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THE IDEA OF "TAO" IN RELATION
TO ITS CHRISTIAN VALUES

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A THESIS

Submitted in partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF SACRED THEOLOGY
in The Biblical Seminary in New York
1929

New York City

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INTRODUCTION.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The term Tao has been variously translated. Reason, Grace, Providence, God, Nature, have all been suggested as English equivalents, yet all fall short of expressing its entire content and are admittedly makeshifts. Indeed the Chinese term itself was doubtless a makeshift in the hands of the Chinese thinkers attempting to express thereby the inexpressible, incomprehensible Reality that stands back of phenomena. Probably the most satisfactory rendering of Tao is through its literal meaning: "road" or "way". Tao is the Way in which the Universe operates; it is the sum total of its laws moving in perfect order to the accomplishment of its ends. Man, as a part of the Universe shares in this Tao. Hence there developed the idea that there was a Tao of Heaven and a Tao of Earth through which natural laws of the universe were expressed, and also a Tao of man, the Way in which life in individual and society expresses itself, or rather, since this life is not always ideal, should express itself. As the universe moves in quiet, poised harmony and order, man should so attune himself with its Tao that a like harmonious Tao may manifest itself in his realm.

There might be uncertainty as to whether the universe were monistic or dualistic, spiritual or material, or different theories as to how Tao should be effected in man, but back of all philosophical and religious thought in China there has stood this fundamental idea. And, whether or not the concept included a Personality guiding the Universe such as Christianity proclaims, the Christian apologete will find in it not only suggestions of truth, but truths themselves which can find their full expression only as the working of Tao is brought into connection with the God and Father of Christ.

The history of Tao is synchronous with that of Chinese thought. Hence, in our investigation, we will examine first the indigenous conception of Tao as it arose in pre-Confucian times and was developed in the purely Chinese schools of Laotze and Confucius. Later we will note modifications which arose when Chinese thought met foreign thought, both Buddhist and Occidental. Throughout its age-long history, in its various modifications and interpretations we will be prepared constantly to discover genuinely Christian values.

PART I. THE INDIGENOUS TAO IDEA.

CHAPTER I. THE ANCIENT TAO.

CHAPTER I. THE ANCIENT TAO.

Taoism as a religion claims to go back to Laotze (b. 604 B.C.). But Tao belongs equally to Confucianism, the other indigenous religio-philosophical system of China, and actually far antedates either. Confucius and Laotze referred to Tao as something of common knowledge and rested their teaching on older sages who believed in it. Confucius idealized the sage kings, whom we know, both from his words and the "Book of History" or "Shu King" were supposed to rule by Tao. Many of Laotze's quotations are introduced by "ku" (故); "therefore", "it is said", and appear to be proverbial sayings handed down from the ancients, while others are directly attributed to Hwang Ti, the Yellow Emperor, reputed first ruler of China.

1. Tao in the Ancient Chinese Cosmogony: Yang and Yin.

Apparently the origin of the Tao idea must go back to the first observations of nature moving in her orderly course which led to a primitive cosmogony. This cosmogony is most cogently described in the ten appendices to the "Yi King", or "Book of Changes". The authorship of these appendices is disputed. According to the documents themselves they come from Confucius, whereas they present ideas so peculiar to Laotze that some critics insist they must have been written by a later Taoist. Briefly stated, the cosmogony is this: This

universe of change (Yi 易) is composed through and through of two elements, "Yang" (陽) and "Yin" (陰), male and female, light and darkness, strong and weak. This is Tao. "One Yin and one Yang are called Tao." (i yin i yang chih wei tao—陰—陽之謂道)¹. This is dualistic, but fundamentally it is monistic, for "In the system of the Yi there is the Grand Terminus which produced the two elementary forms." The Grand Terminus or Grand Ultimate is universally interpreted as Tao, which becomes the unity back of all phenomena of Yang and Yin. These forms in turn produced the four emblematic symbols from which came the eight trigrams. The operation of the two principles is clearly set forth in the sixth appendix: "In olden times when the wise men made the Yi, they wanted it to be in accord with the nature and destiny of things, which is reason. Therefore they established the heavenly way in Yin and Yang; they established the human way in humaneness and righteousness; they established the earthly way in tenderness and rigidity. Thus each of the three powers of nature was made to be controlled by a set of two principles."²

Now whether or not this cosmogony represents primitive Chinese thought, we know that the eight trigrams which are traced for their origin back to the monistic Grand Ultimate or Tao do go back into dim antiquity, for they are the foundation of the Yi King itself which was an ancient book in the time of Confucius. The key to this mysterious book, in the

1. Yi King, III,5.

2. Quoted in Suzuki, Brief History of Chinese Philosophy, p.17.

study of which Confucius said he would devote fifty years should they be added to his life, is utterly unknown. However, the divination in which the trigrams are employed is understood. In dim antiquity men attempted to discover the Tao of heaven to which the government of men should conform by drawing lots with stalks of milfoil and scorching the shell of the tortoise. As this latter method was inconvenient, Wen Wang, the founder of the Chow dynasty and reputed author of the Book of Changes, invented the trigrams, eight series of three broken lines, in imitation of the cracks on the scorched tortoise shell. Each trigram received a name after natural phenomena: heaven, lake, sun, thunder, wind, river, mountain, earth. When one trigram was placed above another a hexagram was produced and each hexagram given a number. The upper trigram was thought to substitute itself for the lower; hence the term "Yi," meaning "change". It is the nature of this change which the soothsayer interpreted cutting milfoil stalks and thereby determining the number of the hexagram to be used. Later a more complicated system was invented employing two hexagrams for the solution, the change being estimated as between the lower trigram of one and the upper of the other.¹ It was thought that useful arts had been invented by means of the hexagrams, as, for example, when the trigrams meaning wood and water united in a hexagram gave the idea of a boat.² These eight trigrams and sixty-four hexagrams,

1. Wiegner: "A History of the Religious Beliefs and Philosophical Opinions in China from the Beginning to the Present Time." P. 80ff.
2. Fung: "A Comparative Study of Life Ideals." P. 162ff.

as explained in the "Yi King" have been the basis of divination to the present day, and have thus been a constant witness to the fact that the Tao of man, expressed in everyday activities, bears a relation to the Tao of the universe.

The same is true of the calendar. The interplay of Yang and Yin in summer and winter doubtless at an early period gave rise to the calendar and its application to human activity. The "Small Regulator of the Hsia Dynasty", professing to date from that period (2205-1766 B.C.), attempts to guide people in husbandry and silk culture by means of the phenomena characterizing the various months. At least a fragment of this, a decree relating to the ruler's hunting during the eleventh month, appears genuine. Then, in the "Li Ki" or "Book of Rites" appears the "Yueh Ling", or "Rescripts for the Months", which while compiled by Lü Pu Wei for Shih Hwang Ti (221-210 B. C.) gives evidence in certain sections of great antiquity. A few rules will suffice to show its bearing on life. At the spring equinox, the influence of Yin and Yang being equal, weights and measures are to be adjusted. In the third month when the munificence of nature is displayed the Emperor opens the granaries. In the munificent fourth month he dispenses favors. In the Spring, the season of the creation of life, hunting and the use of weapons save for self-defence are prohibited, for it is not permitted "to modify the Tao of Heaven, nor to interrupt the natural laws of the earth, nor to disturb the calendrical rules of conduct

of man".¹

2. Tao in Society: Its Significance in History and the Individual Life.

The bearing of Tao upon the moral order of society and government is constantly emphasized in the "Shu King" or "Book of History". Good government means compliance with Tao. Twenty-five hundred years before our era Yü was advised: "do not go against what is right (Tao) to get the praises of the people".² When the Hsia dynasty fell, T'ang the completer, the founder of the new line of Shang, declared "To revere and honor the way (Tao) of heaven, is...ever to preserve the favoring regard of heaven".³ Wu Ting (1323) was counselled by a minister: "O intelligent Ruler, reverently act in accordance with the Tao of Heaven".⁴ That he did so is evident from the fact that once when he was "silently and respectfully thinking" of the Tao he dreamt that God gave him an assistant.⁵ Wu, first sovereign of the Chow dynasty was advised: "Let thy will be in peaceful accord with the Tao and thy words or orders in accord with it",⁶ and forthwith he appointed three Kung or nobles to assist him who would discourse regarding Tao.⁷ Later we hear from the Duke of Chow: "Our course (Tao) is to seek

