwanath<sup>82</sup> rises in cone upon cone to a majestic height, and shelters on its carved surfaces a veritable city of Jain saints. On Mt. Abu, lifted four thousand feet above the desert, the Jains built many temples, of which two survivors, the temples of Vimala and Tejahpala, are the greatest achievement of this sect in the field of art. The dome of the Tejahpala shrine is one of those overwhelming experiences which doom all writing about art to impotence and futility.<sup>83</sup> The Temple of Vimala, built entirely of white marble, is a maze of irregular pillars, joined with fanciful brackets to a more simple carved entablature; above is a marble dome too opulent in statuary, but carved into a stone lacework of moving magnificence, "finished," says Fergusson, "with a delicacy of detail and appropriateness of ornament which is probably unsurpassed by any similar example to

be found anywhere else. Those introduced by the Gothic architects in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, or at Oxford, are coarse and clumsy in comparison."<sup>18</sup>

In these Jain temples, and their contemporaries, we see the transition from the circular form of the Buddhist shrine to the tower style of medieval India. The nave, or pillar-enclosed interior, of the assembly hall is taken outdoors, and made into a *mandapam* or porch; behind this is the cell; and above the cell rises, in successively receding levels, the carved and complicated tower. It was on this plan that the Hindu temples of the north were built. The most impressive of these is the group at Bhuvaneshwara, in the province of Orissa; and the finest of the group is the Rajarani Temple erected to Vishnu in the eleventh century A.D. It is a gigantic tower formed of juxtaposed semi-circular pillars covered with statuary and surmounted by receding layers of stone, the whole inward-curving tower ending in a great circular crown and a spire. Nearby is the Lingaraja Temple, larger than the Rajarani, but not so beautiful; nevertheless every inch of the surface has felt the sculptor's chisel, so that the cost of the carving has been reckoned at three times the cost of the structure.<sup>19</sup> The Hindu expressed his piety not merely by the imposing grandeur of his temples, but by their patiently worked detail; nothing was too good for the god.

It would be dull to list, without specific description and photographic representation, the other masterpieces of Hindu building in the north. And yet no record of Indian civilization could leave unnoticed the temples of Surya at Kanarak and Mudhera, the tower of Jagannath Puri, the lovely gateway at Vadnagar,<sup>20</sup> the massive temples of Sas-Bahu and Teli-ka-Mandir at Gwalior,<sup>21</sup> the palace of Rajah Man Sing, also at Gwalior,<sup>22</sup> and the Tower of Victory at Chitor.<sup>23</sup> Standing out from the mass are the Shivaite temples at Khajuraho, while in the same city the dome of the porch of the Khanwar Math Temple shows again the masculine strength of Indian architecture, and the richness and patience of Indian carving.<sup>24</sup> Even in its ruins the Temple of Shiva at Elephanta, with its massive fluted columns, its "mushroom" capitals, its unsurpassed reliefs, and its powerful statuary,<sup>25</sup> suggests to us an age of national vigor and artistic skill of which hardly the memory lives today.

We shall never be able to do justice to Indian art, for ignorance and fanaticism have destroyed its greatest achievements, and have half ruined the rest. At Elephanta the Portuguese certified their piety by smashing statuary and bas-reliefs in unrestrained barbarity; and almost everywhere in the north the Moslems brought to the ground those triumphs of Indian architecture, of the fifth and sixth centuries, which tradition ranks as far



superior to the later works that arouse our wonder and admiration today. The Moslems decapitated statues, and tore them limb from limb; they appropriated for their mosques, and in great measure imitated, the graceful pillars of the Jain temples.<sup>m</sup> Time and fanaticism joined in the destruction, for the orthodox Hindus abandoned and neglected temples that had been profaned by the touch of alien hands.<sup>m</sup>

We may guess at the lost grandeur of north Indian architecture by the powerful edifices that still survive in the south, where Moslem rule entered only in minor degree, and after some habituation to India had softened Mohammedan hatred of Hindu ways. Further, the great age of temple architecture in the south came in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after Akbar had tamed the Moslems and taught them some appreciation of Indian art. Consequently the south is rich in temples, usually superior to those that remain standing in the north, and more massive and impressive; Fergusson counted some thirty "Dravidian" or southern temples any one of which, in his estimate, must have cost as much as an English cathedral.<sup>m</sup> The south adapted the styles of the north by prefacing the *mandapam* or porch with a *gopuram* or gate, and supporting the porch with a lavish multiplicity of pillars. It played fondly with a hundred symbols, from the *swastika*,\* emblem of the sun and the wheel of life, through a very menagerie of sacred animals. The snake, through its moulting, symbolized reincarnation; the bull was the enviable paragon of procreative power; the *linga*, or phallus, represented the generative excellence of Shiva, and often determined the form of the temple itself.

Three elements composed the structural plan of these southern temples: the gateway, the pillared porch, and the tower (*vimana*), which contained the main assembly hall or cell. With occasional exceptions like the palace of Tirumala Nayyak at Madura, all this south Indian architecture was ecclesiastical. Men did not bother to build magnificently for themselves, but gave their art to the priests and the gods; no circumstance could better show how spontaneously theocratic was the real government of India. Of the many buildings raised by the Chalukyan kings and their people, nothing remains but temples. Only a Hindu pietist rich in words could describe the lovely symmetry of the shrine at Ittagi, in Hydera-

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\* *Swastika* is a Sanskrit word, from *su*, well, and *asti*, being. This eternally recurring symbol appears among a great variety of peoples, primitive and modern, usually as a sign of well-being or good luck.

bad;“\* or the temple at Somnathpur in Mysore,“ in which gigantic masses of stone are carved with the delicacy of lace; or the Hoyshaleshwara Temple at Halebid,“ also in Mysore—“one of the buildings,” says Fergusson, “on which the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand.” Here, he adds, “the artistic combination of horizontal with vertical lines, and the play of outline and of light and shade, far surpass anything in Gothic art. The effects are just what the medieval architects were often aiming at, but which they never attained so perfectly as was done at Halebid.”“

If we marvel at the laborious piety that could carve eighteen hundred feet of frieze in the Halebid temple, and could portray in them two thousand elephants each different from all the rest,“ what shall we say of the patience and courage that could undertake to cut a complete temple out of the solid rock? But this was a common achievement of the Hindu artisans. At Mamallapuram, on the east coast near Madras, they carved several *rathas* or pagodas, of which the fairest is the *Dharma-raja-ratha*, or monastery for the highest discipline. At Elura, a place of religious pilgrimage in Hyderabad, Buddhists, Jains and orthodox Hindus vied in excavating out of the mountain rock great monolithic temples of which the supreme example is the Hindu shrine of Kailasha<sup>100</sup>—named after Shiva’s mythological paradise in the Himalayas. Here the tireless builders cut a hundred feet down into the stone to isolate the block—250 by 160 feet—that was to be the temple; then they carved the walls into powerful pillars, statues and bas-reliefs; then they chiseled out the interior, and lavished there the most amazing art: let the bold fresco of “The Lovers”<sup>101</sup> serve as a specimen. Finally, their architectural passion still unspent, they carved a series of chapels and monasteries deep into the rock on three sides of the quarry.<sup>102</sup> Some Hindus<sup>103</sup> consider the Kailasha Temple equal to any achievement in the history of art.

Such a structure, however, was a *tour de force*, like the Pyramids, and must have cost the sweat and blood of many men. Either the guilds or the masters never tired, for they scattered through every province of southern India gigantic shrines so numerous that the bewildered student or traveler loses their individual quality in the sum of their number and their power.

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\* Here, says Meadows Taylor, “the carving on some of the pillars, and of the lintels and architraves of the doors, is quite beyond description. No chased work in silver or gold could possibly be finer. By what tools this very hard, tough stone could have been wrought and polished as it is, is not at all intelligible at the present day.”<sup>106</sup>

At Pattadakal Queen Lokamahadevi, one of the wives of the Chalukyan King Vikramaditya II, dedicated to Shiva the Virupaksha Temple, which ranks high among the great fanes of India.<sup>204</sup> At Tanjore, south of Madras, the Chola King Rajaraja the Great, after conquering all southern India and Ceylon, shared his spoils with Shiva by raising to him a stately temple designed to represent the generative symbol of the god.<sup>\*106</sup> Near Trichinopoly, west of Tanjore, the devotees of Vishnu erected on a lofty hill the Shri Rangam Temple, whose distinctive feature was a many-pillared *mandapam* in the form of a "Hall of a Thousand Columns," each column a single block of granite, elaborately carved; the Hindu artisans were yet at work completing the temple when they were scattered, and their labors ended, by the bullets of Frenchmen and Englishmen fighting for the possession of India.<sup>205</sup> Nearby, at Madura, the brothers Muttu and Tirumala Nayyak erected to Shiva a spacious shrine with another Hall of a Thousand Columns, a Sacred Tank, and ten *gopurams* or gateways, of which four rise to a great height and are carved into a wilderness of statuary. These structures form together one of the most impressive sights in India; we may judge from such fragmentary survivals the rich and spacious architecture of the Vijayanagar kings. Finally, at Rameshvaram, amid the archipelago of isles that pave "Adam's Bridge" from India to Ceylon, the Brahmans of the south reared through five centuries (1200-1769 A.D.) a temple whose perimeter was graced with the most imposing of all corridors or porticoes—four thousand feet of double colonnades, exquisitely carved, and designed to give cool shade, and inspiring vistas of sun and sea, to the millions of pilgrims who to this day find their way from distant cities to lay their hopes and griefs upon the knees of the careless gods.

## 2. "Colonial" Architecture

### *Ceylon—Java—Cambodia—The Khmers—Their religion—Angkor —Fall of the Khmers—Siam—Burma*

Meanwhile Indian art had accompanied Indian religion across straits and frontiers into Ceylon, Java, Cambodia, Siam, Burma, Tibet, Khotan, Turkestan, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan; "in Asia all roads lead

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\* The summit of the temple is a single block of stone twenty-five feet square, and weighing some eighty tons. According to Hindu tradition it was raised into place by being drawn up an incline four miles long. Forced labor was probably employed in such works, instead of "man-enslaving" machinery.

from India."<sup>107</sup> Hindus from the Ganges valley settled Ceylon in the fifth century before Christ; Ashoka, two hundred years later, sent a son and a daughter to convert the population to Buddhism; and though the teeming island had to fight for fifteen centuries against Tamil invasions, it maintained a rich culture until it was taken over by the British in 1815.

Singhalese art began with *dagobas*—domed relic shrines like the *stupas* of the Buddhist north; it passed to great temples like that whose ruins mark the ancient capital, Anuradhapura; it produced some of the finest of the Buddha statues,<sup>108</sup> and a great variety of *objets d'art*; and it came to an end, for the time being, when the last great king of Ceylon, Kirti Shri Raja Singha, built the "Temple of the Tooth" at Kandy. The loss of independence has brought decadence to the upper classes, and the patronage and taste that provide a necessary stimulus and restraint for the artist have disappeared from Ceylon.<sup>109</sup>

Strange to say, the greatest of Buddhist temples—some students would call it the greatest of all temples anywhere<sup>110</sup>—is not in India but in Java. In the eighth century the Shailendra dynasty of Sumatra conquered Java, established Buddhism as the official religion, and financed the building of the massive fane of Borobudur (i.e., "Many Buddhas").<sup>111</sup> The temple proper is of moderate size, and of peculiar design—a small domical *stupa* surrounded by seventy-two smaller topes arranged about it in concentric circles. If this were all, Borobudur would be nothing; what constitutes the grandeur of the structure is the pedestal, four hundred feet square, an immense *mastaba* in seven receding stages. At every turn there are niches for statuary; 436 times the sculptors of Borobudur thought fit to carve the figure of Buddha. Still discontent, they cut into the walls of the stages three miles of bas-reliefs, depicting the legendary birth, youth and enlightenment of the Master, and with such skill that these reliefs are among the finest in Asia.<sup>112</sup> With this powerful Buddhist shrine, and the Brahmanical temples nearby at Prambanam, Javanese architecture reached its zenith, and quickly decayed. The island became for a time a maritime power, rose to wealth and luxury, and supported many poets. But in 1479 the Moslems began to people this tropical Paradise, and from that time it produced no art of consequence. The Dutch pounced upon it in 1595, and consumed it, province by province during the following century, until their control was complete.

Only one Hindu temple surpasses that of Borobudur, and it, too, is far from India—lost, indeed, in a distant jungle that covered it for cen-

tures. In 1858 a French explorer, picking his way through the upper valley of the Mekong River, caught a glimpse, through trees and brush, of a sight that seemed to him miraculous: an enormous temple, incredibly majestic in design, stood amid the forest, intertwined and almost covered with shrubbery and foliage. That day he saw many temples, some of them already overgrown or split apart by trees; it seemed that he had arrived just in time to forestall the triumph of the wilderness over these works of men. Other Europeans had to come and corroborate his tale before Henri Mouhot was believed; then scientific expeditions descended upon the once silent retreat, and a whole school at Paris (*L'École de l'Extrême Orient*) devoted itself to charting and studying the find. Today Angkor Wat is one of the wonders of the world.\*

At the beginning of the Christian era Indo-China, or Cambodia, was inhabited by a people essentially Chinese, partly Tibetan, called Kham-bujas or Khmers. When Kublai Khan's ambassador, Tcheou-ta-Kouan, visited the Khmer capital, Angkor Thom, he found a strong government ruling a nation that had drawn wealth out of its rice-paddies and its sweat. The king, Tcheou reported, had five wives: "one special, and four others for the cardinal points of the compass," with some four thousand concubines for more precise readings.<sup>124</sup> Gold and jewelry abounded; pleasure-boats dotted the lake; the streets of the capital were filled with chariots, curtained palanquins, elephants in rich caparison, and a population of almost a million souls. Hospitals were attached to the temples, and each had its corps of nurses and physicians.<sup>125</sup>

Though the people were Chinese, their culture was Hindu. Their religion was based upon a primitive worship of the serpent, Naga, whose fanlike head appears everywhere in Cambodian art; then the great gods of the Hindu triad—Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva—entered through Burma; almost at the same time Buddha came, and was joined with Vishnu and Shiva as a favorite divinity of the Khmers. Inscriptions tell of the enormous quantity of rice, butter and rare oils contributed daily by the people to the ministrants of the gods.<sup>126</sup>

To Shiva the Khmers, toward the end of the ninth century, dedicated the oldest of their surviving temples—the Bayon, now a forbidding ruin half overgrown with tenacious vegetation. The stones, laid without

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\* In 1604 a Portuguese missionary told of hunters reporting some ruins in the jungle, and another priest made a similar report in 1672; but no attention was paid to these statements.<sup>128</sup>

cement, have drawn apart in the course of a thousand years, stretching into ungodly grins the great faces of Brahma and Shiva which almost constitute the towers. Three centuries later the slaves and war-captives of the kings built Angkor Wat,<sup>37</sup> a masterpiece equal to the finest architectural achievements of the Egyptians, the Greeks, or the cathedral-builders of Europe. An enormous moat, twelve miles in length, surrounds the temple; over the moat runs a paved bridge guarded by dissuasive Nagas in stone; then an ornate enclosing wall; then spacious galleries, whose reliefs tell again the tales of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*; then the stately edifice itself, rising upon a broad base, by level after level of a terraced pyramid, to the sanctuary of the god, two hundred feet high. Here magnitude does not detract from beauty, but helps it to an imposing magnificence that startles the Western mind into some weak realization of the ancient grandeur once possessed by Oriental civilization. One sees in imagination the crowded population of the capital: the regimented slaves cutting, pulling and raising the heavy stones; the artisans carving reliefs and statuary as if time would never fail them; the priests deceiving and consoling the people; the *devadasis* (still pictured on the granite) deceiving the people and consoling the priests; the lordly aristocracy building palaces like the Phinean-Akas, with its spacious Terrace of Honor; and, raised above all by the labor of all, the powerful and ruthless kings.

The kings, needing many slaves, waged many wars. Often they won; but near the close of the thirteenth century—"in the middle of the way" of Dante's life—the armies of Siam defeated the Khmers, sacked their cities, and left their resplendent temples and palaces in ruins. Today a few tourists prowl among the loosened stones, and observe how patiently the trees have sunk their roots or insinuated their branches into the crevices of the rocks, slowly tearing them apart because stones cannot desire and grow. Tcheou-ta-Kouan speaks of the many books that were written by the people of Angkor, but not a page of this literature remains; like ourselves they wrote perishable thoughts upon perishable tissue, and all their immortals are dead. The marvelous reliefs show men and women wearing veils and nets to guard against mosquitoes and slimy, crawling things. The men and women are gone, surviving only on the stones. The mosquitoes and the lizards remain.

Nearby, in Siam, a people half Tibetan and half Chinese had gradually expelled the conquering Khmers, and had developed a civilization based upon

Hindu religion and art. After overcoming Cambodia the Siamese built a new capital, Ayuthia, on the site of an ancient city of the Khmers. From this seat they extended their sway until, about 1600, their empire included southern Burma, Cambodia, and the Malay Peninsula. Their trade reached to China on the east and to Europe on the west. Their artists made illuminated manuscripts, painted with lacquer on wood, fired porcelain in the Chinese style, embroidered beautiful silks, and occasionally carved statues of unique excellence.\* Then, in the impartial rhythm of history, the Burmese captured Ayuthia, and destroyed it with all its art. In their new capital at Bangkok the Siamese built a great pagoda, whose excess of ornament cannot quite conceal the beauty of its design.

The Burmese were among the greatest builders in Asia. Coming down into these fertile fields from Mongolia and Tibet, they fell under Hindu influences, and from the fifth century onward produced an abundance of Buddhist, Vaishnavite and Shivaite statuary, and great *stupas* that culminated in the majestic temple of Ananda—one of the five thousand pagodas of their ancient capital, Pagan. Pagan was sacked by Kublai Khan, and for five hundred years the Burmese government vacillated from capital to capital. For a time Mandalay flourished as the center of Burma's life, and the home of artists who achieved beauty in many fields from embroidery and jewelry to the royal palace—which showed what they could do in the frail medium of wood.<sup>m</sup> The English, displeased with the treatment of their missionaries and their merchants, adopted Burma in 1886, and moved the capital to Rangoon, a city amenable to the disciplinary influence of the Imperial Navy. There the Burmese had built one of their finest shrines, the famous Shwe Dagon, that Golden Pagoda which draws to its spire millions upon millions of Burmese Buddhist pilgrims every year. For does not this temple contain the very hairs of Shakya-muni's head?

### 3. Moslem Architecture in India

#### *The Afghan style — The Mogul style — Delhi—Agra — The Taj Mahal*

The final triumph of Indian architecture came under the Moguls. The followers of Mohammed had proved themselves master builders wherever they had carried their arms—at Granada, at Cairo, at Jerusalem, at Baghdad; it was to be expected that this vigorous stock, after establishing itself securely in India, would raise upon the conquered soil mosques

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\* E.g., the lacquered stone Buddha in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.



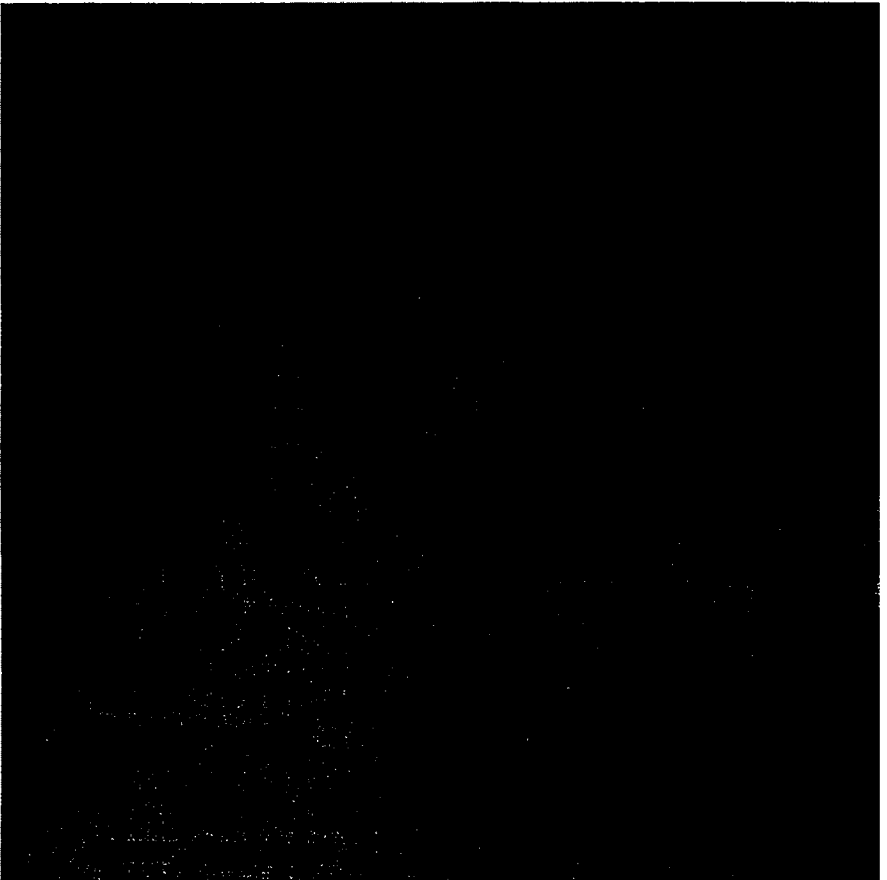
FIG. 61.—*Northeast end of Angkor Wat, Indo-China*  
Publishers' Photo Service





FIG. 62—*Rabindranath  
Tagore*  
Underwood & Underwood

FIG. 63—*Ananda Palace*  
*Pagan, Burma*  
Underwood & Underwood



as resplendent as Omar's at Jerusalem, as massive as Hassan's at Cairo, and as delicate as the Alhambra. It is true that the "Afghan" dynasty used Hindu artisans, copied Hindu themes, and even appropriated the pillars of Hindu temples, for their architectural purposes, and that many mosques were merely Hindu temples rebuilt for Moslem prayer;<sup>100</sup> but this natural imitation passed quickly into a style so typically Moorish that one is surprised to find the Taj Mahal in India rather than in Persia, North Africa or Spain.

The beautiful Kutb-Minar\* exemplifies the transition. It was part of a mosque begun at Old Delhi by Kutbu-d Din Aibak; it commemorated the victories of that bloody Sultan over the Hindus, and twenty-seven Hindu temples were dismembered to provide material for the mosque and the tower.<sup>101</sup> After withstanding the elements for seven centuries the great minaret—250 feet high, built of fine red sandstone, perfectly proportioned, and crowned on its topmost stages with white marble—is still one of the masterpieces of Indian technology and art. In general the Sultans of Delhi were too busy with killing to have much time for architecture, and such buildings as they have left us are mostly the tombs that they raised during their own lifetime as reminders that even they would die. The best example of these is the mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasseram, in Bihar;<sup>102</sup> gigantic, solid, masculine, it was the last stage of the more virile Moorish manner before it softened into the architectural jewelry of the Mogul kings.

The tendency to unite the Mohammedan and the Hindu styles was fostered by the eclectic impartiality of Akbar; and the masterpieces that his artisans built for him wove Indian and Persian methods and *motifs* into an exquisite harmony symbolizing the frail merger of native and Moslem creeds in Akbar's synthetic faith. The first monument of his reign, the tomb erected by him near Delhi for his father Humayun, is already in a style of its own—simple in line, moderate in decoration, but foreshadowing in its grace the fairer edifices of Shah Jehan. At Fathpur-Sikri his artists built a city in which all the strength of the early Moguls merged with the refinement of the later emperors. A flight of steps leads up to an imposing portal in red sandstone, through whose lordly arch one passes into an enclosure filled with *chef-d'œuvres*. The

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\* I.e., minaret, from the Arabic *manarat*, a lamp or lighthouse.

major building is a mosque, but the loveliest of the structures are the three pavilions for the Emperor's favorite wives, and the marble tomb of his friend, Salim Chisti the sage; here the artists of India began to show that skill in embroidering stone which was to culminate in the screen of the Taj Mahal.

Jehangir contributed little to the architectural history of his people, but his son Shah Jehan made his name almost as bright as Akbar's by his passion for beautiful building. He scattered money as lavishly among his artists as Jehangir had scattered it among his wives. Like the kings of northern Europe, he imported the surplus artists of Italy, and had them instruct his own carvers in that art of *pietra dura* (i.e., of inlaying marble with a mosaic of precious stones) which became one of the characteristic elements of Indian adornment during his reign. Jehan was not a very religious soul, but two of the fairest mosques in India rose under his patronage: the Juma Masjid—or Friday Mosque—at Delhi, and the Moti Masjid—or Pearl Mosque—at Agra.

Both at Delhi and at Agra Jehan built "forts"—i.e., groups of royal edifices surrounded by a protective wall. At Delhi he tore down with superior disdain the pink palaces of Akbar, and replaced them with structures which at their worst are a kind of marble confectionery, and at their best are the purest architectural beauty on the globe. Here is the luxurious Hall of Public Audience, with panels of Florentine mosaic on a black marble ground, and with ceilings, columns and arches carved into stone lacery of frail but incredible beauty. Here, too, is the Hall of Private Audience, whose ceiling is of silver and gold, whose columns are of filigree marble, whose arches are a pointed semicircle composed of smaller flowerlike semicircles, whose Peacock Throne became a legend for the world, and whose wall still bears in precious inlay the proud words of the Moslem poet: "If anywhere on earth there is a Paradise, it is here, it is here, it is here." We gather again some faint conception of "the riches of the Indies" in Mogul days when we find the greatest of the historians of architecture describing the royal residence at Delhi as covering twice the area of the vast Escorial near Madrid, and forming at that time, and in its *ensemble*, "the most magnificent palace in the East—perhaps in the world."<sup>128</sup>

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\* The Delhi Fort originally contained fifty-two palaces, but only twenty-seven remain. A harassed British garrison took refuge there in the Sepoy Mutiny, and razed several of the palaces to make room for their stores. Much looting occurred.

The Fort at Agra is in ruins,\* and we can only guess at its original magnificence. Here, amid many gardens, were the Pearl Mosque, the Gem Mosque, the halls of Public and Private Audience, the Throne Palace, the King's Baths, the Hall of Mirrors, the palaces of Jehangir and of Shah Jehan, the Jasmine Palace of Nur Jehan, and that Jasmine Tower from which the captive emperor, Shah Jehan, looked over the Jumna upon the tomb that he had built for his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal.

All the world knows that tomb by her shortened name as the Taj Mahal. Many an architect has rated it as the most perfect of all buildings standing on the earth today. Three artists designed it: a Persian, Ustad Isa; an Italian, Gieronimo Veroneo; and a Frenchman, Austin de Bordeaux. No Hindu seems to have shared in its conception; it is utterly un-Hindu, completely Mohammedan; even the skilled artisans were, in part, brought in from Baghdad, Constantinople, and other centers of the Moslem faith.<sup>128</sup> For twenty-two years twenty-two thousand workmen were forced to labor upon the Taj; and though the Maharaja of Jaipur sent the marble as a gift to Shah Jehan, the building and its surroundings cost \$230,000,000—then an enormous sum.<sup>129</sup>†

Only St. Peter's has so fitting an approach. Passing through a high battlemented wall, one comes suddenly upon the Taj—raised upon a marble platform, and framed on either side by handsome mosques and stately minarets. In the foreground spacious gardens enclose a pool in whose waters the inverted palace becomes a quivering fascination. Every portion of the structure is of white marble, precious metals, or costly stones. The building is a complex figure of twelve sides, four of which are portals; a slender minaret rises at each corner, and the roof is a massive spired dome. The main entrance, once guarded with solid silver gates, is a maze of marble embroidery; inlaid in the wall in jeweled script are quotations from the *Koran*, one of which invites the "pure in heart" to enter "the gardens of Paradise." The interior is simple; and perhaps it is

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\* It was a sad error of Shah Jehan's to make a fortress of these lovely palaces. When the British besieged Agra (1803) they inevitably turned their guns upon the Fort. Seeing the cannon-balls strike the Khass Mahal, or Hall of Private Audience, the Hindus surrendered, thinking beauty more precious than victory. A little later Warren Hastings tore up the bath of the palace to present it to George IV; and other portions of the structure were sold by Lord William Bentinck to help the revenues of India.<sup>128</sup>

† Lord William Bentinck, one of the kindest of the British governors of India, once thought of selling the Taj for \$150,000 to a Hindu contractor, who believed that better use could be made of the material.<sup>129</sup> Since Lord Curzon's administration the British Government of India has taken excellent care of these Mogul monuments.

just as well that native and European thieves coöperated in despoiling the tomb of its superabundant jewels, and of the golden railing, encrusted with precious stones, that once enclosed the sarcophagi of Jehan and his Queen. For Aurangzeb replaced the railing with an octagonal screen of almost transparent marble, carved into a miracle of alabaster lace; and it has seemed to some visitors that of all the minor and partial products of human art nothing has ever surpassed the beauty of this screen.

It is not the most sublime of all edifices, it is only the most beautiful. At any distance that hides its delicate details it is not imposing, but merely pleasing; only a nearer view reveals that its perfection has no proportion to its size. When in our hurried time we see enormous structures of a hundred stories raised in a year or two, and then consider how twenty-two thousand men toiled for twenty-two years on this little tomb, hardly a hundred feet high, we begin to sense the difference between industry and art. Perhaps the act of will involved in conceiving a building like the Taj Mahal was greater and profounder than the act of will of the greatest conqueror. If time were intelligent it would destroy everything else before the Taj, and would leave this evidence of man's alloyed nobility as the last man's consolation.

#### *4. Indian Architecture and Civilization*

##### *Decay of Indian art—Hindu and Moslem architecture compared —General view of Indian civilization*

Despite the screen, Aurangzeb was a misfortune for Mogul and Indian art. Dedicated fanatically to an exclusive religion, he saw in art nothing but idolatry and vanity. Already Shah Jehan had prohibited the erection of Hindu temples;<sup>37</sup> Aurangzeb not only continued the ban, but gave so economical a support to Moslem building that it, too, languished under his reign. Indian art followed him to the grave.

When we think of Indian architecture in summary and retrospect we find in it two themes, masculine and feminine, Hindu and Mohammedan, about which the structural symphony revolves. As, in the most famous of symphonies, the startling hammer-strokes of the opening bars are shortly followed by a strain of infinite delicacy, so in Indian architecture the overpowering monuments of the Hindu genius at Bodh-Gaya, Bhuvaneshwara, Madura and Tanjore are followed by the grace and melody of the Mogul style at Fathpur-Sikri, Delhi and Agra; and the two themes mingle in a

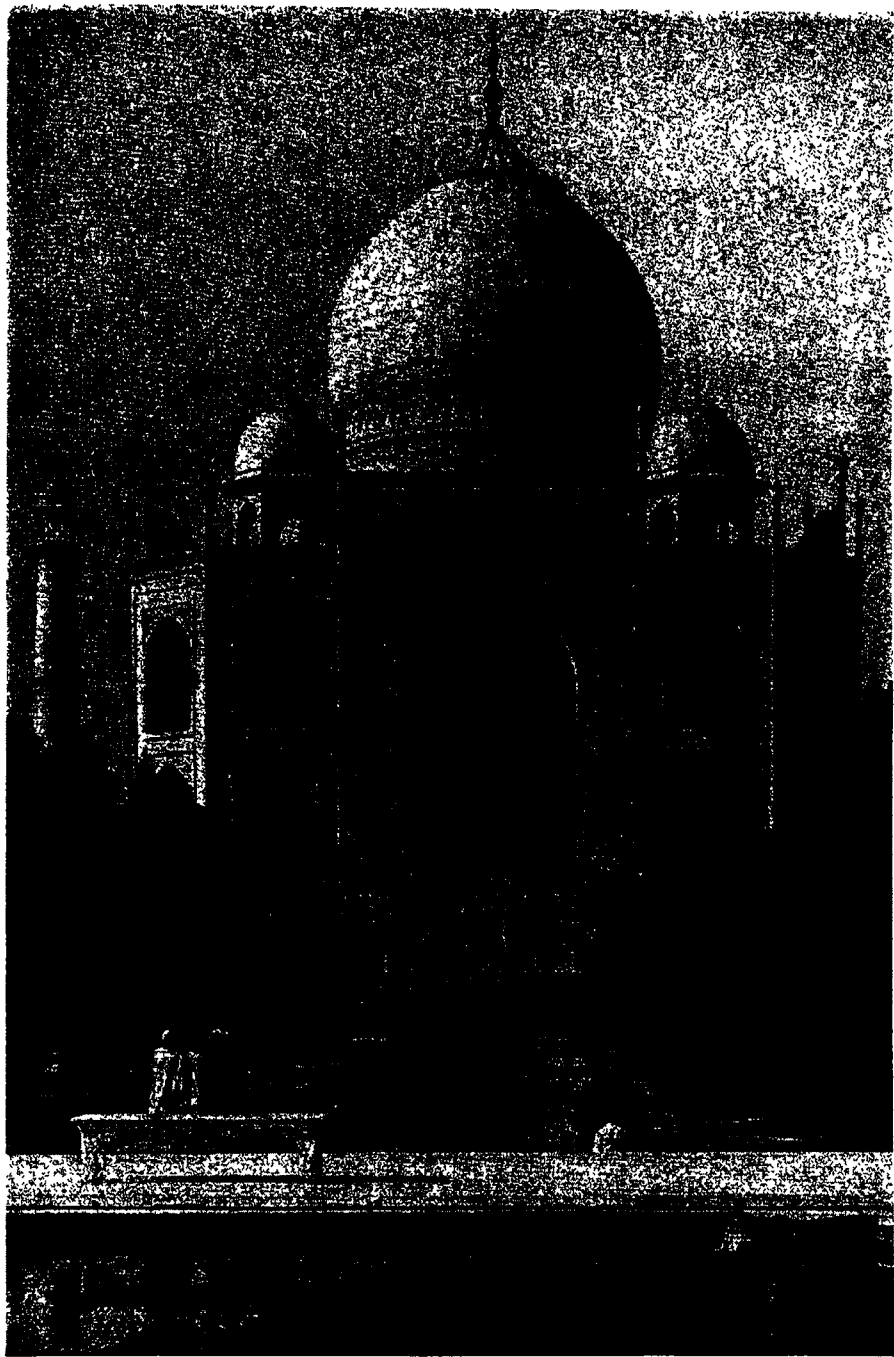


FIG. 64—*The Taj Mahal, Agra*  
Ewing Galloway, N. Y.



confused elaboration to the end. It was said of the Moguls that they built like giants and finished like jewelers; but this epigram might better have been applied to Indian architecture in general: the Hindus built like giants, and the Moguls ended like jewelers. Hindu architecture impresses us in its mass, Moorish architecture in its detail; the first had the sublimity of strength, the other had the perfection of beauty; the Hindus had passion and fertility, the Moors had taste and self-restraint. The Hindu covered his buildings with such exuberant statuary that one hesitates whether to class them as building or as sculpture; the Mohammedan abominated images, and confined himself to floral or geometrical decoration. The Hindus were the Gothic sculptor-architects of India's Middle Ages; the Moslems were the expatriated artists of the exotic Renaissance. All in all, the Hindu style reached greater heights, in proportion as sublimity excels loveliness; on second thought we perceive that Delhi Fort and the Taj Mahal, beside Angkor and Borobudur, are beautiful lyrics beside profound dramas—Petrarch beside Dante, Keats beside Shakespeare, Sappho beside Sophocles. One art is the graceful and partial expression of fortunate individuals, the other is the complete and powerful expression of a race.

Hence this little survey must conclude as it began, by confessing that none but a Hindu can quite appreciate the art of India, or write about it forgivably. To a European brought up on Greek and aristocratic canons of moderation and simplicity, this popular art of profuse ornament and wild complexity will seem at times almost primitive and barbarous. But that last word is the very adjective with which the classically-minded Goethe rejected Strasbourg's cathedral and the Gothic style; it is the reaction of reason to feeling, of rationalism to religion. Only a native believer can feel the majesty of the Hindu temples, for these were built to give not merely a form to beauty but a stimulus to piety and a pedestal to faith. Only our Middle Ages—only our Giotto's and our Dantes—could understand India.

It is in these terms that we must view all Indian civilization—as the expression of a "medieval" people to whom religion is profounder than science, if only because religion accepts at the outset the eternity of human ignorance and the vanity of human power. In this piety lie the weakness and the strength of the Hindu: his superstition and his gentleness, his introversion and his insight, his backwardness and his depth, his weakness in war and his achievement in art. Doubtless his climate affected his religion, and coöperated with it to enfeeble him; therefore he yielded



with fatalistic resignation to the Aryans, the Huns, the Moslems and the Europeans. History punished him for neglecting science; and when Clive's superior cannon slaughtered the native army at Plassey (1757), their roar announced the Industrial Revolution. In our time that Revolution will have its way with India, as it has written its will and character upon England, America, Germany, Russia and Japan; India, too, will have her capitalism and her socialism, her millionaires and her slums. The old civilization of India is finished. It began to die when the British came.

# A Christian Epilogue

## I. THE JOLLY BUCCANEERS

### *The arrival of the Europeans—The British Conquest—The Sepoy Mutiny—Advantages and disadvantages of British rule*

IN many ways that civilization was already dead when Clive and Hastings discovered the riches of India. The long and disruptive reign of Aurangzeb, and the chaos and internal wars that followed it, left India ripe for reconquest; and the only question open to "manifest destiny" was as to which of the modernized powers of Europe should become its instrument. The French tried, and failed; they lost India, as well as Canada, at Rossbach and Waterloo. The English tried, and succeeded.

In 1498 Vasco da Gama, after a voyage of eleven months from Lisbon, anchored off Calicut. He was well received by the Hindu Raja of Malabar, who gave him a courteous letter to the King of Portugal: "Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of your household, has visited my kingdom, and has given me great pleasure. In my kingdom there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, pepper, and precious stones. What I seek from your country is gold, silver, coral and scarlet." His Christian majesty answered by claiming India as a Portuguese colony, for reasons which the Raja was too backward to understand. To make matters clearer, Portugal sent a fleet to India, with instructions to spread Christianity and wage war. In the seventeenth century the Dutch arrived, and drove out the Portuguese; in the eighteenth the French and English came, and drove out the Dutch. Savage ordeals of battle decided which of them should civilize and tax the Hindus.

The East India Company had been founded in London in 1600 to buy cheap in India, and sell dear in Europe, the products of India and the East Indies.\* As early as 1686 it announced its intention "to establish a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come."<sup>1</sup> It set up trading-posts at Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, fortified

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\* Goods bought for \$2,000,000 in India were sold for \$10,000,000 in England.<sup>1</sup> The stock of the Company rose to \$32,000 a share.<sup>2</sup>

them, imported troops, fought battles, gave and took bribes, and exercised other functions of government. Clive gayly accepted "presents" amounting to \$170,000 from Hindu rulers dependent upon his guns; pocketed from them, in addition, an annual tribute of \$140,000; appointed Mir Jafar ruler of Bengal for \$6,000,000; played one native prince against another, and gradually annexed their territories as the property of the East India Company; took to opium, was investigated and exonerated by Parliament, and killed himself (1774).<sup>4</sup> Warren Hastings, a man of courage, learning and ability, exacted contributions as high as a quarter of a million dollars from native princes to the coffers of the Company; accepted bribes to exact no more, exacted more, and annexed the states that could not pay; he occupied Oudh with his army, and sold the province to a prince for \$2,500,000<sup>5</sup>—conqueror and conquered rivaled each other in venality. Such parts of India as were under the Company were subjected to a land tax of fifty per cent of the produce, and to other requisitions so numerous and severe that two-thirds of the population fled, while others sold their children to meet the rising rates.<sup>6</sup> "Enormous fortunes," says Macaulay, "were rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never under tyranny like this."<sup>7</sup>

By 1857 the crimes of the Company had so impoverished northeastern India that the natives broke out in desperate revolt. The British Government stepped in, suppressed the "mutiny," took over the captured territories as a colony of the Crown, paid the Company handsomely, and added the purchase price to the public debt of India.<sup>8</sup> It was plain, blunt conquest, not to be judged, perhaps, by Commandments recited west of Suez, but to be understood in terms of Darwin and Nietzsche: a people that has lost the ability to govern itself, or to develop its natural resources, inevitably falls a prey to nations suffering from strength and greed.

The conquest brought certain advantages to India. Men like Bentinck, Canning, Munro, Elphinstone and Macaulay carried into the administration of the British provinces something of the generous liberalism that controlled England in 1832. Lord William Bentinck, with the aid and stimulus of native reformers like Ram Mohun Roy, put an end to suttee and thuggery. The English, after fighting 111 wars in India, with Indian money and troops,<sup>9</sup> to complete the conquest of India, established peace

throughout the peninsula, built railways, factories and schools, opened universities at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lahore and Allahabad, brought the science and technology of England to India, inspired the East with the democratic ideals of the West, and played an important part in revealing to the world the cultural wealth of India's past. The price of these benefactions was a financial despotism by which a race of transient rulers drained India's wealth year by year as they returned to the reinvigorating north; an economic despotism that ruined India's industries, and threw her millions of artisans back upon an inadequate soil; and a political despotism that, coming so soon after the narrow tyranny of Aurangzeb, broke for a century the spirit of the Indian people.

## II. LATTER-DAY SAINTS

### *Christianity in India—The "Brahma-Somaḥ"—Mohammedanism— Ramakrishna—Vivekananda*

It was natural and characteristic that under these conditions India should seek consolation in religion. For a time she gave a cordial welcome to Christianity; she found in it many ethical ideals that she had honored for thousands of years; and "before the character and behavior of Europeans," says the blunt Abbé Dubois, "became well known to these people, it seemed possible that Christianity might take root among them."<sup>120</sup> Throughout the nineteenth century harassed missionaries tried to make the voice of Christ audible above the roar of the conquering cannon; they erected and equipped schools and hospitals, dispensed medicine and charity as well as theology, and brought to the Untouchables the first recognition of their humanity. But the contrast between Christian precept and the practice of Christians left the Hindus sceptical and satirical. They pointed out that the raising of Lazarus from the dead was unworthy of remark; their own religion had many more interesting and astonishing miracles than this; and any true *Yogi* could perform miracles today, while those of Christianity were apparently finished.<sup>121</sup> The Brahmans held their ground proudly, and offered against the orthodoxies of the West a system of thought quite as subtle, profound, and incredible. "The progress of Christianity in India," says Sir Charles Eliot, "has been insignificant."<sup>122</sup>

Nevertheless, the fascinating figure of Christ has had far more influence in India than may be measured by the fact that Christianity has converted six per cent of the population in three hundred years. The first signs of

that influence appear in the *Bhagavad-Gita*;<sup>13</sup> the latest are evident in Gandhi and Tagore. The clearest instance is in the reform organization known as the *Brahma-Somaj*,\* founded in 1828 by Ram Mohun Roy. No one could have approached the study of religion more conscientiously. Roy learned Sanskrit to read the *Vedas*, Pali to read the *Tripitaka* of Buddhism, Persian and Arabic to study Mohammedanism and the *Koran*, Hebrew to master the Old Testament and Greek to understand the New.<sup>14</sup> Then he took up English, and wrote it with such ease and grace that Jeremy Bentham wished that James Mill might profit from the example. In 1820 Roy published his *Precepts of Jesus: a Guide to Peace and Happiness*, and announced: "I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any other which have come to my knowledge."<sup>15</sup> He proposed to his scandalized countrymen a new religion, which should abandon polytheism, polygamy, caste, child marriage, suttee and idolatry, and should worship one god—*Brahman*. Like Akbar he dreamed that all India might be united in so simple a faith; and like Akbar he underestimated the popularity of superstition. The *Brahma-Somaj*, after a hundred years of useful struggle, is now an extinct force in Indian life.†

The Moslems are the most powerful and interesting of the religious minorities of India; but the study of their religion belongs to a later volume. It is not astonishing that Mohammedanism, despite the zealous aid of Aurangzeb, failed to win India to Islam; the miracle is that Mohammedanism in India did not succumb to Hinduism. The survival of this simple and masculine monotheism amid a jungle of polytheism attests the virility of the Moslem mind; we need only recall the absorption of Buddhism by Brahmanism to realize the vigor of this resistance, and the measure of this achievement. Allah now has some 70,000,000 worshipers in India.

The Hindu has found little comfort in any alien faith; and the figures that have most inspired his religious consciousness in the nineteenth cen-

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\* Literally, the "Brahma Society"; known more fully as "The Society of the Believers in *Brahman*, the Supreme Spirit."

† It has today some 5,500 adherents.<sup>16</sup> Another reform organization, the *Arya-Somaj* (Aryan Society), founded by Swami Dyananda, and brilliantly carried forward by the late Lala Lajpat Rai, denounced caste, polytheism, superstition, idolatry and Christianity, and urged a return to the simpler religion of the *Vedas*. Its followers now number half a million.<sup>17</sup> A reverse influence, of Hinduism upon Christianity, appears in Theosophy—a mixture of Hindu mysticism and Christian morality, developed in India by two exotic women: Mme. Helena Blavatsky (1878) and Mrs. Annie Besant (1893).

ture were those that rooted their doctrine and practice in the ancient creeds of the people. Ramakrishna, a poor Brahman of Bengal, became for a time a Christian, and felt the lure of Christ;\* he became at another time a Moslem, and joined in the austere ritual of Mohammedan prayer; but soon his pious heart brought him back to Hinduism, even to the terrible Kali whose priest he became, and whom he transformed into a Mother-Goddess overflowing with tenderness and affection. He rejected the ways of the intellect, and preached *Bhakti-yoga*—the discipline and union of love. “The knowledge of God,” he said, “may be likened to a man, while love of God is like a woman. Knowledge has entry only to the outer rooms of God, and no one can enter into the inner mysteries of God save a lover.”<sup>128</sup> Unlike Ram Mohun Roy, Ramakrishna took no trouble to educate himself; he learned no Sanskrit and no English; he wrote nothing, and shunned intellectual discourse. When a pompous logician asked him, “What are knowledge, knower, and the object known?” he answered, “Good man, I do not know all these niceties of scholastic learning. I know only my Mother Divine, and that I am her son.”<sup>129</sup> All religions are good, he taught his followers; each is a way to God, or a stage on the way, adapted to the mind and heart of the seeker. To be converted from one religion to another is foolishness; one need only continue on his own way, and reach to the essence of his own faith. “All rivers flow to the ocean. Flow, and let others flow, too!”<sup>130</sup> He tolerated sympathetically the polytheism of the people, and accepted humbly the monism of the philosophers; but in his own living faith God was a spirit incarnated in all men, and the only true worship of God was the loving service of mankind.

Many fine souls, rich and poor, Brahman and Pariah, chose him as *Guru*, and formed an order and mission in his name. The most vivid of these followers was a proud young Kshatriya, Narendranath Dutt, who, full of Spencer and Darwin, first presented himself to Ramakrishna as an atheist unhappy in his atheism, but scornful of the myths and superstitions with which he identified religion. Conquered by Ramakrishna’s patient kindness, “Naren” became the young Master’s most ardent disciple; he redefined God as “the totality of all souls,”<sup>131</sup> and called upon his fellow men to practise religion not through vain asceticism and meditation, but through absolute devotion to men.

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\* To the end of his life he accepted the divinity of Christ, but insisted that Buddha, Krishna and others were also incarnations of the one God. He himself, he assured Vivekananda, was a reincarnation of Rama and Krishna.<sup>128</sup>

Leave to the next life the reading of the *Vedanta*, and the practice of meditation. Let this body which is here be put at the service of others! . . . The highest truth is this: God is present in all beings. They are His multiple forms. There is no other God to seek. He alone serves God who serves all other beings!<sup>28</sup>

Changing his name to Vivekananda, he left India to seek funds abroad for the Ramakrishna Mission. In 1893 he found himself lost and penniless in Chicago. A day later he appeared in the Parliament of Religions at the World's Fair, addressed the meeting as a representative of Hinduism, and captured everyone by his magnificent presence, his gospel of the unity of all religions, and his simple ethics of human service as the best worship of God; atheism became a noble religion under the inspiration of his eloquence, and orthodox clergymen found themselves honoring a "heathen" who said that there was no other God than the souls of living things. Returning to India, he preached to his countrymen a more virile creed than any Hindu had offered them since Vedic days:

It is a man-making religion that we want. . . . Give up these weakening mysticisms, and be strong. . . . For the next fifty years . . . let all other, vain gods disappear from our minds. This is the only God that is awake, our own race, everywhere His hands, everywhere His feet, everywhere His ears; He covers everything. . . . The first of all worship is the worship of those all around us. . . . These are all our gods—men and animals; and the first gods we have to worship are our own countrymen.<sup>29</sup>

It was but a step from this to Gandhi.

### III. TAGORE

*Science and art—A family of geniuses—Youth of Rabindranath—  
His poetry—His politics—His school*

Meanwhile, despite oppression, bitterness and poverty, India continued to create science, literature and art. Professor Jagadis Chandra Bose has won world-renown by his researches in electricity and the physiology of plants; and the work of Professor Chandrasekhara Raman in the physics of light has been crowned with the Nobel prize. In our own century a

new school of painting has arisen in Bengal, which merges the richness of color in the Ajanta frescoes with the delicacy of line in the Rajput miniatures. The paintings of Abanindranath Tagore share modestly in the voluptuous mysticism and the delicate artistry that brought the poetry of his uncle to international fame.

The Tagores are one of the great families of history. Davendranath Tagore (Bengali *Thakur*) was one of the organizers, and later the head, of the *Brabma-Somaj*; a man of wealth, culture and sanctity, he became in his old age a heretic patriarch of Bengal. From him have descended the artists Abanindranath and Gogonendranath, the philosopher Dwijendranath, and the poet Rabindranath, Tagore—the last two being his sons.

Rabindranath was brought up in an atmosphere of comfort and refinement, in which music, poetry and high discourse were the very air that he breathed. He was a gentle spirit from birth, a Shelley who refused to die young or to grow old; so affectionate that squirrels climbed upon his knees, and birds perched upon his hands.<sup>44</sup> He was observant and receptive, and felt the eddying overtones of experience with a mystic sensitivity. Sometimes he would stand for hours on a balcony, noting with literary instinct the figure and features, the mannerisms and gait of each passer-by in the street; sometimes, on a sofa in an inner room, he would spend half a day silent with his memories and his dreams. He began to compose verses on a slate, happy in the thought that errors could be so easily wiped away.<sup>45</sup> Soon he was writing songs full of tenderness for India—for the beauty of her scenery, the loveliness of her women, and the sufferings of her people; and he composed the music for these songs himself. All India sang them, and the young poet thrilled to hear them on the lips of rough peasants as he traveled, unknown, through distant villages.<sup>46</sup> Here is one of them, translated from the Bengali by the author himself; who else has ever expressed with such sympathetic scepticism the divine nonsense of romantic love?

Tell me if this be all true, my lover, tell me if this be true.

When these eyes flash their lightning the dark clouds in your breast  
make stormy answer.

Is it true that my lips are sweet like the opening bud of the first  
conscious love?

Do the memories of vanished months of May linger in my limbs?

Does the earth, like a harp, shiver into songs with the touch of my  
feet?



Is it then true that the dewdrops fall from the eyes of night when I  
am seen, and the morning light is glad when it wraps my body  
round?

Is it true, is it true, that your love traveled alone through ages and  
worlds in search of me?

That when you found me at last, your age-long desire found utter  
peace in my gentle speech and my eyes and lips and flowing hair?

Is it then true that the mystery of the Infinite is written on this  
little forehead of mine?

Tell me, my lover, if all this be true?\*

There are many virtues in these poems\*—an intense and yet sober patriotism; a femininely subtle understanding of love and woman, nature and man; a passionate penetration into the insight of India's philosophers; and a Tennysonian delicacy of sentiment and phrase. If there is any fault in them it is that they are too consistently beautiful, too monotonously idealistic and tender. Every woman in them is lovely, and every man in them is infatuated with woman, or death, or God; nature, though sometimes terrible, is always sublime, never bleak, or barren, or hideous.† Perhaps the story of Chitra is Tagore's story: her lover Arjuna tires of her in a year because she is completely and uninterruptedly beautiful; only when she loses her beauty and, becoming strong, takes up the natural labors of life, does the god love her again—a profound symbol of the contented marriage.\* Tagore confesses his limitations with captivating grace:

My love, once upon a time your poet launched a great epic in his  
mind.

Alas, I was not careful, and it struck your ringing anklets and came  
to grief.

It broke up into scraps of songs, and lay scattered at your feet.\*

Therefore he has sung lyrics to the end, and all the world except the critics has heard him gladly. India was a little surprised when her poet

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\* The more important volumes are *Gitanjali* (1913), *Chitra* (1914), *The Post-Office* (1914), *The Gardener* (1914), *Fruit-Gathering* (1916), and *Red Oleanders* (1925). The poet's own *My Reminiscences* (1917) is a better guide to understanding him than E. Thompson's *R. Tagore, Poet and Dramatist* (Oxford, 1926).

† Cf. his magnificent line: "When I go from hence let this be my parting word, that what I have seen is unsurpassable."<sup>1</sup>

received the Nobel prize (1913); the Bengal reviewers had seen only his faults, and the Calcutta professors had used his poems as examples of bad Bengali.<sup>80</sup> The young Nationalists disliked him because his condemnation of the abuses in India's moral life was stronger than his cry for political freedom; and when he was knighted it seemed to them a betrayal of India. He did not hold the honor long; for when, by a tragic misunderstanding, British soldiers fired into a religious gathering at Amritsar (1919), Tagore returned his decorations to the Viceroy with a stinging letter of renunciation. Today he is a solitary figure, perhaps the most impressive of all men now on the earth: a reformer who has had the courage to denounce the most basic of India's institutions—the caste system—and the dearest of her beliefs—transmigration;<sup>81</sup> a Nationalist who longs for India's liberty, but has dared to protest against the chauvinism and self-seeking that play a part in the Nationalist movement; an educator who has tired of oratory and politics, and has retreated to his *ashram* and hermitage at Shantiniketan, to teach some of the new generation his gospel of moral self-liberation; a poet broken-hearted by the premature death of his wife, and by the humiliation of his country; a philosopher steeped in the *Vedanta*,<sup>82</sup> a mystic hesitating, like Chandi Das, between woman and God, and yet shorn of the ancestral faith by the extent of his learning; a lover of Nature facing her messengers of death with no other consolation than his unaging gift of song.

"Ah, poet, the evening draws near; your hair is turning grey.  
Do you in your lonely musing hear the message of the hereafter?"

"It is evening," the poet said, "and I am listening because some one  
may call from the village, late though it be.

I watch if young straying hearts meet together, and two pairs of  
eager eyes beg for music to break their silence and speak for them.  
Who is there to weave their passionate songs, if I sit on the shore  
of life and contemplate death and the beyond? . . .

It is a trifle that my hair is turning grey.

I am ever as young or as old as the youngest and the oldest of this  
village. . . .

They all have need for me, and I have no time to brood over the  
after-life.

I am of an age with each; what matter if my hair turns grey?"<sup>83</sup>

## IV. EAST IS WEST

*Changing India—Economic changes—Social—The decaying caste system—Castes and guilds—Untouchables—The emergence of woman*

That a man unfamiliar with English till almost fifty should write English so well is a sign of the ease with which some of the gaps can be bridged between that East and that West whose mating another poet has banned. For since the birth of Tagore the West has come to the East in a hundred ways, and is changing every aspect of Oriental life. Thirty thousand miles of railways have webbed the wastes and ghats of India, and carried Western faces into every village; telegraph wires and the printing press have brought to every student the news of a suggestively changing world; English schools have taught British history with a view to making British citizens, and have unwittingly inculcated English ideas of democracy and liberty. Even the East now justifies Heraclitus.

Reduced to poverty in the nineteenth century by the superior machinery of British looms and the higher calibre of British guns, India has now turned her face reluctantly towards industrialization. Handicrafts are dying, factories are growing. At Jamsetpur the Tata Iron and Steel Company employs 45,000 men, and threatens the leadership of American firms in the production of steel.<sup>44</sup> The coal production of India is mounting rapidly; within a generation China and India may overtake Europe and America in lifting out of the soil the basic fuels and materials of industry. Not only will these native resources meet native needs, they may compete with the West for the markets of the world, and the conquerors of Asia may suddenly find their markets gone, and the standards of living of their people at home severely reduced, by the competition of low-wage labor in once docile and backward (i.e., agricultural) lands. In Bombay there are factories in mid-Victorian style, with old-fashioned wages that bring tears of envy to the eyes of Occidental Tories.\* Hindu employers have replaced the British in many of these industries, and exploit their fellow men with the rapacity of Europeans bearing the white man's burden.

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\* In 1922 there were eighty-three cotton factories in Bombay, with 180,000 employees, and an average wage-scale of thirty-three cents a day. Of 33,000,000 Indians engaged in industry, 51% are women, 14% are children under fourteen.<sup>65</sup>

The economic basis of Indian society has not changed without affecting the social institutions and moral customs of the people. The caste system was conceived in terms of a static and agricultural society; it provided order, but gave no opening to unpedigreed genius, no purchase to ambition and hope, no stimulus to invention and enterprise; it was doomed when the Industrial Revolution reached India's shores. The machine does not respect persons: in most of the factories men work side by side without discrimination of caste, trains and trams give berth or standing-room to all who can pay, coöperative societies and political parties bring all grades together, and in the congestion of the urban theatre or street Brahman and Pariah rub elbows in unexpected fellowship. A raja announces that every caste and creed will find reception at his court; a Shudra becomes the enlightened ruler of Baroda; the *Brahma-Somaj* denounces caste, and the Bengal Provincial Congress of the National Congress advocates the abolition of all caste distinctions forthwith.<sup>28</sup> Slowly the machine lifts a new class to wealth and power, and brings the most ancient of living aristocracies to an end.

Already the caste terms are losing significance. The word *Vaisya* is used in books today, but has no application in actual life. Even the term *Shudra* has disappeared from the north, while in the south it is a loose designation for all non-Brahmans.<sup>29</sup> The lower castes of older days have in effect been replaced by over three thousand "castes" that are really guilds: bankers, merchants, manufacturers, farmers, professors, engineers, trackwalkers, college women, butchers, barbers, fishermen, actors, coal miners, washermen, cabmen, shop-girls, bootblacks—these are organized into occupational castes that differ from our trade-unions chiefly in the loose expectation that sons will follow the trades of their fathers.

The great tragedy of the caste system is that it has multiplied, from generation to generation, those Untouchables whose growing number and rebelliousness undermine the institution that created them. The Outcastes have received into their ranks all those who were enslaved by war or debt, all the children of marriages between Brahmans and Shudras, and all those unfortunates whose work, as scavengers, butchers, acrobats, conjurors or executioners was stamped as degrading by Brahmanical law;<sup>30</sup> and they have swollen their mass by the improvident fertility of those who have nothing to lose. Their bitter poverty has made cleanliness of body, clothing or food an impossible luxury for them; and their fellows shun them

with every sense.\* Therefore the laws of caste forbid an Untouchable to approach nearer than twenty-four feet to a Shudra, or seventy-four feet to a Brahman;† if the shadow of a Pariah falls upon a man of caste, the latter must remove the contamination by a purifying ablution. Whatever the Outcaste touches is thereby defiled.‡ In many parts of India he must not draw water from the public wells, or enter temples used by Brahmans, or send his children to the Hindu schools.§ The British, whose policies have in some degree contributed to the impoverishment of the Outcastes, have brought them at least equality before the law, and equal access to all British-controlled colleges and schools. The Nationalist movement, under the inspiration of Gandhi, has done much to lessen the disabilities of the Untouchables. Perhaps another generation will see them externally and superficially free.

The coming of industry, and of Western ideas, is disturbing the ancient mastery of the Hindu male. Industrialization defers the age of marriage, and requires the "emancipation" of woman; that is to say, the woman cannot be lured into the factory unless she is persuaded that home is a prison, and is entitled by law to keep her earnings for herself. Many real reforms have come as incidents to this emancipation. Child marriage has been formally ended (1929) by raising the legal age of marriage to fourteen for girls and to eighteen for men;¶ suttee has disappeared, and the remarriage of widows grows daily;‡ polygamy is allowed, but few men practise it;§ and tourists are disappointed to find that the temple dancers are almost extinct. In no other country is moral reform progressing so rapidly. Industrial city life is drawing women out of *pardah*; hardly six per cent of the women of India accept such seclusion today.¶ A number of lively periodicals for women discuss the most up-to-date questions; even a birth-control league has appeared,¶ and has faced bravely the gravest problem of India—indiscriminate fertility. In many of the provinces women vote and hold political office; twice women have been presi-

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\* "People who abstain entirely from animal food acquire such an acute sense of smell that they can perceive in a moment, from a person's breath, or from the exudation of the skin, whether that person has eaten meat or not; and that after a lapse of twenty-four hours."<sup>10</sup>

† In 1913 the child of a rich Hindu of Kohat fell into a fountain and was drowned. No one was at hand but its mother and a passing Outcaste. The latter offered to plunge into the water and rescue the child, but the mother refused; she preferred the death of her child to the defilement of the fountain.<sup>11</sup>

‡ In the year 1915 there were 15 remarriages of widows; in 1925 there were 2,263.<sup>12</sup>

dent of the Indian National Congress. Many of them have taken degrees at the universities, and have become doctors, lawyers, or professors.\* Soon, no doubt, the tables will be turned, and women will rule. Must not some wild Western influence bear the guilt of this flaming appeal issued by a subaltern of Gandhi to the women of India?—

Away with ancient *purdah*! Come out of the kitchens quick! Fling the pots and pans rattling into the corners! Tear the cloth from your eyes, and see the new world! Let your husbands and brothers cook for themselves. There is much work to be done to make India a nation!\*

#### V. THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

##### *The westernized students — The secularization of heaven — The Indian National Congress*

In 1923 there were over a thousand Hindus studying in England, presumably an equal number in America, perhaps an equal number elsewhere. They marveled at the privileges enjoyed by the lowliest citizens of western Europe and America; they studied the French and American Revolutions, and read the literature of reform and revolt; they gloated over the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the Declaration of Independence, and the American Constitution; they went back to their countries as centers of infection for democratic ideas and the gospel of liberty. The industrial and scientific advances of the West, and the victory of the Allies in the War, gave to these ideas an irresistible prestige; soon every student was shouting the battle-cry of freedom. In the schools of England and America the Hindus learned to be free.

These Western-educated Orientals had not only taken on political ideals in the course of their education abroad, they had shed religious ideas; the two processes are usually associated, in biography and in history. They came to Europe as pious youths, wedded to Krishna, Shiva, Vishnu, Kali, Rama . . . ; they touched science, and their ancient faiths were shattered as by some sudden catalytic shock. Shorn of religious belief, which is the very spirit of India, the Westernized Hindus returned to their country disillusioned and sad; a thousand gods had dropped dead from the skies\* Then, inevitably, Utopia filled the place of Heaven, democracy

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\* This does not apply to all. Some, in the significant phrase of Coomaraswamy, have "returned from Europe to India."

became a substitute for *Nirvana*, liberty replaced God. What had gone on in Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century now went on in the East.

Nevertheless the new ideas developed slowly. In 1885 a few Hindu leaders met at Bombay and founded the "Indian National Congress," but they do not seem to have dreamed then even of Home Rule. The effort of Lord Curzon to partition Bengal (that is, to destroy the unity and strength of the most powerful and politically conscious community in India) roused the Nationalists to a more rebel mood; and at the Congress of 1905 the uncompromising Tilak demanded *Swaraj*. He had created the word<sup>m</sup> out of Sanskrit roots still visible in its English translation—"self-rule." In that same eventful year Japan defeated Russia; and the East, which for a century had been fearful of the West, began to lay plans for the liberation of Asia. China followed Sun Yat Sen, took up the sword, and fell into the arms of Japan. India, weaponless, accepted as her leader one of the strangest figures in history, and gave to the world the unprecedented phenomenon of a revolution led by a saint, and waged without a gun.

#### VI. MAHATMA GANDHI

*Portrait of a saint—The ascetic—The Christian—The education of Gandhi—In Africa—The Revolt of 1921—"I am the man"—Prison years—"Young India"—The revolution of the spinning-wheel—The achievements of Gandhi*

Picture the ugliest, slightest, weakest man in Asia, with face and flesh of bronze, close-cropped gray head, high cheek-bones, kindly little brown eyes, a large and almost toothless mouth, larger ears, an enormous nose, thin arms and legs, clad in a loin cloth, standing before an English judge in India, on trial for preaching "non-coöperation" to his countrymen. Or picture him seated on a small carpet in a bare room at his *Satyagrahashram*,—School of Truth-Seekers—at Ahmedabad: his bony legs crossed under him in *yogi* fashion, soles upward, his hands busy at a spinning-wheel, his face lined with responsibility, his mind active with ready answers to every questioner of freedom. From 1920 to 1935 this naked weaver was both the spiritual and the political leader of 320,000,000 Indians. When he appeared in public, crowds gathered round him to touch his clothing or to kiss his feet.<sup>m</sup>

Four hours a day he spun the coarse *khaddar*, hoping by his example to persuade his countrymen to use this simple homespun instead of buying the product of those British looms that had ruined the textile industry of India. His only possessions were three rough cloths—two as his wardrobe and one as his bed. Once a rich lawyer, he had given all his property to the poor, and his wife, after some matronly hesitation, had followed his example. He slept on the bare floor, or on the earth. He lived on nuts, plantains, lemons, oranges, dates, rice, and goat's milk;<sup>33</sup> often for months together he took nothing but milk and fruit; once in his life he tasted meat; occasionally he ate nothing for weeks. "I can as well do without my eyes as without fasts. What the eyes are for the outer world, fasts are for the inner."<sup>34</sup> As the blood thins, he felt, the mind clears, irrelevancies fall away, and fundamental things—sometimes the very Soul of the World—rise out of *Maya* like Everest through the clouds.

At the same time that he fasted to see divinity he kept one toe on the earth, and advised his followers to take an enema daily when they fasted, lest they be poisoned with the acid products of the body's self-consumption just as they might be finding God.<sup>35</sup> When the Moslems and the Hindus killed one another in theological enthusiasm, and paid no heed to his pleas for peace, he went without food for three weeks to move them. He became so weak and frail through fasts and privations that when he addressed the great audiences that gathered to hear him, he spoke to them from an uplifted chair. He carried his asceticism into the field of sex, and wished, like Tolstoi, to limit all physical intercourse to deliberate reproduction. He too, in his youth, had indulged the flesh too much, and the news of his father's death had surprised him in the arms of love. Now he returned with passionate remorse to the *Brahmacharia* that had been preached to him in his boyhood—absolute abstention from all sensual desire. He persuaded his wife to live with him only as sister with brother; and "from that time," he tells us, "all dissension ceased."<sup>36</sup> When he realized that India's basic need was birth-control, he adopted not the methods of the West, but the theories of Malthus and Tolstoi.

Is it right for us, who know the situation, to bring forth children? We only multiply slaves and weaklings if we continue the process of procreation whilst we feel and remain helpless. . . . Not till India has become a free nation . . . have we the right to bring forth progeny. . . . I have not a shadow of doubt that married people, if



they wish well to the country and want to see India become a nation of strong and handsome, well-formed men and women, would practice self-restraint and cease to procreate for the time being."

Added to these elements in his character were qualities strangely like those that, we are told, distinguished the Founder of Christianity. He did not mouth the name of Christ, but he acted as if he accepted every word of the Sermon on the Mount. Not since St. Francis of Assisi has any life known to history been so marked by gentleness, disinterestedness, simplicity, and forgiveness of enemies. It was to the credit of his opponents, but still more to his own, that his undiscourageable courtesy to them won a fine courtesy from them in return; the Government sent him to jail with profuse apologies. He never showed rancor or resentment. Thrice he was attacked by mobs, and beaten almost to death; not once did he retaliate; and when one of his assailants was arrested he refused to enter a charge. Shortly after the worst of all riots between Moslems and Hindus, when the Moplah Mohammedans butchered hundreds of unarmed Hindus and offered their prepuces as a covenant to Allah, these same Moslems were stricken with famine; Gandhi collected funds for them from all India, and, with no regard for the best precedents, forwarded every *anna*, without deduction for "overhead," to the starving enemy."

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in 1869. His family belonged to the Vaisya caste, and to the Jain sect, and practised the *ahimsa* principle of never injuring a living thing. His father was a capable administrator but an heretical financier; he lost place after place through honesty, gave nearly all his wealth to charity, and left the rest to his family." While still a boy Mohandas became an atheist, being displeased with the adulterous gallantries of certain Hindu gods; and to make clear his everlasting scorn for religion, he ate meat. The meat disagreed with him, and he returned to religion.

At eight he was engaged, and at twelve he was married, to Kasturbai, who remained loyal to him through all his adventures, riches, poverty, imprisonments, and *Brahmacharia*. At eighteen he passed examinations for the university, and went to London to study law. In his first year there he read eighty books on Christianity. The Sermon on the Mount "went straight to my heart on the first reading."<sup>100</sup> He took the counsel to return good for evil, and to love even one's enemies, as the highest expression of all human idealism; and he resolved rather to fail with these than to succeed without them.

Returning to India in 1891, he practised law for a time in Bombay, refusing to prosecute for debt, and always reserving the right to abandon a case which he had come to think unjust. One case led him to South Africa; there he found his fellow-Hindus so maltreated that he forgot to return to India, but gave himself completely, without remuneration, to the cause of removing the disabilities of his countrymen in Africa. For twenty years he fought this issue out until the Government yielded. Only then did he return home.

Traveling through India he realized for the first time the complete destitution of his people. He was horrified by the skeletons whom he saw toiling in the fields, and the lowly Outcastes who did the menial work of the towns. It seemed to him that the discriminations against his countrymen abroad were merely one consequence of their poverty and subjection at home. Nevertheless he supported England loyally in the War; he even advocated the enlistment of Hindus who did not accept the principle of non-violence. He did not, at that time, agree with those who called for independence; he believed that British misgovernment in India was an exception, and that British government in general was good; that British government in India was bad just because it violated all the principles of British government at home; and that if the English people could be made to understand the case of the Hindus, it would soon accept them in full brotherhood into a commonwealth of free dominions.\* He trusted that when the War was over, and Britain counted India's sacrifice for the Empire in men and wealth, it would no longer hesitate to give her liberty.

But at the close of the War the agitation for Home Rule was met by the Rowland Acts, which put an end to freedom of speech and press; by the establishment of the impotent legislature of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms; and finally by the slaughter at Amritsar. Gandhi was shocked into decisive action. He returned to the Viceroy the decorations which he had received at various times from British governments; and he issued to India a call for active civil disobedience against the Government of India. The people responded not with peaceful resistance, as he had asked, but with bloodshed and violence; in Bombay, for example, they killed fifty-three unsympathetic Parsees.<sup>21</sup> Gandhi, vowed to *ahimsa*, sent out a second message, in which he called upon the people to postpone the campaign of civil disobedience, on the ground that it was degenerating into mob rule. Seldom in history had a man shown more courage in acting on principle; scorning expediency and popularity. The nation was

astonished at his decision; it had supposed itself near to success, and it did not agree with Gandhi that the means might be as important as the end. The reputation of the *Mahatma* sank to the lowest ebb.

It was just at this point (in March, 1922) that the Government determined upon his arrest. He made no resistance, declined to engage a lawyer, and offered no defense. When the Prosecutor charged him with being responsible, through his publications, for the violence that had marked the outbreak of 1921, Gandhi replied in terms that lifted him at once to nobility.

I wish to endorse all the blame that the learned Advocate-General has thrown on my shoulder in connection with the incidents in Bombay, Madras, and Chauri Chaura. Thinking over these deeply, and sleeping over them night after night, it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from these diabolical crimes. . . . The learned Advocate-General is quite right when he says that as a man of responsibility, a man having received a fair share of education, . . . I should have known the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew that I was playing with fire, I ran the risk, and if I was set free I would still do the same. I felt this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say what I say here just now.

I wanted to avoid violence. I want to avoid violence. Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed. But I had to make my choice. I had either to submit to a system which I considered had done an irreparable harm to my country, or incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth when they understood the truth from my lips. I know that my people have sometimes gone mad. I am deeply sorry for it, and I am therefore here to submit not to a light penalty but to the highest penalty. I do not ask for mercy. I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here, therefore, to invite and cheerfully submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen.<sup>99</sup>

The Judge expressed his profound regret that he had to send to jail one whom millions of his countrymen considered "a great patriot and a great leader"; he admitted that even those who differed from Gandhi looked upon him "as a man of high ideals and of noble and even saintly life."<sup>100</sup> He sentenced him to prison for six years.

Gandhi was put under solitary confinement, but he did not complain. "I do not see any of the other prisoners," he wrote, "though I really do not see how my society could do them any harm." But "I feel happy. My nature likes loneliness. I love quietness. And now I have opportunity to engage in studies that I had to neglect in the outside world."<sup>84</sup> He instructed himself sedulously in the writings of Bacon, Carlyle, Ruskin, Emerson, Thoreau and Tolstoi, and solaced long hours with Ben Jonson and Walter Scott. He read and re-read the *Bhagavad-Gita*. He studied Sanskrit, Tamil and Urdu so that he might be able not only to write for scholars but to speak to the multitude. He drew up a detailed schedule of studies for the six years of his imprisonment, and pursued it faithfully till accident intervened. "I used to sit down to my books with the delight of a young man of twenty-four, and forgetting my four-and-fifty years and my poor health."<sup>85</sup>

Appendicitis secured his release, and Occidental medicine, which he had often denounced, secured his recovery. A vast crowd gathered at the prison gates to greet him on his exit, and many kissed his coarse garment as he passed. But he shunned politics and the public eye, pled his weakness and illness, and retired to his school at Ahmedabad, where he lived for many years in quiet isolation with his students. From that retreat, however, he sent forth weekly, through his mouthpiece *Young India*, editorials expounding his philosophy of revolution and life. He begged his followers to shun violence, not only because it would be suicidal, since India had no guns, but because it would only replace one despotism with another. "History," he told them, "teaches one that those who have, no doubt with honest motives, ousted the greedy by using brute force against them, have in their turn become a prey to the disease of the conquered. . . . My interest in India's freedom will cease if she adopts violent means. For their fruit will be not freedom, but slavery."<sup>86</sup>

The second element in his creed was the resolute rejection of modern industry, and a Rousseauian call for a return to the simple life of agriculture and domestic industry in the village. The confinement of men and women in factories, making with machines owned by others fractions of articles whose finished form they will never see, seemed to Gandhi a roundabout way of burying humanity under a pyramid of shoddy goods. Most machine products, he thought, are unnecessary; the labor saved in using them is consumed in making and repairing them; or if

labor is really saved it is of no benefit to labor, but only to capital; labor is thrown by its own productivity into a panic of "technological unemployment."<sup>10</sup> So he renewed the *Swadeshi* movement announced in 1905 by Tilak; self-production was to be added to *Swaraj*, self-rule. Gandhi made the use of the *charka*, or spinning-wheel, a test of loyal adherence to the Nationalist movement; he asked that every Hindu, even the richest, should wear homespun, and boycott the alien and mechanical textiles of Britain, so that the homes of India might hum once more, through the dull winter, with the sound of the spinning-wheel.<sup>11</sup>

The response was not universal; it is difficult to stop history in its course. But India tried. Hindu students everywhere dressed in *khaddar*; highborn ladies abandoned their Japanese silk *saris* for coarse cloths woven by themselves; prostitutes in brothels and convicts in prison began to spin; and in many cities great Feasts of the Vanities were arranged, as in Savonarola's day, at which wealthy Hindus and merchants brought from their homes and warehouses all their imported cloth, and flung it into the fire. In one day at Bombay alone, 150,000 pieces were consumed by the flames.<sup>12</sup>

The movement away from industry failed, but it gave India for a decade a symbol of revolt, and helped to polarize her mute millions into a new unity of political consciousness. India doubted the means, but honored the purpose; and though it questioned Gandhi the statesman, it took to its heart Gandhi the saint, and for a moment became one in reverencing him. It was as Tagore said of him:

He stopped at the thresholds of the huts of the thousands of dispossessed, dressed like one of their own. He spoke to them in their own language. Here was living truth at last, and not only quotations from books. For this reason the *Mahatma*, the name given to him by the people of India, is his real name. Who else has felt like him that all Indians are his own flesh and blood? . . . When love came to the door of India that door was opened wide. . . . At Gandhi's call India blossomed forth to new greatness, just as once before, in earlier times, when Buddha proclaimed the truth of fellow-feeling and compassion among all living creatures.<sup>13</sup>

It was Gandhi's task to unify India; and he accomplished it. Other tasks await other men.

## VII. FAREWELL TO INDIA

One cannot conclude the history of India as one can conclude the history of Egypt, or Babylonia, or Assyria; for that history is still being made, that civilization is still creating. Culturally India has been reinvigorated by mental contact with the West, and her literature today is as fertile and noble as any. Spiritually she is still struggling with superstition and excess theological baggage, but there is no telling how quickly the acids of modern science will dissolve these supernumerary gods. Politically the last one hundred years have brought to India such unity as she has seldom had before: partly the unity of one alien government, partly the unity of one alien speech, but above all the unity of one welding aspiration to liberty. Economically India is passing, for better and for worse, out of medievalism into modern industry; her wealth and her trade will grow, and before the end of the century she will doubtless be among the powers of the earth.

We cannot claim for this civilization such direct gifts to our own as we have traced to Egypt and the Near East; for these last were the immediate ancestors of our own culture, while the history of India, China and Japan flowed in another stream, and is only now beginning to touch and influence the current of Occidental life. It is true that even across the Himalayan barrier India has sent to us such questionable gifts as grammar and logic, philosophy and fables, hypnotism and chess, and above all, our numerals and our decimal system. But these are not the essence of her spirit; they are trifles compared to what we may learn from her in the future. As invention, industry and trade bind the continents together, or as they fling us into conflict with Asia, we shall study its civilizations more closely, and shall absorb, even in enmity, some of its ways and thoughts. Perhaps, in return for conquest, arrogance and spoliation, India will teach us the tolerance and gentleness of the mature mind, the quiet content of the unacquisitive soul, the calm of the understanding spirit, and a unifying, pacifying love for all living things.



BOOK THREE  
THE FAR EAST  
A. CHINA

An emperor knows how to govern when poets are free to make verses, people to act plays, historians to tell the truth, ministers to give advice, the poor to grumble at taxes, students to learn lessons aloud, workmen to praise their skill and seek work, people to speak of anything, and old men to find fault with everything.

—*Address of the Duke of Shao to King Li-Wang,*  
*ca. 845 B.C.<sup>2</sup>*



## CHRONOLOGY OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION\*

B.C.

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|---|--|
| <p>2852-2205: <i>Legendary Rulers:</i><br/>                 2852-2737: Fu Hsi<br/>                 2737-2697: Shen Nung<br/>                 2697-2597: Huang Ti<br/>                 2356-2255: Yao<br/>                 2255-2205: Shun<br/>                 2205-1766: <i>Hsia Dynasty</i><br/>                 2205-2197: Yü<br/>                 1818-1766: Chieh Kuei<br/>                 1766-1123: <i>Shang (and Yin) Dynasty</i><br/>                 1766-1753: T'ang<br/>                 1198-1194: Wu Yih, the atheist emperor<br/>                 1154-1123: Chou-Hsin, model of wickedness<br/>                 1122-255: <i>Chou Dynasty</i><br/>                 1122-1115: Wu-Wang<br/>                 FL. 1123: Wen Wang, author (?) of the <i>Book of Changes</i><br/>                 1115-1078: Cheng Wang<br/>                 1115-1079: Chou Kung, author (?) of the <i>Chou-li</i>, or <i>Laws of Chou</i><br/>                 770-255: The Feudal Age<br/>                 683-640: Kuang Chung, prime minister of Ts'i<br/>                 604-517: Lao-tze (?)<br/>                 551-478: Confucius<br/>                 501: Confucius Chief Magistrate of Chung-tu<br/>                 498: Confucius Acting Supt. of Public Works in Duchy of Lu<br/>                 497: Confucius Minister of Crime<br/>                 496: Resignation of Confucius<br/>                 496-483: Confucius' Wander-years<br/>                 Fl. 450: Mo Ti, philosopher<br/>                 403-221: Period of the Contending States</p> | <p>Fl. 396: Yang Chu, philosopher<br/>                 372-289: Mencius, philosopher<br/>                 B. 370: Chuang-tze, philosopher<br/>                 D. 350: Ch'u P'ing, poet<br/>                 B. 305: Hsün-tze, philosopher<br/>                 D. 233: Han Fei, essayist<br/>                 230-222: Conquest and unification of China by Shih Huang-ti<br/>                 255-206: <i>Ch'in Dynasty</i><br/>                 221-211: Shih Huang-ti, "First Emperor"<br/>                 206 B.C.-221 A.D.: <i>Han Dynasty</i><br/>                 179-157 B.C.: Wen Ti<br/>                 B. 145: Szuma Ch'ien, historian<br/>                 140-87 B.C.: Wu Ti, reformer emperor<br/>                 5-25 A.D.: Wang Mang, socialist emperor<br/>                 67 A.D.: Coming of Buddhism to China<br/>                 Ca. 100: First known manufacturer of paper in China<br/>                 200-400: Tartar invasions of China<br/>                 221-264: Period of the Three Kingdoms<br/>                 221-618: <i>The Minor Dynasties</i><br/>                 365-427: T'ao Ch'ien, poet<br/>                 Fl. 364: Ku K'ai-chih, painter<br/>                 490-640: Great Age of Buddhist Sculpture<br/>                 618-905: <i>T'ang Dynasty</i><br/>                 618-627: Kao Tsu<br/>                 627-650: T'ai Tsung<br/>                 651-716: Li Ssu-hsün, painter<br/>                 699-759: Wang Wei, painter<br/>                 B. ca. 700: Wu Tao-tze, painter<br/>                 705-762: Li Po, poet<br/>                 712-770: Tu Fu, poet<br/>                 713-756: Hsuan Tsung (Ming Huang)<br/>                 755: Revolt of An Lu-shan</p> |
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\*All dates before 551 B.C. are approximate; all before 1800 A.D. are uncertain.

## CHRONOLOGY OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION

- | A.D.   | A.D.   |
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| 768-824: Han Yü, essayist  | 1573-1620: Shen Tsung (Wan Li)   |
| 770: Oldest extant block prints  | 1637: English traders at Canton  |
| 712-846: Po Chü-i, poet  | 1644-1912: <i>Ch'ing (Manchu) Dynasty</i>  |
| 868: Oldest extant printed book  | 1662-1722: K'ang Hsi   |
| 907-960: <i>Five "Little Dynasties"</i>  | 1736-1796: Ch'ien Lung   |
| 932-953: Block printing of Chinese Classics  | 1795: First prohibition of opium trade   |
| 950: First appearance of paper money   | 1800: Second prohibition of opium trade  |
| 960-1127: <i>Northern Sung Dynasty</i>   | 1823-1901: Li Hung-chang, statesman  |
| 960-976: T'ai Tsu  | 1834-1908: T'zu Hsi, "Dowager Empress"   |
| 970: First great Chinese encyclopedia  | 1839-1842: First "Opium War"   |
| 1069-1076: Administration of Wang An-shih, socialist prime minister                                  | 1850-1864: T'ai-p'ing Rebellion  |
| 1040-1106: Li Lung-mien, painter   | 1856-1860: Second "Opium War"  |
| 1041: Pi Sheng makes movable type  | 1858-1860: Russia seizes Chinese territory north of the Amur River                             |
| B. 1100: Kuo Hsi, painter  | 1860: France seizes Indo-China   |
| 1101-1126: Hui Tsung, artist emperor   | 1866-1925: Sun Yat-sen   |
| 1126: Tatars sack Hui Tsung's capital, Pien Lang (K'aifeng); removal of capital to Lin-an (Hangchow) | 1875-1908: Kuang Hsu   |
| 1127-1279: <i>Southern Sung Dynasty</i>  | 1894: The Sino-Japanese War  |
| 1130-1200: Chu Hsi, philosopher  | 1898: Germany takes Kiaochow; U. S. takes the Philippines                                      |
| 1161: First known use of gunpowder in war  | 1898: The reform edicts of Kuang Hsu   |
| 1162-1227: Genghis Khan  | 1900: The Boxer Uprising   |
| 1212: Genghis Khan invades China   | 1905: Abolition of the examination system  |
| 1260-1368: <i>Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty</i>  | 1911: The Chinese Revolution   |
| 1269-1295: Kublai Khan   | 1912: (Jan.-Mar.): Sun Yat-sen Provisional President of the Chinese Republic                   |
| 1269: Marco Polo leaves Venice for China   | 1912-1916: Yuan Shi-k'ai, President  |
| 1295: Marco Polo returns to Venice   | 1914: Japan takes Kiaochow   |
| 1368-1644: <i>Ming Dynasty</i>   | 1915: The "Twenty-one Demands"   |
| 1368-1399: T'ai Tsu  | 1920: <i>Pei-Hua</i> ("Plain Speech") adopted in the Chinese schools; height of the "New Tide" |
| 1403-1425: Ch'eng Tsu (Yung Lo)  | 1926: Chiang K'ai-shek and Borodin subdue the north  |
| 1517: Portuguese at Canton   | 1927: The anti-communist reaction  |
| 1571: Spanish take the Philippines   | 1931: The Japanese occupy Manchuria  |



# The Age of the Philosophers

## I. THE BEGINNINGS

### 1. *Estimates of the Chinese*

THE intellectual discovery of China was one of the achievements of the Enlightenment. "These peoples," Diderot wrote of the Chinese, "are superior to all other Asiatics in antiquity, art, intellect, wisdom, policy, and in their taste for philosophy; nay, in the judgment of certain authors, they dispute the palm in these matters with the most enlightened peoples of Europe."<sup>4</sup> "The body of this empire," said Voltaire, "has existed four thousand years, without having undergone any sensible alteration in its laws, customs, language, or even in its fashions of apparel. . . . The organization of this empire is in truth the best that the world has ever seen."<sup>5</sup> This respect of scholars has survived closer acquaintance, and in some contemporary observers it has reached the pitch of humble admiration. Count Keyserling, in one of the most instructive and imaginative books of our time, concludes that

altogether the most perfect type of humanity as a normal phenomenon has been elaborated in ancient China . . . China has created the highest universal culture of being hitherto known . . . The greatness of China takes hold of and impresses me more and more . . . The great men of this country stand on a higher level of culture than ours do; . . . these gentlemen\* . . . stand on an extraordinarily high level as types; especially their superiority impresses me. . . . How perfect the courtesy of the cultured Chinaman! . . . China's supremacy of form is unquestionable in all circumstances. . . . The Chinaman is perhaps the profoundest of all men.<sup>6</sup>

The Chinese do not trouble to deny this; and until the present century (there are now occasional exceptions) they were unanimous in regarding the inhabitants of Europe and America as barbarians.<sup>4</sup> It was the gentle

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\* The deposed Mandarins at Tsing-tao.

custom of the Chinese, in official documents before 1860, to employ the character for "barbarian" in rendering the term "foreigner"; and the barbarians had to stipulate by treaty that this translation should be improved.\* Like most other peoples of the earth, "the Chinese consider themselves the most polished and civilized of all nations." Perhaps they are right, despite their political corruption and chaos, their backward science and sweated industry, their odorous cities and offal-strewn fields, their floods and famines, their apathy and cruelty, their poverty and superstition, their reckless breeding and suicidal wars, their slaughters and ignominious defeats. For behind this dark surface that now appears to the alien eye is one of the oldest and richest of living civilizations: a tradition of poetry reaching as far back as 1700 B.C.; a long record of philosophy idealistic and yet practical, profound and yet intelligible; a mastery of ceramics and painting unequalled in their kind; an easy perfection, rivaled only by the Japanese, in all the minor arts; the most effective morality to be found among the peoples of any time; a social organization that has held together more human beings, and has endured through more centuries, than any other known to history; a form of government which, until the Revolution destroyed it, was almost the ideal of philosophers; a society that was civilized when Greece was inhabited by barbarians, that saw the rise and fall of Babylonia and Assyria, Persia and Judea, Athens and Rome, Venice and Spain, and may yet survive when those Balkans called Europe have reverted to darkness and savagery. What is the secret of this durability of government, this artistry of hand, this poise and depth of soul?

## 2. *The Middle Flowery Kingdom*

### *Geography—Race—Prehistory*

If we consider Russia as Asiatic—which it was till Peter, and may be again—then Europe becomes only a jagged promontory of Asia, the industrial projection of an agricultural hinterland, the tentative fingers or pseudopodia of a giant continent. Dominating that continent is China, as spacious as Europe, and as populous. Hemmed in, through most of its his-

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\* The Chinese scholar who helped Dr. Giles to translate some of the extracts in *Gems of Chinese Literature*, sent him, as a well-meant farewell, a poem in which occurred these gracious lines:

From of old, literature has illumined the nation of nations;  
And now its influence has gone forth to regenerate a barbarian official.\*

and perforations, the iron knives now used in northern China to reap the sorghum crop; and this circumstance, small though it is, reveals the probability that Chinese culture has an impressive continuity of seven thousand years."

We must not, through the blur of distance, exaggerate the homogeneity of this culture, or of the Chinese people. Some elements of their early art and industry appear to have come from Mesopotamia and Turkestan; for example, the neolithic pottery of Honan is almost identical with that of Anau and Susa.<sup>21</sup> The present "Mongolian" type is a highly complex mixture in which the primitive stock has been crossed and re-crossed by a hundred invading or immigrating stocks from Mongolia, southern Russia (the Scythians?), and central Asia.<sup>22</sup> China, like India, is to be compared with Europe as a whole rather than with any one nation of Europe; it is not the united home of one people, but a medley of human varieties different in origin, distinct in language, diverse in character and art, and often hostile to one another in customs, morals and government.

### 3. *The Unknown Centuries*

*The Creation according to China—The coming of culture—Wine and chopsticks—The virtuous emperors—A royal atheist*

China has been called "the paradise of historians." For centuries and millenniums it has had official historiographers who recorded everything that happened, and much besides. We cannot trust them further back than 776 B.C.; but if we lend them a ready ear they will explain in detail the history of China from 3000 B.C., and the more pious among them, like our own seers, will describe the creation of the world. P'an Ku, the first man (they tell us), after laboring on the task for eighteen thousand years, hammered the universe into shape about 2,229,000 B.C. As he worked his breath became the wind and the clouds, his voice became the thunder, his veins the rivers, his flesh the earth, his hair the grass and trees, his bones the metals, his sweat the rain; and the insects that clung to his body became the human race.<sup>23</sup> We have no evidence to disprove this ingenious cosmology.

The earliest kings, says Chinese legend, reigned eighteen thousand years each, and struggled hard to turn P'an Ku's lice into civilized men. Before the arrival of these "Celestial Emperors," we are told, "the people were like beasts, clothing themselves in skins, feeding on raw flesh, and

knowing their mothers but not their fathers"—a limitation which Strindberg did not consider exclusively ancient or Chinese. Then came the emperor Fu Hsi, in precisely 2852 B.C.; with the help of his enlightened Queen he taught his people marriage, music, writing, painting, fishing with nets, the domestication of animals, and the feeding of silkworms for the secretion of silk. Dying, he appointed as his successor Shen Nung, who introduced agriculture, invented the wooden plough, established markets and trade, and developed the science of medicine from the curative values of plants. So legend, which loves personalities more than ideas, attributes to a few individuals the laborious advances of many generations. Then a vigorous soldier-emperor, Huang-ti, in a reign of a mere century, gave China the magnet and the wheel, appointed official historians, built the first brick structures in China, erected an observatory for the study of the stars, corrected the calendar, and redistributed the land. Yao ruled through another century, and so well that Confucius, writing of him eighteen hundred years later in what must have seemed a hectically "modern" age, mourned the degeneration of China. The old sage, who was not above the pious fraud of adorning a tale to point a moral, informs us that the Chinese people became virtuous by merely looking at Yao. As first aid to reformers, Yao placed outside his palace door a drum by which they might summon him to hear their grievances, and a tablet upon which they might write their advice to the government. "Now," says the famous *Book of History*,

concerning the good Yao it is said that he ruled *Chung-kuo* for one hundred years, the years of his life being one hundred, ten and six. He was kind and benevolent as Heaven, wise and discerning as the gods. From afar his radiance was like a shining cloud, and approaching near him he was as brilliant as the sun. Rich was he without ostentation, and regal without luxuriousness. He wore a yellow cap and a dark tunic and rode in a red chariot drawn by white horses. The eaves of his thatch were not trimmed, and the rafters were unplaned, while the beams of his house had no ornamental ends. His principal food was soup, indifferently compounded, nor was he choice in selecting his grain. He drank his broth of lentils from a dish that was made of clay, using a wooden spoon. His person was not adorned with jewels, and his clothes were without embroidery, simple and without variety. He gave no attention to uncommon things and strange happenings, nor did he value those things that were rare and peculiar. He did not listen to songs of dalliance, his

chariot of state was not emblazoned. . . . In summer he wore his simple garb of cotton, and in winter he covered himself with skins of the deer. Yet was he the richest, the wisest, the longest-lived and most beloved of all that ever ruled *Chung-kuo*.<sup>24</sup>

The last of these "Five Rulers" was Shun, the model of filially devoted sons, the patient hero who fought the floods of the Hoang-ho, improved the calendar, standardized weights and measures, and endeared himself to scholastic posterity by reducing the size of the whip with which Chinese children were educated. In his old age Shun (Chinese tradition tells us) raised to a place beside himself on the throne the ablest of his aides, the great engineer Yü, who had controlled the floods of nine rivers by cutting through nine mountains and forming nine lakes; "but for Yü," say the Chinese, "we should all have been fishes."<sup>25</sup> In his reign, according to sacred legend, rice wine was discovered, and was presented to the Emperor; but Yü dashed it to the ground, predicting: "The day will come when this thing will cost some one a kingdom." He banished the discoverer and prohibited the new beverage; whereupon the Chinese, for the instruction of posterity, made wine the national beverage. Rejecting the principle of succession by royal appointment, Yü established the Hsia (i.e., "civilized") Dynasty by making the throne hereditary in his family, so that idiots alternated with mediocrities and geniuses in the government of China. The dynasty was brought to an end by the whimsical Emperor Chieh, who amused himself and his wife by compelling three thousand Chinese to jump to their euthanasia in a lake of wine.

We have no way of checking the accounts transmitted to us of the Hsia Dynasty by the early Chinese historians. Astronomers claim to have verified the solar eclipse mentioned by the records as occurring in the years 2165 B.C., but competent critics have challenged these calculations.<sup>26</sup> Bones found in Honan bear the names of rulers traditionally ascribed to the second or Shang Dynasty; and some bronze vessels of great antiquity are tentatively attributed to this period. For the rest we must rely on stories whose truth may not be proportioned to their charm. According to ancient tradition one of the Shang emperors, Wu Yi, was an atheist; he defied the gods, and blasphemed the Spirit of Heaven; he played chess with it, ordered a courtier to make its moves, and derided it when it lost; having dedicated to it a leathern bag, he filled the bag with blood, and amused himself by making it a target for his arrows. The historians, more virtuous than history, assure us that Wu Yi was struck dead with lightning.



Chou Hsin, royal inventor of chopsticks, brought the dynasty to an end by his incredible wickedness. "I have heard," he said, "that a man's heart has seven openings; I would fain make the experiment upon Pi Kan"—his minister. Chou's wife Ta-ki was a model of licentiousness and cruelty: at her court voluptuous dances were performed, and men and women gambled naked in her gardens. When public criticism rose she sought to still it with novelties of torture: rebels were made to hold fiery metals in their hands, or to walk greased poles over a pit of live charcoal; when victims fell into the pit the Queen was much amused to see them roast." Chou Hsin was overthrown by a conspiracy of rebels at home and invaders from the western state of Chou, who set up the Chou Dynasty, the most enduring of all the royal houses of China. The victorious leaders rewarded their aides by making them almost independent rulers of the many provinces into which the new realm was divided; in this way began that feudalism which proved so dangerous to government and yet so stimulating to Chinese letters and philosophy. The newcomers mingled their blood in marriage with the older stocks, and the mixture provided a slow biological prelude to the first historic civilization of the Far East.

#### 4. *The First Chinese Civilization*

*The Feudal Age in China—An able minister—The struggle between custom and law—Culture and anarchy—Love lyrics from the "Book of Odes"*

The feudal states that now provided for almost a thousand years whatever political order China was to enjoy, were not the creation of the conquerors; they had grown out of the agricultural communities of primitive days through the absorption of the weaker by the stronger, or the merger of groups under a common chief for the defense of their fields against the encompassing barbarians. At one time there were over seventeen hundred of these principalities, ordinarily consisting of a walled town surrounded by cultivated land, with smaller walled suburbs constituting a protective circumference." Slowly these provinces coalesced into fifty-five, covering what is now the district of Honan with neighboring portions of Shan-si, Shen-si and Shantung. Of these fifty-five the most important were Ts'i, which laid the bases of Chinese government, and Chin (or Tsin), which conquered all the rest, established a unified empire, and gave to China the name by which it is known to nearly all the world but itself.

The organizing genius of Ts'i was Kuan Chung, adviser to the Duke Huan. Kuan began his career in history by supporting Huan's brother

against him in their competition for the control of Ts'i, and almost killed Huan in battle. Huan won, captured Kuan, and appointed him chief minister of the state. Kuan made his master powerful by replacing bronze with iron weapons and tools, and by establishing governmental monopoly or control of iron and salt. He taxed money, fish and salt, "in order to help the poor and reward wise and able men."<sup>10</sup> During his long ministry Ts'i became a well-ordered state, with a stabilized currency, an efficient administration, and a flourishing culture. Confucius, who praised politicians only by epitaph, said of Kuan: "Down to the present day the people enjoy the gifts which he conferred. But for Kuan Chung we should now be wearing our hair disheveled, and the lappets of our coats buttoning on the left side."<sup>11</sup>

In the feudal courts was developed the characteristic courtesy of the Chinese gentleman. Gradually a code of manners, ceremonies and honor was established, which became so strict that it served as a substitute for religion among the upper classes of society. The foundations of law were laid, and a great struggle set in between the rule of custom as developed among the people and the rule of law as formulated by the state. Codes of law were issued by the duchies of Cheng and Chin (535, 512 B.C.), much to the horror of the peasantry, who predicted divine punishment for such outrages; and indeed the capital of Cheng was soon afterward destroyed by fire. The codes were partial to the aristocracy, who were exempted from the regulations on condition that they should discipline themselves; gentlemen murderers were allowed to commit suicide, and most of them did, in the fashion later so popular in *samurai* Japan. The people protested that they, too, could discipline themselves, and called for some Harmodius or Aristogiton to liberate them from this new tyranny of law. In the end the two hostile forces, custom and law, arrived at a wholesome compromise: the reach of law was narrowed to major or national issues, while the force of custom continued in all minor matters; and since human affairs are mostly minor matters, custom remained king.