1. DeGroot: "Religion in China". Chapter VI. "Calendrical Mode of Life". P. 216ff.
2. Legge: Ch.Classics. Shu King. Pt.II.Bk.II.41. DeGroot, op. cit. P. 117.
3. Legge: Ch.Classics. Shu King. Pt.IV.Bk.II.IX. DeGroot, ibid.
4. " " " " " " " " VIII.2. " "
5. " " " " " " " " V.1.ii " "
6. " " " " " " " " V. " V.7. " "
7. " " " " " " " " V. " XX.v. " "

the prolongation of the virtue" of King Wu with the result¹ that Heaven will not remove its decree. The rise and fall of sovereigns depends on faithfulness to Tao. Yi Yin, minister of T'ai Chia, second Shang sovereign, addressed his master: "If you have virtue nothing but good government will prevail, but if you have none, disorder and rebellion will be rife. Combine your rule with Tao, and in all respects you must prosper".² Should he hear words against which his mind sets if-
 self he should investigate whether they be not according to Tao, and likewise he may discover acceptable words to be con-
 trary to Tao.³ "Intelligent kings", we learn, "act in accord-
 ance with the ways (Tao) of Heaven",⁴ but should this Tao be departed from, the negligent sovereign must make way for an-
 other. Thus the house of Hsia fell: "The way (Tao) of Heaven is to bless the good and punish the bad. It sent down cal-
 amities on Hsia to make manifest its crime".⁵ And thus, Shang,
 being without Tao,⁶ King Wu rallied the people against the sovereign Shou, saying "Heaven has (enjoined) the illustrious
 courses (of duty)",⁷ i.e. Heaven has manifested its Tao in call-
 ing upon the people to destroy the defamers of Tao. Likewise Yu, proceeding against the prince of Miao justified himself

1. Legge: Ch. Classics. Shu King. Pt. V. Bk. XVI. vi.
2. " " " " " IV. " V. 3. ii. DeGroot. op. cit. p. 99.
3. " " " " " " " 3. vii.
4. " " " " " " VIII. 2. ii.
5. " " " " " III. iii.
6. " " " " " V. 3. vi.
7. " " " " " V " III. 1. ii.

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because the prince opposed Tao, and his statesman Yi declared in the same connection that, Heaven being moved by virtue, "pride brings loss and humility receives increase--this is the way (Tao) of heaven".²

This last citation suggests that the practice of Tao is not confined to the ruler, but to the rank and file of humanity who are prone to pride. "Families which for generations enjoyed places of emolument seldom observe rules of propriety". They become dissolute and do violence to virtue, setting themselves in positive opposition to the way (Tao) of heaven.³ Good government depends on fidelity to Tao on the part of the ruler, likewise does the preservation of society depend on its members' keeping close to it.

The last two quotations suggest two methods of realizing Tao in the life, which later became the distinguishing criteria of Confucianism and Taoism. Already, in these early centuries we are on the almost imperceptible watershed from which proceeded these two differing, yet, to a large degree, similar, streams of thought. The rulers whose words we have cited sought to harmonize their lives with Tao, but the meaning of Tao is hardly expressed except that it is connected with righteousness springing out of good actions. In the statement of Yi, however, Tao is connected with humility. In

1. Legge: Ch. Classics. Shu King. Pt. II. Bk. II. xx

2. " " " " " " " " " xxi.

DeGroot op.cit.p.59.

3. Legge: Ch. Classics. Shu King. Pt. V. Bk.XXIV. ix.

the last quotation cited it is connected with rules of propriety, Li. These ideas, humility and propriety, suggest the difference between Taoism and Confucianism. Confucianism followed the latter line of thought. Order in society is expressed in ceremony which is handed down by instruction. Man-made rules enable us to imitate the ordered Tao of the Universe. This made for practical living. Taoism, on the other hand, followed the suggestion of humility which led to non-assertion and passivity in conformity to the Tao of the universe, making for an impractical subjectivism. "The mind of man is restless, prone to err; the rational heart (heart of Tao) is subdued; it keeps the middle path".¹ It does not strive toward change, it conforms to the Universe. Both emphases, as we will see, embodied truths infinitely valuable to the human spirit.

3. Kwantze, the First Articulate Philosopher.

In the "Shu King" this division of thought is only faintly suggested. That work did not deal with philosophy, it merely reproduced fragmentary utterances covering many centuries giving insight into the thinking of many men. However Kwantze, or Kwan Chung (管仲) "the first articulate Chinese philosopher", as Parker calls him, has a definite bias in favor of Taoistic interpretation of the cultivation of Tao, yet coupled with a sane practicalness. In fact he became an authority from which Laotze and Confucius later quoted. The difficulty in dealing with Kwantze lies in the fact that the

1. Shu King Pt. II.Bk.II.2.xv.(Combining Legge's translation with that of Dr. Carus;"Tao Teh King", p.15.)

book attributed to him is a late production showing unmistakable¹ Buddhistic influences in some places. However, there seems to be no doubt that such a man existed in the seventh century, that he was minister to Duke Hwan of Ch'i, and that his advice has "become the prototype of governmental prudence² for Chinese official life," and doubtless some portions of his book report his genuine sentiments.

Tao, he would have us know, is necessary for ruled as well as ruler. It is to be observed from homestead to empire,³ not fitful, but permanent, working by heaven's laws. The grand model of Tao is the ruler. He should be impartial as⁴ heaven and earth enacting laws with natural goodness, and so⁵ leading his people on through exemplifying Tao. This Tao in the ruler is reflected in the ministers and thus influences the people. The ministers will follow him, and the people the⁶ ministers as an echo follows sound, and it will be done spontaneously. The ruler will not even have to mention "such⁷ things as wisdom, power, intelligence, or perspicacity," and people will follow him because he has Tao "as the hungry follow the food....and the hot follow the shade."⁸ The fewer words he speaks the better in explanation: the people should not stand in awe of the meaning of Tao, but come to its under-

1. Sarkar, Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes, p.49.
2. Hirth, quoted in Sarkar: "Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes." p.47.
3. Kwantze, Bk.1, in Parker: "The Earliest Articulate Chinese Philosopher." New China Review. June 1920, p.257.
4. Bk.10 in DeGroot, "Religion in China." p.50.
5. Bk.6 " Parker, op.cit. p.259.
6. Bk.15 " DeGroot, " " p.120.
7. Bk.10 " " " " p.115.
8. Bk.20 " " " " p.116.

standing by being "Taoed" or "roaded" into the right principles unconsciously by the ruler. Indeed, conforming his way to Tao without exertion, "inaction is the way of the Emperor".¹

This all sounds, as we shall see, very much like Lao-tze. On the other hand there must be exertion. Passivity of influence may be beneficial, but law has to play its part in society as constituted. Tao is harmony, therefore it demands punishment befitting a crime. Punishment or law is but Tao in a superior sense.² Kwantze believes in society as constituted, as opposed to Lao-tze's anarchism. Men must exist in society, and they are not reduced to the same level. Classes are to be expected since men are not equally endowed. Hence there is a Tao in the fact of differing capacity.³ Wealth is legitimate, for it reduces the necessity of the ruler calling on the people. Its test of legitimacy however, is its coming spontaneously, without excitement on the part of the getter.⁴ With these orders in society rules are inevitable. "Tao teh", or Tao and virtue are so fixed by those above that those below do not swerve therefrom.⁵ This approaches the Confucian idea of Li or propriety. From this the sage proceeds to draw an analogy between the nine orifices of the human body and the human relationships, in which he declares that human relationships fall under the category Yi, or righteousness, and distinctions of class under that of Li, propriety, thereby falling

1. Bk. 10 in Parker. op.cit.p.260.

2. Bk. 14 " " " " p.262.

3. Bk. 1 " " " " p.257.

4. Bk.1,18 " " " " p.256, 263.

5. Bk. 11 " " " " p.260.

into the very two artificialities which Laotze denounced and Confucius advocated.

We have now come to the definite parting of the ways. All Chinese thinkers, ancient and modern, admit that there is a Tao, a norm regulating both human conduct and natural events. The matter of controversy has been the nature of the Tao, whether metaphysical or purely moral, and its manner of operating in the life. Ancient Chinese religion had three strata, politico-religious, ascetico-mystical, and that of magic and animism. Confucianism represents the first, with a moral emphasis on Tao, Laotze and his school the second with a purely metaphysical Tao, whereas both sought to rise above the dross of the third, Laotze's followers less successfully than those of Confucius. Confucianism finally triumphed so far as the bulk of Chinese thinking is concerned, and exalted the Tao of man, yet Laotze has left his deep impress with his transcendental Tao of heaven. And in the Ante-Ch'in period, or period before the Ch'in dynasty, a time when the human intellect was kindled not only in China but in India and Greece as well, system met system, the schools of Laotze, Confucius, Moze and others less notable struggling for the supremacy, each presenting one section as it were of the orb of truth, ignorant as to the final outcome. Nor need it surprise us if there was give and take in the conflict and if the victorious system incorporated some of the ideas of its rivals.

CHAPTER II. THE TAO OF HEAVEN: LAOTZE AND TAOISM.

CHAPTER II. THE TAO OF HEAVEN: LAOTZE AND TAOISM.

We turn to Laotze first, both because he was Confucius' senior contemporary and so represents a slightly older philosophical school, and also because a thorough understanding of Confucianism demands a knowledge of the rival system with which after all it had points of contact and by which it was influenced to a certain extent.

1. Laotze and the Tao Teh King (道德經)

Of Laotze, which means "The Old Philosopher", his real name being Li, we know little. Keeper of the Imperial archives he also had charge of divination. At an advanced age, discouraged at the prospects of reformation in Chinese society, he disappeared beyond the western frontier, but ere leaving, was persuaded by the keeper of the gate to incorporate his teachings in a book, which we have as the "Tao Teh King", the classic of Tao and its corollary Teh, or virtue. Controversy has raged over the authenticity of this book as well as over the very existence of Laotze, but most modern scholars agree with Legge that there exists no ancient book whose genuineness is¹ so well authenticated.

The China of Laotze's day had need of such a book. The Chow dynasty which had begun with the idealism of Wen Wang in 1122 B. C. had degenerated into a mass of warring feudal

1. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. xxxix, pp. 4ff.

states over which the Son of Heaven exercised no real authority. Corruption, tyranny, rapaciousness and militarism were rampant. Men had lost the Tao. Confucius, a few years later, tried to meet the situation by calling men back to the Li of the ancients as the true Tao. Laotze, in the "Tao Teh King", proposed a different method.

a. The Transcendental Tao, with Teh or Virtue.

First we will attempt to analyze the Tao of Laotze. Tao is something mysterious, inexplicable, for which the term Tao is only an accommodation, standing back of all things, and complete in itself. It is "undefined and formless, coming into existence before Heaven and Earth", still, formless, standing alone, changeless, omnipresent (limitless), inexhaustible, "it may be regarded as the Mother of all things". Its law is "being what it is". "I do not know its name, and I give it the designation of the Tao".¹ Equable, Inaudible, Subtle (i, hsi, wei), blended into One, "Form of the Formless", "Semblance of the Invisible",--thus the sage wrestles to express the infinite Reality.² All things come from it. "The Tao produced One; One produced Two; Two produced all things".³ Yet, whereas all things sprang from it as existing, "that existence sprang from it as non-existent".⁴ It is all-pervading, found on left and right, it is the source to which all

1. Tao Teh King. Sec. 25.
2. " " " " 15.
3. " " " " 42.
4. " " " " 40.

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things finally return. It embraces contraries in its completeness, difficulty and ease, height and lowness, length² and shortness exist together and perfect each other. Weakness³ is in Tao's mightiest deed, and its beauty is said to offend the eye.⁴

Tao accomplishes all things by inactivity and non-striving. It "does nothing so there is nothing it does not do".⁵ It is the Way of Heaven not to strive, and yet it skillfully overcomes; not to speak and yet it is skilful in obtaining a reply; does not call, and yet men come to it of themselves. Its demonstrations are quiet, and yet its plans are skilful and effective.⁶ It is empty like a vessel,⁷ empty of all sense of self-aggrandizement or honor, producing all things, yet not claiming them as its own, doing all, yet not boasting of it,⁸ presiding over all, yet not controlling. As stillness makes muddy water clear, and weakness overcomes strength, so Tao imperceptibly, but surely, accomplishes its purposes.⁹

Moreover Tao is not a mere metaphysical abstraction unrelated to life. If all things come from Tao man comes therefrom. He should conform to it. The fundamental laws of his life are derived from it.¹⁰ Virtue springs from Tao

1. Tao Teh King. Sec. 34.
2. " " " " 2. par. 2.
3. " " " " 40.
4. " " " " 41.
5. " " " " 37.
6. " " " " 73.
7. " " " " 4.
8. " " " " 11.
9. " " " " 15, 36.
10. " " " " 52.

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"when nursed within oneself!" Man, unfortunately has departed from Tao, but his salvation depends on his "returning to the source" and imitating spontaneously the non-striving and self-forgetfulness of Tao. This imitation of Tao constitutes Teh.

It will be seen that this Tao bears some relation to the Christian God. It is creator, sustainer and source of all virtue. On the other hand Tao utterly lacks personality. It is unoriginating entity, identified with the sum total of the universe in a monistic principle. It becomes thoroughly pantheistic. To representative modern Chinese scholars it is identified with Nature. Laotze's Tao, says Dr. Chiang Mon Lin, is "the abstract ideal for nature. Therefore to seek for Tao is to inquire into the origin of the universe".²

"The Taoists", says Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, "think natural law is all powerful, and take Tao as existing before heaven and earth!"³ Hu Shih declares that Laotze, seeing the cruelty of nature, consciously rejected current ideas concerning an intelligent and beneficent Ruler in the universe,⁴ thereby at the same time ruling out Tao's ethical nature; while Fung Yu Lan states, "When we say that Tao produces all things we mean nothing more than that all things produce themselves. Tao is the totality of the spontaneity of all things in the universe".⁵ Of course

1. Tao Teh King. Sec. 54.
2. Study in Chinese Principles of Education. p.10.
3. Political Philosophy of the Ante-Ch'in Period. p.167.
4. Quoted in Millican, "Philosophical and Religious Thought in China" in "China Christian Year Book".1926. p.424.
5. Fung, "Comparative Study of Life Ideals". p. 15.

this "totality" may be called God, and Fung identifies Tao with Spinoza's pantheistic God. Others have likened it to Schelling's absolute. To Laotze it could not possibly have meant God, for he says it appears to have existed before God.¹ Nevertheless in calling it "Mother of all things", "ancestor" and "Master" (chun 君), i.e., ultimate authority in words and deeds,² he opens the way for later Taoists to call him God.

The ethical nature of Tao, Hu Shih notwithstanding, appears to be an outstanding characteristic to any reader of the "Tao Teh King". If Tao is not ethical how can it produce virtue which in this classic is essentially ethical and comes from imitation of the operations of Tao? The first sentence of the book introduces us to the eternal Tao, "Ch'ang Tao" (常道). This is the mysterious, nameless, omnipresent one.³ But when it is named it is no longer the "Ch'ang Tao". It has become differentiated, it becomes the mother of all things. "As soon as it proceeds to action it has a name. When it once has that name, (men) can know to rest in it. When they know to rest in it, they can be free from all risk and failure and error".⁴ This Tao, individualized in things, becomes in man the Tao of Man, "Jen Tao", implying the exercise of reason. Unfortunately, however, men do not "rest in it", hence "Jen Tao" and "Ch'ang Tao" (or "T'ien Tao" i.e. the Tao of Heaven) widely diverge. This difference is constantly

1. Tao Teh King. Sec. 4.

2. Carus: "Tao Teh King". p. 15.

3. Tao Teh King. Sec. 1.

4. " " " " 32.

affirmed in the "Tao Teh King". Man is constantly trying, in his effort and activity, to change the Eternal Tao. But in making he mars. Instead of asserting his will he should let Tao have its way, and in so doing he will find the Tao of the Sages.

b. Wu Wei, or Non-Action, in the Individual and Society.

The way to attain this is by Non-Action or "Wu Wei" (無爲). "The sage manages things without doing anything, and conveys his instruction without the use of speech"¹. In ancient days those possessed with highest attributes of Tao "did nothing and had no need to do anything", whereas those not possessing Tao were continually doing, and "had need to be so doing"². When the sage arrives at the point of non-action "there is nothing which he does not do"³. "I will do nothing", Laotze quotes a sage, "and the people will be transformed of themselves", "I will be fond of keeping still and the people will of themselves become correct...I will manifest no ambition, and the people will of themselves attain to the primitive simplicity"⁴.

Now this does not for a moment mean idleness, or a ceasing in accomplishment. Laotze himself constantly speaks of "acting non-action" (wei pu wei) and says that through non-action every thing may be accomplished. "An able man acts

1. Tao Teh King. Sec. 2.
2. " " " " 38.
3. " " " " 48.
4. " " " " 57.

resolutely" he says.¹ The idea is simply to act without striving, not interfering in others' affairs or even your own if they spring from Tao.² Whoever withstands Tao and tries to alter the nature of things must at last succumb. One should live naturally, not forcing or altering things to suit his own ambitions, and in so doing he will find contentment and power, for by not-doing his character will alter environment and he will have really accomplished. What Wu-Wei really implies is a being without desires. One must not have a will of his own, but do what is according to eternal Tao. "There must be a yielding to the inner motive-force which we derive from Tao and which leads us to Tao again".³ To such mysticism echoes could be found in many a Christian writing.