As the organization of states proceeded, it found formulation in the *Chou-li*, or Law of Chou, a volume traditionally but incredibly ascribed to Chou-kung, uncle and prime minister of the second Duke of Chou. This legislation, suspiciously infused with the spirit of Confucius and Mencius, and therefore in all likelihood a product of the end rather than of the beginning of the Chou Dynasty, set for two thousand years the Chinese conception of government: an emperor ruling as the vicar and "Son of Heaven,"

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\* This is Confucius' gloomy way of indicating that but for Kuan the Chinese people would still be barbarians; for the barbarians habitually buttoned their coats on the left side.<sup>11</sup>

and holding power through the possession of virtue and piety; an aristocracy, partly of birth and partly of training, administering the offices of the state; a people dutifully tilling the soil, living in patriarchal families, enjoying civil rights but having no voice in public affairs; and a cabinet of six ministries controlling respectively the life and activities of the emperor, the welfare and early marriage of the people, the ceremonies and divinations of religion, the preparation and prosecution of war, the administration of justice, and the organization of public works.<sup>23</sup> It is an almost ideal code, more probably sprung from the mind of some anonymous and irresponsible Plato than from the practice of leaders sullied with actual power and dealing with actual men.

Since much devilry can find room even in perfect constitutions, the political history of China during the Feudal Age was the usual mixture of persevering rascality with periodic reforms. As wealth increased, luxury and extravagance corrupted the aristocracy, while musicians and assassins, courtesans and philosophers mingled at the courts, and later in the capital at Lo-yang. Hardly a decade passed without some assault upon the new states by the hungry barbarians ever pressing upon the frontiers.<sup>24</sup> War became a necessity of defense, and soon a method of offense; it graduated from a game of the aristocracy to competitive slaughter among the people; heads were cut off by tens of thousands. Within a little more than two centuries, regicides disposed of thirty-six kings.<sup>25</sup> Anarchy grew, and the sages despaired.

Over these ancient obstacles life made its plodding way. The peasant sowed and reaped, occasionally for himself, usually for his feudal lord, to whom both he and the land belonged; not until the end of the dynasty did peasant proprietorship raise its head. The state—i.e., a loose association of feudal barons faintly acknowledging one ducal sovereign—conscripted labor for public works, and irrigated the fields with extensive canals; officials instructed the people in agriculture and arboriculture, and supervised the silk industry in all its details. Fishing and the mining of salt were in many provinces monopolized by the government.<sup>26</sup> Domestic trade flourished in the towns, and begot a small *bourgeoisie* possessed of almost modern comforts: they wore leather shoes, and dresses of homespun or silk; they rode in carts or chariots, or traveled on the rivers by boat; they lived in well-built houses, used tables and chairs, and ate their food from plates and dishes of ornamented pottery;<sup>27</sup> their standard of living was probably higher than that of their contemporaries in Solon's Greece, or Numa's Rome.

Amid conditions of disunity and apparent chaos the mental life of China showed a vitality disturbing to the generalizations of historians. For in this disorderly age were laid the bases of China's language, literature,

philosophy and art; the combination of a life made newly secure by economic organization and provision, and a culture not yet forged into conformity by the tyranny of inescapable tradition and an imperial government, served as the social framework for the most creative period in the history of the Chinese mind. At every court, and in a thousand towns and villages, poets sang, potters turned their wheels, founders cast stately vessels, leisurely scribes formed into beauty the characters of the written language, sophists taught to eager students the tricks of the intellect, and philosophers pined over the imperfections of men and the decadence of states.

We shall study the art and language later, in their more complete and characteristic development; but the poetry and the philosophy belong specifically to this age, and constitute the classic period of Chinese thought. Most of the verse written before Confucius has disappeared; what remains of it is chiefly his own stern selection of the more respectable samples, gathered together in the *Shi-Ching*, or "Book of Odes," ranging over a thousand years from ancient compositions of the Shang Dynasty to highly modern poems as recent as Pythagoras. Its three hundred and five odes celebrate with untranslatable brevity and suggestive imagery the piety of religion, the hardships of war, and the solicitude of love. Hear the timeless lament of soldiers torn from their homes and dedicated to unintelligible death:

How free are the wild geese on their wings,  
And the rest they find on the bushy Yu trees!  
But we, ceaseless toilers in the king's services,  
Cannot even plant our millet and rice.

What will our parents have to rely on?  
O thou distant and azure Heaven!  
When shall all this end? . . .  
What leaves have not turned purple?  
What man is not torn from his wife?  
Mercy be on us soldiers:—  
Are we not also men?"

Though this age appears, to our ignorance, to have been almost the barbaric infancy of China, love poetry abounds in the *Odes*, and plays a gamut of many moods. In one of these poems, whispering to us across

those buried centuries that seemed so model to Confucius, we hear the voice of eternally rebellious youth, as if to say that nothing is so old-fashioned as revolt:

I pray you, dear,  
 My little hamlet leave,  
 Nor break my willow-boughs;  
 'Tis not that I should grieve,  
 But I fear my sire to rouse.  
 Love pleads with passion disarrayed,—  
 "A sire's commands must be obeyed."

I pray you, dear,  
 Leap not across my wall,  
 Nor break my mulberry-boughs;  
 Not that I fear their fall,  
 But lest my brother's wrath should rouse,  
 Love pleads with passion disarrayed,—  
 "A brother's words must be obeyed."

I pray you, dear,  
 Steal not the garden down,  
 Nor break my sandal trees;  
 Not that I care for these,  
 But oh, I dread the talk of town.  
 Should lovers have their wilful way,  
 Whatever would the neighbors say?"

And another—the most nearly perfect, or the most excellently translated, of all—reveals to us the ageless antiquity of sentiment:

The morning glory climbs above my head,  
 Pale flowers of white and purple, blue and red.  
 I am disquieted.

Down in the withered grasses something stirred;  
 I thought it was his footfall that I heard:  
 Then a grasshopper chirred.

I climbed the hill just as the new moon showed,  
 I saw him coming on the southern road,  
 My heart lays down its load."

### 5. *The Pre-Confucian Philosophers*

#### *The "Book of Changes"—The "yang" and the "yin"—The Chinese Enlightenment—Teng Shib, the Socrates of China*

The characteristic production of this epoch is philosophy. It is no discredit to our species that in all ages its curiosity has outrun its wisdom, and its ideals have set an impossible pace for its behavior. As far back as 1250 B.C. we find Yu Tze sounding the keynote in a pithy fragment then already stale, and now still fresh in counsel to laborious word-mongers who do not know that all glory ends in bitterness: "He who renounces fame has no sorrow"<sup>20</sup>—happy the man who has no history! From that time until our own, China has produced philosophers.

As India is *par excellence* the land of metaphysics and religion, China is by like preëminence the home of humanistic, or non-theological, philosophy. Almost the only important work of metaphysics in its literature is the strange document with which the recorded history of Chinese thought begins—the *I-Ching*, or "Book of Changes." Tradition insists that it was written in prison by one of the founders of the Chou Dynasty, Wen Wang, and that its simplest origin went back as far as Fu Hsi: this legendary emperor, we are told, invented the eight *kua*, or mystic trigrams, which Chinese metaphysics identifies with the laws and elements of nature. Each trigram consisted of three lines—some continuous and representing the male principle or *yang*, some broken and representing the female principle or *yin*. In this mystic dualism the *yang* represented also the positive, active, productive and celestial principle of light, heat and life, while the *yin* represented the negative, passive and earthly principle of darkness, cold and death. Wen Wang immortalized himself, and racked the head of a billion Chinese, by doubling the number of strokes, and thereby raising to sixty-four the number of possible combinations of continuous and broken lines. To each of these arrangements some law of nature corresponded. All science and history were contained in the changeful interplay of the combinations; all wisdom lay hidden in the sixty-four *hsiangs*, or ideas symbolically represented by the trigrams; ultimately all reality could be reduced to the opposition and union of the two basic factors in the universe—the male and the female principles, the *yang* and the *yin*. The Chinese used the *Book of Changes* as a manual of divination, and considered it the greatest of their classics; he who should

understand the combinations, we are told, would grasp all the laws of nature. Confucius, who edited the volume and adorned it with commentaries, ranked it above all other writings, and wished that he might be free to spend fifty years in its study.<sup>22</sup>

This strange volume, though congenial to the subtle occultism of the Chinese soul, is alien to the positive and practical spirit of Chinese philosophy. As far back as we can pry into the past of China we find philosophers; but of those who preceded Lao-tze time has preserved only an occasional fragment or an empty name. As in India, Persia, Judea and Greece, the sixth and fifth centuries saw, in China, a brilliant outburst of philosophical and literary genius; and as in Greece, it began with an epoch of rationalist "enlightenment." An age of war and chaos opened new roads to the advancement of unpedigreed talent, and established a demand, among the people of the towns, for instructors skilled in imparting the arts of the mind. These popular teachers soon discovered the uncertainty of theology, the relativity of morals and the imperfections of governments, and began to lay about them with Utopias; several of them were put to death by authorities who found it more difficult to answer than to kill. According to one Chinese tradition Confucius himself, during his tenure of office as Minister of Crime in the Duchy of Lu, condemned to death a seditious officer on the ground that "he was capable of gathering about him large crowds of men; that his arguments could easily appeal to the mob and make perversity respectable; and that his sophistry was sufficiently recalcitrant to take a stand against the accepted judgments of right."<sup>23</sup> Szuma-Ch'ien accepts the story; some other Chinese historians reject it;<sup>24</sup> let us hope that it is not true.

The most famous of these intellectual rebels was Teng Shih, who was executed by the Duke of Cheng during the youth of Confucius. Teng, says the *Book of Lieh-tze*, "taught the doctrines of the relativity of right and wrong, and employed inexhaustible arguments."<sup>25</sup> His enemies charged him with being willing to prove one thing one day and its opposite the next, if proper remuneration were forthcoming; he offered his services to those who were trying their cases in court, and allowed no prejudice to interfere with serviceability. A hostile Chinese historian tells a pretty story of him:

A wealthy man of Teng's native state was drowned in the Wei River, and his body was taken up by a man who demanded of the

bereaved family a large sum of money for its redemption. The dead man's family sought Teng's counsel. "Wait," said the Sophist; "no other family will pay for the body." The advice was followed, and the man who held the corpse became anxious and also came to Teng Shih for advice. The Sophist gave the same counsel: "Wait; nowhere else can they obtain the body."<sup>28</sup>

Teng Shih composed a code of penology that proved too idealistic for the government of Cheng. Annoyed by pamphlets in which Teng criticized his policies, the prime minister prohibited the posting of pamphlets in public places. Teng thereupon delivered his pamphlets in person. The minister forbade the delivery of pamphlets. Teng smuggled them to his readers by concealing them in other articles. The government ended the argument by cutting off his head.<sup>29</sup>

### 6. *The Old Master*

*Lao-tze—The "Tao"—On intellectuals in government—The foolishness of laws—A Rousseauian Utopia and a Christian ethic—Portrait of a wise man—The meeting of Lao-tze and Confucius*

Lao-tze, greatest of the pre-Confucian philosophers, was wiser than Teng Shih; he knew the wisdom of silence, and lived, we may be sure, to a ripe old age—though we are not sure that he lived at all. The Chinese historian, Szuma Ch'ien, tells how Lao-tze, disgusted with the knavery of politicians and tired of his work as curator of the Royal Library of Chou, determined to leave China and seek some distant and secluded countryside. "On reaching the frontier the warden, Yin Hsi, said to him: 'So you are going into retirement. I beg you to write a book for me.' Thereupon Lao-tze wrote a book, in two parts, on *Tao* and *Te*, extending to over five thousand words. He then went away, and no one knows where he died."<sup>30</sup> Tradition, which knows everything, credits him with living eighty-seven years. All that remains of him is his name and his book, neither of which may have belonged to him. *Lao-tze* is a description, meaning "The Old Master"; his real name, we are told, was *Li*—that is to say, a plum. The book which is ascribed to him is of such doubtful



authenticity that scholars quarrel learnedly about its origin.\* But all are agreed that the *Tao-Te-Ching*—i.e., the “Book of the Way and of Virtue”—is the most important text of that Taoist philosophy which, in the opinion of Chinese students, existed long before Lao-tze, found many first-rate defenders after him, and became the religion of a considerable minority of the Chinese from his time to our own. The authorship of the *Tao-Te-Ching* is a secondary matter; but its ideas are among the most fascinating in the history of thought.

*Tao* means the Way: sometimes the Way of Nature, sometimes the Taoist Way of wise living; literally, a road. Basically, it is a way of thinking, or of refusing to think; for in the view of the Taoists thought is a superficial affair, good only for argument, and more harmful than beneficial to life; the Way is to be found by rejecting the intellect and all its wares, and leading a modest life of retirement, rusticity, and quiet contemplation of nature. Knowledge is not virtue; on the contrary, rascals have increased since education spread. Knowledge is not wisdom, for nothing is so far from a sage as an “intellectual.” The worst conceivable government would be by philosophers; they botch every natural process with theory; their ability to make speeches and multiply ideas is precisely the sign of their incapacity for action.

Those who are skilled do not dispute; the disputatious are not skilled. . . . When we renounce learning we have no troubles. . . . The sage constantly keeps men without knowledge and without desire, and where there are those who have knowledge, keeps them from presuming to act. . . . The ancients who showed their skill in practising the *Tao* did so not to enlighten the people, but to make them simple and ignorant. . . . The difficulty in governing the people arises from their having too much knowledge. He who tries to govern a state by his wisdom is a scourge to it, while he who does not do so is a blessing.<sup>40</sup>

The intellectual man is a danger to the state because he thinks in terms of regulations and laws; he wishes to construct a society like geometry, and does not realize that such regulation destroys the living freedom and

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\* Professor Giles considers it a forgery composed after 200 B.C. by free pilfering from the works of the essayist and critic, Han Fei;<sup>40</sup> Dr. Legge holds that the frequent references to Lao (as “Lao Tan”) in Chuang-tze and in Szuma Ch’ien warrant continued belief in the authenticity of the *Tao-Te-Ching*.<sup>40</sup>

vigor of the parts. The simpler man, who knows from his own experience the pleasure and efficacy of work conceived and carried out in liberty, is less of a peril when he is in power, for he does not have to be told that a law is a dangerous thing, and may injure more than it may help.<sup>4</sup> Such a ruler regulates men as little as possible; if he guides the nation it is away from all artifice and complexity towards a normal and artless simplicity, in which life would follow the wisely thoughtless routine of nature, and even writing would be put aside as an unnatural instrument of befuddlement and deviltry. Unhampered by regulations from the government, the spontaneous economic impulses of the people—their own lust for bread and love—would move the wheels of life in a simple and wholesome round. There would be few inventions, for these only add to the wealth of the rich and the power of the strong; there would be no books, no lawyers, no industries, and only village trade.

In the kingdom the multiplication of prohibitions increases the poverty of the people. The more implements to add to their profit the people have, the greater disorder is there in the state and clan; the more acts of crafty dexterity men possess, the more do strange contrivances appear; the more display there is of legislation, the more thieves and robbers there are. Therefore a sage has said: "I will do nothing, and the people will be transformed of themselves; I will be fond of keeping still, and the people will of themselves be correct. I will take no trouble about it, and the people will of themselves become rich; I will manifest no ambition, and the people will of themselves attain to the primitive simplicity. . . .

In a little state with a small population I would so order it that though there would be individuals in it with the abilities of ten or a hundred men, there should be no employment for them; I would make the people, while looking upon death as a grievous thing, yet not remove elsewhere (to avoid it). Though they had boats and carriages, they should have no occasion to ride in them; though they had buff coats and sharp weapons, they should have no occasion to don or use them. I would make the people return to the use of knotted cords.\* They should think their (coarse) food sweet, their (plain) clothes beautiful, their (poor) dwellings places of rest, and their common ways sources of enjoyment. There should

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\* A form of communication that preceded writing. The word *make* is rather un-Laotzian.

be a neighboring state within sight, and the voices of the fowls and dogs should be heard all the way from it to us; but I would make the people to old age, even to death, not have any intercourse with it."<sup>4</sup>

But what is this nature which Lao-tze wishes to accept as his guide? The Old Master draws as sharp a distinction between nature and civilization as Rousseau was to do in that gallery of echoes called "modern thought." Nature is natural activity, the silent flow of traditional events, the majestic order of the seasons and the sky; it is the *Tao*, or Way, exemplified and embodied in every brook and rock and star; it is that impartial, impersonal and yet rational law of things to which the law of conduct must conform if men desire to live in wisdom and peace. This law of things is the *Tao* or way of the universe, just as the law of conduct is the *Tao* or way of life; in truth, thinks Lao-tze, both *Taos* are one, and human life, in its essential and wholesome rhythm, is part of the rhythm of the world. In that cosmic *Tao* all the laws of nature are united and form together the Spinozistic *substance* of all reality; in it all natural forms and varieties find a proper place, and all apparent diversities and contradictions meet; it is the Absolute in which all particulars are resolved into one Hegelian unity.<sup>4</sup>

In the ancient days, says Lao, nature made men and life simple and peaceful, and all the world was happy. But then men attained "knowledge," they complicated life with inventions, they lost all mental and moral innocence, they moved from the fields to the cities, and began to write books; hence all the misery of men, and the tears of the philosophers. The wise man will shun this urban complexity, this corrupting and enervating maze of law and civilization, and will hide himself in the lap of nature, far from any town, or books, or venal officials, or vain reformers. The secret of wisdom and of that quiet content which is the only lasting happiness that man can find, is a Stoic obedience to nature, an abandonment of all artifice and intellect, a trustful acceptance of nature's imperatives in instinct and feeling, a modest imitation of nature's silent ways. Perhaps there is no wiser passage in literature than this:

All things in nature work silently. They come into being and possess nothing. They fulfil their function and make no claim. All things alike do their work, and then we see them subside. When they have reached their bloom each returns to its origin. Return-

ing to their origin means rest, or fulfilment of destiny. This reversion is an eternal law. To know that law is wisdom.<sup>44</sup>

Quiescence, a kind of philosophical inaction, a refusal to interfere with the natural courses of things, is the mark of the wise man in every field. If the state is in disorder, the proper thing to do is not to reform it, but to make one's life an orderly performance of duty; if resistance is encountered, the wiser course is not to quarrel, fight, or make war, but to retire silently, and to win, if at all, through yielding and patience; passivity has its victories more often than action. Here Lao-tze talks almost with the accents of Christ:

If you do not quarrel, no one on earth will be able to quarrel with you. . . . Recompense injury with kindness. . . . To those who are good I am good, and to those who are not good I am also good; thus (all) get to be good. To those who are sincere I am sincere, and to those who are not sincere I am also sincere; and thus (all) get to be sincere. . . . The softest thing in the world dashes against and overcomes the hardest. . . . There is nothing in the world softer or weaker than water, and yet for attacking things that are firm and strong there is nothing that can take precedence of it.<sup>45</sup>

All these doctrines culminate in Lao's conception of the sage. It is characteristic of Chinese thought that it speaks not of saints but of sages, not so much of goodness as of wisdom; to the Chinese the ideal is not the pious devotee but the mature and quiet mind, the man who, though fit to hold high place in the world, retires to simplicity and silence. Silence is the beginning of wisdom. Even of the *Tao* and wisdom the wise man does not speak, for wisdom can be transmitted never by words, only by example and experience. "He who knows (the Way) does not speak about it; he who speaks about it does not know it. He (who knows it) will keep his mouth shut and close the portals of his nostrils."<sup>46</sup> The wise man is modest, for at fifty† one should have discovered the relativity of knowledge and the frailty of wisdom; if the wise man knows more than other men he tries to conceal it; "he will temper his brightness, and bring him-

\* He adds, with reckless gallantry: "The female always overcomes the male by her stillness."<sup>46</sup>

† The Chinese think of the sage as reaching the maturity of his powers about the age of fifty, and living, through quietude and wisdom, to a century.<sup>46</sup>

self into agreement with the obscurity (of others);<sup>40</sup> he agrees with the simple rather than with the learned, and does not suffer from the novice's instinct of contradiction. He attaches no importance to riches or power, but reduces his desires to an almost Buddhist minimum:

I have nothing that I value; I desire that my heart be completely subdued, emptied to emptiness. . . . The state of emptiness should be brought to the utmost degree, and that of stillness guarded with unwearied vigor. . . . Such a man cannot be treated familiarly or distantly; he is beyond all considerations of profit or injury, of nobility or meanness; he is the noblest man under heaven.<sup>41</sup>

It is unnecessary to point out the detailed correspondence of these ideas with those of Jean-Jacques Rousseau; the two men were coins of the same mould and mint, however different in date. It is a philosophy that periodically reappears, for in every generation many men weary of the struggle, cruelty, complexity and speed of city life, and write with more idealism than knowledge about the joys of rustic routine: one must have a long urban background in order to write rural poetry. "Nature" is a term that may lend itself to any ethic and any theology; it fits the science of Darwin and the unmorality of Nietzsche more snugly than the sweet reasonableness of Lao-tze and Christ. If one follows nature and acts naturally he is much more likely to murder and eat his enemies than to practise philosophy; there is small chance of his being humble, and less of his being silent. Even the painful tillage of the soil goes against the grain of a species primordially wont to hunt and kill; agriculture is as "unnatural" as industry.—And yet there is something medicinal in this philosophy; we suspect that we, too, when our fires begin to burn low, shall see wisdom in it, and shall want the healing peace of uncrowded mountains and spacious fields. Life oscillates between Voltaire and Rousseau, Confucius and Lao-tze, Socrates and Christ. After every idea has had its day with us and we have fought for it not wisely or too well, we in our turn shall tire of the battle, and pass on to the young our thinning fascicle of ideals. Then we shall take to the woods with Jacques, Jean-Jacques and Lao-tze; we shall make friends of the animals, and discourse more contentedly than Machiavelli with simple peasant minds; we shall leave the world to stew in its own deviltry, and shall take no further thought of its reform. Perhaps we shall burn every book but one behind us, and find a summary of wisdom in the *Tao-Te-Ching*.

We may imagine how irritating this philosophy must have been to Confucius, who, at the immature age of thirty-four, came up to Lo-yang, capital of Chou, and sought the Old Master's advice on some minutæ of history.\* Lao-tze, we are told, replied with harsh and cryptic brevity:

Those about whom you inquire have moulded with their bones into dust. Nothing but their words remain. When the hour of the great man has struck he rises to leadership; but before his time has come he is hampered in all that he attempts. I have heard that the successful merchant carefully conceals his wealth, and acts as though he had nothing—that the great man, though abounding in achievements, is simple in his manners and appearance. Get rid of your pride and your many ambitions, your affectation and your extravagant aims. Your character gains nothing for all these. This is my advice to you.<sup>a</sup>

The Chinese historian relates that Confucius sensed at once the wisdom of these words, and took no offense from them; that on the contrary he said to his pupils, on his return from the dying sage: "I know how birds can fly, fishes swim, and animals run. But the runner may be snared, the swimmer hooked, and the flyer shot by the arrow. But there is the dragon—I cannot tell how he mounts on the wind through the clouds, and rises to heaven. Today I have seen Lao-tze, and can compare him only to the dragon."<sup>b</sup> Then the new master went forth to fulfil his own mission, and to become the most influential philosopher in history.

## II. CONFUCIUS

### 1. *The Sage in Search of a State*

*Birth and youth—Marriage and divorce—Pupils and methods—  
Appearance and character—The lady and the tiger—A definition of good government—Confucius in office—  
Wander-years—The consolations of old age*

K'ung-fu-tze—K'ung the Master, as his pupils called K'ung Ch'iu—was born at Ch'ufu, in the then kingdom of Lu and the present province of Shantung, in the year 551 B.C. Chinese legend, not to be outdone by any

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\* The story is told by the greatest of Chinese historians, Szuma Ch'ien,<sup>a</sup> but it may be fiction. We are shocked to find Lao-tze in the busiest city of China in his eighty-seventh year.

rival lore, tells how apparitions announced his illegitimate birth<sup>66</sup> to his young mother, how dragons kept watch, and spirit-ladies perfumed the air, as she was delivered of him in a cave. He had, we are informed, the back of a dragon, the lips of an ox, and a mouth like the sea.<sup>67</sup> He came of the oldest family now in existence, for (the Chinese genealogists assure us) he was derived in direct line from the great emperor Huang-ti, and was destined to be the father of a long succession of K'ungs, unbroken to this day. His descendants numbered eleven thousand males a century ago; the town of his birth is still populated almost entirely by the fruit of his loins—or those of his only son; and one of his progeny is Finance Minister of the present Chinese Government at Nanking.<sup>68</sup>

His father was seventy years old when K'ung was born,<sup>69</sup> and died when the boy was three. Confucius worked after school to help support his mother, and took on in childhood, perhaps, that aged gravity which was to mark nearly every step of his history. Nevertheless he had time to become skilled in archery and music; to the latter he became so addicted that once, hearing an especially delectable performance, he was moved to the point of vegetarianism: for three months he did not eat meat.<sup>70</sup> He did not immediately agree with Nietzsche about a certain incompatibility between philosophy and marriage. He married at nineteen, divorced his wife at twenty-three, and does not seem to have married again.

At twenty-two he began his career as a teacher, using his home as a schoolhouse, and charging whatever modest fee his pupils could pay. Three subjects formed the substance of his curriculum: history, poetry, and the rules of propriety. "A man's character," he said, "is formed by the Odes, developed by the Rites" (the rules of ceremony and courtesy), "and perfected by music."<sup>71</sup> Like Socrates he taught by word of mouth rather than by writing, and we know his views chiefly through the unreliable reports of his disciples. He gave to philosophers an example seldom heeded—to attack no other thinker, and waste no time in refutations. He taught no strict logical method, but he sharpened the wits of his students by gently exposing their fallacies, and making stern demands upon their alertness of mind. "When a man is not (in the habit of) saying, 'What shall I think of this? What shall I think of this?' I can indeed do nothing with him."<sup>72</sup> "I do not open up the truth to one who is not eager, nor help out any one who is not anxious to explain himself. When I have presented one corner of a subject to any one, and he cannot from it learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson."<sup>73</sup> He was confident that only the wisest

and the stupidest were beyond benefiting from instruction, and that no one could sincerely study humanistic philosophy without being improved in character as well as in mind. "It is not easy to find a man who has learned for three years without coming to be good."<sup>m</sup>

He had at first only a few pupils, but soon the news went about that behind the lips of an ox and the mouth like a sea there was a kindly heart and a well-furnished mind, and in the end he could boast that three thousand young men had studied under him, and had passed from his home to important positions in the world. Some of the students—once as many as seventy—lived with him like Hindu novices with their *guru*; and they developed an affection that often spoke out in their remonstrances against his exposure of his person to danger, or of his good name to calumny. Though always strict with them, he loved some of them more than his own son, and wept without measure when Hwuy died. "There was Yen Hwuy," he replied to Duke Gae, who had asked which of his pupils learned best; "*he* loved to learn. . . . I have not yet heard of any one who loves to learn (as he did). . . . Hwuy gave me no assistance; there was nothing that I said which did not give him delight. . . . He did not transfer his anger; he did not repeat a fault. Unfortunately, his appointed time was short, and he died; and now there is not (such another)."<sup>m</sup> Lazy students avoided him, or received short shrift from him; for he was not above instructing a sluggard with a blow of his staff, and sending him off with merciless verity. "Hard is the case of him who will stuff himself with food the whole day, without applying his mind to anything. . . . In youth not humble as befits a junior; in manhood doing nothing worthy of being handed down; and living on to an old age—this is to be a pest."<sup>m</sup>

He must have made a queer picture as he stood in his rooms, or, with nearly equal readiness, in the road, and taught his disciples history and poetry, manners and philosophy. The portraits that Chinese painters begot of him show him in his later years, with an almost hairless head gnarled and knotted with experience, and a face whose terrifying seriousness gave no inkling of the occasional humor and tenderness, and the keen esthetic sensitivity, that made him human despite his otherwise unbearable perfection. One of his music-teachers described him as he was in early middle age:

I have observed about Chung-ni many marks of a sage. He has river eyes and a dragon forehead—the very characteristics of Huang-



ti. His arms are long, his back is like a tortoise, and he is nine (Chinese) feet six inches in height. . . . When he speaks he praises the ancient kings. He moves along the path of humility and courtesy. He has heard of every subject, and retains with a strong memory. His knowledge of things seems inexhaustible. Have we not in him the rising of a sage?"

Legend assigns to his figure "forty-nine remarkable peculiarities." Once, when accident had separated him from his disciples during his wanderings, they located him at once by the report of a traveler that he had seen a monstrous-looking man with "the disconsolate appearance of a stray dog." When they repeated this description to Confucius he was much amused. "Capital!" he said, "capital!"

He was an old-fashioned teacher, who believed that the maintenance of distance was indispensable to pedagogy. He was nothing if not formal, and the rules of etiquette and courtesy were his meat and drink. He tried to check and balance the natural epicureanism of the instincts with the puritanism and stoicism of his doctrine. At times he appears to have indulged himself in self-appreciation. "In a hamlet of ten families," he said, with some moderation, "there may be found one honorable and sincere as I am, but not so fond of learning." "In letters I am perhaps equal to other men, but (the character of) the higher man, carrying out in his conduct what he professes, is what I have not yet attained to." "If there were any of the princes who would employ me, in the course of twelve months I should have done something considerable. In three years (the government) would be perfected." All in all, however, he bore his greatness with modesty. "There were four things," his disciples assure us, "from which the Master was entirely free. He had no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism." He called himself "a transmitter and not a maker," and pretended that he was merely passing down what he had learned from the good emperors Yao and Shun. He strongly desired fame and place, but he would make no dishonorable compromises to secure or retain them; again and again he refused appointments to high office from men whose government seemed to him unjust. A man should say, he counseled his scholars, "I am not concerned that I have no place; I am concerned how I may fit myself for one. I am not concerned that I am not known; I seek to be worthy to be known."

Among his pupils were the sons of Mang He, one of the ministers of the Duke of Lu. Through them Confucius was introduced to the Chou court at Lo-yang; but he kept a modest distance from the officials, preferring, as we have seen, to visit the dying sage Lao-tze. Returning to Lu, Confucius found his native province so disordered with civil strife that he removed to the neighboring state of T'si, accompanied by several of his pupils. Passing through rugged and deserted mountains on their way, they were surprised to find an old woman weeping beside a grave. Confucius sent Tsze-loo to inquire the cause of her grief. "My husband's father," she answered, "was killed here by a tiger, and my husband also; and now my son has met the same fate." When Confucius asked why she persisted in living in so dangerous a place, she replied: "There is no oppressive government here." "My children," said Confucius to his students, "remember this. Oppressive government is fiercer than a tiger."<sup>m</sup>

The Duke of Ts'i gave him audience, and was pleased with his answer to a question about good government. "There is good government when the prince is prince, and the minister is minister; when the father is father, and the son is son."<sup>m</sup> The Duke offered him for his support the revenues of the town of Lin-k'ew, but Confucius refused the gift, saying that he had done nothing to deserve such remuneration. The Duke was minded to insist on retaining him as an adviser, when his chief minister dissuaded him. "These scholars," said Gan Ying, "are impractical, and cannot be imitated. They are haughty and conceited of their own views, so that they will not be content in inferior positions. . . . This Mr. K'ung has a thousand peculiarities. It would take generations to exhaust all that he knows about the ceremonies of going up and going down."<sup>m</sup> Nothing came of it, and Confucius returned to Lu, to teach his pupils for fifteen years more before being called into public office.

His opportunity came when, at the turn of the century, he was made chief magistrate of the town of Chung-tu. According to Chinese tradition a veritable epidemic of honesty swept through the city; articles of value dropped in the street were left untouched, or returned to the owner.<sup>m</sup> Promoted by Duke Ting of Lu to be Acting Superintendent of Public Works, Confucius directed a survey of the lands of the state, and introduced many improvements in agriculture. Advanced again to be Minister of Crime, his appointment, we are told, sufficed of itself to put an end to crime. "Dishonesty and dissoluteness," say the Chinese records, "were ashamed, and hid their heads. Loyalty and good faith became the

characteristics of the men, and chastity and docility those of the women. Strangers came in crowds from other states. Confucius became the idol of the people."<sup>88</sup>

This is too good to be true, and in any case proved too good to endure. Criminals put their hidden heads together, no doubt, and laid snares for the Master's feet. Neighboring states, say the historian, grew jealous of Lu, and fearful of its rising power. A wily minister of Ts'i suggested a stratagem to alienate the Duke of Lu from Confucius. The Duke of Ts'i sent to Ting a bevy of lovely "sing-song" girls, and one hundred and twenty still more beautiful horses. The Duke of Lu was captivated, ignored the disapproval of Confucius (who had taught him that the first principle of good government is good example), and scandalously neglected his ministers and the affairs of the state. "Master," said Tsze-loo, "it is time for you to be going." Reluctantly Confucius resigned, left Lu, and began thirteen years of homeless wandering. He remarked later that he had never "seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty,"<sup>89</sup> and indeed, from some points of view, it is one of the most culpable oversights of nature that virtue and beauty so often come in separate packages.

The Master and a few faithful disciples, no longer welcome in his native state, passed now from province to province, receiving courtesies in some, undergoing dangers and privations in others. Twice they were attacked by ruffians, and once they were reduced almost to starvation, so that even Tsze-loo began to murmur that such a lot was hardly appropriate to the "higher man." The Duke of Wei offered Confucius the leadership of his government, but Confucius, disapproving of the Duke's principles, refused.<sup>90</sup> Once, as the little band was traveling through Ts'i, it came upon two old men who, in disgust with the corruption of the age, had retired like Lao-tze from public affairs and taken to a life of agricultural seclusion. One of them recognized Confucius, and reproached Tsze-loo for following him. "Disorder, like a swelling flood," said the recluse, "spreads over the whole empire; and who is he that will change it for you? Rather than follow one who withdraws from this state and that state, had you not better follow those who withdraw from the world altogether?"<sup>91</sup> Confucius gave much thought to this rebuke, but persisted in hoping that some state would again give him an opportunity to lead the way to reform and peace.

At last, in the sixty-ninth year of Confucius, Duke Gae succeeded to the throne of Lu, and sent three officers to the philosopher, bearing ap-

propriate presents and an invitation to return to his native state. During the five years of life that remained to him Confucius lived in simplicity and honor, often consulted by the leaders of Lu, but wisely retiring to a literary seclusion, and devoting himself to the congenial work of editing the classics, and writing the history, of his people. When the Duke of Shi asked Tsze-loo about his master, and Tsze-loo did not answer him, Confucius, hearing of it, said: "Why did you not say to him?—He is simply a man who, in his eager pursuit of knowledge, forgets his food; who in the joy (of its attainment) forgets his sorrows; and who does not perceive that old age is coming on."<sup>80</sup> He consoled his solitude with poetry and philosophy, and rejoiced that his instincts now accorded with his reason. "At fifteen," he said, "I had my mind bent on learning. At thirty I stood firm. At forty I was free from doubt. At fifty I knew the decrees of Heaven. At sixty my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. At seventy I could follow what my heart desired without transgressing what was right."<sup>81</sup>

He died at the age of seventy-two. Early one morning he was heard singing a mournful song:

The great mountain must crumble,  
The strong beam must break,  
And the wise man wither away like a plant.

When his pupil Tsze-kung came to him he said: "No intelligent monarch arises; there is not one in the empire that will make me his master. My time is come to die."<sup>82</sup> He took to his couch, and after seven days he expired. His students buried him with pomp and ceremony befitting their affection for him; and building huts by his grave they lived there for three years, mourning for him as for a father. When all the others had gone Tsze-kung, who had loved him even beyond the rest, remained three years more, mourning alone by the Master's tomb.<sup>83</sup>

## 2. *The Nine Classics*

He left behind him five volumes apparently written or edited by his own hand, and therefore known to China as the "Five *Ching*," or Canonical Books. First, he edited the *Li-Chi*, or *Record of Rites*, believing that these ancient rules of propriety were subtle aides to the formation and mellowing of character, and the maintenance of social order and peace. Second, he

wrote appendices and commentaries for the *I-Ching*, or *Book of Changes*, seeing in this the profoundest contribution yet made by China to that obscure realm of metaphysics which he himself had sedulously avoided in his philosophy. Third, he selected and arranged the *Shi-Ching*, or *Book of Odes*, in order to illustrate the nature of human life and the principles of morality. Fourth, he wrote the *Ch'un Ch'iu*, or *Spring and Autumn Annals*, to record with unadorned brevity the main events in the history of his own state of Lu. Fifth, and above all, he sought to inspire his pupils by gathering into a *Shu-Ching*, or *Book of History*, the most important and elevating events or legends of the early reigns, when China had been in some measure a unified empire, and its leaders, as Confucius thought, had been heroic and unselfish civilizers of the race. He did not think of his function, in these works, as that of an historian; rather he was a teacher, a moulder of youth; and he deliberately selected from the past such items as would rather inspire than disillusion his pupils; we should do him injustice if we turned to these volumes for an impartial and scientific account of Chinese history. He added to the record imaginary speeches and stories into which he poured as much as he could of his solicitude for morals and his admiration for wisdom. If he idealized the past of his country he did no more than we do with our own less ancient past; if already our earliest presidents have become sages and saints in hardly a century or two, surely to the historians of a thousand years hence they will seem as virtuous and perfect as Yao and Shun.

To these five *Ching* the Chinese add four *Shu*, or "Books" (of the Philosophers), to constitute the "Nine Classics." First and most important of these is the *Lun Yü*, or *Discourses and Dialogues*, known to the English world, through a whim of Legge's, as the "Analects"—i.e., the collected fragments—of Confucius. These pages are not from the Master's hand, but record, with exemplary clarity and brevity, his opinions and pronouncements as remembered by his followers. They were compiled within a few decades of Confucius' death, perhaps by the disciples of his disciples,\* and are the least unreliable guide that we have to his philosophy. The most interesting and instructive of all statements in the Chinese Classics appears in the fourth and fifth paragraphs\* of the second *Shu*—a work known to the Chinese as *Ta Hsieh*, or *The Great Learning*. The Confucian philosopher and editor, Chu Hsi, attributed these paragraphs to Confucius, and the remainder of the treatise to Tseng Ts'an, one of the younger disciples; Kea Kwei, a scholar of the first century A.D., attributed the work to K'ung Chi, grandson of Confucius; the sceptical scholars of today agree that the au-

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\* Quoted on p. 668 below.

thorship is unknown.<sup>86</sup> All students concur in ascribing to this grandson the third philosophical classic of China, the *Chung Yung*, or *Doctrine of the Mean*. The last of the *Shu* is the *Book of Mencius*, of which we shall speak presently. With this volume ends the classic literature, but not the classic period, of Chinese thought. There were, as we shall see, rebels and heretics of every kind to protest against that masterpiece of conservatism, the philosophy of Confucius.

### 3. *The Agnosticism of Confucius*

*A fragment of logic — The philosopher and the urchins — A formula of wisdom*

Let us try to do justice to this doctrine; it is the view of life that we shall take when we round out our first half-century, and for all that we know it may be wiser than the poetry of our youth. If we ourselves are heretics and young, this is the philosophy that we must marry to our own in order that our half-truths may beget some understanding.

We shall not find here a *system* of philosophy—i.e., a consistent structure of logic, metaphysics, ethics and politics dominated by one idea (like the palaces of Nebuchadrezzar, which bore on every brick the name of the ruler). Confucius taught the art of reasoning not through rules or syllogisms, but by the perpetual play of his keen mind upon the opinions of his pupils; when they went out from his school they knew nothing about logic, but they could think clearly and to the point. Clarity and honesty of thought and expression were the first lessons of the Master. "The whole end of speech is to be understood"<sup>86</sup>—a lesson not always remembered by philosophy. "When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not, to admit the fact—this is knowledge."<sup>87</sup> Obscurity of thought and insincere inaccuracy of speech seemed to him national calamities. If a prince who was not in actual fact and power a prince should cease to be called a prince, if a father who was not a fatherly father should cease to be called a father, if an unfilial son should cease to be called a son—then men might be stirred to reform abuses too often covered up with words. Hence when Tsze-loo told Confucius, "The prince of Wei has been waiting for you, in order with you to administer the government; what will you consider the first thing to be done?" he answered, to the astonishment of prince and pupil, "What is necessary is to rectify names."<sup>88</sup>

Since his dominating passion was the application of philosophy to conduct and government, Confucius avoided metaphysics, and tried to turn the minds of his followers from all recondite or celestial concerns. Though he made occasional mention of "Heaven" and prayer,<sup>99</sup> and counseled his disciples to observe sedulously the traditional rites of ancestor worship and national sacrifice,<sup>100</sup> he was so negative in his answers to theological questions that modern commentators agree in calling him an agnostic.<sup>101</sup> When Tsze-kung asked him, "Do the dead have knowledge, or are they without knowledge?" Confucius refused to make any definite reply.<sup>102</sup> When Ke Loo asked about "serving the spirits" (of the dead), the Master responded: "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?" Ke Loo asked: "I venture to ask about death?" and was answered: "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?"<sup>103</sup> When Fan Ch'e inquired "what constituted wisdom?" Confucius said: "To give one's self earnestly to the duties due to men, and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, may be called wisdom."<sup>104</sup> His disciples tell us that "the subjects on which the Master did not talk were extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings."<sup>105</sup> They were much disturbed by this philosophic modesty, and doubtless wished that the Master would solve for them the mysteries of heaven. The *Book of Lieh-tze* tells with glee the fable of the street-urchins who ridiculed the Master when he confessed his inability to answer their simple question—"Is the sun nearer to the earth at dawn, when it is larger, or at noon, when it is hotter?"<sup>106</sup> The only metaphysics that Confucius would recognize was the search for unity in all phenomena, and the effort to find some stabilizing harmony between the laws of right conduct and the regularities of nature. "Tsze," he said to one of his favorites, "you think, I suppose, that I am one who learns many things and keeps them in his memory?" Tsze-kung replied, "Yes, but perhaps it is not so?" "No," was the answer; "I seek unity, all-pervading."<sup>107</sup> This, after all, is the essence of philosophy.

His master passion was for morality. The chaos of his time seemed to him a moral chaos, caused perhaps by the weakening of the ancient faith and the spread of Sophist scepticism as to right and wrong; it was to be cured not by a return to the old beliefs, but by an earnest search for more complete knowledge, and a moral regeneration based upon a soundly regulated family life. The Confucian program is expressed pithily and profoundly in the famous paragraphs of *The Great Learning*:

The ancients who wished to illustrate the highest virtue throughout the empire first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their own selves. Wishing to cultivate their own selves, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things:

Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their own selves were cultivated. Their own selves being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole empire was made tranquil and happy.<sup>108</sup>

This is the keynote and substance of the Confucian philosophy; one might forget all other words of the Master and his disciples, and yet carry away with these "the essence of the matter," and a complete guide to life. The world is at war, says Confucius, because its constituent states are improperly governed; these are improperly governed because no amount of legislation can take the place of the natural social order provided by the family; the family is in disorder, and fails to provide this natural social order, because men forget that they cannot regulate their families if they do not regulate themselves; they fail to regulate themselves because they have not rectified their hearts—i.e., they have not cleansed their own souls of disorderly desires; their hearts are not rectified because their thinking is insincere, doing scant justice to reality and concealing rather than revealing their own natures; their thinking is insincere because they let their wishes discolor the facts and determine their conclusions, instead of seeking to extend their knowledge to the utmost by impartially investigating the nature of things. Let men seek impartial knowledge, and their thinking will become sincere; let their thoughts be sincere and their hearts will be cleansed of disorderly desires; let their hearts be so cleansed, and their own selves will be regulated; let their own selves be regulated, and their families will automatically be regulated—not by virtuous sermonizing or passionate punishments, but by the silent power of example itself; let the family be so regulated with knowledge, sincerity and example, and it



will give forth such spontaneous social order that successful government will once more be a feasible thing; let the state maintain internal justice and tranquillity, and all the world will be peaceful and happy.—It is a counsel of perfection, and forgets that man is a beast of prey; but like Christianity it offers us a goal to strike at, and a ladder to climb. It is one of the golden texts of philosophy.

#### 4. *The Way of the Higher Man*

##### *Another portrait of the sage — Elements of character — The Golden Rule*

Wisdom, therefore, begins at home, and the foundation of society is a disciplined individual in a disciplined family. Confucius agreed with Goethe that self-development is the root of social development; and when Tsze-loo asked him, "What constitutes the Higher Man?" he replied, "The cultivation of himself with reverential care."<sup>100</sup> Here and there, throughout the dialogues, we find him putting together, piece by piece, his picture of the ideal man—a union of philosopher and saint producing the sage. The Superman of Confucius is composed of three virtues severally selected as supreme by Socrates, Nietzsche and Christ: intelligence, courage, and good will. "The Higher Man is anxious lest he should not get truth; he is not anxious lest poverty should come upon him. . . . He is catholic, not partisan. . . . He requires that in what he says there should be nothing inaccurate."<sup>100</sup> But he is no mere intellect, not merely a scholar or a lover of knowledge; he has character as well as intelligence. "Where the solid qualities are in excess of accomplishments, we have rusticity; where the accomplishments are in excess of the solid qualities, we have the manners of a clerk. When the accomplishments and solid qualities are equally blended, we then have the man of complete virtue."<sup>101</sup> Intelligence is intellect with its feet on the earth.

The foundation of character is sincerity. "Is it not just an entire sincerity which marks the Higher Man?"<sup>102</sup> "He acts before he speaks, and afterwards speaks according to his actions."<sup>103</sup> "In archery we have something like the way of the Higher Man. When the archer misses the center of the target, he turns round and seeks for the cause of his failure in himself."<sup>104</sup> "What the Higher Man seeks is in himself; what the lower man seeks is in others. . . . The Higher Man is distressed by his want of ability,

not . . . by men's not knowing him"; and yet "he dislikes the thought of his name not being mentioned after his death."<sup>712</sup> He "is modest in his speech, but exceeds in his actions. . . . He seldom speaks; when he does he is sure to hit the point. . . . That wherein the Higher Man cannot be equaled is simply this: his work, which other men cannot see."<sup>713</sup> He is moderate in word and deed; in everything "the Higher Man conforms with the path of the mean."<sup>714</sup> For "there is no end of things by which man is affected; and when his likings and dislikings are not subject to regulation, he is changed into the nature of things as they come before him."<sup>715</sup> "The Higher Man moves so as to make his movements in all generations a universal path; he behaves so as to make his conduct in all generations a universal law; he speaks so as to make his words in all generations a universal norm."<sup>716</sup>† He accepts completely the Golden Rule, which is here laid down explicitly four centuries before Hillel and five centuries before Christ: "Chung-kung asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, . . . 'Not to do unto others as you would not wish done unto yourself.'<sup>717</sup> The principle is stated again and again, always negatively, and once in a single word. "Tsze-kung asked, 'Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?' The Master said, 'Is not *reciprocity* such a word?'"<sup>718</sup> Nevertheless he did not wish, like Lao-tze, to return good for evil; and when one of his pupils asked him, "What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?" he replied, more sharply than was his custom: "With what, then, will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness."<sup>719</sup>

The very basis of the Higher Man's character is an overflowing sympathy towards all men. He is not angered by the excellences of other men; when he sees men of worth he thinks of equaling them; when he sees men of low worth he turns inward and examines himself;<sup>720</sup> for there are few faults that we do not share with our neighbors. He pays no attention to slander or violent speech.<sup>721</sup> He is courteous and affable to all, but he does not gush forth indiscriminate praise.<sup>722</sup> He treats his inferiors without contempt, and his superiors without seeking to court their favor.<sup>723</sup> He is grave in deportment, since men will not take seriously one who is not serious with them; he is slow in words and earnest in conduct; he is not quick with his tongue, or given to clever repartee; he is earnest because he has work to do—and this is the secret of his unaffected dignity.<sup>724</sup> He is courteous even to his familiars, but maintains his reserve towards all, even his son.<sup>725</sup> Confucius sums up the

\* Cf. Spinoza: "We are tossed about by external causes in many ways, and like waves driven by contrary winds, we waver and are unconscious of the issue and our fate."<sup>712</sup>

† Cf. one of Kant's formulations of the "Categorical Imperative" of morals: "So to will that the maxim of thy conduct can become a universal law."<sup>713</sup>

qualities of his "Higher Man"—so similar to the *Megalopsychos*, or "Great-Minded Man," of Aristotle—in these words:

The Higher Man has nine things which are subjects with him of thoughtful consideration. In regard to the use of his eyes he is anxious to see clearly. . . . In regard to his countenance he is anxious that it should be benign. In regard to his demeanor he is anxious that it should be respectful. In regard to his speech he is anxious that it should be sincere. In regard to his doing of business he is anxious that it should be reverently careful. In regard to what he doubts about, he is anxious to question others. When he is angry he thinks of the difficulties his anger may involve him in. When he sees gain to be got he thinks of righteousness.<sup>120</sup>

### 5. Confucian Politics

*Popular sovereignty—Government by example—The decentralization of wealth—Music and manners—Socialism and revolution*

None but such men, in the judgment of Confucius, could restore the family and redeem the state. Society rests upon the obedience of the children to their parents, and of the wife to her husband; when these go, chaos comes.<sup>121</sup> Only one thing is higher than this law of obedience, and that is the moral law. "In serving his parents (a son) may remonstrate with them, but gently; when he sees that they do not incline to follow (his advice), he shows an increased degree of reverence, but does not abandon (his purpose). . . . When the command is wrong, a son should resist his father, and a minister should resist his August Master."<sup>122</sup> Here was one root of Mencius' doctrine of the divine right of revolution.

There was not much of the revolutionist in Confucius; perhaps he suspected that the inheritors of a revolution are made of the same flesh as the men whom it deposed. But he wrote bravely enough in the *Book of Odes*: "Before the sovereigns of the Shang (Dynasty) had lost (the hearts of) the people, they were the mates of God. Take warning from the house of Shang. The great decree is not easily preserved."<sup>123</sup> The people are the actual and proper source of political sovereignty, for any government that does not retain their confidence sooner or later falls.

Tsze-kung asked about government. The Master said, "(The requisites of government) are three: that there should be suffi-

ciency of food, sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler." Tsze-kung said, "If it cannot be helped, and one of these must be dispensed with, which of the three should be foregone first?" "The military equipment," said the Master. Tsze-kung asked again, "If it cannot be helped, and one of the remaining two must be dispensed with, which of them should be foregone?" The Master answered, "Part with the food. From of old, death has been the lot of all men; but if the people have no faith (in their rulers) there is no standing (for the state)."<sup>128</sup>

The first principle of government, in the view of Confucius, is as the first principle of character—sincerity. Therefore the prime instrument of government is good example: the ruler must be an eminence of model behavior, from which, by prestige imitation, right conduct will pour down upon his people.

Ke K'ang asked Confucius about government, saying, "What do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?" Confucius replied, "Sir, in carrying on your government, why should you use killing at all? Let your (evinced) desires be for what is good, and the people will be good. The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows across it. . . . He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place, and all the stars turn toward it. . . . Ke K'ang asked how to cause the people to reverence (their ruler), to be faithful to him, and to urge themselves to virtue. The Master said, "Let him preside over them with gravity—then they will reverence him. Let him be filial and kind to all—then they will be faithful to him. Let him advance the good and teach the incompetent—then they will eagerly seek to be virtuous."<sup>129</sup>

As good example is the first instrument of government, good appointments are the second. "Employ the upright and put aside the crooked; in this way the crooked can be made to be upright."<sup>130</sup> "The administration of government," says the *Doctrine of the Mean*, "lies in (getting proper) men. Such men are to be got by means of (the ruler's) own character."<sup>131</sup> What would not a ministry of Higher Men do, even in one generation, to cleanse the state and guide the people to a loftier

level of civilization?<sup>1757</sup> First of all, they would avoid foreign relations as much as possible, and seek to make their state so independent of outside supplies that it would never be tempted to war for them. They would reduce the luxury of courts, and seek a wide distribution of wealth, for "the centralization of wealth is the way to scatter the people, and letting it be scattered among them is the way to collect the people."<sup>1758</sup> They would decrease punishments, and increase public instruction; for "there being instruction, there will be no distinction of classes."<sup>1759</sup> The higher subjects would be forbidden to the mediocre, but music would be taught to all. "When one has mastered music completely, and regulates his heart and mind accordingly, the natural, correct, gentle and sincere heart is easily developed, and joy attends its development. . . . The best way to improve manners and customs is to . . . pay attention to the composition of the music played in the country.\* . . . Manners and music should not for a moment be neglected by any one. . . . Benevolence is akin to music, and righteousness to good manners."<sup>1760</sup>

Good manners, too, must be a care of the government, for when manners decay the nation decays with them. Imperceptibly the rules of propriety form at least the outward character,<sup>161</sup> and add to the sage the graciousness of the gentleman; we become what we do. Politically "the usages of propriety serve as dykes for the people against evil excesses"; and "he who thinks the old embankments useless, and destroys them, is sure to suffer from the desolation caused by overflowing water":<sup>168</sup> one almost hears the stern voice of the angry Master echoing those words today from that Hall of the Classics where once all his words were engraved in stone, and which revolution has left desecrated and forlorn.

And yet Confucius too had his Utopias and dreams, and might have sympathized at times with men who, convinced that the dynasty had lost "the great decree" or "mandate of Heaven," dragged down one system of order in the hope of rearing a better one on the ruins. In the end he became a socialist, and gave his fancy rein:

When the Great Principle (of the Great Similarity) prevails, the whole world becomes a republic; they elect men of talents, virtue and ability; they talk about sincere agreement, and cultivate universal peace. Thus men do not regard as their parents only their

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\* "Let me write the songs of a nation," said Daniel O'Connell, "and I care not who makes its laws."

own parents, nor treat as their children only their own children. A competent provision is secured for the aged till their death, employment for the middle-aged, and the means of growing up for the young. The widowers, widows, orphans, childless men, and those who are disabled by disease, are all sufficiently maintained. Each man has his rights, and each woman her individuality safeguarded. They produce wealth, disliking that it should be thrown away upon the ground, but not wishing to keep it for their own gratification. Disliking idleness they labor, but not alone with a view to their own advantage. In this way selfish schemings are repressed and find no way to arise. Robbers, filchers and rebellious traitors do not exist. Hence the outer doors remain open, and are not shut. This is the state of what I call the Great Similarity.<sup>148</sup>

### 6. *The Influence of Confucius*

#### *The Confucian scholars—Their victory over the Legalists—Defects of Confucianism—The contemporaneity of Confucius*

The success of Confucius was posthumous, but complete. His philosophy had struck a practical and political note that endeared it to the Chinese after death had removed the possibility of his insisting upon its realization. Since men of letters never quite reconcile themselves to being men of letters, the *literati* of the centuries after Confucius attached themselves sedulously to his doctrine as a road to influence and public employment, and created a class of Confucian scholars destined to become the most powerful group in the empire. Schools sprang up here and there for the teaching of the Master's philosophy as handed down by his disciples, developed by Mencius, and emended by a thousand pundits in the course of time; and these schools, as the intellectual centers of China, kept civilization alive during centuries of political collapse, much as the monks preserved some measure of ancient culture, and some degree of social order, during the Dark Ages that followed the fall of Rome.

A rival school, the "Legalists," disputed for a while this leadership of Confucian thought in the political world, and occasionally moulded the policy of the state. To make government depend upon the good example of the governors and the inherent goodness of the governed, said the Legalists, was to take a considerable risk; history had offered no superabundance of precedents for the successful operation of these idealistic principles. Not men but laws should rule, they argued; and laws

must be enforced until, becoming a second nature to a society, they are obeyed without force. The people are not intelligent enough to rule themselves well; they prosper best under an aristocracy. Even tradesmen are not too intelligent, but pursue their interests very often to the detriment of the state; perhaps, said some of the Legalists, it would be wiser for the state to socialize capital, monopolize trade, and prevent the manipulation of prices and the concentration of wealth.<sup>14</sup> These were ideas that were destined to appear again and again in the history of Chinese government.

In the long run the philosophy of Confucius triumphed. We shall see later how the mighty Shih Huang-ti, with a Legalist for his prime minister, sought to end the influence of Confucius by ordering that all existing Confucian literature should be burned. But the power of the word proved stronger than that of the sword; the books which the "First Emperor" sought to destroy became holy and precious through his enmity, and men died as martyrs in the effort to preserve them. When Shih Huang-ti and his brief dynasty had passed away, a wiser emperor, Wu Ti, brought the Confucian literature out of hiding, gave office to its students, and strengthened the Han Dynasty by introducing the ideas and methods of Confucius into the education of Chinese youth and statesmanship. Sacrifices were decreed in honor of Confucius; the texts of the Classics were by imperial command engraved on stone, and became the official religion of the state. Rivalled at times by the influence of Taoism, and eclipsed for a while by Buddhism, Confucianism was restored and exalted by the T'ang Dynasty, and the great T'ai Tsung ordered that a temple should be erected to Confucius, and sacrifices offered in it by scholars and officials, in every town and village of the empire. During the Sung Dynasty a virile school of "Neo-Confucians" arose, whose innumerable commentaries on the Classics spread the philosophy of the Master, in varied dilutions, throughout the Far East, and stimulated a philosophical development in Japan. From the rise of the Han Dynasty to the fall of the Manchus—i.e., for two thousand years—the doctrine of Confucius moulded and dominated the Chinese mind.

The history of China might be written in terms of that influence. For generation after generation the writings of the Master were the texts of the official schools, and nearly every lad who came through those schools had learned those texts by heart. The stoic conservatism of the ancient sage sank almost into the blood of the people, and gave to the nation, and

to its individuals, a dignity and profundity unequaled elsewhere in the world or in history. With the help of this philosophy China developed a harmonious community life, a zealous admiration for learning and wisdom, and a quiet and stable culture which made Chinese civilization strong enough to survive every invasion, and to remould every invader in its own image. Only in Christianity and in Buddhism can we find again so heroic an effort to transmute into decency the natural brutality of men. And today, as then, no better medicine could be prescribed for any people suffering from the disorder generated by an intellectualist education, a decadent moral code, and a weakened fibre of individual and national character, than the absorption of the Confucian philosophy by the nation's youth.

But that philosophy could not be a complete nourishment in itself. It was well fitted to a nation struggling out of chaos and weakness into order and strength, but it would prove a shackle upon a country compelled by international competition to change and grow. The rules of propriety, destined to form character and social order, became a strait-jacket forcing almost every vital action into a prescribed and unaltered mould. There was something prim and Puritan about Confucianism which checked too thoroughly the natural and vigorous impulses of mankind; its virtue was so complete as to bring sterility. No room was left in it for pleasure and adventure, and little for friendship and love. It helped to keep woman in supine debasement,<sup>245</sup> and its cold perfection froze the nation into a conservatism as hostile to progress as it was favorable to peace.

We must not blame all this upon Confucius; one cannot be expected to do the thinking of twenty centuries. We ask of a thinker only that, as the result of a lifetime of thought, he shall in some way illuminate our path to understanding. Few men have done this more certainly than Confucius. As we read him, and perceive how little of him must be erased today because of the growth of knowledge and the change of circumstance, how soundly he offers us guidance even in our contemporary world, we forget his platitudes and his unbearable perfection, and join his pious grandson, K'ung Chi in that superlative eulogy which began the deification of Confucius:

Chung-ni (Confucius) handed down the doctrines of Yao and Shun as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the



regulations of Wen and Wu, taking them as his model. Above he harmonized with the times of heaven, and below he was conformed to the water and land.

He may be compared to heaven and earth in their supporting and containing, their overshadowing and curtaining, all things. He may be compared to the four seasons in their alternating progress, and to the sun and moon in their successive shining. . . .

All-embracing and vast, he is like heaven. Deep and active as a fountain, he is like the abyss. He is seen, and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people are all pleased with him.

Therefore his fame overspreads the Middle Kingdom, and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach, wherever the strength of man penetrates, wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains, wherever the sun and moon shine, wherever frosts and dews fall—all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honor and love him. Hence it is said: "He is the equal of Heaven."<sup>148</sup>

### III. SOCIALISTS AND ANARCHISTS

The two hundred years that followed upon Confucius were centuries of lively controversy and raging heresy. Having discovered the pleasures of philosophy, some men, like Hui Sze and Kung Sun Lung, played with logic, and invented paradoxes of reasoning as varied and subtle as Zeno's.<sup>147</sup> Philosophers flocked to the city of Lo-yang as, in the same centuries, they were flocking to Benares and Athens; and they enjoyed in the Chinese capital all that freedom of speech and thought which made Athens the intellectual center of the Mediterranean world. Sophists called *Tsung-heng-kia*, or "Crisscross Philosophers," crowded the capital to teach all and sundry the art of persuading any man to anything.<sup>148</sup> To Lo-yang came Mencius, inheritor of the mantle of Confucius, Chuang-tze, greatest of Lao-tze's followers, Hsün-tze, the apostle of original evil, and Mo Ti, the prophet of universal love.

#### 1. Mo Ti, Altruist

##### *An early logician—Christian—and pacifist*

"Mo Ti," said his enemy, Mencius, "loved all men, and would gladly wear out his whole being from head to heel for the benefit of mankind."<sup>149</sup>

He was a native of Lu, like Confucius, and flourished shortly after the passing of the sage. He condemned the impracticality of Confucius' thought, and offered to replace it by exhorting all men to love one another. He was among the earliest of Chinese logicians, and the worst of Chinese reasoners. He stated the problem of logic with great simplicity:

These are what I call the Three Laws of Reasoning:

1. Where to find the foundation. Find it in the study of the experiences of the wisest men of the past.
2. How to take a general survey of it? Examine the facts of the actual experience of the people.
3. How to apply it? Put it into law and governmental policy, and see whether or not it is conducive to the welfare of the state and the people.<sup>100</sup>

On this basis Mo Ti proceeded to prove that ghosts and spirits are real, for many people have seen them. He objected strongly to Confucius' coldly impersonal view of heaven, and argued for the personality of God. Like Pascal, he thought religion a good wager: if the ancestors to whom we sacrifice hear us, we have made a good bargain; if they are quite dead, and unconscious of our offerings, the sacrifice gives us an opportunity to "gather our relatives and neighbors and participate in the enjoyment of the sacrificial victuals and drinks."<sup>101</sup>

In the same manner, reasons Mo Ti, universal love is the only solution of the social problem; for if it were applied there is no doubt that it would bring Utopia. "Men in general loving one another, the strong would not make prey of the weak, the many would not plunder the few, the rich would not insult the poor, the noble would not be insolent to the mean, and the deceitful would not impose upon the simple."<sup>102</sup> Selfishness is the source of all evil, from the acquisitiveness of the child to the conquest of an empire. Mo Ti marvels that a man who steals a pig is universally condemned and generally punished, while a man who invades and appropriates a kingdom is a hero to his people and a model to posterity.<sup>103</sup> From this pacifism Mo Ti advanced to such vigorous criticism of the state that his doctrine verged on anarchism, and frightened the authorities.<sup>104</sup> Once, his biographers assure us, when the State Engineer of the Kingdom of Chu was about to invade the state of Sung in order to test a new siege ladder which he had invented, Mo Ti dissuaded him by preaching to him his doctrine of universal love and peace. "Before I met you," said the

Engineer, "I had wanted to conquer the state of Sung. But since I have seen you I would not have it even if it were given to me without resistance but with no just cause." "If so," replied Mo Ti, "it is as if I had already given you the state of Sung. Do persist in your righteous course, and I will give you the whole world."<sup>286</sup>

The Confucian scholars, as well as the politicians of Lo-yang, met these amiable proposals with laughter.<sup>287</sup> Nevertheless Mo Ti had his followers, and for two centuries his views became the religion of a pacifistic sect. Two of his disciples, Sung Ping and Kung Sun Lung, waged active campaigns for disarmament.<sup>287</sup> Han Fei, the greatest critic of his age, attacked the movement from what we might call a Nietzschean standpoint, arguing that until men had actually sprouted the wings of universal love, war would continue to be the arbiter of nations. When Shih Huang-ti ordered his famous "burning of the books," the literature of Mohism was cast into the flames along with the volumes of Confucius; and unlike the writings and doctrines of the Master, the new religion did not survive the conflagration.<sup>288</sup>

## 2. *Yang Chu, Egoist*

### *An epicurean determinist—The case for wickedness*

Meanwhile a precisely opposite doctrine had found vigorous expression among the Chinese. Yang Chu, of whom we know nothing except through the mouths of his enemies,<sup>289</sup> announced paradoxically that life is full of suffering, and that its chief purpose is pleasure. There is no god, said Yang, and no after-life; men are the helpless puppets of the blind natural forces that made them, and that gave them their unchosen ancestry and their inalienable character.<sup>290</sup> The wise man will accept this fate without complaint, but will not be fooled by all the nonsense of Confucius and Mo Ti about inherent virtue, universal love, and a good name: morality is a deception practised upon the simple by the clever; universal love is the delusion of children who do not know the universal enmity that forms the law of life; and a good name is a posthumous bauble which the fools who paid so dearly for it cannot enjoy. In life the good suffer like the bad, and the wicked seem to enjoy themselves more keenly than the good.<sup>291</sup> The wisest men of antiquity were not moralists and rulers, as Confucius supposed, but sensible sensualists who had the good fortune to antedate the legislators and the philosophers, and who enjoyed the pleasures of every impulse. It is true that the wicked sometimes leave a bad name

behind them, but this is a matter that does not disturb their bones. Consider, says Yang Chu, the fate of the good and the evil:

All agree in considering Shun, Yü, Chou-kung and Confucius to have been the most admirable of men, and Chieh and Chou the most wicked.\*

Now Shun had to plough the ground on the south of the Ho, and to play the potter by the Lei lake. His four limbs had not even a temporary rest; for his mouth and belly he could not even find pleasant food and warm clothing. No love of his parents rested upon him; no affection of his brothers and sisters. . . . When Yao at length resigned to him the throne, he was advanced in age; his wisdom was decayed; his son Shang-chun proved without ability; and he had finally to resign the throne to Yü. Sorrowfully came he to his death. Of all mortals never was one whose life was so worn out and empoisoned as his. . . .

All the energies of Yü were spent on his labors with the land; a child was born to him, but he could not foster it; he passed his door without entering; his body became bent and withered; the skin of his hands and feet became thick and callous. When at length Shun resigned to him the throne, he lived in a low mean house, though his sacrificial apron and cap were elegant. Sorrowfully came he to his death. Of all mortals never was one whose life was so saddened and embittered as his. . . .

Confucius understood the ways of the ancient sovereigns and kings. He responded to the invitations of the princes of his time. The tree was cut down over him in Sung; the traces of his footsteps were removed in Wei; he was reduced to extremity in Shang and Chou; he was surrounded in Ch'an and Ts'i; . . . he was disgraced by Yang Hu. Sorrowfully came he to his death. Of all mortals never was one whose life was so agitated and hurried as his.

These four sages, during their lives, had not a single day's joy. Since their death they have had a fame that will last through myriads of ages. But that fame is what no one who cares for what is real would chose. Celebrate them—they do not know it. Reward them—they do not know it. Their fame is no more to them than to the trunk of a tree, or a clod of earth.

(On the other hand) Chieh came into the accumulated wealth of

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\* For Shun and Yü cf. page 644 above; for Chieh and Chou (Hsin) cf. pp. 644-5.

acknowledge the peculiar affection due to a father. To acknowledge neither king nor father is to be in the state of a beast. If their principles are not stopped, and the principles of Confucius set forth, their perverse speaking will delude the people, and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness.

I am alarmed by these things, and address myself to the defense of the doctrines of the former sages, and to oppose Yang and Mo. I drive away their licentious expressions, so that such perverse speakers may not be able to show themselves. When sages shall rise up again, they will not change my words.<sup>104</sup>

### 3. Mencius, Mentor of Princes

*A model mother — A philosopher among kings — Are men by nature good?—Single tax—Mencius and the communists  
—The profit-motive—The right of revolution*

Mencius, destined to be second in fame to Confucius alone in the rich annals of Chinese philosophy, belonged to the ancient family of Mang; his name Mang Ko was changed by an imperial decree to Mang-tze—i.e., Mang the Master or Philosopher; and the Latin-trained scholars of Europe transformed him into Mencius, as they had changed K'ung-fu-tze into Confucius.

We know the mother of Mencius almost as intimately as we know him; for Chinese historians, who have made her famous as a model of maternity, recount many pretty stories of her. Thrice, we are told, she changed her residence on his account: once because they lived near a cemetery, and the boy began to behave like an undertaker; another time because they lived near a slaughterhouse, and the boy imitated too well the cries of the slain animals; and again because they lived near a market place, and the boy began to act the part of a tradesman; finally she found a home near a school, and was satisfied. When the boy neglected his studies she cut through, in his presence, the thread of her shuttle; and when he asked why she did so destructive a thing, she explained that she was but imitating his own negligence, and the lack of continuity in his studies and his development. He became an assiduous student, married, resisted the temptation to divorce his wife, opened a school of philosophy, gathered a famous collection of students about him, and received invitations from various princes to come and discuss with them his theories of government. He hesitated to leave his mother in her old age, but she sent

him off with a speech that endeared her to all Chinese males, and may have been composed by one of them.

It does not belong to a woman to determine anything of herself, but she is subject to the rule of the three obediences. When young she has to obey her parents; when married she has to obey her husband; when a widow she has to obey her son. You are a man in your full maturity, and I am old. Do you act as your conviction of righteousness tells you you ought to do, and I will act according to the rule which belongs to me. Why should you be anxious about me?<sup>100</sup>

He went, for the itch to teach is a part of the itch to rule; scratch the one and find the other. Like Voltaire, Mencius preferred monarchy to democracy, on the ground that in democracy it is necessary to educate all if the government is to succeed, while under monarchy it is only required that the philosopher should bring one man—the king—to wisdom, in order to produce the perfect state. "Correct what is wrong in the prince's mind. Once rectify the prince, and the kingdom will be settled."<sup>100</sup> He went first to Ch'i, and tried to rectify its Prince Hsuan; he accepted an honorary office, but refused the salary that went with it; and soon finding that the Prince was not interested in philosophy, he withdrew to the small principality of T'ang, whose ruler became a sincere but ineffectual pupil. Mencius returned to Ch'i, and proved his growth in wisdom and understanding by accepting a lucrative office from Prince Hsuan. When, during these comfortable years, his mother died, he buried her with such pomp that his pupils were scandalized; he explained to them that it was only a sign of his filial devotion. Some years later Hsuan set out upon a war of conquest, and, resenting Mencius' untimely pacifism, terminated his employment. Hearing that the Prince of Sung had expressed his intention of ruling like a philosopher, Mencius journeyed to his court, but found that the report had been exaggerated. Like the men invited to an ancient wedding-feast, the various princes had many excuses for not being rectified. "I have an infirmity," said one of them; "I love valor." "I have an infirmity," said another; "I am fond of wealth."<sup>101</sup> Mencius retired from public life, and gave his declining years to the instruction of students and the composition of a work in which he described his conversations with the royalty of his time. We cannot tell to what extent these should be classed with those of Walter Savage Landor;

nor do we know whether this composition was the work of Mencius himself, or of his pupils, or of neither, or of both.<sup>128</sup> We can only say that the *Book of Mencius* is one of the most highly honored of China's philosophical classics.

His doctrine is as severely secular as that of Confucius. There is little here about logic, or epistemology, or metaphysics; the Confucians left such subtleties to the followers of Lao-tze, and confined themselves to moral and political speculation. What interests Mencius is the charting of the good life, and the establishment of government by good men. His basic claim is that men are by nature good,<sup>129</sup> and that the social problem arises not out of the nature of men but out of the wickedness of governments. Hence philosophers must become kings, or the kings of this world must become philosophers.

"Now, if your Majesty will institute a government whose action will be benevolent, this will cause all the officers in the kingdom to wish to stand in your Majesty's court, and all the farmers to wish to plough in your Majesty's fields, and all the merchants to wish to store their goods in your Majesty's market-places, and all traveling strangers to wish to make their tours on your Majesty's roads, and all throughout the Kingdom who feel aggrieved by their rulers to wish to come and complain to your Majesty. And when they are so bent, who will be able to keep them back?"

The King said, "I am stupid, and not able to advance to this."<sup>130</sup>

The good ruler would war not against other countries, but against the common enemy—poverty, for it is out of poverty and ignorance that crime and disorder come. To punish men for crimes committed as the result of a lack of opportunities offered them for employment is a dastardly trap to set for the people.<sup>131</sup> A government is responsible for the welfare of its people, and should regulate economic processes accordingly.<sup>132</sup> It should tax chiefly the ground itself, rather than what is built or done on it;<sup>133</sup> it should abolish all tariffs, and should develop universal and compulsory education as the soundest basis of a civilized development; "good laws are not equal to winning the people by good instruction."<sup>134</sup> "That whereby man differs from the lower animals is but small. Most people throw it away; only superior men preserve it."<sup>135</sup>

We perceive how old are the political problems, attitudes and solutions of our enlightened age when we learn that Mencius was rejected by the

princes for his radicalism, and was scorned for his conservatism by the socialists and communists of his time. When the "shrike-tongued barbarian of the south," Hsu Hsing, raised the flag of the proletarian dictatorship, demanding that workingmen should be made the heads of the state ("The magistrates," said Hsu, "should be laboring men"), and many of "The Learned," then as now, flocked to the new standard, Mencius rejected the idea scornfully, and argued that government should be in the hands of educated men.<sup>27</sup> But he denounced the profit-motive in human society, and rebuked Sung K'ang for proposing to win the kings to pacifism by persuading them, in modern style, of the unprofitableness of war.

Your aim is great, but your argument is not good. If you, starting from the point of profit, offer your persuasive counsels to the kings of Ch'in and Ch'i, and if those kings are pleased with the consideration of profit so as to stop the movements of their armies, then all belonging to those armies will rejoice in the cessation (of war), and will find their pleasures in (the pursuit of) profit. Ministers will serve the sovereign for the profit of which they cherish the thought; sons will serve their fathers, and younger brothers will serve their elder brothers, from the same consideration; and the issue will be that, abandoning benevolence and righteousness, sovereign and minister, father and son, younger brother and elder, will carry on all their intercourse with this thought of profit cherished in their breasts. But never has there been such a state (of society), without ruin being the result of it.<sup>28</sup>

He recognized the right of revolution, and preached it in the face of kings. He denounced war as a crime, and shocked the hero-worshippers of his time by writing: "There are men who say: 'I am skilful at marshaling troops, I am skilful at conducting a battle.' They are great criminals."<sup>29</sup> "There has never been a good war," he said.<sup>30</sup> He condemned the luxury of the courts, and sternly rebuked the king who fed his dogs and swine while famine was consuming his people.<sup>31</sup> When a king argued that he could not prevent famine, Mencius told him that he should resign.<sup>32</sup> "The people," he taught, "are the most important element (in a nation); . . . the sovereign is the lightest";<sup>33</sup> and the people have the right to depose their rulers, even, now and then, to kill them.

The King Hsuan asked about the high ministers. . . . Mencius answered: "If the princes have great faults, they ought to remon-



strate with him; and if he do not listen to them after they have done so again and again, they ought to dethrone him." . . . Mencius proceeded: "Suppose that the chief criminal judge could not regulate the officers (under him), how would you deal with him?" The King said, "Dismiss him." Mencius again said: "If within the four borders (of your kingdom) there is not good government, what is to be done?" The King looked to the right and left, and spoke of other matters. . . . The King Hsuan asked, "Was it so that T'ang banished Chieh, and that King Wu smote Chou (Hsin)?" Mencius replied, "It is so in the records." The King said, "May a minister put his sovereign to death?" Mencius said: "He who outrages the benevolence (proper to his nature) is called a robber; he who outrages righteousness is called a ruffian. The robber and the ruffian we call a mere fellow. I have heard of the cutting off of the fellow Chou, but I have not heard of putting a sovereign to death."<sup>28</sup>

It was brave doctrine, and had much to do with the establishment of the principle, recognized by the kings as well as the people of China, that a ruler who arouses the enmity of his people has lost the "mandate of Heaven," and may be removed. It is not to be marveled at that Hung-wu, founder of the Ming Dynasty, having read with great indignation the conversations of Mencius with King Hsuan, ordered Mencius to be degraded from his place in the temple of Confucius, where a royal edict of 1084 had erected his tablet. But within a year the tablet was restored; and until the Revolution of 1911 Mencius remained one of the heroes of China, the second great name and influence in the history of Chinese orthodox philosophy. To him and to Chu Hsi\* Confucius owed his intellectual leadership of China for more than two thousand years.

#### 4. Hsün-tze, Realist

##### *The evil nature of man—The necessity of law*

There were many weaknesses in Mencius' philosophy, and his contemporaries exposed them with a fierce delight. Was it true that men were by nature good, and were led to evil only by wicked institutions?—or was human nature itself responsible for the ills of society? Here was an early formulation of a conflict that has raged for some eons between reformers and conservatives. Does education diminish crime, increase virtue,

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\* Cf. p. 731 below.

and lead men into Utopia? Are philosophers fit to govern states, or do their theories worse confound the confusion which they seek to cure?

The ablest and most hardheaded of Mencius' critics was a public official who seems to have died at the age of seventy about the year 235 B.C. As Mencius had believed human nature to be good in all men, so Hsün-tze believed it to be bad in all men; even Shun and Yao were savages at birth.<sup>154</sup> Hsün, in the fragment that remains of him, writes like another Hobbes:

The nature of man is evil; the good which it shows is factitious.\* There belongs to it, even at his birth, the love of gain; and as actions are in accordance with this, contentions and robberies grow up, and self-denial and yielding to others are not to be found (by nature); there belong to it envy and dislike, and as actions are in accordance with these, violence and injuries spring up, and self-devotedness and faith are not to be found; there belong to it the desires of the ears and the eyes, leading to the love of sounds and beauty, and as the actions are in accordance with these, lewdness and disorder spring up, and righteousness and propriety, with their various orderly displays, are not to be found. It thus appears that to follow man's nature and yield obedience to its feelings will assuredly conduct to contentions and robberies, to the violation of the duties belonging to every one's lot, and the confounding of all distinctions, till the issue will be a state of savagery; and that there must be the influence of teachers and laws, and the guidance of propriety and righteousness, from which will spring self-denial, yielding to others, and an observance of the well-ordered regulations of conduct, till the issue will be a state of good government. . . . The sage kings of antiquity, understanding that the nature of man was thus evil, . . . set up the principles of righteousness and propriety, and framed laws and regulations to straighten and ornament the feelings of that nature and correct them, . . . so that they might all go forth in the way of moral government and in agreement with reason.<sup>155</sup>

Hsün-tze concluded, like Turgeniev, that nature is not a temple but a workshop; she provides the raw material, but intelligence must do the rest. By proper training, he thought, these naturally evil men might be transformed even into saints, if that should be desirable.<sup>156</sup> Being also a poet, he put Francis Bacon into doggerel:

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\* I.e., the good in man is not born but made—by institutions and education.

You glorify Nature and meditate on her;  
 Why not domesticate her and regulate her?  
 You obey Nature and sing her praise;  
 Why not control her course and use it?  
 You look upon the seasons with reverence, and await them;  
 Why not respond to them by seasonly activities?  
 You depend on things and marvel at them;  
 Why not unfold your own ability and transform them?<sup>187</sup>

### 5. Chuang-tze, Idealist

*The Return to Nature—Governmentless society—The Way of Nature—The limits of the intellect—The evolution of man—The Button-Moulder—The influence of Chinese philosophy in Europe*

The "return to Nature," however, could not be so readily discouraged; it found voice in this age as in every other, and by what might be called a natural accident its exponent was the most eloquent writer of his time. Chuang-tze, loving Nature as the only mistress who always welcomed him, whatever his infidelities or his age, poured into his philosophy the poetic sensitivity of a Rousseau, and yet sharpened it with the satiric wit of a Voltaire. Who could imagine Mencius so far forgetting himself as to describe a man as having "a large goitre like an earthenware jar?"<sup>188</sup> Chuang belongs to literature as well as to philosophy.

He was born in the province of Sung, and held minor office for a time in the city of Khi-yüan. He visited the same courts as Mencius, but neither, in his extant writings, mentions the other's name; perhaps they loved each other like contemporaries. Story has it that he refused high office twice. When the Duke of Wei offered him the prime ministry he dismissed the royal messengers with a curtness indicative of a writer's dreams: "Go away quickly, and do not soil me with your presence. I had rather amuse and enjoy myself in a filthy ditch than be subject to the rules and restrictions in the court of a sovereign."<sup>189</sup> While he was fishing two great officers brought him a message from the King of Khu: "I wish to trouble you with the charge of all my territories." Chuang, Chuang tells us, answered without turning away from his fishing:

"I have heard that in Khu there is a spirit-like tortoise-shell, the wearer of which died three thousand years ago, and which the

king keeps, in his ancestral temple, in a hamper covered with a cloth. Was it better for the tortoise to die and leave its shell to be thus honored? Or would it have been better for it to live, and keep on dragging its tail after it over the mud?" The two officers said, "It would have been better for it to live, and draw its tail after it over the mud." "Go your ways," said Chuang; "I will keep on drawing my tail after me through the mud."<sup>180</sup>

His respect for governments equaled that of his spiritual ancestor, Lao-tze. He took delight in pointing out how many qualities kings and governors shared with thieves.<sup>181</sup> If, by some negligence on his part, a true philosopher should find himself in charge of a state, his proper course would be to do nothing, and allow men in freedom to build their own organs of self-government. "I have heard of letting the world be, and exercising forbearance; I have not heard of governing the world."<sup>182</sup> The Golden Age, which preceded the earliest kings, had no government; and Yao and Shun, instead of being so honored by China and Confucius, should be charged with having destroyed the primitive happiness of mankind by introducing government. "In the age of perfect virtue men lived in common with birds and beasts, and were on terms of equality with all creatures, as forming one family: how could they know among themselves the distinctions of superior men and small men?"<sup>183</sup>

The wise man, thinks Chuang, will take to his heels at the first sign of government, and will live as far as possible from both philosophers and kings. He will court the peace and silence of the woods (here was a theme that a thousand Chinese painters would seek to illustrate), and let his whole being, without any impediment of artifice or thought, follow the divine *Tao*—the law and flow of Nature's inexplicable life. He would be sparing of words, for words mislead as often as they guide, and the *Tao*—the Way and the Essence of Nature—can never be phrased in words or formed in thought; it can only be felt by the blood. He would reject the aid of machinery, preferring the older, more burdensome ways of simpler men; for machinery makes complexity, turbulence and inequality, and no man can live among machines and achieve peace.<sup>184</sup> He would avoid the ownership of property, and would find no use in his life for gold; like Timon he would let the gold lie hidden in the hills, and the pearls remain unsought in the deep. "His distinction is in understanding that all things belong to the one treasury, and that death and life should be

viewed in the same way"<sup>108</sup>—as harmonious measures in the rhythm of Nature, waves of one sea.

The center of Chuang's thought, as of the thought of that half-legendary Lao-tze who seemed to him so much profounder than Confucius, was a mystic vision of an impersonal unity, so strangely akin to the doctrines of Buddha and the Upanishads that one is tempted to believe that Indian metaphysics had found its way into China long before the recorded coming of Buddhism four hundred years later. It is true that Chuang is an agnostic, a fatalist, a determinist and a pessimist; but this does not prevent him from being a kind of sceptical saint, a *Tao*-intoxicated man. He expresses his scepticism characteristically in a story:

The Penumbra said to the Umbra: \* "At one moment you move, at another you are at rest. At one moment you sit down, at another you get up. Why this instability of purpose?" "I depend," replied the Umbra, "upon something which causes me to do as I do; and that something depends upon something else which causes it to do as it does. . . . How can I tell why I do one thing or do not do another?" . . . When the body is decomposed, the mind will be decomposed along with it; must not the case be pronounced very deplorable? . . . The change—the rise and dissolution—of all things (continually) goes on, but we do not know who it is that maintains and continues the process. How do we know when any one begins? How do we know when he will end? We have simply to wait for it, and nothing more.<sup>109</sup>

These problems, Chuang suspects, are due less to the nature of things than to the limits of our thought; it is not to be wondered at that the effort of our imprisoned brains to understand the cosmos of which they are such minute particles should end in contradictions, "antinomies," and befuddlement. This attempt to explain the whole in terms of the part has been a gigantic immodesty, forgivable only on the ground of the amusement which it has caused; for humor, like philosophy, is a view of the part in terms of the whole, and neither is possible without the other. The intellect, says Chuang-tze, can never avail to understand ultimate things, or any profound thing, such as the growth of a child. "Disputation is a proof of not seeing clearly," and in order to understand the *Tao*, one "must

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\* In an eclipse the penumbra is the partly illuminated space between the umbra (the complete shadow) and the light. Perhaps, in Chuang's allegory, the complete shadow is the body, interrogated by the partly illuminated mind.

sternly suppress one's knowledge";<sup>187</sup> we have to forget our theories and feel the fact. Education is of no help towards such understanding; submersion in the flow of nature is all-important.

What is the *Tao* that the rare and favored mystic sees? It is inexpressible in words; weakly and with contradictions we describe it as the unity of all things, their quiet flow from origin to fulfilment, and the law that governs that flow. "Before there were heaven and earth, from of old it was, securely existing."<sup>188</sup> In that cosmic unity all contradictions are resolved, all distinctions fade, all opposites meet; within it and from its standpoint there is no good or bad, no white or black, no beautiful or ugly,\* no great or small. "If one only knows that the universe is but (as small as) a tare seed, and the tip of a hair is as large as a mountain, then one may be said to have seen the relativity of things."<sup>189</sup> In that vague entirety no form is permanent, and none so unique that it cannot pass into another in the leisurely cycle of evolution.

The seeds (of things) are multitudinous and minute. On the surface of the water they form a membranous texture. When they reach to where the land and water join they become the (lichens that form the) clothes of frogs and oysters. Coming to life on mounds and heights, they become the plantain; and receiving manure, appear as crows' feet. The roots of the crow's foot become grubs, and its leaves, butterflies. This butterfly is changed into an insect, and comes to life under a furnace. Then it has the form of a moth. The mother after a thousand days becomes a bird. . . . The *ying-hsi* uniting with a bamboo produces the *k'hing-ning*; this, the panther; the panther, the horse; and the horse the man. Man then enters into the great Machinery (of Evolution), from which all things come forth, and which they enter at death.<sup>191</sup>

It is not as clear as Darwin, but it will serve.

In this endless cycle man himself may pass into other forms; his present shape is transient, and from the viewpoint of eternity may be only superficially real—part of *Maya's* deceptive veil of difference.

Once upon a time I, Chuang-tze, dreamt I was a butterfly, fluttering hither and thither, to all intents and purposes a butterfly. I was conscious only of following my fancies as a butterfly, and was

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\* "Hsi Shih was a beautiful woman; but when her features were reflected in the water the fish were frightened away."<sup>190</sup>

unconscious of my individuality as a man. Suddenly I awoke, and there I lay, myself again. Now I do not know whether I was then a man dreaming that I was a butterfly, or whether I am now a butterfly dreaming that I am a man."<sup>203</sup>

Death is therefore only a change of form, possibly for the better; it is, as Ibsen was to say, the great Button-Moulder who fuses us again in the furnace of change:

Tze Lai fell ill and lay gasping at the point of death, while his wife and children stood around him weeping. Li went to ask for him, and said to them: "Hush! Get out of the way! Do not disturb him in his process of transformation." . . . Then, leaning against the door, he spoke to (the dying man). Tze Lai said: "A man's relations with the *Yin* and the *Yang* is more than that to his parents. If they are hastening my death, and I do not obey, I shall be considered unruly. There is the Great Mass (of Nature), that makes me carry this body, labor with this life, relax in old age, and rest in death. Therefore that which has taken care of my birth is that which will take care of my death. Here is a great founder casting his metal. If the metal, dancing up and down, should say, 'I must be made into a Mo Yeh' (a famous old sword), the great founder would surely consider this metal an evil one. So, if, merely because one has once assumed the human form, one insists on being a man, and a man only, the author of transformation will be sure to consider this one an evil being. Let us now regard heaven and earth as a great melting-pot, and the author of transformation as a great founder; and wherever we go, shall we not be at home? Quiet is our sleep, and calm is our awakening."<sup>204</sup>

When Chuang himself was about to die his disciples prepared for him a ceremonious funeral. But he bade them desist. "With heaven and earth for my coffin and shell, with the sun, moon and stars as my burial regalia, and with all creation to escort me to the grave—are not my funeral paraphernalia ready to hand?" The disciples protested that, unburied, he would be eaten by the carrion birds of the air. To which Chuang answered, with the smiling irony of all his words: "Above ground I shall be food for kites; below I shall be food for mole-crickets and ants. Why rob one to feed the other?"<sup>205</sup>

If we have spoken at such length of the ancient philosophers of China it is partly because the insoluble problems of human life and destiny

irresistibly attract the inquisitive mind, and partly because the lore of her philosophers is the most precious portion of China's gift to the world. Long ago (in 1697) the cosmic-minded Leibnitz, after studying Chinese philosophy, appealed for the mingling and cross-fertilization of East and West. "The condition of affairs among ourselves," he wrote, in terms which have been useful to every generation, "is such that in view of the inordinate lengths to which the corruption of morals has advanced, I almost think it necessary that Chinese missionaries should be sent to us to teach us the aim and practice of national theology. . . . For I believe that if a wise man were to be appointed judge . . . of the goodness of peoples, he would award the golden apple to the Chinese."<sup>208</sup> He begged Peter the Great to build a land route to China, and he promoted the foundation of societies in Moscow and Berlin for the "opening up of China and the interchange of civilizations between China and Europe."<sup>209</sup> In 1721 Christian Wolff made an attempt in this direction by lecturing at Halle "On the Practical Philosophy of the Chinese." He was accused of atheism, and dismissed; but when Frederick mounted the throne he called him to Prussia, and restored him to honor.<sup>207</sup>

The Enlightenment took up Chinese philosophy at the same time that it carved out Chinese gardens and adorned its homes with *chinoiseries*. The Physiocrats seem to have been influenced by Lao-tze and Chuang-tze in their doctrine of *laissez-faire*,<sup>210</sup> and Rousseau at times talked so like the Old Master\* that we at once correlate him with Lao-tze and Chuang, as we should correlate Voltaire with Confucius and Mencius, if these had been blessed with wit. "I have read the books of Confucius with attention," said Voltaire; "I have made extracts from them; I have found in them nothing but the purest morality, without the slightest tinge of charlatanism."<sup>210</sup> Goethe in 1770 recorded his resolution to read the philosophical classics of China; and when the guns of half the world resounded at Leipzig forty-three years later, the old sage paid no attention to them, being absorbed in Chinese literature.<sup>211</sup>

May this brief and superficial introduction lead the reader on to study the Chinese philosophers themselves, as Goethe studied them, and Voltaire, and Tolstoi.

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\* E.g.: "Luxury, dissoluteness and slavery have always been the chastisement of the ambitious efforts we have made to emerge from the happy ignorance in which Eternal Wisdom had placed us." Professor (now Senator) Elbert Thomas, who quotes this passage from the *Discourse on the Progress of the Sciences and Arts*, considers "Eternal Wisdom" an excellent translation of Lao-tze's "Eternal Tao."<sup>200</sup>



# The Age of the Poets

## I. CHINA'S BISMARCK

*The Period of Contending States—The suicide of Ch'u P'ing—Shih Huang-ti unifies China—The Great Wall—The "Burning of the Books"—The failure of Shih Huang-ti*

PRESUMABLY Confucius died an unhappy man, for philosophers love unity, and the nation that he had sought to unite under some powerful dynasty persisted in chaos, corruption and division. When the great unifier finally appeared, and succeeded, by his military and administrative genius, in welding the states of China into one, he ordered that all existing copies of Confucius' books should be burned.

We may judge the atmosphere of this "Period of the Contending States" from the story of Ch'u P'ing. Having risen to promise as a poet and to high place as an official, he found himself suddenly dismissed. He retired to the countryside, and contemplated life and death beside a quiet brook. Tell me, he asked an oracle,

whether I should steadily pursue the path of truth and loyalty, or follow in the wake of a corrupt generation. Should I work in the fields with spade and hoe, or seek advancement in the retinue of a grandee? Should I court danger with outspoken words, or fawn in false tones upon the rich and great? Should I rest content in the cultivation of virtue, or practise the art of wheedling women in order to secure success? Should I be pure and clean-handed in my rectitude, or an oil-mouthed, slippery, time-serving sycophant?<sup>1</sup>

He dodged the dilemma by drowning himself (ca. 350 B.C.); and until our own day the Chinese people celebrated his fame annually in the Dragon-boat Festival, during which they searched for his body in every stream.

The man who unified China had the most disreputable origin that the Chinese historians could devise. Shih Huang-ti, we are informed, was the illegitimate son of the Queen of Ch'in (one of the western states)

by the noble minister Lü, who was wont to hang a thousand pieces of gold at his gate as a reward to any man who should better his compositions by so much as a single word.<sup>8</sup> (His son did not inherit these literary tastes.) Shih, reports Szuma Ch'ien, forced his father to suicide, persecuted his mother, and ascended the ducal throne when he was twelve years of age. When he was twenty-five he began to conquer and annex the petty states into which China had so long been divided. In 230 B.C. he conquered Han; in 228, Chao; in 225, Wei; in 223, Ch'u; in 222, Yen; finally, in 221, the important state of Ch'i. For the first time in many centuries, perhaps for the first time in history, China was under one rule. The conqueror took the title of Shih Huang-ti, and turned to the task of giving the new empire a lasting constitution.

"A man with a very prominent nose, with large eyes, with the chest of a bird of prey, with the voice of a jackal, without beneficence, and with the heart of a tiger or a wolf"—this is the only description that the Chinese historians have left us of their favorite enemy.<sup>9</sup> He was a robust and obstinate soul, recognizing no god but himself, and pledged, like some Nietzschean Bismarck, to unify his country by blood and iron. Having forged and mounted the throne of China, one of his first acts was to protect the country from the barbarians on the north by piecing together and completing the walls already existing along the frontier; and he found the multitude of his domestic opponents a convenient source of recruits for this heroic symbol of Chinese grandeur and patience. The Great Wall, 1500 miles long, and adorned at intervals with massive gateways in the Assyrian style, is the largest structure ever reared by man; beside it, said Voltaire, "the pyramids of Egypt are only puerile and useless masses." It took ten years and countless men; "it was the ruin of one generation," say the Chinese, "and the salvation of many." It did not quite keep out the barbarians, as we shall see; but it delayed and reduced their attacks. The Huns, barred for a time from Chinese soil, moved west into Europe and down into Italy; Rome fell because China built a wall.

Meanwhile Shih Huang-ti, like Napoleon, turned with pleasure from war to administration, and created the outlines of the future Chinese state. He accepted the advice of his Legalist prime minister, Li Ssü; and resolved to base Chinese society not, as heretofore, upon custom and local autonomy, but upon explicit law and a powerful central government. He broke the power of the feudal barons, replaced them with a nobility of functionaries appointed by the national ministry, placed in each district

a military force independent of the civil governor, introduced uniform laws and regulations, simplified official ceremonies, issued a state coinage, divided most of the feudal estates, prepared for the prosperity of China by establishing peasant proprietorship of the soil, and paved the way for a completer unity by building great highways in every direction from his capital at Hien-yang. He embellished this city with many palaces, and persuaded the 120,000 richest and most powerful families of the empire to live under his observant eye. Traveling in disguise and unarmed, he made note of abuses and disorders, and then issued unmistakable orders for their correction. He encouraged science and discouraged letters.<sup>9</sup>

For the men of letters—the poets, the critics, the philosophers, above all the Confucian scholars—were his sworn foes. They fretted under his dictatorial authority, and saw in the establishment of one supreme government an end to that variety and liberty of thought and life which had made literature flourish amid the wars and divisions of the Chou Dynasty. When they protested to Shih Huang-ti against his ignoring of ancient ceremonies, he sent them curtly about their business.<sup>9</sup> A commission of mandarins, or official scholars, brought to him their unanimous suggestion that he should restore the feudal system by giving fiefs to his relatives; and they added: "For a person, in any matter, not to model himself on antiquity, and yet to achieve duration—that, to our knowledge, has never happened." The prime minister, Li Ssü, who was at that time engaged in reforming the Chinese script, and establishing it approximately in the form which it retained till our own time, met these criticisms with an historic speech that did no service to Chinese letters:

The Five Sovereigns did not repeat each other's actions, the Three Royal Dynasties did not imitate each other; . . . for the times had changed. Now your Majesty has for the first time accomplished a great work and has founded a glory which will last for ten thousand generations. The stupid mandarins are incapable of understanding this. . . . In ancient days China was divided up and troubled; there was no one who could unify her. That is why all the nobles flourished. In their discourses the mandarins all talk of the ancient days, in order to blacken the present. . . . They encourage the people to forge calumnies. This being so, if they are not opposed, among the upper classes the position of the sovereign will be depreciated, while among the lower classes associations will flourish. . . .