And out of it springs many a Christian grace. The effectiveness of humility is frequently emphasised,⁴ and of the simple life.⁵ A word frequently appearing is "hsü", "emptiness" (虛⁶). The way of Tao is to exalt the low and humble⁷ the proud. There can be no conceit or display of self. There will be a reserve in discussing the sacred things of life, for the one that knows Tao does not speak about it, and the one ready to speak about it does not know it.⁸ There will

1. Tao Teh King. Sec. 30.
2. Suzuki. op.cit. p.74.
3. O'Neil's "Quest for God in China" p. 49.
4. Tao Teh King. Sec. 22,66.
5. " " " " 28.
6. " " " " 70.
7. " " " " 24.
8. " " " " 56.

be no resisting of evil, yet with the weak things of the world the mighty will be confounded. "The soft overcomes the hard and the weak the strong,¹ nothing can resist the force of unfirm water.² Likewise firmness connotes the approach of death. When trees and plants are young they are soft, at death, dry and brittle.³ It is not surprising that the highest expression of love to others in Chinese literature, one that more nearly approximates Christian standards than does the Confucian "golden rule", springs out of this attitude. "To those who are good (to me), I am good; and to those who are not good (to me) I am also good; and thus (all) get to be good. To those who are sincere (with me), I am sincere; and to those who are not sincere (with me), I am also sincere; and thus (all) get to be sincere."⁴

Such is the influence for good exerted by the man of Tao. Society is regenerated by his non-assertive presence. "To him who holds in his hands the Great Image (of the invisible Tao), the whole world repairs. Men resort to him, and receive no hurt, but find rest, peace, and the feeling of ease."⁵

This practice of Wu Wei has a meaning not only for the individual but for government. From primitive times when men knew Tao there has been a gradual degeneration. First people did not know their rulers; later they loved and praised them, later still feared them, and finally, when Tao was extinct in the rulers, and thus in the people, despised them.⁶ Another

1. Tao Teh King, Sec. 36.

2. " " " " 78.

3. " " " " 76

4. Tao Teh King, Sec. 49.

5. " " " " 35.

6. " " " " 17.

line of degeneration was this: the Tao ceased to be observed, and "benevolence and righteousness came into vogue". Then followed wisdom and shrewdness and hypocrisy. "When harmony no longer prevailed among the six kinships, filial sons found their manifestation; when the states and clans fell into disorder, loyal ministers appeared"¹. "When the Tao was lost, its attributes appeared; when its attributes were lost benevolence appeared; when benevolence was lost righteousness appeared; when righteousness was lost the proprieties ("Li" 禮,² the great keyword to the Confucian system) appeared". For which Laotze proposes the following solution: "If we could renounce our sageness and discard our wisdom it would be better for the people a hundredfold. If we could renounce our benevolence and discard our righteousness, the people would again become filial and kindly. If we could renounce our artful contrivances and discard our (scheming for) gain, there would be no thieves nor robbers"³. Is it any wonder that some have said that Laotze and his Tao are not ethical? Heaven, earth, and the sage, according to one passage⁴ lack benevolence, but benevolence here seems to imply partiality.⁵ In like manner in his invectives against propriety, righteousness and benevolence he is attacking the forms of righteousness which do not spring from the heart.

1. Tao Teh King, Sec. 18.

2. " " " " 38.

3. " " " " 19.

4. " " " " 5.

5. Rawlinson, F., The Naturalization of Christianity in China, p.91.

The man of Tao, or of Wu Wei is righteous and benevolent without knowing it, but the righteous and benevolent in these ages of degeneration have been so because they have made themselves so, that they might be seen of men, until in the modern days of Laotze Li had been devised to produce what should have been spontaneous. So, he maintained, to restore that ideal society one must get rid of all rules of propriety, allowing men to follow their own inner bent to goodness as they practiced Wu Wei. With the rules of course would go government. There would be a pure Rousselian naturalism, a Spencerian laissez-faire, yet different from these in that theirs was in reference toward the individual only, while his¹ was toward heaven, or Tao. War would be dispensed with, as well as taxes which were cursing contemporary society.²

Also even knowledge would be done away with. Originally things had no names, but with names came distinctions, knowledge, and jealousy and discord. But to make people easy to rule according to Tao, they must return to that primitive state and be stupid.³ Finally there was to be non-intercourse between communities. Even though the sounds of dogs and fowls could be heard from one to another from youth to old age the people of one could not meet with those of the other.⁴

Of course this was an utterly impossible and fearfully

1. Kao, Spencer's Political Philosophy, Kuo Yü Wen Hsüan, Vol. I, p.171.
2. Tao Teh King, Sec. 30, 31, 69, 75.
3. " " " " 65. Kao, Laotze's Political Philosophy, Kuo Yü Wen Hsüan, Vol. I, p.152.
4. Tao Teh King, Sec. 80.

depressing Utopia. Laotze could not stop the wheels of progress. Yet in this extreme picture he emphasizes by contrast all society's need of Wu Wei, non-assertion, contentment with the fundamentals of existence, and the contemplative mind which finds its source and end in Tao, and shows that social and political ethics are the same as individual. In a great passage he strikes out the fundamental principle of internationalism which we have only dimly begun to perceive. "What makes a great state is its being (like) a low-lying, down-flowing (stream); it becomes the center to which tend (all the small states) under heaven....A great state, by condescending to small states, gains them for itself; and..small states, by abasing themselves to a great state, win it over them. In the one case the abasement leads to gaining adherents, in the other case to procuring favor. The great state only wishes to unite men together and nourish them; a small state only wishes to be received by, and to serve, the other. Each gets what it desires, but the great state must learn to abase itself".¹ Thus, even as men come to the man of Tao, nations will resort to the state of Tao.

c. Tao and Longevity: The Germs of Magic.

The practice of Tao leads to long life. One possessed of Tao "endures long and to the end of his bodily life, is exempt from all danger of decay".² Wild animals and weapons cannot harm him "because there is in him no place of death".³

1. Tao Teh King, Sec.61.

2. " " " " 16.

3. " " " " 50.

This is the germ from which developed the grotesque efforts of later Taoists to attain to immortality through drinking elixirs of life, and practicing deep breathing (a practice which also has derived its sanction from the "Tao Teh King"). Nevertheless, despite the vagaries to which Taoists were led, the doctrine that Tao tends toward longevity is not to be dismissed, for on the testimony of human experience, the practice of virtue, and obeying the laws of nature does make for long life here and, on the testimony of universal faith, gives an entrance into an immortality beyond.

2. Chwangtze, the Great Interpreter of Laotzé.

Chwangtze, the chief exponent of the teachings of Laotze, lived in the fourth century before Christ, when Confucianism had become dominant. "He wrote", says Ssu-ma Ch'ien, the historian, "with a view to asperse the Confucian school and to glorify the mysteries of Laotze...His teachings are like an overwhelming flood which spreads of its own sweet will. Consequently, from rulers and ministers downwards, none could apply them to any definite use"¹. In his massive work he simply elaborates most entertainingly, with anecdote and figure, on the main themes of the "Tao Teh King", making comparatively little advance over his master's ideas, and employing so many of his maxims without acknowledging any authority that Giles uses this as one proof that no "Tao Teh King" was ever composed by Laotze.

1. Giles, History of Chinese Literature, p. 60.

a. The Transcendental Tao.

For Chwangtze Tao is as mysterious as for his master. "There is in it emotion and sincerity, but it does nothing and has no bodily form. It may be handed down (by the teacher), but may not be received (by his scholars)". It is invisible, though it can be apprehended by the mind. It exists by and in itself, was before heaven and earth, and produced God, the spirits, heaven and earth and the Tai-chi, (i.e. the Grand Ultimate), yet, even so it could not be said to have existed long, and "though older than the highest antiquity....could not be considered old".¹ The name is adopted only for convenience' sake.² Tao is entirely outside the material realm,³ and so "cannot be existent". Since it is indescribable, a commentator on this passage says "men ought to stop where they do not really know and not try to find it in any phenomenon, or in any event or thing. They must forget both speech and silence, and then they may approximate to the idea of the Great Tao".⁴ Tao, as Legge says, is not to be found in material forms and changes of things but in a spirit-like energy working imperceptibly, developing and controlling all phenomena",⁵ but as such it seems to be first cause, creator and preserver.⁶

1. Legge, The Writings of Chwangtze, Vol.I, p.243 (Bk.6)

2. Giles, Chwangtze, p. 351 (Ch. 25).

3. Ibid.

4. Legge, Chwangtze, Pt. I, p.155.

5. " " " I, p.145.

6. Soothill, The Three Religions of China, pp.54, 66, 156.

And yet it is a question whether we have the right to call Tao creator. At the beginning, Chwangtze held, there was ¹ nothing. Out of "nothing in all the vacancy of space" arose the first existence, and then after various steps, nature as we have it. ² What we have is not creation, but an evolutionary process, wherein Tao, though called "Tsao Hwa", "maker and transformer," and "Tsao Wu Chi", "maker of all things", is only the creative principle. As Kuo Hsien, one of Chwangtze's best commentators, put it, "Tao did not produce the world, but the world produced itself; this means that Tao produced it by not producing it". ³ Therefore, as Fung remarks, that Tao produces all things means that all things produce themselves, Tao being the totality of spontaneity of all things in the universe, synonymous with "Nature". ⁴

This was not merely a generalized evolutionary idea, but a theory worked out in some detail. From a single germ produced by the primal substance all creatures evolved, from simple to complex states. Though most of Chwangtze's biological terms are unintelligible, we can make out that after six or seven stages from the simple cell through the vegetable kingdom we have the insect, then after many more steps, we come to the higher animals such as birds, horses and men. ⁵ The leopard produces the horse, and the horse, man.