I suggest that the official histories, with the exception of the *Memoirs of Ch'in*, be all burnt, and that those who attempt to hide the *Shi-Ching*, the *Shu-Ching*,\* and the *Discourses of the Hundred Schools*, be forced to bring them to the authorities to be burnt.\*

The Emperor liked the idea considerably, and issued the order; the books of the historians were everywhere brought to the flames, so that the weight of the past should be removed from the present, and the history of China might begin with Shih Huang-ti. Scientific books, and the works of Mencius, seem to have been excepted from the conflagration, and many of the forbidden books were preserved in the Imperial Library, where they might be consulted by such students as had obtained official permission.\* Since books were then written on strips of bamboo fastened with swivel pins, and a volume might be of some weight, the scholars who sought to evade the order were put to many difficulties. A number of them were detected; tradition says that many of them were sent to labor on the Great Wall, and that four hundred and sixty were put to death.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless some of the *literati* memorized the complete works of Confucius, and passed them on by word of mouth to equal memories. Soon after the Emperor's death these volumes were freely circulated again, though many errors, presumably, had crept into their texts. The only permanent result was to lend an aroma of sanctity to the proscribed literature, and to make Shih Huang-ti unpopular with the Chinese historians. For generations the people expressed their judgment of him by befouling his grave.<sup>22</sup>

The destruction of powerful families, and of freedom in writing and speech, left Shih almost friendless in his declining years. Attempts were made to assassinate him; he discovered them in time, and slew the assailants with his own hand.<sup>23</sup> He sat on his throne with a sword across his knees, and let no man know in what room of his many palaces he would sleep.<sup>24</sup> Like Alexander he sought to strengthen his dynasty by spreading the notion that he was a god; but as the comparison limped, he, like Alexander, failed. He decreed that his dynastic successors should number themselves from him as "First Emperor," down to the ten thousandth of their line; but the line ended with his son. In his old age, if we credit the historians who hated him, he became superstitious, and went to much expense to find an elixir of immortality. When he died, his body was

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\* Cf. p. 665 below.

brought back secretly to his capital; and to conceal its smell it was conveyed by a caravan of decaying fish. Several hundred maidens (we are told) were buried alive to keep him company; and his successor, grateful for his death, lavished art and money upon the tomb. The roof was studded with constellations, and a map of the empire was traced in quicksilver on the floor of bronze. Machines were erected in the vault for the automatic slaughter of intruders; and huge candles were lit in the hope that they would for an indefinite period illuminate the doings of the dead emperor and his queens. The workmen who brought the coffin into the tomb were buried alive with their burden, lest they should live to reveal the secret passage to the grave.\*

## II. EXPERIMENTS IN SOCIALISM

### *Chaos and poverty—The Han Dynasty—The reforms of Wu Ti— The income tax—The planned economy of Wang Mang —Its overthrow—The Tatar invasion*

Disorder followed his death, as it has followed the passing of almost every dictator in history; only an immortal can wisely take all power into his hands. The people revolted against his son, killed him soon after he had killed Li Ssü, and put an end to the Ch'in Dynasty within five years after its founder's death. Rival princes established rival kingdoms, and disorder ruled again. Then a clever *condottiere*, Kao-tsu, seized the throne and founded the Han Dynasty, which, with some interruptions and a change of capital,\* lasted four hundred years. Wen Ti (179-57 B.C.) restored freedom of speech and writing, revoked the edict by which Shih Huang-ti had forbidden criticism of the government, pursued a policy of peace, and inaugurated the Chinese custom of defeating a hostile general with gifts.<sup>23</sup>

The greatest of the Han emperors was Wu Ti. In a reign of over half a century (140-87 B.C.) he pushed back the invading barbarians, and extended the rule of China over Korea, Manchuria, Annam, Indo-China and Turkestan; now for the first time China acquired those vast dimensions which we have been wont to associate with her name. Wu Ti experimented with socialism by establishing national ownership of natural re-

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\* The "Western Han" Dynasty, 206 B.C.—24 A.D., had its capital at Lo-yang, now Honan-fu; the "Eastern Han" Dynasty, 24-221 A.D., had its capital at Ch'ang-an, now Sian-fu. The Chinese still call themselves the "Sons of Han."

sources, to prevent private individuals from "reserving to their sole use the riches of the mountains and the sea in order to gain a fortune, and from putting the lower classes into subjection to themselves."<sup>18</sup> The production of salt and iron, and the manufacture and sale of fermented drinks, were made state monopolies. To break the power of middlemen and speculators—"those who buy on credit and make loans, those who buy to heap up in the towns, those who accumulate all sorts of commodities" as the contemporary historian, Szuma Ch'ien expressed it—Wu Ti established a national system of transport and exchange, and sought to control trade in such a way as to prevent sudden variations in price. State workmen made all the means of transportation and delivery in the empire. The state stored surplus goods, selling them when prices were rising too rapidly, buying them when prices were falling; in this way, says Szuma Ch'ien, "the rich merchants and large shop-keepers would be prevented from making big profits, . . . and prices would be regulated throughout the empire."<sup>19</sup> All incomes had to be registered with the government, and had to pay an annual tax of five per cent. In order to facilitate the purchase and consumption of commodities the Emperor enlarged the supply of currency by issuing coins of silver alloyed with tin. Great public works were undertaken in order to provide employment for the millions whom private industry had failed to maintain; bridges were flung across China's streams, and innumerable canals were cut to bind the rivers and irrigate the fields.<sup>20\*</sup>

For a time the new system flourished. Trade grew in amount, variety and extent, and bound China even with the distant nations of the Near East.<sup>21</sup> The capital, Lo-yang, increased in population and wealth, and the coffers of the government were swollen with revenue. Scholarship flourished, poetry abounded, and Chinese pottery began to be beautiful. In the Imperial Library there were 3,123 volumes on the classics, 2,705 on philosophy, 1,318 on poetry, 2,568 on mathematics, 868 on medicine, 790 on war.<sup>22</sup> Only those who had passed the state examinations were eligible

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\* "The situation," says Granet, ". . . was revolutionary. If the Emperor Wu had had some kindred spirit, he might have been able to profit by this and create, in a new order of society, the Chinese State. . . . But the Emperor only saw the most urgent needs. He seems only to have thought of using varied expedients from day to day—rejected when they had yielded sufficient to appear worn out—and new men—sacrificed as soon as they had succeeded well enough to assume a dangerous air of authority. The restlessness of the despot and the short vision of the imperial law-makers made China miss the rarest opportunity she had had to become a compact and organized state."<sup>23</sup>

to public office, and these examinations were open to all. China had never prospered so before.

A combination of natural misfortunes with human devilry put an end to this brave experiment. Floods alternated with droughts, and raised prices beyond control. Harassed by the high cost of food and clothing, the people began to clamor for a return to the good old days of an idealized past, and proposed that the inventor of the new system should be boiled alive. Business men protested that state control had diminished healthy initiative and competition, and they objected to paying, for the support of these experiments, the high taxes levied upon them by the government.<sup>23</sup> Women entered the court, acquired a secret influence over important functionaries, and became an element in a wave of official corruption that spread far and wide after the death of the Emperor.<sup>24</sup> Counterfeiters imitated the new currency so successfully that it had to be withdrawn. The business of exploiting the weak was resumed under a new management, and for a century the reforms of Wu Ti were forgotten or reviled.

At the beginning of our era—eighty-four years after Wu Ti's death—another reformer ascended the throne of China, first as regent, and then as emperor. Wang Mang was of the highest type of Chinese gentleman.\* Though rich, he lived temperately, even frugally, and scattered his income among his friends and the poor. Absorbed in the vital struggle to reorganize the economic and political life of his country, he found time nevertheless not only to patronize literature and scholarship, but to become an accomplished scholar himself. On his accession to power he surrounded himself not with the usual politicians, but with men trained in letters and philosophy; to these men his enemies attributed his failure, and his friends attributed his success.

Shocked by the development of slavery on the large estates of China, Wang Mang, at the very outset of his reign, abolished both the slavery and the estates by nationalizing the land. He divided the soil into equal tracts and distributed it among the peasants; and, to prevent the renewed concentration of wealth, he forbade the sale or purchase of land.<sup>25</sup> He continued the state monopolies of salt and iron, and added to them state ownership of mines and state control of the traffic in wine. Like Wu Ti he tried to protect the cultivator and the consumer against the merchant by fixing the prices of commodities. The state bought agricultural sur-

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\* Unless there is truth in the rumor circulated on the death of the boy emperor, in the year 5 A.D., that Wang Mang's family had poisoned him.<sup>26</sup>

pluses in time of plenty, and sold them in time of dearth. Loans were made by the government, at low rates of interest, for any productive enterprise.\*

Wang had conceived his policies in economic terms, and had forgotten the nature of man. He worked long hours, day and night, to devise schemes that would make the nation rich and happy; and he was heart-broken to find that social disorder mounted during his reign. Natural calamities like drought and flood continued to disrupt his planned economy, and all the groups whose greed had been clipped by his reforms united to plot his fall. Revolts broke out, apparently among the people, but probably financed from above; and while Wang, bewildered by such ingratitude, struggled to control these insurrections, subject peoples weakened his prestige by throwing off the Chinese yoke, and the Hsiung-nu barbarians overran the northern provinces. The rich Liu family put itself at the head of a general rebellion, captured Chang-an, slew Wang Mang, and annulled his reforms. Everything was as before.

The Han line ended in a succession of weak emperors, and was followed by a chaos of petty dynasties and divided states. Despite the Great Wall the Tatars poured down into China, and conquered large areas of the north. And as the Huns broke down the organization of the Roman Empire, and helped to plunge Europe into a Dark Age for a hundred years, so the inroads of these kindred Tatars disordered the life of China, and put an end for a while to the growth of civilization. We may judge the strength of the Chinese stock, character and culture from the fact that this disturbance was much briefer and less profound than that which ruined Rome. After an interlude of war and chaos, and racial mixture with the invaders, Chinese civilization recovered, and enjoyed a brilliant resurrection. The very blood of the Tatars served, perhaps, to reinvigorate a nation already old. The Chinese accepted the conquerors, married them, civilized them, and advanced to the zenith of their history.

### III. THE GLORY OF T'ANG

*The new dynasty—T'ai Tsung's method of reducing crime—An age of prosperity—The "Brilliant Emperor"—The romance of Yang Kwei-fei—The rebellion of An Lu-shan*

The great age of China owed its coming partly to this new biological mixture,\* partly to the spiritual stimulation derived from the advent of

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\* Cf. Sir W. Flinders Petrie, *The Revolutions of Civilization*. London, n.d.



Buddhism, partly to the genius of one of China's greatest emperors, T'ai Tsung (627-50 A.D.) At the age of twenty-one he was raised to the throne by the abdication of his father, a second Kao-tsu, who had established the T'ang Dynasty nine years before. He began unprepossessingly by murdering the brothers who threatened to displace him; and then he exercised his military abilities by pushing back the invading barbarians into their native haunts, and reconquering those neighboring territories which had thrown off Chinese rule after the fall of the Han. Suddenly he grew tired of war, and returning to his capital, Ch'ang-an, gave himself to the ways of peace. He read and re-read the works of Confucius, and had them published in a resplendent format, saying: "By using a mirror of brass you may see to adjust your cap; by using antiquity as a mirror you may learn to foresee the rise and fall of empires." He refused all luxuries, and sent away the three thousand ladies who had been chosen to entertain him. When his ministers recommended severe laws for the repression of crime, he told them: "If I diminish expenses, lighten the taxes, employ only honest officials, so that the people have clothing enough, this will do more to abolish robbery than the employment of the severest punishments."<sup>17</sup>

One day he visited the jails of Ch'ang-an, and saw two hundred and ninety men who had been condemned to die. He sent them out to till the fields, relying solely on their word of honor that they would return. Every man came back; and T'ai Tsung was so well pleased that he set them all free. He laid it down then that no emperor should ratify a death sentence until he had fasted three days. He made his capital so beautiful that tourists flocked to it from India and Europe. Buddhist monks arrived in great numbers from India, and Chinese Buddhists, like Yuan Chwang, traveled freely to India to study the new religion of China at its source. Missionaries came to Ch'ang-an to preach Zoroastrianism and Nestorian Christianity; the Emperor, like Akbar, welcomed them, gave them protection and freedom, and exempted their temples from taxation, at a time when Europe was sunk in poverty, intellectual darkness, and theological strife. He himself remained, without dogma or prejudice, a simple Confucian. "When he died," says a brilliant historian, "the grief of the people knew no bounds, and even the foreign envoys cut themselves with knives and lancets and sprinkled the dead emperor's bier with their self-shed blood."<sup>18</sup>

He had paved the way for China's most creative age. Rich with fifty years of comparative peace and stable government, she began to export her surplus of rice, corn, silk, and spices, and spent her profits on unparalleled luxury. Her lakes were filled with carved and painted pleasure-boats; her rivers and canals were picturesque with commerce, and from her harbors ships sailed to distant ports on the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. Never before had China known such wealth; never had she enjoyed such abundant food, such comfortable houses, such exquisite clothing.\* While silk was selling in Europe for its weight in gold,<sup>80</sup> it was a routine article of dress for half the population of the larger cities of China, and fur coats were more frequent in eighth-century Ch'ang-an than in twentieth-century New York. One village near the capital had silk factories employing a hundred thousand men.<sup>81</sup> "What hospitality!" exclaimed Li Po, "what squandering of money! Red jade cups and rare dainty food on tables inlaid with green gems!"<sup>82</sup> Statues were carved out of rubies, and pretentious corpses were buried on beds of pearl.<sup>83</sup> The great race was suddenly enamored of beauty, and lavished honors on those who could create it. "At this age," says a Chinese critic, "whoever was a man was a poet."<sup>84</sup> Emperors promoted poets and painters to high office, said "Sir John Manville"<sup>85</sup> would have it that no one dared to address the Emperor save "it be mynstrelles that singen and tellen gestes."<sup>86</sup> In the eighteenth century of our era Manchu emperors ordered an anthology to be prepared of the T'ang poets; the result was thirty volumes, containing 48,900 poems by 2,300 poets; so much had survived the criticism of time. The Imperial Library had grown to 54,000 volumes. "At this time," says Murdoch, "China undoubtedly stood in the very forefront of civilization. She was then the most powerful, the most enlightened, the most progressive, and the best-governed, empire on the face of the globe."<sup>87</sup> "It was the most polished epoch that the world had ever seen."<sup>88</sup>†

At the head and height of it was Ming Huang—i.e., "The Brilliant Emperor"—who ruled China, with certain intermissions, for some forty years (713-56 A.D.). He was a man full of human contradictions: he wrote poetry and made war upon distant lands, exacting tribute from Turkey,

\* The assumed name of a French physician who in the fourteenth century composed a volume of travels, mostly imaginary, occasionally illuminating, always fascinating.

† Arthur Waley.<sup>89</sup> Cf. the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (14th ed., xviii, 361): "In the T'ang Dynasty . . . China was without doubt the greatest and most civilized power in the world."

Persia and Samarkand; he abolished capital punishment and reformed the administration of prisons and courts; he levied taxes mercilessly, suffered poets, artists and scholars gladly, and established a college of music in his "Pear Tree Garden." He began his reign like a Puritan, closing the silk factories and forbidding the ladies of the palace to wear jewelry or embroidery; he ended it like an epicurean, enjoying every art and every luxury, and at last sacrificing his throne for the smiles of Yang Kwei-fei.

When he met her he was sixty and she was twenty-seven; for ten years she had been the concubine of his eighteenth son. She was corpulent and wore false hair, but the Emperor loved her because she was obstinate, capricious, domineering and insolent. She accepted his admiration graciously, introduced him to five families of her relatives, and permitted him to find sinecures for them at the court. Ming called his lady "The Great Pure One," and learned from her the gentle art of dissipation. The Son of Heaven thought little now of the state and its affairs; he placed all the powers of government in the hands of the Pure One's brother, the corrupt and incapable Yang Kuo-chung; and while destruction gathered under him he reveled through the days and nights.

An Lu-shan, a Tatar courtier, also loved Yang Kwei-fei. He won the confidence of the Emperor, who promoted him to the post of provincial governor in the north, and placed under his command the finest armies in the realm. Suddenly An Lu-shan proclaimed himself emperor, and turned his armies toward Ch'ang-an. The long-neglected defenses fell, and Ming deserted his capital. The soldiers who escorted him rebelled, slew Yang Kuo-chung and all the five families, and, snatching Yang Kwei-fei from the monarch's hands, killed her before his eyes. Old and beaten, the Emperor abdicated. An Lu-shan's barbaric hordes sacked Ch'ang-an, and slaughtered the population indiscriminately.\* Thirty-six million people are said to have lost their lives in the rebellion.\*\* In the end it failed; An Lu-shan was killed by his son, who was killed by a general, who was killed by his son. By the year 762 A.D. the turmoil had worn itself out, and Ming Huang returned, heart-broken, to his ruined capital. There, a few months later, he died. In this framework of romance and tragedy the poetry of China flourished as never before.

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\* "When the Tatars overthrew Ming Huang and sacked Chang-an," says Arthur Waley, "it was as if Turks had ravaged Versailles in the time of Louis XIV."<sup>88</sup>

## IV. THE BANISHED ANGEL

*An anecdote of Li Po—His youth, prowess and loves—On the imperial barge — The gospel of the grape — War — The Wanderings of Li Po—In prison—"Deathless Poetry"*

One day, at the height of his reign, Ming Huang received ambassadors from Korea, who brought him important messages written in a dialect which none of his ministers could understand. "What!" exclaimed the Emperor, "among so many magistrates, so many scholars and warriors, cannot there be found a single one who knows enough to relieve us of vexation in this affair? If in three days no one is able to decipher this letter, every one of your appointments shall be suspended."

For a day the ministers consulted and fretted, fearing for their offices and their heads. Then Minister Ho Chi-chang approached the throne and said: "Your subject presumes to announce to your Majesty that there is a poet of great merit, called Li, at his house, who is profoundly acquainted with more than one science; command him to read this letter, for there is nothing of which he is not capable." The Emperor ordered Li to present himself at court immediately. But Li refused to come, saying that he could not possibly be worthy of the task assigned him, since his essay had been rejected by the mandarins at the last examination for public office. The Emperor soothed him by conferring upon him the title and robes of doctor of the first rank. Li came, found his examiners among the ministers, forced them to take off his boots, and then translated the document, which announced that Korea proposed to make war for the recovery of its freedom. Having read the message, Li dictated a learned and terrifying reply, which the Emperor signed without hesitation, almost believing what Ho whispered to him—that Li was an angel banished from heaven for some impish devilry.\*\* The Koreans sent apologies and tribute, and the Emperor sent part of the tribute to Li. Li gave it to the innkeeper, for he loved wine.

On the night of the poet's birth his mother—of the family of Li—had dreamed of Tai-po Hsing, the Great White Star, which in the West is called Venus. So the child was named Li, meaning plum, and sur-named Tai-po, which is to say, The White Star. At ten he had mastered all the books of Confucius, and was composing immortal poetry.

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\* It is a pretty tale, perhaps composed by Li Po.

At twelve he went to live like a philosopher in the mountains, and stayed there for many years. He grew in health and strength, practised swordsmanship, and then announced his abilities to the world: "Though less than seven (Chinese) feet in height, I am strong enough to meet ten thousand men."<sup>44</sup> ("Ten thousand" is Chinese for many.) Then he wandered leisurely about the earth, drinking the lore of love from varied lips. He sang a song to the "Maid of Wu":

Wine of the grapes,  
 Goblets of gold—  
 And a pretty maid of Wu—  
 She comes on pony-back; she is fifteen.  
 Blue-painted eyebrows—  
 Shoes of pink brocade—  
 Inarticulate speech—  
 But she sings bewitchingly well.  
 So, feasting at the table,  
 Inlaid with tortoise-shell,  
 She gets drunk in my lap.  
 Ah, child, what caresses  
 Behind lily-broidered curtains!<sup>44</sup>

He married, but earned so little money that his wife left him, taking the children with her. Was it to her, or to some less-wonted flame, that he wrote his wistful lines?—

Fair one, when you were here, I filled the house with flowers.  
 Fair one, now you are gone—only an empty couch is left.  
 On the couch the embroidered quilt is rolled up; I cannot sleep.  
 It is three years since you went. The perfume you left behind  
 haunts me still.  
 The perfume strays about me forever; but where are you, Beloved?  
 I sigh—the yellow leaves fall from the branch;  
 I weep—the dew twinkles white on the green mosses.<sup>44</sup>

He consoled himself with wine, and became one of the "Six Idlers of the Bamboo Grove," who took life without haste, and let their songs and poems earn their uncertain bread. Hearing the wine of Niauchung highly commended, Li set out at once for that city, three hundred miles away.<sup>44</sup>

In his wanderings he met Tu Fu, who was to be his rival for China's poetic crown; they exchanged lyrics, went hand in hand like brothers, and slept under the same coverlet until fame divided them. Everybody loved them, for they were as harmless as saints, and spoke with the same pride and friendliness to paupers and kings. Finally they entered Ch'ang-an; and the jolly minister Ho loved Li's poetry so well that he sold gold ornaments to buy him drinks. Tu Fu describes him:

As for Li Po, give him a jugful,  
 He will write one hundred poems.  
 He dozes in a wine-shop  
 On a city-street of Chang-an;  
 And though his Sovereign calls,

He will not board the Imperial barge.  
 "Please, your Majesty," says he,  
 "I am a god of wine."

Those were merry days when the Emperor befriended him, and showered him with gifts for singing the praises of the Pure One, Yang Kwei-fei. Once Ming held a royal Feast of the Peonies in the Pavilion of Aloes, and sent for Li Po to come and make verses in honor of his mistress. Li came, but too drunk for poetry; court attendants threw cold water upon his amiable face, and soon the poet burst into song, celebrating the rivalry of the peonies with Lady Yang:

The glory of trailing clouds is in her garments,  
 And the radiance of a flower on her face.  
 O heavenly apparition, found only far above  
 On the top of the Mountain of Many Jewels,  
 Or in the fairy Palace of Crystal when the moon is up!  
 Yet I see her here in the earth's garden—  
 The spring wind softly sweeps the balustrade,  
 And the dew-drops glisten thickly. . . .  
 Vanquished are the endless longings of love  
 Borne into the heart on the winds of spring.<sup>66</sup>

Who would not have been pleased to be the object of such song? And yet the Lady Yang was persuaded that the poet had subtly satirized her; and from that moment she bred suspicion of him in the heart of the King.

He presented Li Po with a purse, and let him go. Once again the poet took to the open road, and consoled himself with wine. He joined those "Eight Immortals of the Wine Cup" whose drinkings were the talk of Ch'ang-an. He accepted the view of Liu Ling, who desired always to be followed by two servants, one with wine, the other with a spade to bury him where he fell; for, said Liu, "the affairs of this world are no more than duckweed in the river."<sup>46</sup> The poets of China were resolved to atone for the Puritanism of Chinese philosophy. "To wash and rinse our souls of their age-old sorrows," said Li Po, "we drained a hundred jugs of wine."<sup>47</sup> And he intones like Omar the gospel of the grape:

The swift stream pours into the sea and returns never more.  
 Do you not see high on yonder tower  
 A white-haired one sorrowing before his bright mirror?  
 In the morning those locks were like black silk,  
 In the evening they are all like snow.  
 Let us, while we may, taste the old delights,  
 And leave not the golden cask of wine  
 To stand alone in the moonlight. . . .  
 I desire only the long ecstasy of wine,  
 And desire not to awaken. . . .

Now let you and me buy wine today!  
 Why say we have not the price?  
 My horse spotted with fine flowers,  
 My fur coat worth a thousand pieces of gold,  
 These I will take out, and call my boy  
 To barter them for sweet wine,  
 And with you twain, let me forget  
 The sorrow of ten thousand ages!<sup>48</sup>

What were these sorrows? The agony of despised love? Hardly; for though the Chinese take love as much to heart as we do, their poets do not so frequently intone its pains. It was war and exile, An Lu-shan and the taking of the capital, the flight of the Emperor and the death of Yang, the return of Ming Huang to his desolated halls, that gave Li the taste of human tragedy. "There is no end to war!" he mourns; and then his heart goes out to the women who have lost their husbands to Mars.

'Tis December. Lo, the pensive maid of Yu-chow!  
 She will not sing, she will not smile; her moth eyebrows are disheveled.

She stands by the gate and watches the wayfarers pass,  
 Remembering him who snatched his sword and went to save the border-land,

Him who suffered bitterly in the cold beyond the Great Wall,  
 Him who fell in the battle, and will never come back.

In the tiger-striped gold case for her keeping  
 There remains a pair of white-feathered arrows  
 Amid the cobwebs and dust gathered of long years—  
 O empty dreams of love, too sad to look upon!  
 She takes them out and burns them to ashes.

By building a dam one may stop the flow of the Yellow River,  
 But who can assuage the grief of her heart when it snows, and  
 the north wind blows?<sup>46</sup>

We picture him now wandering from city to city, from state to state, much as Tsui Tsung-chi described him: "A knapsack on your back filled with books, you go a thousand miles and more, a pilgrim. Under your sleeves there is a dagger, and in your pocket a collection of poems."<sup>47</sup> In these long wanderings his old friendship with nature gave him solace and an unnamable peace; and through his lines we see his land of flowers, and feel that urban civilization already lay heavy on the Chinese soul:

Why do I live among the green mountains?  
 I laugh and answer not, my soul is serene;  
 It dwells in another heaven and earth belonging to no man.  
 The peach trees are in flower, and the water flows on.<sup>48</sup>

Or again:

I saw the moonlight before my couch,  
 And wondered if it were not the frost on the ground.  
 I raised my head and looked out on the mountain-moon;  
 I bowed my head and thought of my far-off home.<sup>49</sup>



Now, as his hair grew white, his heart was flooded with longing for the scenes of his youth. How many times, in the artificial life of the capital, he had pined for the natural simplicity of parentage and home!

In the land of Wu the mulberry leaves are green,  
 And thrice the silkworms have gone to sleep.  
 In East Luh, where my family stays,  
 I wonder who is sowing those fields of ours.  
 I cannot be back in time for the spring doings,  
 Yet I can help nothing, traveling on the river.

The south wind, blowing, wafts my homesick spirit  
 And carries it up to the front of our familiar tavern.  
 There I see a peach-tree on the east side of the house,  
 With thick leaves and branches waving in the blue mist.  
 It is the tree I planted before my parting three years ago.  
 The peach-tree has grown now as tall as the tavern-roof,  
 While I have wandered about without returning.

Ping-yang, my pretty daughter, I see you stand  
 By the peach-tree, and pluck a flowering branch.  
 You pluck the flowers, but I am not there—  
 How your tears flow like a stream of water!  
 My little son, Po-chin, grown up to your sister's shoulders,  
 You come out with her under the peach-tree;  
 But who is there to pat you on the back?

When I think of these things my senses fail,  
 And a sharp pain cuts my heart every day.  
 Now I tear off a piece of white silk to write this letter,  
 And send it to you with my love a long way up the river.<sup>88</sup>

His last years were bitter, for he had never stooped to make money, and in the chaos of war and revolution he found no king to keep him from starvation. Gladly he accepted the offer of Li-ling, Prince of Yung, to join his staff; but Li-ling revolted against the successor of Ming Huang, and when the revolt was suppressed, Li Po found himself in jail, condemned to death as a traitor to the state. Then Kuo Tsi-i, the general who had put down the rebellion of An Lu-shan, begged that Li Po's life might be ransomed by the forfeit of his own rank and title. The Emperor commuted the sentence to perpetual banishment. Soon there-

after a general amnesty was declared, and the poet turned his faltering steps homeward. Three years later he sickened and died; and legend, discontent with an ordinary end for so rare a soul, told how he was drowned in a river while attempting, in hilarious intoxication, to embrace the water's reflection of the moon.

All in all, the thirty volumes of delicate and kindly verse which he left behind him warrant his reputation as the greatest poet of China. "He is the lofty peak of Tai," exclaims a Chinese critic, "towering above the thousand mountains and hills; he is the sun in whose presence a million stars of heaven lose their scintillating brilliance."<sup>54</sup> Ming Huang and Lady Yang are dead, but Li Po still sings.

My ship is built of spice-wood and has a rudder of mulan;\*  
Musicians sit at the two ends with jeweled bamboo flutes and pipes  
of gold.

What a pleasure it is, with a cask of sweet wine  
And singing girls beside me,  
To drift on the water hither and thither with the waves!  
I am happier than the fairy of the air,  
Who rode on his yellow crane,  
And free as the merman who followed the sea-gulls aimlessly.  
Now with the strokes of my inspired pen I shake the Five Mountains.

My poem is done. I laugh, and my delight is vaster than the sea.  
O deathless poetry! The songs of Ch'u P'ing† are ever glorious as  
the sun and moon,  
While the palaces and towers of the Chou kings have vanished from  
the hills.<sup>55</sup>

#### V. SOME QUALITIES OF CHINESE POETRY

*"Free verse" — "Imagism" — "Every poem a picture and every  
picture a poem" — Sentimentality — Perfection of form*

It is impossible to judge Chinese poetry from Li alone; to *feel* it (which is better than judging) one must surrender himself unhurriedly to many Chinese poets, and to the unique methods of their poetry. Certain subtle qualities of it are hidden from us in translation: we do not see the picturesque written characters, each a monosyllable, and yet expressing a

\* A precious wood.

† Cf. p. 694 above.

complex idea; we do not see the lines, running from top to bottom and from right to left; we do not catch the meter and the rhyme, which adhere with proud rigidity to ancient precedents and laws; we do not hear the tones—the flats and sharps—that give a beat to Chinese verse; at least half the art of the Far Eastern poet is lost when he is read by what we should call a “foreigner.” In the original a Chinese poem at its best is a form as polished and precious as a hawthorn vase; to us it is only a bit of deceptively “free” or “imagist” verse, half caught and weakly rendered by some earnest but alien mind.

What we do see is, above all, brevity. We are apt to think these poems too slight, and feel an unreal disappointment at missing the majesty and boredom of Milton and Homer. But the Chinese believe that all poetry must be brief; that a long poem is a contradiction in terms—since poetry, to them, is a moment’s ecstasy, and dies when dragged out in epic reams. Its mission is to see and paint a picture with a stroke, and write a philosophy in a dozen lines; its ideal is infinite meaning in a little rhythm. Since pictures are of the essence of poetry, and the essence of Chinese writing is pictography, the written language of China is spontaneously poetic; it lends itself to writing in pictures, and shuns abstractions that cannot be phrased as things seen. Since abstractions multiply with civilization, the Chinese language, in its written form, has become a secret code of subtle suggestions; and in like manner, and perhaps for a like reason, Chinese poetry combines suggestion with concentration, and aims to reveal, through the picture it draws, some deeper thing invisible. It does not discuss, it intimates; it leaves out more than it says; and only an Oriental can fill it in. “The men of old,” say the Chinese, “reckoned it the highest excellence in poetry that the meaning should be beyond the words, and that the reader should have to think it out for himself.”<sup>100</sup> Like Chinese manners and art, Chinese poetry is a matter of infinite grace concealed in a placid simplicity. It foregoes metaphor, comparison and allusion, but relies on showing the thing itself, with a hint of its implications. It avoids exaggeration and passion, but appeals to the mature mind by understatement and restraint; it is seldom romantically excited in form, but knows how to express intense feeling in its own quietly classic way.

Men pass their lives apart like stars that move but never meet.  
This eye, how blest it is that the same lamp gives light to both  
of us!

Brief is youth's day.  
 Our temples already tell of waning life.  
 Even now half of those we know are spirits.  
 I am moved in the depths of my soul.

We may tire, at times, of a certain sentimentality in these poems, a vainly wistful mood of regret that time will not stop in its flight and let men and states be young forever. We perceive that the civilization of China was already old and weary in the days of Ming Huang, and that its poets, like the artists of the Orient in general, were fond of repeating old themes, and of spending their artistry on flawless form. But there is nothing quite like this poetry elsewhere, nothing to match it in delicacy of expression, in tenderness and yet moderation of feeling, in simplicity and brevity of phrase clothing the most considered thought. We are told that the poetry written under the T'ang emperors plays a large part in the training of every Chinese youth, and that one cannot meet an intelligent Chinese who does not know much of that poetry by heart. If this is so, then Li Po and Tu Fu are part of the answer that we must give to the question why almost every educated Chinese is an artist and a philosopher.

#### VI. TU FU

*T'ao Ch'ien—Po Chü-i—Poems for malaria—Tu Fu and Li Po—  
 A vision of war—Prosperous days—Destitution—Death*

Li Po is the Keats of China, but there are other singers almost as fondly cherished by his countrymen. There is the simple and stoic T'ao Ch'ien, who left a government position because, as he said, he was unable any longer to "crook the hinges of his back for five pecks of rice a day"—that is, *kow-tow*\* for his salary. Like many another public man disgusted with the commercialism of official life, he went to live in the woods, seeking there "length of years and depth of wine," and finding the same solace and delight in the streams and mountains of China that her painters would later express on silk.

I pluck chrysanthemums under the eastern hedge,  
 Then gaze long at the distant summer hills.  
 The mountain air is fresh at the dawn of day;

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\* From the Chinese *K'o T'ou*—to knock the head on the ground in homage.

The flying birds two by two return.  
 In these things there lies a deep meaning;  
 Yet when we would express it, words suddenly fail us. . . .  
 What folly to spend one's life like a dropped leaf  
 Snared under the dust of streets!  
 But for thirteen years it was so I lived. . . .  
 For a long time I have lived in a cage;  
 Now I have returned.  
 For one must return  
 To fulfil one's nature."<sup>8</sup>

Po Chü-i took the other road, choosing public office and life in the capital; he rose from place to place until he was governor of the great city of Hangchow, and President of the Board of War. Nevertheless he lived to the age of seventy-two, wrote four thousand poems, and tasted Nature to his heart's content in interludes of exile.<sup>9</sup> He knew the secret of mingling solitude with crowds, and repose with an active life. He made not too many friends, being, as he said, of middling accomplishment in "calligraphy, painting, chess and gambling, which tend to bring men together in pleasurable intercourse."<sup>10</sup> He liked to talk with simple people, and story has it that he would read his poems to an old peasant woman, and simplify anything that she could not understand. Hence he became the best-loved of the Chinese poets among the common people; his poetry was inscribed everywhere, on the walls of schools and temples, and the cabins of ships. "You must not think," said a "sing-song" girl to a captain whom she was entertaining, "that I am an ordinary dancing girl; I can recite Master Po's "Everlasting Wrong."<sup>11</sup>

We have kept for the last the profound and lovable Tu Fu. "English writers on Chinese literature," says Arthur Waley, "are fond of announcing that Li T'ai-po is China's greatest poet; the Chinese themselves, however, award this place to Tu Fu."<sup>12</sup> We first hear of him at Chang-an; he had come up to take the examinations for office, and had failed. He was not dismayed, even though his failure had been specifically in the subject of poetry; he announced to the public that his poems were a good cure for malarial fever, and seems to have tried the cure himself.<sup>13</sup> Ming Huang read some of his verses, gave him, personally, another examination,

\* The most famous of China's many renditions of the infatuation of Ming Huang with Yang Kwei-fei, her death in revolution, and Ming's misery in restoration. The poem is not quite everlasting, but too long for quotation here.

marked him successful, and appointed him secretary to General Tsoa. Emboldened, and forgetting for a moment his wife and children in their distant village, Tu Fu settled down in the capital, exchanged songs with Li Po, and studied the taverns, paying for his wine with poetry. He writes of Li:

I love my Lord as younger brother loves elder brother,  
In autumn, exhilarated by wine, we sleep under a single quilt;  
Hand in hand, we daily walk together.<sup>68</sup>

Those were the days of the love of Ming for Yang Kwei-fei. Tu celebrated it like the other poets; but when revolution burst forth, and rival ambitions drenched China in blood, he turned his muse to sadder themes, and pictured the human side of war:

Last night a government order came  
To enlist boys who had reached eighteen.  
They must help defend the capital. . . .  
*O Mother! O Children, do not weep so!*  
Shedding such tears will injure you.  
When tears stop flowing then bones come through,  
Nor Heaven nor Earth has compassion then. . . .

Do you know that in Shantung there are two hundred counties  
turned to the desert forlorn,  
Thousands of villages, farms, covered only with bushes, the thorn?  
Men are slain like dogs, women driven like hens along. . . .

If I had only known how bad is the fate of boys  
I would have had my children all girls. . . .  
Boys are only born to be buried beneath tall grass.  
Still the bones of the war-dead of long ago are beside the Blue Sea  
when you pass.

They are wildly white and they lie exposed on the sand,  
Both the little young ghosts and the old ghosts gather here to cry  
in a band.  
When the rains sweep down, and the autumn, and winds that chill,  
Their voices are loud, so loud that I learn how grief can kill. . . .

Birds make love in their dreams while they drift on the tide,  
 For the dusk's path the fireflies must make their own light.  
 Why should man kill man just in order to live?  
 In vain I sigh in the passing night.\*

For two years, during the revolutionary interlude, he wandered about China, sharing his destitution with his wife and children, so poor that he begged for bread, and so humbled that he knelt to pray for blessings upon the man who took his family in and fed them for a while.\* He was saved by the kindly general Yen Wu, who made him his secretary, put up with his moods and pranks, established him in a cottage by Washing Flower Stream, and required nothing more of him than that he should write poetry.\* He was happy now, and sang blissfully of rain and flowers, mountains and the moon.

Of what use is a phrase or a fine stanza?  
 Before me but mountains, deep forests, too black.  
 I think I shall sell my art objects, my books,  
 And drink just of nature when pure at the source. . . .

When a place is so lovely  
 I walk slow. I long to let loveliness drown in my soul.  
 I like to touch bird-feathers.  
 I blow deep into them to find the soft hairs beneath.  
 I like to count stamens, too,  
 And even weigh their pollen-gold.  
 The grass is a delight to sit on.  
 I do not need wine here because the flowers intoxicate me so. . . .  
 To the deep of my bones I love old trees, and the jade-blue waves  
 of the sea.\*\*

The good general liked him so that he disturbed his peace, raising him to high office as a Censor in Ch'ang-an. Then suddenly the general died, war raged around the poet, and, left only with his genius, he soon found himself penniless again. His children, savage with hunger, sneered at him for his helplessness. He passed into a bitter and lonely old age, "an ugly thing now to the eye"; the roof of his cabin was torn away by the wind,

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\* A famous Chinese painting pictures "The Poet Tu Fu in the Thatched Cottage." It may be seen at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

and urchins robbed him of the straw of his bed while he looked on, too physically weak to resist." Worst of all, he lost his taste for wine, and could no longer solve the problems of life in the fashion of Li Po. At last he turned to religion, and sought solace in Buddhism. Prematurely senile at fifty-nine, he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Huen Mountain to visit a famous temple. There he was discovered by a magistrate who had read his poetry. The official took the poet home, and ordered a banquet to be served in his honor; hot beef smoked, and sweet wine abounded; Tu Fu had not for many years seen such a feast. He ate hungrily. Then at his host's request, he tried to compose and sing; but he fell down exhausted. The next day he died."

#### VII. PROSE

##### *The abundance of Chinese literature — Romances — History — Szuma Ch'ien—Essays—Han Yü on the bone of Buddha*

The T'ang poets are but a part of Chinese poetry, and poetry is a small part of China's literature. It is hard for us to realize the age and abundance of this literature, or its wide circulation among the people. Lack of copyright laws helped other factors to make printing cheap; and it was nothing unusual, before the advent of western ideas, to find bound sets of twenty volumes selling new at one dollar, encyclopedias in twenty volumes selling new at four dollars, and all the Chinese Classics together obtainable for two.<sup>66</sup> It is harder still for us to appreciate this literature, for the Chinese value form and style far above contents in judging a book, and form and style are betrayed by every translation. The Chinese pardonably consider their literature superior to any other than that of Greece; and perhaps the exception is due to Oriental courtesy.

Fiction, through which Occidental authors most readily rise to fame, is not ranked as literature by the Chinese. It hardly existed in China before the Mongols brought it in;<sup>67</sup> and even today the best of Chinese novels are classed by the *litterati* as popular amusements unworthy of mention in a history of Chinese letters. The simple folk of the cities do not mind these distinctions, but turn without prejudice from the songs of Po Chü-i and Li Po to the anonymous interminable romances that, like the theatre, use the colloquial dialects of the people, and bring back to them vividly the dramatic events of their historic past. For almost all the famous novels of China take the form of historical fiction; few of them aim at realism, and fewer still attempt such psychological or social analysis as lift *The Brothers Karamazov*



and *The Magic Mountain*, *War and Peace* and *Les Miserables*, to the level of great literature. One of the earliest Chinese novels is the *Shui Hu Chuan*, or "Tale of the Water Margins," composed by a bevy of authors in the fourteenth century;\* one of the vastest is the *Hung Lou Men* (ca. 1650), a twenty-four-volume "Dream of the Red Chamber"; one of the best is the *Liao Chai Chih I* (ca. 1660), or "Strange Stories," much honored for the beauty and terseness of its style; the most famous is the *San Kuo Chih Yen I*, or "Romance of the Three Kingdoms," a twelve-hundred-page embellishment, by Lo Kuan-chung (1260-1341), of the wars and intrigues that followed the fall of the Han.† These expansive stories correspond to the picaresque novels of eighteenth-century Europe; often (if one may report mere hearsay in these matters) they combine the jolly portrayal of character of *Tom Jones* with the lively narrative of *Gil Blas*. They are recommended to the reader's leisurely old age.

The most respectable form of literature in China is history; and of all the accepted forms it is also the most popular. No other nation has had so many historians, certainly no other nation has written such extensive histories. Even the early courts had their official scribes, who chronicled the achievements of their sovereigns and the portents of the time; and this office of court historian, carried down to our own generation, has raised up in China a mass of historical literature unequaled in length or dullness anywhere else on the earth. The twenty-four official "Dynastic Histories" published in 1747 ran to 219 large volumes.‡ From the *Shu-Ching*, or "Book of History," so edifyingly bowdlerized by Confucius, and the *Tso-chuan*, a commentary written a century later to illustrate and vivify the book of the Master, and the *Annals of the Bamboo Books*, found in the tomb of a king of Wei, historiography advanced rapidly in China until, in the second century before Christ, it produced a *chef-d'œuvre* in the *Historical Record* painstakingly put together by Szuma Ch'ien.

Succeeding to his father as court astrologer, Szuma first reformed the calendar, and then devoted his life to a task which his father had begun, of narrating the history of China from the first mythical dynasty to his own day. He had no *penchant* for beauty of style, but aimed merely to make his record complete. He divided his book into five parts: (1) Annals of the Emperors; (2) Chronological Tables; (3) Eight chapters on rites, music, the pitch-pipes, the calendar, astrology, imperial sacrifices, water courses, and political economy; (4) Annals of the Feudal Nobles; and (5) Biographies

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\* It has been well translated by Mrs. Pearl Buck under the title, *All Men Are Brothers*, New York, 1933.

† Translated by C. H. Brewitt-Taylor, 2 vols., Shanghai, 1925.

of Eminent Men. The whole covered a period of nearly three thousand years, and took the form of 526,000 Chinese characters patiently scratched upon bamboo tablets with a style." Then Szuma Ch'ien, having given his life to his book, sent his volumes to his emperor and the world with this modest preface:

Your servant's physical strength is now relaxed; his eyes are short-sighted and dim; of his teeth but a few remain. His memory is so impaired that the events of the moment are forgotten as he turns away from them, his energies having been wholly exhausted in production of this book. He therefore hopes that your Majesty may pardon his vain attempt for the sake of his loyal intention, and in moments of leisure will deign to cast a sacred glance over this work, so as to learn from the rise and fall of former dynasties the secret of the successes and failures of the present hour. Then if such knowledge shall be applied for the advantage of the Empire, even though your servant may lay his bones in the Yellow Springs, the aim and ambition of his life will be fulfilled."

We shall find none of the brilliance of Taine in the pages of Szuma Ch'ien, no charming gossip and anecdotes in the style of Herodotus, no sober concatenation of cause and effect as in Thucydides, no continental vision pictured in music as in Gibbon; for history seldom rises, in China, from an industry to an art. From Szuma Ch'ien to his namesake Szuma Kuang, who, eleven hundred years later, attempted again a universal history of China, the Chinese historians have labored to record faithfully—sometimes at the cost of their income or their lives—the events of a dynasty or a reign; they have spent their energies upon truth, and have left nothing for beauty. Perhaps they were right, and history should be a science rather than an art; perhaps the facts of the past are obscured when they come to us in the purple of Gibbon or the sermons of Carlyle. But we, too, have dull historians, and can match any nation in volumes dedicated to record—and gather—dust.

Livelier is the Chinese essay; for here art is not forbidden, and eloquence has loose rein. Famous beyond the rest in this field is the great Han Yü, whose books are so valued that tradition requires the reader to wash his hands in rose-water before touching them. Born among the humblest, Han Yü reached to the highest ranks in the service of the state, and fell from grace only because he protested too intelligibly against the imperial concessions to Buddhism. To Han the new religion was merely a Hindu superstition; and it offended him to his Confucian soul that the Emperor should lend his sanction to the intoxication of his people with this enervating dream.

Therefore he submitted (803 A.D.) a memorial to the Emperor, from which these lines may serve as an example of Chinese prose discolored even by honest translation:

Your servant has now heard that instructions have been issued to the priestly community to proceed to Feng-hsiang and receive a bone of Buddha, and that from a high tower your Majesty will view its introduction into the Imperial Palace; also that orders have been sent to the various temples, commanding that the relic be received with the proper ceremonies. Now, foolish though your servant may be, he is well aware that your Majesty does not do this in the vain hope of deriving advantages therefrom; but that in the fulness of our present plenty, and in the joy which reigns in the heart of all, there is a desire to fall in with the wishes of the people in the celebration at the capital of this delusive mummery. For how could the wisdom of your Majesty stoop to participate in such ridiculous beliefs? Still the people are slow of perception and easily beguiled; and should they behold your Majesty thus earnestly worshipping at the feet of Buddha, they would cry out, "See! the Son of Heaven, the All-Wise, is a fervent believer; who are we, his people, that we should spare our bodies?" Then would ensue a scorching of heads and burning of fingers; crowds would collect together, and tearing off their clothes and scattering their money, would spend their time from morn to eve in imitation of your Majesty's example. The result would be that by and by young and old, seized with the same enthusiasm, would totally neglect the business of their lives; and should your Majesty not prohibit it, they would be found flocking to the temples, ready to cut off an arm or slice their bodies as an offering to the god. Thus would our traditions and customs be seriously injured, and ourselves become a laughing-stock on the face of the earth. . . .

Therefore your servant, overwhelmed with shame for the Censors,\* implores your Majesty that these bones be handed over for destruction by fire and water, whereby the root of this great evil may be exterminated for all time, and the people know how much the wisdom of your Majesty surpasses that of ordinary men. The glory of such a deed will be beyond all praise. And should the Lord Buddha have power to avenge this insult by the infliction of some misfortune, then let the vials of his wrath be poured out upon

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\* On the function of the Censors cf. p. 798 below. Not one of them, Han Yü implies, had protested against the plans of the Emperor Te Tsung to give his approval to Buddhism.

the person of your servant, who now calls Heaven to witness that he will not repent him of his oath."

In a conflict between superstition and philosophy one may safely wager on the victory of superstition, for the world wisely prefers happiness to wisdom. Han was exiled to a village in Kuang-tung, where the people were still simple barbarians. He did not complain, but set himself, after the teaching of Confucius, to civilize them with his example; and he succeeded so well that his picture today often bears the legend: "Wherever he passed, he purified."<sup>10</sup> He was finally recalled to the capital, served his state well, and died loaded with honors. His memorial tablet was placed in the Temple of Confucius—a place usually reserved for the disciples or greatest exponents of the Master—because he had defended the doctrines of Confucianism so recklessly against the invasion of a once noble but now corrupted faith.

#### VIII. THE STAGE

##### *Its low repute in China — Origins — The play — The audience — The actors—Music*

It is difficult to classify Chinese drama, for it is not recognized by China as either literature or art. Like many other elements of human life, its repute is not proportioned to its popularity. The names of the dramatists are seldom heard; and the actors, though they may give a lifetime to preparation and accomplishment, and rise to a hectic fame, are looked upon as members of an inferior order. Something of this odor, no doubt, attached to actors in every civilization, above all in those medieval days when drama was rebelliously differentiating itself from the religious pantomimes that had given it birth.

A similar origin is assigned to the Chinese theatre. Under the Chou Dynasty religious ritual included certain dances performed with wands. Tradition says that these dances were later forbidden, on the score that they had become licentious; and it was apparently from this cleavage that secular drama began.<sup>11</sup> Ming Huang, patron of so many arts, helped the development of an independent drama by gathering about him a company of male and female actors whom he called "The Young Folk of the Pear Garden"; but it was not till the reign of Kublai Khan that the Chinese theatre took on the scope of a national institution. In the year 1031 K'ung Tao-fu, a descendant of Confucius, was sent as Chinese envoy

to the Mongol Kitans, and was welcomed with a celebration that included a play. The buffoon, however, represented Confucius. K'ung Tao-fu walked out in a huff, but when he and other Chinese travelers among the Mongols returned to China they brought reports of a form of drama more advanced than any that China had yet known. When the Mongols conquered China they introduced to it both the novel and the theatre; and the classic examples of Chinese drama are still the plays that were written under the Mongol sway."

The art developed slowly, for neither the church nor the state would support it. For the most part it was practised by strolling players, who set up a platform in some vacant field and performed before a village audience standing under the open sky. Occasionally mandarins engaged actors to perform at private dinner-parties, and sometimes a guild would produce a play. Theatres became more numerous during the nineteenth century, but even at its close there were only two in the large city of Nanking." The drama was a mixture of history, poetry and music; usually some episode from an historical romance was the center of the plot; or scenes might be played from different dramas on the same evening. There was no limit to the length of the performance; it might be brief, or last several days; ordinarily it took six or seven hours, as with the best of contemporary American plays. There was much swashbuckling and oratory, much violence of blood and speech; but the *dénouement* did its best to atone for reality by making virtue triumph in the end. The drama became an educational and ethical instrument, teaching the people something about their history, and inculcating the Confucian virtues—above all, filial piety—with a demoralizing regularity.

The stage had little furnishing or scenery, and no exits; all the actors in the cast, along with their supernumeraries, sat on the stage throughout the play, rising when their rôles demanded; occasionally attendants served them tea. Other functionaries passed about among the audience selling tobacco, tea and refreshments, and providing hot towels for the wiping of faces during summer evenings; drinking, eating and conversation were now and then interrupted by some exceptionally fine or loud acting on the stage. The actors had often to shout in order to be heard; and they wore masks in order that their rôles might be readily understood. As the result of Ch'ien Lung's prohibition of woman players, female parts were acted by men, and so well that when women were in our time again admitted to the stage, they had to imitate their imitators in order to suc-

ceed. The actors were required to be experts in acrobatics and the dance, for their parts often called for skilful manipulation of the limbs, and almost every action had to be performed according to some ritual of grace in harmony with the music that accompanied the stage. Gestures were symbolic, and had to be precise and true to old conventions; in such accomplished actors as Mei Lan-fang the artistry of hands and body constituted half the poetry of the play. It was not completely theatre, not quite opera, not predominantly dance; it was a mixture almost medieval in quality, but as perfect in its kind as Palestrina's music, or stained glass."

Music was seldom an independent art, but belonged as a handmaiden to religion and the stage. Tradition ascribed its origin, like so much else, to the legendary emperor Fu Hsi. The *Li-Chi*, or "Book of Rites," dating from before Confucius, contained or recorded several treatises on music; and the *Tso-chuan*, a century after Confucius, described eloquently the music to which the odes of Wei were sung. Already, by Kung-fu-tze's time, musical standards were ancient, and innovations were disturbing quiet souls; the sage complained of the lascivious airs that were in his day supplanting the supposedly moral tunes of the past.<sup>20</sup> Greco-Bactrian and Mongolian influences entered, and left their mark upon the simple Chinese scale. The Chinese knew of the division of the octave into twelve semi-tones, but they preferred to write their music in a pentatonic scale, corresponding roughly to our F, G, A, C, and D; to these whole tones they gave the names "Emperor," "Prime Minister," "Subject People," "State Affairs," and "Picture of the Universe." Harmony was understood, but was seldom used except for tuning instruments. The latter included such wind instruments as flutes, trumpets, oboes, whistles and gourds; such string instruments as viols and lutes; and such percussion instruments as tambourines and drums, bells and gongs, cymbals and castanets, and musical plates of agate or jade.<sup>21</sup> The effects were as weird and startling to an Occidental ear as the *Sonata Appassionata* might seem to the Chinese; nevertheless they lifted Confucius to a vegetarian ecstasy, and brought to many hearers that escape from the strife of wills and ideas which comes with the surrender to music well composed. The sages, said Han Yü, "taught man music in order to dissipate the melancholy of his soul."<sup>22</sup> They agreed with Nietzsche that life without music would be a mistake.

# The Age of the Artists

## I. THE SUNG RENAISSANCE

### 1. *The Socialism of Wang An-shih*

*The Sung Dynasty—A radical premier—His cure for unemployment—The regulation of industry—Codes of wages and prices—The nationalization of commerce—State insurance against unemployment, poverty and old age—Examinations for public office—The defeat of Wang An-shih*

THE T'ang Dynasty never recovered from the revolution of An Lu-shan. The emperors who followed Ming Huang were unable to restore the imperial authority throughout the Empire; and after a century of senile debility the dynasty came to an end. Five dynasties followed in fifty-three years, but they were as feeble as they were brief. As always in such cases a strong and brutal hand was needed to reestablish order. One soldier emerged above the chaos, and set up the Sung Dynasty, with himself as its first emperor under the name of T'ai Tsu. The bureaucracy of Confucian officials was renewed, examinations for office were resumed, and an attempt was made by an imperial councillor to solve the problems of exploitation and poverty by an almost socialist control over the nation's economic life.

Wang An-shih (1021-86) is one of the many fascinating individuals who enliven the lengthy annals of Chinese history. It is part of the bathos of distance that our long removal from alien scenes obscures variety in places and men, and submerges the most diverse personalities in a dull uniformity of appearance and character. But even in the judgment of his enemies—whose very number distinguished him—Wang stood out as a man different from the rest, absorbed conscientiously in the enterprise of government, devoted recklessly to the welfare of the people, leaving himself no time for the care of his person or his clothes, rivaling the great

scholars of his age in learning and style, and fighting with mad courage the rich and powerful conservatives of his age. By a trick of chance the only great figure in the records of his country who resembled him was his namesake Wang Mang; already the turbid stream of history had traveled a thousand years since China's last outstanding experiment with socialist ideas.

On receiving the highest office in the command of the Emperor, Wang An-shih laid it down as a general principle that the government must hold itself responsible for the welfare of all its citizens. "The state," he said, "should take the entire management of commerce, industry and agriculture into its own hands, with a view to succoring the working classes and preventing them from being ground into the dust by the rich." He began by abolishing the forced labor that had from time immemorial been exacted from the Chinese people by the government, and had often taken men from the fields at the very time when the sowing or the harvesting needed them; and nevertheless he carried out great engineering works for the prevention of floods. He rescued the peasants from the money-lenders who had enslaved them, and lent them, at what were then low rates of interest, funds for the planting of their crops. To the unemployed he gave free seed and other aid in setting up homesteads, on condition that they would repay the state out of the yield of their land. Boards were appointed in every district to regulate the wages of labor and the prices of the necessities of life. Commerce was nationalized; the produce of each locality was bought by the government, part of it was stored for future local needs, and the rest was transported to be sold in state depots throughout the realm. A budget system was established, a budget commission submitted proposals and estimates of expenditure, and these estimates were so strictly adhered to in administration that the state was saved considerable sums which had previously fallen into those secret and spacious pockets that cross the path of every governmental dollar. Pensions were provided for the aged, the unemployed and the poor. Education and the examination system were reformed; the tests were devised to reveal acquaintance with facts rather than with words, and to shift the emphasis from literary style to the application of Confucian principles to current tasks; the rôle of formalism and rote memory in the training of children was reduced, and for a time, says a Chinese historian, "even the pupils at village schools threw away their text-books of rhetoric and began to study primers of history, geography, and political economy."<sup>11</sup>



Why did this noble experiment fail? First, perhaps, because of certain elements in it that were more practical than Utopian. Though most of the taxes were taken from the incomes of the rich, part of the heavy revenue needed for the enlarged expenses of the state was secured by appropriating a portion of the produce of every field. Soon the poor joined with the rich in complaining that taxes were too high; men are always readier to extend governmental functions than to pay for them. Further, Wang An-shih had reduced the standing army as a drain on the resources of the people, but had, as a means of replacing it, decreed the universal liability of every family of more than one male to provide a soldier in time of war. He had presented many families with horses and fodder, but on condition that the animals should be properly cared for, and be placed at the service of the government in its military need. When it turned out that invasion and revolution were multiplying the occasions of war, these measures brought Wang An-shih's popularity to a rapid end. Again, he had found it difficult to secure honest men to administer his measures; corruption spread throughout the mammoth bureaucracy, and China, like many nations since, saw itself faced with the ancient and bitter choice between private plunder and public "graft."

Conservatives, led by Wang's own brother and by the historian Szuma Kuang, denounced the experiment as inherently unsound; they argued that human corruptibility and incompetence made governmental control of industry impracticable, and that the best form of government was a *laissez-faire* which would rely on the natural economic impulses of men for the production of services and goods. The rich, stung by the high taxation of their fortunes and the monopoly of commerce by the government, poured out their resources in the resolve to discredit the measures of Wang An-shih, to obstruct their enforcement, and to bring them to a disgraceful end. The opposition, well organized, exerted pressure on the Emperor; and when a succession of floods and droughts was capped by the appearance of a terrifying comet in the sky, the Son of Heaven dismissed Wang from office, revoked his decrees, and called his enemies to power. Once again everything was as before.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. *The Revival of Learning*

*The growth of scholarship—Paper and ink in China—Steps in the invention of printing—The oldest book—Paper money—Movable type—Anthologies, dictionaries, encyclopedias*

Meanwhile, through all wars and revolutions, through all administrations and experiments, the life of the Chinese people flowed evenly on, not much disturbed by events too distant to be heard of until long since past. The Sung rule was overthrown in the north, but reëstablished itself in the south; the capital was moved from Pien Liang (now K'aifeng) to Lin-an (now Hangchow); in the new capital, as in the old, luxury and refinement grew, and traders came from many parts of the world to buy the unmatched products of Chinese industry and art. Emperor Hui Tsung (1101-25) set the fashion at Pien Liang by being an artist first and a ruler afterward: he painted pictures while the barbarians marched upon his capital, and founded an art academy that stimulated with exhibitions and prizes the arts that were to be the chief claim of the Sung era to the remembrance of mankind. Inspiring collections were made of Chinese bronzes, paintings, manuscripts and jades; great libraries were collected, and some of them survived the glories of war. Scholars and artists crowded the northern and southern capitals.

It was in this dynasty that printing entered like an imperceptibly completed revolution into the literary life of the Chinese. It had grown step by step through many centuries; now it was ready in both its phases—blocks to print whole pages, and movable type cast of metal in matrices—as a thoroughly Chinese invention,<sup>4</sup> the greatest, after writing, in the history of our race.

The first step in the development had to be the discovery of some more convenient writing material than the silk or bamboo that had contented the ancient Chinese. Silk was expensive, and bamboo was heavy; Mo Ti needed three carts to carry with him, in his travels, the bamboo books that were his chief possession; and Shih Huang-ti had to go over one hundred and twenty pounds of state documents every day.<sup>5</sup> About 105 A.D. one Ts'ai Lun informed the Emperor that he had invented a cheaper and lighter writing material, made of tree bark, hemp, rags and fish-nets. Ts'ai was given a high title and office by the Emperor, was involved in an intrigue with the Empress, was detected, "went home, took a bath, combed his hair, put on his best

robes, and drank poison."<sup>8</sup> The new art spread rapidly and far, for the oldest existing paper, found by Sir Aurel Stein in a spur of the Great Wall, is in the form of state documents pertaining to occurrences in the years 21-137 A.D., and apparently contemporary with the latest of those events; it is dated, therefore, about 150 A.D., only half a century after Ts'ai Lun's report of his invention.<sup>7</sup> These early papers were of pure rag, essentially like the paper used in our own day when durability is desired. The Chinese developed paper almost to perfection by using a "sizing" of glue or gelatin, and a base of starchy paste, to strengthen the fibres and accelerate their absorption of ink. When the art was taught by the Chinese to the Arabs in the eighth century, and by the Arabs to Europe in the thirteenth, it was already complete.

Ink, too, came from the East; for though the Egyptian had made both ink and paper in what might be called the most ancient antiquity, it was from China that Europe learned the trick of mixing it out of lamp black; "India ink" was originally Chinese.<sup>9</sup> Red ink, made of sulphide of mercury, had been used in China as far back as the Han Dynasty; black ink appeared there in the fourth century, and henceforth the use of red ink was made an imperial privilege. Black ink encouraged printing, for it was especially adapted for use on wooden blocks, and enjoyed almost complete indelibility. Blocks of paper have been found, in Central Asia, which had lain under water so long as to become petrified; but the writing, in ink, could still be clearly read.<sup>9</sup>

The use of seals in signatures was the unconscious origin of print; the Chinese word for print is still the same as the word for seal. At first these seals, as in the Near East, were impressed upon clay; about the fifth century they were moistened with ink. Meanwhile, in the second century, the text of the Classics had been cut in stone; and soon thereafter the custom arose of making inked rubbings from these inscriptions. In the sixth century we find large wooden seals used by the Taoists to print charms; a century later the Buddhist missionaries experimented with various methods of duplication, through seals, rubbings, stencils, and textile prints—the last an art of Indian derivation. The earliest extant block prints are a million charms printed in Japan about 770 A.D., in the Sanskrit language and the Chinese character—an excellent instance of cultural interaction in Asia. Many block prints were made during the T'ang Dynasty, but they were apparently destroyed or lost in the chaos of revolution that followed Ming Huang.<sup>10</sup>

In 1907 Sir Aurel Stein persuaded the Taoist priests of Chinese Turkestan to let him examine the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" at Tun-huang. In one of these chambers, which had apparently been walled up about the year 1035 A.D. and not opened again until 1900, lay 1130 bundles, each con-

taining a dozen or more manuscript rolls; the whole formed a library of 15,000 books, written on paper, and as well preserved as if they had been inscribed the day before their modern discovery. It was among these manuscripts that the world's oldest printed book was found—the "Diamond Sutra"—a roll ending with these words: "Printed on (the equivalent of) May 11, 868, by Wang Chieh, for free general distribution, in order in deep reverence to perpetuate the memory of his parents."<sup>11</sup> Three other printed books were found in the mass of manuscripts; one of them marked a new development, for it was not a roll, like the "Diamond Sutra," but a tiny folded book, the first known of its now multitudinous kind. As in late medieval Europe and among primitive peoples in recent times, the first stimulus to printing came from religion, which sought to spread its doctrines by sight as well as sound, and to put its charms and prayers and legends into every hand. Almost as old as these pious forms of print, however, are playing cards—which appeared in China in 969 or sooner, and were introduced from China into Europe near the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

These early volumes had been printed with wooden blocks. In a Chinese letter written about 870 A.D. we find the oldest known mention of such work: "Once when I was in Szechuan I examined in a bookshop a school-book printed from wood."<sup>13</sup> Already, it seems, the art of printing had been developed; and it is interesting to observe that this development seems to have come first in western provinces like Szechuan and Turkestan, which had been prodded on to civilization by Buddhist missionaries from India, and had for a time enjoyed a culture independent of the eastern capitals. Block-printing was introduced to eastern China early in the tenth century when a prime minister, Feng Tao, persuaded the Emperor to provide funds for the printing of the Chinese Classics. The work took twenty years and filled one hundred and thirty volumes, for it included not only the texts but the most famous commentaries. When it was completed it gave the Classics a circulation that contributed vigorously to the revival of learning and the strengthening of Confucianism under the Sung kings.

One of the earliest forms of block printing was the manufacture of paper money. Appearing first in Szechuan in the tenth century, it became a favorite occupation of Chinese governments, and led within a century to experiments in inflation. In 1294 Persia imitated this new mode of creating wealth; in 1297 Marco Polo described with wonder the respect which the Chinese showed for these curious scraps of paper. It was not till 1656 that Europe learned the trick, and issued its first paper currency.<sup>14</sup>

Movable type was also a Chinese invention, but the absence of an alphabet, and the presence of 40,000 characters in written Chinese, made its use an impossible luxury in the Far East. Pi Sheng formed movable type of

earthenware as early as 1041 A.D., but little use was found for the invention. In 1403 the Koreans produced the first metal type known to history: models were engraved in hard wood, moulds of porcelain paste were made from these models, and from these moulds, baked in an oven, the metal type was cast. The greatest of Korean emperors, T'ai Tsung, at once adopted the invention as an aid to government and the preservation of civilization. "Whoever is desirous of governing," said that enlightened monarch, "must have a wide acquaintance with the laws and the Classics. Then he will be able to act righteously without, and to maintain an upright character within, and thus to bring peace and order to the land. Our eastern country lies beyond the seas, and the number of books reaching us from China is small. The books printed from blocks are often imperfect, and moreover it is difficult to print in their entirety all the books that exist. I ordain therefore that characters be formed of bronze, and that everything without exception upon which I can lay my hands be printed, in order to pass on the tradition of what these works contain. That will be a blessing to us to all eternity. However, the costs shall not be taken from the people in taxes. I and my family, and those ministers who so wish, will privately bear the expense."<sup>28</sup>

From Korea the casting of movable type spread to Japan and back again to China, but not, apparently, until after Gutenberg's belated discovery in Europe. In Korea the use of movable type continued for two centuries and then decayed; in China its use was only occasional until merchants and missionaries from the West, as if returning an ancient gift, brought to the East the methods of European typography. From the days of Feng Tao to those of Li Hung-chang the Chinese clung to block-printing as the most feasible form for their language. Despite this limitation Chinese printers poured out a great mass of books upon the people. Dynastic histories in hundreds of volumes were issued between 994 and 1063; the entire Buddhist canon, in five thousand volumes, was completed by 972.<sup>29</sup> Writers found themselves armed with a weapon which they had never had before; their audience was widened from the aristocracy to the middle, even to part of the lower, classes; literature took on a more democratic tinge, and a more varied form. The art of block-printing was one of the sources of the Sung Renaissance.

Stimulated with this liberating invention, Chinese literature now became an unprecedented flood. All the glory of the Humanist revival in Italy was anticipated by two hundred years. The ancient classics were honored with a hundred editions and a thousand commentaries; the life of the past was captured by scholarly historians, and put down for millions of readers

in the new marvel of type; vast anthologies of literature were collected, great dictionaries were compiled, and encyclopedias like mastodons made their way through the land. The first of any moment was that of Wu Shu (947-1002); for lack of an alphabet it was arranged under categories, covering chiefly the physical world. In 977 A.D. the Sung Emperor T'ai Tsung ordered the compilation of a larger encyclopedia; it ran to thirty-two volumes, and consisted for the most part of selections from 1,690 pre-existing books. Later, under the Ming Emperor Yung Lo (1403-25), an encyclopedia was written in ten thousand volumes, and proved too expensive to be printed; of the one copy handed down to posterity all but one hundred and sixty volumes were consumed by fire in the Boxer riots of 1900.<sup>27</sup> Never before had scholars so dominated a civilization.

### 3. *The Rebirth of Philosophy*

#### *Chu Hsi—Wang Yang-ming—Beyond good and evil*

These scholars were not all Confucians, for rival schools of thought had grown up in the course of fifteen centuries, and now the intellectual life of the exuberant race was stirred with much argument about it and about. The seepage of Buddhism into the Chinese soul had reached even the philosophers. Most of them now affected a habit of solitary meditation; some of them went so far as to scorn Confucius for scorning metaphysics, and to reject his method of approach to the problems of life and mind as too external and crude. Introspection became an accepted method of exploring the universe, and epistemology made its first appearance among the Chinese. Emperors took up Buddhism or Taoism as ways of promoting their popularity or of disciplining the people; and at times it seemed that the reign of Confucius over the Chinese mind was to end.

His saviour was Chu Hsi. Just as Shankara, in eighth-century India, had brought into an intellectual system the scattered insights of the Upanishads, and had made the *Vedanta* philosophy supreme; and just as Aquinas, in thirteenth-century Europe, was soon to weave Aristotle and St. Paul into the victorious Scholastic philosophy; so Chu Hsi, in twelfth-century China, took the loose apothegms of Confucius and built upon them a system of philosophy orderly enough to satisfy the taste of a scholarly age, and strong enough to preserve for seven centuries the leadership of the Confucians in the political and intellectual life of the Chinese.

The essential philosophic controversy of the time centered upon the interpretation of a passage in the *Great Learning*, attributed by both Chu Hsi and his opponents to Confucius.\* What was meant by the astonishing demand that the ordering of states should be based upon the proper regulation of the family, that the regulation of the family should be based upon the regulation of one's self, that the regulation of one's self depended upon sincerity of thought, and that sincerity of thought arose from "the utmost extension of knowledge" through "the investigation of things"?

Chu Hsi answered that this meant just what it said; that philosophy, morals and statesmanship should begin with a modest study of realities. He accepted without protest the positivistic bent of the Master's mind; and though he labored over the problems of ontology at greater length than Confucius might have approved, he arrived at a strange combination of atheism and piety which might have interested the sage of Shantung. Like the *Book of Changes*, which has always dominated the metaphysics of the Chinese, Chu Hsi recognized a certain strident dualism in reality: everywhere the *Yang* and the *Yin*—activity and passivity, motion and rest—mingled like male and female principles, working on the five elements of water, fire, earth, metal and wood to produce the phenomena of creation; and everywhere *Li* and *Chi*—Law and Matter—equally external, coöperated to govern all things and give them form. But over all these forms, and combining them, was *T'ai chi*, the Absolute, the impersonal Law of Laws, or structure of the world. Chu Hsi identified this Absolute with the *T'ien* or Heaven of orthodox Confucianism; God, in his view, was a rational process without personality or figurable form. "Nature is nothing else than Law."<sup>718</sup>

This Law of the universe is also, said Chu, the law of morals and of politics. Morality is harmony with the laws of nature, and the highest statesmanship is the application of the laws of morality to the conduct of a state. Nature in every ultimate sense is good, and the nature of men is good; to follow nature is the secret of wisdom and peace. "Choi Mao Shu refrained from clearing away the grass from in front of his window, 'because,' he said, 'its impulse is just like my own.'"<sup>719</sup> One might conclude that the instincts are also good, and that one may follow them gayly; but Chu Hsi denounces them as the expression of matter (*Chi*), and demands their subjection to reason and law (*Li*).<sup>20</sup> It is difficult to be at once a moralist and a logician.

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\* The passage is quoted in full on page 668 above.

There were contradictions in this philosophy, but these did not disturb its leading opponent, the gentle and peculiar Wang Yang-ming. For Wang was a saint as well as a philosopher; the meditative spirit and habits of *Mahayana* Buddhism had sunk deeply into his soul. It seemed to him that the great error in Chu Hsi was not one of morals, but one of method; the investigation of things, he felt, should begin not with the examination of the external universe, but, as the Hindus had said, with the far profounder and more revealing world of the inner self. Not all the physical science of all the centuries would ever explain a bamboo shoot or a grain of rice.

In former years I said to my friend Chien: "If, to be a sage or a virtuous man, one must investigate everything under heaven, how can at present any man possess such tremendous power?" Pointing to the bamboos in front of the pavilion, I asked him to investigate them and see. Both day and night Chien entered into an investigation of the principles of the bamboo. For three days he exhausted his mind and thought, until his mental energy was tired out and he took sick. At first I said that it was because his energy and strength were insufficient. Therefore I myself undertook to carry on the investigation. Day and night I was unable to understand the principles of the bamboo, until after seven days I also became ill because of having wearied and burdened my thoughts. In consequence we mutually sighed and said, "We cannot be either sages or virtuous men."<sup>21</sup>

So Wang Yang-ming put aside the examination of things, and put aside even the classics of antiquity; to read one's own heart and mind in solitary contemplation seemed to him to promise more wisdom than all objects and all books." Exiled to a mountainous wilderness inhabited by barbarians and infested with poisonous snakes, he made friends and disciples of the criminals who had escaped to those parts; he taught them philosophy, cooked for them, and sang them songs. Once, at the midnight watch, he startled them by leaping from his cot and crying out ecstatically: "My nature, of course, is sufficient. I was wrong in looking for principles in things and affairs." His comrades were not sure that they followed him; but slowly he led them on to his idealistic conclusion: "The mind itself is the embodiment of natural law. Is there anything in the universe that exists independent of the mind? Is there any law apart from the mind?"<sup>22</sup>



He did not infer from this that God was a figment of the imagination; on the contrary he conceived of the Deity as a vague but omnipresent moral force, too great to be merely a person, and yet capable of feeling sympathy and anger toward men.\*

From this idealistic starting-point he came to the same ethical principles as Chu Hsi. "Nature is the highest good," and the highest excellence lies in accepting the laws of Nature completely.<sup>28</sup> When it was pointed out to him that Nature seems to include snakes as well as philosophers, he replied, with a touch of Aquinas, Spinoza and Nietzsche, that "good" and "bad" are prejudices, terms applied to things according to their advantage or injury to one's self or mankind; Nature itself, he taught, is beyond good and evil, and ignores our egoistic terminology. A pupil reports, or invents, a dialogue which might have been entitled *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*:

A little later he said: "This view of good and evil has its source in the body, and is probably mistaken." I was not able to comprehend. The Teacher said: "The purpose of heaven in bringing forth is even as in the instance of flowers and grass. In what way does it distinguish between good and evil? If you, my disciple, take delight in seeing the flowers, then you will consider flowers good and grass bad. If you desire to use the grass you will, in turn, consider the grass good. This type of good and evil has its source in the likes and dislikes of your mind. Therefore I know that you are mistaken."

I said: "In that case there is neither good nor evil, is there?" The Teacher said: "The tranquillity resulting from the dominance of natural law is a state in which no discrimination is made between good and evil; while the stirring of the passion-nature is a state in which both good and evil are present. If there are no stirrings of the passion-nature, there is neither good nor evil, and this is what is called the highest good." . . .

I said: "In that case good and evil are not at all present in things?" He said: "They are only in your mind."<sup>29</sup>

It was well that Wang and Buddhism sounded this subtle note of an idealist metaphysic in the halls of the correct and prim Confucians; for though these scholars had the justest view of human nature and government which philosophy had yet conceived, they were a trifle enamored of their wisdom, and had become an intellectual bureaucracy irksome and hostile to every free and creatively erring soul. If in the end the followers

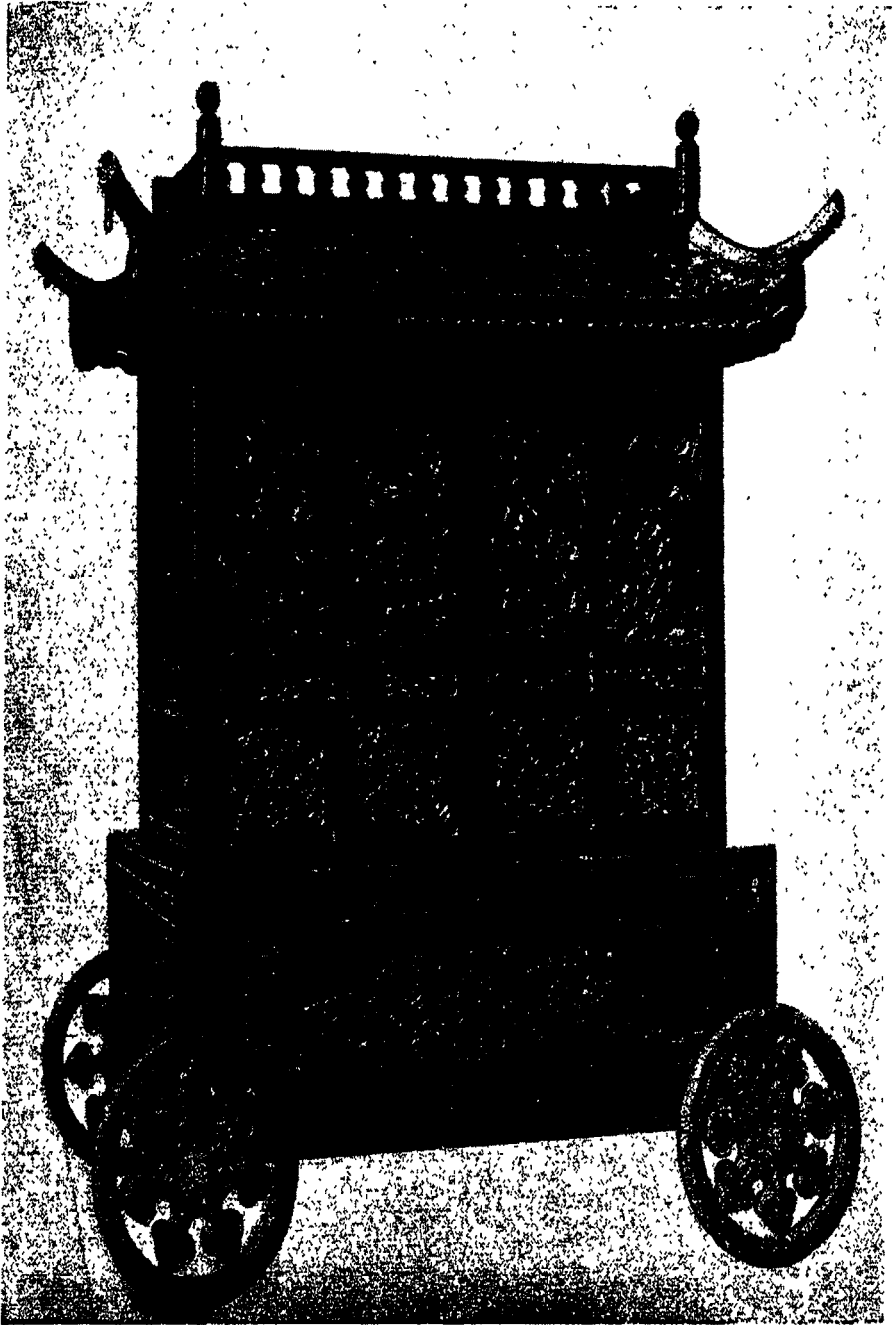


FIG. 65—*Imperial jewel casket of blue lacquer*  
Underwood & Underwood

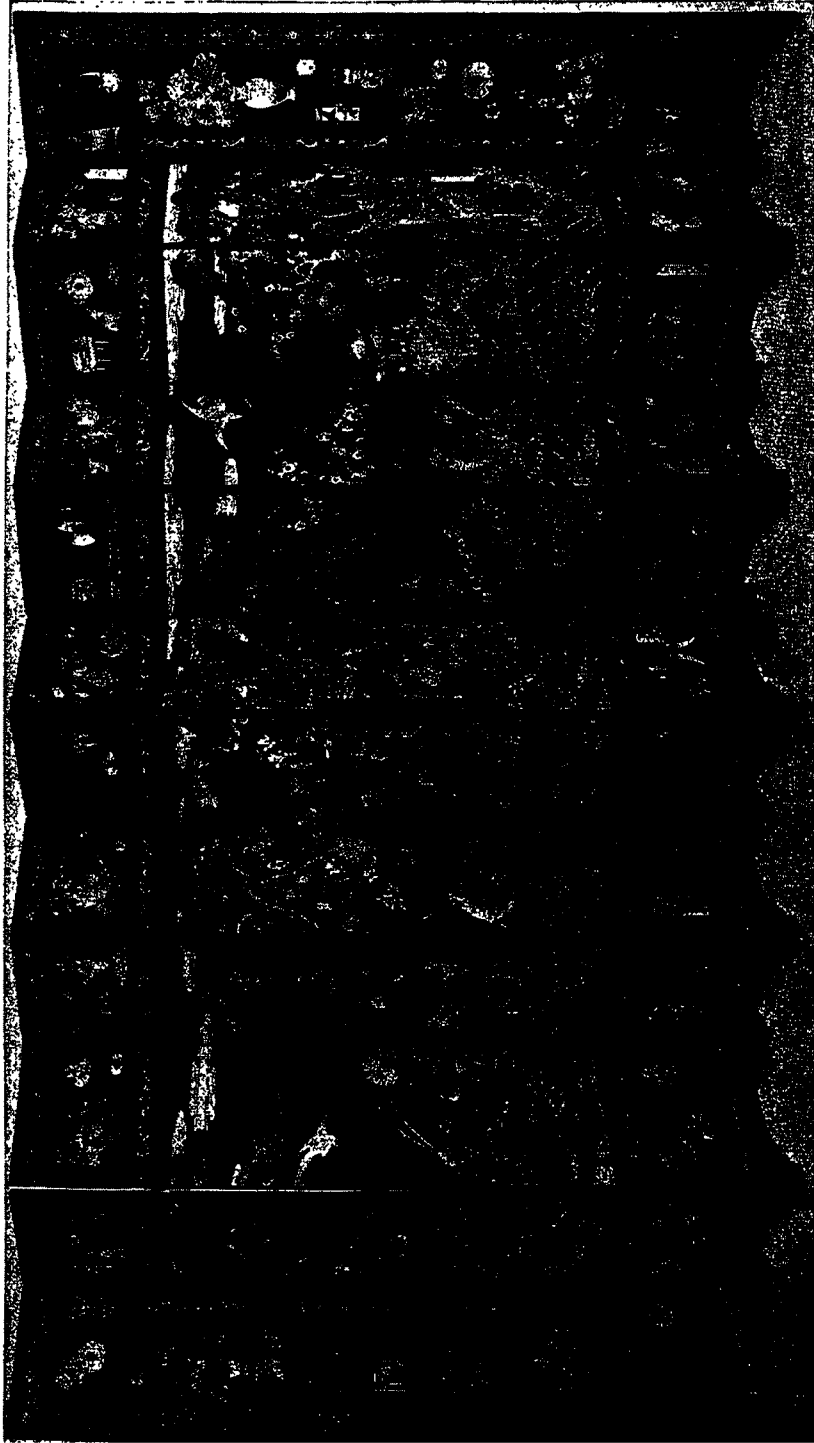


FIG. 66—*The lacquered screen of Kamg-bai*  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London

of Chu Hsi won the day, if his tablet was placed with high honors in the same hall with that of the Master himself, and his interpretations of the Classics became a law to all orthodox thought for seven hundred years, it was indeed a victory of sound and simple sense over the disturbing subtleties of the metaphysical mind. But a nation, like an individual, can be too sensible, too prosaically sane and unbearably right. It was partly because Chu Hsi and Confucianism triumphed so completely that China had to have her Revolution.

## II. BRONZE, LACQUER AND JADE

*The rôle of art in China—Textiles—Furniture—Jewelry—Fans—  
The making of lacquer—The cutting of jade—Some master-  
pieces in bronze—Chinese sculpture*

The pursuit of wisdom and the passion for beauty are the two poles of the Chinese mind, and China might loosely be defined as philosophy and porcelain. As the pursuit of wisdom meant to China no airy metaphysic but a positive philosophy aiming at individual development and social order, so the passion for beauty was no esoteric estheticism, no dilettante concoction of art forms irrelevant to human affairs, but an earthly marriage of beauty and utility, a practical resolve to adorn the objects and implements of daily life. Until it began to yield its own ideals to Western influence, China refused to recognize any distinction between the artist and the artisan, or between the artisan and the worker; nearly all industry was *manufacture*, and all manufacture was *handicraft*; industry, like art, was the expression of personality in things. Hence China, while neglecting to provide its people, through large-scale industry, with conveniences common in the West, excelled every country in artistic taste and the multiplication of beautiful objects for daily use. From the characters in which he wrote to the dishes from which he ate, the comfortable Chinese demanded that everything about him should have some esthetic form, and evidence in its shape and texture the mature civilization of which it was a symbol and a part.

It was during the Sung Dynasty that this movement to beautify the person, the temple and the home reached its highest expression. It had been a part of the excellence of T'ang life, and would remain and spread under later dynasties; but now a long period of order and prosperity nourished every art, and gave to Chinese living a grace and adornment

which it had never enjoyed before. In textiles and metalworking the craftsmen of China, during and after the Sung era, reached a degree of perfection never surpassed; in the cutting of jade and hard stones they went beyond all rivals anywhere; and in the carving of wood and ivory they were excelled only by their pupils in Japan.<sup>27</sup> Furniture was designed in a variety of unique and uncomfortable forms; cabinet-makers, living on a bowl of rice per day, sent forth one *objet de vertu*—one little piece of perfection—after another; and these minor products of a careful art, taking the place of expensive furniture and luxuries in homes, gave to their owners a pleasure which in the Occident only connoisseurs can know. Jewelry was not abundant, but it was admirably cut. Women and men cooled themselves with ornate fans of feathers or bamboo, of painted paper or silk; even beggars brandished elegant fans as they plied their ancient trade.

The art of lacquer began in China, and came to its fullest perfection in Japan. In the Far East lacquer is the natural product of a tree\* indigenous to China, but now most sedulously cultivated by the Japanese. The sap is drawn from trunk and branches, strained, and heated to remove excess liquid; it is applied to thin wood, sometimes to metal or porcelain, and is dried by exposure to moisture.<sup>28</sup> Twenty or thirty coats, each slowly dried and painstakingly polished, are laid on, the applications varying in color and depth; then, in China, the finished lacquer is carved with a sharp V-shaped tool, each incision reaching to such a layer as to expose the color required by the design. The art grew slowly; it began as a form of writing upon bamboo strips; the material was used in the Chou Dynasty to decorate vessels, harness, carriages, etc.; in the second century A.D. it was applied to buildings and musical instruments; under the T'ang many lacquered articles were exported to Japan; under the Sung all branches of the industry took their definite form, and shipped their products to such distant ports as India and Arabia; under the Ming emperors the art was further perfected, and in some phases reached its zenith;<sup>29</sup> under the enlightened Manchu rulers K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien Lung great factories were built and maintained by imperial decree, and made such masterpieces as Ch'ien Lung's throne,<sup>30</sup> or the lacquered screen that K'ang-hsi presented to Leopold I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>31</sup> The art continued at its height until the nineteenth century, when the

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\* The *Rhus vernicifera*. Lacquer is from the French *lacre*, resin, which in turn derives from the Latin *lac*, milk.

wars brought on by European merchants, and the poor taste of European importers and clients, caused the withdrawal of imperial support, lowered the standards, debased the designs, and left the leadership in lacquer to Japan.

Jade is as old as Chinese history, for it is found in the most ancient graves. The earliest records attribute its use as a "sound-stone" to 2500 B.C.: jade was cut in the form of a fish or otherwise, and suspended by a thong; when properly cut and struck it emitted a clear musical tone, astonishingly long sustained. The word was derived through the French *jade* from the Spanish *ijada* (Lat. *ilia*), meaning loins; the Spanish conquerors of America found that the Mexicans used the stone, powdered and mixed with water, as a cure for many internal disorders, and they brought this new prescription back to Europe along with American gold. The Chinese word for the stone is much more sensible; *jun* means soft like the dew.<sup>33</sup> Two minerals provide jade: jadeite and nephrite—silicates in the one case of aluminium and sodium, in the other of calcium and magnesium. Both are tough; the pressure of fifty tons is sometimes required to crush a one-inch cube; large pieces are usually broken by being subjected in quick succession first to extreme heat and then to cold water. The ingenuity of the Chinese artist is revealed in his ability to bring lustrous colors of green, brown, black and white out of these naturally colorless materials, and in the patient obstinacy with which he varies the forms, so that in all the world's collections of jade (barring buttons) no two pieces are alike. Examples begin to appear as far back as the Shang Dynasty, in the shape of a jade toad used in divine sacrifice;<sup>34</sup> and forms of great beauty were produced in the days of Confucius.<sup>35</sup> While various peoples used jadeite for axes, knives and other utensils, the Chinese held the stone in such reverence that they kept it almost exclusively for art; they regarded it as more precious than silver or gold, or any jewelry;<sup>36</sup> they valued some small jades, like the thumb rings worn by the mandarins, at five thousand dollars, and some jade necklaces at \$100,000; collectors spent years in search of a single piece. It has been estimated that an assemblage of all existing Chinese jades would form a collection unrivaled by any other material.<sup>37</sup>

Bronze is almost as old as jade in the art of China, and even more exalted in Chinese reverence. Legend tells how the ancient Emperor Yü, hero of the Chinese flood, cast the metals sent him as tribute by the nine provinces of his empire into the form of three nine-legged cauldrons, possessed

of the magic power to ward off noxious influences, cause their contents to boil without fire, and generate spontaneously every delicacy. They became a sacred symbol of the imperial authority, were handed down carefully from dynasty to dynasty, but disappeared mysteriously on the fall of the Chou—a circumstance extremely injurious to the prestige of Shih Huang-ti. The casting and decoration of bronze became one of the fine arts of China, and produced collections that required forty-two volumes to catalogue them.\* It made vessels for the religious ceremonies of the government and the home, and transformed a thousand varieties of utensils into works of art. Chinese bronzes are equaled only by the work of the Italian Renaissance, and there, perhaps, only by those "Gates of Paradise" which Ghiberti designed for the Baptistery of Florence.

The oldest existing pieces of Chinese bronze are sacrificial vessels recently discovered in Honan; Chinese scholars assign them to the Shang Dynasty, but European connoisseurs give them a later, though uncertain, date. The earliest dated remains are from the period of the Chou; an excellent example of these is the set of ceremonial vessels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Most of the Chou bronzes were confiscated by Shih Huang-ti, lest the people melt them down and recast them as weapons. With the accumulated metal his artisans made twelve gigantic statues, each fifty feet high;† but not one foot of the fifty remains. Under the Han many fine vessels were made, often inlaid with gold. Artists trained in China cast several masterpieces for the Temple of Horiuji at Nara in Japan, the loveliest being three Amida-Buddhas seated in lotus-beds;‡ there is hardly anything finer than these figures in the history of bronze.\* Under the Sung the art reached its height, if not of excellence, certainly of fertility; cauldrons, wine vessels, beakers, censers, weapons, mirrors, bells, drums, vases, plaques and figurines filled the shelves of connoisseurs and found some place in nearly every home. An attractive sample of Sung work is an incense burner in the form of a water buffalo mounted by Lao-tze, who bestrides it calmly in proof of the power of philosophy to tame the savage breast.¶ The casting is throughout of the thinness of paper, and the lapse of time has given the piece a patina or coating of mottled green that lends it the meretricious beauty of decay.† Under the Ming a slow deterioration

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\* Cf. p. 897 below.

† Patina (Latin for *dish*) is formed by the disintegration of the metal surface through contact with moisture or earth. It is the fashion today to value bronzes partly according to the green or black patina left on them by time—or by the acids used in the modern production of "ancient" art.

attacked the art; the size of the objects increased, the quality fell. Bronze, which had been a miraculous novelty in the Chalcolithic Age of the Emperor Yü, became a commonplace, and yielded its popularity to porcelain.

Sculpture was not one of the major arts, not even a fine art, to the Chinese." By an act of rare modesty the Far East refused to class the human body under the rubric of beauty; its sculptors played a little with drapery, and used the figures of men—seldom of women—to study or represent certain types of consciousness; but they did not glorify the body. For the most part they confined their portraits of humanity to Buddhist saints and Taoist sages, ignoring the athletes and courtesans who gave such inspiration to the artists of Greece. In the sculpture of China animals were preferred even to philosophers and saints.

The earliest Chinese statues known to us are the twelve bronze colossi erected by Shih Huang-ti; they were melted by a Han ruler to make "small cash." A few little animals in bronze remain from the Han Dynasty; but nearly all the statuary of that epoch was destroyed by war or the negligence of time. The only important Han remains are the tomb-reliefs found in Shantung; here again the human figures are rare, the scenes being dominated by animals carved in thin relief. More akin to sculpture are the funerary statuettes of clay—mostly of animals, occasionally of servants or wives—which were buried with male corpses as a convenient substitute for suttee. Here and there animals in the round survive from this period, like the marble tiger, all muscle and watchfulness, that guarded the temple of Sniang-fu,<sup>4</sup> or the snarling bears in the Gardner collection at Boston, or the winged and goitrous lions of the Nanking tombs.<sup>4</sup> These animals, and the proud horses of the tomb-reliefs, show a mixture of Greco-Bactrian, Assyrian and Scythian influences; there is nothing about them distinctively Chinese.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile another influence was entering China, in the form of Buddhist theology and art. It made a home for itself first in Turkestan, and built there a civilization from which Stein and Pelliot have unearthed many tons of ruined statuary; some of it<sup>4</sup> seems equal to Hindu Buddhist art at its best. The Chinese took over those Buddhist forms without much alteration, and produced Buddhas as fair as any in Gandhara or India. The earliest of these appear in the Yün Kan cave temples of Shansi (ca. 490 A.D.); among the best are the figures in the Lung Men grottoes of Honan. Outside these grottoes stand several colossi, of which the most unique is a graceful *Bodhisattwa*, and the most imposing is the "Vairochana" Buddha (ca. 672 A.D.), destroyed at the base but still instructively serene.<sup>4</sup> Farther east, in Shan-



tung, many cave temples have been found whose walls are carved with mythology in Hindu fashion, with here and there a powerful *Bodhisattwa* like that in the cave of Yun Men (ca. 600 A.D.).<sup>47</sup> The T'ang Dynasty continued the Buddhist tradition in sculpture, and carried it to perfection in the seated stone Buddha (ca. 639) found in the province of Shensi.<sup>48</sup> The later dynasties produced in clay some massive *Lohans*—disciples of the gentle Buddha who have the stern faces of financiers;\* and some very beautiful figures of the *Mahayana* deity Kuan-yin, almost in the process of turning from a god into a goddess.<sup>49</sup>

After the T'ang Dynasty sculpture lost its religious inspiration, and took on a secular, occasionally a sensuous, character; moralists complained, as in Renaissance Italy, that the artists were making saints as graceful and supple as women; and Buddhist priests laid down severe iconographic rules forbidding the individualization of character or the accentuation of the body. Probably the strong moral bent of the Chinese impeded the development of sculpture; when the religious *motif* lost its impelling force, and the attractiveness of physical beauty was not allowed to take its place, sculpture in China decayed; religion destroyed what it could no longer inspire. Towards the end of the T'ang the fount of sculptural creation began to run dry. The Sung produced only a few extant pieces of distinction; the Mongols gave their energies to war; the Mings excelled for a passing moment in *bizarrieries* and such colossi as the stone monsters that stand before the tombs of the Mings. Sculpture, choked by religious restrictions, gave up the ghost, and left the field of Chinese art to porcelain and painting.

### III. PAGODAS AND PALACES

*Chinese architecture—The Porcelain Tower of Nanking—The Jade Pagoda of Peking—The Temple of Confucius—The Temple and Altar of Heaven—The palaces of Kublai Khan—A Chinese home—The interior—Color and form*

Architecture, too, has been a minor art in China. Such master-builders as have labored there have hardly left a name behind them, and seem to have been less admired than the great potters. Large structures have been rare in China, even in honoring the gods; old buildings are seldom found, and only a few pagodas date back beyond the sixteenth century. Sung architects issued, in 1103 A.D., eight handsomely illustrated volumes on *The Method of Architecture*; but the masterpieces that they pictured

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\* There are some examples of this style in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

were all of wood, and not a fragment of them survives. Drawings in the National Library at Paris, purporting to represent the dwellings and temples of Confucius' time, show that through its long history of over twenty-three centuries Chinese architecture has been content with the same designs, and the same modest proportions.<sup>80</sup> Perhaps the very sensitivity of the Chinese in matters of art and taste made them forego structures that might have seemed immodest and grandiose; and perhaps their superiority in intellect has somewhat hindered the scope of their imagination. Above all, Chinese architecture suffered from the absence of three institutions present in almost every other great nation of antiquity: an hereditary aristocracy, a powerful priesthood,<sup>81</sup> and a strong and wealthy central government. These are the forces that in the past have paid for the larger works of art—for the temples and palaces, the masses and operas, the great frescoes and sculptured tombs. And China was fortunate and unique: she had none of these institutions.

For a time the Buddhist faith captured the Chinese soul, and sufficient of China's income to build the great temples whose ruins have been so lately discovered in Turkestan.<sup>82</sup> Buddhist temples of a certain middling majesty survive throughout China, but they suffer severely when compared with the religious architecture of India. Pleasant natural approaches lead to them, usually up winding inclines marked by ornate gateways called *p'ai-lus*, and apparently derived from the "rails" of the Hindu topes; sometimes the entrance is spiritually barred by hideous images designed, in one sense or another, to frighten foreign devils away. One of the best of the Chinese Buddhist shrines is the Temple of the Sleeping Buddha, near the Summer Palace outside Peking; Fergusson called it "the finest architectural achievement in China."<sup>83</sup>

More characteristic of the Far East are the pagodas that dominate the landscape of almost every Chinese town.\* Like the Buddhism that inspired them, these graceful edifices took over some of the superstitions of popular Taoism, and became centers not only of religious ceremony, but of geomantic divination—i.e., the discovery of the future by the study of lines and clefts in the earth. Communities erected pagodas in the belief that such structures could ward off wind and flood, propitiate evil spirits, and attract prosperity. Usually they took the form of octagonal brick towers rising on a stone foundation to five, seven, nine or thirteen stories, because even numbers

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\* Their origin, in name and fact, is in much dispute. The word may be taken from the Hindu-Persian term *but-kadab*—"house of idols"; the form may be indigenous to China, as some think,<sup>84</sup> or may be derived from the spire that crowned some Hindu topes.<sup>85</sup>

were unlucky.<sup>66</sup> The oldest standing pagoda is at Sung Yüeh Ssu, built in 523 A.D. on the sacred mountain of Sung Shan in Honan; one of the loveliest is the Pagoda of the Summer Palace; the most spectacular are the Jade Pagoda at Peking and the "Flask Pagoda" at Wu-tai-shan; the most famous was the Porcelain Tower of Nanking, built in 1412-31, distinguished by a facing of porcelain over its bricks, and destroyed by the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in 1854.