1. Legge, Chwangtze, Pt. I, p.185 (Bk.2)

2. " " Pt. I, p.315 (Bk.12)

3. Fung, Comparative Study of Life Ideals, p.15.

4. Ibid.

5. Giles, Chuangtze, p.228 (Ch.18)

Evidently what Chwangtze believes in is pure monism.

What room, then, is there for individuality? "The universe and I came into being together; and I, and everything therein, are One"¹. Or what room for distinctions between good and evil? A chapter is given over to identity of contraries which would exist independently of each other without antagonism.² Robbers are conceived of as having Tao³ and elsewhere China's two extreme examples of good and evil are represented as undeserving of praise or blame. "Better than praising Yao and blaming Chieh would be leaving them both and attending to the development of Tao".⁴ Taking no heed of time and things, of right and wrong, our duty is merely to seek identification with Tao. With such philosophy endorsed by Chwangtze we are not surprised to find commentators making such remarks as these on his writings: "Read this chapter and the Tripitaka and the Mahayana will open out before you as beneath a sharp-edged blade", or, "With this essay what need to fetch Buddhist books from the west?"⁵

b. Wu Wei in Chwangtze.

Chwangtze's philosophy of history is the same as Laotze's. There has been degeneration as man has become involved in things. He recognizes (like Mencius) "the natural goodness of the heart of man".⁶ But man fell from the primitive state through too much wisdom, and now civilization

1. Giles, Chuangtze, p.23 (Ch.2)
2. " " Ch. 2.
3. " " " 10.
4. " " p.74 (Ch.6)
5. " " pp.293,351 (on Chapters 22,25)
6. " " p.123 (Ch.11)

must be discarded. Sui Jen and Fu Hsi, discoverers of fire and the first elements of civilization, started the process; Shen Neng, and even Hwang Ti, the great devotee of Tao, accelerated it until those model rulers, Yao and Shun completed¹ it. As a consequence we have, as opposed to the Tao of Heaven, made up of inaction and compliance, the Tao of Man in which² there is action and entanglement, a purely accidental Tao as compared with the fundamental Tao of God.

The return to the true state is the same as Laotze marked out, identification through non-action with the non-acting Tao. Chwangtze's ideal is the "True (chen 眞) Man",³ "one whose nature is in agreement with the Tao" and this man "who departs not from 'chen' is to be called a man in the very⁴ highest or perfect sense". He is the Sage between whose Way and the divine Tao there results complete amalgamation. He ignores everything but Tao. "The perfect man ignores self, the divine man ignores action, the true Sage ignores reputation".⁵ This was the advice given, fictitiously, by Laotze to Confucius as a remedy for the distraught condition of society: "If you would cause the empire not to lose its source of nourishment" study the universe, the sun, moon, stars, birds, beasts and trees moving in their order. "Be like these; follow the Tao; and you will be perfect". It means complete abandonment of artificiality: "Why these vain struggles after charity and duty to one's neighbor as though

1. Giles, Chuangtze, p. 225 (Ch. 18)

2. " " p. 134 (Ch. 11)

3. Hwai Nan Tze, quoted in Legge, Chuangtze, Pt. I, p.135.

4. DeGroot, Religion in China, p.82 (quoting Chwangtze)

5. Giles, Chuangtze, p.5 (Ch.1.)

beating a drum in search of a fugitive. Alas! Sir, you have¹
brought much confusion into the mind of man".

But practice of the Tao does not mean abandoning real charity. Although "to include charity and duty to one's neighbor among the functions of man's organism, is not true Tao", "any artificial additions to our internal economy (are) but harmful adjuncts to real charity and duty to one's neighbor".² Wu Wei actually means the practice of charity. "Acting without action is what is called Heaven (-like)" the sage declares, and immediately among ten things which the Superior man should understand places benevolence, loving men,³ and benefiting things. "While there should be no action there should also be no inaction" he says. In other words, refusal to assert oneself should accomplish something: all good things become proper and possible to the man of Tao. "He guides himself by Tao but makes no plans. He identifies himself with charity, but does not rely upon it. He extends to duty towards his neighbor, but does not store it up". Even ceremony⁴ is legitimate: "He responds to ceremony without tabooing it". The point is that "he does not credit himself with charity and⁵ mercy". It is natural to him, and so comes spontaneously out of non-action. This is real virtue. As Fung suggests, if Tao is spontaneity, then the totality of spontaneity in each thing

1. Giles, Chwangtze, p.167 (Ch.13)
2. " " p. 99 (Ch. 8)
3. Legge, Chwangtze, Pt.I, p.309 (Bk.12)
4. Giles, Chwangtze, p. 134 (Ch.11)
5. " " p. 204 (Ch.17)

is Teh, and each thing is happy insofar as it lives according to its natural virtues.¹ People who pursue happiness in things are like prisoners with arms tied behind their backs, and like caged animals,² whereas the man of Tao, even in poverty,³ is happy. From the perfect action of heaven and earth should be learned the lesson that only in following Tao is contentment to be found.

Wu Wei, as in Laotze, brings contentment to the state. "Rule the kingdom by inaction, this is heavenly; speak to it by means of inaction, this is virtue".⁴ The perfect government existed in the old days when there was non-intercourse between neighboring communities, such as Laotze described. Therefore, cries Chwangtze, do away with wisdom, with ornamentation, with rules about charity, with arts and skill, and all that makes civilization. Then robbers and thieves will disappear, and the people will have heavenly virtue.⁵ And yet, Chwangtze does not insist on this anarchy to the extent that his master did. Inconsistently, and to the perplexity of commentators, he suggests that, while inaction is the ideal form of government, it cannot be practiced by both ruled and ruler else they will be on the same footing; therefore the ruler must practice action, and with it must be observed distinction and rank. In family and state some take precedence over others, and who

1. A Comparative Study of Life Ideals, p.16. Cf. Chwangtze, Ch.18 on "Perfect Happiness".
2. Giles, Chuangtze, pp.155-6 (Ch. 12)
3. " " p. 255 (Ch. 20)
4. DeGroot, Religion in China, p.73 (quoting Chwangtze)
5. Giles, Chuangtze, pp.115,116 (Ch.10)

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disregards this order disregards Tao.

c. Magic and Immortality.

The True Man of Chwangtze readily lent himself to fancy. As with Laotze, Tao makes for longevity. "Let there be absolute repose and absolute purity; do not weary your body nor disturb your vitality, and you will live forever!"² This leads on to the practice on the part of the True Man of living in retirement and practicing Tao in meditation. Indeed Chwangtze himself is reputed to have followed such a life.³ Moreover, the first Taoist rules for deep breathing⁴ as an aid to meditation are given in Chwangtze. Also we are introduced to patriarchs of vast age, subsisting on dew who ride on clouds with dragons and who to old age keep the flesh of infants.⁵

In line with this craving for supernatural existence was a calm attitude toward death for those who could not pass into the supernatural state directly. The consciousness that Tao permeated everything made death only a transition from one manifestation of Tao to another. "Tao gives me this form, this toil in manhood, this repose in old age, this rest in death. And surely that which is such a kind arbiter of my life is the best arbiter of my death". Such⁶ was the sublime faith attributed to Tze Lai. A celebrated

1. Giles, Chuangtze, pp.161-163 (Ch. 13)
2. " " p. 127 (Ch. 11)
3. DeGroot, op.cit. p.125ff.
4. Giles, Chuangtze, p.69 (Ch.6)
5. " " Chap.1.
6. " " p. 82 (Ch.6)

anecdote of Chwangtze tells how, finding a skull, he used it as his pillow and dreamt that it spoke to him of death: "In death there is no sovereign above and no subject below. The workings of the four seasons are unknown. Our existences are bounded only by eternity. The happiness of a king among men cannot exceed that which we enjoy". And when Chwangtze suggested that he return to mortal form he retorted, "How should I cast aside happiness greater than that of a king and mingle once again in the toils and troubles of humanity?"¹

When his wife died Chwangtze was found singing, because he remembered "that she had already existed in a previous state before birth", then came birth," and now, by virtue of a further change, she is dead, passing from one phase to another like the sequence of spring, summer, autumn and winter".² When death comes, "the fuel is consumed, but the fire may be transmitted, and we know not that it comes to an end".³

Our life itself may be for aught we know but a phantom state as illustrated by another famous story. Chwangtze dreamt he was a butterfly, and on waking questioned: "I do not know whether I was then a man dreaming I was a butterfly or am now a butterfly dreaming I am a man".⁴ At all events we are in this stream of life, whatever it is. It comes from Tao, and it leads back to Tao again. Surely the imagination

1. Giles, Chuangtze, p.225 (Ch.18)
2. " " p.223 (Ch.18)
3. " " p.37 (Ch.3)
4. " " p.29 (Ch.2)

does not have far to travel from the Tao of Chwangtze to the Nirvana of Sakyamuni, into both of which the human spirit is absorbed and thereby obtains its highest bliss.

d. Chwangtze and Confucianism.