The fairest temples of China are those dedicated to the official faith at Peking. The Temple of Confucius is guarded by a magnificent *p'ai-lu*, most delicately carved, but the temple itself is a monument to philosophy rather than to art. Built in the thirteenth century, it has been remodeled and restored many times since. On a wooden stand in an open niche is the "Tablet of the Soul of the Most Holy Ancestral Teacher Confucius;" and over the main altar is the dedication to "The Master and Model of Ten Thousand Generations." Near the South Tatar Wall of Peking stand the Temple of Heaven and the Altar of Heaven. The altar is an impressive series of marble stairs and terraces, whose number and arrangement had a magical significance; the temple is a modified pagoda of three stories, raised upon a marble platform, and built of unprepossessing brick and tile. Here, at three o'clock in the morning of the Chinese New Year, the Emperor prayed for the success of his dynasty and the prosperity of his people, and offered sacrifice to a neuter but, it was hoped, not neutral, Heaven. However, the temple was badly damaged by lightning in 1889.<sup>67</sup>

More attractive than these stolid shrines are the frail and ornate palaces that once housed princes and mandarins at Peking. A burst of architectural genius during the reign of Ch'eng Tsu (1403-25) reared the Great Hall at the tombs of the Ming Emperors, and raised a medley of royal residences in an enclosure destined to become known as the "Forbidden City," on the very site where Kublai Khan's palaces had amazed Marco Polo two centuries before. Ogrish lions stand watch at either side of the marble balustrades that lead to the marble terrace; hereon are official buildings with throne rooms, reception rooms, banquet rooms, and the other needs of royalty; and scattered about are the elaborate homes in which once lived the Imperial Family, their children and relatives, their servants and retainers, their eunuchs and concubines. The palaces hardly vary one from another; all have the same slender columns, the same pretty lattices, the same carved or lettered cornices, the same profusion of brilliant colors, the same upward-curving eaves of the same massively tiled roofs. And like these forbidden delicacies is the second Summer Palace, some miles away; perhaps more completely perfect of its kind, more gracefully proportioned and fastidiously carved, than the once royal homes of Peking.

If we try to express in brief compass the general characteristics of Chinese architecture, we find as a first feature the unpleasant wall that hides the main structures from the street. In the poorer sections these outer walls are continuous from home to home, and betray an ancient insecurity of life. Within the wall is a court, upon which open the doors and lattices of one or several homes. The houses of the poor are gloomy tenements, with narrow entrances and corridors, low ceilings, and floors of the good earth; in many families pigs, dogs, hens, men and women live in one room. The poorest of all live in rain-swept, wind-beaten huts of mud and straw. Those with slightly better incomes cover the floor with mats, or pave it with tiles. The well-to-do adorn the inner court with shrubs and flowers and pools, or surround their mansions with gardens in which nature's wild variety and playful sports find assiduous representation. Here are no primrose paths, no avenues of tulip-beds, no squares or circles or octagons of grass or flowers; instead, precarious footways wind casually through rock-laid gulleys over devious rivulets, and among trees whose trunks or limbs have been taught to take strange shapes to satisfy sophisticated souls. Here and there dainty pavilions, half hidden by the foliage, offer the wanderer rest.

The home itself is not an imposing affair, even when it is a palace. It is never more than one story in height; and if many rooms are needed, the tendency is to raise new edifices rather than to enlarge the old. Hence a palatial dwelling is seldom one united structure; it is a group of buildings of which the more important follow in a line from the entrance to the enclosure, while the secondary buildings are placed at either side. The favorite materials are wood and brick; stone rarely rises above the foundation terrace; brick is usually confined to the outer walls, earthen tiles provide the roof, and wood builds the decorative columns and the inner walls. Above the brightly colored walls an ornamental cornice runs. Neither the walls nor the columns support the roof; this, heavy though it is, rests only upon the posts that form part of the wooden frame. The roof is the major part of a Chinese temple or home. Built of glazed tiles—yellow if covering imperial heads, otherwise green, purple, red or blue—the roof makes a pretty picture in a natural surrounding, and even in the chaos of city streets. Perhaps the projecting bamboos of ancient tent-tops gave the Far Eastern roof its graceful upward curve at the eaves; but more probably this celebrated form arose merely from the desire of the Chinese builder to protect his structure from rain.<sup>20</sup> For there were few windows in China; Korean paper or pretty lattices took their place, and lattices would not keep out the rain.

The main doorway is not at the gable end, but on the southern façade; within the ornamented portal is usually a screen or wall, barring the visitor from an immediate view of the interior, and offering some discouragement

to evil spirits, who must travel in a straight line. The hall and rooms are dim, for most of the daylight is kept out by the latticed openings and the projecting eaves. There are seldom any arrangements for ventilation, and the only heat supplied is from portable braziers, or brick beds built over a smoky fire; there are no chimneys and no flues.<sup>80</sup> Rich and poor suffer from cold, and go to bed fully clothed.<sup>81</sup> "Are you cold?" the traveler asks the Chinese; and the answer is often "Of course."<sup>82</sup> The ceiling may be hung with gaudy paper lanterns; the walls may be adorned with calligraphic scrolls, or ink sketches, or silk hangings skilfully embroidered and painted with rural scenes. The furniture is usually of heavy wood, stained to an ebony black, and luxuriantly carved; the lighter pieces may be of brilliant lacquer. The Chinese are the only Oriental nation that sits on chairs; and even they prefer to recline or squat. On a special table or shelf are the vessels used to offer sacrifice to the ancestral dead. In the rear are the apartments of the women. Separate rooms or detached buildings may house a library or a school.

The general impression left by Chinese architecture upon the foreign and untechnical observer is one of charming frailty. Color dominates form, and beauty here has to do without the aid of sublimity. The Chinese temple or palace seeks not to dominate nature, but to cooperate with it in that perfect harmony of the whole which depends upon the modesty of the parts. Those qualities that give a structure strength, security and permanence are absent here, as if the builders feared that earthquakes would stultify their pains. These buildings hardly belong to the same art as that which raised its monuments at Karnak and Persepolis, and on the Acropolis; they are not architecture as we of the Occident have known it, but rather the carving of wood, the glazing of pottery and the sculpture of stone; they harmonize better with porcelain and jade than with the ponderous edifices that a mixture of engineering and architecture gave to India, Mesopotamia or Rome. If we do not ask of them the grandeur and the solidity which their makers may never have cared to give them, if we accept them willingly as architectural cameos expressing the most delicate of tastes in the most fragile of structural forms, then they take their place as a natural and appropriate variety of Chinese art, and among the most gracious shapes ever fashioned by men.

## IV. PAINTING

1. *Masters of Chinese Painting*

*Ku K'ai-chhi, the "greatest painter, wit and fool"—Han Yü's miniature—The classic and the romantic schools—Wang Wei—Wu Tao-tze—Hui Tsung, the artist-emperor—Masters of the Sung age*

The Occident has been forgivably slow in acquainting itself with Chinese painting, for almost every aspect and method of the art in the East differed from its practice in the West. First, the paintings of the Far East were never on canvas; occasionally they were wall frescoes, as in the period of Buddhist influence; sometimes, as in later days, they were on paper; but for the most part they were on silk, and the frailty of this material shortened the life of every masterpiece, and left the history of the art with mere memories and records of accomplishment. Further, the paintings had an air of thinness and slightness; most of them were in water-color, and lacked the full-bodied and sensuous tints of European pictures in oil. The Chinese tried oil-painting, but seem to have abandoned it as too coarse and heavy a method for their subtle purposes. To them painting, at least in its earliest forms, was a branch of calligraphy, or beautiful penmanship; the brush which they used for writing served them also for painting; and many of their *chef-d'œuvres* were drawn simply with brush and ink.\* Finally, their greatest achievements were unconsciously hidden from Western travelers. For the Chinese do not flaunt their pictures on public or private walls; they roll them up and store them carefully away, and unfold them for occasional enjoyment as we take down and read a book. Such scroll paintings were arranged in sequence on a roll of paper or silk, and were "read" like a manuscript; smaller pictures were hung on a wall, but were seldom framed; sometimes a series

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\* Though writing is in its origin a form of drawing or painting, the Chinese classify painting as a form of writing, and consider calligraphy, or beautiful writing, as a major art. Specimens of fine writing are hung on the walls in Chinese and Japanese homes; and devotees of the art have pursued its masterpieces as modern collectors roam over continents to find a picture or a vase. The most famous of Chinese calligraphers was Wang Hsi-chih (ca. 400 A.D.); it was on the Chinese characters as formed by his graceful hand that the characters were cut when block-printing began. The great T'ang emperor, T'ai Tsung, resorted to theft to get from Pien-tsai a scroll written by Wang Hsi-chih. Thereupon Pien-tsai, we are told, lost appetite and died.<sup>23</sup>

of pictures was painted on a screen. By the time of the later Sung Dynasty the art of painting had already developed thirteen "branches,"<sup>88</sup> and innumerable forms.

Painting is mentioned in Chinese literature as an established art several centuries before Christ; and despite the interruptions of war it has continued in China to our own time. Tradition makes the first Chinese painter a woman, Lei, sister of the pious Emperor Shun; "alas," cried a disgusted critic, "that this divine art should have been invented by a woman!"<sup>89</sup> Nothing survives of Chou painting; but that the art was then already old appears from Confucius' report of how deeply he was affected by the frescoes in the Grand Temple at Lo-yang.<sup>90</sup> During the early years of the Han Dynasty a writer complained that a hero whom he admired had not been sufficiently painted: "Good artists are many; why does not one of them draw him?"<sup>91</sup> The story is told of an artist virtuoso of the time, Lieh-I, who could draw a perfectly straight line one thousand feet long, could etch a detailed map of China on a square inch of surface, and could fill his mouth with colored water and spit it out in the form of paintings; the phoenixes which he painted were so lifelike that people wondered why they did not fly away.<sup>92</sup> There are signs that Chinese painting reached one of its zeniths at the beginning of our era,<sup>93</sup> but war and time have destroyed the evidence. From the days when the Ch'in warriors sacked Lo-yang (ca. 249 B.C.), burning whatever they could not use, down to the Boxer Uprising (1900 A.D.), when the soldiers of Tung Cho employed the silk pictures of the Imperial Collection for wrapping purposes, the victories of art and war have alternated in their ancient conflict—destruction always certain, but creation never still.

As Christianity transformed Mediterranean culture and art in the third and fourth centuries after Christ, so Buddhism, in the same centuries, effected a theological and esthetic revolution in the life of China. While Confucianism retained its political power, Buddhism, mingling with Taoism, became the dominating force in art, and brought to the Chinese a stimulating contact with Hindu motives, symbols, methods and forms. The greatest genius of the Chinese Buddhist school of painting was Ku K'ai-chih, a man of such unique and positive personality that a web of anecdote or legend has meshed him in. He loved the girl next door, and offered her his hand; but she, not knowing how famous he was to be, refused him. He painted her form upon a wall, and stuck a thorn into the heart, whereupon the girl began to die. He approached her again, and

she yielded; he removed the thorn from his picture, and forthwith the girl grew well. When the Buddhists tried to raise money to build a temple at Nanking he promised the fund one million "cash"; all China laughed at the offer, for Ku was as poor as an artist. "Give me the use of a wall," he asked. Having found a wall and secured privacy, he painted there the Buddhist saint Uimala-Kirti. When it was finished he sent for the priests, and explained to them how they might raise the million "cash." "On the first day you must charge 100,000 'cash' for admission" to see the picture; "on the second day, 50,000; on the third day let visitors subscribe what they please." They did as he told them, and took in a million "cash."<sup>76</sup> Ku painted a long series of Buddhist pictures, and many others, but nothing certainly his has come down to our day.\* He wrote three treatises on painting, of which some fragments survive. Men, he said, were the most difficult things to paint; next came landscapes, then horses and gods.<sup>77</sup> He insisted on being a philosopher, too; under his portrait of the emperor he wrote: "In Nature there is nothing high which is not soon brought low. . . . When the sun has reached its noon, it begins to sink; when the moon is full it begins to wane. To rise to glory is as hard as to build a mountain out of grains of dust; to fall into calamity is as easy as the rebound of a tense spring."<sup>78</sup> His contemporaries ranked him as the outstanding man of his time in three lines: in painting, in wit, and in foolishness.<sup>79</sup>

Painting flourished at the T'ang court. "There are as many painters as morning stars," said Tu Fu, "but artists are few."<sup>80</sup> In the ninth century Chang Yen-yüan wrote a book called *Eminent Painters of All Ages*, in which he described the work of three hundred and seventy artists. A picture by a master, he tells us, brought in those days as much as twenty thousand ounces of silver. But he warns us against rating art in monetary terms; "good pictures," he writes, "are more priceless than gold or jade; bad ones are not worth a potsherd."<sup>81</sup> Of T'ang painters we still know the names of two hundred and twenty; of their work hardly anything remains, for the Tatar revolutionists who sacked Chang-an in 756 A.D. did not care for painting. We catch something of the art atmosphere that mingled with the poetry of the time, in the story of Han Yü, the famous

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\* The British Museum assigns to him a faded but lovely scroll of five pictures illustrating model family life;<sup>82</sup> the Temple of Confucius at Chü-fu contains a stone engraving purporting to follow a design of Ku; and the Freer Gallery at Washington contains two excellent copies of compositions attributed to him.<sup>83</sup>



"Prince of Literature." One day he won, from a fellow lodger at an inn, a precious miniature portraying, in the smallest compass, one hundred and twenty-three human figures, eighty-three horses, thirty other animals, three chariots, and two hundred and fifty-one articles. "I thought a great deal of it, for I could not believe that it was the work of a single man, uniting as it did in itself such a variety of excellences; and no sum would have tempted me to part from it. Next year I left the city, and went to Ho-yang; and there, one day, while discussing art with strangers, I produced the picture for them to see. Among them was a Mr. Chao, a Censor,\* a highly cultivated man, who, when he saw it, seemed rather overcome, and at length said: 'That picture is a copy, made by me in my youth, of a work from the Imperial Gallery. I lost it twenty years ago while traveling in the province of Fukien.'" Han Yü at once presented the miniature to Mr. Chao.

Just as in Chinese religion two schools had taken shape, Confucian and Taoist-Buddhist—and just as two schools, led by Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming, were soon to develop in philosophy, representing respectively what we in the West would call the classic and the romantic types of mind; so in Chinese painting the northern artists accepted a stern tradition of classical sobriety and restraint, while the south gave color and form to feeling and imagination. The northern school set itself severely to secure correct modeling of figure and full clarity of line; the southern rebelled like Montmartre against such limitations, disdained a simple realism, and tried to use objects merely as elements in a spiritual experience, tones in a musical mood." Li Ssu-hsün, painting at the court of Ming Huang, found time, amid the fluctuations of political power and lonely exile, to establish the northern school. He painted some of the first Chinese landscapes, and achieved a degree of realism carried down in many a tale; the Emperor said he could hear, at night, the splash of the water that Li had painted upon an imperial screen; and a fish leaped to life out of another of his pictures and was later found in a pool—every nation tells such stories of its painters. The southern school sprouted out of the natural innovations of art, and the genius of Wang Wei; in his impressionist style a landscape became merely the symbol of a mood. A poet as well as a painter, Wang sought to bind the two arts by making the picture express a poem; it was of him that men first used the now trite phrase so applicable

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\* Cf. p. 798 below.

to nearly all Chinese poetry and painting: "Every poem is a picture, and every picture is a poem." (In many cases the poem is inscribed upon the picture, and is itself a calligraphic work of art.) Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, we are told, spent his whole life searching for a genuine Wang Wei.<sup>78\*</sup>

The greatest painter of the T'ang epoch, and, by common consent, of all the Far East, rose above distinctions of school, and belonged rather to the Buddhist tradition of Chinese art. Wu Tao-tze deserved his name—Wu, Master of the *Tao*, or Way, for all those impressions and formless thoughts which Lao-tze and Chuang-tze had found too subtle for words seemed to flow naturally into line and color under his brush. "A poverty-stricken orphan," a Chinese historian describes him, "but endowed with a divine nature, he had not assumed the cap of puberty ere he was already a master artist, and had flooded Lo-yang with his works." Chinese tradition has it that he was fond of wine and feats of strength, and thought like Poe that the spirit could work best under a little intoxication.<sup>79</sup> He excelled in every subject: men, gods, devils, Buddhas, birds, beasts, buildings, landscapes—all seemed to come naturally to his exuberant art. He painted with equal skill on silk, paper, and freshly-plastered walls; he made three hundred frescoes for Buddhist edifices, and one of these, containing more than a thousand figures, became as famous in China as "The Last Judgment" or "The Last Supper" in Europe. Ninety-three of his paintings were in the Imperial Gallery in the twelfth century, four hundred years after his death; but none remains anywhere today. His Buddhas, we are told, "fathomed the mysteries of life and death"; his picture of purgatory frightened some of the butchers and fishmongers of China into abandoning their scandalously un-Buddhistic trades; his representation of Ming Huang's dream convinced the Emperor that Wu had had an identical vision.<sup>80</sup> When the monarch sent Wu to sketch the scenery along the Chia-ling River in Szechuan he was piqued to see the artist return without having sketched a line. "I have it all in my heart," said Wu; and isolating himself in a room of the palace, he threw off, we are assured, a hundred miles of landscape.<sup>81</sup>† When General Pei wished his portrait painted, Wu asked him not to pose, but to do a sword dance; after which the artist painted a picture that contemporaries felt constrained to ascribe to divine

\* Only copies remain: chiefly a "Waterfall" in the Temple of Chisakuin at Kyoto,<sup>78</sup> and a roll (in both the British Museum and the Freer Gallery) entitled "Scenery of the Wang Ch'uan."<sup>79</sup>

† Cf. Croce's view that art lies in the conception rather than in the execution.<sup>80</sup>

inspiration. So great was his reputation that when he was finishing some Buddhist figures at the Hsing-shan Temple, "the whole of Chang-an" came to see him add the finishing touches. Surrounded by this assemblage, says a Chinese historian of the ninth century, "he executed the haloes with so violent a rush and swirl that it seemed as though a whirlwind possessed his hand, and all who saw it cried that some god was helping him":<sup>66</sup> the lazy will always attribute genius to some "inspiration" that comes for mere waiting. When Wu had lived long enough, says a pretty tale, he painted a vast landscape, stepped into the mouth of a cave pictured in it, and was never seen again.<sup>67</sup> Never had art known such mastery and delicacy of line.

Under the Sung emperors painting became a passion with the Chinese. Emancipating itself from subserviency to Buddhist themes, it poured forth an unprecedented number and variety of pictures. The Sung Emperor Hui Tsung was himself not the least of the eight hundred known painters of the day. In a roll which is one of the treasures of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston he portrayed with astonishing simplicity and clarity the stages through which women carried the preparation of silk;<sup>68</sup> he founded an art museum richer in masterpieces than any collection that China has ever again known;<sup>69</sup> he elevated the Painting Academy from a mere department of the Literary College into an independent institution of the highest rank, substituted art tests for some of the literary exercises traditionally used in the examinations for political office, and raised men to the ministry for their excellence in art as often as for their skill in statesmanship.<sup>70</sup> The Tatars, hearing of all this, invaded China, deposed the Emperor, sacked the capital and destroyed nearly all of the paintings in the Imperial Museum, whose catalogue had filled twenty volumes.<sup>71</sup> The artist-emperor was carried away by the invaders, and died in captivity and disgrace.

Greater than this royal painter were Kuo Hsi and Li Lung-mien. "For tall pines, huge trees, swirling streams, beetling crags, steep precipices, mountain peaks, now lovely in the rising mist, now lost in an obscuring pall, with all their thousand, ten thousand shapes—critics allow that Kuo Hsi strode across his generation."<sup>72</sup> Li Lung-mien was an artist, a scholar, a successful official and a gentleman, honored by the Chinese as the perfect type of Chinese culture at its richest. He passed from the profession

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<sup>66</sup> The Freer Gallery at Washington has a "Landscape on the Hoang-ho" uncertainly attributed to Kuo Hsi.<sup>68</sup>

of calligraphy to sketching and painting, and rarely used anything but ink; he gloried in the strict traditions of the Northern School, and spent himself upon accuracy and delicacy of line. He painted horses so well that when six that he had painted died, it was charged that his picture had stolen their vital principle from them. A Buddhist priest warned him that he would become a horse if he painted horses so often and so intently; he accepted the counsel of the monk, and painted five hundred *Lobans*. We may judge of his repute by the fact that Hui Tsung's imperial gallery, when it was sacked, contained one hundred and seven works by Li Lung-mien.

Other masters crowded the Sung scene: Mi Fei, an eccentric genius who was forever washing his hands or changing his clothes when he was not collecting old masters or transforming landscape painting with his "method of blobs"—daubs of ink laid on without the guidance of any contour line;\* Hsia Kuei, whose long roll of scenes from the Yang-tze—its modest sources, its passage through loess and gorges, its gaping mouth filled with merchant ships and *sampans*—has led many students<sup>66</sup> to rank him at the head of all landscape painters of Orient and Occident; Ma Yuan, whose delicate landscapes and distant vistas adorn the Boston Museum of Fine Arts;† Liang K'ai, with his stately portrait of Li Po; Mu-ch'i, with his terrible tiger, his careless starling, and his morose but gentle Kuan-yin; and others whose names strike no familiar chords in Occidental memories, but are the tokens of a mind rich in the heritage of the East. "The Sung culture," says Fenollosa, "was the ripest expression of Chinese genius."<sup>66</sup>

When we try to estimate the quality of Chinese painting in the heyday of T'ang and Sung we are in the position of future historians who may try to write of the Italian Renaissance when all the works of Raphael, Leonardo and Michelangelo have been lost. After the ravages of barbaric hosts had destroyed the masterpieces of Chinese painting, and interrupted for centuries the continuity of Chinese development, painting seems to have lost heart; and though the later dynasties, native and alien, produced many artists of delicacy or power, none could rank with the men who had known paradise for a time at the courts of Ming Huang and Hui

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\* A landscape attributed to Mi Fei may be seen in Room E 11 of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

† Particularly striking is "The Lady Ling-chao Standing in the Snow." The Lady (a Buddhist mystic of the eighth century) is quite still in meditation, like Socrates in the snow at Plataea. The world (the artist seems to say) is nothing except to a mind; and that mind can ignore it—for a while.

Tsung. When we think of the Chinese we must see them not merely as a people now stricken with poverty, weakened with corruption, torn with factions and disgraced with defeat, but as a nation that has had, in the long vista of its history, ages that could compare with those of Pericles, Augustus and the Medici, and may have such ages again.

## 2. Qualities of Chinese Painting

*The rejection of perspective—Of realism—Line as nobler than color—Form as rhythm—Representation by suggestion—Conventions and restrictions—Sincerity of Chinese art*

What is it that distinguishes Chinese painting, and makes it so completely different from every other school of painting in history except its own pupils in Japan? First, of course, its scroll or screen form. But this is an external matter; far more intrinsic and fundamental is the Chinese scorn of perspective and shadow. When two European painters accepted the invitation of the Emperor K'ang-hsi to come and paint decorations for his palaces, their work was rejected because they had made the farther columns in their pictures shorter than the nearer ones; nothing could be more false and artificial, argued the Chinese, than to represent distances where obviously there were none." Neither party could understand the prejudice of the other, for the Europeans had been taught to look at a scene from a level with it, while the Chinese artists were accustomed to visualize it as seen from above." Shadows, too, seemed to the Chinese to be out of place in a form of art which, as they understood it, aimed not to imitate reality, but to give pleasure, convey moods, and suggest ideas through the medium of perfect form.

The form was everything in these paintings, and it was sought not in warmth or splendor of color, but in rhythm and accuracy of line. In the early paintings color was sternly excluded, and in the masters it was rare; black ink and a brush were enough, for a color had nothing to do with form. Form, as the artist-theorist Hsieh Ho said, is rhythm: first in the sense that a Chinese painting is the visible record of a rhythmic gesture, a dance executed by the hand;" and again in the sense that a significant form reveals the "rhythm of the spirit," the essence and quiet movement of reality." Finally, the body of rhythm is line—not as describing the actual contours of things, but as building forms that, through suggestion or symbol, express the soul. The skill of execution, as distinct from the power of perception, feeling and imagination, lies—in Chinese painting—almost entirely in

accuracy and delicacy of line. The painter must observe with patient care, possess intense feeling under strict control, conceive his purpose clearly, and then, without the possibility of correction, transfer to the silk, with a few continuous and easeful strokes, his representative imagination. The art of line reached its apex in China and Japan, as the art of color touched its zenith in Venice and the Netherlands.

Chinese painting never cared for realism, but sought rather to suggest than to describe; it left "truth" to science, and gave itself to beauty. A branch emerging nowhence, and bearing a few leaves or blossoms against a clear sky, was sufficient subject for the greatest master; his handling and proportion of the empty background were tests of his courage and his skill. One of the subjects proposed to candidates for admission to Hui Tsung's Painting Academy may serve to illustrate the Chinese emphasis on indirect suggestion as against explicit representation: the contestants were asked to illustrate by paintings a line of poetry—"The hoof of his steed comes back heavily charged with the scent of the trampled flowers." The successful competitor was an artist who painted a rider with a cluster of butterflies following at the horse's heels.

As the form was everything, the subject might be anything. Men were rarely the center or essence of the picture; when they appeared they were almost always old, and nearly all alike. The Chinese painter, though he was never visibly a pessimist, seldom looked at the world through the eyes of youth. Portraits were painted, but indifferently well; the artist was not interested in individuals. He loved flowers and animals, apparently, far more than men, and spent himself upon them recklessly; Hui Tsung, with an empire at his command, gave half his life to painting birds and flowers. Sometimes the flowers or the animals were symbols, like the lotus or the dragon; but for the most part they were drawn for their own sake, because the charm and mystery of life appeared as completely in them as in a man. The horse was especially loved, and artists like Han Kan did hardly anything else but paint one form after another of that living embodiment of artistic line.

It is true that painting suffered in China, first from religious conventions, and then from academic restrictions; that the copying and imitation of old masters became a retarding fetich in the training of students, and that the artist was in many matters confined to a given number of permitted ways of fashioning his material.<sup>100</sup> "In my young days," said an eminent Sung critic, "I praised the master whose pictures I liked; but as my judgment matured I praised myself for liking what the masters had chosen to have me like."<sup>101</sup> It is astonishing how much vitality remained in this art despite its conventions and canons; it was here as Hume thought it had been with

the censored writers of the French Enlightenment: the very limitations from which the artist suffered compelled him to be brilliant.

What saved the Chinese painters from stagnation was the sincerity of their feeling for nature. Taoism had taught it to them, and Buddhism had made it stronger by teaching them that man and nature are one in the flow and change and unity of life. As the poets found in nature a retreat from urban strife, and the philosophers sought in it a model of morals and a guide to life, so the painters brooded by solitary streams, and lost themselves in deeply wooded hills, feeling that in these speechless and lasting things the nameless spirit had expressed itself more clearly than in the turbulent career and thought of men.\* Nature, which is so cruel in China, lavishing death with cold and flood, was accepted stoically as the supreme god of the Chinese, and received from them not merely religious sacrifice, but the worship of their philosophy, their literature and their art. Let it serve as an indication of the age and depth of culture in China that a thousand years before Claude Lorraine, Rousseau, Wordsworth and Chateaubriand the Chinese made nature a passion, and created a school of landscape painting whose work throughout the Far East became one of the sovereign expressions of mankind.

#### V. PORCELAIN

*The ceramic art—The making of porcelain—Its early history—  
“Céladon” — Enamels — The skill of Hao Shih-chiu —  
“Cloisonné”—The age of K'ang-hsi—Of Ch'ien Lung*

As we approach the most distinct art of China, in which her leadership of the world is least open to dispute, we find ourselves harassed by our tendency to class pottery as an industry. To us, accustomed to think of “china” in terms of the kitchen, a pottery is a place where “china” is made; it is a factory like any other, and its products do not arouse exalted associations. But to the Chinese, pottery was a major art; it pleased their practical and yet esthetic souls by combining beauty with use; it gave to their greatest national institution—the drinking of tea—utensils as lovely to the finger-tips as to the eye; and it adorned their homes with shapes so fair that even the poorest families might live in the presence of perfection. Pottery is the sculpture of the Chinese.

Pottery is, first, the industry that bakes clay into usable forms, second, the art that makes those forms beautiful, and third, the objects produced

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\* Landscape painting was called simply *shan-sui*—i.e., mountains and water.

by that industry and that art. Porcelain is vitrified pottery; that is, it is clay so mixed with minerals that when exposed to fire it melts or fuses into a translucent, but not transparent, substance resembling glass.\* The Chinese made porcelain out of two minerals chiefly: kaolin—a pure white clay formed from decomposed felspar of granite, and *pe-tun-tse*—a fusible white quartz that gave the product its translucency. These materials were ground into a powder, worked up into a paste with water, moulded by hand or on the wheel, and subjected to high temperatures that fused the composition into a vitreous form, brilliant and durable. Sometimes the potters, not content with this simple white porcelain, covered the “paste”—i.e., the vessel formed but not yet fired—with a “glaze” or coating of fine glass, and then placed the vessel in the kiln; sometimes they applied the glaze after baking the paste into a “biscuit,” and then placed the vessel over the fire again. Usually the glaze was colored; but in many cases the paste was painted in color before applying a transparent glaze, or colors were painted on the fired glaze and fused upon it by re-firing. These “over-glaze” colors, which we call enamels, were made of colored glass ground to powder and reduced to a liquid applicable with the painter’s slender brush. Life-trained specialists painted the flowers, others the animals, others the landscapes, others the saints or sages who meditated among the mountains or rode upon strange beasts over the waves of the sea.

Chinese pottery is as old as the Stone Age; Professor Andersson has found pottery, in Honan and Kansu, which “can hardly be later in time than 3000 B.C.”;<sup>108</sup> and the excellent form and finish of these vases assure us that even at this early date the industry had long since become an art. Some of the pieces resemble the pottery of Anau, and suggest a western origin for Chinese civilization. Far inferior to these neolithic products are the fragments of funerary pottery unearthed in Honan and ascribed to the declining years of the Shang Dynasty. No remains of artistic value appear again before the Han, when we find not only pottery, but the first known use of glass in the Far East.† Under the T’ang emperors the growing popularity of tea provided a creative stimulus for the ceramic art; genius or accident revealed, about the ninth century, the possibility of producing a vessel vitrified not only on the glazed surface (as under the Han and in other civilizations before this age) but throughout—i.e., true porcelain. In that century

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\* When porcelain was introduced into Europe it was named after the *porcellana*, or cowrie shell, which in turn derived its name from its supposed resemblance to the rounded back of a *porcella*, or little hog.<sup>108</sup>

† The Egyptians had glazed pottery unknown centuries before Christ. The decorations on the earliest glazed pottery of China indicate that China had learned the glazing process from the Near East.<sup>104</sup>



a Moslem traveler, Suleiman, reported to his countrymen: "They have in China a very fine clay with which they make vases as transparent as glass; water is seen through them." Excavations have recently discovered, on a ninth-century site at Samarra on the Tigris, pieces of porcelain of Chinese manufacture. The next recorded appearance of the substance outside of China was about 1171, when Saladin sent forty-one pieces of porcelain as a precious gift to the Sultan of Damascus.<sup>108</sup> The manufacture of porcelain is not known to have begun in Europe before 1470; it is mentioned then as an art which the Venetians had learned from the Arabs in the course of the Crusades.<sup>109</sup>

Sung was the classic period of Chinese porcelain. Ceramists ascribe to it both the oldest extant wares and the best; even the Ming potters of a later age, who sometimes equaled them, spoke of Sung pottery in reverential terms, and collectors treasured its masterpieces as beyond any price. The great factories at Ching-te-chen, founded in the sixth century near rich deposits of the minerals used for making and coloring earthenware, were officially recognized by the imperial court, and began to pour out upon China an unprecedented stream of porcelain plates, cups, bowls, vases, beakers, jars, bottles, ewers, boxes, chess-boards, candlesticks, maps, even enameled and gold-inlaid porcelain hat-racks.<sup>110</sup> Now for the first time appeared those jade-green pieces known as *céladon*,\* which it has long been the highest ambition of the modern potter to produce, and of the collector to acquire.† Specimens of it were sent to Lorenzo de' Medici by the Sultan of Egypt in 1487. The Persians and the Turks valued it not only for its incredibly smooth texture and rich lustre, but as a detector of poisons; the vessels would change color, they believed, whenever poisonous substances were placed in them.<sup>111</sup> Pieces of *céladon* are handed down from generation to generation as priceless heirlooms in the families of connoisseurs.<sup>112</sup>

For almost three hundred years the workers of the Ming Dynasty labored to keep the art of porcelain on the high level to which the Sung potters had raised it, and they did not fall far short of success. Five hun-

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\* A term applied to them by the French of the seventeenth century from the name of the hero of d'Urfé's novel *l'Astrée*, who, in the dramatization of the story, was always dressed in green.<sup>108</sup>

† From the Occidental point of view the one is as hard as the other; for the Japanese, who have gathered in most of China's famous *céladon*, refuse to sell it at any price; and no later potter has been able to rival the perfection of Sung artistry in this field.

dred kilns burned at Ching-te-chen, and the imperial court alone used 96,000 pieces of chinaware to adorn its gardens, its tables and its rooms.<sup>222</sup> Now appeared the first good enamels—colors fired over the glaze. Yellow monochromes and “egg-shell” blue and white porcelains reached perfection; the blue and white silver-mounted cup named from the Emperor Wan-li (or Shen Tsung) is one of the world’s masterpieces of the potter’s art. Among the experts of the Wan-li age was Hao Shih-chiu, who could make wine-cups weighing less than one forty-eighth of an ounce. One day, says a Chinese historian, Hao called at the home of a high official and begged permission to examine a porcelain tripod owned by the statesman, and numbered among the choicest of Sung wares. Hao felt the tripod carefully with his hands, and secretly copied the form of its design on a paper concealed in his sleeve. Six months later he visited the official again, and said: “Your Excellency is the possessor of a tripod censer of white *Ting-yao*.<sup>\*</sup> Here is a similar one of mine.” Tang, the official, compared the new tripod with his own, and could detect no difference; even the stand and cover of the tripod fitted Hao’s completely. Hao smilingly admitted that his own piece was an imitation, and then sold it for sixty pieces of silver to Tang, who sold it for fifteen hundred.<sup>223</sup>

It was under the Mings that Chinese *cloisonné* attained its highest excellence. Both the word and the art came from outside: the word from the French *cloison* (partition), the art from the Near East of Byzantine days; the Chinese referred to its products occasionally as *Kuei kuo yao*—wares of the devils’ country.<sup>224</sup> The art consists in cutting narrow strips of copper, silver or gold, soldering them edgewise upon the lines of a design previously drawn upon a metal object, filling the spaces between the *cloisons* (or wire lines) with appropriately colored enamel, exposing the vessel repeatedly to fire, grinding the hardened surface with pumice stone, polishing it with charcoal, and gilding the visible edges of the *cloisons*. The earliest known Chinese examples are some mirrors imported into Nara, Japan, about the middle of the eighth century. The oldest wares definitely marked belong to the end of the Mongol or Yüan Dynasty; the best, to the reign of the Ming Emperor Ching Ti. The last great period of Chinese *cloisonné* was under the great Manchu emperors of the eighteenth century.

The factories at Ching-te-chen were destroyed in the wars that ended the Ming Dynasty, and were not revived again until the accession of one

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<sup>\*</sup> The name given by the Chinese to an ivory-colored species of Sung porcelain.

of China's most enlightened rulers, K'ang-hsi, who, quite as much as his contemporary Louis XIV, was every inch a king. The factories at Ching-te-chen were rebuilt under his direction, and soon three thousand furnaces were in operation. Never had China, or any other country, seen such an abundance of elegant pottery. The Kang-hsi workers thought their wares inferior to those of Ming, but modern connoisseurs do not agree with them. Old forms were imitated perfectly, and new forms were developed in rich diversity. By coating a paste with a glaze of a different tempo of fusibility the Manchu potters produced the prickly surface of "crackle" ware; and by blowing bubbles of paint upon the glaze they turned out *soufflé* wares covered with little circles of color. They mastered the art of monochrome, and issued peach-bloom, coral, ruby, vermilion, *sang-de-bœuf* and Rose-du-Barry reds; cucumber, apple, peacock, grass and *céladon* greens; "Mazarin," azure, lilac and turquoise (or "kingfisher") blues; and yellows and whites of such velvet texture that one could only describe them as smoothness made visible. They created ornate styles distinguished by French collectors as *Famille Rose*, *Famille Verte*, *Famille Noir* and *Famille Jaune*—rose, green, black and yellow families.\* In the field of polychromes they developed the difficult art of subjecting a vessel, in the kiln, to alternate draughts of clear and soot-laden air—the first providing, the second withdrawing, oxygen—in such ways that the green glaze was transformed into a flame of many colors, so that the French have called this variety *flambé*. They painted upon some of their wares high officials in flowing queue and robes, and created the "Mandarin" style. They painted flowers of the plum in white upon a blue (less often a black) background, and gave to the world the grace and delicacy of the hawthorn vase.

The last great age of Chinese porcelain came in the long and prosperous reign of Ch'ien Lung. Fertility was undiminished; and though the new forms had something less than the success of the K'ang-hsi innovations, the skill of the master-potters was still supreme. The *Famille Rose* attained its fullest perfection, and spread half the flowers and fruits of nature over the most brilliant glaze, while egg-shell porcelain provided costly lampshades for extravagant millionaires.<sup>34</sup> Then, through fifteen bloody years (1850-64), came the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, ruining fifteen provinces, destroying six hundred cities, killing twenty million men and women, and

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\* Excellent specimens of the last two groups may be seen at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

so impoverishing the Manchu Dynasty that it withdrew its support from the potteries, and allowed them to close their doors and scatter their craftsmen into a disordered world.

The art of porcelain, in China, has not recovered from that devastation, and perhaps it never will. For other factors have reinforced the destructiveness of war and the ending of imperial patronage. The growth of the export trade tempted the artists to design such pieces as best satisfied the taste of European buyers, and as that taste was not as fine as the Chinese, the bad pieces drove the good pieces out of circulation by a ceramic variation of Gresham's law. About the year 1840 English factories began to make inferior porcelain at Canton, exported it to Europe, and gave it the name of "chinaware"; factories at Sèvres in France, Meissen in Germany, and Burslem in England imitated the work of the Chinese, lowered the cost of production by installing machinery, and captured yearly more and more of China's foreign ceramic trade.

What survives is the memory of an art perhaps as completely lost as that of medieval stained glass; try as they will, the potters of Europe have been unable to equal the subtler forms of Chinese porcelain. Connoisseurs raise with every decade their monetary estimate of the masterpieces that survive; they ask five hundred dollars for a tea-cup, and receive \$23,600 for a hawthorn vase; as far back as 1767 two "turquoise" porcelain "Dogs of Fo," at auction, brought five times as much as Guido Reni's "Infant Jesus," and thrice as much as Raphael's "Holy Family."<sup>18</sup> But any one who has felt, with eyes and fingers and every nerve, the loveliness of Chinese porcelain will resent these valuations, and count them as sacrilege; the world of beauty and the world of money never touch, even when beautiful things are sold. It is enough to say that Chinese porcelain is the summit and symbol of Chinese civilization, one of the noblest things that men have done to make their species forgivable on the earth.

# The People and the State

## I. HISTORICAL INTERLUDE

### 1. Marco Polo Visits Kublai Khan

*The incredible travelers—Adventures of a Venetian in China—The elegance and prosperity of Hangchow — The palaces of Peking—The Mongol Conquest—Jenghiz Khan—Kublai Khan—His character and policy—His harem—  
“Marco Millions”*

IN THE golden age of Venice, about the year 1295, two old men and a man of middle age, worn with hardship, laden with bundles, dressed in rags and covered with the dust of many roads, begged and then forced their way into the home from which, they claimed, they had set forth twenty-six years before. They had (they said) sailed many dangerous seas, scaled high mountains and plateaus, crossed bandit-ridden deserts, and passed four times through the Great Wall; they had stayed twenty years in Cathay,\* and had served the mightiest monarch in the world. They told of an empire vaster, of cities more populous, and of a ruler far richer, than any known to Europe; of stones that were used for heating, of paper accepted in place of gold, and of nuts larger than a man's head; of nations where virginity was an impediment to marriage, and of others where strangers were entertained by the free use of the host's willing daughters and wives.† No man would believe them; and the people of Venice gave to the youngest and most garrulous of them the nickname “Marco Millions,” because his tale was full of numbers large and marvelous.‡

Mark and his father and uncle accepted this fate with good cheer, for they had brought back with them many precious stones from the distant capital, and these gave them such wealth as maintained them in high place in their city. When Venice went to war with Genoa in 1298, Marco

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\* An English form of the Russian name for China—*Kitai*, originally the name of a Mongolian tribe.

Polo received command of a galley; and when his ship was captured, and he was kept for a year in a Genoese jail, he consoled himself by dictating to an amenuensis the most famous travel-book in literature. He told with the charm of a simple and straightforward style how he, father Nicolo and uncle Maffeo had left Acre when Mark was but a boy of seventeen; how they had climbed over the Lebanon ranges and found their way through Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf, and thence through Persia, Khorassan and Balkh to the Plateau of Pamir; how they had joined caravans that slowly marched to Kashgar and Khotan, and across the Gobi Desert to Tangut, and through the Wall to Shangtu, where the Great Khan received them as humble emissaries from the youthful West.\*

They had not thought that they would stay in China beyond a year or two, but they found such lucrative service and commercial opportunities under Kublai that they remained almost a quarter of a century. Marco above all prospered, rising even to be governor of Hangchow. In fond memory he describes it as far ahead of any European city in the excellence of its building and bridges, the number of its public hospitals, the elegance of its villas, the profusion of facilities for pleasure and vice, the charm and beauty of its courtesans, the effective maintenance of public order, and the manners and refinement of its people. The city, he tells us, was a hundred miles in circuit.

Its streets and canals are extensive, and of sufficient width to allow of boats on the one, and carriages on the other, to pass easily with articles necessary for the inhabitants. It is commonly said that the number of bridges, of all sizes, amounts to twelve thousand. Those which are thrown over the principal canals and are connected with the main streets, have arches so high, and built with so much skill, that vessels with their masts can pass under them. At the same time carts and horses can pass over, so well is the slope from the street graded to the height of the arch. . . . There are within the city ten principal squares or market-places, besides innumerable shops along the streets. Each side of these squares is half a mile in length, and in front of them is the main street, forty paces in width, and running in a direct line from one extremity of the city to the other. In a direction parallel to that of the main street . . . runs a very large canal, on the nearer bank of which capacious warehouses are

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\* "Shangtu" is Coleridge's "Xanadu." The central Asian regions described by Polo were not explored again by Europeans (with one forgotten exception) until 1838.

built of stone, for the accommodation of the merchants who arrive from India and other parts with their goods and effects. They are thus conveniently situated with respect to the market-places. In each of these, upon three days in every week, there is an assemblage of from forty to fifty thousand persons. . . .

The streets are all paved with stone and bricks. . . . The main street of the city is paved . . . to the width of ten paces on each side, the intermediate part being filled up with small gravel, and provided with arched drains for carrying off the rain-water that falls into the neighboring canals, so that it remains always dry. On this gravel carriages continually pass and repass. They are of a long shape, covered at the top, have curtains and cushions of silk, and are capable of holding six persons. Both men and women who feel disposed to take their pleasure are in the daily practice of hiring them for that purpose. . . .

There is an abundant quantity of game of all kinds. . . . From the sea, which is fifteen miles distant, there is daily brought up the river, to the city, a vast quantity of fish. . . . At the sight of such an importation of fish, you would think it impossible that it could be sold; and yet, in the course of a few hours, it is all taken off, so great is the number of inhabitants. . . . The streets connected with the market-squares are numerous, and in some of them are many cold baths, attended by servants of both sexes. The men and women who frequent them have from their childhood been accustomed at all times to wash in cold water, which they reckon conducive to health. At these bathing places, however, they have apartments provided with warm water, for the use of strangers, who cannot bear the shock of the cold. All are in the daily practice of washing their persons, and especially before their meals. . . .

In other streets are the quarters of the courtesans, who are here in such numbers as I dare not venture to report, . . . adorned with much finery, highly perfumed, occupying well-furnished houses, and attended by many female domestics. . . . In other streets are the dwellings of the physicians and the astrologers. . . . On each side of the principal street there are houses and mansions of great size. . . . The men as well as the women have fair complexions, and are handsome. The greater part of them are always clothed in silk. . . . The women have much beauty, and are brought up with delicate and languid habits. The costliness of their dresses, in silks and jewelry, can scarcely be imagined.\*

Peking (or, as it was then called, Cambaluc) impressed Polo even more than Hangchow; his millions fail him in describing its wealth and population. The twelve suburbs were yet more beautiful than the city; for there the business class had built many handsome homes.<sup>4</sup> In the city proper there were numerous hotels, and thousands of shops and booths. Food of all kinds abounded, and every day a thousand loads of raw silk entered the gates to be turned into clothing for the inhabitants. Though the Khan had residences at Hangchow, Shangtu and other places, the most extensive of his palaces was at Peking. A marble wall surrounded it, and marble steps led up to it; the main building was so large that "dinners could be served there to great multitudes of people." Marco admired the arrangement of the chambers, the delicate and transparent glazing of the windows, and the variety of colored tiles in the roof. He had never seen so opulent a city, or so magnificent a king.<sup>5</sup>

Doubtless the young Venetian learned to speak and read Chinese; and perhaps he learned from the official historians how Kublai and his Mongol ancestors had conquered China. The gradual drying up of the regions along the northwestern frontier into a desert land incapable of supporting its hardy population had sent the Mongols (i.e., "the brave") out on desperate raids to win new fields; and their success had left them with such a taste and aptitude for war that they never stopped until nearly all Asia, and parts of Europe, had fallen before their arms. Story had it that their fiery leader, Genghis Khan, had been born with a clot of blood in the palm of his hand. From the age of thirteen he began to weld the Mongol tribes into one, and terror was his instrument. He had prisoners nailed to a wooden ass, or chopped to pieces, or boiled in cauldrons, or flayed alive. When he received a letter from the Chinese Emperor Ning Tsung demanding his submission, he spat in the direction of the Dragon Throne and began at once his march across twelve hundred miles of the Gobi desert into the western provinces of China. Ninety Chinese cities were so completely destroyed that horsemen could ride over the devastated areas in the dark without stumbling. For five years the "Emperor of Mankind" laid north China waste. Then, frightened by an unfavorable conjunction of planets, he turned back towards his native village, and died of illness on the way.<sup>6</sup>

His successors, Ogodai, Mangu and Kublai, continued the campaign with barbaric energy; and the Chinese, who had for centuries given them-



selves to culture and neglected the arts of war, died with individual heroism and national ignominy. At Juining-fu a local Chinese ruler held out until all the aged and infirm had been killed and eaten by the besieged, all the able-bodied men had fallen, and only women remained to guard the walls; then he set fire to the city and burned himself alive in his palace. The armies of Kublai swept down through China until they stood before the last retreat of the Sung Dynasty, Canton. Unable to resist, the Chinese general, Lu Hsiu-fu, took the boy emperor on his back, and leaped to a double death with him in the sea; and it is said that a hundred thousand Chinese drowned themselves rather than yield to the Mongol conqueror. Kublai gave the imperial corpse an honorable burial, and set himself to establish that Yüan ("Original") or Mongol Dynasty which was to rule China for less than a hundred years.

Kublai himself was no barbarian. The chief exception to this statement was not his treacherous diplomacy, which was in the manner of his time, but his treatment of the patriot and scholar, Wen T'ien-hsian, who, out of loyalty to the Sung Dynasty, refused to acknowledge Kublai's rule. He was imprisoned for three years, but would not yield. "My dungeon," he wrote, in one of the most famous passages in Chinese literature,

is lighted by the will-o'-the-wisp alone; no breath of spring cheers the murky solitude in which I dwell. . . . Exposed to mist and dew, I had many times thought to die; and yet, through the seasons of two revolving years, disease hovered around me in vain. The dank, unhealthy soil to me became paradise itself. For there was that within me which misfortune could not steal away. And so I remained firm, gazing at the white clouds floating over my head, and bearing in my heart a sorrow boundless as the sky.

At length Kublai summoned him into the imperial presence. "What is it that you want?" asked the monarch. "By the grace of the Sung Emperor," answered Wen, "I became his Majesty's minister. I cannot serve two masters. I only ask to die." Kublai consented; and as Wen awaited the axe of the executioner upon his neck he made obeisance toward the south, as though the Sung emperor were still reigning in the southern capital, Nanking.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, Kublai had the grace to recognize the civilized superiority of the Chinese, and to merge the customs of his own people into theirs.

Of necessity he abandoned the system of examinations for public office, since that system would have given him a completely Chinese bureaucracy; he restricted most higher offices to his Mongol followers, and tried for a time to introduce the Mongol alphabet. But for the greater part he and his people accepted the culture of China, and were soon transformed by it into Chinese. He tolerated the various religions philosophically, and flirted with Christianity as an instrument of pacification and rule. He reconstructed the Grand Canal between Tientsin and Hangchow, improved the highways, and provided a rapid postal service throughout a domain larger than any that has accepted the government of China since his day. He built great public granaries to store the surplus of good crops for public distribution in famine years, and remitted taxes to all peasants who had suffered from drought, storms, or insect depredations;\* he organized a system of state care for aged scholars, orphans and the infirm; and he patronized munificently education, letters and the arts. Under him the calendar was revised, and the Imperial Academy was opened.<sup>9</sup> At Peking he reared a new capital, whose splendor and population were the marvel of visitors from other lands. Great palaces were built, and architecture flourished as never in China before.

"Now when all this happened," says Marco Polo, "Messer Polo was on the spot."<sup>10</sup> He became fairly intimate with the Khan, and describes his amusements in fond detail. Besides four wives called empresses, the Khan had many concubines, recruited from Ungut in Tatar, whose ladies seemed especially fair to the royal eye. Every second year, says Marco, officers of proved discrimination were sent to this region to enlist for his Majesty's service a hundred young women, according to specifications carefully laid down by the king.

Upon their arrival in his presence, he causes a new examination to be made by a different set of inspectors, and from amongst them a further selection takes place, when thirty or forty are retained for his own chamber. . . . These are committed separately to the care of certain elderly ladies of the palace, whose duty it is to observe them attentively, during the course of the night, in order to ascertain that they have not any concealed imperfections, that they sleep

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\* "Not a day passes," writes Marco Polo, "in which there are not distributed, by the regular officers, twenty thousand vessels of rice, millet, and panicum. By reason of this admirable and astonishing liberality which the Great Khan exercises towards the poor, the people all adore him."<sup>11</sup>

tranquilly, do not snore, have sweet breath, and are free from unpleasant scent in any part of the body. Having undergone this rigorous scrutiny, they are divided into parties of five, each taking turn for three days and three nights in his Majesty's interior apartment, where they are to perform every service that is required of them, and he does with them as he likes. When this term is completed they are relieved by another party, and in this manner successively, until the whole number have taken their turn; when the first five recommence their attendance.<sup>23</sup>

After remaining in China for twenty years, Marco Polo, with his father and his uncle, took advantage of an embassy sent by the Khan to Persia, to return to their native city with a minimum of danger and expense. Kublai gave them a message to the Pope, and fitted them out with every comfort then known to travelers. The voyage around the Malay Peninsula to India and Persia, the overland journey to Trebizond on the Black Sea, and the final voyage to Venice, took them three years; and when they reached Europe they learned that both the Khan and the Pope were dead.\* Marco himself, with characteristic obstinacy, lived to the age of seventy. On his deathbed his friends pleaded with him, for the salvation of his soul, to retract the obviously dishonest statements that he had made in his book; but he answered, stoutly: "I have not told half of what I saw." Soon after his death a new comic figure became popular at the Venetian carnivals. He was dressed like a clown, and amused the populace by his gross exaggerations. His name was Marco Millions.<sup>24</sup>

## 2. *The Ming and the Ch'ing*

*Fall of the Mongols—The Ming Dynasty—The Manchu invasion  
—The Ch'ing Dynasty—An enlightened monarch—Ch'ien  
Lung rejects the Occident*

Not for four centuries was China to know again so brilliant an age. The Yüan Dynasty quickly declined, for it was weakened by the collapse of the Mongol power in Europe and western Asia, and by the sinification (if so pedantic a convenience may be permitted for so repeated a phenomenon) of the Mongols in China itself. Only in an era of railroads, telegraph and print could so vast and artificial an empire, so divided by mountains,

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\* Kublai Khan had proved his conversion to civilization by developing gout.<sup>25</sup>



FIG. 67—*A bronze Kuan-yin of the Sui period*  
Metropolitan Museum of Art

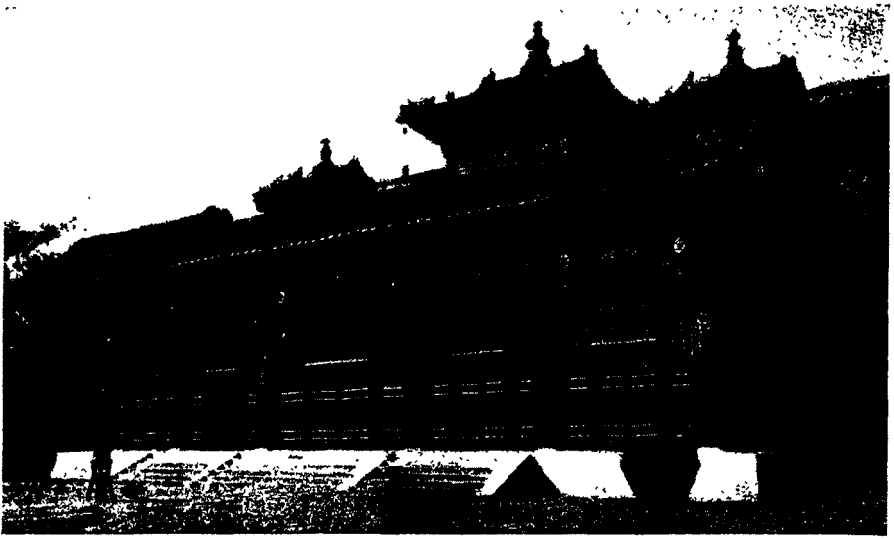


FIG. 68—*Temple  
of Heaven,  
Peiping*  
Publishers' Photo  
Service



FIG. 69—*Summer  
Palace, Peiping*



**FIG. 70—  
Portraits of  
Thirteen  
Emperors.  
Attributed to  
Yen Li-pen,  
7th century  
Boston Museum  
of Fine Arts**



FIG. 71—*The  
Silk-beaters.*  
By the Emperor  
*Hui Tsung*  
(1101-26)  
Boston Museum  
of Fine Arts

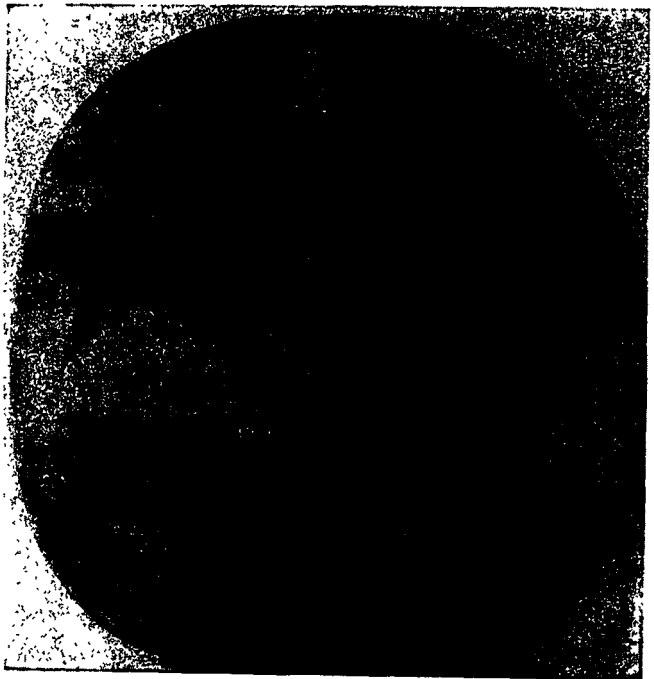


FIG. 72—*Land-  
scape with  
Bridge and  
Willows.*  
*Ma Yuan,*  
*12th century*  
Boston Museum  
of Fine Arts

deserts and seas, be held permanently under one rule. The Mongols proved better warriors than administrators, and the successors of Kublai were forced to restore the examination system and to utilize Chinese capacity in government. The conquest produced in the end little change in native customs or ideas, except that it introduced, perhaps, such new forms as the novel and the drama into Chinese literature. Once more the Chinese married their conquerors, civilized them, and overthrew them. In 1368 an ex-Buddhist priest led a revolt, entered Peking in triumph, and proclaimed himself the first emperor of the Ming ("Brilliant") Dynasty. In the next generation an able monarch came to the throne, and under Yung Lo China again enjoyed prosperity and contributed to the arts. Nevertheless, the Brilliant Dynasty ended in a chaos of rebellion and invasion; at the very time when the country was divided into hostile factions, a new horde of conquerors poured through the Great Wall and laid seige to Peking.

The Manchus were a Tungusic people who had lived for many centuries in what is now Manchukuo (i.e., the Kingdom of the Manchus). Having extended their power northward to the Amur River, they turned back southward, and marched upon the Chinese capital. The last Ming emperor gathered his family about him, drank a toast to them, bade his wife kill herself,\* and then hanged himself with his girdle after writing his last edict upon the lapel of his robe: "We, poor in virtue and of contemptible personality, have incurred the wrath of God on high. My ministers have deceived me. I am ashamed to meet my ancestors. Therefore I myself take off my crown, and with my hair covering my face await dismemberment at the hands of the rebels. Do not hurt a single one of my people."<sup>28</sup> The Manchus buried him with honor, and established the Ch'ing ("Unsullied") Dynasty that was to rule China until our own revolutionary age.

They, too, soon became Chinese, and the second ruler of the Dynasty, K'ang-hsi, gave China the most prosperous, peaceful and enlightened reign in the nation's history. Mounting the throne at the age of seven, K'ang-hsi took personal control, at the age of thirteen, of an empire that included not only China proper but Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, Indo-China, Annam, Tibet and Turkestan; it was without doubt the largest, richest and most populous empire of its time. K'ang-hsi ruled it

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\* She obeyed, and story has it that many concubines followed her example.<sup>24</sup>



with a wisdom and justice that filled with envy the educated subjects of his contemporaries Aurangzeb and Louis XIV. He was a man energetic in body and active in mind; he found health in a vigorous outdoor life, and at the same time labored to make himself acquainted with the learning and arts of his time. He traveled throughout his realm, corrected abuses wherever he saw them, and reformed the penal code. He lived frugally, cut down the expenses of administration, and took pride in the welfare of the people." Under his generous patronage and discriminating appreciation literature and scholarship flourished, and the art of porcelain reached one of the peaks of its career. He tolerated all the religions, studied Latin under the Jesuits, and put up patiently with the strange practices of European merchants in his ports. When he died, after a long and beneficent reign (1661-1722), he left these as his parting words: "There is cause for apprehension lest, in the centuries or millenniums to come, China may be endangered by collisions with the various nations of the West who come hither from beyond the seas."<sup>17</sup>

These problems, arising out of the increasing commerce and contacts of China with Europe came to the front again under another able emperor of the Manchu line—Ch'ien Lung. Ch'ien Lung wrote 34,000 poems; one of them, on "Tea," came to the attention of Voltaire, who sent his "compliments to the charming king of China."<sup>18</sup> French missionaries painted his portrait, and inscribed under it these indifferent verses:

*Occupé sans relâche à tous les soins divers  
D'un gouvernement qu'on admire,  
Le plus grand potentat qui soit dans l'univers  
Est le Meilleur lettré qui soit dans son Empire.\**

He ruled China for two generations (1736-96), abdicated in his eighty-fifth year, and continued to dominate the government until his death (1799). During the last years of his reign an incident occurred which might have led the thoughtful to recall the forebodings of K'ang-hsi. England, which had aroused the Emperor's anger by importing opium into China, sent, in 1796, a commission under Lord Macartney to negotiate a commercial treaty with Ch'ien Lung. The commissioners explained

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\* "Occupied without rest in the diverse cares of a government which men admire, the greatest monarch in the world is also the most lettered man in his empire."

to him the advantages of trading with England, and added that the treaty which they sought would take for granted the equality of the British ruler with the Chinese emperor. Ch'ien Lung dictated this reply to George III:

I set no value on objects strange and ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufactures. This, then, is my answer to your request to appoint a representative at my court, a request contrary to our dynastic usage, which could only result in inconvenience to yourself. I have expounded my views in detail and have commanded your tribute envoys to leave in peace on their homeward journeys. It behooves you, O King, to respect my sentiments and to display even greater devotion and loyalty in future, so that, by perpetual submission to our throne, you may secure peace and prosperity for your country hereafter.<sup>29</sup>

In these proud words China tried to stave off the Industrial Revolution. We shall see in the sequel how, nevertheless, that Revolution came. Meanwhile let us study the economic, political and moral elements of the unique and instructive civilization which that Revolution seems destined to destroy.

## II. THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE\*

### *Population—Appearance—Dress—Peculiarities of Chinese speech— Of Chinese writing*

The first element in the picture is number: there are many Chinese. Learned guessers calculate that the population of the Chinese states in 280 B.C. was around 14,000,000; in 200 A.D., 28,000,000; in 726, 41,500,000; in 1644, 89,000,000; in 1743, 150,000,000; in 1919, 330,000,000.<sup>30</sup> In the fourteenth century a European traveler counted in China "two hundred cities all greater than Venice."<sup>31</sup> The Chinese census is obtained through a registration law requiring every household to inscribe the names of its occupants upon a tablet at the entrance;<sup>32</sup> we do not know how accurate these tablets are, or the reports which purport to be based upon them. It is probable that China now harbors some 400,000,000 souls.

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\* The following description of Chinese society will apply chiefly to the nineteenth century; the changes brought on by contact with the West will be studied later. Every description must be taken with reserve, since a civilization is never quite the same over a long period of time or an extensive area of space.

The Chinese vary in stature, being shorter and weaker in the south, taller and stronger in the north; in general they are the most vigorous people in Asia. They show great physical stamina, magnificent courage in the bearing of hardships and pain, exceptional resistance to disease, and a climatic adaptability which has enabled them to prosper in almost every zone. Neither opium nor inbreeding nor syphilis has been able to impair their health, and the collapse of their social system has not been due to any visible deterioration in their biological or mental vitality.

The Chinese face is one of the most intelligent on earth, though not universally attractive. Some of the pauper class are incomparably ugly to our Western prejudice, and some criminals have an evil leer admirably suited to cinematic caricature; but the great majority have regular features calm with the physiological accident of low eyelids, and the social accumulation of centuries of civilization. The slant of the eyes is not so pronounced as one had been led to expect, and the yellow skin is often a pleasant sun-tanned brown. The women of the peasantry are almost as strong as the men; the ladies of the upper strata are delicate and pretty, starch themselves with powder, rouge their lips and cheeks, blacken their eyebrows, and train or thin them to resemble a willow leaf or the crescent moon.<sup>28</sup> The hair in both sexes is coarse and vigorous, and never curls. The women wear theirs in a tuft, usually adorned with flowers. Under the last dynasty the men, to please their rulers, adopted the Manchu custom of shaving the fore half of the head; in compensation they left the remainder uncut and gathered it into a long queue, which became in time an instrument of correction and a support of pride.<sup>29</sup> Beards were small, and were always shaved, though seldom by the owners thereof; barbers carried their shops about with them, and thrived.

The head was ordinarily left bare; when men covered it they used in winter a cap of velvet or fur with a turned-up rim, and in summer a conical cap of finely woven filaments of bamboo, surmounted, in persons of any rank, by a colored ball and a silken fringe. Women, when they could afford it, clothed their heads with silk or cotton bands adorned with tinsel, trinkets or artificial flowers. Shoes were usually of warm cloth; since the floor was often of cold tile or earth, the Chinese carried a miniature carpet with him under each foot. By a custom begun at the court of the Emperor Li Hou-chu (ca. 970 A.D.), the feet of girls, at the age of seven, were compressed with tight bandages to prevent their further growth, so that the mature lady might walk with a mincing step erotically pleasing to the men. It was regarded as immodest to speak of a woman's foot, and as scandalous to look at one; in the presence of a lady even the word for shoe was tabu.<sup>30</sup> The practice spread to all ranks and groups except the Manchus and Tatars,

and became so rigid that a deception about the size of the bride's foot sufficed to annul an engagement or a marriage.<sup>25</sup> K'ang-hsi tried to stop the custom, but failed; today it is one of the happier casualties of the Revolution.

Men covered their nakedness with trousers and tunics, almost always blue. In winter the trousers were overlaid with leggings, and additional tunics, sometimes to the number of thirteen, were put on. These were kept on night and day throughout the winter, and were removed one by one with the progress of spring.<sup>26</sup> The tunic fell variously to the loins, or the knees, or the feet; it was buttoned closely up to the neck, and had immense sleeves instead of pockets; China does not say that a man "pocketed" an object, but that he "sleeved" it. Shirts and underwear were well-nigh unknown.<sup>27</sup> In the country women wore trousers like the men, since they were accustomed to doing a man's work and more; in the towns they covered the trousers with skirts. In the cities silk was almost as common as cotton.<sup>28</sup> No belt compressed the waist, and no corsets held in the breasts. In general the Chinese dress was more sensible, healthy and convenient than the garb of the modern West. No tyranny of fashion harassed or exalted the life of the Chinese woman; all urban classes dressed alike, and nearly all generations; the quality of the garment might differ, but not the form; and all ranks might be sure that the fashion would last as long as the gown.

The language of the Chinese differed from the rest of the world even more distinctly than their dress. It had no alphabet, no spelling, no grammar, and no parts of speech; it is amazing how well and how long this oldest and most populous nation on earth has managed without these curses of Occidental youth. Perhaps in forgotten days there were inflections, declensions, conjugations, cases, numbers, tenses, moods; but the language as far back as we can trace it shows none of them. Every word in it may be a noun, a verb, an adjective or an adverb, according to its context and its tone. Since the spoken dialects have only from four to eight hundred monosyllabic word-sounds or vocables, and these must be used to express the 40,000 characters of the written language, each vocable has from four to nine "tones," so that its meaning is made to differ according to the manner in which it is sung. Gestures and context eke out these tones, and make each sound serve many purposes; so the vocable *I* may mean any one of sixty-nine things, *shi* may mean fifty-nine, *ku* twenty-nine.<sup>29</sup> No other language has been at once so complex, so subtle and so brief.

The written language was even more unique than the spoken. The objects exhumed in Honan, and tentatively dated back to the Shang Dynasty, bear writing in characters substantially like those in use until our own generation, so that—barring a few Copts who still speak ancient Egyptian—Chinese is both the oldest and the most widespread language spoken on the earth today. Originally, as we infer from a passage in Lao-tze, the Chinese used knotted cords to communicate messages. Probably the needs of priests in tracing magic formulas, and of potters in marking their vessels, led to the development of a pictorial script.<sup>23</sup> These primitive pictograms were the original form of the six hundred signs that are now the fundamental characters in Chinese writing. Some two hundred and fourteen of them have been named “radicals” because they enter as elements into nearly all the characters of the current language. The present characters are highly complex symbols, in which the primitive pictorial element has been overlaid with additions designed to define the term specifically, usually through some indication of its sound. Not only every word, but every idea, has its own separate sign; one sign represents a horse, another sign “a bay horse with a white belly,” another “a horse with a white spot on his forehead.” Some of the characters are still relatively simple: a curve over a straight line (i.e., the sun over the horizon) means “morning”; the sun and the moon together represent “light”; a mouth and a bird together mean “singing”; a woman beneath a roof means “peace”; a woman, a mouth and the sign for “crooked” constitute the character for “dangerous”; a man and a woman together mean “talkative”; “quarreling” is a woman with two mouths; “wife” is represented by signs for a woman, a broom and a storm.<sup>24</sup>

From some points of view this is a primitive language that has by supreme conservatism survived into “modern” times. Its difficulties are more obvious than its virtues. We are told that the Chinese takes from ten to fifty years to become acquainted with all the 40,000 characters in his language; but when we realize that these characters are not letters but ideas, and reflect on the length of time it would take us to master 40,000 ideas, or even a vocabulary of 40,000 words, we perceive that the terms of the comparison are unfair to the Chinese; what we should say is that it takes any one fifty years to master 40,000 ideas. In actual practice the average Chinese gets along quite well with three or four thousand signs, and learns these readily enough by finding their “radicals.” The clearest

advantage of such a language—expressing not sounds but ideas—is that it can be read by Koreans and Japanese as easily as by the Chinese, and provides the Far East with an international written language. Again it unites in one system of writing all the inhabitants of China, whose dialects differ to the point of mutual unintelligibility; the same character is read as different sounds or words in different localities. This advantage applies in time as well as in space; since the written language has remained essentially the same while the spoken language has diverged from it into a hundred dialects, the literature of China, written for two thousand years in these characters, can be read today by any literate Chinese, though we cannot tell how the ancient writers pronounced the words, or spoke the ideas, which the signs represent. This persistence of the same script amidst a flux and diversity of speech made for the preservation of Chinese thought and culture, and at the same time served as a powerful force for conservatism; old ideas held the stage and formed the mind of youth. The character of Chinese civilization is symbolized in this phenomenon of its unique script: its unity amid diversity and growth, its profound conservatism, and its unrivaled continuity. This system of writing was in every sense a high intellectual achievement; it classified the whole world—of objects, activities and qualities—under a few hundred root or “radical” signs, combined with these signs some fifteen hundred distinguishing marks, and made them represent, in their completed forms, all the ideas used in literature and life. We must not be too sure that our own diverse modes of writing down our thoughts are superior to this apparently primitive form. Leibnitz in the seventeenth century, and Sir Donald Ross in our time, dreamed of a system of written signs independent of spoken languages, free from their nationalist diversity and their variations in space and time, and capable, therefore, of expressing the ideas of different peoples in identical and mutually intelligible ways. But precisely such a sign language, uniting a hundred generations and a quarter of the earth’s inhabitants, already exists in the Far East. The conclusion of the Oriental is logical and terrible: the rest of the world must learn to write Chinese.

## III. THE PRACTICAL LIFE

1. *In the Fields*

*The poverty of the peasant—Methods of husbandry—Crops—Tea  
—Food—The stoicism of the village*

All the varied literature of that language, all the subtleties of Chinese thought and the luxuries of Chinese life, rested in the last analysis on the fertility of the fields. Or rather on the toil of men—for fertile fields are not born but made. Through many centuries the early inhabitants of China must have fought against jungle and forest, beast and insect, drought and flood, saltpetre and frost to turn this vast wilderness into fruitful soil. And the victory had to be periodically rewon; a century of careless timber-cutting left a desert,\* and a few years of neglect allowed the jungle to return. The struggle was bitter and perilous; at any moment the barbarians might rush in, and seize the slow growths of the cleared earth. Therefore the peasants, for their protection, lived not in isolated homesteads but in small communities, surrounded their villages with walls, went out together to plant and cultivate the soil, and often slept through the night on guard in their fields.

Their methods were simple, and yet they did not differ much from what they are today. Sometimes they used ploughs—first of wood, then of stone, then of iron; but more often they turned up their little plots patiently with the hoe. They helped the soil with any natural fertilizer they could find, and did not disdain to collect for this purpose the offal of dogs and men. From the earliest times they dug innumerable canals to bring the water of their many rivers to rice paddies or millet fields; deep channels were cut through miles of solid rock to tap some elusive stream, or to divert its course into a desiccated plain. Without rotation of crops or artificial manures, and often without draft animals of any kind, the Chinese have wrung two or three crops annually from at least half their soil, and have won more nourishment from the earth than any other people in history.\*

The cereals they grew were chiefly millet and rice, with wheat and barley as lesser crops. The rice was turned into wine as well as food, but

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\* The denuded slopes and hills, unable to hold the rain-water that fell upon them, lost their top-soil, became arid, and offered no obstacle to the flooding of the valleys by the heavy rains.

the peasant never drank too much of it. His favorite drink, and next to rice his largest crop, was tea. Used first as a medicine, it grew in popularity until, in the days of the T'angs, it entered the realms of export and poetry. By the fifteenth century all the Far East was esthetically intoxicated with the ceremony of drinking tea; epicures searched for new varieties, and drinking tournaments were held to determine whose tea was the best.<sup>37</sup> Added to these products were delicious vegetables, sustaining legumes like the soy bean and its sprouts, doughty condiments like garlic and the onion, and a thousand varieties of berries and fruits.<sup>38</sup> Least of all products of rural toil was meat; now and then oxen and buffaloes were used for ploughing, but stock-raising for food was confined to pigs and fowl.<sup>39</sup> A large part of the population lived by snaring fish from the streams and the sea.

Dry rice, macaroni, vermicelli, a few vegetables, and a little fish formed the diet of the poor; the well-to-do added pork and chicken, and the rich indulged a passion for duck; the most pretentious of Peking dinners consisted of a hundred courses of duck.<sup>40</sup> Cow's milk was rare and eggs were few and old, but the soy bean provided wholesome milk and cheese. Cooking was developed into a fine art, and made use of everything; grasses and seaweeds were plucked and birds' nests ravished to make tasty soups; dainty dishes were concocted out of sharks' fins and fish intestines, locusts and grasshoppers, grubs and silkworms, horses and mules, rats and water-snakes, cats and dogs.<sup>41</sup> The Chinese loved to eat; it was not unusual for a rich man's dinner to have forty courses, and to require three or four hours of gentlemanly absorption.

The poor man did not need so much time for his two meals a day. With all his toil the peasant, with exceptions here and there, was never secure from starvation until he was dead. The strong and clever accumulated large estates, and concentrated the wealth of the country into a few hands; occasionally, as under Shih Huang-ti, the soil was redivided among the population, but the natural inequality of men soon concentrated wealth again.<sup>42</sup> The majority of the peasants owned land, but as the population increased faster than the area under cultivation, the average holding became smaller with every century. The result was a poverty equaled only by destitute India: the typical family earned but \$83 a year, many men lived on two cents a day, and millions died of hunger in each year.<sup>43</sup> For twenty centuries China has had an average of one famine annually;<sup>44</sup> partly because the peasant was exploited to the verge of subsistence, partly be-



they wove their cocoons by emitting silk. The cocoons were dropped in hot water, the silk came away from its shell, was treated and woven, and was skilfully turned into a great variety of rich clothing, tapestries, embroideries and brocades for the upper classes of the world.\* The raisers and weavers of silk wore cotton.

Even in the centuries before Christ this domestic industry had been supplemented with shops in the towns. As far back as 300 B.C. there had been an urban proletariat, organized with its masters into industrial guilds.<sup>40</sup> The growth of this shop industry filled the towns with a busy population, making the China of Kublai Khan quite the equal, industrially, of eighteenth-century Europe. "There are a thousand workshops for each craft," wrote Marco Polo, "and each furnishes employment for ten, fifteen, or twenty workmen, and in a few instances as many as forty. . . . The opulent masters in these shops do not labor with their own hands, but on the contrary assume airs of gentility and affect parade."<sup>41</sup> These guilds, like codified industries of our time, limited competition, and regulated wages, prices and hours; many of them restricted output in order to maintain the prices of their products; and perhaps their genial content with traditional ways must share some of the responsibility for retarding the growth of science in China, and obstructing the Industrial Revolution until all barriers and institutions are today being broken down by its flood.

The guilds undertook many of the functions which the once proud citizens of the West have surrendered to the state: they passed their own laws, and administered them fairly; they made strikes infrequent by arbitrating the disputes of employers and employees through mediation boards representing each side equally; they served in general as a self-governing and self-disciplining organization for industry, and provided an admirable escape from the modern dilemma between *laissez-faire* and the servile state. These guilds were formed not only by merchants, manufacturers and their workmen, but by such less exalted trades as barbers, coolies and cooks; even the beggars were united in a brotherhood that subjected its members to strict laws.<sup>42</sup> A small minority of town laborers were slaves, engaged for the most part in domestic service, and usually bonded to their masters for a period of years, or for life. In times of famine girls and orphans were exposed for sale at the price of a few "cash," and a father might at any time sell his daughters as bondservants. Such slavery, however, never reached the proportions that it attained in Greece and Rome; the majority of the workers were free agents or members of guilds, and the majority of the peasants

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\* It was not unusual for a Chinese host, when entertaining guests, to pass delicate fabrics around among them,<sup>43</sup> as another might exhibit porcelain or unravel his favorite paintings or calligraphic scrolls.

around the Malay Peninsula or plodding the caravan routes through Turk-  
estan, to get their goods to India, Persia, Mesopotamia, at last even to  
Rome.<sup>88</sup> Silk and tea, porcelain and paper, peaches and apricots, gunpowder  
and playing cards, were the staple exports; in return for which the world  
sent to China alfalfa and glass, carrots and peanuts, tobacco and opium.

Trade was facilitated by an ancient system of credit and coinage.  
Merchants lent to one another at high rates of interest, averaging some  
thirty-six per cent—though this was no higher than in Greece and Rome.<sup>89</sup>  
Money-lenders took great risks, charged commensurate fees, and were  
popular only at borrowing time; “wholesale robbers,” said an old Chinese  
proverb, “start a bank.”<sup>90</sup> The oldest known currency of the country took  
the form of shells, knives and silk; the first metal currency went back at  
least to the fifth century B.C.<sup>91</sup> Under the Ch’in Dynasty gold was made  
the standard of value by the government; but an alloy of copper and tin  
served for the smaller coins, and gradually drove out the gold.\* When  
Wu Ti’s experiment with a currency of silver alloyed with tin was ruined  
by counterfeiters, the coins were replaced with leather strips a foot long,  
which became the foster-parents of paper money. About the year 807, the  
supply of copper having, like modern gold, become inadequate as com-  
pared with the rising abundance of goods, the Emperor Hsien Tsung  
ordered that all copper currency should be deposited with the govern-  
ment, and issued in exchange for it certificates of indebtedness which re-  
ceived the name of “flying money” from the Chinese, who appear to have  
taken their fiscal troubles as good-naturedly as the Americans of 1933.  
The practice was discontinued after the passing of the emergency; but the  
invention of block-printing tempted the government to apply the new  
art to the making of money, and about 935 A.D. the semi-independent pro-  
vince of Szechuan, and in 970 the national government at Ch’ang-an, be-  
gan the issuance of paper money. During the Sung Dynasty a fever of  
printing-press inflation ruined many fortunes.<sup>92</sup> “The Emperor’s Mint,”  
wrote Polo of Kublai’s treasury, “is in the city of Cambaluc (Peking);  
and the way it is wrought is such that you might say that he hath the  
Secret of Alchemy in perfection, and you would be right. For he makes  
his money after this fashion”—and he proceeded to arouse the incredulous  
scorn of his countrymen by describing the process by which the bark

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\* Copper is still the dominant currency, in the form of the “cash”—worth a third or a  
half of a cent—and the “tael,” which is worth a thousand “cash.”

of the mulberry tree was pressed into bits of paper accepted by the people as the equivalent of gold.<sup>60</sup> Such were the sources of that flood of paper money which, ever since, has alternately accelerated and threatened the economic life of the world.

### 3. *Invention and Science*

*Gunpowder, fireworks and war—The compass—Poverty of industrial invention—Geography—Mathematics—Physics—“Feng shui”—Astronomy—Medicine—Hygiene*

The Chinese have been more facile in making inventions than in using them. Gunpowder appeared under the T'angs, but was very sensibly restricted to fireworks; not until the Sung Dynasty (1161 A.D.) was it formed into hand-grenades and employed in war. The Arabs became acquainted with saltpetre—the main constituent of gunpowder—in the course of their trade with China, and called it “Chinese snow”; they brought the secret of gunpowder westward, the Saracens turned it to military use, and Roger Bacon, the first European to mention it, may have learned of it through his study of Arab lore or his acquaintance with the central Asiatic traveler, De Rubruquis.<sup>61</sup>

The compass is of much greater antiquity. If we may believe Chinese historians, it was invented by the Duke of Chou in the reign of the Emperor Cheng Wang (1115-1078 B.C.) to guide certain foreign ambassadors back to their home lands; the Duke, we are told, presented the embassy with five chariots each equipped with a “south-pointing needle.”<sup>62</sup> Very probably the magnetic properties of the lodestone were known to ancient China, but the use of it was confined to orienting temples. The magnetic needle was described in the *Sung-shu*, an historical work of the fifth century A.D., and was attributed by the author to the astronomer Chang Heng (d. 139 A.D.), who, however, had only rediscovered what China had known before. The oldest mention of the needle as useful for mariners occurs in a work of the early twelfth century, which ascribes this use of it to foreign—probably Arab—navigators plying between Sumatra and Canton.<sup>63</sup> About 1190 we find the first known European notice of the compass in a poem by Guyot de Provins.<sup>64</sup>

Despite the contribution of the compass and gunpowder, of paper and silk, of printing and porcelain, we cannot speak of the Chinese as an in-

dustrially inventive people. They were inventive in art, developing their own forms, and reaching a degree of sensitive perfection not surpassed in any other place or time; but before 1912 they were content with ancient economic ways, and had a perhaps prophetic scorn of labor-saving devices that hectically accelerate the pace of human toil and throw half the population out of work in order to enrich the rest. They were among the first to use coal for fuel, and mined it in small quantities as early as 122 B.C.;<sup>66</sup> but they developed no mechanisms to ease the slavery of mining, and left for the most part unexplored the mineral resources of their soil. Though they knew how to make glass they were satisfied to import it from the West. They made no watches or clocks or screws, and only the coarsest nails.<sup>67</sup> Through the two thousand years that intervened between the rise of the Han and the fall of the Manchus, industrial life remained substantially the same in China—as it remained substantially the same in Europe from Pericles to the Industrial Revolution.

In like manner China preferred the quiet and mannerly rule of tradition and scholarship to the exciting and disturbing growth of science and plutocracy. Of all the great civilizations it has been the poorest in contributions to the material technique of life. It produced excellent textbooks of agriculture and sericulture two centuries before Christ, and excelled in treatises on geography.<sup>68</sup> Its centenarian mathematician, Chang Ts'ang (d. 152 B.C.), left behind him a work on algebra and geometry, containing the first known mention of a negative quantity. Tsu Ch'ung-chih calculated the correct value of  $\pi$  to six decimal places, improved the magnet or "south-pointing vehicle," and is vaguely recorded to have experimented with a self-moving vessel.<sup>69</sup> Chang Heng invented a seismograph in 132 A.D.,<sup>70</sup> but for the most part Chinese physics lost itself in the occultism of *feng shui* and the metaphysics of the *yang* and the *yin*.<sup>71</sup> Chinese mathematicians apparently derived algebra from India, but developed geometry for themselves out of their need for measuring the land.<sup>72</sup> The astronomers of Confucius' time correctly calculated eclipses, and laid the bases of the Chinese calendar—twelve hours a day, and twelve months each beginning with the new moon; an extra month was added periodically to bring this lunar calendar in accord with the seasons and the sun.<sup>73</sup> Life on earth was lived in harmony with life in the sky; the

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<sup>66</sup> His machine consisted of eight copper dragons placed on delicate springs around a bowl in whose center squatted a toad with open mouth. Each dragon held a copper ball in its mouth. When an earthquake occurred, the dragon nearest its source dropped its ball into the mouth of the toad. Once a dragon released its ball, though no shock had been felt by the inhabitants. Chang Heng was ridiculed as a charlatan, until a messenger arrived who told of an earthquake in a distant province.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Feng shui* (wind and water) was the art, very widespread in China, of adapting the location of homes and graves to the currents of wind and water in the locality.

festivals of the year were regulated by sun and moon; the moral order of society itself was based upon the regularity of the planets and the stars.

Medicine in China was a characteristic mixture of empirical wisdom and popular superstition. It had its beginnings before recorded history, and produced great physicians long before Hippocrates. Already under the Chous the state held yearly examinations for admission to medical practice, and fixed the salaries of the successful applicants according to their showing in the tests. In the fourth century before Christ a Chinese governor ordered a careful dissection and anatomical study of forty beheaded criminals; but the results were lost in theoretical discussion, and dissection stopped. Chang Chung-ning, in the second century, wrote treatises on dietetics and fevers, which remained standard texts for a thousand years. In the third century Hua To wrote a volume on surgery, and made operations popular by inventing a wine which produced a general anesthesia; it is one of the stupidities of history that the formula for mixing this drink has been lost. About 300 A.D. Wang Shu-ho wrote a celebrated treatise on the pulse.<sup>73</sup> Towards the beginning of the sixth century T'ao Hung-ching composed an extensive description of the 730 drugs used in Chinese medicine; and a hundred years later Ch'ao Yuan-fang wrote a classic on the diseases of women and children. Medical encyclopedias were frequent under the T'angs, and specialist monographs under the Sung.<sup>74</sup> A medical college was established in the Sung Dynasty, but most medical education was through apprenticeship. Drugs were abundant and various; one store, three centuries ago, sold a thousand dollars' worth every day.<sup>75</sup> Diagnosis was pedantically detailed; ten thousand varieties of fever were described, and twenty-four conditions of the pulse were distinguished. Inoculation—not vaccination—was used, probably in imitation of India, in the treatment of small-pox; and mercury was administered for syphilis. This disease seems to have appeared in China in the later years of the Ming Dynasty, to have run wild through the population, and to have left behind its course a comparative immunity to its more serious effects. Public sanitation, preventive medicine, hygiene and surgery made little progress in China; sewage and drainage systems were primitive, or hardly existed;<sup>76</sup> and some towns failed to solve the primary obligations of an organized society—to secure good water, and to dispose of waste.

Soap was a rare luxury, but lice and vermin were easily secured. The simpler Chinese learned to itch and scratch with Confucian equanimity. Medical science made no ascertainable progress from Shih Huang-ti to the Dowager; perhaps the same might be said of European medicine between Hippocrates and Pasteur. European medicine invaded China as an annex to Christianity; but the sick natives, until our own time, confined their use of it to surgery, and for the rest preferred their own physicians and their ancient herbs.

## IV. RELIGION WITHOUT A CHURCH

*Superstition and scepticism—Animism—The worship of Heaven—Ancestor-worship—Confucianism—Taoism—The elixir of immortality—Buddhism—Religious toleration and eclecticism—Mohammedanism—Christianity—Causes of its failure in China*

Chinese society was built not on science but on a strange and unique mixture of religion, morals and philosophy. History has known no people more superstitious, and none more sceptical; no people more devoted to piety, and none more rationalistic and secular; no nation so free from clerical domination, and none but the Hindus so blessed and cursed with gods. How shall we explain these contradictions, except by ascribing to the philosophers of China a degree of influence unparalleled in history, and at the same time recognizing in the poverty of China an inexhaustible fountain of hopeful fantasy?

The religion of the primitive inhabitants was not unlike the faith of nature peoples generally: an animistic fear and worship of spirits lurking anywhere, a poetic reverence for the impressive forms and reproductive powers of the earth, and an awed adoration of a heaven whose energizing sunlight and fertilizing rains were part of the mystic *rapproch* between terrestrial life and the secret forces of the sky. Wind and thunder, trees and mountains, dragons and snakes were worshiped; but the greater festivals celebrated above all the miracle of growth, and in the spring girls and young men danced and mated in the fields to give example of fertility to mother earth. Kings and priests were in those days near allied, and the early monarchs of China, in the edifying accounts which tendentious historians gave of them in later years, were statesmen-saints whose heroic deeds were always prefaced with prayers, and aided by the gods.<sup>78</sup>

In this primitive theology heaven and earth were bound together as two halves of a great cosmic unity, and were related very much as man and woman, lord and vassal, *yang* and *yin*. The order of the heavens and the moral behavior of mankind were kindred processes, parts of a universal and necessary rhythm called *Tao*—the heavenly way; morality, like the law of the stars, was the coöperation of the part with the whole. The Supreme God was this mighty heaven itself, this moral order, this divine orderliness, that engulfed both men and things, dictating the right rela-

tionship of children to parents, of wives to husbands, of vassals to lords, of lords to the emperor, and of the emperor to God. It was a confused but noble conception, hovering between personality when the people prayed to *T'ien*—heaven as a deity—and impersonality when the philosophers spoke of *T'ien* as the just and beneficent, but hardly human or personal, sum of all those forces that ruled the sky, the earth, and men. Gradually, as philosophy developed, the personal conception of "Heaven" was confined to the masses of the people, and the impersonal conception was accepted by the educated classes and in the official religion of the state."

Out of these beginnings grew the two elements of the orthodox religion of China: the nation-wide worship of ancestors, and the Confucian worship of heaven and great men. Every day some modest offering—usually of food—was made to the departed, and prayers were sent up to their spirits; for the simple peasant or laborer believed that his parents and other forbears still lived in some ill-defined realm, and could bring him good or evil fortune. The educated Chinese offered similar sacrifice, but he looked upon the ritual not as worship so much as commemoration; it was wholesome for the soul and the race that these dead ones should be remembered and revered, for then the ancient ways which they had followed would also be revered, innovation would hesitate, and the empire would be at peace. There were some inconveniences in this religion, for it littered China with immense inviolable graves, impeding the construction of railroads and the tillage of the soil; but to the Chinese philosopher these were trivial difficulties when weighed in the balance against the political stability and spiritual continuity which ancestor worship gave to civilization. For through this profound institution the nation, which was shut out from physical and spatial unity by great distances and the poverty of transport, achieved a powerful spiritual unity in time; the generations were bound together with the tough web of tradition, and the individual life received an ennobling share and significance in a drama of timeless majesty and scope.

The religion adopted by the scholars and the state was at once a widening and a narrowing of this popular faith. Slowly, by increments of reverence from century to century, Confucius was lifted up, through imperial decrees, to a place second only to that of Heaven itself; every school raised a tablet, every city a temple, in his honor; and periodically the emperor and the officials offered incense and sacrifice to his spirit or his

memory, as the greatest influence for good in all the rich memories of the race. He was not, in the understanding of the intelligent, a god; on the contrary he served for many Chinese as a substitute for a god; those who attended the services in his honor might be agnostics or atheists, and yet—if they honored him and their ancestors—they were accepted by their communities as pious and religious souls. Officially, however, the faith of the Confucians included a recognition of *Shang-ti*, the Supreme Ruling Force of the world; and every year the emperor offered ceremonious sacrifice, on the Altar of Heaven, to this impersonal divinity. Nothing was said, in this official faith, of immortality.<sup>78</sup> Heaven was not a place but the will of God, or the order of the world.

This simple and almost rationalistic religion never quite satisfied the people of China. Its doctrines gave too little room to the imagination of men, too little answer to their hopes and dreams, too little encouragement to the superstitions that enlivened their daily life. For the people, here as everywhere, brightened the prose of reality with the poetry of the supernatural; they felt a world of good or evil spirits hovering in the air about them and the earth beneath, and longed to appease the enmity or enlist the aid of these secret powers by magic incantation or prayer. They paid diviners to read the future for them in the lines of the *I-Ching*, or on the shells of tortoises, or in the movements of the stars; they hired magicians to orient their dwellings and graves to wind and water, and sorcerers to bring them sunshine or rain.<sup>79</sup> They exposed to death such children as were born to them on “unlucky” days,<sup>80</sup> and fervent daughters sometimes killed themselves to bring good or evil fortune to their parents.<sup>81</sup> In the south, particularly, the Chinese soul inclined to mysticism; it was repelled by the frigid rationalism of the Confucian faith, and hungered for a creed that would give China, like other nations, deathless consolations.

Therefore some popular theologians took the misty doctrine of Lao-tze and gradually transformed it into a religion. To the Old Master and to Chuang-tze the *Tao* had been a way of life for the attainment of individual peace on earth; they do not seem ever to have dreamed of it as a deity, much less as a price to be paid here for a life beyond the grave.<sup>82</sup> But in the second century of our era these doctrines were improved upon by men who claimed to have received, in direct line from Lao-tze, an elixir that would confer immortality. This drink became so popular that several emperors are said to have died from pious indulgence in it.<sup>83</sup> A



mystagogue in Szechuan (ca. 148 A.D.) offered to cure all diseases with a simple talisman to be given in exchange for five packages of rice. Apparently miraculous cures were effected, and those who were not cured were told that their faith had been too weak.<sup>4</sup> The people flocked to the new religion, built temples for it, supported its priesthood generously, and poured into the new faith some part of their inexhaustible superstitious lore. Lao-tze was made a god, and was credited with a supernatural conception; he had been born, the faithful believed, already old and wise, having been in his mother's womb for eighty years.<sup>5</sup> They peopled the world with new devils and deities, frightened away the one with fire-crackers exploding merrily in the temple courts, and with mighty gongs called the others out of slumber to hear their importunate prayers.

For a thousand years the Taoist faith had millions of adherents, converted many emperors, and fought long battles of intrigue to wrest from the Confucians the divine right to tax and spend. In the end it was broken down not by the logic of Confucius, but by the coming of a new religion even better suited than itself to inspire and console the common man. For the Buddhism that began its migration from India to China in the first century after Christ was not the hard and gloomy doctrine that the Enlightened One had preached five hundred years before; it was no ascetic creed, but a bright and happy faith in helping deities and a flowering paradise; it took the form, as time went on, of the Greater Vehicle, or *Mahayana*, which Kanishka's theologians had adapted to the emotional needs of simple men; it presented China with freshly personal and humane gods, like Amitabha, Ruler of Paradise, and Kuan-yin, god-then-goddess of mercy; it filled the Chinese pantheon with *Lohans* or *Arhats*—eighteen of the original disciples of Buddha—who stood ready at every turn to give of their merits to help a bewildered and suffering mankind. When, after the fall of the Han, China found itself torn with political chaos, and life seemed lost in a welter of insecurity and war, the harassed nation turned to Buddhism as the Roman world was at the same time turning to Christianity. Taoism opened its arms to take in the new faith, and in time became inextricably mingled with it in the Chinese soul. Emperors persecuted Buddhism, philosophers complained of its superstitions, statesmen were concerned over the fact that some of the best blood of China was being sterilized in monasteries; but in the end the government found again that religion is stronger than the state; the emperors made treaties of peace with the new gods; the Buddhist priests were allowed to collect alms

and raise temples, and the bureaucracy of officials and scholars was perforce content to keep Confucianism as its own aristocratic creed. The new religion took possession of many old shrines, placed its monks and fanes along with those of the Taoists on the holy mountain Tai-shan, aroused the people to many pious pilgrimages, contributed powerfully to painting, sculpture, architecture, literature, and the development of printing, and brought a civilizing measure of gentleness into the Chinese soul. Then, it, too, like Taoism, fell into decay; its clergy became corrupt, its doctrine was permeated more and more by sinister deities and popular superstitions, and its political power, never strong, was practically destroyed by the renaissance of Confucianism under Chu Hsi. Today its temples are neglected, its resources are exhausted, and its only devotees are its impoverished priests.<sup>66</sup>

Nevertheless it has sunk into the national soul, and is still part of the complex but informal religion of the simpler Chinese. For religions in China are not mutually exclusive as in Europe and America, nor have they ever precipitated the country into religious wars. Normally they tolerate one another not only in the state but in the same breast; and the average Chinese is at once an animist, a Taoist, a Buddhist and a Confucianist. He is a modest philosopher, and knows that nothing is certain; perhaps, after all, the theologian may be right, and there may be a paradise; the best policy would be to humor all these creeds, and pay many diverse priests to say prayers over one's grave. While fortune smiles, however, the Chinese citizen does not pay much attention to the gods; he honors his ancestors, but lets the Taoist and the Buddhist temples get along with the attentions of the clergy and a few women. He is the most secular spirit ever produced, as a type, in known history; this life absorbs him; and when he prays he asks not for happiness in paradise, but for some profit here on earth.<sup>67</sup> If the god does not answer his prayers he may overwhelm him with abuse, and end by throwing him into the river. "No image-maker worships the gods," says a Chinese proverb; "he knows what stuff they are made of."<sup>68</sup>

Hence the average Chinese has not taken passionately to Mohammedanism or Christianity; these offered him a heaven that Buddhism had already promised, but what he really wanted was a guarantee of happiness here. Most of the fifteen million Chinese Moslems are not really

Chinese, but people of foreign origin or parentage.<sup>69</sup> Christianity entered China with the Nestorians about 636 A.D. The Emperor Tai Tsung gave

it a sympathetic hearing, and protected its preachers from persecution. In 781 the Nestorians of China raised a monument on which they recorded their appreciation of this enlightened tolerance, and their hope that Christianity would soon win the whole land.<sup>99</sup> Since then Jesuit missionaries with heroic zeal and lofty learning, and Protestant missionaries backed with great American fortunes, have labored to realize the hope of the Nestorians. Today there are three million Christians in China; one per cent of the population has been converted in a thousand years.\*

## V. THE RULE OF MORALS

*The high place of morals in Chinese society—The family—Children—Chastity—Prostitution—Premarital relations—Marriage and love—Monogamy and polygamy—Concubinage—Divorce—A Chinese empress—The patriarchal male—The subjection of woman—The Chinese character*

Confucianism and ancestor worship survived so many rivals and so many attacks, during twenty centuries, because they were felt to be indispensable to that intense and exalted moral tradition upon which China had founded its life. As these were the religious sanctions, so the family was the great vehicle, of this ethical heritage. From parents to children the moral code was handed down across the generations, and became the invisible government of Chinese society; a code so stable and strong that that society maintained its order and discipline through nearly all the vicissitudes of the unsteady state. "What the Chinese," said Voltaire, "best know, cultivate the most, and have brought to the greatest perfection, is

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\* Christianity lost its opportunity early in the eighteenth century, when a quarrel arose between the Jesuits and other Roman Catholic orders in China. The Jesuits had, with characteristic statesmanship, found formulas by which the essential elements of Chinese piety—ancestor worship and the adoration of heaven—could be brought under Christian forms without disrupting deep-rooted institutions or endangering the moral stability of China; but the Dominicans and Franciscans demanded a stricter interpretation, and denounced all Chinese theology and ritual as inventions of the devil. The enlightened Emperor K'ang-hsi was highly sympathetic to Christianity; he entrusted his children to Jesuit tutors, and offered on certain conditions to become a Christian. When the Church officially adopted the rigid attitude of the Dominicans and the Franciscans, K'ang-hsi withdrew his support of Christianity, and his successors decided to oppose it actively.<sup>100</sup> In later days the greedy imperialism of the West weakened the persuasiveness of Christian preaching, and precipitated the passionate anti-Christianism of the revolutionary Chinese.

morality."<sup>20</sup> "By building the house on a sound foundation," Confucius had said, "the world is made secure."<sup>21</sup>

The Chinese proceeded on the assumption that the purpose of a moral code was to transform the chaos of sexual relations into an orderly institution for the rearing of children. The family's reason for being lay in the child. There could not, from the viewpoint of China, be too many children: a nation was always subject to attack, and needed defenders; the soil was rich, and could support many millions; even if there should be a bitter struggle for existence in large families and crowded communities, the weakest would be eliminated, and the ablest would survive and multiply to be a support and an honor to their aging parents, and to tend the ancestral graves religiously. Ancestor worship forged an endless chain of reproduction, and gave it a double strength; the husband must beget sons not only to sacrifice to him after his death, but to continue the sacrifices to his ancestors. "There are three things which are unfilial," said Mencius; "and the greatest of them is to have no posterity."<sup>22</sup>

Sons were prayed for, and mothers were shamed forever if they had none; for sons could work better than girls in the fields, and could fight better in war; and a regulation not unconscious of this had long since decreed that only sons should be permitted to offer the ancestral sacrifice. Girls were a burden, for one had to rear them patiently only to see them go off, at maturity, to their husbands' homes, to labor there, and beget laborers, for another family. If too many daughters came, and times were very hard, the infant girl might without sin be left exposed in the furrows, to be killed by the night's frost or eaten by prowling swine.<sup>23</sup> Such progeny as survived the hazards and ailments of childhood were brought up with the tenderest affection; example took the place of blows in their education; and occasionally they were exchanged for a while for the children of kindred families, so that they might not be spoiled by an indulgent love.<sup>24</sup> The children were kept in the women's division of the home, and seldom mingled with the adult males until the age of seven. Then the boys, if the family could afford it, were sent to school, and were severely separated from the girls; from the age of ten they would be limited in their choice of associates to men and courtesans; and the frequency of homosexuality and male prostitution sometimes made this choice unreal.<sup>25</sup>

Chastity was exalted and rigidly enforced in daughters, and was inculcated with such success that Chinese girls have been known to kill them-

selves because they believed that they had been dishonored by the accidental touch of a man.<sup>29</sup> But no effort was made to maintain chastity in the unmarried man; on the contrary, it was considered normal and legitimate that he should visit brothels; sex (in the male) was an appetite like hunger, and might be indulged in without any other disgrace than that which would in any case attach to immoderation.<sup>30\*</sup> The supply of women to meet these demands had long since been an established institution in China; the famous premier of T'si, Kuan Chung, had provided a lupanar where traders from other states might leave their gains before departing for their homes.<sup>31</sup> Marco Polo described the courtesans of Kublai Khan's capital as incredibly numerous and ravishingly beautiful. They were licensed, regulated and segregated; and the most beautiful of them were supplied without charge to the members of foreign embassies.<sup>32</sup> In later times a special variety of charmers was developed, known as "sing-song girls," who, if that were preferred, would provide educated conversation for young men or for respectable husbands entertaining guests. Such girls were often versed in literature and philosophy, as well as skilled in music and the dance.<sup>33</sup>

Premarital relations were so free for men, and premarital association with men was so restricted for respectable women, that small opportunity was given for the growth of romantic love. A literature of such tender affection appeared under the T'angs, and some indication of the sentiment may be found as far back as the sixth century before Christ in the legend of Wei Sheng, who, having promised to meet a girl under a bridge, waited vainly for her there, though the water rose above his head and drowned him.<sup>34</sup> Doubtless Wei Sheng knew better than this, but it is significant that the poets thought that he might not. In general, however, love as a tender solicitude and attachment was more frequent between men than between the sexes; in this matter the Chinese agreed with the Greeks.<sup>35</sup>

Marriage had little to do with love; since its purpose was to bring healthy mates together for the rearing of abundant families, it could not, the Chinese thought, be left to the arbitrament of passion. Hence the sexes were kept apart while the parents sought eligible mates for their children. It was considered immoral for a man not to marry; celibacy was a crime against one's ancestors, the state and the race, and was never

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\* Men sometimes prepared themselves openly for a night in a brothel by pictures, aphrodisiacs and songs.<sup>30</sup> It should be added that this lenience towards marital deviations is disappearing today.

quite condoned even in the case of the clergy. In the ancient days a special official was appointed to see to it that every man was married by the age of thirty, and every woman by twenty.<sup>308</sup> With or without the help of professional intermediaries (*mei-ren*, "go-betweens"), parents arranged the betrothal of their children soon after puberty, sometimes before puberty, sometimes before birth.<sup>309</sup> Certain endogamic and exogamic limits were placed on the choice: the mate had to be of a family long known to the match-seeking parents, and yet sufficiently distant in relationship to be outside the clan. The father of the boy usually sent a substantial present to the father of the girl, but the girl in her turn was expected to bring a considerable dowry, chiefly in the form of goods, to her husband; and gifts of some value were ordinarily exchanged between the families at the marriage. The girl was kept in strict seclusion until the wedding. Her future mate could not see her except by stratagem—though that was often managed; in many cases he saw her for the first time when he removed her veil in the wedding ceremony. This was a complex and symbolic ritual, in which the essential matter was that the bridegroom should be sufficiently wined to guard against the chance of a criminal bashfulness on his part;<sup>310</sup> as for the girl, she had been trained to be at once shy and obedient. After the marriage the bride lived with her husband in or near the house of his father; there she labored in servitude to her mate and his mother, until such time as the normal course of life and death liberated her from this slavery and left her ready to impose it upon the wives of her sons.

The poor were monogamous; but so eager was China for vigorous children that such men as could afford it were permitted by custom to take concubines, or "secondary wives." Polygamy was looked upon as eugenic, on the ground that those who could bear its expense would on the average be the abler men in their communities. If the first wife remained childless she would in most cases urge her husband to take an additional mate, and would often adopt as her own the child of the concubine. There were many instances in which wives, anxious to keep their husbands home, suggested that they should marry the courtesans to whom they were giving their attention and their substance, and should bring them home as secondary wives.<sup>311</sup> The wife of the Emperor Chuang-tchu was much praised in Chinese tradition because she was reported to have said: "I have never ceased to send people to all the neighboring towns to look for beautiful women in order that I might represent them as concubines to my

lord."<sup>230</sup> Families rivaled one another in seeking the honor of providing a daughter for the royal harem. To guard the harem, and to attend to other duties at his court, the emperor was entitled to three thousand eunuchs. Most of these had been mutilated by their parents before the age of eight, in order to ensure their livelihood.<sup>231</sup>

In this paradise of the male the secondary wives were practically slaves, and the chief wife was merely the head of a reproductive establishment. Her prestige depended almost entirely on the number and sex of her children. Educated to accept her husband as a lord, she might win some modest happiness by falling quietly into the routine expected of her; and so adaptive is the human soul that the wife and husband, in these pre-arranged unions, seem to have lived in a peace no more violent than that which follows the happy endings of Western romantic love. The woman could be divorced for almost any cause, from barrenness to loquacity;<sup>232</sup> she herself could never divorce her husband, but she might leave him and return to her parents—though this was a matter of rare resort. Divorce in any case was infrequent; partly because the lot of the divorced woman was too unpleasant to be thought of, partly because the Chinese were natural philosophers, and took suffering as the order of the day.

Very probably, in pre-Confucian times, the family had centered around the mother as the source of its existence and its authority. In the earliest period, as we have seen, the people "knew their mothers but not their fathers"; and the character for a man's family name is still formed from the radical for "woman."<sup>233</sup> The word for "wife" meant "equal"; and the wife preserved her own name after marriage. As late as the third century of our era women held high administrative and executive positions in China, even to ruling the state;<sup>234</sup> the "Dowager Empress" merely followed in the steps of that Empress Lu who ruled China so severely from 195 to 180 B.C. Lu, "hard and inflexible," killed and poisoned her rivals and enemies with all the gusto of a Medicean; she chose and deposed kings, and had her husband's favorite concubine shorn of ears and eyes and thrown into a latrine.<sup>235</sup> Though hardly one in ten thousand Chinese were literate under the Manchus,<sup>236</sup> education was customary among the women of the upper classes in ancient days; many of them wrote poetry; and Pan Chao, the gifted sister of the historian P'an Ku (ca. 100 A.D.), completed his history after his death, and won high recognition from the emperor.<sup>237</sup>

Probably the establishment of the feudal system in China reduced the political and economic status of woman, and brought with it an especially rigorous form of the patriarchal family. Usually all the male descendants, and their wives and children, lived with the oldest male; and though the family owned its land in common, it acknowledged the complete authority of the patriarch over both the family and its property. By the time of Confucius the power of the father was almost absolute: he could sell his wife or his children into servitude, though he did so only under great need; and if he wished he could put his children to death with no other restraint than public opinion.<sup>139</sup> He ate his meals alone, not inviting either his wife or his children to table with him except on rare occasions. When he died his widow was expected to avoid remarriage; formerly she had been required to commit suttee in his honor, and cases of this occurred in China to the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>140</sup> He was courteous to his wife, as to everybody, but he maintained a severe distance, almost a separation of caste, between himself and his wife and children. The women lived in distinct quarters of the home, and seldom mingled with the men; social life was exclusively male, except for promiscuous women. The man thought of his wife as the mother of his children; he honored her not for her beauty or her culture, but for her fertility, her industry and her obedience. In a celebrated treatise the Lady Pan Ho-pan, from the same elevation of aristocracy, wrote with edifying humility of the proper condition of women:

We occupy the last place in the human species, we are the weaker part of humanity; the basest functions are, and should be, our portion. . . . Rightly and justly does the Book of the Laws of the Sexes make use of these words: "If a woman has a husband after her own heart, it is for her whole life; if a woman has a husband against her heart, it is also for life."<sup>140</sup>

And Fu Hsüan sang:

How sad it is to be a woman!  
Nothing on earth is held so cheap.  
Boys stand leaning at the door  
Like gods fallen out of heaven.  
Their hearts brave the Four Oceans,  
The wind and dust of a thousand miles.



No one is glad when a girl is born:  
By her the family sets no store.  
When she grows up she hides in her room,  
Afraid to look a man in the face.  
No one cries when she leaves her home—  
Sudden as clouds when the rain stops.  
She bows her head and composes her face,  
Her teeth are pressed on her red lips:  
She bows and kneels countless times.<sup>121</sup>

Perhaps such quotations do injustice to the Chinese home. There was rank subjection in it, and quarrels were frequent between man and woman, and among the children; but there were also much kindness and affection, much mutual helpfulness, and constant coöperation in the busy functioning of a natural home. Though economically subordinate the woman enjoyed the franchise of the tongue, and might scold her man into fright or flight in the best Occidental style. The patriarchal family could not be democratic, much less egalitarian, because the state left to the family the task of maintaining social order; the home was at once a nursery, a school, a workshop and a government. The relaxation of family discipline in America has been made possible only by the economic unimportance of the urban home, and the appropriation of family functions by the school, the factory and the state.

The type of character produced by these domestic institutions has won the highest praise of many travelers. Allowing for the many exceptions that weaken every social generalization, the average Chinese was a model of filial obedience and devotion, of wholesome respect and willing care for the old.\* He accepted patiently the character-forming precepts of the *Li-chi* or Book of Ceremonies, carried easily its heavy burden of etiquette, regulated every phase of his life with its rules of passionless courtesy, and acquired under it an ease and excellence of manners, a poise and dignity of bearing, unknown to his compeers of the West—so that a coolie carrying dung through the streets might show better breeding, and more self-respect, than the alien merchant who sold him opium. The Chinese learned the art of compromise, and graciously “saved the face” of his worsted

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\* Chinese legend illustrates this with characteristic humor by the story of Hakuga, who was whipped daily by his mother, but never cried. One day, however, he cried as he was being beaten; and being asked the cause of this unusual disturbance he answered that he wept because his mother, now old and weak, was unable to hurt him with her blows.<sup>122</sup>

enemy. He was occasionally violent in speech and always loquacious, often unclean and not invariably sober, given to gambling and gluttony,\* to petty speculation and courteous mendacity;<sup>154</sup> he worshiped the God of Wealth with too frank an idolatry,<sup>155</sup> and was as hungry for gold as a caricatured American; he was capable occasionally of cruelty and brutality, and accumulating injustices sometimes provoked him to mass outbreaks of pillage and slaughter. But in nearly all cases he was peaceable and kindly, ready to help his neighbors, disdainful of criminals and warriors, thrifty and industrious, leisurely but steady at his work, simple and unassuming in his mode of life, and comparatively honest in commerce and finance. He was silent and patient under the whip of adversity, and took good and evil fortune alike with a wise humility; he bore bereavement and agony with fatalistic self-control, and showed little sympathy for those who suffered them audibly; he mourned long and loyally for his departed relatives, and (when all his compromises had failed to elude it) faced his own death with philosophic calm. He was as sensitive to beauty as he was insensitive to pain; he brightened his cities with colorful decoration, and adorned his life with the maturest art.

If we wish to understand this civilization we must forget for a moment the bitter chaos and helplessness into which it has been thrown by its own internal weakness and by contact with the superior guns and machines of the West; we must see it at any of its many apogees—under the Chou princes, or Ming Huang, or Hui Tsung, or K'ang-hsi. For in those quiet and beauty-loving days the Chinese represented without doubt the highest civilization and the ripest culture that Asia, or perhaps any continent, had yet achieved.

#### VI. A GOVERNMENT PRAISED BY VOLTAIRE<sup>156</sup>

*The submergence of the individual—Self-government—The village and the province—The laxity of the law—The severity of punishment—The Emperor—The Censor—Administrative boards—Education for public office—Nomination by education—The examination system—Its defects—Its virtues*

The most impressive aspect of this civilization was its system of government. If the ideal state is a combination of democracy and aristocracy, the Chinese have had it for more than a thousand years; if the best gov-

\* In many cities hucksters stood at the roadside with saucer, dice and cup in hand, ready for the casual gambler.<sup>156</sup>

ernment is that which governs least, then the Chinese have had the best. Never has a government governed so many people, or governed them so little, or so long.

Not that individualism, or individual liberty, flourished in China; on the contrary, the concept of the individual was weak, and lost him in the groups to which he belonged. He was, first of all, a member of a family and a passing unit in a stream of life between his ancestors and his posterity; by law and custom he was responsible for the acts of the others of his household, and they were responsible for his. Usually he belonged to some secret society, and, in the town, to a guild; these limited his rights to do as he pleased. A web of ancient custom bound him, and a powerful public opinion threatened him with ostracism if he seriously violated the morals or traditions of the group. It was precisely the strength of these popular organizations, rising naturally out of the needs and voluntary coöperation of the people, that made it possible for China to maintain itself in order and stability despite the weakness of law and the state.

But within the framework of these spontaneous institutions of self-government the Chinese remained politically and economically free. The great distances that separated one city from another, and all of them from the imperial capital, the dividing effect of mountains, deserts, and unbridged or unnavigable streams, the lack of transport and quick communication, and the difficulty of supporting an army large enough to enforce some central will upon four hundred million people, compelled the state to leave to each district an almost complete autonomy.

The unit of local administration was the village, loosely ruled by the family heads under the eye of a "headman" named by the government; a group of villages gathered about a town constituted a *hien*, or county, of which there were some thirteen hundred in China; two or more *hien*, ruled together from a city, constituted a *fu*; two or more *fu* formed a *tao*, or circuit; two or more *tao* made a *sheng*, or province; and eighteen provinces, under the Manchus, made the empire. The state appointed a magistrate to act as administrator, tax-collector and judge in each *hien*; a chief officer for each *fu* and each *tao*; and a judge, a treasurer, a governor, and sometimes a viceroy, for each province.<sup>127</sup> But these officials normally contented themselves with collecting taxes and "squeezes," judging such cases as voluntary arbitration had failed to settle, and, for the rest, leaving the maintenance of order to custom, the family, the clan and the guild. Each province was a semi-independent state, free from imperial interference or central legislation

so long as it paid its tax-allotment and kept the peace. Lack of facilities for communication made the central government more an idea than a reality. The patriotic emotions of the people were spent upon their districts and provinces, and seldom extended to the empire as a whole.

In this loose structure law was weak, unpopular, and diverse. The people preferred to be ruled by custom, and to settle their disputes by face-saving compromises out of court. They expressed their view of litigation by such pithy proverbs as "Sue a flea and catch a bite," or "Win your lawsuit, lose your money." In many towns of several thousand population years passed without a case coming into the courts.<sup>129</sup> The laws had been codified under the T'ang emperors, but they dealt almost entirely with crime, and attempted no formulation of a civil code. Trials were simple, for no lawyer was allowed to argue a case in court, though licensed notaries might occasionally prepare, and read to the magistrate, a statement in behalf of a client.<sup>130</sup> There were no juries, and there was scant protection in the law against the sudden seizure and secret retention of a person by the officers of the state. Suspects were finger-printed,<sup>131</sup> and confessions were sometimes elicited by tortures slightly more physical than those now used for such purposes in the most enlightened cities. Punishment was severe, but hardly as barbarous as in most other countries of Asia; it began with cutting off the hair, and went on to flogging, banishment or death; if the criminal had exceptional merits or rank, he might be allowed to kill himself.<sup>132</sup> There were generous commutations of sentences, and capital punishment could in normal times be imposed only by the emperor. Theoretically, as with us, all persons were equal before the law. These laws never availed to prevent brigandage on the highways or corruption in office and the courts, but they coöperated modestly with custom and the family to give China a degree of social order and personal security not equaled by any other nation before our century.<sup>133</sup>

Poised precariously above these teeming millions sat the emperor. In theory he ruled by divine right; he was the "Son of Heaven," and represented the Supreme Being on earth.\* By virtue of his godlike powers he ruled the seasons and commanded men to coördinate their lives with the divine order of the universe. His decrees were laws, and his judgments were

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\* Hence his realm was sometimes called *Tien-Chan*, the "heaven-ruled." Europeans translated this into the "Celestial Kingdom," and spoke of the Chinese learnedly as "Celestials."<sup>134</sup>

the final court; he administered the state and was the head of its religion; he appointed all officials, examined the highest contestants for office, and chose his successor to the throne. Actually his powers were wholesomely limited by custom and law. He was expected to rule without contravening the regulations that had come down from the sacred past; he might at any moment be rebuked by a strange dignitary known as the Censor; he was in effect imprisoned by a ring of counsellors and commissioners whose advice it was usually expedient for him to accept; and if he ruled very unjustly or unwell he lost, by common custom and consent, the "mandate of Heaven," and might be violently deposed without offense to religion or morality.

The Censor was head of a board whose function it was to inspect all officials in the administration of their duties; and the emperor was not exempt from this supervision. Several times in the course of history the Censor has reproved the emperor himself. For example, the Censor Sung respectfully suggested to the Emperor Chia Ch'ing (1796-1821 A.D.) a moderation in his attachment to actors and strong drink. Chia Ch'ing summoned Sung to his presence, and angrily asked him what punishment was proper for so insolent an official. Sung answered, "Death by the slicing process." Ordered to select a milder penalty, he answered, "Let me be beheaded." Ordered to select a milder penalty, he recommended that he be strangled. The Emperor, impressed by his courage and disturbed by his propinquity, made him governor of the province of Ili.<sup>24</sup>

The imperial government had come to be a highly complex administrative machine. Nearest to the throne was the Grand Council, composed of four "Great Ministers," usually headed by a prince of the royal blood; by custom it met daily, in the early hours of the morning, to determine the policies of the state. Superior in rank but inferior in influence was another group of advisers called the "Inner Cabinet." The work of administration was headed by "Six Boards": of Civil Office, of Revenue, of Ceremonies, of War, of Punishments, and of Works. There was a Colonial Office, for managing such distant territories as Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet; but there was no Foreign Office: China recognized no other nations as its equals, and made no provisions for dealing with them beyond arrangements for the reception of tribute-bearing embassies.

The weakness of the government lay in its limited revenues, its inadequate defenses, and its rejection of any instructive intercourse with the outside world. It taxed the land, monopolized the sale of salt, and impeded the



FIG. 73—*A hawthorn vase from the K'ang-hsi period*  
Metropolitan Museum of Art



FIG. 74—*Geisha girls*  
Ewing Galloway. N. Y.

development of commerce by levying, after 1852, a duty on the transit of goods along the main routes of the country; but the poverty of the people, the difficulty of collection, and the dishonesty of the collectors kept the national revenue at too low a point to finance the naval and military forces that might have saved China from invasion and shameful defeat.\* Perhaps the basic defect was in the personnel of the government; the ability and honesty of its officials deteriorated throughout the nineteenth century, and left the nation essentially leaderless when half the wealth and power of the world were joining in an assault upon its independence, its resources and its institutions.

Nevertheless those officials had been chosen by the most unique, and all in all the most admirable, method ever developed for the selection of public servants. It was a method that would have interested Plato; and despite its failure and abandonment today it still endears China to the philosopher. Theoretically, the plan provided a perfect reconciliation of aristocracy and democracy: all men were to have an equal opportunity to make themselves fit for office, but office was to be open only to those who had made themselves fit. Practically, the method produced good results for a thousand years.

It began in the village schools—simple private institutions, often no more than a room in a cottage—where an individual teacher, out of his own meager remuneration, provided an elementary education for the sons of the prosperous; the poorer half of the population remained illiterate.<sup>267</sup> These schools were not financed by the state, nor were they conducted by the clergy; education, like marriage, remained, in China, independent of religion, except in so far as Confucianism was its creed. Hours were long and discipline was severe in these modest schoolhouses: the children reported to the teacher at sunrise, studied with him till ten, had breakfast, resumed their studies till five, and then were free for the day. Vacations were few and brief: there were no lessons after noon in the summer, but to atone for this leisure to work in the fields there were school sessions in the winter evenings. The chief instruments of instruction were the writings

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\* The imperial revenue towards the close of the last century averaged \$75,000,000 a year; the revenues collected for local purposes amounted to an additional \$175,000,000.<sup>268</sup> If these national receipts, essential to the maintenance of order, are compared with the \$150,000,000 exacted of China by Japan in 1894, and the \$300,000,000 indemnity asked by the Allies after the Boxer Rebellion, the collapse of China becomes a mere matter of bookkeeping.



of Confucius, the poetry of the T'ang, and a whip of clinging bamboo. The method was memory: day after day the young students learned by heart, and discussed with their teacher, the philosophy of K'ung the Master, until almost every word of it had sunk into their memories, and some of it into their hearts; China hoped that in this joyless and merciless way even a peasant lad might be turned into a philosopher and a gentleman. The graduate emerged with little information and much understanding, factually ignorant and mentally mature.\*

It was on the basis of this education that China established—first tentatively under the Han, then definitely under the T'ang, dynasties—its system of examinations for public office. It is an evil for the people, said China, that its rulers should learn to rule by ruling; as far as possible they should learn to rule before ruling. It is an evil for the people that they should have no access to office, and that government should be the privilege of an hereditary few; but it is good for the people that office should be confined to those who have been prepared for it by ability and training. To offer to all men democratically an equal opportunity for such training, and to restrict office aristocratically to those who proved themselves best, was the solution that China proposed for the ancient and insoluble problem of government.

Therefore it periodically arranged, in each district, a public examination to which all males of any age were eligible. It tested the applicant in his memory and understanding of the writings of Confucius, in his knowledge of Chinese poetry and history, and in his capacity to write intelligently on the issues of moral and political life. Those who failed might study more and try again; those who succeeded received the degree of *Hsiu ts'ai*, entitling them to membership in the literary class, and to possible appointment to minor local offices; but more important than this, they became eligible—either at once or after further preparation—for the triennial provincial examinations, which offered similar but harder tests. Those who failed here might try again, and many did, so that some men passed these tests after eighty years of living and studying, and not a few died in the midst of the examinations. Those who succeeded were eligi-

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\* From these local schools the children might go on to one of the rare and poorly-equipped colleges of the empire; more frequently they studied with a tutor, or with a few precious books, at home. Needy students were often financed through such schooling by men of means, on the understanding that they would return the loan with interest on their appointment to office and their access to "squeeze."

ble for appointment to minor positions in the national service; and at the same time they were admitted to a final and especially severe examination at Peking. There in the Examination Hall were ten thousand cells, in which the contestants, cribbed and confined, lived with their own food and bedding for three separate days, while they wrote essays or theses on subjects announced to them after their imprisonment. The cells were unheated, uncomfortable, ill-lighted and unsanitary; only the spirit mattered! Typical tests were the composition of a poem on the theme: "The sound of the oars, and the green of the hills and water"; and the writing of an essay on this passage from the Confucian Classics: "Tsang Tsze said, 'To possess ability, and yet ask of those who do not; to know much, and yet inquire of those who know little; to possess, and yet appear not to possess; to be full, and yet appear empty.'" There was not a word in any of the tests about science, business or industry; the object was to reveal not knowledge but judgment and character. Those who survived the tests were at last eligible for the higher offices in the state.

The defects of the plan grew in the course of time. Though dishonesty in taking or judging the tests was sometimes punished with death, dishonesty found a way. The purchase of appointments became frequent and flagrant in the nineteenth century;<sup>38</sup> an inferior officer, for example, sold twenty thousand forged diplomas before he was exposed.<sup>39</sup> The form of the trial essay came to be a matter of custom, and students prepared themselves for it mechanically. The curriculum of studies tended to formalize culture and impede the progress of thought, for the ideas that circulated in it had been standardized for hundreds of years. The graduates became an official and intellectual bureaucracy, naturally arrogant and humanly selfish, occasionally despotic and often corrupt, and yet immune to public recall or control except through the desperate resort of the boycott or the strike. In short, the system had the faults that might be expected of any governmental structure conceived and operated by men. The faults of the system belonged to the men, not to the system; and no other had less.\*

The merits of the system were abundant. Here were no manipulated nominations, no vulgar campaigns of misrepresentation and hypocrisy, no

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\* "Seldom," says Dr. Latourette, "has any large group of mankind been so prosperous and so nearly contented as were the Chinese under this governmental machinery when it was dominated by the ablest of the monarchs." This was likewise the opinion of the learned Capt. Brinkley.<sup>40</sup>

sham battles of twin parties, no noisy or corrupt elections, no ascent to office through a meretricious popularity. It was a democracy in the best sense of the term, as equality of opportunity for all in the competition for leadership and place; and it was an aristocracy in its finest form, as a government by the ablest men, democratically selected from every rank in every generation. By this system the national mind and ambition were turned in the direction of study, and the national heroes and models were men of culture rather than masters of wealth.\* It was admirable that a society should make the experiment of being ruled, socially and politically, by men trained in philosophy and the humanities. It was an act of high tragedy when that system, and the entire civilization of which it formed the guiding part, were struck down and destroyed by the inexorable forces of evolution and history.

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\* "The Chinese," said Sir Robert Hart, "worship talent; they delight in literature, and everywhere they have their little clubs for learning, and for discussing each other's essays and verses."

# Revolution and Renewal

## I. THE WHITE PERIL

*The conflict of Asia and Europe—The Portuguese—The Spanish—  
The Dutch—The English—The opium trade—The Opium  
Wars—The T'ai-p'ing Rebellion—The War with Japan  
—The attempt to dismember China—The "Open  
Door"—The Empress Dowager—The reforms  
of Kuang Hsu—His removal from power  
—The "Boxers"—The Indemnity*

THOSE forces took the form of the Industrial Revolution. A Europe vitalized and rejuvenated by the discovery of mechanical power and its application to ever-multiplying machinery, found itself capable of producing goods more cheaply than any nation or continent that still relied on handicrafts; it was unable to dispose of all these machine products to its own population, because it paid its workers somewhat less than the full value of their labor; it was forced to seek foreign markets for the surplus, and was driven, by imperialist necessity, to conquer the world. Under the compulsions of invention and circumstance the nineteenth century became a world-wide drama of conflict between the old, mature and fatigued civilizations of handicraft Asia, and the young, jejune, and invigorated civilizations of industrial Europe.

The Commercial Revolution of Columbus' time cleared the routes and prepared the way for the Industrial Revolution. Discoverers refound old lands, opened up new ports, and brought to the ancient cultures the novel products and ideas of the West. Early in the sixteenth century the adventurous Portuguese, having established themselves in India, captured Malacca, sailed around the Malay Peninsula, and arrived with their picturesque ships and terrible guns at Canton (1517). "Truculent and lawless, regarding all Eastern peoples as legitimate prey, they were little if any better than . . . pirates";<sup>1</sup> and the natives treated them as such. Their representatives were imprisoned, their demands for free trade were refused, and their settlements were periodically cleansed with massacres by the

frightened and infuriated Chinese. But in return for their aid against other pirates, the Portuguese were rewarded in 1557 by receiving from Peking full liberty to settle in Macao, and to govern it as their own. There they built great opium factories, employing men, women and children; one factory alone paid to the Portuguese provincial government a revenue of \$1,560,000 per year.<sup>2</sup>

Then came the Spanish, conquering the Philippines (1571), and setting themselves up in the Chinese island of Formosa; then the Dutch; then, in 1637, five English vessels sailed up the river to Canton, silenced with superior guns the batteries that opposed them, and disposed of their cargo.<sup>3</sup> The Portuguese taught the Chinese to smoke and buy tobacco, and, early in the eighteenth century, began the importation of opium from India into China. The Chinese Government forbade its use by the people, but the habit became so widespread that the annual consumption of the drug in China had raised its import to 4,000 chests by the year 1795.\* The Government prohibited its importation in that year, and reiterated the prohibition in 1800, appealing to importers and population alike against the weakening of national vitality by this powerful opiate. The trade proceeded briskly despite these discouragements; the Chinese were as anxious to buy as the Europeans were eager to sell, and the local officials gratefully pocketed the bribes connected with the trade.

In 1838 the Peking Government ordered the strict enforcement of the edict against the importation of opium, and a vigorous official, Lin Tze-hsi, commanded the foreign importers at Canton to surrender such quantities as they held in their stores. When they refused he surrounded the foreign quarters, forced them to turn over to him 20,000 chests of the drug, and, in a kind of Canton Opium Party, destroyed the contents completely. The British withdrew to Hong Kong, and began the First "Opium War." They protested that it was not an opium war; that their anger was rather at the insolent pride with which the Chinese Government had received—or refused to receive—their representatives, and at the impediments, in the form of severe taxation and corrupt courts, which Chinese law and custom had raised against an orderly import trade. They bombarded those cities of China which they could reach from the coast, and compelled peace by capturing control, at Chinkiang, of the Grand Canal. The Treaty

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\* The meaning of this may be felt by recalling that a vest-pocket package of opium costs \$30.<sup>4</sup>

of Nanking avoided all mention of opium, ceded the island of Hong Kong to the British, forced Chinese tariffs down to five per cent, opened five "treaty ports" (Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai) to foreign trade, levied upon China an indemnity to cover the cost of the war and the destroyed opium, and stipulated that British citizens in China, when accused of violating laws, should be tried and judged only by British courts.<sup>8</sup> Other countries, including the United States and France, asked and obtained the application of these "extra-territorial rights" to their traders and nationals in China.

This war was the beginning of the disintegration of the ancient regime. The Government had lost "face" in its dealings with Europeans; it had first scorned, then defied, then yielded; and no courtly phrases could conceal the facts from educated natives or gloating foreigners. At once the authority of the Government was weakened wherever the news of its defeat penetrated, and forces that might have held their peace broke out now in open rebellion against Peking. In 1843 an enthusiast named Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, after a brief acquaintance with Protestantism, and some visions, came to the conclusion that he had been chosen by God to rid China of idolatry and convert it to Christianity. Beginning with this modest purpose, Hung finally led a movement to overthrow the Manchus and establish a new dynasty—the *T'ai P'ing*, or Great Peace. His followers, actuated partly by religious fanaticism, partly by desire to reform China on Western lines, fought valiantly, smashed idols, slaughtered Chinese, destroyed many old libraries and academies and the porcelain works at Ching-te-chen, captured Nanking, held it for twelve years (1853-65), marched on Peking while their leader wallowed in luxury and safety behind them, broke into disorder because of incompetent generalship, were defeated, and fell back into the indiscriminate ocean of Chinese humanity.<sup>9</sup>

In the midst of this dangerous T'ai-p'ing Rebellion the Government was called upon to defend itself against Europe in the Second "Opium War" (1856-60). Great Britain, supported in varying degrees by France and the United States, demanded the legalization of the opium traffic (which had continued, despite prohibitions, between the wars), access to more cities, and the honorable admission of Western envoys to the court at Peking. When the Chinese refused, the French and English captured Canton, sent its Viceroy in chains to India, took the forts at Tientsin, advanced upon the capital, and destroyed the Summer Palace in revenge for

the torture and execution of Allied emissaries in Peking. The victors forced upon the defeated a treaty that opened ten new ports and the Yangtze River to foreign trade, arranged for the reception of European and American ministers and ambassadors on terms of equality with China, guaranteed toleration of missionaries and traders in every part of the country, removed missionaries from the jurisdiction of Chinese officials, further freed Western nationals from the operation of Chinese laws, ceded to Great Britain a strip of the mainland opposite Hong Kong, legalized the importation of opium, and charged China with an indemnity to pay for the cost of her tuition in Occidental ways.

Encouraged by their easy victories, the European nations proceeded to help themselves to one piece of China after another. Russia took the territory north of the Amur and east of the Ussuri River (1858); the French revenged the death of a missionary by appropriating Indo-China (1860); Japan pounced upon her neighbor and civilizer in a sudden war (1894), defeated her in a year, took Formosa, liberated Korea from China for later (1910) absorption by Japan, and charged China an indemnity of \$170,000,000 for causing so much trouble.<sup>1</sup> On condition that China pay an additional indemnity to Japan, Russia prevented Japan from also taking the Liaotung Peninsula, which three years later Russia took over and fortified as her own. The murder of two missionaries by Chinese enabled Germany to seize the peninsula of Kiaochow (1898). The realm of the once powerful government was divided into "spheres of influence," in which one or another European power secured special privileges for mining and trade. Alarmed by the prospects of an actual partition, Japan, foreseeing her own later need of China, joined with America in a demand for an "Open Door": that is, that while certain "spheres of interest" might be recognized, all nations should be allowed to trade in China on equal terms—tariffs and transport charges to be the same for all. To put herself in a proper position for bargaining in these matters, the United States took over the Philippines (1898), and declared by this act her intention to share in the struggle for Chinese trade.

Meanwhile another and simultaneous act of the drama was being played behind palace walls in Peking. When the Allies entered the capital in triumph at the close of the Second "Opium War" (1860), the young emperor, Hsien Feng, fled to Jehol; there, a year later, he died, leaving the throne to his five-year-old son. The secondary wife who had been the mother of this boy took the reins of empire in her own hands, and as Tz'u

Hsi—known to the world as the “Dowager Empress”<sup>\*</sup>—governed China ruthlessly, cynically and well for a generation. In her youth she had ruled by beauty; now she ruled by her wits and her will. When the son conveniently died on approaching his majority (1875), the Empress, careless of precedent and objection, placed another minor—Kuang Hsu—on the throne, and continued to rule. For a generation, with the help of clever statesmen like Li Hung-chang, the doughty Empress kept China at peace and won for it a certain respect from the predatory Powers. But the sudden invasion of China by Japan, and the rapid series of renewed spoliations by Europe after the triumph of the Japanese, caused a strong movement to rise in the capital in favor of imitating Japan’s imitation of the West—i.e., for organizing a large army, building railroads and factories, and striving to acquire the industrial wealth with which Japan and Europe had financed their victories. The Empress and her advisers opposed this tendency with all their influence, but it secretly won the adherence of Kuang Hsu, who had now been permitted to ascend the throne as emperor in his own right. Suddenly Kuang, without consulting “Old Buddha” (as her court called the Empress), issued to the Chinese people (1898) a series of astonishing decrees which, if they could have been accepted and enforced, would have advanced China vigorously and yet peaceably on the road to Westernization, and might have averted the fall of the dynasty and the collapse of the nation into chaos and misery. The young emperor ordered the establishment of a new system of schools, to teach not only the old Confucian Classics, but the scientific culture of the West; the translation into Chinese of all the important works of Occidental science, literature and technology; the encouragement of railroad building; and the reform of the army and the navy with a definite view to meeting the “crisis,” as he put it, “where we are beset on all sides by powerful neighbors who craftily seek advantage from us, and who are trying to combine together in overpowering us.” The Dowager Empress, shocked by what seemed to her the precipitate radicalism of these edicts, imprisoned Kuang Hsu in one of the imperial palaces, annulled his decrees, and made herself again the government of China.

A reaction now set in against all Western ideas, and the subtle Dowager diverted it amiably to her purposes. An organization known as the *I Ho Ch’uan*—literally “Righteous Harmony Fists,” historically the “Box-

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<sup>\*</sup> A dowager is a widow endowed—usually with a title coming down to her from her dead husband.



ers"—had been formed by some rebels who wished to overthrow the Empress and her dynasty. She persuaded its leaders to turn the fury of their movement against invading foreigners rather than against herself. The Boxers accepted the mission, called for the expulsion of all aliens from China, and, in a frenzy of patriotic virtue, began to kill Christians indiscriminately in many sections of the country (1900). Allied soldiers again marched on Peking, this time to protect their nationals hiding in terror in the narrow quarters of the foreign Legations. The Empress and her court fled to Hsianfu, and the troops of England, France, Russia, Germany, Japan and the United States sacked the city, killed many Chinese in revenge, and looted or ruined valuable property.\* The Allies imposed upon the broken Leviathan an indemnity of \$330,000,000, to be collected by European control of Chinese import customs and the salt monopoly. Considerable portions of this indemnity were later remitted to China by the United States, Great Britain, Russia and Japan, usually with the stipulation that the remitted sums be spent in educating students from China in the universities of the remitting nation. It was a gesture of generosity, which proved more effective in the undoing of old China than almost any other single factor in this historic and tragic conflict of East and West.

## II. THE DEATH OF A CIVILIZATION

*The Indemnity students—Their Westernization—Their disintegrative effect in China—The rôle of the missionary—Sun Yat-sen, the Christian—His youthful adventures—His meeting with Li Hung-chang—His plans for a revolution—Their success—Yuan Shi-k'ai—The death of Sun Yat-sen—Chaos and pillage—Communism—"The north pacified"—Chiang Kai-shek—Japan in Manchuria—At Shanghai*

These "indemnity students" and thousands of others now left China to explore the civilization of its conquerors. Many went to England, more to Germany, more to America, more to Japan; every year hundreds of them were graduated from the universities of America alone. They came

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\* Captain Brinkley writes: "It sends a thrill of horror through every white man's bosom to learn that forty missionary women and twenty-five little children were butchered by the Boxers. But in T'ungchow alone, a city where the Chinese made no resistance, and where there was no fighting, five hundred and seventy-three Chinese women of the upper classes committed suicide rather than survive the indignities they had suffered."

at an early and impressionable age, before they had matured to the point of understanding the depth and values of their own national culture. They drank in with gratitude and admiration the novel education given in the science, methods, history and ideas of the West; they were amazed at the comforts and vigorous life they saw about them, the freedom of the Western individual, and the enfranchisement of the people. They studied Western philosophy, lost faith in the religion of their fathers, and enjoyed the position of respectable radicals encouraged by their educators and their new environment in their rebellion against all the elements in the civilization of their native land. Year by year thousands of such deracinated youths returned to China, fretted against the slow tempo and material backwardness of their country, and sowed in every city the seeds of inquiry and revolt.

An endless chain of circumstances helped them. For two generations the merchants and missionaries who had conquered China from the West had acted, willingly or not, as centers of foreign infection; they had lived in a style, and with such comforts and conveniences, as made the young Chinese about them anxious to adopt so promising a civilization; they had undermined, in an active minority, the religious faith that had supported the old moral code; they had set one generation against another by advocating the abandonment of ancestor worship; and though they preached a gentle Jesus meek and mild, they were protected in emergencies by guns whose size and efficacy offered the dominating lesson of Europe to the Orient. Christianity, which had been in its origin an uprising of the oppressed, became once more, in these Chinese converts, a ferment of revolution.

One of the converts<sup>20</sup> was a tenant farmer near Canton. In 1866 this simple peasant became the father of a troublesome boy whom the world, with no conscious sarcasm, would later christen Sun Yat-sen—i.e., Sun, the Fairy of Tranquillity. Sun became so Christian that he defaced the images of the gods in the temple of his native village. An older brother, who had migrated to Hawaii, brought the boy to Honolulu and placed him in a school conducted by an Anglican bishop and offering a thoroughly Occidental education.<sup>21</sup> Returning to China, Sun entered the British Medical College, and became its first Chinese graduate. Largely as a result of these studies he lost all religious faith;<sup>22</sup> and at the same time the indignities to which he found himself and his fellow Chinese subjected at the foreign-controlled customs offices and in the foreign quarters of the treaty ports

turned his thoughts to revolution. The inability of a corrupt and reactionary government to prevent the defeat of great China by little Japan, or the commercial partition of the country by European powers, filled him with humiliation and resentment, and made him feel that the first step in the liberation of China must be the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty.

His first move was characteristic of his self-confidence, his idealism, and his simplicity. He boarded a steamer and traveled sixteen hundred miles north, at his own expense, to lay before Li Hung-chang, vice-regent of the Empress Dowager, his plans for reforming the country and restoring its prestige. Refused a hearing, Sun began a lifetime of adventure and wandering in the quest of funds for a Chinese revolution. He won the support of many mercantile guilds and powerful secret societies, whose leaders were envious of the imperial aristocracy, and longed for a government in which the new manufacturing and trading classes would play a rôle commensurate with their rising wealth. Then he traveled overseas to America and Europe, gathering modest sums from a million laundrymen and a thousand Chinese merchants. In London the Chinese Legation illegally arrested him, and was about to send him secretly to China in chains as a traitor to his government, when a missionary who had taught him in his youth aroused the British Government to rescue him. For fifteen years more he passed from city to city over the world, collecting all in all two and a half million dollars for the Revolution; and apparently he spent almost none of this money on himself. Suddenly, in the midst of his travels, a message informed him that the revolutionary forces had won the south, were winning the north, and had chosen him as Provisional President of the Chinese Republic. A few weeks later he landed in triumph at Hong Kong, where, twenty years back, he had been humiliated by the British officials of the port.

The Empress Dowager had died in 1908, having arranged the death of the imprisoned emperor Kuang Hsu the day before. She was succeeded by Kuang's nephew, P'u Yi, now Emperor of Manchukuo. In the last years of the great Dowager and the first of her infant heir, many reforms in the direction of modernizing China were effected by the Government: railways were built, chiefly with foreign capital and under foreign management; examinations for public office were abandoned; a new system of schools was established, a National Assembly was called for 1910, and a nine-year program was laid down for the gradual establishment of a constitutional monarchy, culminating in universal suffrage growing step by step with universal education. The decree announcing

this program added: "Any impetuosity shown in introducing these reforms will, in the end, be so much labor lost."<sup>23</sup> But the Revolution could not be halted by this deathbed repentance of an ailing dynasty. On February 12, 1912, the young Emperor, faced by revolt on every side and finding no army willing to defend him, abdicated; and the Regent, his mother, issued one of the most characteristic edicts in Chinese history:

Today the people of the whole Empire have their minds bent upon a Republic. . . . The will of Providence is clear, and the people's wishes are plain. How could I, for the sake of the glory and the honor of one family, thwart the desire of teeming millions? Wherefore I, with the Emperor, decide that the form of government in China shall be a constitutional republic, to comfort the longing of all within the Empire, and to act in harmony with the ancient sages, who regarded the throne as a public heritage."

The Revolutionists behaved magnanimously to P'u Yi: they gave him his life, a rural palace, a comfortable annuity, and a concubine. The Manchus had come in like lions, and had gone out like lambs.

The new republic paid for its peaceful birth with a stormy life. Yuan Shi-kai, a diplomat of the old school, possessed an army that might have impeded the Revolution. He demanded the presidency as the price of his support; and Sun Yat-sen, only beginning to enjoy his office, yielded and retired magnificently to private life. Yuan, encouraged by strong financial groups native and foreign, plotted to make himself emperor and to found a new dynasty, on the ground that only in this way could the incipient break-up of China be stayed. Sun Yat-sen branded him as a traitor, and called upon his followers to renew the Revolution; but before the issue could come to battle Yuan took sick and died.

China has not known order or unity since. Sun Yat-sen proved too idealistic, too good an orator and too poor a statesman, to take the reins and guide his nation to peace. He passed from one plan and theory to another, offended his middle-class supporters by his apparent acceptance of communism, and retired to Canton to teach and inspire its youth and occasionally to rule its people.\* China, left without a government that all sections would recognize, deprived of the unifying symbol of the monarchy, broken of its habit of obedience to custom and law, and weak in the patriotism that attaches the soul not to a district but to the country

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\* He died at Peking in 1925, at the most opportune moment for his conservative enemies.

as a whole, fell into an intermittent war of north against south, of section against section, of property against hunger, of old against young. Adventurers organized armies, ruled as *tuchuns* over isolated provinces, levied their own taxes, raised their own opium,<sup>12</sup> and sallied forth occasionally to annex new victims to their subject population. Industry and trade, taxed by one victorious general after another, fell into disorder and despair; bandits exacted tribute, stole and killed, and no organized force could control them. Men became soldiers or thieves lest they should starve, and ravaged the fields of men who, so despoiled, became soldiers or thieves lest they should starve. The savings of a lifetime or the modest stores of a thrifty family were, as often as not, appropriated by a general or looted by a robber band. In the province of Honan alone, in 1931, there were 400,000 bandits.<sup>13</sup>

In the midst of this chaos (1922) Russia sent two of its ablest diplomats, Karakhan and Joffe, with orders to bring China into the circle of the Communist Revolution. Karakhan prepared the way by surrendering Russia's claims to "extra-territoriality," and by signing a treaty that recognized the full authority and international status of the revolutionary government. The subtle Joffe found little difficulty in converting Sun Yat-sen to sympathy with communism, for Sun had been rebuffed by every other power. In an incredibly short time, with the help of seventy Soviet officers, a new Nationalist army was formed and trained. Under command of Sun's former secretary Chiang Kai-shek, but guided largely by a Russian adviser, Michael Borodin, this army marched northward from Canton, conquered one city after another, and finally established its power in Peking.\* In the moment of victory the victors divided; Chiang Kai-shek attacked the communist movement in Oriental style, and established a military dictatorship realistically responsive to the will of business and finance.

It is as difficult for a nation as for an individual to take no comfort from a neighbor's misfortune. Japan, which in the plans of Sun Yat-sen, was to be the friend and ally of China against the West, and which had stimulated the Chinese revolt by her swift and successful imitation of Europe in industry, diplomacy and war, saw in the disorder and weakness of her

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\* From that time on the city, whose name had meant "northern capital," was renamed Peiping, i.e., "the north pacified"; while the Nationalist Government, in order to be near its financial sources at Shanghai, maintained its headquarters at the "southern capital," Nanking.

ancient teacher an opportunity for solving the problems that had arisen out of her very success. For Japan could not discourage the growth of her population without endangering her capacity for self-defense against obviously possible aggression; she could not support an increasing population unless she developed industry and trade; she could not develop industry without importing iron, coal and other resources in which her own soil was deficient, nor could she develop trade profitably unless she had a large share in the only great market left free by the European colonization of the globe. But China was supposedly rich in iron and coal, and offered, at Japan's door, potentially the greatest market in the world. What nation, faced with the apparent choice between returning to agriculture and subjection, or advancing to industrial imperialism and conquest, could have resisted the temptation to snatch the prizes of prostrate China while the other imperial vultures were tearing one another's throats on the fields of France?

So Japan, soon after the outbreak of the Great War, declared herself at war with Germany, and pounced upon the Kiaochow territory which Germany had "leased" from China sixteen years before. Then she presented to the government of Yuan Shi-kai "Twenty-One Demands" which would have made China a political and economic colony of Japan; and only the protest of the United States and the boycott of Japanese goods in China under the leadership of its enraged students prevented these commands from being enforced. Students wept in the streets, or killed themselves, in shame at the humiliation of their country." The Japanese listened with cynical humor to the moral indignation of a Europe that had been gnawing at China for half a century, and waited patiently for another opportunity. It came when Europe and America were engulfed in the debacle of an imperialist industry that had depended upon foreign markets for the absorption of "surplus" products unpurchasable by their producers at home. Japan marched into Manchuria, set up the former emperor of China, P'u Yi, first as president, then as emperor, of the new state of Manchukuo, and by political alliance, economic penetration and military control, placed herself in a favored position for the exploitation of Manchuria's natural resources, employable population and commercial possibilities. The European world, which had proposed a moratorium on robbery after it had gathered in all available spoils, joined America feebly in protests against this candid plunder, but prepared, as always, to accept victory as justification in the end.

The final humiliation came at Shanghai. Angered by the successful boycott of her goods, Japan landed her undefeated troops at the richest port in China, occupied and destroyed the district of Chapei, and demanded the restraint of the boycott associations by the Chinese Government. The Chinese defended themselves with a new heroism, and the Nineteenth Route Army from Canton, almost unaided, held the well-equipped forces of Japan at bay for two months. The Nanking Government offered a compromise, Japan withdrew from Shanghai, and China, nursing its wounds, resolved to build from the bottom a new and more vigorous civilization, capable of preserving and defending itself against a rapacious world.

### III. BEGINNINGS OF A NEW ORDER

*Change in the village—In the town—The factories—Commerce—Labor unions—Wages—The new government—Nationalism vs. Westernization—The dethronement of Confucius—The reaction against religion—The new morality—Marriage in transition—Birth control—Co-education—The “New Tide” in literature and philosophy—The new language of literature—Hu Shih—Elements of destruction—Elements of renewal*

Once everything changed except the East; now there is nothing in the East that does not change. The most conservative nation in history has suddenly become, after Russia, the most radical, and is destroying with a will customs and institutions once held inviolate. It is not merely the end of a dynasty, as in 1644; it is the moulting of a civilization.

Change comes last and least to the village, for the slow sobriety of the soil does not encourage innovation; even the new generation must plant in order to reap. But now seven thousand miles of railroad traverse the countryside; and though a decade of chaos and native management has left them in bad repair, and war has conscripted them too often for its purposes, yet they bind the eastern villages with the cities of the coast, and daily bear their trickle of Western novelties into a million peasant homes. Here one may find such foreign-devilish importations as kerosene, kerosene lamps, matches, cigarettes, even American wheat; for sometimes, so poor is transport, it costs more to carry goods from the Chinese interior to the marine provinces than it does to bring them to these from Australia or the United States.<sup>28</sup> It becomes clear that the

economic growth of a civilization depends upon transportation. Twenty thousand miles of dirt roads have been built, over which, with Oriental irregularity, six thousand buses travel, always full. When the gasoline engine has bound these innumerable villages together it will have accomplished one of the greatest changes in Chinese history—the end of famine.

In the towns the triumph of the West goes on more rapidly. Handicrafts are dying under the competition of cheaply-transported machine-made goods from abroad; millions of artisans flounder about in unemployment, and are drawn into the jaws of the factories that foreign and domestic capital is building along the coast. The hand loom, still spinning in the village, is silent in the city; imported cotton and cotton cloths flood the country, and textile factories rise to induct impoverished Chinese into the novel serfdom of the mill. Great blast-furnaces burn at Hangchow, as weird and horrible as any in the West. Canneries, bakeries, cement works, chemical works, breweries, distilleries, power works, glass works, shoe factories, paper mills, soap and candle factories, sugar refineries—all of them have now been planted on Chinese soil, and slowly transform the domestic artisan into a factory hand. The development of the new industries is retarded because investment hesitates in a world disordered by permanent revolution; it is obstructed further by the difficulty and costliness of transport, by the inadequacy of local raw materials, and by that amiable Chinese habit which places the family above every other loyalty, and turns every native office and factory into a nest of genial nepotism and incompetence.<sup>29</sup> Commerce, too, is impeded by inland tariffs and coastal customs, and the universal demand for bribes or “squeeze”;<sup>30</sup> but it is growing more rapidly than industry, and plays the central rôle in the economic transformation of China.\*

The new industries have destroyed the guilds, and have thrown into chaos the relations of employer and employee. The guilds had lived by regulating wages and prices through agreements between owners and workers whose products had no rivals in local trade; but as transport and commerce increased, and brought distant goods to compete in every town with the handiwork of the guilds, it was found impossible to control prices or to regulate wages without surrendering to the dictates of foreign

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\* Once Great Britain dominated the import trade; now it accounts for 14%, the United States for 17%, Japan for 27%;<sup>31</sup> and the Japanese leadership in this field mounts with every year. Between 1910 and 1930 Chinese trade increased 600% to approximately one and a half billion dollars.<sup>32</sup>



competitors and capital. The guilds have therefore disintegrated and divided into chambers of commerce on the one side and labor unions on the other. The chambers discuss order, loyalty and economic liberty, and the workers discuss starvation. Strikes and boycotts are frequent, but they have been more successful in compelling foreign concessions to the Chinese Government than in raising the remuneration of labor. In 1928 the Department of Social Affairs of the Chinese Municipality of Shanghai computed the average weekly wage of the textile-mill workers as varying from \$1.73 to \$2.76 for men, and from \$1.10 to \$1.78 for women. In flour mills the male weekly average pay was \$1.96; in cement mills \$1.72; in glass works \$1.84; in match-factories \$2.11; among the skilled workers of the electric power plants, \$3.10; in the machine shops, \$3.24; among the printers, \$4.55.<sup>23</sup> The wealth enjoyed by the printers was doubtless due to their better organization, and the cost of suddenly replacing them. The first unions were formed in 1919; they grew in number and power until, in the days of Borodin, they proposed to take over the management of China; they were repressed ruthlessly after Chiang Kai-shek's break with Russia; today the laws against them are severe, but they multiply nevertheless as the sole refuge of the workers against an industrial system that has only begun to pass labor legislation, and has not yet begun to enforce it.<sup>24</sup> The bitter destitution of the city proletaires, working twelve hours a day, hovering on the margin of subsistence, and facing starvation if employment should fail, is worse than the ancient poverty of the village, where the poor could not see the rich, and accepted their lot as the natural and immemorial fate of mankind.

Perhaps some of these evils might have been avoided if the political transformation of eastern China had not been so rapid and complete. The mandarin aristocracy, though it had lost vitality and was dishonored with corruption, might have held the new industrial forces in check until China could accept them without chaos or slavery; and then the growth of industry would have generated year by year a new class that might have stepped peaceably into political power, as the manufacturers had displaced the landed aristocracy of England. But the new government found itself without an army, without experienced leaders, and without funds; the *Kuomintang*, or People's Party, established to liberate a nation, found that it must stand by while foreign and domestic capital subjugated it; conceived in democracy and baptized with the blood of communism, it became dependent upon Shanghai bankers, abandoned

democracy for dictatorship, and tried to destroy the unions.\* For the Party depends upon the army, and the army upon money, and money upon loans; until the Army is strong enough to conquer China the Government cannot tax China; and until it can tax China the Government must take advice where it takes its funds. Even so it has accomplished much. It has brought back to China full control over her tariffs and—within the internationalism of finance—over her industries; it has organized, trained and equipped an Army which may some day be used against others than Chinese; it has enlarged the area that acknowledges its authority, and has reduced, in that area, the banditry that was stifling the nation's economic life. It takes a day to make a revolution, and a generation to make a government.

The disunity of China reflects and follows from the division that lies in the Chinese soul. The most powerful feeling in China today is hatred of foreigners; the most powerful process in China today is imitation of foreigners. China knows that the West does not deserve this flattery, but China is forced by the very spirit and impetus of the times to give it, for the age offers to all nations the choice of industrialism or vassalage. So the Chinese of the eastern cities pass from fields to factories, from robes to trousers, from the simple melodies of the past to the saxophone symphonies of the West; they surrender their own fine taste in dress and furniture and art, adorn their walls with European paintings, and erect office buildings in the least attractive of American styles. Their women have ceased to compress their feet from north to south, and begin, in the superior manner of the Occident, to compress them from east to west.† Their philosophers abandon the unobtrusive and mannerly rationalism of Confucius, and take up with Renaissance enthusiasm the pugnacious rationalism of Moscow, London, Berlin, Paris and New York.

The dethronement of Confucius has something of the character of both the Renaissance and the Enlightenment; it is at once the overthrow of the Chinese Aristotle, and the rejection of the racial gods. For a time the new state persecuted Buddhism and the monastic orders; like the Revolutionists of France, the Chinese rebels were freethinkers without concealment, openly hostile to religion, and worshiping only reason. Confucianism tolerated the popular faiths on the assumption, presumably, that

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\* In 1927 alone many thousands of workers were executed for belonging to labor unions.<sup>26</sup>

† Some Chinese women pad their shoes to conceal the fact that their feet were bound.<sup>27</sup>

as long as there is poverty there will be gods; the Revolution, fondly believing that poverty can be destroyed, had no need of gods. Confucianism took agriculture and the family for granted, and formulated an ethic designed to maintain order and content within the circle of the home and the field; the Revolution is bound for industry, and needs a new morality to accord with urban and individual life. Confucianism endured because access to political office and scholarly occupations demanded a knowledge and acceptance of it; but the examinations are gone, and science takes the place of ethical and political philosophy in the schools; man is now to be moulded not to government but to industry. Confucianism was conservative, and checked the ideals of youth with the caution of old age; the Revolution is made of youth, and will have none of these ancient restraints; it smiles at the old sage's warning that "he who thinks the old embankments useless and destroys them is sure to suffer from the desolation caused by overflowing water."<sup>12</sup>

The Revolution has, of course, put an end to official religion, and no sacrifice mounts any longer from the Altar of Heaven to the impersonal and silent *T'ien*. Ancestor worship is tolerated, but visibly decays; more and more the men tend to leave it to the women, who were once thought unfit to officiate at these sacred rites. Half of the Revolutionary leaders were educated in Christian schools; but the Revolution, despite the Methodism of Chiang Kai-shek, is unfavorable to any supernatural faith, and gives to its schoolbooks an atheistic tint.<sup>13</sup> The new religion, which tries to fill the emotional void left by the departure of the gods, is nationalism, as in Russia it is communism. Meanwhile this creed does not satisfy all; many proletaires seek in the adventure of oracles and mediums a refuge from the prose of their daily toil; and the people of the village still find some solace from their poverty in the mystic quiet of the ancient shrines.

Shorn of its sanctions in government, religion and economic life, the traditional moral code, which seemed a generation ago unchangeable, disintegrates with geometrical acceleration. Next to the invasion of industry the most striking change in the China of today is the destruction of the old family system, and its replacement with an individualism that leaves every man free and alone to face the world. Loyalty to the family, on which the old order was founded, is superseded in theory by loyalty to the state; and as the novel loyalty has not yet graduated from

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<sup>12</sup> P. 673 above. Latterly the "New Life" movement, led by Chiang Kai-shek, has attempted, with some success, to restore Confucianism.

theory into practice, the new society lacks a moral base. Agriculture favors the family because, before the coming of machinery, the land could most economically be tilled by a group united by blood and paternal authority; industry disrupts the family, because it offers its places and rewards to individuals rather than to groups, does not always offer them these rewards in the same place, and recognizes no obligation to aid the weak out of the resources of the strong; the natural communism of the family finds no support in the bitter competition of industry and trade. The younger generation, always irked by the authority of the old, takes with a will to the anonymity of the city and the individualism of the "job." Perhaps the omnipotence of the father helped to precipitate the Revolution; the reactionary is always to blame for the excesses of the radical. So China has cut itself off from all roots, and no one knows whether it can sink new roots in time to save its cultural life.

The old marriage forms disappear with the authority of the family. The majority of marriages are still arranged by the parents, but in the city marriage by free choice of the young tends more and more to prevail. The individual considers himself free not only to mate as he pleases, but to make experiments in marriage which might shock the West. Nietzsche thought Asia right about women, and considered their subjection the only alternative to their unchecked ascendancy; but Asia is choosing Europe's way, not Nietzsche's. Polygamy diminishes, for the modern wife objects to a concubine. Divorce is uncommon, but the road to it is wider than ever before.\* Co-education is the rule in the universities, and the free mingling of the sexes is usual in the cities. Women have established their own law and medical schools, even their own bank.<sup>21</sup> Those of them that are members of the Party have received the franchise, and places have been found for them on the highest committees of both the Party and the Government.<sup>22</sup> They have turned their backs upon infanticide, and are beginning to practise birth control.† Population has not

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\* The Revolution grants it where both parties ask for it; but where the husband is under thirty, or the wife is under twenty-five, the consent of the parents is required for a divorce. The old causes for which the husband may divorce his wife remain in force—barrenness, infidelity, neglect of duty, loquacity, thievishness, jealousy, or serious disease; but these are not allowed to apply if the wife has mourned three years for her husband's parents, or has no family to return to, or has been faithful to her husband during his rise from poverty to wealth.<sup>20</sup>

† The frank display of contraceptive devices in Chinese drug-stores may suggest to the West a convenient escape from the "Yellow Peril."

noticeably increased since the Revolution; perhaps the vast tide of Chinese humanity has begun to ebb.\*

Nevertheless fifty thousand new Chinese are born every day.\* They are destined to be new in every way: new in the cut of their clothes and their hair, new in education and occupation, in habits and manners, in religion and philosophy. The queue is gone, and so are the graceful manners of the older time; the hatreds of revolution have coarsened the spirit, and radicals find it hard to be courteous to conservatives.\* The phlegmatic quality of the ancient race is being changed by the speed of industry into something more expressive and volatile; these stolid faces conceal active and excitable souls. The love of peace that came to China after centuries of war is being broken down by the contemplation of national dismemberment and defeat; the schools are drilling every student into a soldier, and the general is a hero once more.

The whole world of education has been transformed. The schools have thrown Confucius out of the window, and taken science in. The rejection was not quite necessary for the admission, since the doctrine of Confucius accorded well with the spirit of science; but the conquest of the logical by the psychological is the warp and woof of history. Mathematics and mechanics are popular, for these can make machines; machines can make wealth and guns, and guns may preserve liberty. Medical education is progressing, largely as the result of the cosmopolitan beneficence of the Rockefeller fortune.\* Despite the impoverishment of the country, new schools, high schools and colleges have multiplied rapidly, and the hope of Young China is that soon every child will receive a free education, and that democracy may be widened as education grows.

A revolution akin to that of the Renaissance has come to Chinese literature and philosophy. The importation of Western texts has had the fertilizing influence that Greek manuscripts had upon the Italian mind. And just as Italy, in her awakening, abandoned Latin to write in the vernacular, so China, under the leadership of the brilliant Hu Shih, has turned the popular "Mandarin" dialect into a literary language, the *Pei-Hua*, ex-

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\* In 1932 the Union Medical College, a five-million dollar gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was opened to medical students of either sex. The China Medical Board, financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, maintains nineteen hospitals, three medical schools, and sixty-five scholarships.\*

pressed in a thousand—instead of the traditional forty thousand—characters, and easily learned by the people. Hu Shih took his literary fate in his hands by writing in this “plain language” a *History of Chinese Philosophy* (1919). His courage carried the day; half a thousand periodicals have adopted *Pei-Hua*, and this simple medium has been made the official written language of the schools. Through the new writing the Mandarin speech is being rapidly spread throughout the provinces; and perhaps within the century China will have one language, and be near to cultural unity again.

Under the stimulus of a popular language and an eager people, literature flourishes. Novels, poems, histories and plays become almost as numerous as the population. Newspapers and periodicals cover the land. The literature of the West is being translated *en masse*, and American motion pictures, expounded by a Chinese interpreter at the side of the screen, are delighting the profound and simple Chinese soul. Philosophy has returned to the great heretics of the past, has given them a new hearing and exposition, and has taken on all the vigor and radicalism of European thought in the sixteenth century. And as Italy, newly freed from ecclesiastical leading-strings, admired the secularism of the Greek mind, so the new China listens with especial eagerness to Western thinkers like John Dewey and Bertrand Russell, whose independence of all theology and respect for experience and experiment as the only logic, accord completely with the mood of a nation that is trying to have its Reformation, Renaissance, Enlightenment and Revolution in one generation.\* Hu Shih scorns our praise of the “spiritual values” of Asia, and finds more spiritual worth in the reorganization of industry and government for the elimination of poverty than in all the “wisdom of the East.”<sup>100</sup> He describes Confucius as “a very old man,” and suggests that a better perspective of Chinese thought would appear if the heretical schools of the fifth, fourth and third centuries B.C. were given their due place in Chinese history.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, in the midst of the swirling “New Tide” of which he has been one of the most active leaders, he has kept suffi-

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\* Latterly, under the influence of Chiang Kai-shek's New Life movement, the acceptance of Western models in mind and morals has abated; China and Japan are beginning to make their own motion-pictures; radicalism is giving way before a renewed conservatism; and China is tending to join with Japan in a revolt against European and American ideas and ways.

cient sanity to see the value even of old men, and he has formulated the problem of his country perfectly:

It would surely be a great loss to mankind at large if the acceptance of this new civilization should take the form of abrupt displacement instead of organic assimilation, thereby causing the disappearance of the old civilization. The real problem, therefore, may be restated thus: How can we best assimilate modern civilization in such a manner as to make it congenial and congruous and continuous with the civilization of our own making?<sup>20</sup>

All the surface conditions of China today tempt the observer to conclude that China will not solve the problem. When one contemplates the desolation of China's fields, blighted with drought or ruined with floods, the waste of her timber, the stupor of her exhausted peasants, the high mortality of her children, the unnerving toil of her factory-slaves, the disease-ridden slums and tax-ridden homes of her cities, her bribe-infested commerce and her foreign-dominated industry, the corruption of her government, the weakness of her defenses and the bitter factionalism of her people, one wonders for a moment whether China can ever be great again, whether she can once more consume her conquerors and live her own creative life. But under the surface, if we care to look, we may see the factors of convalescence and renewal. This soil, so vast in extent and so varied in form, is rich in the minerals that make a country industrially great; not as rich as Richtofen supposed, but almost certainly richer than the tentative surveys of our day have revealed; as industry moves inland it will come upon ores and fuels as unsuspected now as the mineral and fuel wealth of America was undreamed of a century ago. This nation, after three thousand years of grandeur and decay, of repeated deaths and resurrections, exhibits today all the physical and mental vitality that we find in its most creative periods; there is no people in the world more vigorous or more intelligent, no other people so adaptable to circumstance, so resistant to disease, so resilient after disaster and suffering, so trained by history to calm endurance and patient recovery. Imagination cannot describe the possibilities of a civilization mingling the physical, labor and mental resources of such a people with the technological equipment of modern industry. Very probably such wealth will be produced in China as even America has never known, and once again,

as so often in the past, China will lead the world in luxury and the art of life.

No victory of arms, or tyranny of alien finance, can long suppress a nation so rich in resources and vitality. The invader will lose funds or patience before the loins of China will lose virility; within a century China will have absorbed and civilized her conquerors, and will have learned all the technique of what transiently bears the name of modern industry; roads and communications will give her unity, economy and thrift will give her funds, and a strong government will give her order and peace. Every chaos is a transition. In the end disorder cures and balances itself with dictatorship; old obstacles are roughly cleared away, and fresh growth is free. Revolution, like death and style, is the removal of rubbish, the surgery of the superfluous; it comes only when there are many things ready to die. China has died many times before; and many times she has been reborn.





## B. JAPAN

Great Yamato (Japan) is a divine country. It is only our land whose foundations were first laid by the Divine Ancestor. It alone has been transmitted by the Sun Goddess to a long line of her descendants. There is nothing of this kind in foreign countries. Therefore it is called the Divine Land.

—*Chikafusa Kitabatake*, 1334, in *Murdoch*,  
History of Japan, i, 571.

# CHRONOLOGY OF JAPANESE CIVILIZATION\*

## I. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### 1. Primitive Japan:

Ca. 660 B.C.: Entrance of the Mongols  
 Ca. 660-585 B.C.: Jimmu, Emperor (?)  
 412-53 A.D.: Inkyo, Emperor  
 522 A.D.: Buddhism enters Japan  
 592-621: Shotoku Taishi, Regent  
 593-628: Suiko, Empress  
 645: The Great Reform

### 2. Imperial Japan:

668-71: Tenchi Tenno, Emperor  
 690-702: Jito, Empress  
 697-707: Mommu, Emperor  
 702: The Taiho Code of Laws  
 710-94: The *Heijo* Epoch: Nara the capital  
 724-56: Shomu, Emperor  
 749-59, 765-70: Koken, Empress  
 794-1192: The *Heian* Epoch: Kyoto the capital  
 877-949: Yozei, Emperor  
 898-930: Daigo, Emperor  
 901-22: The Period of *Engi*

### 3. Feudal Japan:

1186-99: Yoritomo  
 1203-19: Minamoto Sanetomo  
 1200-1333: *The Kamakura Bakufu*  
 1109-1333: The Hojo Regency

1222-82: Nichiren, founder of the Lotus Sect  
 1291: Kublai Khan invades Japan  
 1318-39: Go Daigo, Emperor  
 1335-1573: *The Ashikaga Shogunate*  
 1387-95: Yoshimitsu  
 1436-80: Yoshimasa  
 1573-82: Nobunaga  
 1581-98: Hideyoshi  
 1592: Hideyoshi fails to conquer Korea  
 1597: Hideyoshi expels the priests  
 1600: Battle of Sekigahara  
 1603-1867: *The Tokugawa Shogunate*  
 1603-16: Iyeyasu  
 1605: Siege of Osaka  
 1614: Iyeyasu's anti-Christian edict  
 1605-23: Hidetada  
 1623-51: Iyemitsu  
 1657: The great fire of Tokyo  
 1680-1709: Tsunayoshi  
 1688-1703: The period of *Genroku*  
 1709-12: Iyenobu  
 1716-45: Yoshimune  
 1721: Yoshimune codifies Japanese law  
 1787-1836: Iyenari  
 1853-8: Iyesada  
 1858-66: Iyemochi  
 1866-8: Keiki

## II. LITERATURE

845-903: Sugawara Michizane, Patron Saint of Letters

### 1. Poetry:

665-731: Tahito  
 D. 737: Hitomaro  
 724-56: Akahito  
 750: *The Manyoshu*  
 883-946: Tsurayaki  
 905: *The Kokinshu*  
 1118-90: Saigyō Hoshi  
 1234: *The Hyaku-nin-issbu*  
 1643-94: Matsura Bashō  
 1703-75: Lady Kaga no-Chiyo

### 2. Drama:

1350-1650: The *No* plays  
 1653-1724: Chikamatsu Monzayemon

### 3. Fiction:

978-1031?: Lady Murasaki no-Shikibu  
 1001-4: *The Genji Monogatari*  
 1761-1816: Santo Kioden  
 1767-1848: Kyokutei Bakin  
 D. 1831: Jippensha Ikku

### 4. History and Scholarship:

712: *The Kojiki*  
 720: *The Nibongi*  
 1334: Kitabatake's *Jintoshotoki*  
 1622-1704: Mitsu-kuni  
 1630: Hayashi Razan founds University of Tokyo  
 1657-1725: Arai Hakuseki  
 1697-1769: Mabuchi  
 1730-1801: Moto-ori Norinaga

\* Dates of rulers are of their accession and their death. Several abdicated, or were assassinated or deposed.

# CHRONOLOGY OF JAPANESE CIVILIZATION

## 5. *The Essay:*

Ca. 1000: Lady Sei Shonagon  
1154-1216: Kamo no-Chomei

## 6. *Philosophy:*

1560-1619: Fujiwara Seigwa  
1583-1657: Hayashi Razan

1608-48: Nakaye Toju  
1630-1714: Kaibara Ekken  
1619-91: Kumazawa Banzan  
1627-1705: Ito Jinsai  
1666-1728: Ogyu Sorai  
1670-1736: Ito Togai

### III. ART

#### 1. *Architecture:*

Ca. 616: The temples of Horiuji  
Ca. 1400: The palaces of Yoshimitsu  
1543-90: Kano Yeitoku  
Ca. 1630: The Mausoleum of Iyeyasu

#### 2. *Sculpture:*

747: The Nara *Daibutsu*  
774-835: Kobo Daishi  
1180-1220: Unkei  
1252: The Kamakura *Daibutsu*  
1594-1634: Hidari Jingaro

#### 3. *Pottery:*

Ca. 1229: Shirozemon  
Ca. 1650: Kakiemon  
Ca. 1655: Ninsei  
1663-1743: Kenzan  
Ca. 1664: Goto Saijiro  
D. 1855: Zengoro Hozen

#### 4. *Painting:*

Ca. 950: Kose no-Kanaoka  
Ca. 1010: Takayoshi

Ca. 1017: Yeishin Sozu  
1053-1140: Toba Sojo  
1146-1205: Fujiwara Takenobu  
Ca. 1250: Keion (?)  
Ca. 1250: Tosa Gon-no-kumi  
1351-1427: Cho Densu  
Ca. 1400: Shubun  
1420-1506: Sesshu  
D. 1490: Kano Masanobu  
1476-1559: Kano Motonobu  
Ca. 1600: Koyetsu  
1578-1650: Iwasa Matabei  
1602-74: Kano Tanyu  
1618-94: Hishikawa Moronobu  
1661-1716: Korin  
1718-70: Harunobu  
1733-95: Maruyami Okyo  
1742-1814: Kiyonaga  
1747-1821: Mori Zozen  
1753-1806: Utamaro  
Ca. 1790: Sharaku  
1760-1849: Hokusai  
1797-1858: Hiroshige

### IV. THE NEW JAPAN

1853: Admiral Perry enters Uruga Bay  
1854: Admiral Perry's second visit  
1854: Treaty of Kanagawa  
1862: The Richardson Affair  
1862: The bombardment of Kagoshima  
1863: Ito and Inouye visit Europe  
1868: Restoration of the imperial power  
1868-1912: Meiji, Emperor  
1870: Tokyo becomes the imperial capital  
1871: Abolition of feudalism  
1872: First Japanese railway  
1877: The Satsuma Rebellion  
1889: The new Constitution  
1894: The War with China  
1895: The annexation of Formosa  
1902-22: The Anglo-Japanese Alliance

1904: The War with Russia  
1910: The annexation of Korea  
1912: End of the *Meiji* Era  
1912-25: Taisho, Emperor  
1914: Capture of Tsingtao  
1915: The Twenty-one Demands  
1917: The Lansing-Ishii Agreement  
1922: The Washington Conference  
1924: The restriction of Japanese immigration into America  
1925: Hirohito, Emperor  
1931: The invasion of Manchuria  
1932: The attack at Shanghai  
1935: Notice given to terminate Washington Agreement in 1936



## The Makers of Japan

THE history of Japan is an unfinished drama in which three acts have been played. The first—barring the primitive and legendary centuries—is classical Buddhist Japan (522-1603 A.D.), suddenly civilized by China and Korea, refined and softened by religion, and creating the historic masterpieces of Japanese literature and art. The second is the feudal and peaceful Japan of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868), isolated and self-contained, seeking no alien territory and no external trade, content with agriculture and wedded to art and philosophy. The third act is modern Japan, opened up in 1853 by an American fleet, forced by conditions within and without into trade and industry, seeking foreign materials and markets, fighting wars of irrepressible expansion, imitating the imperialistic ardor and methods of the West, and threatening both the ascendancy of the white race and the peace of the world. By every historical precedent the next act will be war.

The Japanese have studied our civilization carefully, in order to absorb its values and surpass it. Perhaps we should be wise to study their civilization as patiently as they have studied ours, so that when the crisis comes that must issue either in war or understanding, we may be capable of understanding.

### I. THE CHILDREN OF THE GODS

#### *How Japan was created—The rôle of earthquakes*

In the beginning, says the oldest of Japanese histories,<sup>1</sup> were the gods. Male and female they were born, and died, until at last two of them, Izanagi and Izanami, brother and sister, were commanded by the elder deities to create Japan. So they stood on the floating bridge of heaven, thrust down into the ocean a jeweled spear, and held it aloft in the sky. The drops that fell from the spear became the Sacred Islands. By watching the tadpoles in the water the gods learned the secret of copulation; Izanagi and Izanami mated, and gave birth to the Japanese race. From Izanagi's left eye was born Amaterasu, Goddess of the Sun, and from

her grandson Ninigi sprang in divine and unbroken lineage all the emperors of *Dai Nippon*. From that day until this there has been but one imperial dynasty in Japan.\*

There were 4,223 drops from the jeweled spear, for there are that number of islands in the archipelago called Japan.† Six hundred of them are inhabited, but only five are of any considerable size. The largest—Hondo or Honshu—is 1,130 miles long, averages some 73 miles in width, and contains in its 81,000 square miles half the area of the islands. Their situation, like their recent history, resembles that of England: the surrounding seas have protected them from conquest, while their 13,000 miles of seacoast have made them a seafaring people, destined by geographical encouragement and commercial necessity to a widespread mastery of the seas. Warm winds and currents from the south mingle with the cool air of the mountain-tops to give Japan an English climate, rich in rain and cloudy days,‡ nourishing to short but rapid-running rivers, and propitious to vegetation and scenery. Here, outside the cities and the slums, half the land is an Eden in blossom-time; and the mountains are no tumbled heaps of rock and dirt, but artistic forms designed, like Fuji, in almost perfect lines.‡

Doubtless these isles were born of earthquakes rather than from dripping spears.§ No other land—except, perhaps, South America—has suffered so bitterly from convulsions of the soil. In the year 599 the earth shook and swallowed villages in its laughter; meteors fell and comets flashed, and snow whitened the streets in mid-July; drought and famine followed, and millions of Japanese died. In 1703 an earthquake killed 32,000 in Tokyo alone. In 1885 the capital was wrecked again; great clefts opened in the earth, and engulfed thousands; the dead were carried away in cartloads and buried *en masse*. In 1923 earthquake, tidal wave and fire took 100,000 lives in Tokyo, and 37,000 in Yokohama and near-

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\* If this account be questioned as improbable, the objection has long since been answered by the most influential of Japanese critics, Moto-ori: "The very inconsistency is the proof of the authenticity of the record; for who would have gone out of his way to invent a story apparently so ridiculous and incredible?"

† The name *Japan* is probably a corruption of the Malay word for the islands—*Japang* or *Japun*; this is a rendering of the Japanese term *Nippon*, which in turn is a corruption of the Chinese name for "the place the sun comes from"—*Jih-pen*. The Japanese usually prefix to *Nippon* the adjective *Dai*, meaning "Great."

‡ Fuji-san (less classically Fuji-yama), idol of artists and priests, approximates to a gently sloping cone. Many thousands of pilgrims ascend its 12,365 feet in any year. Fuji (Ainu for "fire") erupted last in 1707.§

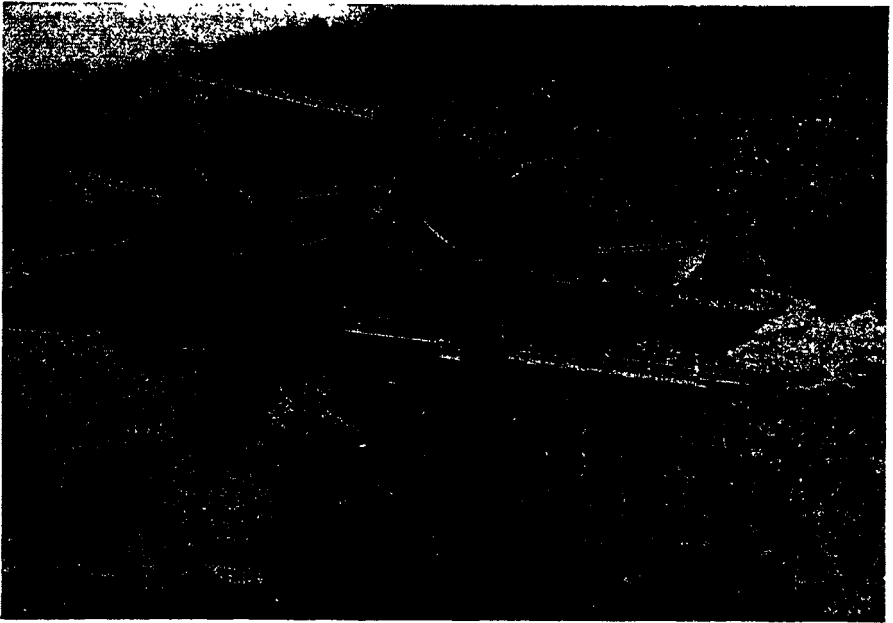


FIG. 75—*Yo-meimon Gate, Nikko*

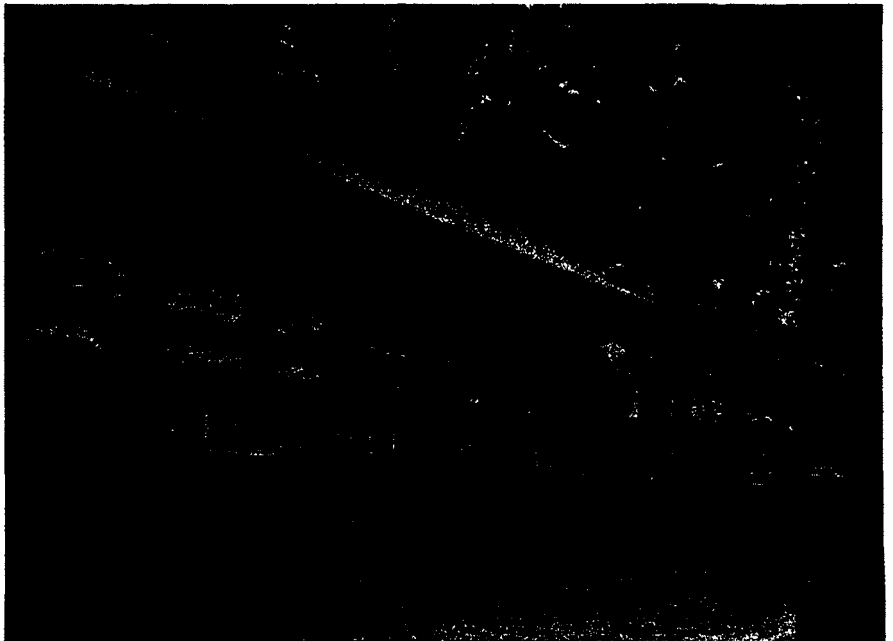


FIG. 76—*Kiyomizu Temple, Kyoto, once a favorite resort of Japanese suicides*



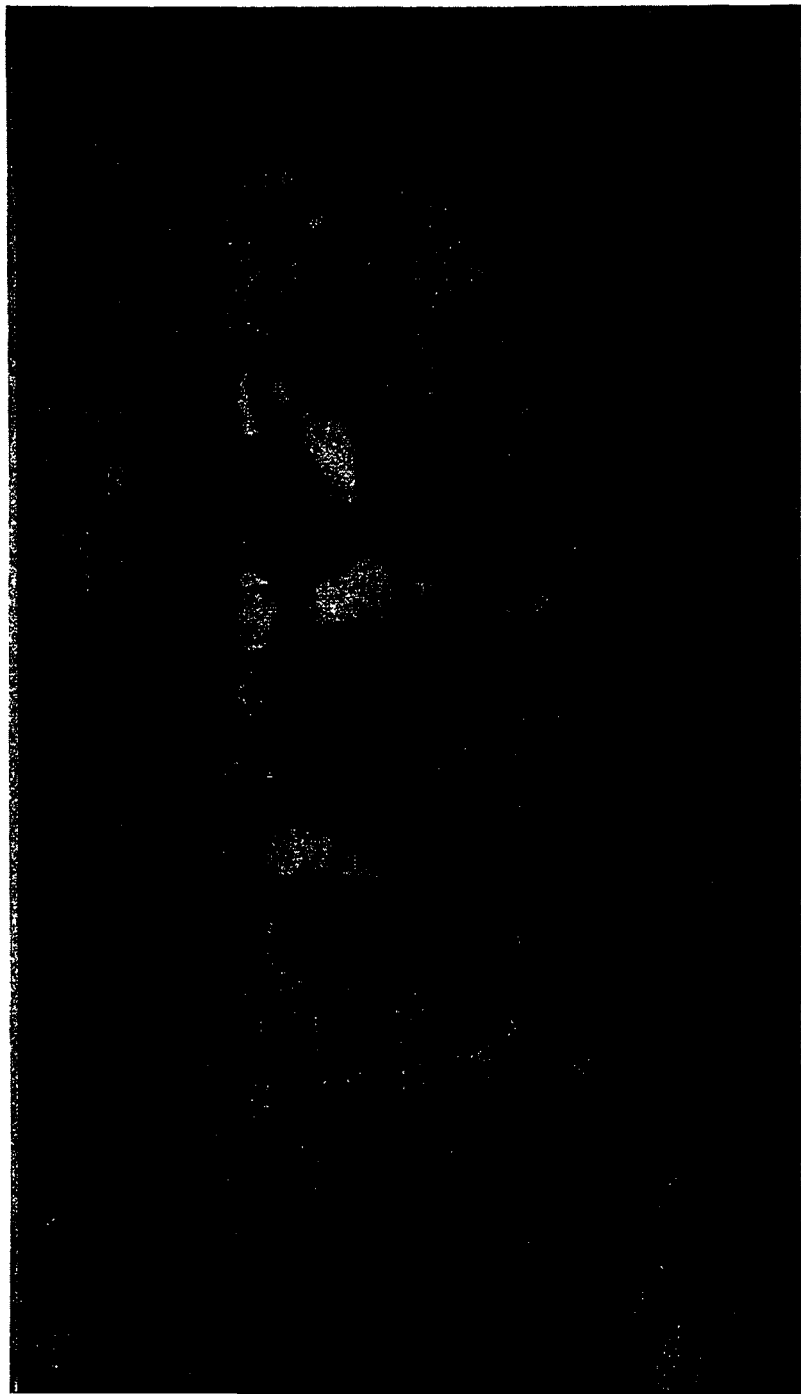


FIG. 77—*The Monkeys of Nikko.* "Hear no evil, speak no evil, see no evil!"  
Ewing Galloway, N. Y.

by; Kamakura, so kind to Buddha, was almost totally destroyed,<sup>7</sup> while the benign colossus of the Hindu saint survived shaken but unperturbed amid the ruins, as if to illustrate the chief lesson of history—that the gods can be silent in many languages. The people were for a moment puzzled by this abundance of disaster in a land divinely created and ruled; at last they explained the agitations as due to a large subterranean fish, which wriggled when its slumber was disturbed.<sup>8</sup> They do not seem to have thought of abandoning this adventurous habitat; on the day after the last great quake the school-children used bits of broken plaster for pencils, and the tiles of their shattered homes for slates.<sup>9</sup> The nation bore patiently these lashings of circumstance, and emerged from repeated ruin undiscourageably industrious, and ominously brave.

## II. PRIMITIVE JAPAN

### *Racial components — Early civilization — Religion — “Shinto” — Buddhism — The beginnings of art — The “Great Reform”*

Japanese origins, like all others, are lost in the cosmic nebula of theory. Three elements appear to be mingled in the race: a primitive white strain through the “Ainus” who seem to have entered Japan from the region of the Amur River in neolithic times; a yellow, Mongol strain coming from or through Korea about the seventh century before Christ; and a brown-black, Malay and Indonesian strain filtering in from the islands of the south. Here, as elsewhere, a mingling of diverse stocks preceded by many hundreds of years the establishment of a new racial type speaking with a new voice and creating a new civilization. That the mixture is not yet complete may be seen in the contrast between the tall, slim, long-headed aristocrat and the short, stout, broad-headed common man.

Chinese annals of the fourth century describe the Japanese as “dwarfs,” and add that “they have neither oxen nor wild beasts; they tattoo their faces in patterns varying with their rank; they wear garments woven in one piece; they have spears, bows and arrows tipped with stone or iron. They wear no shoes, are law-abiding and polygamous, addicted to strong drink and long-lived. . . . The women smear their bodies with pink and scarlet” paint.<sup>11</sup> “There is no theft,” these records state, “and litigation is infrequent”;<sup>12</sup> civilization had hardly begun. Lafcadio Hearn, with uxorious clairvoyance, painted this early age as an Eden unsullied with exploitation or poverty; and Fenollosa pictured the peasantry as composed

of independent soldier-gentlemen.<sup>23</sup> Handicrafts came over from Korea in the third century A.D., and were soon organized into guilds.<sup>24</sup> Beneath these free artisans was a considerable slave class, recruited from prisons and battlefields.<sup>25</sup> Social organization was partly feudal, partly tribal; some peasants tilled the soil as vassals of landed barons, and each clan had its well-nigh sovereign head.<sup>26</sup> Government was primitively loose and weak.

Animism and totemism, ancestor worship and sex worship<sup>27</sup> satisfied the religious needs of the early Japanese. Spirits were everywhere—in the planets and stars of the sky, in the plants and insects of the field, in trees and beasts and men.<sup>28</sup> Deities innumerable hovered over the home and its inmates, and danced in the flame and glow of the lamp.<sup>29</sup> Divination was practised by burning the bones of a deer or the shell of a tortoise, and studying with expert aid the marks and lines produced by the fire; by this means, say the ancient Chinese chronicles, “they ascertain good and bad luck, and whether or not to undertake journeys and voyages.”<sup>30</sup> The dead were feared and worshipped, for their ill will might generate much mischief in the world; to placate them precious objects were placed in their graves—for example, a sword in the case of a man, a mirror in the case of a woman; and prayers and delicacies were offered before their ancestral tablets every day.<sup>31</sup> Human sacrifices were resorted to now and then to stop excessive rain or to ensure the stability of a building or a wall; and the retainers of a dead lord were occasionally buried with him to defend him in his epilogue.<sup>32</sup>

Out of ancestor worship came the oldest living religion of Japan. *Shinto*, the Way of the Gods, took three forms: the domestic cult of family ancestors, the communal cult of clan ancestors, and the state cult of the imperial ancestors and the founding gods. The divine progenitor of the imperial line was addressed with humble petitions, seven times a year, by the emperor or his representatives; and special prayers were offered up to him when the nation was embarking upon some particularly holy cause, like the taking of Shantung (1914).<sup>33</sup> *Shinto* required no creed, no elaborate ritual, no moral code; it had no special priesthood, and no consoling doctrine of immortality and heaven; all that it asked of its devotees was an occasional pilgrimage, and pious reverence for one's ancestors, the emperor, and the past. It was for a time superseded because it was too modest in its rewards and its demands.

In 522 Buddhism, which had entered China five hundred years before, passed over from the continent, and began a rapid conquest of Japan. Two elements met to give it victory: the religious needs of the people, and the

political needs of the state. For it was not Buddha's Buddhism that came, agnostic, pessimistic and puritan, dreaming of blissful extinction; it was the *Mahayana* Buddhism of gentle gods like Amida and Kwannon, of cheerful ceremonial, saving *Bodhisattwas*, and personal immortality. Better still, it inculcated, with irresistible grace, all those virtues of piety, peacefulness and obedience which make a people amenable to government; it gave to the oppressed such hopes and consolations as might reconcile them to content with their simple lot; it redeemed the prose and routine of a laborious life with the poetry of myth and prayer and the drama of colorful festival; and it offered to the people that unity of feeling and belief which statesmen have always welcomed as a source of social order and a pillar of national strength.

We do not know whether it was statesmanship or piety that brought victory to Buddhism in Japan. When, in 586 A.D., the Emperor Yomei died, the succession was contested in arms by two rival families, both of them politically devoted to the new creed. Prince Shotoku Taishi, who had been born, we are told, with a holy relic clasped in his infant hand, led the Buddhist faction to victory, established the Empress Suiko on the throne, and for twenty-nine years (592-621) ruled the Sacred Islands as Prince Imperial and Regent. He lavished funds upon Buddhist temples, encouraged and supported the Buddhist clergy, promulgated the Buddhist ethic in national decrees, and became in general the Ashoka of Japanese Buddhism. He patronized the arts and sciences, imported artists and artisans from Korea and China, wrote history, painted pictures, and supervised the building of the Horiuji Temple, the oldest extant masterpiece in the art history of Japan.

Despite the work of this versatile civilizer, and all the virtues inculcated or preached by Buddhism, another violent crisis came to Japan within a generation after Shotoku's death. An ambitious aristocrat, Kamatari, arranged with Prince Naka a palace revolution that marked so definite a change in the political history of Nippon that native historians refer to it enthusiastically as the "Great Reform" (645). The heir-apparent was assassinated, a senile puppet was placed upon the throne, and Kamatari as chief minister, through Prince Naka as heir-apparent and then as Emperor Tenchi, reconstructed the Japanese government into an autocratic imperial power. The sovereign was elevated from the leadership of the principal clan to paramount authority over every official in Japan; all government was to be appointed by him, all taxes paid directly to him, all the land of the realm was declared his. Japan graduated rapidly from a loose association of clans and semi-feudal chieftains into a closely-knit monarchical state.

## III. THE IMPERIAL AGE

*The emperors—The aristocracy—The influence of China—The Golden Age of Kyoto—Decadence*

From that time onward the emperor enjoyed impressive titles. Sometimes he was called *Tenshi*, or "Son of Heaven"; usually *Tenno*, or "Heavenly King"; rarely *Mikado*, or "August Gateway." He had the distinction of receiving a new appellation after his death, and of being known in history by an individual name quite different from that which he bore during his life. To ensure the continuity of the imperial line, the emperor was allowed to have as many wives or consorts as he desired; and the succession went not necessarily to his first son, but to any of his progeny who seemed to him, or to the Warwicks of the time, most likely to prove strongest, or weakest, on the throne. In the early days of the Kyoto period the emperors inclined to piety; some of them abdicated to become Buddhist monks, and one of them forbade fishing as an insult to Buddha.<sup>26</sup> Yozei was a troublesome exception who illustrated the perils of active monarchy: he made people climb trees, and then shot them down with bow and arrow; he seized maidens in the street, tied them up with lute strings, and cast them into ponds; it pleased His Majesty to ride through the capital and to belabor the citizens with his whip; at last his subjects deposed him in an outbreak of political impiety rare in the history of Japan.<sup>27</sup> In 794 the headquarters of the government were removed from Nara to Nagaoka, and shortly thereafter to Kyoto ("Capital of Peace"); this remained the capital during those four centuries (794-1192) which most historians agree in calling the Golden Age of Japan. By 1190 Kyoto had a population of half a million, more than any European city of the time except Constantinople and Cordova.<sup>28</sup> One part of the town was given over to the cottages and hovels of the populace, which seems to have lived cheerfully in its humble poverty; another part, discreetly secluded, contained the gardens and palaces of the aristocracy and the Imperial Family. The people of the court were appropriately called "Dwellers above the Clouds."<sup>29</sup> For here as elsewhere the progress of civilization and technology had brought an increase in social distinctions; the rough equality of pioneer days had given way to the inequality that comes inevitably when increasing wealth is distributed among men according to their diverse capacity, character, and privilege. Great families

arose like the Fujiwara, the Taira, the Minamoto and the Sugawara, who made and unmade emperors, and fought with one another in the lusty manner of the Italian Renaissance. Sugawara Michizane endeared himself to Japan by his patronage of literature, and is now worshiped as the God of Letters, in whose honor a school holiday is declared on the twenty-fifth day of every month; and the young *Shogun* Minamoto Sanetomo distinguished himself by composing on the morning before his assassination this simple stanza, in the chastest Japanese style:

If I should come no more,  
Plum-tree beside my door,  
Forget not thou the spring,  
Faithfully blossoming.\*

Under the enlightened Daigo (898-930), greatest of the emperors set up by the Fujiwara clan, Japan continued to absorb, and began to rival, the culture and luxury of China, then flourishing at its height under the T'ang. Having taken their religion from the Middle Kingdom, the Japanese proceeded to take from the same source their dress and their sports, their cooking and their writing, their poetry and their administrative methods, their music and their arts, their gardens and their architecture; even their handsome capitals, Nara and Kyoto, were laid out in imitation of Ch'ang-an.<sup>30</sup> Japan imported Chinese culture a thousand years ago as it imported Europe and America in our own day: first with haste, then with discrimination; jealously maintaining its own spirit and character, zealously adapting the new ways to ancient and native ends.

Stimulated by its great neighbor, and protected by orderly and continuous government, Japan now entered that *Engi* period (901-922) which is accounted the acme of the Golden Age.\* Wealth accumulated, and was centered in a fashionable life of luxury, refinement and culture hardly equaled again until the courts of the Medici and the *salons* of the French Enlightenment. Kyoto became the Paris and Versailles of France, elegant in poetry and dress, practised in manners and arts, and setting for all the nation the standards of learning and taste. Every appetite was full

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\* "This period named 'Engi,' says the enthusiastic Fenollosa, "must doubtless be reckoned the high-water mark of Japanese civilization, as Ming Huang's had been that of China. Never again would either China or Japan be quite so rich, splendid, and full of free genius. . . . In general culture and luxurious refinement of a life which equally ministered to mind and body, not only not in Japan, but perhaps not in the world was there ever again anything quite so exquisite."<sup>31</sup>

and free; the *cuisine* invented novelties for the palate and heaped up feasts for *gourmands* and *gourmets*; and fornication or adultery was winked at as a very venial sin.<sup>23</sup> Silks of fine texture clothed every lord and lady, and harmonies of color wavered on every sleeve. Music and the dance adorned the life of temple and court, and graced aristocratic homes attractively landscaped without, and luxuriously finished with interiors of bronze or pearl, ivory or gold, or wood most delicately carved.<sup>24</sup> Literature flourished, and morals decayed.

Such epochs of glittering refinement tend to be brief, for they rest insecurely upon concentrated wealth that may at any moment be destroyed by the fluctuations of trade, the impatience of the exploited, or the fortunes of war. The extravagance of the court finally ruined the solvency of the state; the exaltation of culture above ability filled administrative posts with incompetent poetasters, under whose scented noses corruption multiplied unnoticed; at last offices were sold to the highest bidder.<sup>25</sup> Crime rose among the poor as luxury mounted among the rich; brigands and pirates infested the roads and the seas, and preyed impartially upon the people and the emperor; tax-gatherers were robbed as they brought their revenues to the court. Gangs of bandits were organized in the provinces, and even in the capital itself; for a time Japan's most notorious criminal, like ours, lived in open splendor, too powerful to be arrested or annoyed.<sup>26</sup> The neglect of martial habits and virtues, or military organization and defense, left the government exposed to assault from any ruthless buccaneer. The great families raised their own armies, and began an epoch of civil war in which they contended chaotically for the right to name the emperor. The emperor himself was every day more helpless, while the heads of the clans became again almost independent lords. Once more history moved in its ancient oscillation between a powerful central government and a feudal decentralized regime.