In passing from Chwangtze we would recall that the purpose of his essays was to discredit the rival school of Confucius. This he did in two ways. He ridiculed Confucius as ignoring the root and emphasizing only the branches in his insisting on a cultivation of propriety without a due regard to the mystical Tao. He also, in many of his narratives, represented Confucius coming off the worse in arguments with Taoists, being converted to their notions, or perhaps even advocating Taoistic principles, especially that of Wu Wei, in his conversations with his disciples and others. Fictitious as these representations doubtless are, they will be worth bearing in mind when we come to consider the Tao of Confucius.

3. Liehtze.

With Laotze and Chwangtze we have the essence of the Taoistic conception of Tao. A few words, however, should be said about a number of the minor philosophers. Liehtze, who has been characterized as "A Philosopher Who¹ Never Lived", and who existed, according to Giles only in the imagination of Chwangtze who wrote a chapter about him, is represented by a work which may be later than Chwangtze,

1. Balfour, cited by Suzuki, op.cit. p.162.

or, if Liehtze existed, earlier, dating from the fifth century before Christ.

He follows the general Taoistic line of thought, but is interesting especially for his detailed cosmogony. He starts with unorganized mass, "hun tun", or Chaos, in which was a "mingled potentiality of Form (hsing), Pneuma (ch'i) and Substance (chih)". Then followed a Great Change (tai yi) and a Great Starting (tai chi) which was the beginning of Form, a Great Beginning (tai shih), producing Pneuma, a Great Blank (tai su) which produced Substance. This evolution, however, was due to reason, Tao, which he terms the Solitary Indeterminate (i tuh), or the Going and Coming (wang fu) or Non-activity (wu wei), neither created nor transformed, but able to create and transform eternally, causing all things to come and go, but itself eternal and neither coming nor going. Wu wei, he illustrates by the senses of taste and vision which make, in their non-activity, color and flavor possible. Eternal change is the order of nature. There is a cycle of life and death. That having life or form returns to the lifeless and formless, but these in turn do not eternally remain lifeless and formless. "Things exist because they cannot be otherwise, things come to an end because they cannot do otherwise". Life is not better than death nor death than life. Therefore all existence must be taken placidly. Nevertheless,

despite this cyclic change, it appears that the soul does at last find its true abode. "That which belongs to the heavens is clear",...¹"Spirit is returning--i.e. it returns to its real abode".

The Taoist summum bonum, a total deadening of senses to the virtual extinction of personality, is strikingly illustrated in Liehtze. He describes his own course, covering nine years, to the attainment of Tao, until "my mind gave free rein to its reflection, my mouth free passage to its speech. Of right and wrong, profit and loss, I had no knowledge, either as touching myself or others. I knew neither that the Master was my instructor, nor that the other man was my friend. Internal and External were blended into unity. After that there was no distinction between eye and ear,² ear and nose, nose and mouth; all were the same". He tells a tale of a man cured of amnesia, who became angry because the cure caused him to experience a turmoil to which he had been unaccustomed. "Oh! if I could but recapture a short moment of that blessed oblivion!"³ he said. It is this unconsciousness of things of sense that gives the man of Tao his superhuman power. When told that he had just come out of a rock and walked through fire one of Liehtze's characters replied,⁴"I know nothing of them". Being ob-

1. Suzuki, op. cit. pp.30-32.
2. Taoist Teachings, pp.41, 42.
3. " " p.71.
4. " " p.51.

livious to them he was superior to them. Liehtze himself admits that after his nine years' training he was so unconscious of what was under his feet that he could ride on the wind, not knowing whether he was riding on it or it on him.¹ This obliviousness to things implies faith. When certain charlatans in whom he had confidence bade another character do certain dangerous exploits, he came through unscathed because he had confidence in them. "The man of perfect faith"--which of course includes Tao--the narrative concludes, "can extend his influence to inanimate things and disembodied spirits; he can move heaven and earth, and fly to the six cardinal points without encountering any hindrance".²

It is no wonder that such fancies lend themselves to a Buddhistic belief in the illusion of things. After putting a discussion regarding illusion into the lips of Laotze, Liehtze himself adds that not only is Life Illusion and Death Evolution, but "you and I are both illusions. How are we, then, to make a study of the subject?"³ --a confession that strikes uncompromisingly at the trustworthiness of reason. Indeed, if the remarks of a commentator represent Liehtze's opinion, there is no reason in the universe, for "How should the Creator (mentioned above, being the same as Tao) possess a conscious mind? It is His spontaneity that

1. Taoist Teachings, p.42.

2. " " p.47.

3. " " p.63.

constitutes the mystery. Essential matter unites with extensive energy to become a bodily substance, which follows the line of evolution and passes away, but does not, on that account, relapse into nothingness.¹

4. Yang Chu, the Hedonist.

While he contributes nothing to the idea of Tao, as such, we must glance at Yangtze, or Yang Chu, a younger contemporary of Lao-tze, to observe the sinister result of Lao-tze's monism. If all is Tao, there is neither good nor evil. If the natural life is the ideal life, then one may give unbridled rein to his passions. Such are the logical conclusions of monism, though apparently they have not been endorsed by Taoists in action. Even Yang Chu does not seem to have been a libertine. However, in his teaching he was a consistent Epicurean and hedonist. "To be free from all constraint, to be able to satisfy all one's instincts, from day to day, and even until death, that", said he, "is what I call living".² "Indulge in what your ear desires to hear. ..what your eye desires to see,...what your mouth desires to speak...what your body desires to obtain, and.....what your mind desires to do".³ Death comes and makes all alike; therefore it makes no difference to the individual what one has done in life. The Sage kings and Confucius endured

1. Taoist Teachings, p.63.

2. Weiger, History of the Religious Beliefs and Philosophical Opinions in China, p.201.

3. Suzuki, op.cit., p.89.

hardships in life, and posterity hails them as sages; Chou and Chieh indulged themselves and are remembered as licentious tyrants, yet theirs was really the better part, for they alone enjoyed life, while the others gained reputation¹ which could be of no benefit to them, being dead. Naturally self-sacrifice is to be eschewed. To save the world Yangtze² would not pull out one of his hairs. It was this statement that brought down upon him the invectives of Mencius.

But can this be taken as embodying Yangtze's complete philosophy? It hardly conforms with the celebrated passage: "There are four things which do not allow people to rest: long life, reputation, rank, riches. Those who have them fear ghosts, fear men, power and punishment. They are always fugitives. Whether they are killed or live they regulate their lives by externals. Those who do not set their destiny at defiance do not desire a long life, and those who are not too fond of honor do not desire reputation. Those who do not want power desire no rank. Those who are not avaricious have no desire for riches. Of this sort of men it may truthfully be said that they live in accordance with their nature"³ Here is "the typical Laotzean doctrine of Wu Wei or the world-fleeing spirit of some Hindu philosophers".⁴ In reconciliation of these two positions Suzuki remarks that

1. Yang Chu's Garden of Pleasure, p.54.
2. Ibid. p.52.
3. " p.61.
4. Suzuki, op.cit.,p.90.

Yangtze is, taking everything together, "not a debauchee, but a self-contented, artless, simple-minded child of nature," hating all kinds of artificiality, desiring to live as he came from the bosom of eternity without craving for sensual pleasures beyond the demands of nature. "He is a fatalist.... He has no desire for immortality either in life or after death. In these respects he deeply breathes the spirit of Lao-tze."¹ Of course, in his optimistic irresponsibility he differs from other Taoist philosophers. They tend to suppress desire, he to express it, but all are naturalists.

5. Taoism of the Ch'in and Han Periods.

It was with the founding of the Ch'in dynasty (255 B.C.) that Taoism came into its own. The Confucian classics were burnt by order of the Emperor, Ch'in Shih Hwang, and Taoistic practice, magic and superstition, including the search for the elixir of life, sedulously cultivated. The degradation of Taoism from the noble, though mystical, philosophy of earlier days was complete. Though Confucianism was restored under the Han dynasty (206 B.C.), various emperors still followed Taoism. Under the Emperor Wu (140 B.C.) Tao was identified with the Shangti of ancient religion, and became the personal Deity.² With contact with Buddhism and the give-and-take between these two faiths Taoism sank still lower until today it is recognized as the chief repository of superstition in the life of the Chinese people.

1. Suzuki, op.cit., p.91.

2. Wiegner, op.cit., p.281.

a. Han Fei Tze.