#### IV. THE DICTATORS

*The "shoguns"—The Kamakura "Bakufu"—The Hojo Regency—  
Kublai Khan's invasion—The Ashikaga Shogunate—The  
three buccaneers*

Tempted by this situation, a class of military dictators arose, who assumed full authority over various sections of the archipelago, and recognized the emperor merely as the divine façade of Japan, to be maintained

at a minimum of expense. The peasants, no longer protected from bandits by imperial armies or police, paid taxes to the *shoguns*, or generals, instead of to the emperor, for only the *shoguns* were able to safeguard them from robbery.\* The feudal system triumphed in Japan for the same reason that it had triumphed in Europe: local sources of authority grew in power as a central and distant government failed to maintain security and order.

About the year 1192 a member of the Minamoto clan, Yoritomo, gathered about him an army of soldiers and vassals, and established an independent authority which, from its seat, acquired the name of the "Kamakura *Bakufu*." The very word *bakufu* meant a military office, and indicated bluntly the nature of the new regime. The great Yoritomo died suddenly in 1198,\* and was succeeded by his weakling sons; for, says a Japanese proverb, "the great man has no seed."<sup>3</sup> A rival family set up in 1199 the "Hojo Regency," which for 134 years ruled the *shoguns* who ruled the emperors. Kublai Khan took advantage of this trinitarian government to attempt the conquest of Japan, for clever Koreans, fearful of it, had described it to him as desirably rich. Kublai ordered from his ship-builders so vast a fleet that Chinese poets represented the hills as mourning for their denuded forests.<sup>4</sup> The Japanese, in heroic retrospect, reckoned the vessels at 70,000, but less patriotic historians are content with 3,500 ships and 100,000 men. This gigantic armada appeared off the coast of Japan late in the year 1291. The brave islanders sailed out to meet it in an improvised and comparatively tiny fleet; but, as in the case of a smaller but more famous Armada,† a "Great Wind," renowned in thankful memory, arose, smashed the ships of the mighty Khan upon the rocks, drowned 70,000 of his sailors, and saved the others for a life of slavery in Japan.

The turn of the Hojos came in 1333. For they, too, had been poisoned by power, and hereditary rule had passed in time from scoundrels and geniuses to cowards and fools. Takatoki, last of the line, had a passion for dogs; he accepted them in lieu of taxes, and collected from four to five thousand of them; he kept them in kennels with gold and silver decorations, fed them on fish and fowl, and had them carried in palan-

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\* Both rider and horse, we are told, were thrown into a panic by seeing the ghost of the brother whom Yoritomo had murdered; the horse stumbled, the rider fell, and Yoritomo died some months later, at the age of fifty-three.<sup>3</sup> The story is vouched for by his enemies.

† The Spanish Armada of 1588, on its arrival in the English Channel, had some 120 ships, with 24,000 men.<sup>4</sup>



quins to take the air. The contemporary emperor, Go Daigo, saw in the degeneration of his keepers an opportunity to reassert the imperial power. The Minamoto and Ashikaga clans rallied to him, and led his forces, after many defeats, to victory over the Regency. Takatoki and 870 of his vassals and generals retired to a temple, drank a last cup of *sake*, and committed *hara-kiri*. "This," said one of them as he pulled out his intestines with his own hand, "gives a fine relish to the wine."<sup>60</sup>

Ashikaga Takauji turned against the Emperor whom he had helped to restore, fought with successful stratagem and treachery the armies sent to subdue him, replaced Go Daigo with the puppet emperor Kogon, and set up at Kyoto that Ashikaga Shogunate which was to rule Japan through 250 years of chaos and intermittent civil war. It must be admitted that part of this disorder was due to the nobler side of the Ashikaga dictators—their love and patronage of art. Yoshimitsu, tired of strife, turned his hand to painting, and became not the least artist of his time; Yoshimasa befriended many painters, subsidized a dozen arts, and grew into so refined a connoisseur that the pieces selected by him and his associates are the most coveted prizes of collectors today.<sup>61</sup> Meanwhile, however, the prosaic tasks of organization were neglected, and neither the rich *shoguns* nor the impoverished emperors seemed able to maintain public security or peace.

It was this very chaos and looseness of life, and the call of the nation for leaders who would give it order, that produced a trio of buccaneers famous in Japanese history. In their youth, says tradition, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu resolved together to restore unity to their country, and each took a solemn oath that he would obey as vassal whichever of the others should win the imperial consent to administer Japan.<sup>62</sup> Nobunaga tried first, and failed; Hideyoshi tried second, and died just short of success; Iyeyasu bided his time, tried last of all, founded the Tokugawa Shogunate, and inaugurated one of the longest periods of peace, and one of the richest epochs of art, in human history.

#### V. GREAT MONKEY-FACE

##### *The rise of Hideyoshi—The attack upon Korea—The conflict with Christianity*

Queen Elizabeth and Akbar, as the Japanese would instructively put it, were contemporaries of the great Hideyoshi. He was a peasant's son,

known to his friends, and later to his subjects, as *Sarumen Kanja*—"Monkey-Face"; for not even Confucius could rival him in ugliness. Unable to discipline him, his parents sent him to a monastic school; but Hideyoshi made such fun of the Buddhist priests, and raised such turmoil and insurrections, that he was expelled. He was apprenticed to various trades, and was discharged thirty-seven times; he became a bandit, decided that more could be stolen by law than against it, joined the service of a *Samurai* (i.e., a "sword-bearing man"), saved his master's life, and was thereafter allowed to carry a sword. He joined Nobunaga, helped him with brains as well as courage, and, when Nobunaga died (1582), took the lead of the lawless rebels who had set out to conquer their native land. Within three years Hideyoshi had made himself ruler of half the empire, had won the admiration of the impotent emperor, and felt strong enough to digest Korea and China. "With Korean troops," he modestly announced to the Son of Heaven, "aided by your illustrious influence, I intend to bring the whole of China under my sway. When that is effected, the three countries (China, Korea and Japan) will be one. I shall do it as easily as a man rolls up a piece of matting and carries it away under his arm."<sup>44</sup> He tried hard; but a villainous Korean invented a metal war-boat—a pre-plagiarism of the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*—and destroyed one after another of the troop-laden ships that Hideyoshi had dispatched to Korea (1592). Seventy-two vessels were sunk in one day, and the very sea ran blood; forty-eight other vessels were beached and deserted by the Japanese, and burned to the water by the victors. After an indecisive alternation of successes and defeats the attempt to conquer Korea and China was postponed until the twentieth century. Hideyoshi, said the Korean king, had tried to "measure the ocean in a cockle-shell."<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile Hideyoshi had settled down to enjoy and administer the Regency that he had established. He provided himself with three hundred concubines, but he bestowed a substantial sum upon the peasant wife whom he had long ago divorced. He looked up one of his old employers, and returned to him with interest the money that he had stolen from him in apprentice days. He did not dare ask the Emperor's consent to his assumption of the title of *Shogun*; but his contemporaries gave him, in compensation, the name of *Taiko*, or "Great Sovereign," which, by one of those strange verbal Odysseys that characterize philology, is now entering our language as *tycoon*. "Cunning and crafty beyond belief," as a missionary described him,<sup>46</sup> he subtly disarmed the people by order-

ing all metal weapons to be contributed as material for a colossal statue—the *Daibutsu*, or Great Buddha, of Kyoto. He appears to have had no religious beliefs, but he was not above making use of religion for the purposes of ambition or statesmanship.

Christianity had come to Japan in 1549 in the person of one of the first and noblest of Jesuits, St. Francis Xavier. The little community which he established grew so rapidly that within a generation after his coming there were seventy Jesuits and 150,000 converts in the empire.<sup>48</sup> They were so numerous in Nagasaki that they made that trading port a Christian city, and persuaded its local ruler, Omura, to use direct action in spreading the new faith.<sup>49</sup> “Within Nagasaki territory,” says Lafcadio Hearn, “Buddhism was totally suppressed—its priests being persecuted and driven away.”<sup>50</sup> Alarmed at this spiritual invasion, and suspecting it of political designs, Hideyoshi sent a messenger to the Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits in Japan, armed with five peremptory questions:

1. Why, and by what authority, he (the Vice-Provincial) and his *religieux* (members of religious orders) constrained Hideyoshi's subjects to become Christians?
2. Why they induced their disciples and their sectaries to overthrow temples?
3. Why they persecuted the Buddhist priests?
4. Why they and the other Portuguese ate animals useful to man, such as oxen and cows?
5. Why he allowed the merchants of his nation to buy Japanese and make slaves of them in the Indies?<sup>51</sup>

Not satisfied with the replies, Hideyoshi issued, in 1587, the following edict:

Having learned from our faithful councillors that foreign *religieux* have come into our realm, where they preach a law contrary to that of Japan, and that they have even had the audacity to destroy temples dedicated to our (native gods) Kami and Hotoke; although this outrage merits the severest punishment, wishing nevertheless to show them mercy, we order them under pain of death to quit Japan within twenty days. During that space no harm or hurt will come to them. But at the expiration of that term, we order that if any of them be found in our States, they shall be seized and punished as the greatest criminals.<sup>52</sup>

Amid all these alarms the great buccaneer found time to encourage artists, to take part in *No* plays, and to support Rikyu in making the tea ceremony a stimulant to Japanese pottery and an essential adornment of Japanese life. He died in 1598, having exacted from Iyeyasu a promise to build a new capital at Yedo (now Tokyo), and to recognize Hideyoshi's son Hideyori as heir to the Regency in Japan.

## VI. THE GREAT SHOGUN

### *The accession of Iyeyasu—His philosophy—Iyeyasu and Christianity—Death of Iyeyasu—The Tokugawa Shogunate*

Hideyoshi being dead, Iyeyasu pointed out that he had drawn the blood for his oath not from his finger or his gums, as the code of the *Samurai* required, but from a scratch behind his ear; hence the oath was not binding.<sup>25</sup> He overwhelmed the forces of certain rival leaders at Sekigahara in a battle that left 40,000 dead. He tolerated Hideyori till his coming of age made him dangerous, and then suggested to him the wisdom of submission. Rebuked, he besieged the gigantic Castle of Osaka where Hideyori was established, captured it while the youth committed *hara-kiri*, and ensured his hold upon power by killing all of Hideyori's children, legitimate and illegitimate. Then Iyeyasu organized peace as ably and ruthlessly as he had organized war, and administered Japan so well that it was content to be ruled by his posterity and his principles for eight generations.

He was a man of his own ideas, and made his morals as he went along. When a very presentable woman came to him with the complaint that one of his officials had killed her husband in order to possess her, Iyeyasu ordered the official to disembowel himself, and made the lady his concubine.<sup>26</sup> Like Socrates he ranked wisdom as the only virtue, and chartered some of its paths in that strange "Legacy," or intellectual testament, which he bequeathed to his family at his death.

Life is like unto a long journey with a heavy burden. Let thy step be slow and steady, that thou stumble not. Persuade thyself that imperfection and inconvenience is the natural lot of mortals, and there will be no room for discontent, neither for despair. When ambitious desires arise in thy heart, recall the days of extremity thou hast passed through. Forbearance is the root of quietness and assurance

forever. Look upon wrath as thy enemy. If thou knowest only what it is to conquer, and knowest not what it is to be defeated, woe unto thee; it will fare ill with thee. Find fault with thyself rather than with others.<sup>84</sup>

Having captured power by arms, he decided that Japan had no need of further war, and devoted himself to furthering the ways and virtues of peace. To win the *Samurai* from the habits of the sword he encouraged them to study literature and philosophy, and to contribute to the arts; and under the rule which he established, culture flourished in Japan and militarism decayed. "The people," he wrote, "are the foundation of the Empire,"<sup>85</sup> and he invoked the "special commiseration" of his successors for the "widower, the widowed, the orphaned and the lonely." But he had no democratic predispositions: the greatest of all crimes, he thought, was insubordination; a "fellow" who stepped out of his rank was to be cut down on the spot; and the entire family of a rebel should be put to death.<sup>86</sup> The feudal order, in his judgment, was the best that could be devised for actual human beings; it provided a rational balance between central and local power, it established a natural and hereditary system of social and economic organization, and it preserved the continuity of a society without subjecting it to despotic authority. It must be admitted that Iyeyasu organized the most perfect form of feudal government ever known.<sup>87</sup>

Like most statesmen he thought of religion chiefly as an organ of social discipline, and regretted that the variety of human beliefs canceled half this good by the disorder of hostile creeds. To his completely political mind the traditional faith of the Japanese people—a careless mixture of Shintoism and Buddhism—was an invaluable bond cementing the race into spiritual unity, moral order and patriotic devotion; and though at first he approached Christianity with the lenient eye and broad intelligence of Akbar, and refrained from enforcing against it the angry edicts of Hideyoshi, he was disturbed by its intolerance, its bitter denunciation of the native faith as idolatry, and the discord which its passionate dogmatism aroused not only between the converts and the nation, but among the neophytes themselves. Finally his resentment was stirred by the discovery that missionaries sometimes allowed themselves to be used as vanguards for conquerors, and were, here and there, conspiring against the

Japanese state.\*\* In 1614 he forbade the practice or preaching of the Christian religion in Japan, and ordered all converts either to depart from the country or to renounce their new beliefs. Many priests evaded the decree, and some of them were arrested. None was executed during the lifetime of Iyeyasu; but after his death the fury of the bureaucrats was turned against the Christians, and a violent and brutal persecution ensued which practically stamped Christianity out of Japan. In 1638 the remaining Christians gathered to the number of 37,000 on the peninsula of Shima-bara, fortified it, and made a last stand for the freedom of worship. Iyemitsu, grandson of Iyeyasu, sent a large armed force to subdue them. When, after a three months' siege, their stronghold was taken, all but one hundred and five of the survivors were massacred in the streets.

Iyeyasu and Shakespeare were contemporaries in death. The doughty *Shogun* left his power to his son Hidetada, with a simple admonition: "Take care of the people. Strive to be virtuous. Never neglect to protect the country." And to the nobles who stood at his deathbed he left advice in the best tradition of Confucius and Mencius: "My son has now come of age. I feel no anxiety for the future of the state. But should my successor commit any grave fault in his administration, do you administer affairs yourselves. The country is not the country of one man, but the country of the nation. If my descendants lose their power because of their misdeeds, I shall not regret it."<sup>100</sup>

His descendants conducted themselves much better than monarchs can usually be expected to behave over a great length of time. Hidetada was a harmless mediocrity; Iyemitsu represented a stronger mood of the stock, and sternly suppressed a movement to restore to actual power the still reigning but not ruling emperors. Tsunayoshi lavished patronage upon men of letters, and on the great rival schools of painting, Kano and Tosa, that embellished the *Genroku* age (1688-1703). Yoshimune set himself

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\* In 1596 a Spanish galleon was forced into a Japanese harbor by Japanese boats, was purposely driven by them upon a reef that broke it in two, and then was pillaged by the local governor on the ground that Japanese law permitted the authorities to appropriate all vessels stranded on their shores. The outraged pilot, Landecho, protested to Hideyoshi's Minister of Works, Masuda. Masuda asked how it was that the Christian Church had won so many lands to be subject to one man; and Landecho, being a seaman rather than a diplomat, answered: "Our kings begin by sending, into the countries they wish to conquer, *religieux* who induce the people to embrace our religion; and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent who combine with the new Christians; and then our kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest."<sup>100</sup>

to the ever-recurrent purpose of abolishing poverty, at the very time when his treasury faced an unusual deficit. He borrowed extensively from the merchant class, attacked the extravagance of the rich, and stoically reduced the expenditures of his government, even to the extent of dismissing the fifty fairest ladies of the court. He dressed in cotton cloth, slept on a peasant's pallet, and dined on the simplest fare. He had a complaint box placed before the palace of the Supreme Court, and invited the people to submit criticisms of any governmental policy or official. When one Yamashita sent in a caustic indictment of his whole administration Yoshimune had the document read aloud in public, and rewarded the author for his candor with a substantial gift.<sup>24</sup>

It was the judgment of Lafcadio Hearn that "the Tokugawa period was the happiest in the long life of the nation."<sup>25</sup> History, though it can never quite know the past, inclines tentatively to the same conclusion. How could one, seeing Japan today, suspect that on those now excited islands, only a century ago, lived a people poor but content, enjoying a long epoch of peace under the rule of a military class, and pursuing in quiet isolation the highest aims of literature and art?

# The Political and Moral Foundations

## *A tentative approach*

IF, NOW, we try to picture the Japan that died in 1853, we should remember that it may be as hard to understand, as it might be to fight, a people five thousand miles distant, and differing from us in color and language, government and religion, manners and morals, character and ideals, literature and art. Hearn was more intimate with Japan than any other Western writer of his time, and yet he spoke of "the immense difficulty of perceiving and comprehending what underlies the surface of Japanese life." "Your information about us," a genial Japanese essayist reminds the Occident, "is based on the meagre translations of our immense literature, if not on the unreliable anecdotes of passing travelers. . . . We Asiatics are often appalled by the curious web of facts and fancies which has been woven concerning us. We are pictured as living on the perfume of the lotus, if not on mice and cockroaches."<sup>3</sup> What follows, therefore, is a tentative approach—based upon the briefest direct acquaintance—to Japanese civilization and character; each student must correct it by long and personal experience. The first lesson of philosophy is that we may all be mistaken.

### I. THE SAMURAI

*The powerless emperor—The powers of the "shogun"—The sword of the "Samurai"—The code of the "Samurai"—"Hara-kiri"—The Forty-seven "Ronin"—A commuted sentence*

Theoretically at the head of the nation was the divine emperor. The actually ruling house—the hereditary shogunate—allowed the emperor and his court \$25,000 a year for maintaining the impressive and useful fiction of interrupted rule.\* Many members of the court practised some domestic handicraft to sustain themselves: some made umbrellas, others made chop-

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\* This sum, however, was probably equivalent to a quarter of a million dollars in current American money.



sticks, or toothpicks, or playing cards. The Tokugawa *shoguns* made it a principle to leave the emperor no authority whatever, to seclude him from the people, to surround him with women, and to weaken him with effeminacy and idleness. The imperial family yielded its powers gracefully, and contented itself with dictating the fashions of aristocratic dress.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile the *shogun* luxuriated in the slowly growing wealth of Japan, and assumed prerogatives normally belonging to the emperor. When he was borne through the streets in his ox-carriage or palanquin the police required every house along the route, and all the shutters of upper windows, to be closed; all fires were to be extinguished, all dogs and cats were to be locked up, and the people themselves were to kneel by the roadside with their heads upon their hands and their hands upon the ground.<sup>4</sup> The *shogun* had a large personal retinue, including four jesters, and eight cultured ladies dedicated to entertain him without reserve.<sup>5</sup> He was advised by a cabinet of twelve members: a "Great Senior," five "Seniors" or ministers, and six "Sub-Elders" who formed a junior council. As in China, a Board of Censors supervised all administrative offices, and kept watch upon the feudal lords. These lords, or *Daimyo* ("Great Name"), formally acknowledged allegiance only to the emperor; and some of them, like the Shimadzu family that ruled Satsuma, successfully limited the *shogun's* authority, and finally overthrew it.

Below the lords were the baronets, and below these the squires; and serving the lords were a million or more *Samurai*—sword-bearing guardsmen. The basic principle of Japanese feudal society was that every gentleman was a soldier, and every soldier a gentleman;<sup>6</sup> here lay the sharpest difference between Japan and that pacific China which thought that every gentleman should be a scholar rather than a warrior. Though they loved, and partly formed themselves on, such swashbuckling novels as the Chinese *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, the *Samurai* scorned mere learning, and called the literary *savant* a book-smelling sot.<sup>7</sup> They had many privileges: they were exempt from taxation, received a regular stipend of rice from the baron whom they served, and performed no labor except occasionally to die for their country. They looked down upon love as a graceful game, and preferred Greek friendship; they made a business of gambling and brawling, and kept their swords in condition by paying the executioner to let them cut off condemned heads.<sup>8</sup> His sword, in Iyeyasu's famous phrase, was "the soul of the *Samurai*," and found remarkably frequent expression despite prolonged national peace. He had the right, ac-

ording to Iyeyasu,<sup>9</sup> to cut down at once any member of the lower classes who offended him; and when his steel was new and he wished to make trial of it, he was as likely to try it on a beggar as on a dog.<sup>10</sup> "A famous swordsman having obtained a new sword," says Longford, "took up his place by the Nihon Bashi (the central bridge of Yedo) to await a chance of testing it. By and by a fat peasant came along, merrily drunk, and the swordsman dealt him the *Nashi-wari* (pear-splitter) so effectively that he cut him right through from the top of his head down to the fork. The peasant continued on his way, not knowing that anything had happened to him, till he stumbled against a coolie, and fell in two neatly severed pieces."<sup>11</sup> Of such trivial consequence is the difference, so troublesome to philosophers, between the One and the Many.

The *Samurai* had other graces than this jolly despatch with which they transformed time into eternity. They accepted a stern code of honor—*Bushido*,\* or the Way of the Knight—whose central theory was its definition of virtue: "the power of deciding upon a certain course of conduct in accordance with reason, without wavering; to die when it is right to die, to strike when it is right to strike."<sup>12</sup> They were tried by their own code, but it was more severe than the common law.<sup>13</sup> They despised all material enterprise and gain, and refused to lend, borrow or count money; they seldom broke a promise, and they risked their lives readily for anyone who appealed to them for just aid. They made a principle of hard and frugal living; they limited themselves to one meal a day, and accustomed themselves to eat any food that came to hand, and to hold it. They bore all suffering silently, and suppressed every display of emotion; their women were taught to rejoice when informed that their husbands had been killed on the battlefield.<sup>14</sup> They recognized no obligation except that of loyalty to their superiors; this was, in their code, a higher law than parental or filial love. It was a common thing for a *Samurai* to disembowel himself on the death of his lord, in order to serve and protect him in the other world. When the *Shogun* Iyemitsu was dying in 1651 he reminded his prime minister, Hotto, of this duty of *junsbi*, or "following in death"; Hotto killed himself without a word, and several subordinates imitated him.<sup>15</sup> When the Emperor Mutsuhito went to his ancestors in 1912 General Nogi and his wife committed suicide in loyalty to him.<sup>16</sup> Not even the traditions of Rome's finest soldiers bred greater courage, asceticism and self-control than were demanded by the code of the *Samurai*.

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\* A word coined by the late Inazo Nitobe.

The final law of *Bushido* was *hara-kiri*—suicide by disembowelment. The occasions when this would be expected of a *Samurai* were almost beyond count, and the practice of it so frequent that little notice was taken of it. If a man of rank had been condemned to death he was allowed, as an expression of the emperor's esteem, to cut through his abdomen from left to right and then down to the pelvis with the small sword which he always carried for this purpose. If he had been defeated in battle, or had been compelled to surrender, he was as like as not to rip open his belly. (*Hara-kiri* means belly-cutting; it is a vulgar word seldom used by the Japanese, who prefer to call it *seppuku*.) When, in 1895, Japan yielded to European pressure and abandoned Liaotung, forty military men committed *hara-kiri* in protest. During the war of 1905 many officers and men in the Japanese navy killed themselves rather than be captured by the Russians. If his superior did something offensive to him, the good *Samurai* might gash himself to death at his master's gate. The art of *seppuku*—the precise ritual of ripping—was one of the first items in the education of *Samurai* youth; and the last tribute of affection that could be paid to a friend was to stand by him and cut off his head as soon as he had carved his paunch.<sup>27</sup> Out of this training, and the traditions bound up with it, has come some part of the Japanese soldier's comparative fearlessness of death.\*

Murder, like suicide, was allowed occasionally to replace the law. Feudal Japan economized on policemen not only by having many *bonzes*, but by allowing the son or brother of a murdered man to take the law into his own hand; and this recognition of the right of revenge, though it begot half the novels and plays of Japanese literature, intercepted many crimes. The *Samurai*, however, usually felt called upon to commit *hara-kiri* after exercising this privilege of personal revenge. When the famous Forty-seven *Ronin* ("Wave Men"—i.e., unattached *Samurai*), to avenge a death, had cut off the head of Kotsuké no Suké with supreme courtesy and the most refined apologies, they retired in dignity to estates named by the *Shogun*, and neatly killed themselves (1703). Priests returned Kotsuké's head to his retainers, who gave them this simple receipt:

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\* *Hara-kiri* was forbidden to women and plebeians; but women were allowed to commit *jigaki*—i.e., they were permitted, as a protest against an offense, to pierce the throat with a dagger, and to sever the arteries by a single thrust. Every woman of quality received technical training in the art of cutting her throat, and was taught to bind her lower limbs together before killing herself, lest her corpse should be found in an immodest position.<sup>28</sup>

Memorandum:

Item: One head.

Item: One paper parcel.

The above articles are acknowledged to have been received.

(Signed) Sayada Mogobai  
Saito Kunai

This is probably the most famous and typical event in the history of Japan, and one of the most significant for the understanding of Japanese character. Its protagonists are still, in the popular view, heroes and saints; to this day pious hands deck their graves, and incense never ceases to rise before their resting place."

Towards the end of Iyeyasu's regency two brothers, Sakon and Naiki, twenty-four and seventeen years of age respectively, tried to kill him because of wrongs which they felt that he had inflicted upon their father. They were caught as they entered the camp, and were sentenced to death. Iyeyasu was so moved by their courage that he commuted their sentences to self-disembowelment; and in accord with the customs of the time he included their younger brother, the eight-year-old Hachimaro, in this merciful decree. The physician who attended the boys has left us a description of the scene:

When they were all seated in a row for final despatch, Sakon turned to the youngest and said—"Go thou first, for I wish to be sure that thou doest it right." Upon the little one's replying that, as he had never seen *seppuku* performed, he would like to see his brothers do it, and then he could follow them, the older brothers smiled between their tears:—"Well said, little fellow. So canst thou well boast of being our father's child." When they had placed him between them, Sakon thrust the dagger into the left side of his abdomen and said—"Look, brother! Dost understand now? Only, don't push the dagger too far, lest thou fall back. Lean forward, rather, and keep thy knees well composed." Naiki did likewise, and said to the boy—"Keep thine eyes open, or else thou mayst look like a dying woman. If thy dagger feels anything within and thy strength fails, take courage, and double thy effort to cut across." The child looked from one to the other, and when both had expired, he calmly half denuded himself and followed the example set him on either hand."

## II. THE LAW

*The first code—Group responsibility—Punishments*

The legal system of Japan was a vigorous supplement to private assassination and revenge. It had its origins partly in the ancient usages of the people, partly in the Chinese codes of the seventh century; law accompanied religion in the migration of culture from China to Japan.<sup>24</sup> Tenchi Tenno began the formulation of a system of laws which was completed and promulgated under the boy Emperor Mommu in 702. In the feudal epoch this and other codes of the imperial age fell into disuse, and each fief legislated independently; the *Samurai* recognized no law beyond the will and decrees of his *Daimyo*.<sup>25</sup>

Until 1721 it was the custom of Japan to hold the entire family responsible for the good behavior of each member, and, in most localities, to charge each family in a group of five with responsibility for all. The male children of an adult who had been condemned to be crucified or burned were executed with him, and his younger sons, on coming of age, were banished.<sup>26</sup> Ordeal was used in medieval trials, and torture remained popular, in its milder forms, till modern times. The Japanese used the rack on some Christians, in vengeful imitation of the Inquisition; but more often their subtle minds were content to bind a man with ropes into a constrained position that became more agonizing with every minute.<sup>27</sup> Whippings for trifling offenses were frequent, and death could be earned by any one of a great variety of crimes. The Emperor Shomu (724-56) abolished capital punishment and made compassion the rule of government; but crime increased after his death, and the Emperor Konin (770-81) not only restored the death penalty, but decreed that thieves should be publicly scourged until they died.<sup>28</sup> Capital punishment also took the form of strangling, beheading, crucifixion, quartering, burning, or boiling in oil.<sup>29</sup> Iyeyasu put an end to the old custom of pulling a condemned man in two between oxen, or binding him to a public post and inviting each passer-by to take a turn in cutting through him, from shoulder to crotch, with a saw.<sup>30</sup> Iyeyasu laid it down that the frequent resort to severe punishments proved not the criminality of the people so much as the corruption and incompetence of the officials.<sup>31</sup> Yoshimune was disgusted to find that the prisons of his time had no sanitary arrangements, and that among the prisoners were several whose trials, though begun

sixteen years back, were still unfinished, so that the accusations against them were forgotten, and the witnesses were dead.<sup>80</sup> This most enlightened of the *shoguns* reformed the prisons, improved and accelerated judicial procedure, abolished family responsibility, and labored sedulously for years to formulate the first unified code of Japanese feudal law (1721).

### III. THE TOILERS

#### *Castes—An experiment in the nationalization of land—State fixing of wages—A famine—Handicrafts—Artisans and guilds*

In the imperial age society had been divided into eight *sei* or castes; in the feudal epoch these were softened into four classes: *Samurai*, artisans, peasants, and merchants—the last being also, in social ranking, least. Beneath these classes was a large body of slaves, numbering some five per cent of the population, and composed of criminals, war-captives, or children seized and sold by kidnappers, or children sold into slavery by their parents.<sup>80</sup> Lower even than these slaves was a caste of pariahs known as *Eta*, considered despicable and unclean by Buddhist Japan because they acted as butchers, tanners and scavengers.<sup>81</sup>

The great bulk of the population (which numbered in Yoshimune's days some thirty millions), was composed of peasant proprietors, intensively cultivating that one-eighth of Japan's mountainous soil which lends itself to tillage.† In the Nara period the state nationalized the land, and rented it to the peasant for six years or, at most, till death; but the government discovered that men did not care to improve or properly care for land that might in a short time be assigned to others; and the experiment ended in a restoration of private ownership, with state provision of funds in the spring to finance the planting and reaping of the crops.<sup>82</sup> Despite this aid, the life of the peasant was not one of degenerative ease. His farm was a tiny tract, for even in feudal days one square mile had to support two thousand men.<sup>83</sup> He had to contribute annually to the state thirty days of forced labor, during which death by a spear-thrust might be the penalty of a moment's idleness.‡<sup>84</sup> The government took from him, in

\* This practice was forbidden in 1699.<sup>81</sup>

† The arable exceptions were—and are—fertilized with human waste.

‡ During the months of July and August a *siesta* was permitted from noon till four o'clock. Sick workers were fed by the state, and free coffins were provided for those who died during the *corvée*.<sup>82</sup>

taxes and levies of many kinds, 6% of his product in the seventh century, 72% in the twelfth, and 40% in the nineteenth." His tools were of the simplest sort; his clothing was poor and slight in the winter, and usually nothing at all in the summer; his furniture was a rice-pot, a few bowls, and some chopsticks; his home was a hut so flimsy that half a week sufficed to build it." Every now and then earthquakes leveled his cottage, or famine emptied his frame. If he worked for another man his wages, like all wages in Tokugawa Japan, were fixed by the government;\* but this did not prevent them from being cruelly low. In one of the most famous works of Japanese literature — Kamo Chomei's *Hojoki* — the author describes, as crowded into the eight years between 1177 and 1185, an earthquake, a famine, and a fire that almost destroyed Kyoto.\* His eyewitness account of the famine of 1181 is one of the classic examples of Japanese prose:

In all the provinces people left their lands and sought other parts, or, forgetting their homes, went to live among the hills. All kinds of prayers were begun, and even religious practices which were unusual in ordinary times were revived, but to no purpose whatever. . . . The inhabitants of the capital offered to sacrifice their valuables of all kinds, one after another (for food), but nobody cared to look at them. . . . Beggars swarmed by the roadsides, and our ears were filled with the sound of their lamentations. . . . Everybody was dying of hunger; and as time went on our condition became as desperate as that of the fish in the small pool of the story. At last even respectable-looking people wearing hats, and with their feet covered, might be seen begging importunately from door to door. Sometimes, while you wondered how such utterly wretched creatures could walk at all, they fell down before your eyes. By garden walls or on the roadsides countless persons died of famine, and as their bodies were not removed, the world was filled with evil odors. As their bodies changed there were many sights which the eyes could not endure to see. . . . People who had no means pulled down their houses and sold the materials in the market. It was said that a load for one man was not enough to provide him with sustenance for a single day. It was strange to see, among this firewood, pieces adorned in places with vermilion, or silver, or gold leaf. . . . Another very pitiable thing was that when there were a man and a woman

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\* The worst of the many fires in Japanese history was that which completely wiped out Yedo (Tokyo) in 1657, with the loss of 100,000 lives.

who were strongly attached to each other, the one whose love was the greater, and whose devotion was the more profound, always died first. The reason was that they put themselves last, and, whether man or woman, gave up to the dearly beloved one anything which they might chance to have begged. As a matter of course, parents died before their children. Again, infants might be seen clinging to the breast of their mother, not knowing that she was already dead. . . . The number of those who died in central Kyoto during the fourth and fifth months alone was 42,300.<sup>40</sup>

Contrast with this brutal interlude in the growth of the soil Kaempfer's bright picture of Japanese handicrafts as he saw them in the Kyoto of 1691:

Kyoto is the great magazine of all Japanese manufactures and commodities, and the chief mercantile town in the Empire. There is scarce a house in this large capital where there is not something made or sold. Here they refine copper, coin money, print books, weave the richest stuffs with gold and silver flowers. The best and scarcest dyes, the most artful carvings, all sorts of musical instruments, pictures, japanned cabinets, all sorts of things wrought in gold and other metals, particularly in steel, as the best tempered blades and other arms, are made here in the utmost perfection, as are also the richest dresses, and after the best fashion; all sorts of toys, puppets moving their heads of themselves, and numberless other things too numerous to be mentioned here. In short, there is nothing that can be thought of but what may be found at Kyoto, and nothing, though ever so neatly wrought, can be imported from abroad but what some artist or other in this capital will undertake to imitate. . . . There are but few houses in all the chief streets where there is not something to be sold, and for my part I could not help admiring whence they can have customers enough for such an immense quantity of goods.<sup>41</sup>

All the arts and industries of China had long since been imported into Japan; and as today Japan begins to excel her Western instructors in economy and efficiency of mechanical production,<sup>42</sup> so during the Tokugawa Shogunate her handicraftsmen began to rival, and sometimes to excel, the Chinese and Koreans from whom they had learned their art. Most of the work, in the manner of medieval Europe, was done in the home by families who passed down their occupation and their skill from father to



son, and often took the name of their craft; and, again as in our Middle Ages, great guilds were formed, not so much of simple workers as of masters who mercilessly exploited the artisans, and zealously restricted the admission of new members to the guilds.<sup>48</sup> One of the most powerful of the guilds was that of the money-changers, who accepted deposits, issued vouchers and promissory notes, made loans to commerce, industry and government, and (by 1636) performed all the major functions of finance.<sup>49</sup> Rich merchants and financiers rose to prominence in the cities, and began to look with jealous eye upon the exclusive political power of a feudal aristocracy that angered them by scorning the pursuit of gold. Slowly, throughout the Tokugawa era, the mercantile wealth of the nation grew, until at last it was ready to coöperate with American gifts and European guns in bursting the shell of the old Japan.

#### IV. THE PEOPLE

*Stature—Cosmetics—Costume—Diet—Etiquette—"Sake"—The tea ceremony—The flower ceremony—Love of nature—Gardens—Homes*

This most important people in the contemporary political world is modest in stature, averaging five feet three-and-a-half inches for the men, four feet ten-and-a-half inches for the women. One of their great warriors, Tamura Maro, was described as "a man of very fine figure, . . . five feet five inches tall."<sup>50</sup> Some dieticians believe that this brevity is due to insufficiency of lime in the Japanese diet, due in turn to lack of milk, and this to the expensiveness of grazing areas in so crowded a land;<sup>51</sup> but such a theory, like everything in dietetics, must be looked upon as highly hypothetical. The women seem fragile and weak, but probably their energy, like that of the men, is one of nervous courage rather than of physical strength, and cannot be seen outside of emergencies. Their beauty is a matter of expression and carriage as well as of feature; their dainty grace is a typical product of Japanese art.

Cosmetics are popular and ancient in Japan as elsewhere; even in the early days of Kyoto's leadership every male of quality rouged his cheeks, powdered his face, sprinkled his clothes with perfume, and carried a mirror with him wherever he went.<sup>52</sup> Powder has been for centuries the female complexion of Japan; the Lady Sei Shonagon, in her *Pillow Sketches* (ca. 991 A.D.), says demurely: "I bent my head down and hid my face with my sleeve at the risk of brushing off my powder and appearing with

a spotted face."<sup>48</sup> Fashionable ladies rouged their cheeks, colored their nails, and occasionally gilded the lower lip; to complete their toilette sixteen articles were required in the seventeenth century, and twenty in the eighteenth. They recognized fifteen styles of front hair and twelve styles of back hair; they shaved their eyebrows, painted "crescent moons" or other forms in their place, or substituted for them two little black spots high up on the forehead, to match their artificially blackened teeth. To construct the architecture of a woman's hair was a task that took from two to six hours of expert labor. In the Heian epoch the majority of the men shaved the crown of the head, gathered the rest in a queue, and laid the queue athwart the crown so as to divide it into equal halves. Beards, though sparse, were a necessity; those who had none by nature wore false ones, and a pair of tweezers for the care of the beard was furnished to every guest at any fashionable house.<sup>49</sup>

Japanese costume, in the Nara age, imitated the Chinese, with tunic and trousers covered by a tight robe. In the Kyoto period the robe became looser and multiple; men as well as women wore from two to twenty superimposed robes, whose colors were determined by the rank of the wearer, and provided many prismatic displays at the edges of the sleeves. At one time the lady's sleeves reached below her knees, and bore, each of them, a little bell that tinkled as she walked. On days when the streets were wet from rain or snow they walked on wooden slippers raised by wooden cleats an inch or so above the earth. In the Tokugawa era dress became so extravagant that the *shoguns*, careless of history, tried to check it by sumptuary laws; silk-lined and embroidered breeches and socks were outlawed, beards were forbidden, certain ways of wearing the hair were proscribed, and at times the police were instructed to arrest anyone wearing fine garments in the street. Occasionally these laws were obeyed; for the most part they were circumvented by the ingenuity of human folly.<sup>50</sup> In time the rage for plural robes abated, and the Japanese became one of the most simply, modestly and tastefully dressed of peoples.

Nor did they yield to any other nation in habits of cleanliness. Among those who could afford it clothes were changed three times a day; and poor as well as rich bathed the body daily.<sup>51\*</sup> In the villages the people bathed in tubs outside their doors in summer, while gossiping industriously with their neighbors.<sup>52</sup> Hot baths at 110 degrees Fahrenheit were used as a method of keeping warm in winter. Diet was simple and wholesome until luxury came;

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\* In 1905 Tokyo had 1100 public baths, in which 500,000 persons bathed daily for 1¼ cents.<sup>53</sup>

the early Chinese descriptions of the Japanese noted that "they are a long-lived race, and persons who have reached one hundred years are very common."<sup>66</sup> The staple food of the people was rice, to which were added fish, vegetables, sea-weed, fruit and meat according to income. Meat was a rare dish except among the aristocracy and the soldiery. On a regimen of rice, a little fish and no meat, the coolie developed good lungs and tough muscles, and could run from fifty to eighty miles in twenty-four hours without distress; when he added meat he lost this capacity.<sup>67</sup> The emperors of the Kyoto period made pious efforts to enforce Buddhist dietary laws by forbidding the slaughter or eating of animals; but when the people found that the priests themselves clandestinely violated these laws, they took to meat as a delicacy, and used it to excess whenever their means permitted.<sup>67</sup>

To the Japanese, as to the Chinese and the French, fine cooking was an essential grace of civilization. Its practitioners, like artists and philosophers, divided into warring schools, and fought one another with recipes. Table manners became at least as important as religion; elaborate enactments prescribed the order and quantity of bites, and the posture of the body at each stage of the meal. Ladies were forbidden to make a sound while eating or drinking; but men were expected to indicate their appreciation of a host's generosity by a little grateful belching.<sup>68</sup> The diners sat on one or two heels on mats, at a table raised but a few inches above the floor; or the food might be laid upon the mat, without any table at all. Usually the meal was begun with a hot drink of rice-wine; for had not the poet Tahito declared, far back in the seventh century, that *sake* was the one solution for all the problems of life?

That which the seven sages sought,  
Those men of olden times,  
Was *sake*, beyond all doubt.

Instead of holding forth  
Wisely, with grave mien,  
How much better to drink *sake*,  
To get drunk, and to shout aloud.

Since it is true  
That death comes at last for all,  
Let us be joyful  
While we are alive.

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\* On the other hand those Japanese who have adopted a non-physical life while continuing to eat large quantities of rice are succumbing to digestive disorders.<sup>69</sup>

Even the jewel that sparkles in the night  
Is less to us than the uplifting of the heart  
Which comes by drinking *sake*.<sup>60</sup>

More sacred than *sake*, to the aristocracy, was tea. This gracious remedy for the tastelessness of boiled water was introduced from China into Japan, unsuccessfully in 805, successfully in 1191. At first the people shunned the leaf as a poison, and would have nothing to do with it; but when a few cups of the outlandish beverage quickly cleared the head of a *shogun* who had drunk too much *sake* the night before, the Japanese recognized the utility of tea. Its costliness added to its charm: tiny jars of it were given as precious gifts, even to reward warriors for mighty deeds of valor, and the fortunate possessors gathered their friends about them to share the royal drink. The Japanese made a graceful and complex ceremony out of tea-drinking, and Rikyu established for it six inviolable rules that raised it to a cult. The signal bidding the guests to enter the tea pavilion, said Rikyu, must be given by wooden clappers; the ablution bowl must be kept constantly filled with pure water; any guest conscious of inadequacy or inelegance in the furniture or the surroundings must leave at once, and as quietly as possible; no trivial gossip was to be indulged in, but only matters of noble and serious import were to be discussed; no word of deceit or flattery should pass any lip; and the affair should not last beyond four hours. No tea-pot was used at such *Cha-no-yu* ("hot water for tea") reunions; powdered tea was placed in a cup of choice design, hot water was added, and the cup was passed from guest to guest, each wiping its rim carefully with a napkin. When the last drinker had consumed the last drop the cup was passed around again, to be critically examined as a work of ceramic art.<sup>61</sup> In this way the tea-ceremony stimulated the potters to produce ever lovelier cups and bowls, and helped to form the manners of the Japanese into tranquillity, courtesy and charm.\*

Flowers, too, became a cult in Japan, and the same Rikyu who formulated the ritual of tea valued his flowers as much as his cups. When he heard that Hideyoshi was coming to see his famous collection of chrysanthemums, Rikyu destroyed all the blossoms in his garden but one, so that

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\* The tea-crop, of course, is now one of the important products of Japan. The Dutch East India Co. appears to have brought Europe its first tea in 1610, and to have sold it at some \$4.00 a pound. Jonas Hanway, in 1756, argued that European men were losing their stature, and women their beauty, through the drinking of tea; and reformers denounced the custom as a filthy barbarism.<sup>62</sup>

this might shine unrivaled before the terrible *shogun*.\*\* The art of flower-arrangement grew step by step with "Teaism" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and became in the seventeenth an independent devotion. "Flower-masters" arose who taught men and women how flowers should be grown in the garden and placed in the home; it was not enough, they said, to admire the blossoms, but one must learn to see as much loveliness in the leaf, the bough or the stalk as in the flower, as much beauty in one flower as in a thousand; and one must arrange them with a view not merely to color but to grouping and line.<sup>4</sup> Tea, flowers, poetry, and the dance became requisites of womanhood among the aristocracy of Japan.

Flowers are the religion of the Japanese; they worship them with sacrificial fervor and national accord. They watch for the blossoms appropriate to each season; and when, for a week or two in early April, the cherry-tree blooms, all Japan seems to leave its work to gaze at it, or even to make pilgrimages to places where the miracle is most abundant and complete.† The cherry-tree is cultivated not for any fruit but for its blossom—the emblem of the faithful warrior ready to die for his country at the moment of his fullest life.<sup>5</sup> Criminals *en route* to execution will sometimes ask for a flower.<sup>6</sup> The Lady Chiyo, in a famous poem, tells of a girl who came to draw water from a well, but, finding bucket and rope entwined with convolvuli, went elsewhere for water rather than break the tendrils.<sup>7</sup> "The heart of man," says Tsurayuki, "can never be understood; but in my native village the flowers give forth their perfume as before."<sup>8</sup> These simple lines are among the greatest of Japanese poems, for they express in perfect and irreducible form a profound characteristic of a race, and one of the rare conclusions of philosophy. Never has another people shown such love of nature as one finds in Japan; nowhere else have men and women accepted so completely all natural moods of earth, sky and sea; nowhere else have men so carefully cultivated gardens, or nourished plants in their growth, or tended them in the home. Japan did not have to wait for a Rousseau or a Wordsworth to tell it that mountains were sublime, or that lakes might be beautiful. There is hardly a dwelling in Japan without a vase of flowers in it, and hardly a poem in Japanese literature without a landscape in its lines. As Oscar Wilde thought that England should

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\* The *Taiko* and the Tea-Master loved each other like geniuses. The first accused the other of dishonesty, and was accused in turn of seducing Rikyu's daughter. In the end Rikyu committed *hara-kiri*.<sup>9</sup>

† Similar pilgrimages are made to see the maple leaves turning in the fall.

not fight France because the French wrote perfect prose, so America might seek peace to the end with a nation that thirsts for beauty almost as passionately as it hungers for power.

The art of gardening was imported from China along with Buddhism and tea; but here again the Japanese transformed creatively what they had absorbed through imitation. They found an esthetic value in asymmetry, a new charm in the surprises of unhackneyed forms; they dwarfed trees and shrubs by confining their roots in pots, and with impish humor and tyrannical affection trained them into shapes that might within a garden wall represent the wind-twisted trees of stormy Japan; they searched the craters of their volcanoes and the most precipitous shores of their seas to find rocks fused into metal by hidden fires, or moulded by patient breakers into quaint and gnarled forms; they dug little lakes, channeled roving rivulets, and crossed them with bridges that seemed to spring from the natural growth of the woods; and through all these varied formations they wore, with imperceptible design, footpaths that would lead now to startling novelties and now to cool and silent retreats.

Where space and means allowed they attached their homes to their gardens rather than their gardens to their homes. Their houses were frail but pretty; earthquakes made tall buildings dangerous, but the carpenter and woodworker knew how to bind eaves, gables and lattices into a dwelling ascetically simple, esthetically perfect, and architecturally unique. Here were no curtains, sofas, beds, tables or chairs, no obtrusive display of the dweller's wealth and luxury, no museum of pictures, statuary or bric-a-brac; but in some alcove a blossoming branch, on the wall a silk or paper painting or specimen of calligraphy, on the matted floor a cushion fronted by a lectern and flanked by a bookcase on one side and an arm-rest on the other, and, hidden in a cupboard, mattresses and coverings to be spread on the floor when the time should come to sleep. Within such modest quarters, or in the peasant's fragile hut, the Japanese family lived, and through all storms of war and revolution, of political corruption and religious strife, carried on the life and civilization of the Sacred Isles.

## V. THE FAMILY

*The paternal autocrat—The status of woman—Children—Sexual morality—The “geisha”—Love*

For the real source of social order, in the Orient even more than in the West, was the family; and the omnipotence of the father, in Japan as throughout the East, expressed not a backward condition of society but a preference for familial rather than political government. The individual was less important in the East than in the Occident because the state was weaker, and required a strongly organized and disciplined family to take the place of a far-reaching and pervasive central authority. Freedom was conceived in terms of the family rather than of the individual; for (the family being the economic unit of production as well as the social unit of order) success or failure, survival or death, came not to the separate person but to the family. The power of the father was tyrannical, but it had the painless grace of seeming natural, necessary, and human. He could dismiss a son-in-law or a daughter-in-law from the patriarchal household, while keeping the grandchildren with him; he could kill a child convicted of unchastity or a serious crime; he could sell his children into slavery or prostitution;\* and he could divorce his wife with a word.<sup>10</sup> If he was a simple commoner he was expected to be monogamous; but if he belonged to the higher classes he was entitled to keep concubines, and no notice was to be taken of his occasional infidelities.<sup>11</sup> When Christianity entered Japan, native writers complained that it disturbed the peace of families by insinuating that concubinage and adultery were sins.<sup>12</sup>

As in China, the position of woman was higher in the earlier than in the later stages of the civilization. Six empresses appear among the rulers of the imperial age; and at Kyoto women played an important, indeed a leading, rôle in the social and literary life of the nation. In that heyday of Japanese culture, if we may hazard hypotheses in such esoteric fields, the wives outstripped their husbands in adultery, and sold their virtue for an epigram.<sup>13</sup> The Lady Sei Shonagon describes a youth about to send a love-note to his mistress, but interrupting it to make love to a passing girl; and this amiable essayist adds: “I wonder if, when this lover sent his letter, tied with a dewy spray of *hagi* flower, his messenger hesitated to present it to the lady because she also had a guest?”<sup>14</sup> Under the influence of feudal militarism, and in the natural and historical alternation of laxity and re-

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\* This was done only in the lower classes, and in extreme need.<sup>10</sup>

straint, the Chinese theory of the subjection of woman to man won a wide influence, "society" became predominantly male, and women were dedicated to the "Three Obediences"—to father, husband and son. Education, except in etiquette, was rarely wasted upon them, and fidelity was exacted on penalty of death. If a husband caught his wife in adultery he was authorized to kill her and her paramour at once; to which the subtle Iyeyasu added that if he killed the woman but spared the man he was himself to be put to death.<sup>10</sup> The philosopher Ekken advised the husband to divorce his wife if she talked too loudly or too long; but if the husband happened to be dissolute and brutal, said Ekken, the wife should treat him with doubled kindness and gentleness. Under this rigorous and long-continued training the Japanese woman became the most industrious, faithful and obedient of wives, and harassed travelers began to wonder whether a system that had produced such gracious results should not be adopted in the West.<sup>11</sup>

Contrary to the most ancient and sacred customs of Oriental society, fertility was not encouraged in *Samurai* Japan. As the population grew the little islands felt themselves crowded, and it became a matter of good repute in a *Samurai* not to marry before thirty, and not to have more children than two.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless every man was expected to marry and beget children. If his wife proved barren he could divorce her; and if she gave him only daughters he was admonished to adopt a son, lest his name and property perish; for daughters could not inherit.<sup>13</sup> Children were trained in the Chinese virtues and literature of filial piety, for on this, as the source of family order, rested the discipline and security of the state. The Empress Koken, in the eighth century, ordered every Japanese household to provide itself with a copy of the "Classic of Filial Piety," and every student in the provincial schools or the universities was required to become a master of it. Except for the *Samurai*, whose loyalty to his lord was his highest obligation, filial piety was the basic and supreme virtue of the Japanese; even his relation to the emperor was to be one of filial affection and obedience. Until the West came, with its disruptive ideas of individual freedom, this cardinal virtue constituted nearly all the moral code of the commoner in Japan. The conversion of the islands to Christianity was made almost impossible by the Biblical command that a man should leave his father and his mother and cleave to his wife.<sup>14</sup>

Other virtues than obedience and loyalty were less emphasized than in contemporary Europe. Chastity was desirable, and some higher-class women killed themselves when their virginity was threatened;<sup>15</sup> but a single



lapse was not synonymous with ruin. The most famous of Japanese novels, the *Genji Monogatari*, is an epic of aristocratic seduction; and the most famous of Japanese essays, the *Pillow Sketches* of the Lady Sei Shonagon, reads in places like a treatise on the etiquette of sin.<sup>25</sup> The desires of the flesh were looked upon as natural, like hunger and thirst, and thousands of men, many of them respectable husbands, crowded, at night, the *Yoshiwara*, or "Flower District," of Tokyo. There, in the most orderly disorderly houses in the world, fifteen thousand trained and licensed courtesans sat of an evening behind their lattices, gorgeously attired and powder-white, ready to provide song, dance and venery for unmated or ill-mated men.<sup>26</sup>

The best educated of the courtesans were the *geisha* girls, whose very name indicated that they were persons (*sha*) capable of an artistic performance (*gei*). Like the *hetairai* of Greece they affected literature as well as love, and seasoned their promiscuity with poetry. The *Shogun* Iyenari (1787-1836), who had already (1791) forbidden mixed bathing as occasionally encouraging immorality,<sup>27</sup> issued a rigorous edict against the *geisha* in 1822, describing her as "a female singer who, magnificently appareled, hires herself out to amuse guests at restaurants, ostensibly by dancing and singing, but really by practices of a very different character."<sup>28</sup> These women were henceforth to be classed as prostitutes, along with those "numberless wenches" who, in Kaempfer's day, filled every tea-shop in the village and every inn on the road.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, parties and families continued to invite the *geisha* to provide entertainment at social affairs; finishing schools were established where older *geisha* trained young apprentices in their varied arts; and periodically, at the *Kaburenjo*, teachers and pupils served ceremonial tea, and gave a public performance of their more presentable accomplishments. Parents hard put to support their daughters sometimes, with their manipulated "consent," apprenticed them to the *geisha* for a consideration; and a thousand Japanese novels have told tales of girls who sold themselves to the trade to save their families from starvation.<sup>30</sup>

These customs, however startling, do not differ essentially from the habits and institutions of the Occident, except perhaps in candor, refinement and grace. The vast majority of Japanese girls, we are assured, remained as chaste as the virgins of the West.<sup>31</sup> Despite such frank arrangements the Japanese managed to live lives of comparative order and

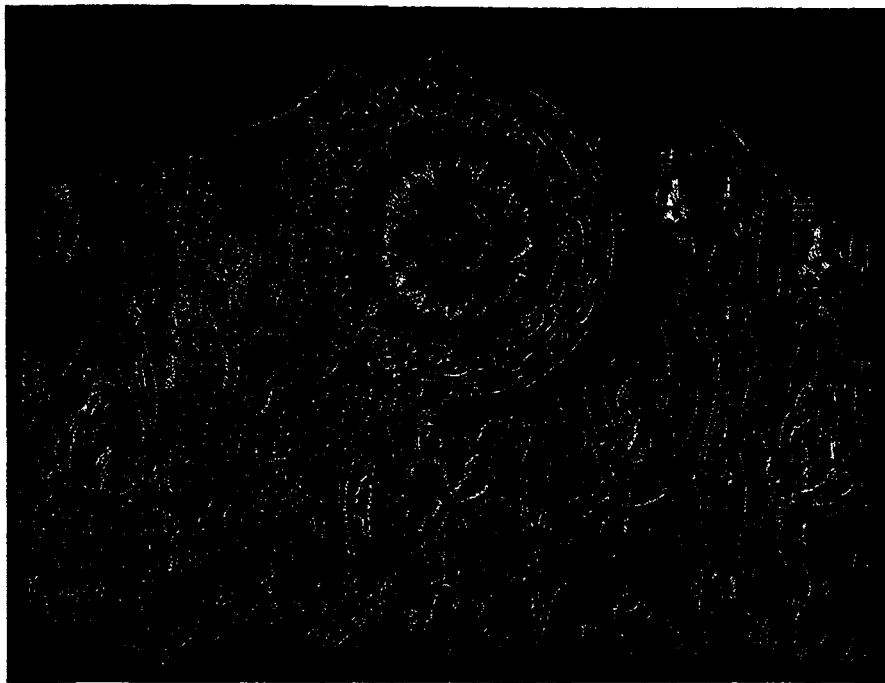


FIG. 79—*The bronze halo  
and background of the  
Amida at Horiuji*  
Photo by  
Metropolitan Museum of Art

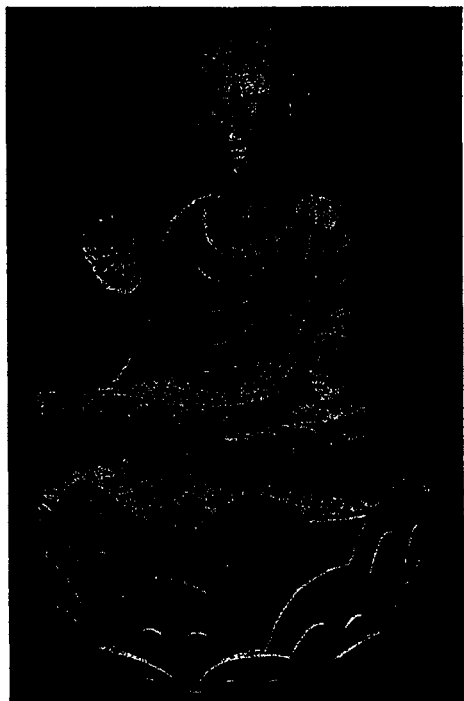


FIG. 78—*Image of Amida-  
Buddha at Horiuji*  
Photo by  
Metropolitan Museum of Art

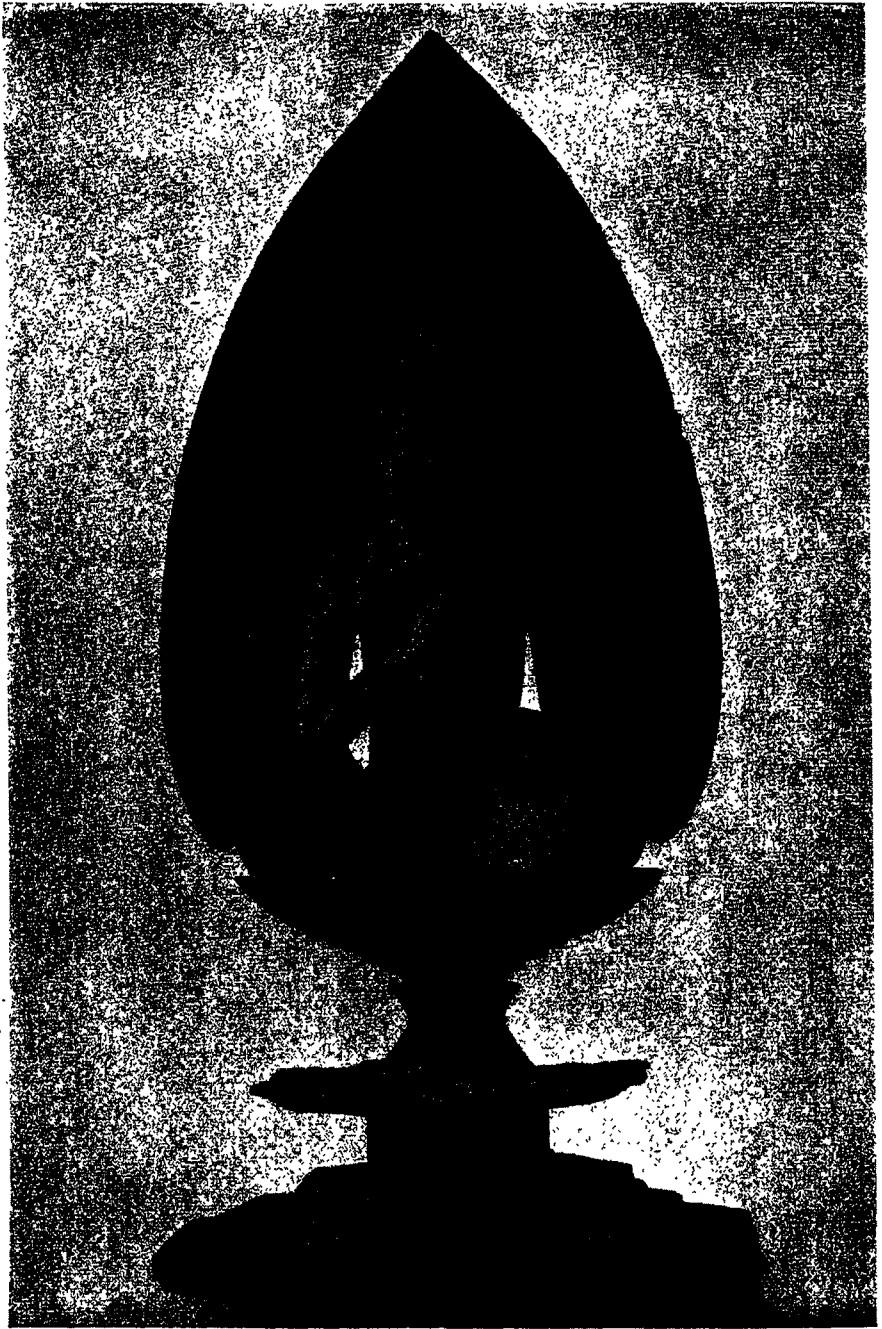


FIG. 80—*The Vairochana Buddha of Japan. Carved and lacquered wood.*  
Ca. 950 A.D.  
Metropolitan Museum of Art

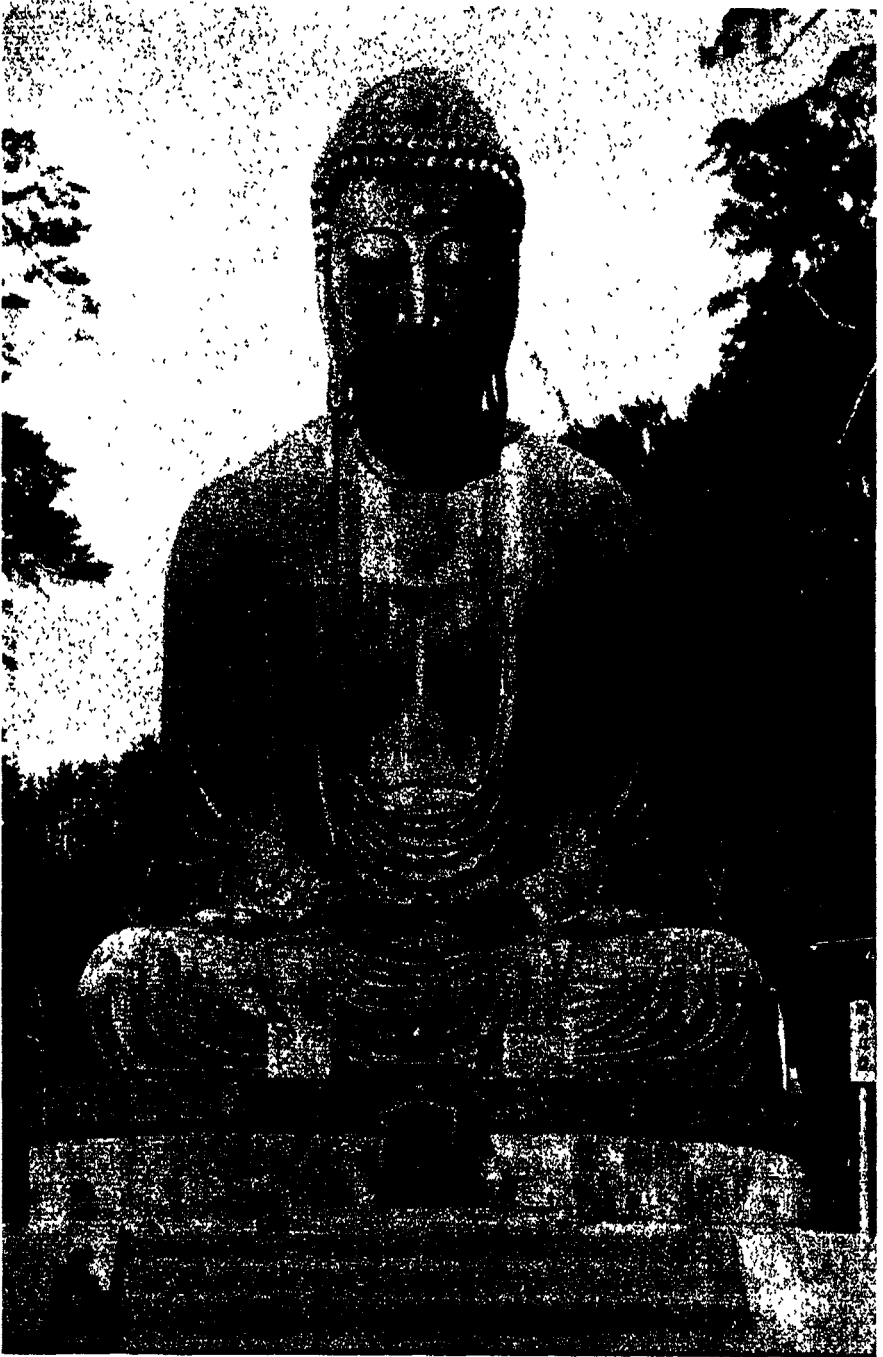


FIG. 81—*The Daibutsu, or Great Buddha, at Kamakura*

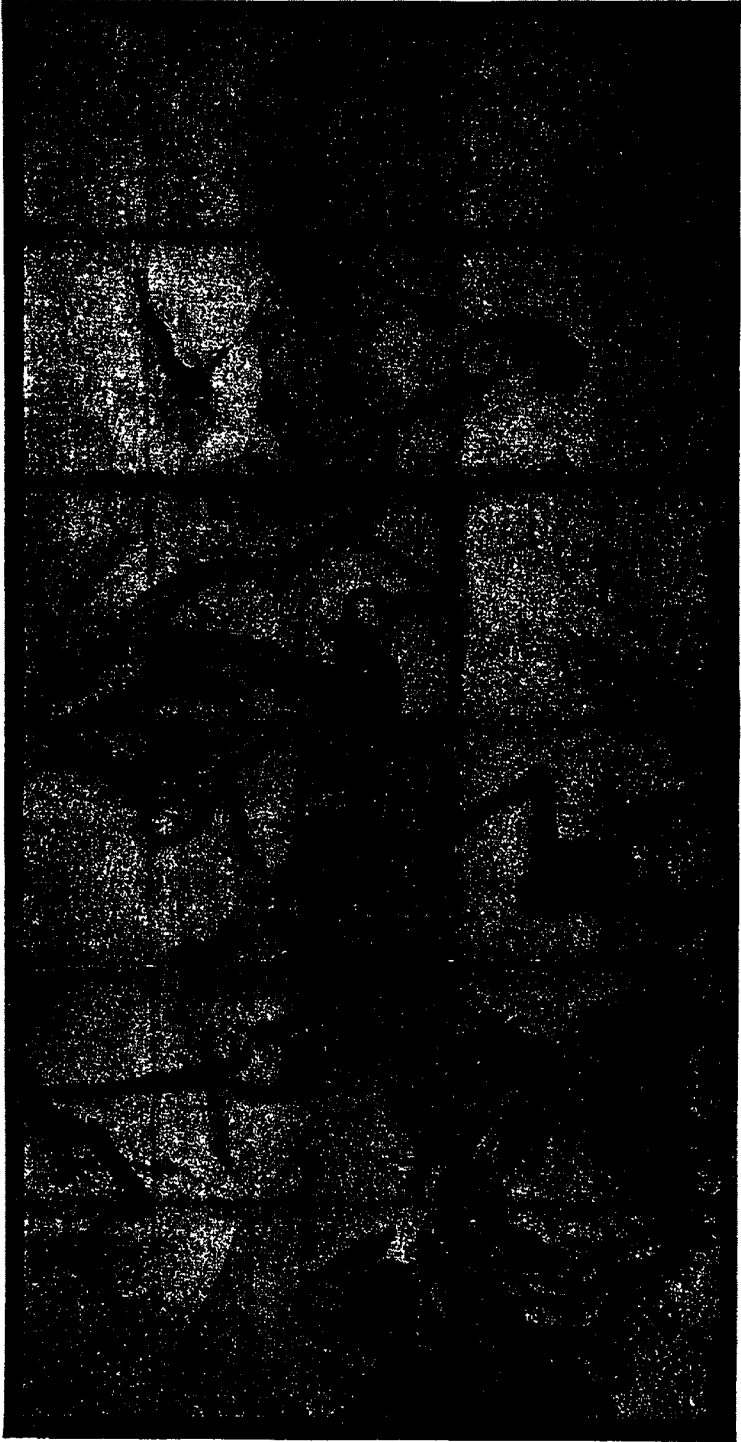


FIG. 82—*Monkeys and Birds*. By Sesshu, 15th century

decency, and though they did not often allow love to determine marriage for life, they were capable of the tenderest affection for the objects of their desire. Instances are frequent, in the current history as well as in the imaginative literature of Japan, where young men and women have killed themselves in the hope of enjoying in eternity the unity forbidden them by their parents on earth.<sup>20</sup> Love is not the major theme of Japanese poetry, but here and there its note is struck with unmatched simplicity, sincerity and depth.

Oh! that the white waves far out  
 On the Sea of Ise  
 Were but flowers,  
 That I might gather them  
 And bring them as a gift to my love.<sup>21</sup>

And, again with characteristic mingling of nature and feeling, the great Tsurayuki tells in four lines the story of his rejected love:

Naught is so fleeting as the cherry-flower,  
 You say . . . yet I remember well the hour  
 When life's bloom withered at one spoken word—  
 And not a breath of wind had stirred.<sup>22</sup>

## VI. THE SAINTS

### *Religion in Japan — The transformation of Buddhism — The priests — Sceptics*

That same devotion which speaks in patriotism and love, in affection for parents, children, mate and fatherland, inevitably sought in the universe as a whole some central power to which it might attach itself in loyalty, and through which it might derive some value and significance larger than one person, and more lasting than one life. The Japanese are only a moderately religious people—not profoundly and overwhelmingly religious like the Hindus, nor passionately and fanatically religious like the tortured saints of medieval Catholicism or the warring saints of the Reformation; and yet they are distinctly more given to piety and prayer, and a happy-ending philosophy, than their sceptical cousins across the Yellow Sea.

Buddhism came from its founder a cloud of pessimistic exhortation, inviting men to death; but under the skies of Japan it was soon transformed into a cult of protecting deities, pleasant ceremonies, joyful festivals, Rousseauian pilgrimages, and a consoling paradise. It is true that there were hells too in Japanese Buddhism—indeed, one hundred and twenty-eight of them, designed for every purpose and enemy. There was a world of demons as well as of saints, and a personal Devil (*Oni*) with horns, flat nose, claws and fangs; he lived in some dark, northeastern realm, to which he would, now and then, lure women to give him pleasure, or men to provide him with proteins.<sup>66</sup> But on the other hand there were *Bodhisattvas* ready to transfer to human beings a portion of the grace they had accumulated by many incarnations of virtuous living; and there were gracious deities, like Our Lady Kwannon and the Christlike Jizo, who were the very essence of divine tenderness. Worship was only partly by prayer at the household altars and the temple shrines; a large part of it consisted of merry processions in which religion was subordinated to gayety, and piety took the form of feminine fashion-displays and masculine revelry. The more serious devotee might cleanse his spirit by praying for a quarter of an hour under a waterfall in the depth of winter; or he might go on pilgrimages from shrine to shrine of his sect, meanwhile feasting his soul on the beauty of his native land. For the Japanese could choose among many varieties of Buddhism: he might seek self-realization and bliss through the quiet practices of *Zen* ("meditation"); he might follow the fiery Nichiren into the Lotus Sect, and find salvation through learning the "Lotus Law"; he might join the Spirit Sect, and fast and pray until Buddha appeared to him in the flesh; he might be comforted by the Sect of the Pure Land, and be saved by faith alone; or he might find his way in patient pilgrimage to the monastery of Koyasan, and attain paradise by being buried in ground made holy by the bones of Kobo Daishi, the great scholar, saint and artist who, in the ninth century, had founded *Shingon*, the Sect of the True Word.

All in all, Japanese Buddhism was one of the pleasantest of man's myths. It conquered Japan peacefully, and complaisantly found room, within its theology and its pantheon, for the doctrines and deities of *Shinto*: Buddha was amalgamated with Amaterasu, and a modest place was set apart, in Buddhist temples, for a *Shinto* shrine. The Buddhist priests of the earlier centuries were men of devotion, learning and kindness, who profoundly influenced and advanced Japanese letters and arts; some of them

were great painters or sculptors, and some were scholars whose painstaking translation of Buddhist and Chinese literature proved a fertile stimulus to the cultural development of Japan. Success, however, ruined the later priests; many became lazy and greedy (note the jolly caricatures so often made of them by Japanese carvers in ivory or wood); and some traveled so far from Buddha as to organize their own armies for the establishment or maintenance of political power.\* Since they were providing the first necessity of life—a consolatory hope—their industry flourished even when others decayed; their wealth grew from century to century, while the poverty of the people remained.\* The priests assured the faithful that a man of forty could purchase another decade of life by paying forty temples to say masses in his name; at fifty he could buy ten years more by engaging fifty temples; at sixty years sixty temples—and so till, through insufficient piety, he died.\*\* Under the Tokugawa regime the monks drank bibulously, kept mistresses candidly, practised pederasty,† and sold the cozier places in the hierarchy to the highest bidders.\*

During the eighteenth century Buddhism seems to have lost its hold upon the nation; the *shoguns* went over to Confucianism, Mabuchi and Moto-ori led a movement for the restoration of *Shinto*, and scholars like Ichikawa and Arai Hakuseki attempted a rationalist critique of religious belief. Ichikawa argued boldly that verbal tradition could never be quite as trustworthy as written record; that writing had not come to Japan until almost a thousand years after the supposed origin of the islands and their inhabitants from the spear-drops and loins of the gods; that the claim of the imperial family to divine origin was merely a political device; and that if the ancestors of men were not human beings they were much more likely to have been animals than gods.\* The civilization of the old Japan, like so many others, had begun with religion and was ending with philosophy.

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\* "It was mainly in seasons when people were starving," says Murdoch, "or dying in tens of thousands from pestilence, that the monks in the great Kyoto and Nara monasteries fared most sumptuously; for it was in times like these that believers were most lavish in their gifts and benefactions."<sup>98</sup>

† "In 1454 . . . boys were often sold to the priests, who shaved their eyebrows, powdered their faces, dressed them in female garb, and put them to the vilest of uses; for since the days of Yoshimitsu, who had set an evil example in this as in so many other matters, the practice of pederasty had become very common, especially in the monasteries, although it was by no means confined to them."<sup>99</sup>



## VII. THE THINKERS

*Confucius reaches Japan—A critic of religion—The religion of scholarship—Kaibara Ekken—On education—On pleasure—The rival schools—A Japanese Spinoza—Ito Jinsai—Ito Togai—Ogyu Sorai—The war of the scholars—Mabuchi—Moto-ori*

Philosophy, like religion, came to Japan from China. And as Buddhism had reached Nippon six hundred years after its entrance into the Middle Flowery People's Kingdom, so philosophy, in the form of Sung Confucianism, awoke to consciousness in Japan almost four hundred years after China had given it a second birth. About the middle of the sixteenth century a scion of Japan's most famous family, Fujiwara Seigwa, discontent with the knowledge that he had received as a monk, and having heard of great sages in China, resolved to go and study there. Intercourse with China having been forbidden in 1552, the young priest made plans to cross the water in a smuggling vessel. While waiting in an inn at the port he overheard a student reading aloud, in Japanese, from a Chinese volume on Confucius. Seigwa was overjoyed to find that the book was Chu Hsi's commentary on "The Great Learning." "This," he exclaimed, "is what I have so long desired." By sedulous searching he obtained a copy of this and other products of Sung philosophy, and became so absorbed in their discussions that he forgot to go to China. Within a few years he had gathered about him a group of young scholars, who looked upon the Chinese philosophers as the revelation of a brave new world of secular thought. Iyeyasu heard of these developments, and asked Seigwa to come and expound to him the Confucian classics; but the proud priest, preferring the quiet of his study, sent a brilliant pupil in his place. Nevertheless the more active-minded youths of his time made a pathway to his door, and his lectures attracted so much attention that the Buddhist monks of Kyoto complained, saying it was an outrage that anyone but an orthodox and practising priest should deliver public lectures or teach the people.<sup>100</sup> The matter was simplified by Seigwa's sudden death (1619).

The pupil whom he had sent to Iyeyasu soon outranked him in fame and influence. The first Tokugawa *shoguns* took a fancy to Hayashi Razan, and made him their counsellor and the formulator of their public pronouncements. Iyemitsu set a fashion for the nobility by attending

Hayashi's lectures in 1630; and soon the young Confucian had so filled his hearers with enthusiasm for Chinese philosophy that he had no trouble in winning them from both Buddhism and Christianity to the simple moral creed bequeathed to the Far East by the sage of Shantung. Christian theology, he told them, was a medley of incredible fancies, while Buddhism was a degenerative doctrine that threatened to weaken the fibre and morale of the Japanese nation. "You priests," said Razan, "maintain that this world is impermanent and ephemeral. By your enchantments you cause people to forget the social relations; you make an end of all the duties and all the proprieties. Then you proclaim: 'Man's path is full of sins; leave your father and mother, leave your master, leave your children, and seek for salvation.' Now I tell you that I have studied much; but I have nowhere found that there was a path for a man apart from loyalty to one's lord, and of filial piety towards one's parents."<sup>m</sup> Hayashi was enjoying an old age of quiet renown when the great fire of Tokyo, in 1657, included him among its hundred thousand casualties. His disciples ran to warn him of the danger, but he merely nodded his head, and turned back to his book. When the flames were actually around him he ordered a palanquin, and was carried away in it while still reading his book. Like countless others, he passed that night under the stars; and three days later he died of the cold that he had caught during the conflagration.

Nature sought to atone for his death by giving Japan, in the following year, one of the most enthusiastic of Confucians. Muro Kyuso chose as his patron deity the God of Learning. Before Michizane's shrine he spent, in his youth, an entire night in prayer; and then he dedicated himself to knowledge with youthful resolutions strangely akin to those of his contemporary, Spinoza.\*

I will arise every morning at six o'clock and retire each evening at twelve o'clock.

Except when prevented by guests, sickness or other unavoidable circumstances, I will not be idle. . . .

I will not speak falsehoods.

I will avoid useless words, even with inferiors.

I will be temperate in eating and drinking.

If lustful desires arise I will destroy them at once, without nourishing them at all.

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\* Cf. the opening pages of *De Intellectus Emendatione*.

Wandering thought destroys the value of reading. I will be careful to guard against lack of concentration, and over-haste.

I will seek self-culture, not allowing my mind to be disturbed by the desire for fame or gain.

Engraving these rules on my heart I will attempt to follow them. The gods be my witness.<sup>108</sup>

Nevertheless, Kyuso did not preach a scholastic seclusion, but with the broad-mindedness of a Goethe directed character into the stream of the world:

Seclusion is one method, and is good; but a superior man rejoices when his friends come. A man polishes himself by association with others. Every man who desires learning should seek to be polished in this way. But if he shuts himself away from everything and everybody, he is guilty of violating the great way. . . . The Way of the Sages is not sundered from matters of everyday life. . . . Though the Buddhists withdraw themselves from human relations, cutting out the relation of master and subject, parent and child, they are not able to cut out love from themselves. . . . It is selfishness to seek happiness in the future world. . . . Think not that God is something distant, but seek for him in your own hearts; for the heart is the abode of God.<sup>109</sup>

The most attractive of these early Japanese Confucians is not usually classed among the philosophers, for like Goethe and Emerson he had the skill to phrase his wisdom gracefully, and jealous literature claims him for her own. Like Aristotle Kaibara Ekken was the son of a physician, and passed from medicine to a cautious empirical philosophy. Despite a busy public career, including many official posts, he found time to become the greatest scholar of his day. His books numbered more than a hundred, and made him known throughout Japan; for they were written not in Chinese (then the language of his fellow philosophers) but in such simple Japanese that any literate person might understand them. Despite his learning and renown he had, along with the vanity of every writer, the humility of every sage. Once, says tradition, a passenger on a vessel plying along the Japanese coast undertook to lecture to his fellow travelers on the ethics of Confucius. At first every one attended with typical Japanese curiosity and eagerness to learn; but as the speaker went on his audience, finding him a bore who had no nose for distinguishing a live fact from a dead one,

melted swiftly away, until only one listener remained. This solitary auditor, however, followed the discourse with such devout concentration that the lecturer, having finished, inquired his name. "Kaibara Ekken," was the quiet reply. The orator was abashed to discover that for an hour or more he had been attempting to instruct in Confucianism the most celebrated Confucian master of the age.<sup>104</sup>

Ekken's philosophy was as free from theology as K'ung's, and clung agnostically to the earth. "Foolish men, while doing crooked things, offer their prayers to questionable gods, striving to obtain happiness."<sup>105</sup> With him philosophy was an effort to unify experience into wisdom, and desire into character; and it seemed to him more pressing and important to unify character than to unify knowledge. He speaks with strangely contemporary pertinence:

The aim of learning is not merely to widen knowledge but to form character. Its object is to make us true men, rather than learned men. . . . The moral teaching which was regarded as the trunk of all learning in the schools of the olden days is hardly studied in our schools today, because of the numerous branches of study required. No longer do men deem it worth while to listen to the teachings of the hoary sages of the past. Consequently the amiable relations between master and servant, superior and inferior, older and younger are sacrificed on the altar of the god called "Individual Right." . . . The chief reason why the teachings of the sages are not more appreciated by the people is because scholars endeavor to show off their learning, rather than to make it their endeavor to live up to the teachings of the sages.<sup>106</sup>

The young men of his time seem to have reproved him for his conservatism, for he flings at them a lesson which every vigorous generation has to relearn.

Children, you may think an old man's words wearisome; yet, when your father or grandfather teaches, do not turn your head away, but listen. Though you may think the tradition of your family stupid, do not break it into pieces, for it is the embodiment of the wisdom of your fathers.<sup>107</sup>

Perhaps he deserved reproof, for the most famous of his books, the *Onna Daikaku*, or "The Great Learning for Women," had a strong reactionary

influence on the position of women in Japan. But he was no gloomy preacher intent on finding sin in every delight; he knew that one task of the educator is to teach us how to enjoy our environment, as well as (if we can) to understand and control it.

Do not let a day slip by without enjoyment. . . . Do not allow yourself to be tormented by the stupidity of others. . . . Remember that from its earliest beginnings the world has never been free from fools. . . . Let us not then distress ourselves, nor lose our pleasure, even though our own children, brothers and relations, happen to be selfish, ignoring our best efforts to make them otherwise. . . . *Sake* is the beautiful gift of Heaven. Drunk in small quantities it expands the heart, lifts the downcast spirit, drowns cares, and improves the health. Thus it helps a man and also his friends to enjoy pleasures. But he who drinks too much loses his respectability, becomes over-talkative, and utters abusive words like a madman. . . . Enjoy *sake* by drinking just enough to give you a slight exhilaration, and thus enjoy seeing flowers when they are just bursting into bloom. To drink too much and spoil this great gift of Heaven is foolish.<sup>300</sup>

Like most philosophers, he found the last refuge of his happiness in nature.

If we make our heart the fountain-head of pleasure, our eyes and ears the gates of pleasure, and keep away base desires, then our pleasure shall be plentiful; for we can then become the master of mountains, water, moon and flowers. We do not need to ask any man for them, neither, to obtain them, need we pay a single *sen*; they have no specified owner. Those who can enjoy the beauty in the Heaven above and the Earth beneath need not envy the luxury of the rich, for they are richer than the richest. . . . The scenery is constantly changing. No two mornings or two evenings are quite alike. . . . At this moment one feels as if all the beauty of the world had gone. But then the snow begins to fall, and one awakens the next morning to find the village and the mountains transformed into silver, while the once bare trees seem alive with flowers. . . . Winter resembles the night's sleep, which restores our strength and energy. . . .

Loving flowers, I rise early;

Loving the moon, I retire late. . . .

Men come and go like passing streams;

But the moon remains throughout the ages.<sup>300</sup>

In Japan, even more than in China, the influence of Confucius on philosophic thought overwhelmed all the resistance of unplaced rebels on the one hand, and mystic idealists on the other. The *Shushi* school of Seigwa, Razan and Ekken took its name from Chu Hsi, and followed his orthodox and conservative interpretation of the Chinese classics. For a time it was opposed by the *Oyomei* school, which took its lead from Wang Yang-ming,\* known to Nippon as Oyomei. Like Wang, the Japanese philosophers of *Oyomei* sought to deduce right and wrong from the conscience of the individual rather than from the traditions of society and the teachings of the ancient sages. "I had for many years been a devout believer in *Shushi*," says Nakaye Toju (1608-48), "when, by the mercy of Heaven, the collected works of Oyomei were brought for the first time to Japan. Had it not been for the aid of their teaching, my life would have been empty and barren."<sup>20</sup> So Nakaye devoted himself to expounding an idealist monism, in which the world was a unity of *ki* and *ri*—of things (or "modes") and reason or law. God and this unity were one; the world of things was his body, the universal law was his soul.<sup>21</sup> Like Spinoza, Wang Yang-ming and the Scholastics of Europe, Nakaye accepted this universal law with a kind of *amor dei intellectualis*, and accounted good and evil as human terms and prejudices describing no objective entities; and, again strangely like Spinoza, he found a certain immortality in the contemplative union of the individual spirit with the timeless laws or reason of the world.

Man's mind is the mind of the sensible world, but we have another mind which is called conscience. This is reason itself, and does not belong to form (or "mode"). It is infinite and eternal. As our conscience is one with (the divine or universal) reason, it has no beginning or end. If we act in accord with (such) reason or conscience, we are ourselves the incarnations of the infinite and eternal, and have eternal life.<sup>22</sup>

Nakaye was a man of saintly sincerity, but his philosophy pleased neither the people nor the government. The Shogunate trembled at the notion that every man might judge for himself what was right and what was wrong. When another exponent of *Oyomei*, Kumazawa Banzan, passed from metaphysics to politics, and criticized the ignorance and idleness of the *Samurai*, an order was sent out for his arrest. Kumazawa, recognizing

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\* Cf. page 733 above.

the importance of the heels as especially philosophical organs, fled to the mountains, and passed most of his remaining years in sylvan obscurity."<sup>33</sup> In 1795 an edict went forth against the further teaching of the *Oyomei* philosophy; and so docile was the mind of Japan that from that time on *Oyomei* concealed itself within the phrases of Confucianism, or entered as a modest component into that military *Zen* which, by a typical paradox of history, transformed the pacific faith of Buddha into the inspiration of patriotic warriors.

As Japanese scholarship developed, and became directly acquainted with the writings of Confucius rather than merely with his Sung interpreters, men like Ito Jinsai and Ogyu Sorai established the Classical School of Japanese thought, which insisted on going over the heads of all commentators to the great K'ung himself. Ito Jinsai's family did not agree with him about the value of Confucius; they taunted him with the impracticability of his studies, and predicted that he would die in poverty. "Scholarship," they told him, "belongs to the Chinese. It is useless in Japan. Even though you obtain it you cannot sell it. Far better become a physician and make money." The young student listened without hearing; he forgot the rank and wealth of his family, put aside all material ambition, gave his house and property to a younger brother, and went to live in solitude so that he might study without distraction. He was handsome, and was sometimes mistaken for a prince; but he dressed like a peasant and shunned the public eye. "Jinsai," says a Japanese historian,

was very poor, so poor that at the end of the year he could not make New Year's rice cakes; but he was very calm about it. His wife came, and kneeling down before him said: "I will do the housework under any circumstances; but there is one thing that is unbearable. Our boy Genso does not understand the meaning of our poverty; he envies the neighbor's children their rice cakes. I scold him, but my heart is torn in two." Jinsai continued to pore over his books without making any reply. Then, taking off his garnet ring, he handed it to his wife, as much as to say, "Sell this, and buy some rice cakes."<sup>34</sup>

At Kyoto Jinsai opened a private school, and lectured there for forty years, training, all in all, some three thousand students in philosophy. He spoke occasionally of metaphysics, and described the universe as a living organism in which life always overrode death; but like Confucius he had a warm prejudice in favor of the terrestrial practical.

That which is useless in governing the state, or in walking in the way of human relations, is useless. . . . Learning must be active and living; learning must not be mere dead theory or speculation. . . . Those who know the way seek it in their daily life. . . . If apart from human relations we hope to find the way, it is like trying to catch the wind. . . . The ordinary way is excellent; there is no more excellent in the world.<sup>228</sup>

After the death of Jinsai his school and work were carried on by his son, Ito Togai. Togai laughed at fame, and said: "How can you help calling a man, whose name is forgotten as soon as he dies, an animal or sand? But is it not a mistake for man to be eager to make books, or construct sentences, in order that his name may be admired, and may not be forgotten?"<sup>229</sup> He wrote two hundred and forty-two volumes; but for the rest he lived a life of modesty and wisdom. The critics complained that these books were strong in what Molière called *virtus dormitiva*; nevertheless Togai's pupils pointed out that he had written two hundred and forty-two books without saying an unkind word of any other philosopher. When he died they placed this enviable epitaph upon his tomb:

He did not talk about the faults of others. . . .

He cared for nothing but books.

His life was uneventful.<sup>230</sup>

The greatest of these later Confucians was Ogyu Sorai; as he himself put the matter, "From the time of Jimmu, the first emperor of Japan, how few scholars have been my equal!" Unlike Togai he enjoyed controversy, and spoke his mind violently about philosophers living or dead. When an inquiring young man asked him, "What do you like besides reading?" he answered, "There is nothing better than eating burnt beans and criticizing the great men of Japan." "Sorai," said Namikawa Tenjin, "is a very great man, but he thinks that he knows all that there is to be known. This is a bad habit."<sup>231</sup> Ogyu could be modest when he wished: all the Japanese, he said, explicitly including himself, were barbarians; only the Chinese were civilized; and "if there is anything that ought to be said, it has already been said by the ancient kings or Confucius."<sup>232</sup> The *Samurai* and the scholars raged at him, but the reformer *shogun*, Yoshimune, enjoyed his courage, and protected him against the intellectual mob. Sorai set up his rostrum at Yedo, and like Hsün-tze denouncing the sentimentality of Mo Ti, or



Hobbes refuting Rousseau before Rousseau's birth, flung his laughing logic at Jinsai, who had announced that man is naturally good. On the contrary, said Sorai, man is a natural villain, and grasps whatever he can reach; only artificial morals and laws, and merciless education, turn him into a tolerable citizen.

As soon as men are born, desires spring up. When we cannot realize our desires, which are unlimited, struggle arises; when struggle arises, confusion follows. As the ancient kings hated confusion, they founded propriety and righteousness, and with these governed the desires of the people. . . . Morality is nothing but the necessary means for controlling the subjects of the Empire. It did not originate with nature, nor with the impulses of man's heart, but it was devised by the superior intelligence of certain sages, and authority was given to it by the state.<sup>120</sup>

As if to confirm the pessimism of Sorai, Japanese thought in the century that followed him fell even from the modest level to which its imitation of Confucius had raised it, and lost itself in a bitter ink-shedding war between the idolaters of China and the worshipers of Japan. In this battle of the ancients against the moderns the moderns won by their superior admiration of antiquity. The *Kangakusha*, or (pro-)Chinese scholars, called their own country barbarous, argued that all wisdom was Chinese, and contented themselves with translating and commenting upon Chinese literature and philosophy. The *Wagakusha*, or (pro-)Japanese scholars, denounced this attitude as obscurantist and unpatriotic, and called upon the nation to turn its back upon China and renew its strength at the sources of its own poetry and history. Mabuchi attacked the Chinese as an inherently vicious people, exalted the Japanese as naturally good, and attributed the lack of early or native Japanese literature and philosophy to the fact that the Japanese did not need instruction in virtue or intelligence.\*

Inspired by a visit to Mabuchi, a young physician by the name of Moto-ori Norinaga devoted thirty-four years to writing a forty-four-volume commentary on the *Kojiki*, or "Records of Ancient Events"—the classical

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\* From Sir E. Satow's *paraphrase* of Mabuchi's teaching: "In ancient times, when men's dispositions were straightforward, a complicated system of morals was unnecessary . . . . In those days it was unnecessary to have a doctrine of right and wrong. But the Chinese, being bad at heart . . . were only good on the outside, and their bad acts became of such magnitude that society was thrown into disorder. The Japanese, being straightforward, could do without teaching."<sup>121</sup>

repository of Japanese, especially of *Shinto*, legends. This commentary, the *Kojiki-den*, was a virorous assault upon everything Chinese, in or out of Japan. It boldly upheld the literal truth of the primitive stories that recounted the divine origin of the Japanese islands, emperors and people; and under the very eyes of the Tokugawa regents it stimulated among the intellectuals of Japan that movement back to their own language, ways and traditions which was ultimately to revive *Shinto* as against Buddhism, and restore the supremacy of the emperors over the *shoguns*. "Japan," wrote Moto-ori, "is the country which gave birth to the Goddess of the Sun, Amaterasu; and this fact proves its superiority over all other countries."<sup>125</sup> His pupil Hirata carried on the argument after Moto-ori's death:

It is most lamentable that so much ignorance should prevail as to the evidences of the two fundamental doctrines that Japan is the country of the gods, and her inhabitants the descendants of the gods. Between the Japanese people and the Chinese, Hindus, Russians, Dutch, Siamese, Cambodians, and other nations of the world, there is a difference of kind rather than of degree. It was not out of vainglory that the inhabitants of this country called it the land of the gods. The gods who created all countries belonged, without exception, to the Divine Age, and were all born in Japan, so that Japan is their native country, and all the world acknowledges the appropriateness of the title. The Koreans were the first to become acquainted with this truth, and from them it was gradually diffused through the globe, and accepted by everyone. . . . Foreign countries were of course produced by the power of the creator gods, but they were not begotten by Izanagi and Izanami, nor did they give birth to the Goddess of the Sun, which is the cause of their inferiority.<sup>126</sup>

Such were the men and the opinions that established the *Sonno Jo-i* movement to "honor the Emperor and expel the foreign barbarians." In the nineteenth century that movement inspired the Japanese people to overthrow the Shogunate and reestablish the supremacy of the Divine House. In the twentieth it plays a living rôle in nourishing that fiery patriotism which will not be content until the Son of Heaven rules all the fertile millions of the resurrected East.

# The Mind and Art of Old Japan

## I. LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

### *The language—Writing—Education*

MEANWHILE the Japanese had borrowed their systems of writing and education from the barbarian Chinese. Their language was peculiarly their own, presumably Mongolian and akin to the Korean, but not demonstrably derived from this or any other known tongue. It differed especially from the Chinese in being polysyllabic and agglutinative, and yet simple; it had few aspirates, no gutturals, no compound or final consonants (except *n*); and almost every vowel was melodiously long. The grammar, too, was a natural and easy system; it dispensed with number and gender in its nouns, with degrees of comparison in its adjectives, and with personal inflections in its verbs; it had few personal pronouns, and no relative pronouns at all. On the other hand there were inflections of negation and mood in adjectives and verbs; troublesome “postpositions”—modifying suffixes—were used instead of prepositions; and complex honorifics like “Your humble servant” and “Your Excellency” took the place of the first and second personal pronouns.

The language dispensed even with writing, apparently, until Koreans and Chinese brought the art to Japan in the early centuries of our era; and then the Japanese were content for hundreds of years to express their Italianly beautiful speech in the ideographs of the Middle Kingdom. Since a complete Chinese character had to be used for each syllable of a Japanese word, Japanese writing, in the Nara age, was very nearly the most laborious ever known. During the ninth century that law of economy which determines so much of philology brought to the relief of Japan two simplified forms of writing. In each of them a Chinese character, shortened into cursive form, was used to represent one of the forty-seven syllables that constitute the spoken speech of Japan; and this syllabary of forty-seven characters served instead of an alphabet.\* Since a large part of Japanese literature is in Chinese, and most of the remainder is written not in the popular syllabary but in a combination of Chinese characters and native alphabets, few Western scholars

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\* The *katakana* script reduced these syllabic symbols to straight lines—as in the “tabloid” press, the larger billboards, and the illuminated signs of modern Japan.<sup>2</sup>

have been able to master it in the original. Our knowledge of Japanese literature is consequently fragmentary and deceptive, and our judgments of it can be of little worth. The Jesuits, harassed with these linguistic barriers, reported that the language of the islands had been invented by the Devil to prevent the preaching of the Gospel to the Japanese.\*\*

Writing remained for a long time a luxury of the higher classes; until the latter part of the nineteenth century no pretense was made of spreading the art among the people. In the Kyoto age the rich families maintained schools for their children; and the emperors Tenchi and Mommu, at the beginning of the eighth century, established at Kyoto the first Japanese university. Gradually a system of provincial schools was developed under governmental control; their graduates were eligible to enter the university, and those graduates of the university who passed the required tests became eligible for public office. The civil wars of the early feudal period broke down this educational progress, and Japan neglected the arts of the mind until the Tokugawa Shogunate reorganized peace and encouraged learning and literature. Iyeyasu was scandalized to find that ninety per cent of the *Samurai* could not read or write.<sup>5</sup> In 1630 Hayashi Razan established at Yedo a training-school in public administration and Confucian philosophy, which later developed into the University of Tokyo; and Kumazawa, in 1666, founded at Shizutani the first provincial college. By allowing teachers to wear the sword and boast the rank of the *Samurai*, the government induced students, doctors and priests to set up private schools in homes or temples for the provision of elementary education; in 1750 there were eight hundred such schools, with some forty thousand students. All these institutions were for the sons of the *Samurai*; merchants and peasants had to be content with popular lecturers, and only prosperous women received any formal education. Universal education, in Japan as in Europe, had to wait for the needs and compulsions of an industrial life.<sup>6</sup>

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\* Printing, like writing, came from China as part of Buddhist lore; the oldest extant examples of printing in the world are some Buddhist charms block-printed at the command of the Empress Shotoku in the year 770 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Movable type entered from Korea about 1596, but the expense involved in printing a language still composed of thousands of characters kept its use from spreading until the Restoration of 1858 opened the doors to European influence. Even today a Japanese newspaper requires a font of several thousand characters.<sup>4</sup> Japanese typography, despite these difficulties, is one of the most attractive forms of printing in our time.

## II. POETRY

*The "Manyoshu"—The "Kokinshu"—Characteristics of Japanese poetry—Examples—The game of poetry—The "hokka"—gamblers*

The earliest Japanese literature that has come down to us is poetry, and the earliest Japanese poetry is by native scholars accounted the best. One of the oldest and most famous of Japanese books is the *Manyoshu*, or "Book of Ten Thousand Leaves," in which two editors collected into twenty volumes some 4,500 poems composed during the preceding four centuries. Here in particular appeared the work of Hitomaro and Akahito, the chief poetic glories of the Nara age. When his beloved died, and the smoke from the funeral pyre ascended into the hills, Hitomaro wrote an elegy briefer than *In Memoriam*:

Oh, is it my beloved, the cloud that wanders  
In the ravine  
Of the deep secluded Hatsuse Mountain?

A further effort to preserve Japanese poetry from time's mortality was made by the Emperor Daigo, who brought together eleven hundred poems of the preceding one hundred and fifty years into an anthology known as the *Kokinshu*—"Poems Ancient and Modern." His chief aide was the poet-scholar Tsurayuki whose preface seems more interesting to us today than the fragments which the book has brought down to us from his laconic muse:

The poetry of Japan, as a seed, springs from the heart of man creating countless leaves of language. . . . In a world full of things man strives to find words to express the impression left on his heart by sight and sound. . . . And so the heart of man came to find expression in words for his joy in the beauty of blossoms, his wonder at the song of birds, and his tender welcome of the mists that bathe the landscapes, as well as his mournful sympathy with the evanescent morning dew. . . . To verse the poets were moved when they saw the ground white with snowy showers of fallen cherry blossoms on spring mornings, or heard on autumn evenings the rustle of falling leaves; or year after year gazed upon the mirror's doleful reflections of the ravages of time, . . . or trembled as they watched the ephemeral dewdrop quivering on the beaded grass.<sup>9</sup>

Tsurayuki well expressed the recurrent theme of Japanese poetry—the moods and phases, the blossoming and decay, of nature in isles made scenic by volcanoes, and verdant with abundant rain. The poets of Japan delight in the less hackneyed aspects of field and woods and sea—trout splashing in mountain brooks, frogs leaping suddenly into noiseless pools, shores without tides, hills cut with motionless mists, or a drop of rain nestling like a gem in a folded blade of grass. Often they interweave a song of love with their worship of the growing world, or mourn elegiacally the brevity of flowers, love and life. Seldom, however, does this nation of warriors sing of war, and only now and then does its poetry lift the heart in hymns. After the Nara period the great majority of the poems were brief; out of eleven hundred in the *Kokinshu* all but five were in the pithy *tanka* form—five lines of five, seven, five, seven and seven syllables. In these poems there is no rhyme, for the almost invariable vowel ending of Japanese words would have left too narrow a variety for the poet's choice; nor is there any accent, tone or quantity. There are strange tricks of speech: "pillow words," or meaningless prefixes added for the sake of euphony; "prefaces," or sentences prefixed to a poem to round out its form rather than to develop its ideas; and "pivot words" used punningly in startling diversities of sense to bind one sentence with the next. These, to the Japanese, are devices sanctified by time, like alliteration or rhyme to the English; and their popular appeal does not draw the poet into vulgarity. On the contrary these classic poems are essentially aristocratic in thought and form. Born in a courtly atmosphere, they are fashioned with an almost haughty restraint; they seek perfection of modeling rather than novelty of meaning; they suppress rather than express emotion; and they are too proud to be anything but brief. Nowhere else have writers been so expressively reticent; it is as if the poets of Japan had had a mind to atone by their modesty for the braggadocio of her historians. To write three pages about the west wind, say the Japanese, is to show a plebeian verbosity; the real artist must not so much think for the reader as lure him into active thought; he must seek and find one fresh perception that will arouse in him all the ideas and all the feelings which the Occidental poet insists on working out in self-centered and monopolistic detail. Each poem, to the Japanese, must be the quiet record of one moment's inspiration.

So we shall be misled if we seek in these anthologies, or in that *Golden Treasury* of Japan, the *Hyaku-nin-isshu*—"Single Verses by a Hundred People"—any heroic or epic strain, any sustained or lyric flight; these poets,

like the rash wits of the Mermaid Tavern, were willing to hang their lives on a line. So when Saigyō Hoshi, having lost his dearest friend, became a monk, and mystically found in the shrines at Ise the solace he was seeking, he wrote no *Adonais*, nor even a *Lycidas*, but these simple lines:

What it is  
That dwelleth here  
I know not;  
Yet my heart is full of gratitude,  
And the tears trickle down.<sup>9</sup>

And when the Lady Kaga no Chiyo lost her husband she wrote, merely:

All things that seem  
Are but  
One dreamer's dream. . . .  
I sleep. . . . I wake. . . .  
How wide  
The bed with none beside.<sup>10</sup>

Then, having lost also her child, she added two lines:

Today, how far may he have wandered,  
The brave hunter of dragon-flies!<sup>11</sup>

In the imperial circles at Nara and Kyoto the composition of *tankas* became an aristocratic sport; female chastity, which in ancient India had required an elephant as its price, was often satisfied, at these courts, with thirty-one syllables of poetry cleverly turned.<sup>12</sup> It was a usual thing for the emperor to entertain his guests by handing them words with which to fashion a poem;<sup>13</sup> and the literature of the time refers casually to people conversing with one another in acrostic poetry, or reciting *tankas* as they walked in the streets.<sup>14</sup> Periodically, at the height of the Heian age, the emperor arranged a poetry contest or tournament, in which as many as fifteen hundred candidates competed before learned judges in the making of *tanka* epigrams. In 951 a special Poetry Bureau was established for the management of these jousts, and the winning pieces in each contest were deposited in the archives of the institution.

In the sixteenth century Japanese poetry felt guilty of long-windedness, and decided to shorten the *tanka*—originally the completion, by one person,

of a poem begun by another—into the *hokku*—a “single utterance” of three lines, boasting of five, seven and five syllables, or seventeen in all. In the *Genroku* age (1688–1704) the composition of these *hokku* became first a fashion, then a craze; for the Japanese people resembles the American in an emotional-intellectual sensitivity that makes for the rapid rise and fall of mental styles. Men and women, merchants and warriors, artisans and peasants neglected the affairs of life to match *hokku* epigrams, constructed at a moment’s warning. The Japanese, with whom gambling is a favorite passion, wagered so much money in *hokku*-composing contests that some enterprising souls made a business of conducting them, fleecing thousands of devotees daily, until at last the government was forced to raid these poetical resorts and prohibit this new mercenary art.” The most distinguished master of the *hokku* was Matsura Basho (1643–94), whose birth, it seemed to Yone Noguchi, “was the greatest happening in our Japanese annals.”<sup>100</sup> Basho, a young *Samurai*, was so deeply moved by the death of his lord and teacher that he abandoned the life of the court, renounced all physical pleasures, gave himself to wandering, meditation and teaching, and expressed his quiet philosophy in fragments of nature poetry highly revered by Japanese *literati* as perfect examples of concentrated suggestion:

The old pond,  
Aye, and the sound of a frog leaping into the water.

Or

A stem of grass, whereon  
A dragon-fly essayed to light.”

### III. PROSE

#### 1. Fiction

*Lady Murasaki—The “Tale of Genji”—Its excellence—Later  
Japanese fiction—A humorist*

If Japanese poems are too brief for the taste of the Western mind, we may console ourselves with the Japanese novel, whose masterpieces run into twenty, sometimes thirty, volumes.” The most highly regarded of them is the *Genji Monogatari* (literally and undeniably “Gossip about



Genji"), which in one edition fills 4,234 pages.<sup>29</sup> This delightful romance was composed about the year 1001 A.D. by the Lady Murasaki no-Shikibu. A Fujiwara of ancient blood, she married another Fujiwara in 997, but was left a widow four years later. She dulled her sorrow by writing an historical novel in fifty-four books. After filling all the paper she could find, she laid sacrilegious hands upon the sacred *sutras* of a Buddhist temple, and used them for manuscript;<sup>30</sup> even paper was once a luxury.

The hero of the tale is the son of an emperor by his favorite concubine Kiritsubo, who is so beautiful that all the other concubines are jealous of her, and actually tease her to death. Murasaki, perhaps exaggerating the male's capacity for devotion, represents the Emperor as inconsolable.

As the years went by, the Emperor did not forget his lost lady; and though many women were brought to the palace in the hope that he might take pleasure in them, he turned from them all, believing that there was not anyone in the world like her whom he had lost. . . . Continually he pined that fate should not have allowed them to fulfil the vow which morning and evening was ever talked of between them, the vow that their lives should be as the twin birds that share a wing, the twin trees that share a bough.<sup>31</sup>

Genji grows up to be a dashing prince, with more looks than morals; he passes from one mistress to another with the versatility of Tom Jones, and outmodes that conventional hero by his indifference to gender. He is a woman's idea of a man—all sentiment and seduction, always brooding and languishing over one woman or the next. Occasionally, "in great unhappiness he returned to his wife's house."<sup>32</sup> The Lady Murasaki retails his adventures gaily, and excuses him and herself with irresistible grace:

The young Prince would be thought to be positively neglecting his duty if he did not indulge in a few escapades; and every one would regard his conduct as perfectly natural and proper even when it was such as they would not have dreamed of permitting to ordinary people. . . . I should indeed be very loath to recount in all their detail matters which he took so much trouble to conceal, did I not know that if you found that I had omitted anything you would at once ask why, just because he was supposed to be an emperor's son, I must needs put a favorable showing on his conduct by leaving out

all his indiscretions; and you would soon be saying that this was no history but a mere made-up tale designed to influence the judgment of posterity. As it is, I shall be called a scandal-monger; but that I cannot help.\*

In the course of his amours Genji falls ill, repents him of his adventures, and visits a monastery for pious converse with a priest. But there he sees a lovely princess (modestly named Murasaki), and thoughts of her distract him as the priest rebukes him for his sins.

The priest began to tell stories about the uncertainty of this life and the retributions of the life to come. Genji was appalled to think how heavy his own sins had already been. It was bad enough to think that he would have them on his conscience for the rest of his present life. But then there was also the life to come. What terrible punishments he had to look forward to! And all the while the priest was speaking Genji thought of his own wickedness. What a good idea it would be to turn hermit, and live in some such place! . . . But immediately his thoughts strayed to the lovely face which he had seen that afternoon; and longing to know more of her he asked, "Who lives with you here?"\*\*

By the coöperation of the author Genji's first wife dies in childbirth, and he is left free to give first place in his home to his new princess, Murasaki.\*

It may be that the excellence of the translation gives this book an extraneous advantage over other Japanese masterpieces that have been rendered into English; perhaps Mr. Waley, like Fitzgerald, has improved upon his original. If, for the occasion, we can forget our own moral code, and fall in with one that permits men and women, as Wordsworth said of those in *Wilhelm Meister*, to "mate like flies in the air," we shall derive from this *Tale of Genji* the most attractive glimpse yet opened to us of the beauties hidden in Japanese literature. Murasaki writes with a naturalness and ease that soon turn her pages into the charming gossip of a cultured friend. The men and women, above all the children, who move through her leisurely pages are ingratiatingly real; and the world which she de-

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\* The present writer regrets that the brevity of life has prevented his reading more than the first of the four volumes into which Arthur Waley has so perfectly translated Murasaki's tale.

scribes, though it is confined for the most part to imperial palaces and palatial homes, has all the color of a life actually lived or seen.\* It is an aristocratic life, not much concerned with the cost of bread and love; but within that limitation it is described without sensational resort to exceptional characters or events. As Lady Murasaki makes Uma no-Kami say of certain realistic painters:

Ordinary hills and rivers, just as they are, houses such as you may see everywhere, with all their real beauty of harmony and form—quietly to draw such scenes as this, or to show what lies behind some intimate hedge that is folded away far from the world, and thick trees upon some unheroic hill, and all this with befitting care for composition, proportion and the life—such works demand the highest master's utmost skill, and must needs draw the common craftsman into a thousand blunders."

No later Japanese novel has reached the excellence of *Genji*, or has had so profound an influence upon the literary development of the language." During the eighteenth century fiction had another zenith, and various novelists succeeded in surpassing the Lady Murasaki in the length of their tales, or the freedom of their pornography." Santo Kioden published in 1791 an *Edifying Story Book*, but it proved so little to its purpose that the authorities, under the law prohibiting indecency, sentenced him to be handcuffed for fifty days in his own home. Santo was a vendor of tobacco-pouches and quack medicines; he married a harlot, and made his first reputation by a volume on the brothels of Tokyo. He gradually reformed the morals of his pen, but could not unteach his public the habit of buying great quantities of his books. Encouraged, he violated all precedents in the history of Japanese fiction by demanding payment from the men who published his works; his predecessors, it seemed, had been content with an in-

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\* Even into the ordinary home our Lady enters with understanding, and makes Uma no-Kami express, about the year 1000, a modernistic plea for feminine education: "Then there is the zealous housewife, who, regardless of her appearance, twists her hair behind her ears, and devotes herself entirely to the details of our domestic welfare. The husband, in his comings and goings about the world, is certain to see and hear many things which he cannot discuss with strangers, but would gladly talk over with an intimate who could listen with sympathy and understanding, some one who could laugh with him or weep, as need be. It often happens, too, that some political event will greatly perturb or amuse him, and he sits apart longing to tell some one about it. But the wife only says, lightly, 'What is the matter?' and shows no interest. This is apt to be very trying."<sup>28</sup>

itation to dinner. Most of the fiction writers were poor Bohemians, whom the people classed with actors among the lowest ranks of society." Less sensational and more ably written than Kioden's were the novels of Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848), who, like Scott and Dumas, transformed history into vivid romance. His readers grew so fond of him that he unwound one of his stories into a hundred volumes. Hokusai illustrated some of Bakin's novels until, being geniuses, they quarreled and parted.

The jolliest of these later novelists was Jippensha Ikku (d. 1831), the Le Sage and Dickens of Japan. Ikku began his adult life with three marriages, of which two were quickly ended by fathers-in-law who could not understand his literary habits. He accepted poverty with good humor, and, having no furniture, hung his bare walls with paintings of the furniture he might have had. On holidays he sacrificed to the gods with pictures of excellent offerings. Being presented with a bathtub in the common interest, he carried it home inverted on his head, and overthrew with ready wit the pedestrians who fell in his way. When his publisher came to see him he invited him to take a bath; and while his invitation was being accepted he decked himself in the publisher's clothes, and paid his New Year's Day calls in proper ceremonial costume. His masterpiece, the *Hizakurige*, was published in twelve parts between 1802 and 1822, and told a rollicking tale in the vein of *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*—Aston calls it "the most humorous and entertaining book in the Japanese language."<sup>100</sup> On his deathbed Ikku enjoined his pupils to place upon his corpse, before the cremation then usual in Japan, certain packets which he solemnly entrusted to them. At his funeral, prayers having been said, the pyre was lighted, whereupon it turned out that the packets were full of firecrackers, which exploded merrily. Ikku had kept his youthful promise that his life would be full of surprises, even after his death.

## 2. History

### *The historians—Arai Hakuseki*

We shall not find Japanese historiography so interesting as its fiction, though we may have some difficulty in distinguishing them. The oldest surviving work in Japanese literature is the *Kojiki*, or "Record of Ancient Things," written in Chinese characters by Yasumaro in 712; here legend so often takes the place of fact that the highest *Shinto* loyalty would be needed to accept it as history.<sup>101</sup> After the Great Reform of 645 the government

thought it advisable to transform the past again; and about 720 a new history appeared, the *Nihongi*, or "Record of Nippon," written in the Chinese language, and adorned with passages bravely stolen from Chinese works and sometimes placed, without any fetichism of chronology, in the mouths of ancient Japanese. Nevertheless the book was a more serious attempt to record the facts than the *Kojiki* had been, and it provided the foundation for most later histories of early Japan. From that time to this there have been many histories of the country, each more patriotic than the last. In 1334 Kitabatake wrote a "History of the True Succession of the Divine Monarchs"—the *Jintoshotoki*—on this modest and now familiar note:

Great Yamato (Japan) is a divine country. It is only our land whose foundations were first laid by the Divine Ancestor. It alone has been transmitted by the Sun Goddess to a long line of her descendants. There is nothing of this kind in foreign countries. Therefore it is called the Divine Land.<sup>83</sup>

First printed in 1649, this work began that movement for the restoration of the ancient faith and state which culminated in the passionate polemics of Moto-ori. The very grandson of Iyeyasu, Mitsu-kuni, by his *Dai Nihonshi* ("The Great History of Japan," 1851)—a 240-volume picture of the imperial and feudal past—played a posthumous part in preparing his countrymen to overthrow the Tokugawa Shogunate.

Perhaps the most scholarly and impartial of Japanese historians was Arai Hakuseki, whose learning dominated the intellectual life of Yedo in the second half of the seventeenth century. Arai smiled at the theology of the orthodox Christian missionaries as "very childish,"<sup>84</sup> but he was bold enough to ridicule also some of the legends which his own people mistook for history.<sup>85</sup> His greatest work, the *Hankampu*, a thirty-volume history of the *Daimyo*, is one of the marvels of literature; for though it must have required much research, it appears to have been composed within a few months.<sup>86</sup> Arai derived something of his learning and judgment from his study of the Chinese philosophers. When he lectured on the Confucian classics the *Shogun* Iyenobu, we are told, listened with rapt and reverent attention, in summer refraining from brushing the mosquitoes from his head, in winter turning his head away from the speaker before wiping his running nose.<sup>87</sup> In his autobiography Arai paints a devout picture of his father, and shows the Japanese citizen at his simplest and best:

Ever since I came to understand the heart of things, my memory is that the daily routine of his life was exactly the same. He never failed to get up an hour before daybreak. He then had a cold bath,

and did his hair himself. In cold weather the woman who was my mother would propose to order hot water for him, but this he would not allow, as he wished to avoid giving the servants trouble. When he was over seventy, and my mother also was advanced in years, sometimes, when the cold weather was unendurable, a lighted brazier was brought in, and they lay down to sleep with their feet against it. Beside the fire was placed a kettle with hot water, which my father drank when he got up. Both of them honored the way of Buddha. My father, when he had arranged his hair and adjusted his clothing, never neglected to make obeisance to Buddha. . . . After he was dressed he waited quietly for the dawn, and then went out to his official duty. . . . He was never known to betray anger, nor do I remember that, even when he laughed, he gave way to boisterous mirth. Much less did he ever descend to violent language when he had occasion to reprimand anyone. In his conversation he used as few words as possible. His demeanor was grave. I have never seen him startled, flurried, or impatient. . . . The room he usually occupied he kept cleanly swept, had an old picture hung on the wall, and a few flowers which were in season were set out in a vase. He would spend the day looking at them. He painted a little in black and white, not being fond of colors. When in good health he never troubled the servant, but did everything for himself."

### 3. *The Essay*

#### *The Lady Sei Shonagon—Kamo no-Chomei*

Arai was an essayist as well as an historian, and made brilliant contributions to what is perhaps the most delightful department of Japanese literature. Here, as in fiction, a woman stands at the top; for Lady Sei Shonagon's "Pillow Sketches" (*Makura Zoshi*) is usually accorded the highest as well as the earliest place in this field. Brought up in the same court and generation as Lady Murasaki, she chose to describe the refined and scandalous life about her in casual sketches whose excellence in the original can only be guessed at by us from the charm that survives in translation. Born a Fujiwara, she rose to be a lady in waiting to the Empress. On the latter's death Lady Sei retired, some say to a convent, others say to poverty. Her book shows no touch of either. She takes the easy morals of her time according to the easy judgment of her time, and does not think too highly of spoil-sport ecclesiastics.

A preacher ought to be a good-looking man. It is then easier to keep your eyes fixed on his face, without which it is impossible to benefit by his discourse. Otherwise the eyes wander and you forget to listen. Ugly preachers have therefore a grave responsibility. . . . If preachers were of a more suitable age I should have pleasure in giving a more favorable judgment. As matters actually stand, their sins are too fearful to think of."

She adds little lists of her likes and dislikes:

Cheerful things:

- Coming home from an excursion with the carriages full to overflowing;
- To have lots of footmen who make the oxen and the carriages speed along;
- A river-boat going down stream;
- Teeth nicely blackened. . . .

Dreary things:

- A nursery where a child has died;
- A brazier with the fire gone out;
- A coachman who is hated by his ox;
- The birth of a succession of female children in the house of a scholar.

Detestable things:

- People who, when you are telling a story, break in with "Oh, I know," and give quite a different version from your own. . . .
- While on friendly terms with a man, to hear him sound the praises of a woman whom he has known. . . .
- A visitor who tells a long story when you are in a hurry. . . .
- The snoring of a man whom you are trying to conceal, and who has gone to sleep in a place where he has no business. . . .
- Fleas."

The Lady's only rival for the highest place in the Japanese essay is Kamo no-Chomei. Being refused the succession to his father as the superior guardian of the *Shinto* shrine of Kamo at Kyoto, Chomei became a Buddhist monk, and at fifty retired to a contemplative life in a mountain hermitage. There he wrote his farewell to the busy world under the title of

*Hojoki* (1212)—i.e., "The Record of Ten Feet Square." After describing the difficulties and annoyances of city life, and the great famine of 1181,\* he tells how he built himself a hut ten feet square and seven feet high, and settled down contentedly to undisturbed philosophy and a quiet comradeship with natural things. An American, reading him, hears the voice of Thoreau in thirteenth-century Japan. Apparently every generation has had its Walden Pond.

#### IV. THE DRAMA

##### *The "No" plays—Their character—The popular stage—The Japanese Shakespeare—Summary judgment*

Last of all, and hardest to understand, is the Japanese drama. Brought up in our English tradition of the theatre, from *Henry IV* to *Mary of Scotland*, how shall we ever attune ourselves to tolerate what must seem to us the fustian and pantomime of the *No* plays of Japan? We must forget Shakespeare and go back to *Everyman*, and even farther to the religious origins of Greek and modern European drama; then we shall be oriented to watch the development of the ancient *Shinto* pantomime, the ecclesiastical *kagura* dance, into that illumination of pantomime by dialogue which constitutes the *No* (or lyrical) form of Japanese play. About the fourteenth century Buddhist priests added choral songs to their processional pantomimes; then they added individual characters, contrived a plot to give them action as well as speech, and the drama was born.<sup>40</sup>

These plays, like the Greek, were performed in trilogies; and occasionally *Kyogen*, or farces ("mad words"), were acted in the intervals, to relieve and facilitate the tension of emotion and thought. The first part of the trilogy was devoted to propitiating the gods, and was hardly more than a religious pantomime; the second was performed in full armor, and was designed to frighten all evil spirits away; the third was of a milder mood, and sought to portray some charming aspect of nature, or some delightful phase of Japanese life.<sup>41</sup> The lines were written for the most part in blank verse of twelve syllables. The actors were men of standing, even among the aristocracy; a playbill survives which indicates that Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu all participated as actors in a *No* play about 1580.<sup>42</sup> Each actor wore a mask, carved out of wood with an artistry that makes such masks a prize for the art collector of today. Scenery was

\* His description of this has been quoted above, p. 852.



meagre; the passionate imagination of the audience could be relied upon to create the background of the action. The stories were of the simplest, and did not matter much: one of the most popular told of the impoverished *Samurai* who, to warm a wandering monk, cut down his most cherished plants to make a fire; whereupon the monk turned out to be the Regent, and gave the knight a goodly reward. But as we in the West may go again and again to hear an opera whose story is old and perhaps ridiculous, so the Japanese, even today, weep over this oft-told tale,<sup>48</sup> because the excellence of the acting renews on each occasion the power and significance of the play. To the hasty and businesslike visitor such performances as he may find of these dramatized lyrics are rather amusing than impressive; nevertheless a Japanese poet says of them: "Oh, what a tragedy and beauty in the *No* stage! I always think that it would certainly be a great thing if the *No* drama could be properly introduced into the West. The result would be no small protest against the Western stage. It would mean a revelation."<sup>49</sup> Japan itself, however, has not composed such plays since the seventeenth century, though it acts them devotedly today.

The history of the drama, in most countries, is a gradual change from the predominance of the chorus to the supremacy of some individual rôle—at which point, in most such sequences, development ends. As the histrionic art advanced in tradition and excellence in Japan it created popular personalities who subordinated the play to themselves. Finally pantomime and religion sank to a subordinate rôle, and the drama became a war of individuals, full of violence and romance. So was born the *kabuki shibai*, or popular theatre, of Japan. The first such theatre was established about the year 1600 by a nun who, tired of convent walls, set up a stage at Osaka, and practised dancing for a livelihood.<sup>50</sup> As in England and France, the presence of women on the stage seemed revolting and was forbidden; and since the upper classes (except in safe disguise) shunned these performances, the actors became almost a pariah caste, with no social incentive to keep their profession from immorality and corruption. Men perforce took the parts of women, and carried their imitation to such a point as to deceive not only their audiences but themselves; many of these actors of female rôles remained women off the stage.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps because lighting was poor, the actors painted their faces with vivid colors, and wore robes of gorgeous designs to indicate and dignify their rôles. Back of the stage and about it, usually, were choral and individual reciters, who sometimes carried on the vocal parts while the actors confined themselves to pantomime. The audience sat on the matted floor, or in tiers of boxes at either side.<sup>52</sup>

The most famous name in the popular drama of Japan is Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1724). His countrymen compare him with Shakespeare; English critics, resenting the comparison, accuse Chikamatsu of violence, extravagance, bombast, and improbable plots, while granting him "a certain barbaric vigor and luxuriance";<sup>4</sup> apparently the similarity is complete. Such foreign plays seem mere melodrama to us, because either the meaning or the nuances of the language are concealed from us; but this would probably be the effect of a Shakespearean play upon one unable to appreciate its language or follow its thought. Chikamatsu seems to have made undue use of lovers' suicides to cap his climaxes, in the style of *Romeo and Juliet*; but perhaps with this excuse, that suicide was almost as popular in Japanese life as on the stage.

A foreign historian, in these matters, can only report, but cannot judge. Japanese acting, to a transient observer, seems less complex and mature, but more vigorous and exalting than the European; Japanese plays seem more plebeianly melodramatic, but less emasculated with superficial intellectualism, than the plays of France, England and America today. So, reversely, Japanese poetry seems slight and bloodless, and too aristocratically refined, to us whose appetite has taken in lyrics of almost epic length (like *Maud*), and epics of such dulness that doubtless Homer himself would nod if he were compelled to read the accumulated *Iliad*. The Japanese novel seems sensational and sentimental; and yet two of the supreme masterpieces of English fiction—*Tom Jones* and *Pickwick Papers*—have apparently their equal counterparts in the *Genji Monogatari* and the *Hizakurige*, and perhaps Lady Murasaki excels in subtlety, grace and understanding even the great Fielding himself. All things are dull that are remote and obscure; and things Japanese will remain obscure to us until we can completely forget our Western heritage and completely absorb Japan's.

#### V. THE ART OF LITTLE THINGS

*Creative imitation—Music and the dance—"Inro" and "netsuke"—  
Hidari Jimgaro—Lacquer*

The outward forms of Japanese art, like almost every external feature of Japanese life, came from China; the inner force and spirit, like everything essential in Japan, came from the people themselves. It is true that the wave of ideas and immigration that brought Buddhism to Japan in the seventh century brought also, from China and Korea, art forms and im-

pulses bound up with that faith, and no more original with China and Korea than with Japan; it is true, even, that cultural elements entered not only from China and India, but from Assyria and Greece—the features of the Kamakura *Buddha*, for example, are more Greco-Bactrian than Japanese. But such foreign stimuli were used creatively in Japan; its people learned quickly to distinguish beauty from ugliness; its rich men sometimes prized objects of art more than land or gold,\* and its artists labored with self-effacing devotion. These men, though arduously trained through a long apprenticeship, seldom received more than an artisan's wage; if for a moment wealth came to them they gave it away with Bohemian recklessness, and soon relapsed into a natural and comfortable poverty.<sup>33</sup> But only the artist-artisans of ancient Egypt and Greece, or of medieval China, could rival their industry, taste and skill.

The very life of the people was instinct with art—in the neatness of their homes, the beauty of their clothing, the refinements of their ornaments, and their spontaneous addiction to song and dance. For music, like life, had come to Japan from the gods themselves; had not Izanagi and Izanami sung in choruses at the creation of the earth? A thousand years later the Emperor Inkyo, we read, played on a *wagon* (a kind of zither), and his Empress danced, at an imperial banquet given in 419 to signalize the opening of a new palace. When Inkyo died a Korean king sent eighty musicians to attend the funeral; and these players taught the Japanese new instruments and new modes—some from Korea, some from China, some from India. When the *Daibutsu* was installed in the temple of Todaiji at Nara (752), music from T'ang Chinese masters was played in the ceremony; and the *Shoso-in*, or Imperial Treasure-house, at Nara still shows the varied instruments used in those ancient days. Singing and recitative, court music and monastic dance music, formed the classical modes, while popular airs were strummed on the *biwa*—a lute—or the *samisen*—a three-stringed banjo.<sup>34</sup> The Japanese had no great composers, and wrote no books about music; their simple compositions, played in five notes of the harmonic minor scale, had no harmony, and no distinction of major and minor keys; but almost every Japanese could play some one of the twenty instruments which had come over from the continent; and any one of these, when properly played, said the Japanese, would make the very dust on the ceil-

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\* Hideyoshi's generals, after successful campaigns, seem to have been content—occasionally—to be rewarded not with new areas and revenues, but with rare pieces of pottery or porcelain.<sup>35</sup>

ing dance.<sup>85</sup> The dance itself enjoyed "a vogue unparalleled in any other country"<sup>86</sup>—not so much as an appendage to love as in the service of religious or communal ceremony; sometimes a whole village turned out in costume to celebrate a joyful occasion with a universal dance. Professional dancers entertained great audiences with their skill; and men as well as women, even in the highest circles, gave much time to the art. When Prince Genji, says the Lady Murasaki, danced the "Waves of the Blue Sea" with his friend To no-Chujo, everyone was moved. "Never had the onlookers seen feet tread so delicately, nor heads so exquisitely poised. . . . So moving and beautiful was this dance that at the end of it the Emperor's eyes were wet, and all the princes and great gentlemen wept aloud."<sup>87</sup>

Meanwhile all who could afford it adorned their persons not only with fine brocades and painted silks, but with delicate objects characteristic, almost definitive, of the old Japan. Shrinking ladies flirted from behind fans of alluring loveliness, while men flaunted *netsuke*, *inro* and expensively carved swords. The *inro* was a little box attached to the belt by a cord; it was usually composed of several infolding cases carefully carved in ivory or wood, and contained tobacco, coins, writing materials, or other casual necessities. To keep the cord from slipping under the belt, it was bound at the other end to a tiny toggle or *netsuke* (from *ne*, end, and *tsuke*, to fasten), upon whose cramped surface some artist had fashioned, with lavish care, the forms of deities or demons, philosophers or fairies, birds or reptiles, fishes or insects, flowers or leaves, or scenes from the life of the people. Here that impish humor in which Japanese art so far excels all others found free and yet modest play. Only the most careful examination can reveal the full subtlety and significance of these representations; but even a glance at this microcosm of fat women and priests, of agile monkeys and delightful bugs, cut upon less than a cubic inch of ivory or wood, brings home to the student the unique and passionately artistic quality of the Japanese people.\*

Hidari (i.e., "left-handed") Jingaro was the most famous of Japanese sculptors in wood. Legend told how he had lost an arm and gotten a name: when an offended conqueror demanded of Jingaro's *Daimyo* the life of his daughter, Jingaro carved a severed head so realistically that the conqueror ordered the artist's left hand to be cut off as punishment for killing the daughter of his lord.<sup>88</sup> It was Jingaro whose chisel formed the

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\* The author is indebted to Mr. Adolf Kroch of Chicago for permission to examine his fine collection of *netsuke* and *inro*.

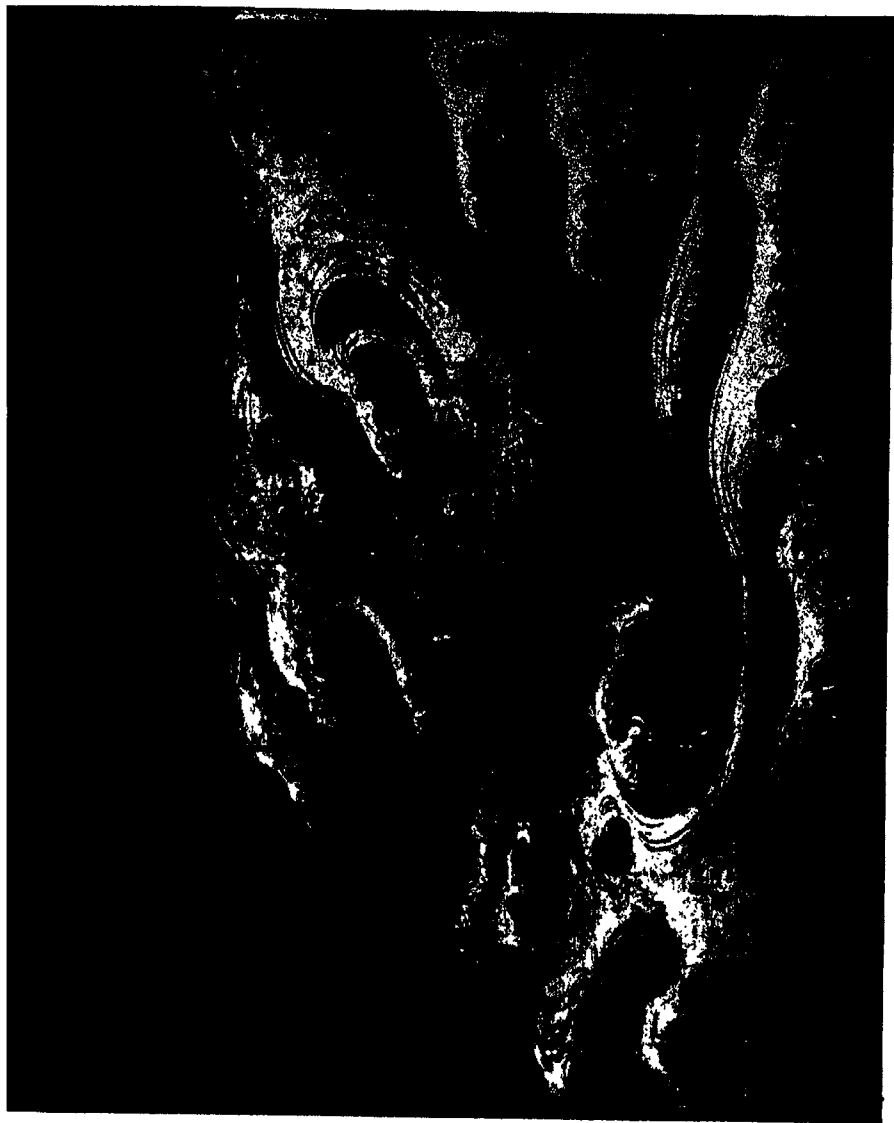
elephants and the sleeping cat at the shrine of Iyeyasu at Nikko, and the "Gate of the Imperial Envoy" at the Nishi-Hongwan Temple in Kyoto. On the inner panels of this gate the artist told the story of the Chinese sage who washed his ear because it had been contaminated by a proposal that he should accept the throne of his country, and the austere cowherd who quarreled with the sage for thus defiling the river.<sup>66</sup> But Jingaro was merely the most characterful of the now nameless artists who adorned a thousand structures with lovingly carved or lacquered wood. The lacquer tree found in the islands a peculiarly congenial habitat, and was nourished with skilful care. The artisans sometimes covered with successive coats of lacquer, cotton and lacquer a form chiseled in wood; but more often they went to the pains of modeling a statue in clay, making from this a hollow mould, and then pouring into the mould several layers of lacquer, each thicker than before.<sup>67</sup> The Japanese carver lifted wood to a full equality with marble as a material for art, and filled shrines, mausolea and palaces with the fairest wood-decoration known in Asia.

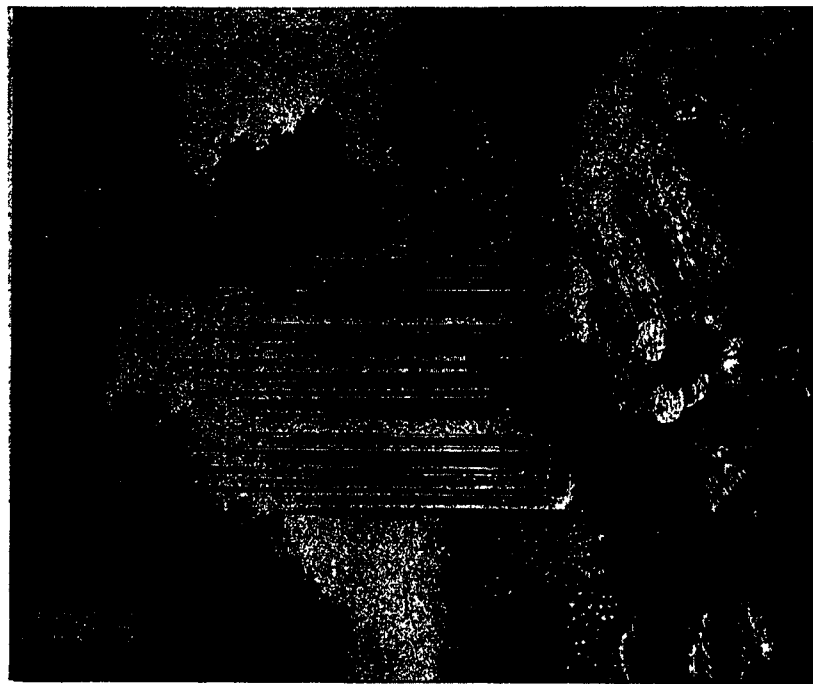
## VI. ARCHITECTURE

### *Temples—Palaces—The shrine of Iyeyasu—Homes*

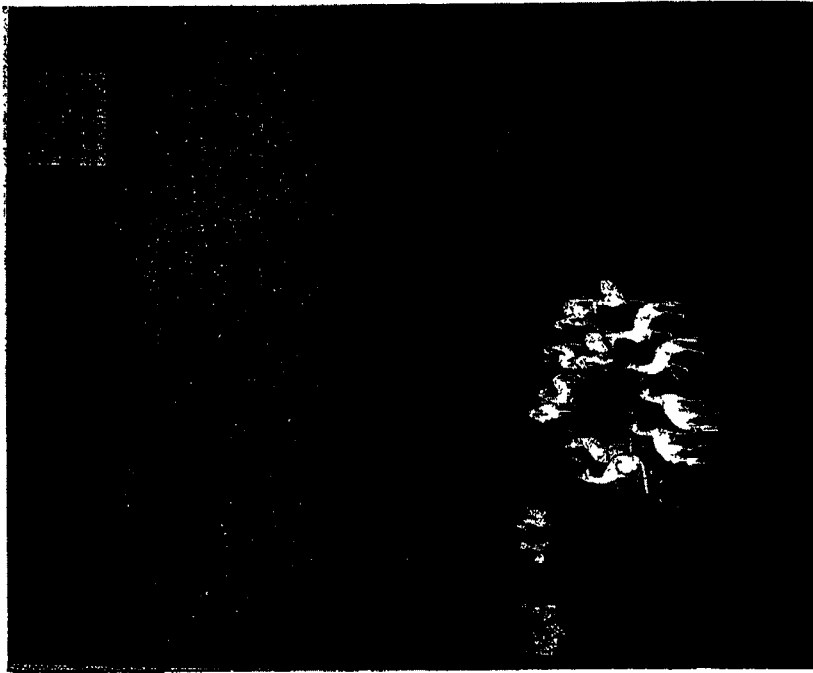
In the year 594 the Empress Suiko, being convinced of the truth or utility of Buddhism, ordered the building of Buddhist temples throughout her realm. Prince Shotoku, who was entrusted with carrying out this edict, brought in from Korea priests, architects, wood-carvers, bronze founders, clay modelers, masons, gilders, tile-makers, weavers, and other skilled artisans.<sup>68</sup> This vast cultural importation was almost the beginning of art in Japan, for *Shinto* had frowned upon ornate edifices and had countenanced no figures to misrepresent the gods. From that moment Buddhist shrines and statuary filled the land. The temples were essentially like those of China, but more richly ornamented and more delicately carved. Here, too, majestic *torii*, or gateways, marked the ascent or approach to the sacred retreat; bright colors adorned the wooden walls, great beams held up a tiled roof gleaming under the sun, and minor structures—a drum-tower, e. g., or a pagoda—mediated between the central sanctuary and the surrounding trees. The greatest achievements of the foreign artists was the group of temples at Horiuji, raised under the guidance of Prince Shotoku near Nara about the year 616. It stands to the credit of the most

FIG. 83—*A wave screen*  
*by Korin*  
Metropolitan Museum  
of Art





**FIG. 84—The Falls of Yoro. By Hokusai**  
Metropolitan Museum of Art



**FIG. 85—Foxes. By Hiroshige**  
Metropolitan Museum of Art

living of building materials that one of these wooden edifices has survived unnumbered earthquakes and outlasted a hundred thousand temples of stone; and it stands to the glory of the builders that nothing erected in later Japan has surpassed the simple majesty of this oldest shrine. Perhaps as beautiful, and only slightly younger, are the temples of Nara itself, above all the perfectly proportioned Golden Hall of the Todaiji Temple there; Nara, says Ralph Adams Cram, contains "the most precious architecture in all Asia."<sup>10</sup>

The next zenith of building in Japan came under the Ashikaga Shogunate. Yoshimitsu, resolved to make Kyoto the fairest capital on earth, built for the gods a pagoda 360 feet high; for his mother the Takakura Palace, of which a single door cost 20,000 pieces of gold (\$150,000); for himself a Flower Palace, that consumed \$5,000,000; and the Golden Pavilion of Kinkakuji for the glory of all.<sup>11</sup> Hideyoshi too tried to rival Kublai Khan, and built at Momoyama a "Palace of Pleasure" which his whim tore down again a few years after its completion; we may judge its magnificence from the "day long portal" removed from it to adorn the temple of Nishi-Hongwan; all day long, said its admirers, one might gaze at that carved portal without exhausting its excellence. Kano Yeitoku played Ictinus and Pheidias to Hideyoshi, but adorned his buildings with Venetian splendor rather than with Attic restraint; never had Japan, or Asia, seen such abounding decoration before. Under Hideyoshi, too, the gloomy Castle of Osaka took form, to dominate the Pittsburgh of Japan, and become the death-place of his son.

Iyeyasu inclined rather to philosophy and letters than to art; but after his death his grandson, Iyemitsu, content himself with a wooden shanty for his palace, lavished the resources of Japanese wealth and art to build around the ashes of Iyeyasu at Nikko the fairest memorial ever raised to any individual in the Far East. Here, ninety miles from Tokyo, on a quiet hill reached by a shaded avenue of stately cryptomerias, the architects of the *Shogun* laid down first a series of spacious and gradual approaches, then an ornate but lovely Yo-mei-mon Gate, then, by a brook crossed with a sacred and untouchable bridge, a series of mausolea and temples in lacquered wood, femininely beautiful and frail. The decoration is extravagant, the construction is weak, the omnipresent red paint flares like a hectic rouge amid the modest green of the trees; and yet a country incarnadined with blossoms every spring may need brighter colors to express its spirit than those that might serve and please a less impassioned race.



We cannot quite call this architecture great, for the demon of earthquake has willed that Japan should build on a timid scale, and not pile stones into the sky to crash destructively when the planet wrinkles its skin. Hence the homes are of wood and seldom rise beyond a story or two; only the repeated experience of fire and the reiterated commands of the government prevailed upon the citizens of the cities, when they could afford it, to cover their wooden cottages and palaces with roofs of tile. The aristocracy, unable to raise their mansions into the clouds, spread them spaciouly over the earth, despite an imperial edict limiting the size of a dwelling to 240 yards square. A palace was rarely one building; usually it was a main structure connected by covered walks with subordinate edifices for various groups in the family. There was no distinction of dining-room, living-room or bedroom; the same chamber could serve any purpose, for at a moment's notice a table might be laid down upon the matted floor, or the rolled up bedding might be taken from its hiding-place and spread out for the night. Sliding panels or removable partitions separated or united the rooms, and even the latticed or windowed walls were easily folded up to give full play to the sun, or the cooling evening air. Pretty blinds of split bamboo offered shade and privacy. Windows were a luxury; in the poorer homes the summer light found many openings, which in winter were blocked up with oiled paper to keep out the cold. Japanese architecture gives the appearance of having been born in the tropics, and of having been transported too recklessly into islands that stretch up their necks to shivering Kamchatka. In the more southern towns these fragile and simple homes have a style and beauty of their own, and offer appropriate dwellings for the once gay children of the sun.

#### VII. METALS AND STATUES

##### *Swords—Mirrors—The Trinity of Horiuji—Colossi—Religion and sculpture*

The sword of the *Samurai* was stronger than his dwelling, for the metal-workers of Japan spent themselves on making blades superior to those of Damascus or Toledo,<sup>a</sup> sharp enough to sever a man from shoulder to thigh at a blow, and ornamented with guards and handles so highly decorated, or so heavily inlaid with gems, that they were not always perfectly adapted to homicide. Other workers in metal made bronze mirrors so

brilliant that legends arose to commemorate their perfection. So a peasant, having bought a mirror for the first time, thought that he recognized in it the face of his dead father; he hid it as a great treasure, but so often consulted it that his suspicious wife ferreted it out, and was horrified to find in it the picture of a woman about her own age, who was apparently her husband's mistress.<sup>33</sup> Still other artisans cast tremendous bells, like the forty-nine-ton monster at Nara (732 A.D.), and brought from them a sweeter tone than our clanging metal clappers elicit in the West, by striking a boss on the outer surface of the bell with a swinging beam of wood.

The sculptors used wood or metal rather than stone, since their soil was poor in granite and marble; and yet, despite all difficulties of material, they came to surpass their Chinese and Korean teachers in this most definitive of all the arts—for every other art secretly emulates sculpture's patient removal of the inappropriate. Almost the earliest, and perhaps the greatest, masterpiece of sculpture in Japan is the bronze Trinity at Horiuji—a Buddha seated on a lotus bud between two *Bodhisattvas*, before a screen and halo of bronze only less beautiful than the stone lacy of Aurangzeb's screen in the Taj Mahal. We do not know whose hands reared these temples and built this statuary; we may admit Korean teachers, Chinese examples, Indian motives, even Greek influences coming down from far Ionia across a thousand years; but we are sure that this Trinity is among the most signal accomplishments in the history of art.\*

Possibly because their stature was short, and their bodies could hardly contain all the ambitions and capacities of their souls, the Japanese took pleasure in building colossi, and had better success in this questionable art than even the Egyptians. In the year 747, an epidemic of smallpox having broken out in Japan, the Emperor Shomu commissioned Kimimaro to cast a gigantic Buddha in propitiation of the gods. For this purpose Kimimaro used 437 tons of bronze, 288 pounds of gold, 165 pounds of

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\* Perhaps the great Shotoku Taishi, statesman and artist, had something to do with this achievement, for we know that he plied the chisel, and cut many statues in wood.<sup>34</sup> Kobo Daishi (ca. 816) was a sculptor as well as a painter, a scholar and a saint; Hokusai, to suggest his versatility, pictured him wielding five brushes at once, with hands and feet and mouth.<sup>35</sup> Unkei (1180-1220) made characterful portrait-busts of himself and many priests, and carved delightfully terrible figures of Hell's Supreme Court, and those snarling gods whose function it was to frighten away, with the ugliness of their faces, all spirits of evil. His father Kokei, his son Jokei, and his pupil Jokaku helped him to make the Japanese supreme in the art of sculpturing wood.

mercury, seven tons of vegetable wax, and several tons of charcoal. Two years and seven attempts were required for the work. The head was cast in a single mould, but the body was formed of several metal plates soldered together and thickly covered with gold. More impressive to the foreign eye than this saturnine countenance at Nara is the *Daibutsu* of Kamakura, cast of bronze in 1252 by Ono Goroyemon; here, perhaps because the colossus sits on an elevation in the open air, within a pleasant entourage of trees, the size seems to accord with the purpose, and the artist has expressed with remarkable simplicity the spirit of Buddhist contemplation and peace. Once a temple housed the figure, as still is the case at Nara; but in 1495 a great tidal wave destroyed both the temple and the town, leaving the bronze philosopher serene amid widespread destruction, suffering and death. Hideyoshi too built a colossus at Kyoto; for five years fifty thousand men labored at this Buddha, and the great *Taiko* himself, clad in the garb of a common laborer, sometimes helped them conspicuously at their task. But hardly had it been erected when, in 1596, an earthquake threw it down, and scattered the wreckage of its sheltering sanctuary about its head. Hideyoshi, says Japanese story, shot an arrow at the fallen idol, saying, scornfully, "I placed you here at great expense, and you cannot even defend your own temple."<sup>100</sup>

From such colossi to dangling *netsuke* Japanese sculpture ran the range of every figure and every size. Sometimes its masters, like Takamura today, gave years of labor to figures hardly a foot tall, and took delight in representing gnarled octogenarians, jolly gourmands and philosophic friars. It was good that humor sustained them, for most of the gains that came from their toil went to their subtle employers rather than to themselves, and in their larger works they were much harassed by conventions of subject and treatment laid upon them by the priests. The priests wanted gods, not courtesans, from the sculptors; they wished to inspire the people to piety, or to fashion their virtues with fear, rather than to arouse in them the sense and ecstasy of beauty. Bound hand and soul to religion, sculpture decayed when faith lost its warmth and power; and, as in Egypt, the stiffness of conventions, when piety had fled, became the rigor of death.

## VIII. POTTERY

*The Chinese stimulus—The potters of Hizen—Pottery and tea—  
How Goto Saijro brought the art of porcelain from Hizen  
to Kaga—The nineteenth century*

In a sense it is not quite just to Japan to speak of her importing civilization from Korea and China, except in the sense in which northwestern Europe took its civilization from Greece and Rome. We might also view all the peoples of the Far East as one ethnic and cultural unity, in which each part, like the provinces of one country, produced in its time and place an art and culture akin to and dependent upon the art and culture of the rest. So Japanese pottery is a part and phase of Far Eastern ceramics, fundamentally like the Chinese, and yet stamped with the characteristic delicacy and fineness of all Japanese work. Until the coming of the Korean artisans in the seventh century, Japanese pottery was merely an industry, moulding crude materials for common use; there was, apparently, no glazed pottery in the Far East before the eighth century, much less any porcelain.\* The industry became an art largely as a result of the entrance of tea in the thirteenth century. Chinese tea-cups of Sung design came in with tea, and aroused the admiration of the Japanese. In the year 1223 Kato Shirozemon, a Japanese potter, made his way perilously to China, studied ceramics there for six years, returned to set up his own factory at Seto, and so far surpassed all preceding pottery in the islands that *Seto-mono*, or *Seto-ware*, became a generic name for all Japanese pottery, just as *chinaware*, in the seventeenth century, became the English term for porcelain. The *Shogun* Yoritomo made Shirozemon's future by setting the fashion of rewarding minor services with presents of Shirozemon's tea-jars, filled with the new marvel of powdered tea. Today the surviving specimens of this *Toshiro-yaki*\* are accounted almost beyond price; they are swathed in costly brocade, and kept in boxes of the finest lacquer, while their owners are spoken of with bated breath as the aristocracy of connoisseurs."

Three hundred years later another Japanese, Shonzui, was lured to China to study its famous potteries. On his return he established a factory at Arita, in the province of Hizen. He was harassed, however, by the difficulty of finding in the soil of his country minerals as well adapted as those of China to make a fine *pâte*; and it was said of his products that one of their main ingredients was the bones of his artisans. Nevertheless Shonzui's wares of Mohammedan blue were so excellent that the Chinese potters of the eighteenth century did their best to imitate them for export under his counter-

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\* Toshiro was another name for Shirozemon; *yaki* means ware.

feited name; and the extant examples of his work are now as highly valued as the rarest paintings of Japan's greatest masters of the brush.<sup>66</sup> About 1605 a Korean, Risampeï, discovered at Izumi-yama, in the Arita district, immense deposits of porcelain stone; and from that moment Hizen became the center of the ceramic industry in Japan. In Arita, too, labored the famous Kakiemon, who, after learning the art of enameling from a Chinese ship-master, made his name almost synonymous with delicately decorated enameled porcelain. Dutch merchants shipped large quantities of Hizen products to Europe from the port of Arita at Imari; 44,943 pieces went to Holland alone in the year 1664. This brilliant *Imari-yaki* became the rage in Europe, and inspired Aebregt de Keiser to inaugurate the golden age of Dutch ceramics in his factories at Delft.

Meanwhile the rise of the tea ceremony had stimulated a further development in Japan. In 1578 Nobunaga, at the suggestion of the tea-master Rikyu, gave a large order for cups and other tea utensils to a family of Korean potters at Kyoto. A few years later Hideyoshi rewarded the family with a gold seal, and made its wares, the *Raku-yaki*, almost *de rigueur* for the ritual of drinking tea. Hideyoshi's generals returned from their unsuccessful invasion of Korea with numerous captives, among whom, by a discrimination unusual in warriors, were many artists. In 1596 Shimazu Yoshihiro brought to Satsuma a hundred skilled Koreans, including seventeen potters; and these men, with their successors, established throughout the world the high reputation of Satsuma for that richly colored glazed ware to which an Italian town has given our name of *faïence*. But the greatest Japanese master in this branch of the art was the Kyoto potter Ninsei. Not only did he originate enameled *faïence*, but he gave to his products a grace and proud restraint that have made them precious to collectors ever since, so that his mark has been more often counterfeited than that of any other artist in Japan.<sup>67</sup> Because of his work, decorated *faïence* mounted to the intensity of a craze in the capital, and in some quarters of Kyoto every second house was turned into a miniature pottery.<sup>68</sup> Only less famous than Ninsei was Kenzan, older brother of the painter Korin.

The romance that so often lurks behind ceramics appears in the story of how Goto Saijiro brought the art of porcelain from Hizen to Kaga. An excellent bed of potter's stone having been discovered near the village of Kutani, the feudal lord of the province resolved to establish a porcelain industry there; and Goto was sent to Hizen to study its methods of firing and design. But the secrets of the potters were so carefully concealed from outsiders that Goto for a while was baffled. Finally he disguised himself as a servant, and accepted a menial place in the household of a potter. After three years his master admitted him to a pottery, and there Goto worked for four

years more. Then he deserted the wife whom he had married at Hizen and the children whom she had borne to him, and fled to Kaga, where he gave his lord a full report of the methods he had learned. From that time on (1664) the potters of Kutani became masters, and *Kutani-yaki* rivaled the best wares of Japan.<sup>72</sup>

The Hizen potteries retained their leadership throughout the eighteenth century, largely as a result of the benevolent care which the feudal lord of Hirado lavished upon the workmen in his factories; for a century (1750-1843) the blue Michawaki wares of Hirado stood at the head of Japanese porcelains. In the nineteenth century Zengoro Hozen brought the leadership to Kyoto by clever imitations that often surpassed his models, so that sometimes it became impossible to decide which was the original and which was the copy. In the final quarter of the century Japan developed *cloisomé* enameling from the crude condition in which it had remained since its entry from China, and took the lead of the world in this field of ceramics.<sup>73</sup> Other branches deteriorated during the same period, for the rising demand of Europe for Japanese pottery led to a style of exaggerated decoration alien to the native taste, and the habits engendered in meeting these foreign orders affected the skill and weakened the traditions of the art. Here, as everywhere, the coming of industry has been for a while a blight; mass production has taken the place of quality, and mass consumption has replaced discriminating taste. Perhaps, after invention has run its fertile course, and social organization and experience have spread the gift of leisure and taught its creative use, the curse may be turned into a blessing; industry may lavish comforts upon the majority of men, while the worker, after paying his lowered tribute of hours to the machine, may once again become an artisan, and turn the mechanical product, by loving individual treatment, into a work of personality and art.

#### IX. PAINTING

*Difficulties of the subject—Methods and materials—Forms and ideals—Korean origins and Buddhist inspiration—The Tosa School—The return to China—Sesshiu—The Kano School—Koyetsu and Korin—The Realistic School*

Japanese painting, even more than the other topics that have demanded a place in these pages, is a subject that only specialists should touch; and if it is included here, along with other esoteric realms wherein angels have feared to tread, it is in the hope that through this veil of errors some glimpse may come, to the reader, of the fulness and quality of Japanese

civilization. The masterpieces of Japanese painting cover a period of twelve hundred years, are divided amongst a complex multiplicity of schools, have been lost or injured in the flow of time, and are nearly all hidden away in private collections in Japan.\* Those few *chef-d'œuvres* that are open to alien study are so different in form, method, style and material from Western pictures that no competent judgment can be passed upon them by the Occidental mind.

First of all, like their models in China, the paintings of Japan were once made with the same brush that was used in writing, and, as in Greece, the word for writing and for painting was originally one; painting was a graphic art. This initial fact has determined half the characteristics of Far Eastern painting, from the materials used to the subordination of color to line. The materials are simple: ink or water-colors, a brush, and absorbent paper or silk. The labor is difficult: the artist works not erect but on his knees, bending over the silk or paper on the floor; and he must learn to control his stroke so as to make seventy-one different degrees or styles of touch." In the earlier centuries, when Buddhism ruled the art of Japan, frescoes were painted, much in the manner of Ajanta or Turkestan; but nearly all the extant works of high repute take the form either of *makimono* (scrolls), *kakemono* (hangings), or screens. These pictures were made not to be arranged indigestibly in picture galleries—for there are no such galleries in Japan—but to be viewed in private by the owner and his friends, or to form a part of some decorative scheme in a temple, a palace or a home. They were very seldom portraits of specific personalities; usually they were glimpses of nature, or scenes of martial action, or strokes of humorous or satirical observation of the ways of animals, women and men.

They were poems of feeling rather than representations of things, and were closer to philosophy than to photography. The Japanese artist let realism alone, and rarely tried to imitate the external form of reality. He scornfully left out shadows as irrelevant to essences, preferring to paint in *plein air*, with no modeling play of light and shade; and he smiled at Western insistence on the perspective reduction of distant things. "In Japanese painting," said Hokusai, with philosophic tolerance, "form and color are represented without any attempt at relief, but in European methods relief and illusion are sought for."<sup>7</sup> The Japanese artist wished to convey a feel-

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\* Perhaps the best of all collections of the Kano School—Mr. Beppu's at Tokyo—was almost completely destroyed by the earthquake of 1923.

ing rather than an object, to suggest rather than to represent; it was unnecessary, in his judgment, to show more than a few significant elements in a scene; as in a Japanese poem, only so much should be shown as would arouse the appreciative mind to contribute to the esthetic result by its own imagination. The painter too was a poet, and valued the rhythm of line and the music of forms infinitely more than the haphazard shape and structure of things. And like the poet he felt that if he were true to his own feeling it would be realism enough.

It was probably Korea that brought painting to the restless empire that now has conquered her. Korean artists, presumably, painted the flowing and colorful frescoes of the Horiuji Temple, for there is nothing in the known history of Japan before the seventh century that could explain the sudden native achievement of such faultless excellence. The next stimulus came directly from China, through the studies there of the Japanese priests Kobo Daishi and Dengyo Daishi; on his return to Japan in 806 Kobo Daishi gave himself to painting as well as to sculpture, literature and piety, and some of the oldest masterpieces are from his many-sided brush. Buddhism stimulated art in Japan, as it had done in China; the *Zen* practice of meditation lent itself to brooding creativeness in color and form almost as readily as in philosophy and poetry; and visions of Amida Buddha became as frequent in Japanese art as Annunciations and Crucifixions on the walls and canvases of the Renaissance. The priest Yeishin Sozu (d. 1017) was the Fra Angelico and El Greco of this age, whose risings and descendings of Amida made him the greatest religious painter in the history of Japan. By this time, however, Kose no-Kanaoka (fl. ca. 950) had begun the secularization of Japanese painting; birds, flowers and animals began to rival gods and saints on the scrolls.

But Kose's brush still thought in Chinese terms, and moved along Chinese lines. It was not till the suspension of intercourse with China in the ninth century had given Japan the first of five centuries of isolation that she began to paint her own scenery and subjects in her own way. About 1150, under the patronage of imperial and aristocratic circles at Kyoto, a national school of painting arose which protested against imported motives and styles, and set itself to decorate the luxurious homes of the capital with the flowers and landscapes of Japan. The school had almost as many names as it had masters: *Yamato-riu*, or Japanese Style; *Waga-riu*, again meaning Japanese Style; *Kasuga*, after its reputed founder; and finally the Tosa School, after its principal representative in the thirteenth century, Tosa Gon-no-kumi; thereafter to the end of its history the name Tosa was borne by all the artists of the line. They deserved their nationalist name, for there is nothing in Chinese



art that corresponds to the ardor and dash, the variety and humor, of the narrative scrolls of love and war which came from the brushes of this group. Takayoshi, about 1010, painted in colors gorgeous illustrations of the seductive tale of Genji; Toba Sojo amused himself by drawing lively satires of the priestly and other scoundrels of his time, under the guise of monkeys and frogs; Fujiwara Takanobu, towards the end of the twelfth century, finding his high lineage worthless in terms of rice and *sake*, turned to the brush for a living, and drew great portraits of Yoritomo and others, quite unlike anything yet done in China; his son Fujiwara Nobuzane patiently painted the portraits of thirty-six poets; and in the thirteenth century Kasuga's son, Keion, or someone else, drew those animated scrolls which are among the world's most brilliant achievements in the field of draughtsmanship.

Slowly these native sources of inspiration seemed to dry up into conventional forms and styles, and Japanese art turned once more for nourishment to the new schools of painting that had arisen in the China of the Sung Renaissance. The impulse to imitation was for a time uncontrolled; Japanese artists who had never seen the Middle Kingdom spent their lives in painting Chinese characters and scenes. Cho Densu painted sixteen *Rakan* (*Lohans*, *Arhats*, Buddhist saints), now among the treasures of the Freer Gallery in Washington; Shubun took the precaution of being born and reared in China, so that, on coming to live in Japan, he could paint Chinese landscapes from memory as well as from imagination.

It was during this second Chinese mood of Japanese painting that the greatest figure in all the pictorial art of Japan appeared. Sesshiu was a Zen priest at Sokokuji, one of the several art schools established by Yoshimitsu, the Ashikaga *Shogun*. Even as a youth he astonished his townsmen with his draughtsmanship; and legend, not knowing how to express its awe, told how, when he was tied to a post for misbehavior, he had drawn with his toes such realistic mice that they came to life and bit through the cords that bound him.<sup>28</sup> Hungry to know the masters of Ming China at first hand, he secured credentials from his religious superiors as well as from the *Shogun*, and sailed across the sea. He was disappointed to find that Chinese painting was in decay, but he consoled himself with the varied life and culture of the great kingdom, and went back to his own land filled and inspired with a thousand ideas. The artists and nobles of China, says a pretty tale, accompanied him to the vessel which was to take him back to Japan, and showered white paper upon him with requests that he should paint a few strokes, if no more, upon them and send them

back; hence, according to this story, his pen name Sesshiu, meaning "Ship of Snow."<sup>m</sup> Arrived in Japan, he seems to have been welcomed as a prince, and to have been offered many emoluments by the *Shogun* Yoshimasa; but (if we may believe what we read) he refused these favors, and retired to his country parish in Choshu. Now he threw off, as if each were a moment's trifle, one masterpiece after another, until nearly every phase of Chinese scenery and life had taken lasting form under his brush. Seldom had China, never had Japan, seen paintings so various in scope, so vigorous in conception and execution, so decisive in line. In his old age the artists of Japan made a path to his door and honored him, even before his death, as a supreme artist. Today a picture of Sesshiu is to a Japanese collector what a Leonardo is to a European; and legend, which transforms intangible opinions into pretty tales, tells how one possessor of a Sesshiu, finding himself caught in a conflagration beyond possibility of escape, slashed open his body with his sword, and plunged into his abdomen the priceless scroll—which was later found unharmed within his half-consumed corpse."

The ascendancy of Chinese influence continued among the many artists patronized by the feudal lords of the Ashikaga and Tokugawa Shogunates. Each baronial court had its official painter, who was commissioned to train hundreds of young artists who might be turned, at a moment's notice, to the decoration of a palace. The temples now were almost ignored, for art was being secularized in proportion as wealth increased. Towards the end of the fifteenth century Kano Masanobu established at Kyoto, under Ashikaga patronage, a school of secular painters known from his first name, and devoted to upholding the severely classical and Chinese traditions in Japanese art. His son, Kano Motonobu, reached in this direction a mastery second only to that of Sesshiu himself. A story told of him illustrates admirably the concentration of mind and purpose that constitutes the greater part of genius. Having been commissioned to paint a series of cranes, Motonobu was discovered, evening after evening, walking and behaving like a crane. It turned out that he imitated, each night, the crane that he planned to paint the following day. A man must go to bed with his purpose in order to wake up to fame. Motonobu's grandson, Kano Yeitoku, though a scion of the Kano line, developed under the protection of Hideyoshi an ornate style all the world away from the restrained classicism of his progenitors. Tanyu transferred the seat of the school from Kyoto to Yedo, took service under the Tokugawas, and helped to decorate the mausoleum of Iyeyasu at Nikko. Gradually,

despite these adaptations to the spirit of the times, the Kano dynasty exhausted its impetus, and Japan turned to other masters for fresh beginnings.

About 1660 a new group of painters arrived on the scene, named, from its leaders, the Koyetsu-Korin School. In the natural oscillation of philosophies and styles, the Chinese manners and subjects of Sesshiu and Kano seemed now conservative and worn out; and the new artists turned to domestic scenes and motives for their subject-matter and inspiration. Koyetsu was a man of such diverse talents as bring to mind Carlyle's jealous claim that he had never known any great man who could not have been any sort of a great man; for he was distinguished as a calligrapher, a painter, and a designer in metal, lacquer and wood. Like William Morris he inaugurated a revival of fine printing, and supervised a village in which his craftsmen pursued their varied arts under his direction.<sup>78</sup> His only rival for the first place among the painters of the Tokugawa age was Korin, that astonishing master of trees and flowers, who, his contemporaries tell us, could with one stroke of his brush place a leaf of iris upon the silk and make it live.<sup>79</sup> No other painter has been so purely and completely Japanese, or so typically Japanese in the taste and delicacy of his work.\*

The last of the historic schools of Japanese painting in the strictest sense was founded at Kyoto in the eighteenth century by Maruyami Okyo. A man of the people, Okyo, stimulated by some knowledge of European painting, resolved to abandon the now thinned-out idealism and impressionism of the older style, and to attempt a realistic description of simple scenes from everyday life. He became especially fond of drawing animals, and kept many species of them about him as objects of his brush. Having painted a wild boar, he showed his work to hunters, and was disappointed to find that they thought his pictured boar was dead. He tried again and again, until at last they admitted that the boar might not be dead but merely asleep.<sup>80</sup> Since the aristocracy at Kyoto was penniless, Okyo had to sell his pictures to the middle classes; and this economic compulsion had much to do with turning him to popular subjects, even to the painting of some Kyoto belles. The older artists were horrified, but Okyo persisted in his unconventional ways. Mori Sosen accepted Okyo's naturalistic lead, turned and lived with the animals in order to portray them faithfully, and became Japan's greatest painter of monkeys and deer. By the time Okyo died (1795) the realists had won all along the line, and a completely popular school had captured the attention not only of Japan but of the world.

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\* The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has acquired a Korin "Wave-Screen," which Ledoux pronounced to be "one of the greatest works of this type that has ever been permitted to leave Japan."<sup>80</sup>

## X. PRINTS

*The "Ukiyoe" School — Its founders — Its masters — Hokusai  
— Hiroshige*

It is another jest of history that Japanese art should be most widely known and influential in the West through that one of all its forms which is least honored in Japan. About the middle of the eighteenth century the art of engraving, which had come to Japan in the luggage of Buddhism half a millennium before, was turned to the illustration of books and the life of the people. The old subjects and methods had lost the tang of novelty and interest; men were surfeited with Buddhist saints, Chinese philosophers, meditative animals and immaculate flowers; the new classes that were slowly rising to prominence looked to art for some reflection of their own affairs, and began to produce artists willing to meet these demands. Since painting required leisure and expense, and produced but one picture at a time, the new artists adapted engraving to their purposes, cut their pictures into wood, and made as many cheap prints from the blocks as their democratic purchasers required. These prints were at first colored by hand. Then, about 1740, three blocks were made: one uncolored, another partly colored rose-red, the third colored here and there in green; and the paper was impressed upon each block in turn. Finally, in 1764, Harunobu made the first polychrome prints, and paved the way for those vivid sketches, by Hokusai and Hiroshige, which proved so suggestive and stimulating to culture-weary Europeans thirsting for novelty. So was born the *Ukiyoe* School of "Pictures of the Passing World."

Its painters were not the first who had taken the untitled man as the object of their art. Iwasa Matabei, early in the seventeenth century, had shocked the *Samurai* by depicting, on a six-panel screen, men, women and children in the unrestrained attitudes of common life; in 1900 this screen (the *Hikone Biobu*) was chosen by the Japanese Government for exhibition in Paris, and was insured on its voyage for 30,000 yen (\$15,000).<sup>28</sup> About 1660 Hishikawa Moronobu, a designer of Kyoto dress patterns, made the earliest block prints, first for the illustration of books, then as broadsheets scattered among the people, almost like picture postcards among ourselves today. About 1687 Toru Kujimoto, designer of posters for the Osaka theatres, moved to Yedo, and taught the *Ukiyoe* School (which belonged entirely to the capital) how profitable it might be to

make prints of the famous actors of the day. From the stage the new artists passed to the brothels of the Yoshiwara, and gave to many a fragile beauty a taste of immortality. Bare breasts and gleaming limbs entered with disarming coyness into the once religious and philosophical sanctuaries of Japanese painting.

The masters of the developed art appeared towards the middle of the eighteenth century. Harunobu made prints of twelve or even fifteen colors from as many blocks, and, remorseful over his early pictures for the stage, painted with typical Japanese delicacy the graceful world of happy youth. Kiyonaga reached the first zenith of artistry in this school, and wove color and line into the swaying and yet erect figures of aristocratic women. Sharaku seems to have given only two years of his life to designing prints; but in this short time he lifted himself to the top of his tribe by his portraits of the Forty-seven *Ronin*, and his savagely ironic pictures of the stage's shooting "stars." Utamaro, rich in versatility and genius, master of line and design, etched the whole range of life from insects to courtesans; he spent half his career in the Yoshiwara, exhausted himself in pleasure and work, and earned a year in jail (1804) by picturing Hideyoshi with five concubines.<sup>66</sup> Wearied of normal people in normal attitudes, Utamaro portrayed his refined and complaisant ladies in almost spiritual slenderness, with tilted heads, elongated and slanting eyes, lengthened faces, and mysterious figures wrapped in flowing and multitudinous robes. A degenerating taste exalted this style into a bizarre mannerism, and was bringing the *Ukiyoe* School close to corruption and decay, when its two most famous masters arose to give it another half-century of life.

"The Old Man Mad with Painting," as Hokusai called himself, lived almost four-score years and ten, but mourned the tardiness of perfection and the brevity of life.

From my sixth year onwards a peculiar mania for drawing all sorts of things took possession of me. At my fiftieth year I had published quite a number of works of every possible description, but none were to my satisfaction. Real work began with me only in my seventieth year. Now at seventy-five the real appreciation of nature awakens within me. I therefore hope that at eighty I may have arrived at a certain power of intuition which will develop further to my ninetieth year, so that at the age of a hundred I can probably assert that my intuition is thoroughly artistic. And should it be

granted to me to live a hundred and ten years, I hope that a vital and true comprehension of nature may radiate from every one of my lines and dots. . . . I invite those who are going to live as long as I to convince themselves whether I shall keep my word. Written at the age of seventy-five years by me, formerly Hokusai, now called the Old Man Mad with Painting."<sup>8</sup>

Like most of the *Ukiyoye* artists he was born of the artisan class, the son of a mirror-maker. Apprenticed to the artist Shunso, he was expelled for originality, and went back to his family to live in poverty and hardship throughout his long life. Unable to live by painting, he peddled food and almanacs. When his house burned down he merely composed a *hokka*:

It has burned down;  
How serene the flowers in their falling!<sup>89</sup>

When, at the age of eighty-nine, he was discovered by death, he surrendered reluctantly, saying: "If the gods had given me only ten years more I could have become a really great painter."<sup>90</sup>

He left behind him five hundred volumes of thirty thousand drawings. Intoxicated with the unconscious artistry of natural forms, he pictured in loving and varied repetition mountains, rocks, rivers, bridges, waterfalls and the sea. Having issued a book of "Thirty-six Views of Fuji," he went back, like the fascinated priest of Buddhist legend,\* to sit at the foot of the sacred mount again, and draw "One Hundred Views of Fuji." In a series named "The Imagery of the Poets" he returned to the loftier subjects of Japanese art, and showed, among others, the great Li Po beside the chasm and cascade of Lu. In 1812 he issued the first of fifteen volumes called *Mangwa*—a series of realistic drawings of the homeliest details of common life, piquant with humor and scandalous with burlesque. These he flung off without care or effort, a dozen a day, until he had illustrated every nook and cranny of plebeian Japan. Never had the nation seen such fertility, such swift and penetrating conception, such reckless vitality of execution. As American critics looked down upon Whitman, so Japanese critics and art circles looked down upon Hokusai, seeing only the turbulence of his brush and the occasional vulgarity of his mind. But

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\* Who, having been exiled from Japan, sailed every day across the sea to gaze upon the Holy Mountain.

when he died his neighbors—who had not known that Whistler, in a modest moment, would rank him as the greatest painter since Velasquez<sup>77</sup>—marveled to see so long a funeral issue from so simple a home.

Less famous in the West but more respected in the East was the last great figure of the *Ukiyoye* School—Hiroshige (1796-1858). The hundred thousand distinct prints that claim his parentage picture the landscapes of his country more faithfully than Hokusai's, and with an art that has earned Hiroshige rank as probably the greatest landscape painter of Japan. Hokusai, standing before nature, drew not the scene but some airy fantasy suggested by it to his imagination; Hiroshige loved the world itself in all its forms, and drew these so loyally that the traveler may still recognize the objects and contours that inspired him. About 1830 he set out along the *Tokaido* or post road from Tokyo to Kyoto, and, like a true poet, thought less of his goal than of the diverting and significant scenes which he met on his way. When at last his trip was finished, he gathered his impressions together in his most famous work—"The Fifty-three Stations of the *Tokaido*" (1834). He liked to picture rain and the night in all their mystic forms, and the only man who surpassed him in this—Whistler—modeled his nocturnes upon Hiroshige's.<sup>78</sup> He too loved Fuji, and made "Thirty-six Views" of the mountain; but also he loved his native Tokyo, and made "One Hundred Views of Yedo" shortly before he died. He lived less years than Hokusai, but yielded up the torch with more content:

I leave my brush at Azuma  
And go on the journey to the Holy West,  
To visit the famous scenery there.\*<sup>79</sup>

## XI. JAPANESE ART AND CIVILIZATION

### *A retrospect—Contrasts—An estimate—The doom of the old Japan*

The Japanese print was almost the last phase of that subtle and delicate civilization which crumbled under the impact of Occidental industry, just as the cynical pessimism of the Western mind today may be the final aspect of a civilization doomed to die under the heel of Oriental industry. Because that medieval Japan which survived till 1853 was harmless to us,

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\* An excellent collection of Hiroshige's prints may be seen in the Boston Museum.

we can appreciate its beauty patronizingly; and it will be hard to find in a Japan of competing factories and threatening guns the charm that lures us in the selected loveliness of the past. We know, in our prosaic moments, that there was much cruelty in that old Japan, that peasants were poor and workers were oppressed, that women were slaves there, and might in hard times be sold into promiscuity, that life was cheap, and that in the end there was no law for the common man but the sword of the *Samurai*. But in Europe too men were cruel and women were a subject class, peasants were poor and workers were oppressed, life was hard and thought was dangerous, and in the end there was no law but the will of the lord or the king.

And as we can feel some affection for that old Europe because, in the midst of poverty, exploitation and bigotry, men built cathedrals in which every stone was carved in beauty, or martyred themselves to earn for their successors the right to think, or fought for justice until they created those civil liberties which are the most precious and precarious portion of our inheritance, so behind the bluster of the *Samurai* we honor the bravery that still gives to Japan a power above its numbers and its wealth; behind the lazy monks we sense the poetry of Buddhism, and acknowledge its endless incentives to poetry and art; behind the sharp blow of cruelty, and the seeming rudeness of the strong to the weak, we recognize the courtliest manners, the most pleasant ceremonies, and an unrivaled devotion to nature's beauty in all her forms. Behind the enslavement of women we see their beauty, their tenderness, and their incomparable grace; and amid the despotism of the family we hear the happiness of children playing in the garden of the East.

We are not much moved today by the restrained brevity and untranslatable suggestiveness of Japanese poetry; and yet it was this poetry, as well as the Chinese, that suggested the "free verse" and "imagism" of our time. There is scant originality in Japan's philosophers, and in her historians a dearth of the high impartiality that we expect of those whose books are not an annex to their country's armed or diplomatic force. But these were minor things in the life of Japan; she gave herself wisely to the creation of beauty rather than to the pursuit of truth. The soil she lived on was too treacherous to encourage sublime architecture, and yet the houses she built "are, from the esthetic point of view, the most perfect ever designed."<sup>100</sup> No country in modern times has rivaled her in the grace and loveliness of little things—the clothing of the women, the artistry of



fans and parasols, of cups and toys, of *inro* and *netsuke*, the splendor of lacquer and the exquisite carving of wood. No other modern people has quite equaled the Japanese in restraint and delicacy of decoration, or in widespread refinement and sureness of taste. It is true that Japanese porcelain is less highly valued, even by the Japanese, than that of Sung and Ming; but if only the Chinese product surpasses it, the work of the Japanese potter still ranks above that of the modern European. And though Japanese painting lacks the strength and depth of Chinese, and Japanese prints are mere poster art at their worst, and at their best the transient redemption of hurried trivialities with a national perfection of grace and line, nevertheless it was Japanese rather than Chinese painting, and Japanese prints rather than Japanese water-colors, that revolutionized pictorial art in the nineteenth century, and gave the stimulus to a hundred experiments in fresh creative forms. These prints, sweeping into Europe in the wake of reopened trade after 1860, profoundly affected Monet, Manet, Degas and Whistler; they put an end to the "brown sauce" that had been served with almost every European painting from Leonardo to Millet; they filled the canvases of Europe with sunshine, and encouraged the painter to be a poet rather than a photographer. "The story of the beautiful," said Whistler, with the swagger that made all but his contemporaries love him, "is already complete—hewn in the marbles of the Parthenon, and brodered, with the birds, upon the fan of Hokusai—at the foot of Fuji-yama."<sup>m</sup>

We hope that this is not quite true; but it was unconsciously true for the old Japan. She died four years after Hokusai. In the comfort and peace of her isolation she had forgotten that a nation must keep abreast of the world if it does not wish to be enslaved. While Japan carved her *inro* and flourished her fans, Europe was establishing a science that was almost entirely unknown to the East; and that science, built up year by year in laboratories apparently far removed from the stream of the world's affairs, at last gave Europe the mechanized industries that enabled her to make the goods of life more cheaply—however less beautifully—than Asia's skilful artisans could turn them out by hand. Sooner or later those cheaper goods would win the markets of Asia, ruining the economic and changing the political life of countries pleasantly becalmed in the handicraft stage. Worse than that, science made explosives, battleships and guns that could kill a little more completely than the sword of the most heroic *Samurai*;

of what use was the bravery of a knight against the dastardly anonymity of a shell?

There is no more amazing or portentous phenomenon in modern history than the way in which sleeping Japan, roughly awakened by the cannon of the West, leaped to the lesson, bettered the instruction, accepted science, industry and war, defeated all her competitors either in battle or in trade, and became, within two generations, the most aggressive nation in the contemporary world.

# The New Japan

## I. THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION

*The decay of the Shogunate—America knocks at the door—The Restoration—The Westernization of Japan—Political reconstruction — The new constitution — Law — The army — The war with Russia—Its political results*

THE death of a civilization seldom comes from without; internal decay must weaken the fibre of a society before external influences or attacks can change its essential structure, or bring it to an end. A ruling family rarely contains within itself that persistent vitality and subtle adaptability which enduring domination requires; the founder exhausts half the strength of the stock, and leaves to mediocrity the burdens that only genius could bear. The Tokugawas after Iyeyasu governed moderately well, but, barring Yoshimune, they numbered no positive personalities in their line. Within eight generations after Iyeyasu's death the feudal barons were disturbing the Shogunate with sporadic revolts; taxes were delayed or withheld, and the Yedo treasury, despite desperate economies, became inadequate to finance national security or defense.<sup>3</sup> Two centuries and more of peace had softened the *Samurai*, and had disaccustomed the people to the hardships and sacrifices of war; epicurean habits had displaced the stoic simplicity of Hideyoshi's days, and the country, suddenly called upon to protect its sovereignty, found itself physically and morally unarmed. The Japanese intellect fretted under the exclusion of foreign intercourse, and heard with restless curiosity of the rising wealth and varied civilization of Europe and America; it studied Mabuchi and Moto-ori, and secretly branded the *shoguns* as usurpers who had violated the continuity of the Imperial dynasty; it could not reconcile the divine descent of the Emperor with the impotent poverty to which the Tokugawas had condemned him. From their hiding-places in the Yoshiwara and elsewhere, subterranean pamphleteers began to flood the cities with passionate appeals for the overthrow of the Shogunate, and the restoration of the Imperial power.

Upon this harassed and resourceless Government the news burst in 1853 that an American fleet, ignoring Japanese prohibitions, had entered Uruga Bay, and that its commander insisted upon seeing the supreme authority in Japan. Commodore Perry had four ships of war and 560 men; but instead of making a display of even this modest force, he sent a courteous note to the *Shogun* Iyeyoshi, assuring him that the American Government asked nothing more than the opening of a few Japanese ports to American trade, and some arrangements for the protection of such American seamen as might be shipwrecked on Japanese shores. The T'ai-p'ing Rebellion called Perry back to his base in Chinese waters; but in 1854 he returned to Japan armed with a larger squadron and a persuasive variety of gifts—perfumes, clocks, stoves, whiskey . . . —for the Emperor, the Empresses, and the princes of the blood. The new *Shogun*, Iyesada, neglected to transmit these presents to the royal family, but consented to sign the Treaty of Kanagawa, which conceded in effect all the American demands. Perry praised the courtesy of the islanders, and announced, with imperfect foresight, that “if the Japanese came to the United States they would find the navigable waters of the country free to them, and that they would not be debarred even from the gold-fields of California.” By this and later treaties the major ports of Japan were open to commerce from abroad, tariffs were specified and limited, and Japan agreed that Europeans and Americans accused of crime in the islands should be tried by their own consular courts. Stipulations were made and accepted that all persecution of Christianity should cease in the Empire; and at the same time the United States offered to sell to Japan such arms and battleships as she might need, and to lend officers and craftsmen for the instruction of this absurdly pacific nation in the arts of war.\*

The Japanese people suffered keenly from the humiliation of these treaties, though later they acknowledged them as the impartial instruments of evolution and destiny. Some of them wished to fight the foreigners at any cost, to expel them all, and restore a self-contained agricultural and feudal regime. Others saw the necessity of imitating rather than expelling the West; the only course by which Japan could avoid the repeated defeats and the economic subjection which Europe was then imposing upon China was by learning as rapidly as possible the methods of Western industry, and the technique of modern war. With astonishing finesse the Westernizing leaders used the baronial lords as aides in overthrowing the Shogunate and restoring the Emperor, and then used the Imperial au-

thority to overthrow feudalism and introduce Occidental industry. So in 1867 the feudal lords persuaded the last of the *shoguns*, Keiki, to abdicate. "Almost all the acts of the administration," said Keiki, "are far from perfect, and I confess it with shame that the present unsatisfactory condition of affairs is due to my shortcomings and incompetence. Now that foreign intercourse becomes daily more extensive, unless the government is directed from one central authority, the foundations of the state will fall to pieces." The Emperor Meiji replied tersely that "Tokugawa Keiki's proposal to restore the administrative authority to the Imperial Court is accepted"; and on January 1, 1868 the new "Era of Meiji" was officially begun. The old religion of *Shinto* was revised, and an intensive propaganda convinced the people that the restored emperor was divine in lineage and wisdom, and that his decrees were to be accepted as the edicts of the gods.

Armed with this new power, the Westernizers achieved almost a miracle in the rapid transformation of their country. Ito and Inouye braved their way through every prohibition and obstacle to Europe, studied its industries and institutions, marveled at the railroad, the steamship, the telegraph and the battleship, and came back inflamed with a patriotic resolve to Europeanize Japan. Englishmen were brought in to superintend the construction of railways, the erection of telegraphs, and the building of a navy; Frenchmen were commissioned to recast the laws and train the army; Germans were assigned to the organization of medicine and public health; Americans were engaged to establish a system of universal education; and to make matters complete, Italians were imported to instruct the Japanese in sculpture and painting. There were temporary, even bloody, reactions, and at times the spirit of Japan rebelled against this hectic and artificial metamorphosis; but in the end the machine had its way, and the Industrial Revolution added Japan to its realm.

Of necessity that Revolution (the only real revolution in modern history) lifted to wealth and economic power a new class of men—manufacturers, merchants and financiers—who in the old Japan had been ranked at the very bottom of the social scale. This rising *bourgeoisie* quietly used its means and influence first to destroy feudalism, and then to reduce to an imposing pretense the restored authority of the throne. In 1871 the Government persuaded the barons to surrender their ancient privileges, and consoled them with government bonds in exchange for

their lands.\* Bound by ties of interest to the new society, the old aristocracy gave its services loyally to the Government, and enabled it to effect with bloodless ease the transition from a medieval to a modern state. Ito Hirobumi, recently returned from a second visit to Europe, created, in imitation of Germany, a new nobility of five orders—princes, marquises, counts, viscounts and barons; but these men were the rewarded servants, not the feudal enemies, of the industrial regime.

Modestly and tirelessly Ito labored to give his country a form of government that would avoid what seemed to him the excesses of democracy, and yet enlist and encourage the talent of every class for a rapid economic development. Under his leadership Japan promulgated, in 1889, its first constitution. At the top of the legal structure was the emperor, technically supreme, owning all land in fee simple, commander of an army and a navy responsible to him alone, and giving to the Empire the strength of unity, continuity, and regal prestige. Graciously he consented to delegate his law-making power, so long as it pleased him, to a Diet of two chambers—a House of Peers and a House of Representatives; but the ministers of state were to be appointed by him, and to be accountable to him rather than to the Diet. Underneath was a small electorate of some 460,000 voters, severely limited by a property qualification; successive liberalizations of the franchise raised the number of voters to 1,300,000 by 1928. Corruption in office has kept pace with the extension of democracy.†

Along with these political developments went a new system of law (1881), based largely upon the Napoleonic Code, and representing a courageous advance on the medieval legislation of the feudal age. Civil rights were liberally granted—freedom of speech, press, assembly and worship, inviolability of correspondence and domicile, and security from arrest or punishment except by due process of law.† Torture and ordeal were abolished, the *Eta* were freed from their caste disabilities, and all classes were made theoretically equal before the law. Prisons were improved, prisoners were paid for their work, and on their liberation they were equipped with some modest capital to set them up in agriculture or trade. Despite the lenience of the code, crime remained rare;‡ and if an orderly

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\* This process corresponded essentially to the abolition of feudalism, serfdom or slavery in France in 1789, in Russia in 1862, and in the United States in 1863.

† These rights have been narrowly restricted by the war fever of the Manchurian adventure.

acceptance of law is a mark of civilization, Japan (allowing for a few assassinations) must stand in the first rank of modern states.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the new Constitution was the exemption of the army and the navy from any superior except the Emperor. Never forgetting the humiliation of 1853, Japan resolved to build an armed force that would make her master of her own destiny, and ultimately lord of the East. Not only did she establish conscription; she made every school in the land a military training camp and a nursery of nationalist ardor. With an amazing aptitude for organization and discipline, she soon brought her armed power to a point where she could speak to the "foreign barbarians" on equal terms, and might undertake that gradual absorption of China which Europe had contemplated but never achieved. In 1894, resenting the despatch of Chinese troops to put down an insurrection in Korea, and China's persistent reference to Korea as a tributary state under Chinese suzerainty, Japan declared war upon her ancient tutor, surprised the world with the speed of her victory, and exacted from China the acknowledgment of Korea's independence, the cession of Formosa and Port Arthur (at the tip of the Liaotung Peninsula), and an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels. Germany and France supported Russia in "advising" Japan to withdraw from Port Arthur on condition of receiving an additional indemnity of 30,000,000 taels (from China). Japan yielded, but kept the rebuff in bitter memory while she waited for revenge.

From that hour Japan prepared herself grimly for that conflict with Russia which imperialistic expansion in both empires made apparently inevitable. Availing herself of England's fear that Russia might advance into India, Japan concluded with the mistress of the seas an alliance (1902-22) by which each party contracted to come to the aid of its ally in case either should go to war with a third power, and another power should intervene. Seldom had England's diplomats signed away so much of England's liberty. When, in 1904, the war with Russia began, English and American bankers lent Japan huge sums to finance her victories against the Tsar.<sup>9</sup> Nogi captured Port Arthur, and moved his army north in time to turn the scales in the slaughter of Mukden—the bloodiest battle in history before our own incomparable Great War. Germany and France seem to have contemplated coming to the aid of Russia by diplomacy or arms; but President Roosevelt made it known that in such case he would "promptly side with Japan." Meanwhile a Russian squadron of twenty-

nine ships had gallantly sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, in the longest war-voyage ever made by a modern fleet, to face the Japanese in their own waters. Admiral Togo, making the first known naval use of radio, kept himself informed of the Russian flotilla's course, and pounced upon it in the Straits of Tsushima on May 27, 1905. To all his commanders Togo flashed a characteristic message: "The rise or fall of the Empire depends on this battle."<sup>70</sup> The Japanese lost 116 killed and 538 wounded; the Russians lost 4000 dead and 7000 prisoners, and all but three of their ships were captured or sunk.

The "Battle of the Sea of Japan" was a turning point in modern history. Not only did it end the expansion of Russia into Chinese territory; it ended also the rule of Europe in the East, and began that resurrection of Asia which promises to be the central political process of our century. All Asia took heart at the sight of the little island empire defeating the most populous power in Europe; China plotted her revolution, and India began to dream of freedom. As for Japan, it thought not of extending liberty but of capturing power. It secured from Russia an acknowledgment of Japan's paramount position in Korea, and then, in 1910, formally annexed that ancient and once highly civilized kingdom. When the Emperor Meiji died, in 1912, after a long and benevolent career as ruler, artist and poet, he could take to the progenitor gods of Japan the message that the nation which they had created, and which at the outset of his reign had been a plaything in the hands of the impious West, was now supreme in the Orient, and was well on its way to becoming the pivot of history.

## II. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

### *Industrialization—Factories—Wages—Strikes—Poverty—The Japanese point of view*

Meanwhile, in the course of half a century, Japan had changed every aspect of its life. The peasant, though poor, was free; he could own a modest parcel of land by paying an annual tax or rental to the state; and no lord could hinder him if he chose to leave the fields and seek his fortune in the cities. For there were great cities now along the coast: Tokyo (i.e., the "Eastern Capital"), with its royal and aristocratic palaces, its spacious parks and crowded baths, and a population second only to that of London and New York; Osaka, once a fishing village and a castle, now a dark abyss of hovels, factories and skyscrapers, the center of the indus-



tries of Japan; and Yokohama and Kobe, from whose gigantic wharves, equipped with every modern mechanism, those industries despatched to a thousand ports the second largest merchant marine in the world.\*

The leap from feudalism to capitalism was eased by an unprecedented use of every aid. Foreign experts were brought in, and Japanese assistants obeyed their instructions eagerly; within fifteen years the clever learners had made such progress that the foreign specialists were paid off and courteously sent home. Following the lead of Germany the Government took over posts, railroads, telegraphs and telephones; but at the same time it made generous loans to private industries, and protected them with high tariffs from the competition of factories abroad. The indemnity paid by the Chinese after the war of 1894 financed and stimulated the industrialization of Japan precisely as the French indemnity of 1871 had accelerated the industrialization of Germany. Japan, like the Germany of a generation before, was able to begin with modern equipment and feudal discipline, while their long-established competitors struggled with obsolescent machinery and rebellious workingmen. Power was cheap in Japan, and wages were low; laborers were loyally submissive to their chiefs; factory laws came late, and were leniently enforced.<sup>18</sup> In 1933 the new Osaka spindles needed one girl for twenty-five machines; the old Lancashire spindles required one man for six.<sup>19</sup>

The number of factories doubled from 1908 to 1918, and again from 1918 to 1924; by 1931 they had increased by fifty per cent more,<sup>20</sup> while industry in the West plumbed the depths of depression. In 1933 Japan took first place as an exporter of textile products, sending out two of the five-and-a-half billion yards of cotton goods consumed in that year by the world.<sup>21</sup> By abandoning the gold standard in 1931, and allowing the *yen* to fall to forty per cent of its former value in international exchange, Japan increased her foreign sales fifty per cent from 1932 to 1933.<sup>22</sup> Domestic as well as foreign commerce flourished, and great merchant families, like the Mitsui and the Mitsubishi, amassed such fortunes that the military joined the wage-earning classes in meditating governmental absorption or control of industry and trade.†

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\* By the last official census Yokohama had 620,000 population, Kobe 787,000, Osaka 2,114,804, and Greater Tokyo 5,311,000.

† Transport by land did not grow as rapidly as marine trade, for the mountainous backbone of the islands made commerce prefer the sea. Roads remained poor by comparison with the West; and automobiles have only recently begun to be a peril in Japan.

While the growth of commerce generated a new and prosperous middle class, the manual workers bore the brunt of the low production costs through which Japan undersold her competitors in the markets of the world. The average wage of the men in 1931 was \$1.17 a day; of the women, 48 cents a day; 51 per cent of the industrial workers were women, and twelve per cent were under sixteen years of age.<sup>19\*</sup> Strikes were frequent and communism was growing when the war spirit of 1931 turned the nation to patriotic coöperation and conformity; "dangerous thoughts" were made illegal, and labor unions, never strong in Japan, were subjected to severe restrictions.<sup>20</sup> Great slums developed in Osaka, Kobe and Tokyo; in those of Tokyo a family of five occupied an average room space of from eight to ten square feet—a trifle more than the area covered by a double bed; in those of Kobe twenty thousand paupers, criminals, defectives and prostitutes lived in such filth that each year epidemics decimated them, and infant mortality rose to four times its average for the remainder of Japan.<sup>21</sup> Communists like Katayama and Christian Socialists like Kagawa fought violently or peaceably against these conditions, until at last the Government undertook the greatest slum-clearing project in history.

A generation ago Lafcadio Hearn expressed a bitter judgment upon the modern regime in Japan:

Under the new order of things forms of social misery never before known in the history of the race are being developed. Some idea of this misery may be obtained from the fact that the number of poor people in Tokyo unable to pay their residence tax is upward of 50,000; yet the amount of the tax is only about twenty *sen*, or ten cents in American money. Prior to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the minority there was never any such want in any part of Japan—except, of course, as a temporary consequence of war.<sup>22</sup>

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Already, however, the *jirricksha*, or "man-power-vehicle," traditionally ascribed to an inventive American missionary in the early eighties,<sup>23</sup> is disappearing before American and domestic motor cars and 200,000 miles of highway have been paved. Tokyo has a subway which compares favorably with those of Europe and America. The first Japanese railway was built in 1872, over a brave stretch of eighteen miles; by 1932 the narrow islands had 13,734 miles of iron roads. The new express from Dairen (near Port Arthur) to Hsinking (formerly Changchun), the capital of Manchuria, makes the 700 kilometers at the rate of 120 kilometers (approximately 75 miles) per hour.<sup>24</sup>

\* The low remuneration of women is partly due to the expensively high turn-over among the women workers, who usually leave industry when they have amassed a marriage dowry.

The "accumulation of wealth in the hands of the minority" is, no doubt, a universal and apparently unailing concomitant of civilization. Japanese employers believe that the wages which they pay are not too low in relation to the comparative inefficiency of Japanese labor, and the low cost of living in Japan.\* Low wages, thinks Japan, are necessary for low costs; low costs are necessary for the capture of foreign markets; foreign markets are necessary for an industry dependent upon imported fuels and minerals; industry is necessary for the support of a growing population in islands only twelve per cent of whose soil permits cultivation; and industry is necessary to that wealth and armament without which Japan could not defend herself against the rapacious West.

### III. THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

*Changes in dress—In manners—The Japanese character—Morals and marriage in transition—Religion—Science—Japanese medicine—Art and taste—Language and education—Naturalistic fiction—New forms of poetry*

Have the people themselves been changed by their Industrial Revolution? Certain external innovations catch the eye: the lugubrious bifurcate costume of the European man has captured and enclosed most urban males; but the women continue to clothe themselves in loose and colorful robes, bound at the waist with brocaded bands that meet in a spacious bow at the back.\* Shoes are replacing wooden clogs as roads improve; but a large proportion of both sexes still move about in bare and undeformed feet. In the greater cities one may find every variation and combination of native and European dress, as if to symbolize a transformation hurried and incomplete.

Manners are still a model of diplomatic courtesy, though men adhere to their ancient custom of preceding women in entering or leaving a room or in walking along the street. Language is deviously polite, and rarely profane; a formal humility clothes a fierce self-respect, and etiquette graces the most sincere hostility. The Japanese character, like that of man everywhere, is a mosaic of contradictions; for life offers us diverse situations at divers times, and demands of us alternately force and gentleness, levity and gravity, patience and courage, modesty and pride. Therefore we must not be prejudiced against the Japanese because they are senti-

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\* Women engaged in teaching or industry wear uniforms of Occidental cut. Both sexes, after working hours, relax into the traditional costumes.

mental and realistic, sensitive and stoical, expressive and reticent, excitable and restrained; aboundingly cheerful, humorous and pleasure-loving, and inclined to picturesque suicide; lovingly kind—often to animals, sometimes to women—and occasionally cruel to animals and men.\* The typical Japanese has all the qualities of the warrior—pugnacity and courage, and an unrivaled readiness to die; and yet, very often, he has the soul of an artist—sensuous, impressionable, and almost instinctively possessed of taste. He is sober and unostentatious, frugal and industrious, curious and studious, loyal and patient, with an heroic capacity for details; he is cunning and supple, like most physically small persons; he has a nimble intelligence, not highly creative in the field of thought, but capable of quick comprehension, adaptation, and practical achievement. The spirit and vanity of a Frenchman, the courage and narrowness of a Briton, the hot temper and artistry of an Italian, the energy and commercialism of an American, the sensitiveness and shrewdness of a Jew—all these have come together to make the Japanese.