Nevertheless, during these days of decline there have been gleams of Laotzean light. Han Fei Tze was a great Taoist commentator, and founder of the penal school of thought which Ch'in Shih Hwang adopted as the basis of his absolute monarchy. Under the influence of the Confucian, Hsüntze, Han Fei Tze held that only a tenth of mankind would do good of their own accord, hence a rigid penal code is necessary. The officers enforcing law among the people are like dogs guarding the sheep, who are in turn in fear of the tiger; they obey the ruler through fear. It is only through such policy, rather than through the teachings of Confucius or Motze which had been tried and failed, that the people can be controlled in the degenerate times upon which the empire had come. All of this is strictly Taoistic, for the law he urges upon the Emperor must conform to Tao. This Tao is typically Laotzean, being the common ground of all things, emptiness and repose, which can be perceived only by an empty heart. Its spoken word (ling 令) produces the individual and becomes his destiny (ming 命). One should not act himself, but allow Tao, contemplated and not reasoned about, to act. Thus, the abstract scheme of law is expected to conform to Tao.¹

b. Hwai Nan Tze.

The works of Hwai Nan Tze, or Liu An (d.122 B.C.),

1. Wieger, op.cit., p.249.

ruler of the kingdom of Hwai Nan, are considered among the best expositions of Taoism. On the nature of Tao he teaches that it is without beginning, embracing the entire universe, bringing other things into existence by its virtue, giving Yin and Yang "the crank of the universe". Man is to keep himself in imitation of Tao, emotionless, and so attain to perfection, which will be union with the Transformer and Producer, Tao. Of course this means Wu-Wei, which Hwai Nan Tze defines as not acting so as to hurt one's own nature or that of other external beings. One should keep from taking sides, or from undertaking anything--he should merely accommodate¹ himself, following the stream of evolution. This policy must be followed by rulers if they want well-ordered states: interference means disturbance, but by Wu-Wei "they carry out benevolence without effort, win confidence without uttering a word, gain without seeking; and accomplish without action".² A doctrine of immortality characteristically fatalistic and amihilistic, is held. We are like water, taken from the stream, used for various purposes, and thrown back into the river. Between existences we are one with the Transformation, not united with a personal being expressed as Transformer, but with the process, Transformation. But life continues as it did before birth. "The being which engendered me did not give me life. The being which will kill

1. Wieger, op.cit., p.293ff.

2. Chiang, A Study in Chinese Principles of Education, p.17 (quoting Hwai Nan Tze).

me will not take away the life from me". What is the meaning of life we do not know. Through all its transformations we are merely like chessmen in the hands of the author of being--we do not know anything.¹

6. Late Taoist Classics.

A number of the classics of later Taoism, while on a lower plane than the earlier, have points of merit. The "Classic of Purity" (Third Century A.D.) advocated the cleansing of the mind in order to apprehend Tao. The nameless, formless Tao, producer of all things manifests itself as pure in heaven and turbid in earth. This pure has been the source of the turbid in the evolution of the universe. Man's spirit loves purity, but the mind disturbs it. When the mind wants purity desires entice it. Therefore the mind must be cleansed of desires, and vacancy, stillness, purity and rest will follow, and all unconsciously one will be possessed of Tao.²

The fragmentary "Yin Fu King", or "Classic of the Harmony of the Seen and the Unseen" (Fifth Century) reemphasizes the teaching that man's way must conform to that of heaven and that all can be accomplished through total disinterestedness and stillness, both on the part of heaven and of man. Heaven, Earth and Man are placed on an equality and each given power to despoil one another, thereby maintaining the equilibrium of the universe. In fact, when the

1. Wieger, op.cit., p.293ff.

2. Legge, Texts of Taoism, Vol.II, p.247ff.

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three despoilers act as they ought to act they are at rest.

The "Classic of the Pivot of Jade" (Yüan dynasty, 1280-1367) reputed to have been delivered by a fabulous "Heaven Honored One", is based on the conception of later Taoism that as the North Star is the pivot of the sky, so the spirit is pivot of man, carrying his body around with it. It, however, contains an interesting series of directions for attaining Tao. This consists in three steps, sincerity, silence and gentleness in the life of the devotee. Finally "when the light of intelligence grows around him, he is one with the Tao", a true forgetfulness, a forgetting which does not forget, a forgetting of what cannot be forgotten, viz. Tao. In other words when one possesses Tao he is unconscious of it.

7. Values in the Taoist Conception of Tao.

In bringing to a close this study of the Tao of Taoism, we will summarize the contributions Taoism has made to a fuller understanding of nature, God and man, for which we should be appreciative. In the firstplace, as truly as a modern scientist, the Taoist insists on the unity of nature. His interpretation of nature, despite its monism, is, however, spiritualistic. The universe is not a mere accident. In spite of agnosticism and doubts as to the reason of Tao sometimes expressed, the conviction remains that things

1. Legge, Texts of Taoism, Vol.II, p.255ff.

2. " " " " " " p.265ff.

cannot go amiss if in harmony with Tao. Tao may not be a personality, but it can guide aright. The doctrine of creation, though sometimes as that of an eternal creation, appears. Tao becomes another name for Creator and for Providence. Moreover, this influence is a Power making for righteousness. The universe is ethical. Tao is not oblivious to moral values. The very mistake of the Taoists of ruling out the personality of the Creator may be pardoned in that the Creator of the Classics, Shangti, was such an individual as failed to satisfy the craving of the human heart for the mysterious. Hence, the transcendental Tao, mysterious and unknowable, was placed before him.

In regard to man, despite the grave mistake of monism, in which it is not always consistent, Taoism strikes chords that echo in all human experience. It teaches the essential mysteriousness of the life of man, who is the crown of creation. It emphasizes the supremacy of the spiritual in his constitution. It maintains that man's summum bonum is in a mystical communion with the Ground of Being, an identification, almost as in Paul, of life in life. This possession of Tao can not be obtained except through an experience. It can not be possessed as a mere thing. Like the Kingdom of Heaven, it must be within. It is to be genuinely apprehended through a life of meditation. The inwardness of this experience, and the inwardness of all that is really vital, is a great contribution of Taoism. Righteousness,

to be really valid must not be produced out of fear of consequences, or for effect before men, it must be spontaneous, intuitive, expressing one's nature. As some are holy because God is in them, the Taoist is holy because united with Tao. He cannot help himself. Indeed, the very insistence on return to nature and abolition of restrictions is an echo of Paul's truth that "through the law cometh the knowledge of sin".

Not only is righteousness spontaneous, but it has distinctive qualities. It includes trust. With his insistence on the natural life Laotze, as Dr. Cadman remarks, "would have agreed with the great saying of Jesus: 'Consider the lilies¹---how they grow'". It embraces love, gentleness, retiringness, purity and self-sacrifice. Doubtless as a result of its ideals the Chinese are characterized by a peace loving disposition. Moreover, the blessings of righteousness for this life are distinctly taught. The man of Tao will be a blessing to others and will influence them. He will enjoy a life long and full of tranquillity, even though spent in unpleasant circumstances. And for the hereafter, despite the Taoist mistake of having the soul absorbed in Tao, there was an immortality promised. That which is most worthwhile, man's soul, cannot perish.

1. N.Y.Herald-Tribune, Feb. 7, 1929.

CHAPTER III. THE TAO OF MAN: CONFUCIANISM.

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The school which was destined to leave the most definite stamp upon Chinese character was that founded by a younger contemporary of Laotze, K'ungtze, better known by his latinized name of Confucius (551-478 B.C.). Resting back upon the primitive notion of a Tao of Heaven and Tao of Man, he lays his emphasis upon the latter. Tradition tells of an interview he had with Laotze after which he reported to his disciples that, although he understood birds, fish and animals, "there is the dragon--I cannot know how he mounts on the winds and the clouds to heaven. Today I have seen Laotze and can only compare him to the dragon. He teaches the vitality of Tao. His doctrine appears to lead one to aspire after self-effacement and obscurity". His mind was too earthly or practical to appreciate the profundity of that philosophy. Nor did he have much to do with the ancient religious ideas of his people. "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve spirits? While you do not know life, how can you know about death?" he asked.¹ Heaven and its Tao were too far away for this practical minded man to investigate. Another Tao reflecting that of Heaven, it is true, was nearer at hand, and to elucidate it he devoted his life. Yet constantly he lived under the conviction that the Tao of Man, Jen Tao, runs parallel to and is a reflection of that of Heaven,

1. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Carus, "Tao Teh King", p.96.

2. Analects, XI, 11.

T'ien Tao, and occasionally he lapses into moments of pathetic longing for or of vague appreciation of the mysteries that Laotze visioned.

The teachings of Confucius, so far as canonical books present them, are found mainly in the "Four Books", and principally in the "Analects" which contain his aphorisms. "The Great Learning", consisting of a few paragraphs by the Master and a commentary by his disciple Tsangtze, and the "Doctrine of the Mean" by his grandson can be accepted as presenting his ideas. Mencius continued the Confucian tradition, repeating much in the manner of the master, and elaborating in certain points. Of the "Five Classics", the "Li Ki", or "Book of Rites", in the portions reporting conversations of Confucius, is especially valuable.