Contact and conflict with the West have altered in some ways the moral life of Japan. The traditional honesty of its people† largely continues; but the extension of the franchise and the keen competition of modern trade have brought to Japan a proportionate share of democratic venality, industrial ruthlessness and financial legerdemain. *Bushido* survives here and there among the higher soldiery, and offers a mild aristocratic check to commercial and political deviltry. Despite the law-abiding patience of the common people assassination is frequent—not as a corrective of reactionary despotism but usually as an encouragement to aggressive patriotism. The Black Dragon Society, led by the apparently untouchable Toyama, has dedicated itself for over forty years to promoting among Japanese officials a policy of conquest in Korea and Manchuria;‡ and in the pursuit of this purpose it has given assassination a popular rôle in the political machinery of Japan.<sup>28</sup>

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\* During the chaos that followed the earthquake of 1923 the Japanese of Yokohama, while being fed by American relief ships, took advantage of the turmoil to slaughter hundreds (some say thousands) of unarmed radicals and Koreans in the streets.<sup>28</sup> Some passionate patriot, it seems, had aroused the Japanese by announcing that the Koreans (who were a mere handful) were planning to overthrow the Government and kill the Emperor.

† "I have lived," said Lafcadio Hearn, "in districts where no case of theft had occurred for hundreds of years—where the newly-built prisons of Meiji remained empty and useless."<sup>28</sup>

‡ *Black Dragon* is the Chinese name for the Amur River, which separates Manchuria from Siberia. The Japanese look upon assassination as merely a dignified substitute for exile.

The Far East has paralleled the West in that moral disturbance which accompanies every profound change in the economic basis of life. The eternal war of the generations—the revolt of over-eager youth against over-cautious age—has been intensified by the growth of individualist industry, and the weakening of religious faith. The transit from country to city, and the replacement of the family by the individual as the legal and responsible unit of economic and political society, has undermined parental authority, and subjected the customs and morals of centuries to the hasty judgment of adolescence. In the larger centers the young rebel against marriages parentally arranged; and the new couples, instead of taking up their residence in the establishment of the bridegroom's father, tend increasingly to set up separate and independent homes—or apartments. The rapid industrialization of women has necessitated a loosening of the bonds that held them to domestic subserviency. Divorce is as common as in America, and more convenient; it may be had by signing a registration book and paying a fee of ten cents.\* Concubinage has been made illegal, but in practice it is still permitted to those who can afford to ignore the law.†

In Japan as elsewhere the machine is the enemy of the priest. Spencer and Stuart Mill were imported along with English technology, and the reign of Confucius in Japanese philosophy came to a sudden end. "The generation now at school," said Chamberlain in 1905, "is distinctly Voltairian."<sup>20</sup> By the same token—through its modern alliance with the machine—science prospered, and won a characteristic devotion, in Japan, from some of the most brilliant investigators of our time.\* Japanese medicine, though dependent in most stages upon China or Korea, has made swift progress under European—especially German—example and stimulus. The work of Takamine in the discovery of insulin and the study of vitamins; of Kitasato in tetanus and pneumonia, and in the development of an anti-toxin for diphtheria; and, most famous and brilliant of all, of Noguchi in syphilis and yellow fever—these achievements indicate the rapidity with which the Japanese have ceased to be pupils, and have become teachers, of the world.

Hideyo Noguchi was born in 1876 in one of the lesser islands, and in a family so poor that his father deserted on learning that another child was due. The neglected boy fell into a brazier; his left hand was burned to a stump, and his right hand was injured almost to the point of uselessness.

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\* Such science as existed in Japan before 1853 was mostly an importation from the parental mainland. The Japanese calendar, previously based upon the phases of the moon, was readjusted to the solar year by a Korean priest about 604 A.D. In 680 A.D. Chinese modifications were introduced, and Japan took over (and still retains) the Chinese method of reckoning events by reference to the name and year of the reigning emperor. The Gregorian calendar was adopted by Japan in 1873.

Shunned at school because of his scars and deformities, he was planning to kill himself when a surgeon came to the village, treated the right hand successfully, and so won Noguchi's gratitude that the lad there and then dedicated himself to medicine. "I will be a Napoleon to save instead of to kill," he announced; "I can already get along on four hours of sleep at night."<sup>80</sup> Penniless, he worked in a pharmacy until he had persuaded its owner to advance him funds for the study of medicine. After graduating he came to the United States, and offered his services to the Medical Corps of the Army at Washington in return for his expenses. The Rockefeller Foundation for Medical Research gave him a laboratory, and Noguchi, literally single-handed, entered upon a fruitful career of experiment and research. He produced the first pure culture of the syphilitic germ, discovered the syphilitic nature of general paralysis and locomotor ataxia, and finally (1918) isolated the yellow fever parasite. Made famous and momentarily affluent, he went back to Japan, honored his old mother, and knelt in gratitude to the kindly pharmacist who had paid for his medical education. Then he went to Africa to study the yellow fever that was raging along the Gold Coast, was himself infected with it, and died (1928) at the pitifully early age of fifty-two.

The development of science, in Japan as in the West, has been accompanied by a decay of the traditional arts. The overthrow of the old aristocracy destroyed a nursery of taste, and left each generation to develop its own norms of excellence anew. The influx of foreign money seeking native wares led to rapid quantitative production, and debased the standards of Japanese design. When the buyers turned to the quest for ancient works, the artisans became forgers, and the manufacture of antiques became in Japan, as in China, one of the most flourishing of modern arts. *Cloisonné* is probably the only branch of ceramics that has progressed in Japan since the coming of the West. The chaotic passage from handicraft to machinery, and the sudden irruption of foreign tastes and ways clothed in the gaudy prestige of victory and wealth, have unsettled the esthetic sense of Japan, and weakened the sureness of her taste. Perhaps, now that Japan has chosen the sword, she is destined to repeat the history of Rome—imitative in art, but masterly in administration and war.\*

A flattery of Occidental modes has marked for a generation the intellectual life of the new empire. European words crowded into the language, news-

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\* The current fever of nationalism has brought with it a revival of native *motifs* and styles.

papers were organized in Western style, and a system of public schools was established after American exemplars. Japan heroically resolved to make itself the most literate nation on earth, and it succeeded; in 1925 99.4 per cent of all Japanese children attended school,<sup>21</sup> and in 1927, 93 per cent of the people could read.<sup>22</sup> Students took religiously to the new secular learning; hundreds of them lost their health in their eagerness for knowledge,<sup>23</sup> and the Government was obliged to take active measures for the encouragement of athletics, gymnastics and games of every kind from *ju-jitsu* to baseball. Education was removed from religious auspices, and became more thoroughly secularized in Japan than in most European nations. Five imperial universities were supported, and forty-one other universities, only less imperial, gathered in thousands of zealous students. By 1931 the Imperial University of Tokyo had 8,064 students, and the University of Kyoto had 5,552.<sup>24</sup>

Japanese literature, in the last quarter of the century, lost itself in a series of imitative fashions. English liberalism, Russian realism, Nietzschean individualism and American pragmatism swept the intelligentsia in turn, until the spirit of nationalism reasserted itself, and Japanese writers began to explore their native material in their native ways. A young woman, Ichi-yo, before dying in 1896 at the age of twenty-four, inaugurated a naturalistic movement in fiction by presenting vividly the misery and subjection of women in Japan.<sup>25</sup> In 1906 the poet Toson brought this movement to its height with a long novel—*Hakai* or “The Breaking of the Pledge”—which told in poetic prose the story of a teacher who, having promised his father never to reveal the fact that he was of *Eta* or slave origin, worked his way by ability and education to a high position, fell in love with a girl of refinement and social standing, and then, in a burst of honesty, confessed his origin, surrendered his sweetheart and his place, and left Japan forever. This novel contributed powerfully to the agitation that finally ended the historic disabilities of the *Eta* class.

The *tanka* and the *hokka* were the last forms of Japanese culture to yield to the influence of the West. For forty years after the Restoration they continued to be the required modes of Japanese verse, and the poetic spirit lost itself in miracles of ingenuity and artifice. Then, in 1897, Toson, a young teacher of Sendai, sold to a publisher, for fifteen dollars, a volume of poems whose individual length constituted a revolution almost as startling as any that had shaken the fabric of the state. The public, tired of elegant epigrams, responded gratefully, and made the publisher rich. Other

poets followed the path that Toson had explored, and the *tanka* and *hokka* surrendered at last their thousand-year-old domination.\*

Despite the new forms the old Imperial Poetry Contest still continues. Every year the Emperor announces a theme, and sets an example by inditing an ode to it; the Empress follows him; and then twenty-five thousand Japanese, of every sort and condition, send in their compositions to the Poetry Bureau at the Imperial Palace, to be judged by the highest bards of the land. The ten poems accounted best are read to the Emperor and the Empress, and are printed in the New Year's issue of the Japanese press." It is an admirable custom, fit to turn the soul for a moment from commercialism and war, and proving that Japanese literature is still a vital part in the life of the most vital nation in the contemporary world.

#### IV. THE NEW EMPIRE

*The precarious bases of the new civilization—Causes of Japanese imperialism—The Twenty-one Demands—The Washington Conference—The Immigration Act of 1924—The invasion of Manchuria—The new kingdom—Japan and Russia—Japan and Europe—Must America fight Japan?*

Despite its rapid growth in wealth and power the new Japan rested upon precarious foundations. Its population had mounted from 3,000,000 in the days of Shotoku Taishi to some 17,000,000 under Hideyoshi, some 30,000,000 under Yoshimune, and over 55,000,000 at the end of Meiji's reign (1912).\* It had doubled in a century, and the mountain-ribbed islands, so sparsely arable, contained with difficulty their multiplying millions. An insular population half as great as that of the United States had to support itself on an area one-twentieth as large." It could maintain itself only by manufactures; and yet Japan was tragically poor in the fuels and minerals indispensable to industry. Hydro-electric power

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\* In 1934 the population of the Japanese Empire (i.e., Japan, Korea, Formosa and some minor possessions) totaled eighty millions. Should Japan succeed in reconciling the inhabitants of Manchuria to Japanese rule, it will control, for industry and war, 110,000,000 people. As the population of Japan alone increases by a million a year, and that of the United States is rapidly approaching a stationary condition, the two systems may soon confront each other with approximately equal populations.



lurked in the streams that flowed from the mountains to the sea, but the full development of this resource would add only one-third to the power already used,<sup>60</sup> and could not be relied upon for the expanding needs of the future. Coal was found here and there, in almost inaccessible veins, in the islands of Kyushu and Hokkaido, and oil could be secured from Sakhalin; but iron, the very bone and sinew of industry, was almost completely absent from Japanese soil.<sup>60</sup> Finally, the low standard of living to which the nature of the strong and the costliness of materials and power had condemned the masses of Japan made consumption lag more and more behind production; every year, from factories ever better equipped, there poured forth a mounting surplus of goods unpurchasable at home and crying out for markets abroad.

Out of such conditions imperialism is born—that is, the effort of an economic system to exercise control, through its agent the government, over foreign regions upon which it is believed to depend for fuels, markets, materials or dividends. Where could Japan find those opportunities and those materials? She could not look to Indo-China, or India, or Australia, or the Philippines; for these had been preëmpted by Western powers, and their tariff walls favored their white masters against Japan. Clearly China had been placed at Nippon's door as a providentially designed market for Japanese goods; and Manchuria—rich in coal and iron, rich in the wheat that the islands could not profitably grow, rich in human resources for industry, taxation and war—Manchuria belonged by manifest destiny to Japan. By what right? By the same right whereby England had taken India and Australia, France Indo-China, Germany Shantung, Russia Port Arthur, and America the Philippines—the right of the need of the strong. In the long run no excuses would be necessary; all that was needed was power and an opportunity. In the eyes of a Darwinian world success would sanction every means.

Opportunity came generously—first with the Great War, then with the breakdown of European and American economic life. The War did not merely accelerate production in Japan (as in America) by giving to industry an ideal foreign market—a continent at war; at the same time it absorbed and weakened Europe, and left Japan with almost a free hand in the East. Therefore she invaded Shantung in 1915; and a year later she presented to China those "Twenty-one Demands" which, if they had been enforced, would have made all China a gigantic colony of little Japan.

Group I of the Demands asked Chinese recognition of Japanese suzerainty in Shantung; Group II asked certain industrial privileges, and an

acknowledgment of Japan's special rights, in Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia; Group III proposed that the greatest of mining companies on the mainland should become a joint concern of China and Japan; Group IV (aimed at America's request for a coaling station near Foochow) stipulated that "no island, port or harbor along the coast shall be ceded to any third Power." Group V modestly suggested that the Chinese should hereafter employ Japanese advisers in their political, economic and military affairs; that the police authority in the major cities of China should be jointly administered by Chinese and Japanese; that China should purchase at least fifty per cent of all her munitions from Japan; that Japan should be allowed to build three important railways in China; and that Japan should have the right freely to establish railways, mines and harbors in the Province of Fukien.<sup>a</sup>

The United States protested that some of these Demands violated the territorial integrity of China, and the principle of the Open Door. Japan withdrew Group V, modified the remaining Demands, and presented them to China with an ultimatum on May 7, 1915. China accepted them on the following day. A Chinese boycott of Japanese goods ensued; but Japan proceeded on the historically correct assumption that boycotts are sooner or later frustrated by the tendency of trade to follow the line of lowest costs. In 1917 the suave Viscount Ishii explained the Japanese position to the American people, and persuaded Secretary of State Lansing to sign an agreement recognizing "that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous." In 1922, at the Washington Conference, Secretary of State Hughes prevailed upon the Japanese to acknowledge the principle of the "Open Door" in China, and to be content with a navy sixty per cent as large as England's or America's.\* At the close of the Conference Japan agreed to return to China that part of Shantung (Tsingtao) which she had taken from Germany during the War. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance died a silent death, and America dreamed cozily of eternal peace.

Out of this youthful confidence in the future came one of the gravest failures of American diplomacy. Finding the people of the Pacific Coast troubled by the influx of Japanese into California, President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907, with the good sense that hid behind his popular bluster, quietly negotiated with the Japanese Government a "Gentlemen's Agree-

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\* The ratio of 5-5-3 was based upon the greater extent of coast-lines or possessions requiring English or American defense, as compared with the limited and protected territory of Japan.

ment" by which Japan promised to forbid the emigration of her laborers to the United States. But the high birth rate of those already admitted continued to disturb the western states, and several of them enacted laws preventing aliens from acquiring land. When, in 1924, the American Congress decided to restrict immigration, it refused to apply to the races of Asia that principle of quotas on which the reduced immigration of European peoples was to be allowed;\* instead it forbade the entrance of Asiatics altogether. Approximately the same result would have been secured by applying the quota to all races, without discrimination or name; and Secretary Hughes protested "that the legislation would seem to be quite unnecessary even for the purpose for which it is devised."<sup>48</sup> But hot-heads interpreted as a threat the warning uttered by the Japanese Ambassador of the "grave consequences" that might come from the act; and in a fever of resentment the Immigration Bill was passed.

All Japan flared up at what appeared to be a deliberate insult. Meetings were held, speeches were made, and a patriot committed *hara-kiri* at the door of Viscount Inouye's home in order to express the national sense of shame. The Japanese leaders, knowing that the country had been weakened by the earthquake of 1923, held their peace and bided their time. In the natural course of events America and Europe would some day be weakened in turn; and then Japan would seize her second opportunity, and take her delayed revenge.

When the greatest of all wars was followed by almost the greatest of all depressions, Japan saw a long-awaited chance to establish her mastery in the Far East. Announcing that her businessmen had been maltreated by the Chinese authorities in Manchuria, and secretly fearful that her railway and other investments there were threatened with ruin by the competition of the Chinese, Japan, in September, 1931, allowed her army, of its own initiative, to advance into Manchuria. China, disordered with revolution, provincial separatism and purchasable politicians, could make no unified resistance except to resort again to the boycott of Japanese goods; and when Japan, in alleged protest against boycott propaganda, invaded Shanghai (1932), only a fraction of China rose to repel the invasion. The objections of the United States were cautiously approved of "in principle" by European powers too absorbed in their individual commercial interests

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\* By this principle the number of immigrants from any country was to bear the same ratio to the total of permitted annual immigration as persons of that nationality had borne to the total population of America in 1890.

to take decisive and united action against this dramatic termination of the white man's brief authority in the distant East. The League of Nations appointed a commission under the Earl of Lytton, which made an apparently thorough and impartial investigation and report; but Japan withdrew from the League on the same ground on which America, in 1935, refused to join in the World Court—that she did not care to be judged by a court of her enemies. The boycott reduced Japanese imports into China by forty-seven per cent between August, 1932, and May, 1933; but meanwhile Japanese trade was ousting Chinese commerce in the Philippines, the Malay States and South Seas, and, so soon as 1934, Japanese diplomats, with the aid of Chinese statesmen, persuaded China to write a tariff law favoring Japanese products as against those of the Western powers.<sup>4</sup>

In March, 1932, Japanese authority installed Henry P'u Yi, inheritor of the Manchu throne in China, as Chief Executive of the new state of Manchukuo; and two years later it made him Emperor under the name of Kang Teh. The officials were either Japanese or complaisant Chinese; but behind every Chinese official was a Japanese adviser.<sup>4</sup> While the "Open Door" was technically maintained, ways were found to place Manchukuoan trade and resources in Japanese hands.<sup>4</sup> Immigration from Japan failed to develop, but Japanese capital poured in abundantly. Railways were built for commercial and military purposes, highways were rapidly improved, and negotiations were begun for the purchase of the Chinese Eastern Railway from the Soviet. The Japanese army, victorious and competent, not only organized the new state, but dictated the policy of the Government at Tokyo. It conquered the province of Jehol for Pu-yi, advanced almost to Peiping, retreated magnanimously, and bided its time.

Meanwhile Japanese representatives at Nanking strain every *yen* to win from the Chinese Government an acceptance of Japanese leadership in every economic and political aspect of Chinese life. When China has been won, by conquest or by loans, Japan will be ready to deal with her ancient enemy—once the Empire of all the Russias, now the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Up along Mongolia's caravan route through Kalgan and Urga, or across the Manchukuoan border into Chita, or at any one of a hundred vulnerable points where the Trans-Siberian Railway, still for the most part single-tracked in the Far East, coils itself about the new state, the Japanese army may strike and cut the spinal cord that binds China, Vladivostok and Trans-Baikalia with the Russian capital. Feverishly, heroically,

Russia prepares for the irrepressible conflict. At Kuznetzk and Magneto-gorsk she develops great coal mines and steel factories, capable of being transformed into giant munition plants; while at Vladivostok a host of submarines arranges to entertain a Japanese fleet, and hundreds of bombing planes have their eyes on Japan's centers of production and transport, and her cities of flimsy wood.

Behind this ominous foreground stand the tamed and frustrated Western powers: America chafing at the loss of Chinese markets, France wondering how long she can hold Indo-China, England disturbed about Australia and India, and harassed by Japanese competition not only in China but throughout her empire in the East. Nevertheless France prefers to help finance Japan rather than to antagonize her; and canny Britain waits in unprecedented patience, hoping that each of her great competitors in Asiatic trade will destroy the other and leave the world to England again. Every day the conflict of interest becomes more acute, and approaches nearer to open strife. Japan insists that foreign companies selling oil to Japan shall maintain on her soil a reserve of oil sufficient to supply the islands for half a year in case of emergency. Manchukuo is closing her doors to non-Japanese oil. Japan, over the protests of Americans, and over the veto of the Uruguayan President, has won permission from the legislature of Uruguay to build on the River Plate a free port for the dutiless entry or manufacture of Japanese goods. From that strategic center the commercial and financial penetration of Latin America will proceed at a rate unequalled since Germany's rapid conquest of South American trade helped to bring on the Great War, and America's participation in it. As the memory of that war begins to fade, preparations for another become the order of the day.

Must America fight Japan? Our economic system gives to the investing class so generous a share of the wealth created by science, management and labor that too little is left to the mass of producers to enable them to buy back as much as they produce; a surplus of goods is created which cries out for the conquest of foreign markets as the only alternative to interrupting production—or spreading the power of consumption—at home. But this is even truer of the Japanese economic system than of our own; it too must conquer foreign markets, not only to maintain its centralized wealth, but to secure the fuels and raw materials indispensable to her industries. By the sardonic irony of history that same Japan which America awoke from peaceful agriculture in 1853, and prodded into industry and

trade, now turns all her power and subtlety to winning by underselling, and to controlling by conquest or diplomacy, precisely those Asiatic markets upon which America has fixed her hopes as potentially the richest outlet for her surplus goods. Usually in history, when two nations have contested for the same markets, the nation that has lost in the economic competition, if it is stronger in resources and armament, has made war upon its enemy.

Such a war, of course, would be a bitter conclusion to America's opening of Japan. But there is a tide in the affairs of states which, if uncontrolled before it gathers strength, sweeps a nation into circumstances where its only choice is between humiliation and war; and men above military age tend to prefer war to humiliation. The danger of a conflict with Japan is not lessened by the apparent likelihood of war between Japan and Russia; for if these nations throw down the gauntlet to each other again we shall be sorely tempted to intervene on the ancient principle, so richly illustrated in our time, that it is wiser to help destroy a competitor who is already attacked than to wait for victory to strengthen him dangerously. If we wish to resist that temptation we need only reflect that however urgently Japan may need the markets of the East they are far from indispensable to our own prosperity; and that to win them, either by a costly war in distant waters or by a competitive lowering of our people's standard of living, would be an empty victory. It would be a boon to us, perhaps, if our merchants should be compelled to find within their own frontiers a market for their goods. Then we might realize that our happiness lies not in conquering markets beyond the seas, but in so spreading the fruits and profits of invention and industry that our own vast population may be a sufficient market for our industries—even at the height of their productive power. 3,738,000 square miles are enough.

Having taught Japan the ways of industry and war, we must be patient with the destiny that has named her for the moment as the economic and military mistress of the East. We need not grudge the Children of the Sun their hour of power and glory, their fragile empire and their uncertain wealth. There is room in the world for both of us; and, if we will it, the seas are still broad enough to give us peace.

## Envoi

### OUR ORIENTAL HERITAGE

We have passed in unwilling haste through four thousand years of history, and over the richest civilizations of the largest continent. It is impossible that we have understood these civilizations, or done them justice; for how can one mind, in one lifetime, comprehend or appraise the heritage of a race? The institutions, customs, arts and morals of a people represent the natural selection of its countless trial-and-error experiments, the accumulated and unformulable wisdom of all its generations; and neither the intelligence of a philosopher nor the intellect of a sophomore can suffice to compass them understandingly, much less to judge them with justice. Europe and America are the spoiled child and grandchild of Asia, and have never quite realized the wealth of their pre-classical inheritance. But if, now, we sum up those arts and ways which the West has derived from the East, or which, to our current and limited knowledge, appear first in the Orient, we shall find ourselves drawing up unconsciously an outline of civilization.

The first element of civilization is labor—tillage, industry, transport and trade. In Egypt and Asia we meet with the oldest known cultivation of the soil,\* the oldest irrigation systems, and the first† production of those encouraging beverages without which, apparently, modern civilization could hardly exist—beer and wine and tea. Handicrafts and engineering were as highly developed in Egypt before Moses as in Europe before Voltaire; building with bricks has a history at least as old as Sargon I; the potter's wheel and the wagon wheel appear first in Elam, linen and glass in Egypt, silk and gunpowder in China. The horse rides out of Central Asia into Mesopotamia, Egypt and Europe; Phœnician vessels circumnavigate Africa before the age of Pericles; the compass comes from China and produces a commercial revolution in Europe. Sumeria shows us the first business contracts, the first credit system, the first use of gold and

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\* It is possible that agriculture and the domestication of animals are as ancient in neolithic Europe as in neolithic Asia; but it seems more likely that the New Stone Age cultures of Europe were younger than those of Africa and Asia. Cf. Chapter VI above.

† In this and subsequent statements the word *known* is to be understood.

silver as standards of value; and China first accomplishes the miracle of having paper accepted in place of silver or gold.

The second element of civilization is government—the organization and protection of life and society through the clan and the family, law and the state. The village community appears in India, and the city-state in Sumeria and Assyria. Egypt takes a census, levies an income tax, and maintains internal peace through many centuries with a model minimum of force. Ur-Engur and Hammurabi formulate great codes of law, and Darius organizes, with imperial army and post, one of the best administered empires in the annals of government.

The third element of civilization is morality—customs and manners, conscience and charity; a law built into the spirit, and generating at last that sense of right and wrong, that order and discipline of desire, without which a society disintegrates into individuals, and falls forfeit to some coherent state. Courtesy came out of the ancient courts of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia; even today the Far East might teach manners and dignity to the brusque and impatient West. Monogamy appeared in Egypt, and began a long struggle to prove itself and survive in competition with the inequitable but eugenic polygamy of Asia. Out of Egypt came the first cry for social justice; out of Judea the first plea for human brotherhood, the first formulation of the moral consciousness of mankind.

The fourth element of civilization is religion—the use of man's supernatural beliefs for the consolation of suffering, the elevation of character, and the strengthening of social instincts and order. From Sumeria, Babylonia and Judea the most cherished myths and traditions of Europe were derived; in the soil of the Orient grew the stories of the Creation and the Flood, the Fall and Redemption of man; and out of many mother goddesses came at last "the fairest flower of all poesy," as Heine called Mary, the Mother of God. Out of Palestine came monotheism, and the fairest songs of love and praise in literature, and the loneliest, lowliest, and most impressive figure in history.

The fifth element in civilization is science—clear seeing, exact recording, impartial testing, and the slow accumulation of a knowledge objective enough to generate prediction and control. Egypt develops arithmetic and geometry, and establishes the calendar; Egyptian priests and physicians practise medicine, explore diseases enigmatically, perform a hundred varieties of surgical operation, and anticipate something of the Hippocratic oath. Babylonia studies the stars, charts the zodiac, and gives us our di-



vision of the month into four weeks, of the clock into twelve hours, of the hour into sixty minutes, of the minute into sixty seconds. India transmits through the Arabs her simple numerals and magical decimals, and teaches Europe the subtleties of hypnotism and the technique of vaccination.

The sixth element of civilization is philosophy—the attempt of man to capture something of that total perspective which in his modest intervals he knows that only Infinity can possess; the brave and hopeless inquiry into the first causes of things, and their final significance; the consideration of truth and beauty, of virtue and justice, of ideal men and states. All this appears in the Orient a little sooner than in Europe: the Egyptians and the Babylonians ponder human nature and destiny, and the Jews write immortal comments on life and death, while Europe tarries in barbarism; the Hindus play with logic and epistemology at least as early as Parmenides and Zeno of Elea; the Upanishads delve into metaphysics, and Buddha propounds a very modern psychology some centuries before Socrates is born. And if India drowns philosophy in religion, and fails to emancipate reason from hope, China resolutely secularizes her thought, and produces, again before Socrates, a thinker whose sober wisdom needs hardly any change to be a guide to our contemporary life, and an inspiration to those who would honorably govern states.

The seventh element of civilization is letters—the transmission of language, the education of youth, the development of writing, the creation of poetry and drama, the stimulus of romance, and the written remembrance of things past. The oldest schools known to us are those of Egypt and Mesopotamia; even the oldest schools of government are Egyptian. Out of Asia, apparently, came writing; out of Egypt the alphabet, paper and ink; out of China, print. The Babylonians seem to have compiled the oldest grammars and dictionaries, and to have collected the first libraries; and it may well be that the universities of India preceded Plato's Academy. The Assyrians polished chronicles into history, the Egyptians puffed up history into the epic, and the Far East gave to the modern world those delicate forms of poetry that rest all their excellence on subtle insights phrased in a moment's imagery. Nabonidus and Ashurbanipal, whose relics are exhumed by archeologists, were archeologists; and some of the fables that amuse our children go back to ancient India.

The eighth element of civilization is art—the embellishment of life with pleasing color, rhythm and form. In its simplest aspect—the adornment of

the body—we find elegant clothing, exquisite jewelry and scandalous cosmetics in the early ages of Egyptian, Sumerian and Indian civilization. Fine furniture, graceful pottery, and excellent carving in ivory and wood fill the Egyptian tombs. Surely the Greeks must have learned something of their skill in sculpture and architecture, in painting and bas-relief, not only from Asia and Crete, but from the masterpieces that in their day still gleamed in the mirror of the Nile. From Egypt and Mesopotamia Greece took the models for her Doric and Ionic columns; from those same lands came to us not merely the column but the arch, the vault, the clerestory and the dome; and the *ziggurats* of the ancient Near East have had some share in moulding the architecture of America today. Chinese painting and Japanese prints changed the tone and current of nineteenth century European art; and Chinese porcelain raised a new perfection for Europe to emulate. The sombre splendor of the Gregorian chant goes back age by age to the plaintive songs of exiled Jews gathering timidly in scattered synagogues.

These are some of the elements of civilization, and a part of the legacy of the East to the West.

Nevertheless much was left for the classic world to add to this rich inheritance. Crete would build a civilization almost as ancient as Egypt's, and would serve as a bridge to bind the cultures of Asia, Africa and Greece. Greece would transform art by seeking not size but perfection; it would marry a feminine delicacy of form and finish to the masculine architecture and statuary of Egypt, and would provide the scene for the greatest age in the history of art. It would apply to all the realms of literature the creative exuberance of the free mind; it would contribute meandering epics, profound tragedies, hilarious comedies and fascinating histories to the store of European letters. It would organize universities, and establish for a brilliant interlude the secular independence of thought; it would develop beyond any precedent the mathematics and astronomy, the physics and medicine, bequeathed it by Egypt and the East; it would originate the sciences of life, and the naturalistic view of man; it would bring philosophy to consciousness and order, and would consider with unaided rationality all the problems of our life; it would emancipate the educated classes from ecclesiasticism and superstition, and would attempt a morality independent of supernatural aid. It would conceive man as a citizen rather than as a subject; it would give him political liberty, civil

rights, and an unparalleled measure of mental and moral freedom; it would create democracy and invent the individual.

Rome would take over this abounding culture, spread it throughout the Mediterranean world, protect it for half a millennium from barbarian assault, and then transmit it, through Roman literature and the Latin languages, to northern Europe; it would lift woman to a power and splendor, and a mental emancipation, which perhaps she had never known before; it would give Europe a new calendar, and teach it the principles of political organization and social security; it would establish the rights of the individual in an orderly system of laws that would help to hold the continent together through centuries of poverty, chaos and superstition.

Meanwhile the Near East and Egypt would blossom again under the stimulus of Greek and Roman trade and thought. Carthage would revive all the wealth and luxury of Sidon and Tyre; the *Talmud* would accumulate in the hands of dispersed but loyal Jews; science and philosophy would flourish at Alexandria, and out of the mixture of European and Oriental cultures would come a religion destined in part to destroy, in part to preserve and augment, the civilization of Greece and Rome. Everything was ready to produce the culminating epochs of classical antiquity: Athens under Pericles, Rome under Augustus, and Jerusalem in the age of Herod. The stage was set for the three-fold drama of Plato, Cæsar, and Christ.

# Glossary\*

of foreign terms not immediately defined in the text

*Ab initio* (L)—from the outset.

*Abankara* (H)—consciousness of self.

*Amor dei intellectualis* (L)—intellectual love of God.

*Anna* (H)—an (Asiatic) Indian coin worth one-sixteenth of a rupee, or about two cents.

*Aperçu* (F)—a flash of insight.

*Arbiter elegantiarum* (L)—arbiter of elegance.

*Arcana* (L)—secret mysteries.

*Arhat* (H)—one who has earned Nirvana.

*Asana* (H)—the third stage of Yoga.

*Asbaram* (a) (H)—a hermitage.

*Asbamedha* (H)—the horse sacrifice.

*A tergo* (L)—from behind.

*Bas-relief* (F)—low relief; the partial carving of figures upon a background.

*Bizarrerie* (F)—something strange or queer.

*Bodhi* (H)—knowledge, illumination.

*Bonze* (F from J)—a Buddhist monk of the Far East.

*Bourgeoisie* (F)—literally, the townspeople; the middle classes.

*Brahmachari* (H)—a young student vowed to chastity.

*Breccia* (I)—a rock of angular fragments joined with cement.

*Buddhi* (H)—intellect.

*Bushido* (J)—the code of honor of the *Samurai*.

*Ca. (circa)* (L)—about.

*Cela vous abêtira* (F)—that will dull your mind.

*Chandala* (H)—a group of Outcastes.

*Charka* (H)—a spinning wheel.

*Chef-d'œuvre* (F)—masterpiece.

*Chinoiseries* (F)—pieces of Chinese art.

*Civitas* (L)—city-state.

*Condottiere* (I)—bandit.

*Corvée* (F)—forced labor for the state.

*Coup d'état* (F)—a violent but merely political revolution.

*Coup d'œil* (F)—a glance of the eye.

*Credat qui vult* (F)—let who will believe it.

*Cuisine* (F)—kitchen; cooking.

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\*A=Arabic; C=Chinese; E=Egyptian; F=French; G=German; Gr=Greek; He=Hebrew; H=one of the Hindu languages; I=Italian; J=Japanese; L=Latin; S=Summerian; Sp=Spanish.

- Daibutsu* (J)—Great Buddha; usually applied to the colossi of Buddha.  
*Daimyo* (J)—lord.  
*De fontibus non disputandum* (L)—there is no use disputing about origins.  
*Dénouement* (F)—issue; conclusion.  
*De rigueur* (F)—rigorously required by convention.  
*Devadasi* (H)—literally, a servant of the gods; usually, a temple courtesan in India.  
*Dharana* (H)—the sixth stage of *Yoga*.  
*Dharma* (H)—duty.  
*Dhyana* (H)—the seventh stage of *Yoga*.  
*Djinn* (A)—spirits.  
*Dolce far niente* (I)—(it is) sweet to do nothing.  
*Dramatis personae* (L)—persons of the drama.  
*Dreckapotheke* (G)—treatment by excrementitious drugs.
- En masse* (F)—in a mass.  
*Esprit* (F)—spirit.  
*Ex tempore* (L)—on the spur of the moment.
- Faënce* (F)—richly colored glazed earthenware, named from the Italian town of Faëenza, formerly famed for such pottery.  
*Faux pas* (F)—a false step.  
*Fellahéen* (A)—peasants.  
*Fête des Fous* (F)—Feast of Fools.  
*Fiacre* (F)—an open cab.  
*Flagrante delicto* (L)—literally, while the crime is blazing; in the very act.  
*Flambé* (F)—blazed.
- Geisha* (J)—an educated courtesan.  
*Genre* (F)—class, kind.  
*Ghat* (H)—a mountain-pass; a landing-place; steps leading down to water.  
*Glaucopis Athene* (Gr)—owl-eyed Athene.  
*Gopuram* (H)—gateway.  
*Gotra* (H)—group.  
*Gunas* (H)—active qualities.  
*Guru* (H)—teacher.
- Hara-kiri* (J)—self-disembowelment.  
*Here boöpis* (Gr)—cow-eyed Here (Juno).  
*Hetairai* (Gr)—the educated courtesans of Greece.
- Ibid.* (L)—in the same place.  
*Id.* (L)—the same person or author.  
*Inro* (J)—boxes worn at the girdle.

- Jenseits von Gut und Böse* (G)—beyond good and evil.
- Jinricksha* (J)—a man-drawn open cab.
- Ju jitsu* (J)—literally, the soft art; a Japanese method of self-defense without weapons, by a variety of skilful physical artifices.
- Junshi* (J)—following in death; the suicide of a subordinate to serve his dead lord in the other world.
- Jus primæ noctis* (L)—the right of (possessing the bride on) the first night.
- Kadamba* (H)—an Indian flower.
- Kakemono* (J)—a pictorial or calligraphic hanging.
- Karma* (H)—deed; the law that every deed receives its reward or punishment in this life or in a reincarnation.
- Khaddar* (H)—Indian homespun.
- Kusha* (H)—an Indian grass.
- Kutaja* (H)—an Indian flower.
- Labia minora* (L)—the smaller folds of the vulva.
- Laissez-faire* (F)—literally, let it be; the theory or practice of leaving the economic life of a society free from governmental control.
- Lapis lazuli* (L)—a stone of rich azure blue.
- La politique n'a pas d'entrailles* (F)—politics has no bowels (of mercy).
- La seule morale* (F)—the only morality.
- Le chanson de Roland* (F)—the Song of Roland.
- L'École de l'Extrême Orient*—School of the Far East.
- Legato* (I)—smoothly; without breaks.
- Les savants ne sont pas curieux* (F)—scholars have no curiosity (Anatole France).
- Lex talionis* (L)—the law of retaliation.
- Lingua franca* (L)—a common tongue.
- Lohan* (C)—one who has earned *Nirvana*.
- Mahatma* (H)—great soul.
- Manas* (H)—mind.
- Mandapam* (H)—porch.
- Mardi Gras* (F)—literally, fat Tuesday, the last day of carnival before *Mercredi Maigre*, Lean (fasting) Wednesday and the beginning of Lent.
- Mastaba* (A)—an oblong sloping tomb.
- Mater dolorosa* (L)—the sorrowful Mother.
- Mina* (L from Gr. from He)—a coin of the ancient Near East, worth (in Babylonia) sixty shekels.
- Mise-en scène* (F)—the scenic situation.
- Moksha* (H)—deliverance.
- Motif* (F)—a characteristic feature or theme.
- Mullah* (A)—a Moslem scholar.
- Muni* (H)—saint.

*Naga* (H)—snake.

*Nandi* (H)—the benediction introducing a Hindu drama.

*Nautch* (H)—a Hindu temple dancer.

*Netsuke* (J)—carved knobs for holding a tassel.

*Nishka* (H)—a coin often used as an ornament.

*Nom de plume* (F)—a pen-name.

*Nyama* (H)—the second stage of *Yoga*.

*Odium literarium* (L)—a mutual dislike occasionally noticeable among authors.

*Objets d'art* (L)—art objects.

*Pace* (L)—with peace; with all respect to.

*Pankha* (H)—a fan.

*Parvenu* (F)—one recently arrived at wealth or place.

*Passim* (L)—here and there.

*Pâte* (F)—the potter's vessel in its paste form.

*Patesi* (S)—the priest-magistrate of an early Mesopotamian state.

*Penchant* (F)—inclination.

*Petite marmite* (F)—a small pot.

*Pièce de résistance* (F)—the main item.

*Pishachas* (H)—ghosts; goblins.

*Plein air* (F)—full air; a theory and school of painting which emphasized the representation of scenes in the open air, as against studio painting.

*Prakriti* (H)—producer.

*Pranayama* (H)—the fourth stage of *Yoga*.

*Pratyahara* (H)—the fifth stage of *Yoga*.

*Protégé* (F)—a person protected and aided by another.

*Pro tempore* (L)—for the time.

*Purdah* (A)—a screen or curtain; the seclusion of women.

*Purusha* (H)—person, spirit.

*Qui vive* (F)—who lives; who goes there?; alert.

*Raconteurs* (F)—story-tellers.

*Raga* (H)—a musical *motif* or melody.

*Raja* (H)—king; *Maharaja*—great king.

*Raksha* (H)—a nocturnal demon.

*Ramadan* (A)—the ninth month of the Moslem year, during which no food must be taken between sunrise and sunset.

*Rapport* (F)—intimate relation.

*Religieux* (F)—members of religious orders.

*Rig* (H)—a hymn.

*Rishi* (H)—a wise man.

*Romin* (J)—an unattached *Samurai*.

*Rupee* (H)—an Indian coin worth about 32 cents.

- Sake* (J)—rice wine.
- Salonnière* (F)—a frequenter of a *salon*; usually referring to the French *salons* or drawing-room receptions of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.
- Samadhi* (H)—the eighth stage of *Yoga*.
- Samaj* (H)—assembly; society.
- Samhita* (H)—collection.
- Samohini* (H)—a drug.
- Sang-de-bœuf* (F)—(color of) bull's blood.
- Sannyasi* (H)—a hermit saint.
- Sari* (H)—a silk robe.
- Sati* (H)—suttee; devoted wife; the burial of a widow with her husband.
- Savant* (F)—scholar.
- Sei* (J)—caste.
- Sen* (J)—a Japanese coin, worth one-hundredth of a *yen*.
- Se non è vero è ben trovato* (I)—if it is not true it is well invented.
- Seppuku* (J)—ritual self-disembowelment.
- Sesquipedalia verba* (L)—six-footed words.
- Shaduf* (A)—a bucket swung on a pole to lift water.
- Shakti* (H)—the female energy of a god.
- Shaman* (H)—a magician, or miracle-working priest.
- Shastra* (H)—a text-book.
- Shastra* (H)—treatise.
- Shekel* (He)—a coin of the Near East, of varying value.
- Shinto* (J)—the Way of the Gods; the worship of the national deities and the emperor in Japan.
- Shloka* (H)—couplet.
- Shogun* (J)—general; military governor.
- Siesta* (Sp)—a short sleep or rest.
- Silindhra* (H)—an Indian flower.
- Sine qua non* (L)—an indispensable condition.
- Soufflé* (F)—blown.
- Swadeshi* (H)—economic nationalism; the exclusive use of native products.
- Swaraj* (H)—self-rule.
- Tantra* (H)—rule or ritual.
- Tattwa* (H)—reality.
- Tempera* (I)—distemper; painting in which the pigments are mixed or "tempered" with an emulsion of egg, usually with the addition of "size" (diluted glue) to secure adhesion.
- Terra cotta* (I)—baked clay, coated with glaze.
- Torii* (J)—gateways.
- Tour de force* (F)—an act of sudden ability.
- Uraeus* (L)—a serpent image symbolizing wisdom and life; usually worn by the Egyptian kings.



*Virtus dormitiva* (L)—soporific power.

*Yaki* (J)—wares.

*Yen* (J)—a Japanese coin, normally worth about fifty cents.

*Ziggurat* (Assyrian-Babylonian)—a tower of superimposed and diminishing stories, usually surrounded by external stairs.

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# Notes

1. Supplement to *Essai sur les mœurs*; quoted by Buckle, H. T., *History of Civilization*, i, 581.

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## CHAPTER II

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2. Hayes, *Sociology*, 494.
3. Lippert, J., *Evolution of Culture*, 38.
4. Spencer, H., *Principles of Sociology*, i, 60.
5. Sumner and Keller, *Science of Society*, i, 51; Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, 119-22; Renard, G., *Life and Work in Pre-historic Times*, 36; Mason, O. T., *Origins of Invention*, 298.
6. *Ibid.*, 316.
7. Sumner and Keller, i, 132.
8. Roth, H. L., in Thomas, W. L., *Source Book for Social Origins*, 111.
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10. Renard, 123.
11. Briffault, *The Mothers*, ii, 460.
12. Renard, 35.
13. Sutherland, G. A., ed., *A System of Diet and Dietetics*, 45.
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15. Sutherland, G. A., 43, 45; Müller-Lyer, F., *History of Social Development*, 70.
16. *Ibid.*, 86.
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18. Sumner and Keller, ii, 1234.
19. Sumner, *Folkways*, 329.
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21. Sumner and Keller, ii, 1230.
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23. Sumner and Keller, ii, 1234.
24. Cowan, A. R., *Master Clues in World History*, 10.
25. Renard, 39.
26. Mason, O. T., 23.
27. Briffault, i, 461-5.
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31. Thomas, W. L., 113-7; Renard, 154-5; Müller-Lyer, 306; Sumner and Keller, i, 150-3.
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33. Mason, O. T., 71.
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35. Sumner and Keller, i, 268-72, 300, 320; Lubbock, Sir J., *Origin of Civilization*, 373-5; Campbell, Bishop R., in *New York Times*, 1-11-33.
36. Bücher, K., *Industrial Evolution*, 57.
37. Kropotkin, Prince P., *Mutual Aid*, 90.
38. Mason, O. T., 27.
39. Sumner and Keller, i, 270-2.
40. Briffault, ii, 494-7.
41. Sumner and Keller, i, 328f.
42. In Lippert, 39.
43. *A Naturalist's Voyage Around the World*, 242, in Briffault, ii, 494.
- 43a. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 35-42.
44. Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution*, 244-5; Cowan, A. R., *Guide to World History*, 22; Sumner and Keller, i, 58.
45. Hobhouse, 272.

\* The full title of a book is given only on its first occurrence in these Notes; abbreviated later references may be filled out by consulting the foregoing *Bibliographical Guide to Books Referred to in the Text*.

## CHAPTER III

1. Sumner and Keller, i, 16, 418, 461; Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 195-8.
2. Sumner and Keller, i, 461.
3. Rivers, W. H. R., *Social Organization*, 166.
4. Briffault, ii, 364, 494; Ratzel, 133; Sumner and Keller, 470-3.
5. *Ibid.*, 463, 473.
6. *Ibid.*, 370, 358.
7. Renard, 149; Westmarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 836-9; Ratzel, 130; Hobhouse, 239; Sumner and Keller, i, 18, 372, 366, 392, 394, 713.
8. Nietzsche, *Genealogy of Morals*, 103.
9. *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1905.
10. Oppenheimer, Franz, *The State*, 16.
11. In Ross, E. A., *Social Control*, 50.
12. In Sumner and Keller, i, 704.
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14. Cowan, *Guide to World History*, 18f.
15. Sumner and Keller, i, 486.
16. Spencer, *Sociology*, iii, 316.
17. *Ibid.*, i, 66.
18. Melville, *Typee*, 222, in Briffault, ii, 356.
19. Briffault, *ibid.*
20. Sumner and Keller, i, 687.
21. Lubbock, 330.
22. Hobhouse, 73-101; Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*, 131; Thomas, W. I., 301.
23. Sumner and Keller, i, 682-7.
24. For examples cf. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 14-5, 20.
25. Lubbock, 363-7; Sumner and Keller, i, 454; Briffault, ii, 499; Maine, Sir H., *Ancient Law*, 109; Boas, Franz, *Anthropology and Modern Life*, 221.
26. Sutherland, A., *Origin and Growth of the Moral Instincts*, i, 4-5.
27. Sumner and Keller, iii, 1498; Lippert, 75, 659.
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29. *Ibid.*, 1500; Renard, 198; Briffault, ii, 518, 434.
30. Vinogradoff, Sir P., *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, i, 212; Briffault, i, 503, 513.
31. Sumner, *Folkways*, 364.
32. Briffault, i, 508-9; Sumner and Keller, i, 540; iii, 1949; Rivers, *Social Organization*, 12.
33. Moret and Davy, *From Tribe to Empire*, 40; Briffault, i, 308; Müller-Lyer, *The Family*, I 24-7; Sumner and Keller, iii, 1939.
34. White, E. M., *Woman in World History*, 35; Briffault, i, 309; Lippert, 223; Sumner and Keller, iii, 1990.
35. Hobhouse, 170.
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37. *Ibid.*, 232.
38. Sumner and Keller, iii, 1733.
39. Lubbock, 5.
40. Müller-Lyer, *Evolution of Modern Marriage*, 112.
41. Briffault, i, 460; Renard, 101.
42. Briffault, i, 466, 478, 484, 509.
43. Ellis, H., *Man and Woman*, 316; Sumner and Keller, i, 128.
44. *Ibid.*, iii, 1763, 1843; Ratzel, 134; Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 235.
45. Lubbock, 67.
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48. Crawley, E., *The Mystic Rose*, in Thomas, W. I., 515-7, 525.
49. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 638-45; Sumner and Keller, iii, 1737.
50. *Ibid.*, 1753.
51. Vinogradoff, i, 197; Müller-Lyer, *Social Development*, 208.

## CHAPTER IV

1. Darwin, C., *Descent of Man*, 110.
2. Ellis, H., *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vi, 422.
3. Westermarck, E., *History of Human Marriage*, i, 32, 35.
4. Briffault, ii, 154.
5. Sumner and Keller, iii, 1547f. Further examples of sexual communism may be found in Briffault, i, 645; ii, 2-13; Lubbock, 68-9.
6. Müller-Lyer, *Family*, 55.
- 6a. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, xiii, 206.
7. Sumner and Keller, iii, 1548.
8. Briffault, ii, 81.
9. Lubbock, 69.
10. Lippert, 67.

11. Polo, Marco, *Travels*, 70.
12. Letourneau, *Marriage*, in Sumner and Keller, iii, 1521.
13. Westermarck, *Short History of Human Marriage*, 265; Müller-Lyer, *Family*, 49; Sumner and Keller, iii, 1563; Briffault, i, 629f.
14. *Ibid.*, 649.
15. Sumner and Keller, iii, 1565.
16. Examples in Briffault, i, 767n; Sumner and Keller iii, 1901; Lippert, 670.
17. Examples in Briffault, i, 641f, 663; Vinogradoff, i, 173.
18. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 387.
19. Briffault, ii, 315; Hobhouse, 140.
20. Müller-Lyer, *Modern Marriage*, 34.
21. Spencer, *Sociology*, i, 722; Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 388; Sumner, *Folkways*, 265, 351; Sumner and Keller, i, 22; iii, 1863; Briffault, ii, 261, 267, 271.
22. Lowie, R. H., *Are We Civilized?*, 128.
23. Sumner and Keller, iii, 1534, 1540; Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 399.
24. Gen., xxix. Similar customs existed in Africa, India and Australia; cf. Müller-Lyer, *Modern Marriage*, 123.
25. Sumner and Keller, iii, 1615-6; Vinogradoff, 209; further examples in Lubbock, 91; Müller-Lyer, *Family*, 86; Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 435.
26. Briffault, i, 244f.
- 26a. Lippert, 295; Müller-Lyer, *Social Development*, 270.
27. Sumner and Keller, iii, 1631. Briffault interprets this wedding custom as a reminiscence of the transition from matrilocal to patriarchal marriage—i, 240-50.
28. Hobhouse, 158.
29. Sumner and Keller, iii, 1629.
30. Briffault, ii, 244.
31. Müller-Lyer, *Modern Marriage*, 125.
32. Hobhouse, 151; Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 383; Sumner and Keller, 1650.
33. *Ibid.*, 1648.
34. *Ibid.*, 1649. Herodotus (I, 196) reported a similar custom in the fifth century B.C., and Burckhardt found it in Arabia in the nineteenth century (Müller-Lyer, *Modern Marriage*, 127).
35. Briffault, i, 219-21.
36. Lowie, *Are We Civilized?*, 125.
37. Briffault, ii, 215.
38. Sumner and Keller, iii, 1658.
39. In Lubbock, 53.
40. *Ibid.*, 54-7; Sumner and Keller, iii, 1503-8; Briffault, ii, 141-3.
41. Müller-Lyer, *Modern Marriage*, 51.
42. Briffault, ii, 70f.
43. Briffault, ii, 2-13, 67, 70-2. Briffault has gathered into a ten-page footnote the evidence for the wide spread of premarital sexual freedom in the primitive world. Cf. also Lowie, *Are We Civilized?*, 123; and Sumner and Keller, iii, 1553-7.
45. *Ibid.*, 1556; Briffault, ii, 65; Westermarck, i, 441.
46. Lowie, 127.
47. Briffault, iii, 313; Müller-Lyer, *Modern Marriage*, 32.
48. Briffault, ii, 222-3; Westermarck, *Short History*, 13.
49. Sumner and Keller, iii, 1682; Sumner, *Folkways*, 358.
50. *Ibid.*, 361; Sumner and Keller, iii, 1674.
51. *Ibid.*, 1554; Briffault, iii, 344.
52. S & K, iii, 1682.
- 52a. For examples cf. Westermarck, *Human Marriage*, i, 530-45; or Müller-Lyer, *Modern Marriage*, 39-41.
53. Müller-Lyer, *Social Development*, 132-3; Sumner, *Folkways*, 439.
54. Briffault, iii, 260f.
55. *Ibid.*, 307; Ratzel, 93.
56. Sumner, *Folkways*, 450.
57. Reinach, *Orpheus*, 74.
58. cf. Briffault, ii, 112-7; Vinogradoff, 173.
59. S. & K., iii, 1528.
60. *Ibid.*, 1771.
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63. Quoted in Briffault, ii, 76.
64. *Ibid.*, S & K, iii, 1831.
65. Müller-Lyer, *Family*, 102.
66. S & K, iii, 1890.
67. *Ibid.*; Sumner, *Folkways*, 314; Briffault, ii, 71; Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 413; E. A. Rout, "Sex Hygiene of the New Zealand Maori," in *The Medical Journal and Record*, Nov. 17, 1926; *The Birth Control Review*, April, 1932, p. 112.
68. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 394-401.
69. Lowie, *Are We Civilized?*, 138.
70. Müller-Lyer, *Family*, 104.
71. S & K, i, 54.
72. Briffault, ii, 391.
73. Renard, 135.

74. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 383.  
 75. *Ibid.*, i, 290; Spencer, *Sociology*, i, 46.  
 76. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 88; S & K, i, 336.  
 77. Kropotkin, 90.  
 78. Lowie, *Are We Civilized?*, 141.  
 79. Instances in Thomas, W. I., 108; White, E. M., 40; Briffault, i, 453; Ratzel, 135.  
 80. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 422, 678.  
 81. Hobhouse, 79; Briffault, ii, 353.  
 82. *Ibid.*, 185.  
 83. Thomas, W. I., 154.  
 84. Examples in S & K, i, 641-3.  
 85. Briffault, ii, 143-4.  
 86. *Ibid.*, 500-1; Kropotkin, 101, 105; Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 539-40; Lowie, 141.  
 87. Hobhouse, 29; Spencer, *Sociology*, i, 69; Kropotkin, 90-1.  
 88. Müller-Lyer, *Modern Marriage*, 26; Briffault, i, 636.  
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 176. Ebers Papyrus, 99, 1f, in Erman, *Life*, 357-8.  
 177. *Ibid.*, 353.  
 178. Garrison, 57.  
 179. Herodotus, II, 84; III, 1.  
 180. Erman, *Life*, 362.  
 181. Garrison, 55-9; Maspero, *Dawn*, 217; Breasted, *Conquest of Civilization*, 88.  
 182. Smith, G. Elliot, *The Ancient Egyptians*, 57.  
 182a. Himes, Norman, *Medical History of Contraception*, Chap. II, §1. The suppositories contained chemicals identical with those now used in contraceptive jellies. The matter, however, is not beyond doubt.  
 183. Erman, *Life*, 360; Maspero, *Dawn*, 219-20; Harding, T. Swann, *Fads*, 328.  
 184. Garrison, 53.  
 185. Smith, G. E., *Ancient Egyptians*, 62; Diodorus, I, xxviii, 3.  
 186. Breasted, *Dawn of Conscience*, 353n.  
 187. Diodorus, I, lxxxii, 1-2.  
 188. Piny, *Historia Naturalis*, VIII, in Tyrrell, Dr. C. A., *Royal Road to Health*, 57.  
 189. Herodotus, II, 77.  
 190. Erman, *Life*, 167-96; Capart, *Thebes*, figs. 4 and 107-9.  
 191. Maspero, *Art*, 132.  
 192. Pijoan, i, 101; Fergusson, Jas., *History of Architecture in All Countries*, i, 22; Breasted, *History*, 100.  
 193. E.g., Maspero, *Struggle*, xi.  
 194. At Beni-Hasan, Lisht, etc.  
 195. At Medinet-Habu.  
 196. Maspero, *Art*, 84.  
 197. Schäfer, *Tafel VI*; Breasted, *Dawn*, 218.  
 198. Fry, R. E., *Chinese Art*, 13.  
 199. Schäfer, 358; Capart, *Lectures*, fig. 176.  
 200. Maspero, *Art*, 174.  
 201. Schäfer, 343; CAH, ii, 103.  
 202. Baikie, Jas., *Amarna Age*, 241, 256. All three are in the State Museum at Berlin.  
 203. Cairo Museum; Maspero, *Art*, fig. 461; Schäfer, 433.  
 204. Athens Museum; Maspero, *Struggle*, 535.  
 205. Schäfer, 445.  
 206. Louvre; Schäfer, 190.  
 207. Cairo Museum; Schäfer, 246-7.  
 208. Cairo Museum; Schäfer, 254.  
 209. Capart, *Thebes*, 173f.  
 210. Cairo Museum; Breasted, *History*, fig. 55; Maspero, *Art*, fig. 92.  
 211. *Ibid.*, fig. 194.  
 212. Schäfer, *Tafel IX*.  
 213. E.g., Schäfer, 305, 418.  
 214. Maspero, *Art*, fig. 287.  
 215. Schäfer, 367.  
 216. *Ibid.*, *Tafel XVI*.  
 217. Maspero, *Art*, 67.  
 218. Erman, *Life*, 448; CAH, ii, 422.  
 219. CAH, ii, 105; Erman, 250-1.  
 220. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, ii, 147.  
 221. Spencer, *Sociology*, iii, 299.  
 222. Cf. Plato, *Timeus*, 22B.  
 223. Maspero, *Dawn*, 399.  
 224. Brown, B., *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, 96-116; Breasted, *Dawn*, 136f.  
 225. *Ibid.*, 198.

226. Breasted, *Development*, 215.  
 227. *Ibid.*, 188; *Dawn of Conscience*, 168.  
 228. Breasted, *Development*, 182.  
 229. Maspero, *Dawn*, 639.  
 230. *Ibid.*, 86.  
 231. *Ibid.*, 95, 92.  
 232. *Ibid.*, 156-8.  
 233. *Ibid.*, 120-1.  
 234. Renard, 121.  
 235. Capart, *Thebes*, 66; Maspero, *Dawn*, 119; *Struggle*, 536.  
 236. Maspero, *Dawn*, 102-3.  
 237. Briffault, iii, 187.  
 238. Hommel in Maspero, *Dawn*, 45.  
 239. Howard, Clifford, *Sex Worship*, 98.  
 240. Diodorus, I, lxxxviii, 1-3; Howard, C., 79; Tod, Lt.-Col. Jas., *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 570; Briffault, iii, 205.  
 241. Carpenter, *Pagan and Christian Creeds*, 183.  
 242. Maspero, *Dawn*, 110-1.  
 243. Breasted, *Development*, 14-33; Frazer, *Adonis*, 269-75; 383.  
 244. Diodorus, I, xiv, 1.  
 245. Frazer, *Adonis*, 346-50; Maspero, *Dawn*, 131-2; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 18, in McCabe, Jos., *Story of Religious Controversy*, 169.  
 246. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., ix, 52.  
 247. Moret, 5; Maspero, *Dawn*, 265.  
 248. Herodotus, II, 37.  
 249. Breasted, *Dawn of Conscience*, 46, 83.  
 250. Breasted, *Development*, 293; Brown, B., *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, 178; Maspero, *Dawn*, 199.  
 251. Translation by Robert Hillyer, in Van Doren, Mark, *Anthology of World Poetry*, 237.  
 252. In Maspero, *Dawn*, 189-90.  
 253. Breasted, *Development*, 291.  
 254. Erman, *Life*, 353; exs. in Erman, *Literature*, 39-43.  
 255. Maspero, *Dawn*, 282; Briffault, ii, 510.  
 256. Erman, *Life*, 352.  
 257. Herodotus, II, 82.  
 258. Breasted, *Development*, 296, 308.  
 258a. Capart, *Thebes*, 95.  
 259. *Ibid.*, 76.  
 260. In Weigall, *Akhnaton*, 86.  
 261. Breasted, *Development*, 315.  
 262. E.g., Breasted, *Ancient Records*, ii, 369.  
 263. Breasted, *Development*, 314f.  
 264. The parallelisms are listed in Weigall, *Akhnaton*, 134-6, and in Breasted, *Dawn of Conscience*, 182f.  
 265. Breasted, *Development*, 314.  
 266. Weigall, 102, 105.  
 267. Capart, *Lectures*, fig. 104.  
 268. Weigall, 103.  
 269. Petrie in Weigall, 178; Breasted, *History*, 378.  
 270. Weigall, 116; Baikie, 284.  
 272. Baikie, 435.  
 273. CAH, ii, 154; Breasted, *History*, 446.  
 274. *Ibid.*, 491.  
 275. Capart, *Thebes*, 69.  
 276. Erman, *Life*, 129.  
 277. Weigall, A., *Life and Times of Cleopatra*.  
 278. Faure, Elie, *History of Art*, i, p. xlvii.

## CHAPTER IX

1. Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, 783.
2. CAH, i, 399.
3. The quotations are from Heraclitus, *Fragments*, and Mallock, W., *Lucretius on Life and Death*.
4. Harper, R. F., *Code of Hammurabi*, 3-7.
5. Jastrow, M., *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, 283-4.
6. Sumner, *Folkways*, 504.
7. CAH, iii, 250.
8. Harper, *Code*, 99-100.
9. CAH, i, 489; Maspero, *Struggle*, 43-4.
10. Maspero, *Dawn*, 759; Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, iii, 22-3; McCabe, 141-2; Delaporte, 194-6.
11. CAH, ii, 429; iii, 101.
12. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, 220.
13. Maspero, *Passing*, 567.
14. Jastrow, 466.
15. Daniel, iv, 30.
16. Rawlinson, ii, 510.
17. Herodotus, I, 178. Strabo, to prove his moderation, says 44 (XVI, i, 5).
18. Tabouis, 306.
19. Rawlinson, ii, 514; Herodotus, I, 180.
20. Diodorus, II, ix, 2.
21. Tabouis, 307.

22. Herodotus, I, 181.
23. CAH, i, 503.
24. Diodorus, II, x, 6; Strabo, XVI, i, 5; Maspero, *Passing*, 564, 782; CAH, i, 506-8; Rawlinson, ii, 517.
25. Maspero, *Dawn*, 761.
26. CAH, i, 541.
27. Berosus in Tabouis, 307.
28. Maspero, *Dawn*, 763-4; Delaporte, 107.
29. Maspero, *Dawn*, 556.
30. Strabo, XVI, i, 15. Attendants extinguished the flames with torrents of water.
31. Layard, A. H., *Ninevah and its Remains*, ii, 413.
32. *Code of Hammurabi*, sections 187-9; Delaporte, 113.
33. Lowie, *Are We Civilized?*, 119; CAH, i, 501.
34. Lowie, 60; Maspero, *Dawn*, 769; CAH, i, 107, 501; ii, 227.
35. East India House Inscription in Tabouis, 287.
36. Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, V, iv, 33. The probable invention of this letter by Xenophon hardly lessens its pertinence.
37. Tabouis, 210.
38. Maspero, *Dawn*, 751-2.
- 38a. Jastrow, 292n.
39. *Ibid.*, 326; CAH, i, 545; Maspero *Dawn*, 749, 761; Delaporte, 118, 126, 231; Tabouis, 241.
40. Cf. e.g., Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, xlviii-ix.
41. *Encyc. Brit.*, ii, 863.
42. *Code*, 48.
43. CAH, i, 526; Maspero, *Dawn*, 760; Delaporte, 110; Jastrow, 299.
44. Delaporte, 122; Maspero, *Dawn*, 720.
45. CAH, i, 520-1; Maspero, *Dawn*, 742-4; Jastrow, 326.
46. Maspero, 735.
47. *Ibid.*, 708.
48. Olmstead, A. T., *History of Assyria*, 525-8.
49. *Code*, 2, 132.
50. Delaporte, 134.
51. *Code*, 196.
52. 210.
53. 198.
54. *Ibid.*
55. 202-4.
56. 195.
57. 218.
58. 194.
59. 143.
60. CAH, i, 517-8.
61. *Code*, 228f.
62. Jastrow, 305, 362; Maspero, *Dawn*, 748; CAH, i, 526.
63. Harper, *Code*, p. 11.
64. Jastrow, 488; CAH, i, 513.
65. CAH, iii, 237.
66. Maspero, *Dawn*, 679, 750; CAH, i, 535.
67. Delaporte, 133-4.
68. Maspero, 636.
69. CAH, i, 529-32.
70. Maspero, 645-6.
71. *Ibid.*, 644.
72. *Ibid.*, 643, 650; Jastrow, 193.
73. Briffault, iii, 169.
74. CAH, i, 208, 530.
75. *Ibid.*, 500.
76. Briffault, iii, 88.
77. Maspero, 537.
78. Cf. Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, 18-21.
79. Maspero, 546.
80. *Ibid.*, 566-72.
81. Jastrow, 453-9; Frazer, *Adonis*, 6-7; Briffault, iii, 90; CAH, i, 461; iii, 232.
82. Briffault, iii, 90; Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, liii.
83. Cf. e.g., Harper, 420-1.
84. Tabouis, 387.
85. Jastrow, 280; Maspero, 691-2.
86. *Ibid.*, 687.
87. *Ibid.*, 684-6.
88. *Ibid.*, 689; Jastrow, 381; CAH, i, 531.
89. Jastrow, 249.
90. Maspero, 692.
91. Tabouis, 159, 165, 351.
92. Briffault, iii, 94.
93. Woolley, 125.
94. CAH, iii, 216-7.
95. Harper, *Literature*, 433-9.
96. Maspero, 682.
97. Jastrow, 253-4; Maspero, 643; Harper, lix.
98. Jastrow, 241-9.
99. *Ibid.*, 267; Tabouis, 343-4, 374.
100. Williams, H. S., i, 74.
101. Tabouis, 365.
102. Herodotus, I, 199; Strabo, XVI, i, 20.
103. "This view is now generally discredited."—Briffault, iii, 203.
104. So Farnell thinks—Sumner, *Folkways*, 541. Frazer (*Adonis*, 50) rejects this interpretation.



105. Frazer, 53.  
 106. Briffault, iii, 203.  
 107. Amos, ii, 7; Sumner and Keller, ii, 1273.  
 108. Frazer, 52; Lacroix, Paul, *History of Prostitution*, i, 21-4, 109.  
 109. Briffault, iii, 220.  
 110. Jastrow, 309.  
 111. Maspero, 738-9.  
 112. Schneider, H., i, 155.  
 113. CAH, i, 547.  
 114. *Ibid.*, 522-3; Hobhouse, 180; Maspero, 734.  
 115. *Ibid.*  
 116. Herodotus, I, 196. Several writers, however, described the custom as flourishing 400 years after Herodotus; cf. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i, 271.  
 117. Maspero, 737.  
 118. Section 132.  
 119. Sumner, *Folkways*, 378.  
 120. 141-2; Jastrow, 302-3.  
 121. 143.  
 122. CAH, i, 524; Maspero, 735-7; *Code*, 142.  
 123. *Encyc. Brit.*, ii, 863.  
 124. Maspero, 739.  
 125. Harper, *Literature*, xlviii; CAH, i, 520.  
 126. Woolley, 118; White, E. M., 71-5.  
 127. Maspero, 739.  
 128. *Ibid.*, 735-8.  
 129. III, 159.  
 130. Layard, ii, 411; Sanger, 42.  
 131. Herodotus, I, 196.  
 132. V, 1, in Tabouis, 366.  
 133. Delaporte, 199.  
 134. Jastrow, 31, 69-97; Mason, W. A., 266; CAH, i, 124-5.  
 135. Jastrow, 275-6; Delaporte, 198; Schneider, H., i, 181; Breasted, *Conquest of Civilization*, 152.  
 136. Schneider, i, 168.  
 137. Maspero, 564; CAH, i, 150.  
 138. Leonard, W. E., *Gilgamesh*, 3.  
 139. *Ibid.*, 8.  
 140. Maspero, 570f.  
 141. Delaporte, ix.  
 142. Jastrow, 415.  
 143. Pratt, *History of Music*, 45; Rawlinson, iii, 20; Schneider, i, 168; Tabouis, 354; CAH, i, 533.  
 144. Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, ii, 292.  
 145. Cf. "The Lion of Babylon," Jastrow Plate XVIII, a work of glazed tile from the reign of Nebuchadrezzar II.  
 146. Herodotus, I, 180.  
 147. Tabouis, 313.  
 148. Jastrow, 10; Maspero, 624-7.  
 149. Jastrow, 258, 261, 492; Maspero, 778-80; Strabo, XVI, i, 6; Rawlinson, ii, 580.  
 150. Sarton, Geo., *Introduction to the History of Science*, 71.  
 151. Rawlinson, ii, 575; Schneider, i, 171-5; Lowie, 268; Sedgwick and Tyler, 29; CAH, iii, 238f.  
 152. Tabouis, 47, 317.  
 153. Schneider, i, 171-5.  
 154. Maspero, 545.  
 155. Tabouis, 204, 366.  
 156. *New Orleans States*, Feb. 24, 1932.  
 157. *Code*, 215-7.  
 158. 218.  
 159. Maspero, 780f; Jastrow, 250f.  
 160. *Ibid.*; Tabouis, 294, 393.  
 161. Herodotus, I, 197; Strabo, XVI, i, 20.  
 162. Schneider, i, 166.  
 163. Jastrow, 475-83; Langdon, *lf*, 35-6.  
 164. *Ibid.*, 1.  
 165. Jastrow, 461-3.  
 166. Tabouis, 254, 382.  
 167. Daniel, iv, 33.  
 168. Tabouis, 230, 264, 383.  
 169. Maspero, *Passing*, 626.  
 170. CAH, iii, 208. Jastrow, 184, believes that it was the priestly party which, disgusted with the heresies of Nabonidus, admitted Alexander.  
 171. Jastrow, 185; CAH, i, 568.

## CHAPTER X

1. CAH, i, 468.  
 2. *New York Times*, Dec. 26, 1932.  
 3. CAH, ii, 429.  
 4. Olmstead, 16; CAH, i, 126.  
 4a. *N. Y. Times*, Feb. 24, 1933; Mar. 20, 1934.  
 5. CAH, ii, 248.  
 6. Harper, *Literature*, 16-7.  
 7. Jastrow, 166-7; Maspero, *Struggle*, 663-4.  
 8. *Ibid.*, 50-2; Maspero, *Passing*, 27, 50.  
 9. *Ibid.*, 85, 94-5; CAH, iii, 25.  
 10. Diodorus, II, vi-xx; Maspero, *Struggle*, 617; CAH, iii, 27.

11. Maspero, *Passing*, 243.
12. Olmstead, 309.
13. Maspero, *Passing*, 275-6.
14. *Ibid.*, 345; CAH, iii, 79.
15. Harper, *Literature*, 94-127.
16. Delaporte, 343-4.
17. Maspero, *Passing*, 412f.
18. Olmstead, 488, 494; CAH, iii, 88, 127; Jastrow, 182; Delaporte, 223.
19. Diodorus, II, xxiii, 1-2.
20. Olmstead, 519, 525-8, 531; Maspero, *Passing*, 401-2.
21. Rawlinson, ii, 235.
22. CAH, iii, 100.
23. Maspero, *Passing*, 7.
24. *Ibid.*, 9-10.
25. Rawlinson, i, 474.
26. *Ibid.*, 467.
27. Maspero, *Struggle*, 627-38.
28. CAH, iii, 104-7; Rawlinson, i, 477-9.
29. CAH, l.c.
30. *Encyc. Brit.*, ii, 865.
31. *Ibid.*, 863.
32. Maspero, *Passing*, 422-3.
33. Olmstead, 510, 531.
34. *Ibid.*, 522-3, 558.
35. CAH, iii, 186.
- 35a. Olmstead, 331.
36. Rawlinson, i, 405.
37. Olmstead, 537.
38. *Ibid.*, 518; Maspero, *Passing*, 317-9; CAH, iii, 76, 96-7; Delaporte, 353; Rawlinson, i, 401-2.
39. CAH, iii, 107.
40. *Ibid.*; Delaporte, 285, 352.
- 40a. Olmstead, 624.
41. Maspero, *Passing*, 269.
42. Delaporte, 282; CAH, iii, 104-7.
43. Maspero, *Passing*, 91, 262.
44. Olmstead, 87.
45. CAH, iii, 13.
46. Delaporte, vii.
47. Faure, i, 90.
48. Maspero, 545-6.
49. CAH, iii, 90-1.
50. *Ibid.*, 89-90.
51. Delaporte, 354.
52. CAH, iii, 102, 241, 249.
53. Breasted, *Ancient Times*, 161; Jastrow, 21.
54. Maspero, 461-3.
55. *Encyc. Brit.*, ii, 851.
56. Rawlinson, i, 277; Delaporte, 338; Jastrow, 407; CAH, iii, 109.
57. Schäfer, 555; now in the British Museum.
58. Schäfer, 531.
59. *Ibid.*, 546; in the British Museum.
60. Oriental Institute, Chicago.
61. British Museum.
62. Schäfer, *Tafel XXXIV*.
63. *Ibid.*, 537, 558-9; Jastrow, f. p. 24.
64. Faure, i, 91; Br. Mus.
65. Rawlinson, i, 509.
66. Schäfer, 656.
67. E.g., Baikie, f. p. 213; and Pijoan, i, figs. 175-6.
68. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, i, 35, 174-6, 205.
69. Rawlinson, i, 299.
70. Layard, ii, 262f.
71. Jastrow, 374; translation slightly improved.
72. Br. Mus.
73. Rawlinson, i, 284.
74. CAH, iii, 16, 75-7; Maspero, *Passing*, 45, 260-8, 310-4, 376; Pijoan, i, 121, 111-8; Jastrow, 415; Schäfer, 542-3.
75. Maspero, *Passing*, 460.
76. Harper, *Literature*, 125-6.
77. CAH, iii, 127.
78. Diodorus, ii, xxiii, 3.
79. Preserved in Diodorus, II, xxvii, 2. Cf. Maspero, *Passing*, 448.
80. Nahum, iii, 1.

## CHAPTER XI

1. Cowan, A. R., *Master-clues in World-History*, 311; Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, 26.
2. Breasted, *Conquest of Civilization*, 192n.
3. *Encyc. Brit.*, xi, 600-1.
4. Hrozný, F., *ibid.*, 603.
- 4a. New York *World-Telegram*, Mar. 16, 1935.
5. *Ibid.*, 606. Certain archeologists (e.g., Hrozný) have been especially moved by the lenience of the Hittite code with sexual perversions.
6. CAH, iii, 200.
7. Herodotus, IV, 64.
8. Maspero, *Passing*, 479f; Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, xvii-xxii.

9. *Ibid.*, xvii.
10. Frazer, *Adonis*, 219f.
11. *Ibid.*; Maspero, *Passing*, 333.
12. Frazer, 34, 219-24; Hall, M. P., *An Encyclopedic Outline of Masonic Philosophy*, 36.
13. Herodotus, I, 93.
14. *Ibid.*, I, 87.
15. Febvre, L., *Geographical Introduction to History*, 322.
16. Moret, 350.
17. Herodotus, II, 44.
18. Strabo, XVI, ii, 23.
19. Diodorus Siculus V, xxxv; Rickard, i, 276.
20. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. 1903, i, 296, in Rickard, i, 278.
21. Maspero, *Struggle*, 192f, 203, 585; Day, Clive, *A History of Commerce*, 12-14; Briffault, i, 463; Sedgwick and Tyler, 14.
22. Rickard, i, 283.
23. Herodotus, IV, 42.
24. Maspero, *Struggle*, 199, 740-1.
25. Arrian, II, xv.
26. *Ibid.*, VI, 220.
27. Zechariah, ix, 3.
28. XV, ii, 23.
29. Frazer, *Adonis*, 183-4; Maspero, *Struggle*, 174-9; Bebel, A., *Woman under Socialism*, 39; Briffault, iii, 220; Sanger, *The History of Prostitution*, 42.
30. Sedgwick and Tyler, 15; Doane, T. W., *Bible Myths*, 41.
31. E.g., Herodotus, V, 58.
32. Dussaud, in Venkateswara, 328.
33. CAH, i, 189.
34. Maspero, *Struggle*, 572f.
35. *Proceedings of the Oriental Institute*, Chicago, March 29, 1932.
36. *New York Times*, Aug. 8, 1930.
37. Ward, C. O., *The Ancient Lowly*, ii, 83, 85.
38. CAH, ii, 328-9.
39. Frazer, *Adonis*, 32-5.
40. *Ibid.*, 225-7; Maspero, *Struggle*, 154-9.
41. *Ibid.*, 160-1.
42. Deut., xviii, 10; 2 Kings, xxiii, 10; Sumner, *Folkways*, 554.
43. Frazer, 84; Maspero, *Passing*, 80; CAH, iii, 372.
44. Mason, W. A., *History of the Art of Writing*, 306; Maspero, *Passing*, 35; Rivers, W. H., *Instinct and the Unconscious*, 132.

## CHAPTER XII

1. Exod. iii, 8; Numb. xiv, 8; Deut. xxvi, 15, etc.
2. Quoted in Huntington, E., *The Pulse of Asia*, 368.
3. *New York Times*, Jan. 20, 1932; May 17, 1932.
4. CAH, ii, 719n; *Encyc. Brit.*, xiii, 42.
5. Gen. xi, 31.
6. Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, 17.
7. CAH, ii, 356.
8. Breasted, *Dawn of Conscience*, 349.
9. Maspero, *Struggle*, 70-1, 442-3.
10. Exod. xii, 40; Petrie, 38.
11. Exod. i; Deut. x, 22.
12. Exod. i, 12.
13. Josephus, *Works*, ii, 466; *Contra Apion*, i.
14. Strabo, XVI, ii, 35; Tacitus, *Histories*, V, iii, tr'n Murphy, London, 1930, 498.
15. Exod. v, 4-5; Ward, *Ancient Lowly*, ii, 76.
16. Schneider, i, 285.
17. United Press Dispatch from London, Jan. 25, 1932.
18. *New York Times*, April 18, 1932.
19. Numb. xxxi, 1-18; Deut. vii, 16, xx, 13-17; Joshua viii, 26, x, 24f, xii.
20. *Ibid.*, xi, 23; Judges v, 31.
21. CAH, iii, 363; Maspero, *Passing*, 127; *Struggle*, 752; Buxton, *Peoples of Asia*, 97.
22. Renan, *History of the People of Israel*, i, 86.
23. Schneider, i, 300; Mason, *Art of Writing*, 289.
- 23a. *N. Y. Times*, Oct. 18, 1934.
24. Maspero, *Struggle*, 684.
25. Judges xvii, 6.
26. 1 Sam. viii, 10-20; cf. Deut. xvii, 14-20.
27. Judges xiii-xvi; xv, 15.
28. 2 Sam. vi, 14.
29. 1 Kings ii, 9.
30. 2 Sam. xi.
31. 2 Sam. xviii, 33.
32. 1 Kings iii, 12.
33. 1 Kings iv, 32.
34. 1 Kings ix, 26-8.
35. *Ibid.*

36. 1 Kings x.  
 37. *Ibid.*, x, 14.  
 38. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ix, 350; Graetz, H., *Popular History of the Jews*, i, 271.  
 39. Renan, ii, 100.  
 40. 2 Chron. ix, 21.  
 41. Maspero, *Siruggle*, 737-40.  
 42. Josephus, *Antiquities*, VIII, 7.  
 43. 1 Kings iii, 2.  
 44. 1 Chron. xxix, 2-8.  
 45. CAH, iii, 347.  
 46. *Ibid.*  
 47. 2 Chron. iii, 4-7; iv, *passim*.  
 48. 2 Chron. ii, 7-10, 16; 1 Kings v, 6.  
 49. 2 Chron. ii, 17-18.  
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 66. Exod. xv, 3.  
 67. 2 Sam. xxii, 35.  
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 69. Lev. xxv, 23.  
 70. Exod. xiv, 18.  
 71. Numb. xxv, 4.  
 72. Exod. xx, 5-6.  
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 74. Numb. xiv, 13-18.  
 75. Gen. xviii.  
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 77. Exod. xx, 5; xxxiv, 14; xxxii, 24.  
 78. Ruth i, 15; Judges xi, 24.  
 79. Exod. xv, 11; xviii, 11.  
 80. 2 Chron. ii, 5.  
 81. Ezek. viii, 14.  
 82. Jer. ii, 28; xxxii, 35.  
 83. 2 Kings v, 15.  
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 85. Sumner, *Folkways*, 554.  
 86. CAH, iii, 451f.  
 87. Numb. xviii, 23.  
 88. Ezra vii, 24.  
 90. Numb. xviii, 9f.  
 91. Isaiah xxviii, 7; Judges viii, 33; ix, 27; 2 Kings xvii, 9-12, 16-17; xxxii, 10-13; Lamentations ii, 7.  
 92. Ezek. xvi, 21; xxxiii, 37; Isaiah, lvii, 5.  
 93. Amos ii, 6.  
 94. CAH, iii, 458-9; Frazer, *Adonis*, 66.  
 95. Jer. xxix, 26.  
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 99. Like Isaiah xl-lxvi.  
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 102. *Ibid.*, iii, 12, 15.  
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 104. Hosea viii, 6-7.  
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 107. Sarton, 58.  
 108. Isaiah vii, 8.  
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 110. III, 14-15; v, 8; x, 1f.  
 111. I, 11f.  
 112. Amos ix, 14-15.  
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 114. Hosea xii, 7.  
 115. 2 Kings xxii, 8; xxxii, 2; 2 Chron. xxxiv, 15, 31-2.  
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 117. 2 Kings xxxii, 2, 4, 10, 13.  
 118. 2 Kings xxv, 7.  
 119. Psalm CXXXVII.  
 120. Jer. xxvii, 6-8.  
 121. XV, 10; xx, 14.  
 122. V, 1.  
 123. V, 8.  
 124. XXXIV, 8f.  
 125. VII, 22-3.  
 126. XXIII, 11; v, 31; iv, 4; ix, 26.  
 127. XVIII, 23.

128. IV, 20-31; v, 19; ix, 1.  
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 129. Lam. i, 12; iii, 38f; Jer. xii, 1.  
 130. Ezek. xvi, xxiii.  
 131. *Ibid.*, xxii, xxxviii, 2.  
 132. *Ibid.*, xxxvi.  
 132a. CAH, vi, 183; *Enc. Brit.*, iii, 503.  
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 134. *Ibid.*, xl, 3, 10-11; liii, 3-6.  
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 135. LXV, 25.  
 136. XLV, 5.  
 137. XL, 12, 15, 17, 18, 22, 26.  
 138. Ezra i, 7-11; Maspero, *Struggle*, 638f; *Passing*, 784.  
 139. Nehemiah x, 29.  
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 164. Ezra i, 7-11.  
 165. 2 Chron. v, 13.  
 166. 2 Sam. vi, 6.  
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 168a. Reinach (1930), 195; *Jew. Encyc.*, v, 377.  
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 170. Howard, 58.  
 172. Judges iv, 4.  
 173. 2 Kings xxii, 14.  
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 175. Gen. xxx, 1.  
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 177. Maspero, *ibid.*  
 178. Cf. 2 Kings iii, 18-19; Joshua vi, 21, 24.  
 179. 1 Kings xx, 29.  
 180. Deut. vii, 6; xiv, 2; 2 Sam. vii, 23, etc.  
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 207. Deut. xvii, 8-12.  
 208. Numb. v, 27-9.  
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212. Numb. xxxv, 19.  
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 235. XXXI, 35.  
 236. Renan, v, 148; Jastrow, *Job*, 180.  
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 243. V, 10, 12.  
 244. V, 11.  
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 246. I, 9-10.  
 247. I, 11.  
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 250. VIII, 15; ii, 24; v, 18; ii, 1.  
 251. VII, 28, 26.  
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CHAPTER XIII

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 6. Daniel, vi, 8.  
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 11. Rawlinson, iii, 389.  
 12. Maspero, 668-71.  
 13. Rawlinson, iii, 398.  
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57. Rawlinson, ii, 323.
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73. Dawson, 46.
74. Maspero, *Passing*, 583-4; Schneider, i, 336; Rawlinson, ii, 340.
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109. I, 135.
110. Vend. VIII, v, 32; vi, 27.
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## CHAPTER XIV

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 42. II, lvii, 2-3; lxxx. Parenthetical passages, in this and other quotations, are usually explanatory interpolations, nearly always of the translator.  
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 62. *Ibid.*  
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 72. VI, ii, XI, iii.  
 73. XVII, xxii; XIV; xvi.  
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 75. *Ibid.*, 79.  
 76. V, xxvii.  
 77. VII, xxxii.  
 78. XIII, x.  
 79. IX, iv.  
 80. VII, i.  
 81. IV, xiv.  
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 83. XII, xi.  
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 87. IX, xvii.  
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 94. Wilhelm, *Short History*, 143; Legge, *Life*, 16.  
 95. *Ibid.*, 267, 27; Hu Shih, 4.  
 96. XV, 40.  
 97. II, xvii.  
 98. XIII, iii.  
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 100. IX, xv.  
 101. Legge, *Life*, 101; Giles, *History*, 33; Suzuki, 20.  
 102. Legge, 101.  
 103. XI, xi.  
 104. VI, 20.  
 105. VII, 20.  
 106. Giles, *History*, 69.  
 107. XV, ii.  
 108. *Great Learning*, I, 4-5, in Legge, *Life*, 266. I have ventured to change "illustrate illustrious virtue" in Legge's translation, to "illustrate the highest virtue"; and the words "own selves" have been substituted for "persons," since "the cultivation of the person" has now a misleading connotation.  
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 110. XV, xxxi; II, xiv; XIII, iii, 7.  
 111. VI, xvi.  
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 113. *Analects*, II, xiii.  
 114. *Doctrine of the Mean*, XIV, 5.  
 115. XV, xviii-xx.  
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 118. *Li-chi*, XVII, i, 11-2.  
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 120. *D. of M.*, XXIX, tr. by Suzuki, 64.  
 121. Suzuki, 63.  
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 123. XV, xxiii.  
 124. XIV, xxxvi, 1-2.  
 124a. IV, xvii.  
 124b. XII, vi.  
 125. XIII, xxiii.  
 126. *D. of M.*, XIV, 3.  
 127. IV, xxiv; V, iii, 2; XVII, vi; XV, xxi.  
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 146. *D. of M.*, XXX-XXXI.  
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 148. Hirth, 307.  
 149. Mencius, VII, i, 26, in Hu Shih, 58.  
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 153. Hu Shih, 69-70.  
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 155. Hu Shih, 58.  
 156. Mencius, *Introd.*, 111.  
 157. Wilhelm, *Short History*, 150; Hu Shih 110.  
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 161. Mencius, *Introd.*, 96; Yang Chu, 57.  
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 163. Hirth, 27-9.  
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 166. *Ibid.*, 42.  
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 171. III, i, 3.  
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 196. II, 2; XX, 7; Giles, *Gems*, 32.  
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 198. VI, 7.  
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 200. XVII, 4; Hu Shih, 146.  
 201. XVIII, 6.  
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10. Hall, *Eminent Asians*, 17; Peffer, 151.
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36. Hu Shih, 8.
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4. Gowen, 25, reports three days of rain or snow in the average week.
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6. Chamberlain, B. H., 127.
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43. Murdoch, ii, 305.
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47. Gowen, 191.  
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 52. Close, 44.  
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 56. Ibid., 57-8.  
 57. Aston, 218-9; Bryan, 117.  
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 2. Okakura, 10, 8.  
 3. Brinkley, iv, 6-7, 134; Murdoch, iii, 171.  
 4. Brinkley, ii, 115; iv, 172.  
 5. Ibid., iv, 36.  
 6. Chamberlain, B. H., 415.  
 7. Nitobe, Inazo, *Bushido, the Soul of Japan*, 18.  
 8. Brinkley, iv, 147, 217; Redesdale, 40.  
 9. Section 45 of Iyeyasu's "Legacy," in Hearn, 193; Murdoch, iii, 40.  
 10. Ibid.  
 11. J. H. Longford, in Murdoch, iii, 40n. Longford adds, *Se non è vero è ben trovato*.  
 12. Nitobe, 23.  
 13. Brinkley, iv, 56.  
 14. Ibid., 142, 109.  
 15. Hearn, 313; Gowen, 251.  
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 17. Murdoch, iii, 221; Aston, 231; Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, 220-1; Hearn, 318.  
 18. Close, 59; Nitobe, 141.  
 19. Redesdale, 13, 16-7, 272; Aston, 230; Murdoch, iii, 235.  
 20. Nitobe, 121.  
 21. Murdoch, i, 188-9.  
 22. Brinkley, *Japan*, iv, 53; Hearn 328.  
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 33. Brinkley, i, 133.  
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 35. Brinkley, v, 195; ii, 118.  
 36. Gowen, 98.  
 37. Brinkley, ii, 118; v, 1; Murdoch, i, 603.  
 38. Ibid.  
 39. Close, 341.  
 40. In Aston, 149-50.  
 41. *History of Japan*, iii, 21, in Murdoch, iii, 171.  
 42. Cf. Close, 369.  
 43. Murdoch, iii, 446-50.  
 44. *Encyc. Brit.*, viii, 910.  
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 50. Brinkley, i, 139, 209-10; iv, 160, 175, 180.  
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 52. Chamberlain, 60.  
 53. Ibid.  
 54. Murdoch, i, 40.  
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68. Gatenby, 25.  
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 71. Aston, 232; Hearn, 78; Redesdale, 92; Brinkley, i, 149.  
 72. Armstrong, 55.  
 73. Brinkley, i, 188.  
 74. Shonagon, 50.  
 76. Brinkley, iv, 142; Close, 62; Chamberlain, 504.  
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 78. Close, 61.  
 79. Hearn, 68, 83.  
 80. Genesis, ii, 24; Chamberlain, 166.  
 81. Nitobe, 141.  
 82. Cf., e.g., the passage quoted in Bryan, 88.  
 83. Redesdale, 37; Ficke, A. D., *Chats on Japanese Prints*, 210; Chamberlain, 525; Keyserling, *Travel Diary*, ii, 200.  
 84. Brinkley, iv., 116.  
 85. *Ibid.*, 120.  
 86. Murdoch, iii, 216.  
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 90. By Prince Aki, 740 A.D., in Gatenby, 33.  
 91. Tr. by Curtis Hidden Page, in Tietjens, 144.  
 92. Brinkley, v, 207; Murdoch, iii, 112.  
 93. *Ibid.*, ii, 18-9.  
 94. *Ibid.*, ii, 18; Brinkley, i, 181.  
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 96. Murdoch, i, 489.  
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 101. *Ibid.*, 115-9.  
 102. Armstrong, 65f.  
 103. *Ibid.*, 76, 78; Aston, 263-4.  
 104. Ekken, Kaibara, *Way of Contentment*, tr. by K. Hoshino, 7f.  
 105. *Ibid.*, 90.  
 106. 24, 17.  
 107. 24.  
 108. 33, 39, 43.  
 109. 35, 44, 59, 61, 49, 54. I have ventured to print the last two lines as poetry, though the text gives them as prose.  
 110. Murdoch, iii, 127.  
 111. Armstrong, 133.  
 112. *Ibid.*  
 113. Murdoch, iii, 129f.  
 114. In Armstrong, 222.  
 115. *Ibid.*, 236f, 226.  
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 117. 261.  
 118. 241f.  
 119. 255; Murdoch, iii, 481.  
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 122. *Ibid.*, 476f, 485; Aston, 319-32.  
 123. Murdoch, iii, 491-2.

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 2. Bryan, 13-15; Aston, 56-7; Gowen, 125.  
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 16. Noguchi, Yone, *Spirit of Japanese Poetry*, 11.  
 17. Gatenby, 97-102; Tietjens, 159.  
 18. Holland, 157.  
 19. Murdoch, iii, 470.  
 20. Gowen, 128.  
 21. Murasaki, 33, 29.  
 22. *Ibid.*, 75.  
 23. 98, 134.  
 24. 144.  
 25. 46.  
 26. 50.  
 27. Bryan, 65; Gowen, 128.  
 28. Holland, 137; Aston, 56.  
 29. *Ibid.*, 346-8, 391.  
 30. *Ibid.*, 269-71.  
 31. *Ibid.*, 392.  
 32. Murdoch, i, 571.  
 33. Aston, 255.  
 34. Brinkley, v, 112.

35. Aston, 249.
36. Gowen, 268.
37. Murdoch, iii, 240.
38. Aston, 116.
39. *Ibid.*, 114f. I have changed the order of the last five items.
40. Aston, 197-9; Bryan, 100.
41. Redesdale, 84.
42. Close, 65.
43. Okakura, 132.
44. Noguchi, 11.
45. Bryan, 136.
46. Brinkley, iv, 110.
47. *Ibid.*, vi, 113-5.
48. Aston, 279.
49. Okakura, 112; Brinkley, viii, 29.
50. Brinkley, vii, 319.
51. *Encyc. Brit.*, vii, 960.
52. Brinkley, i, 219; iv, 156; Chamberlain, 340-3.
53. Brinkley, iv, 78.
54. Murasaki, 212.
55. Chamberlain, 84.
56. Brinkley, vii, 157.
57. *Ibid.*, vii, 84.
58. Fenollosa, i, 56.
59. Gowen, 105.
60. Murdoch, i, 593.
61. Ledoux, L. V., *Art of Japan*, 62.
62. Armstrong, 9.
63. Brinkley, vii, 77.
64. Gowen, 124.
65. *Ibid.*, 213.
66. Brinkley, viii, 11.
67. *Ibid.*, 265.
68. 25.
69. 180.
70. 185.
71. 236.
72. Brinkley, vii, 339.
73. *Ibid.*, 9.
74. Binyon, 53.
75. *Ibid.*, 20.
76. Fenollosa, ii, 81.
77. Okakura, 113.
78. *Encyc. Brit.*, vii, 964.
79. Ledoux, 26.
80. *Ibid.*, 28.
81. Gowen, 284.
82. Fenollosa, ii, 183. It should be added that in the opinion of some critics Marabei is a mythical personage.
83. Ficke, 282-94.
84. Gowen, 285; Ficke, 363.
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1. Murdoch, iii, 456; Gowen, 287.
2. *Ibid.*, 298-9.
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5. Brinkley, iv, 217.
6. *Ibid.*, 81, 256.
7. Close, 325.
8. *Ibid.*, 165.
9. Gowen, 349.
10. Close, 149.
12. Gowen, 376.
13. Close, 372.
14. *World Almanac*, 1935, p. 667.
15. Close, 395.
16. *Almanac*, 668; Close, 391; *N. Y. Times*, April 15, 1934.
17. Gowen, 341.
18. Close, 289.
19. Eddy, 119; Park, 250; Holland, 148-52; Barnes, Jos., ed., *Empire in the East*, 70.
20. Eddy, 124f.
21. *Ibid.*, 118, 136.
22. Hearn, 488.
23. Barnes, 69; Close, 373. The Maurette Report, of June 1, 1934, to the International Labor Office, accepts this explanation of the low wage-level in Japan.
24. Close, 344.
25. Hearn, 17.
26. Close, 134-42.
27. Chamberlain, 314; Close, 302.
28. *Ibid.*, 198.
29. Chamberlain, 447.
30. Close, 177f.
31. Eddy, 127.
32. *Almanac*, 669.
33. Brinkley, v, 83.
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35. Tsurumi, Y., *Present-Day Japan*, 68f.
36. Walsh, 116; Bryan, 40, 194.

37. Tsurumi, 59.
38. Gowen, 416.
39. Barnes, 51.
40. *Ibid.*, 48-50, 197.
41. Gowen, 369-70.

42. *Ibid.*, 402.
43. Barnes, 75; Close, 377.
44. *Almanac*, 674.
45. Barnes, 62.





# Index

I am indebted for this index to the careful and scholarly work of Mr. Wallace Brockway. Dates are given where obtainable, except in the case of living persons who are only incidentally mentioned in the text. The pronunciation of Oriental words is indicated by the system of diacritical marks used in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, but here considerably simplified.\* The Indian pronunciations have been supplied by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy; Chinese words follow for the most part the pronunciations given in Gowen and Hall's *Outline History of China*. Japanese words, and most Chinese words, have no accent. In the case of ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern words there is no agreement among the learned; and the pronunciations here offered are merely the present writer's unauthoritative suggestions.

W. D.

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\* The diacritical marks used in this index will indicate that the letters so marked are to be sounded approximately like the italicized letters in the following words: *āle*, *cāre*, *ādd*, *ārm*, *sōfā* (*ā* like *ū* in *nut*); *cbair*; *ēve*, *ēvēnts*, *makēr*; *go*; *īcc*, *īl*; *x* like *ch* in German *Ich*; *ōrb*, *ōdd*; *fōōd*; *fōōt*; *oīl*, *out*; *ūnite*, *ūp*, *menū*; short *ū*, when italicized, will be as in *circus*.

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## ERRATA

- Page 69, line 22: for Uzziah, read Uzzah.  
 Page 115, second column: for Cambyses II, read Cambyses.  
 Page 147, line 20: for Sakkarah, read Sakkara.  
 Page 198, lines 7 and 8: for Each of the constellations was a god, read Constellations and stars might be gods.  
 Page 202, line 15: for *Ka*, read *ka*.  
 Page 249, line 20: for old Persian, read Old Persian.  
 Page 345, footnote, line 4: for *Psalms*, read Psalms.  
 Page 365, third footnote, last line: for Vologesus I, a Persian king, read Vologesus V, a Parthian king.  
 Page 380, line 15: for the two Artaxerxes, read Artaxerxes I and II.  
 Page 389, second column, last line: for Trail, read Trial.  
 Page 398, line 5 from bottom: for Ramayana, read *Ramayana*.  
 Page 407, line 16: for *Bible*, read Bible.  
 Page 408, line 7: for *Psalms*, read Psalms.  
 Page 453, line 2 from bottom: for Chang-an, read Ch'ang-an.  
 Page 461, line 27: for Delautabad, read Daulatabad.  
 Page 481, line 8 from bottom: for Anquetil Duperron, read Anquetil-Duperron.  
 Page 501, line 13: for took a, read took on a.  
 Page 523, line 9: for *Ecclesiastes*, read Ecclesiastes.  
 Page 518, line 16: for *Kanshitaki*, read *Kaushitaki*.  
 Page 532, line 14: for Esdale, read Esdaile.  
 Page 532, line 8 from bottom: for Harun-al-Rashid, read Haroun-al-Rashid.  
 Page 536, line 19: for Leibniz, read Leibnitz.  
 Page 541, second footnote, line 2: for Brahmamarca, read *Brahmacaria*.  
 Page 608, line 3 from bottom: for at Madrid, read near Madrid.  
 Page 609, second footnote, line 1: for Sir, read Lord.  
 Page 610, line 3 from bottom: for Bhuvaneshwar, read Bhuvaneshwara.  
 Page 637, first column: for Jenghiz, read Genghis.  
 Page 701, line 13: for Hiung-nu, read Hsiung-nu.  
 Page 835, line 6: for Sanctomo Minamoto, read Minamoto Sanetomo.  
 Page 881, line 1 and *infra*: for *hokka*, read *hokku*.  
 Page 891, line 18: for Janesese, read Japanese.