It should be noted that the term Tao is used in the Confucian literature in a number of different senses. Occasionally it is a verb, meaning "to speak", or sometimes "to conduct" or "lead". Sometimes as a noun it means nothing more than "road". Often it is best translated "way" or "method", and often "teaching" or "doctrine". However, in cases referring to a good undertaking the meaning is that the way is the best way, the proper method, in other words, the method embodying the principle or Tao, and when referring to a virtuous doctrine that this embodies the highest and most valuable truth in the purview of the teacher. Essentially, even in such cases, the Confucian Tao is ethically related to the Principle of the universe, concentered

in human actions.

1. Tao in Society and the Individual.

The two philosophers, Confucius and Laotze, both attempted to meet the same crying social need. Society and government were in chaos. But Laotze's philosophy, idealistic as it was, could not but fail in the work-a-day world unless there were complete renovation of all hearts. Confucius had a zeal for decency, order, civilization and culture. Man's life in society was good, but to keep from excesses it needed a norm to follow, and this was found in the ancient science of government and propriety. Here he found his Tao and his Teh, and as he elaborates on the applications of his principles to all the relationships of life we cannot help feeling that there was more practical Teh in Confucius than Laotze, though it may have been less vital and genuine because artificial. His scheme for reform was politico-ethical, beginning with the rulers, but extending downward so that every subject would be motivated by Tao in his daily relationships. Thus, in contrast to Laotze's transcendental Tao, that of Confucius was essentially mundane.

This appears from the various activities in which it has a place. Not only do the five relationships in society express Tao, but they are maintained by Tao. There is Tao for getting the confidence of the ruler, says Mencius, viz. by being trusted by one's friends. The Tao for this is serving one's parents, which again depends on the Tao of sincerity in one's self. Even burial of parents has its

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Tao. Moreover, advancement in station has its place in the Confucian scheme according to Tao. Getting the Empire has its Tao. It is simply getting the hearts of the people, through the Tao of just and popular legislation.² Seeking office is legitimate, for even the ancients desired to be in office, but "hated being so by any improper way"³ (Tao). So too is desiring riches and honor. "Wealth and rank are what men desire, but unless they be obtained in the right way (Tao) they are not to be possessed. Poverty and obscurity are what men detest; but unless it can be brought about in the right way (Tao), they are not to be abandoned".⁴

a. Tao in Government.

Tao plays an essential part in government. In numerous places in Confucius and Mencius are the phrases "pang yu Tao" (or t'ien hsia yu Tao) or "pang wu Tao"--the state (or empire) has Tao, or has not Tao, as synonymous with good or bad government. The Tao of the ancient sovereigns, Yao, Shun, Yü, and Wen, is constantly extolled as the ideal for the present. In fact Confucius urges that power be again centralized in the emperor that the nation may have Tao.⁵ And in the depraved days of Mencius it is by Tao, the "Wang Tao" or royal way of beneficent government, that the Empire is to be rescued.⁶ Tao in the state depends on the sovereign

1. Mencius, Bk.IV,I,9.

2. Ibid.

3. Mencius, Bk.III,I,3,vi.

4. Anal. (Analects), IV,5 (Soothill's translation)

5. Anal.,XVI,2.

6. Mencius,Bk.I,I,3; Bk.IV,I,16,iii.

possessing Tao in himself. "When the prince has no principles (Tao) by which he examines (his administration), and his ministers have no laws by which they keep themselves (in the discharge of their duties), then in the court obedience is not paid to principle, and in the offices obedience is not paid to rule".¹ And in stronger language, almost savoring of Laotzean anarchy, or at least of the principles of Kwantze, Confucius says: "When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is not correct, he may issue orders, but they will not be followed".² In like manner he instanced Shun who governed efficiently and without exertion: "He did nothing but gravely and reverently occupy his royal seat".³

Even in international relationships there is a Tao. When the king of Ch'i asked Mencius regarding the Tao of maintaining intercourse with neighbors he reiterated Lao-tze's principles: "It requires a perfectly virtuous (prince) with a great (country) to serve a small one...And it requires a wise (prince) to be able with a small (country) to serve a large one....He who with a great (state) serves a small one, delights in Heaven. He who with a small (state) serves a large one, stands in awe of Heaven. He who delights in Heaven will affect with his love and protection the whole Empire. He who stands in awe of Heaven will affect with his

1. Mencius, Bk. IV, I, 1, viii.

2. Anal. XIII, 6.

3. " XV, 4.

love and protection his own Kingdom."¹

b. Tao in the Individual.

Since the good of the empire depends on the Tao of the ruler we can know that the Confucian Tao is an individual necessity. Confucius' great aim as a moralist was to set forth the ideal man, the gentleman, or "chuntze" (君子). Tao is his chief characteristic. Even where it is not distinctly affirmed of him and other qualities are attributed to him, these are only expressions of Tao. "The object of the superior man (chuntze) is truth (Tao). Food is not his object....The superior man is anxious lest he should not get truth; he is not anxious lest poverty should come upon him."² "The superior man learns in order to reach to the utmost of his principles (Tao)" (or "that he may carry his wisdom to perfection").³ He cannot be pleased if one serving him seeks to please him "in any way which is not accordant with right (Tao)."⁴ His Tao, as exhibited in his conduct has at least four characteristics, for Confucius said Tze Ch'an exhibited these: "In his conduct of himself he was humble, in serving his superior he was respectful, in nourishing the people he was kind, in ordering the people he was just."⁵ Benevolence and propriety are frequently mentioned as his outstanding characteristics. Mencius mentions three delights, solicitude for parents and brothers, having nothing to be ashamed

1. Mencius, Bk.I,II,3.

2. Anal.,XV,31.

3. " XIX,7.

4. " XIII,25.

5. " V,15.

of before heaven or men, teaching the most talented individuals, and then mentions, as being rooted in his nature, the four fundamental virtues of benevolence, righteousness, propriety and knowledge.¹ This Tao is attainable through personal self-cultivation (hsiu shen),² and the purpose of this self-cultivation is to give rest to others, even to all the people.³

The man of Tao has an unconscious influence over others. Should one fail to walk according to Tao even his family, his wife and children, will not.⁴ But if he is truly a chuntze, then, "wherever he passes through, transformation follows; wherever he abides, his influence is of a spiritual nature. It flows abroad above and beneath like that of Heaven and Earth. How can it be said that he mends society but in a small way?⁵ To the same purport was Confucius' statement when someone objected to his suggestion that he live among the rude tribes of the east: "If a superior man dwelt among them, what rudeness would there be?"⁶

c. The Vital Importance of Tao.

Confucius and his school were under no delusion as to the importance of Tao. Tao was something absolutely unique.⁷ "The path is one, and only one". It constituted the one essential of life, the one thing most precious. "If a man in the morning hear the right way (Tao) he may die in the evening without regret".⁸ It is the one thing to be

1. Mencius, Bk. VII, I, 20, 21.

2. " Bk. VII, II, 32; D.M. XX, 13.

3. Anal., XIV, 45.

4. Mencius, Bk. VII, II, 2, ix.

5. Mencius, Bk. VII, I, 13, iii.

6. Anal., IX, 13.

7. Mencius, Bk. III, I, 1, iii.

8. Anal., IV, 8.

cherished through life. One "will keep to the death his excellent principles (Tao)"¹. In prosperity the scholar will not leave it,² and should he in its pursuit be ashamed of the food and clothes of poverty he has no right to claim to follow it.³ It is even worth sacrificing life in behalf of, it is dearer than life itself: "Death sustained in the discharge of one's duties (Tao) (i.e. to die in behalf of one's Tao),⁴ may correctly be ascribed to the appointment of Heaven". With such a precious possession at the command of all, is it any wonder that Confucius wistfully cries: "Who can go out but by the door? How is it that men will not walk according to these ways?"⁵ (Tao)

2. Terms Equivalent to Tao.

A number of terms used by the Confucian school demand our attention, because they embody something of the Tao idea. These are "Li", or "propriety", "Jen" or "benevolence", "Chung Shu", or "reciprocity", "Chung Yung" or "the mean", and "Ch'eng", or "sincerity".

a. Li (禮), or Propriety.

Originally Li included only worship of the spirits of Heaven, earth and the dead, rites which played a most important part in private and public life, but later came to embrace all religious and social usages customs and laws. Governmental policy, family organization, and social rules were all founded on the true Li. It was more than ceremony or politeness for it involved the right principles from

1. Anal., VIII, 13. (Soothill)

2. Mencius, Bk. VII, I, 9, iv, v.

3. Anal., IV, 9.

4. Mencius, Bk. VII, I, 2, iii.

5. Anal., VI, 15.

which all true etiquette and ceremony spring..¹ It will readily appear that Li is a projection of Tao, its "more understandable side" extending to every part of daily life and permeating all of Chinese thinking.² All through the Analects and Mencius Li is assumed as the sine qua non of proper living.³ Kings govern thereby, parents are served by it,⁴ it is the distinguishing characteristic of the superior man and its possession reaching out among all classes will make all men his brothers.⁵ When Yen Hui in the "Li Ki" asked of its importance Confucius replied that by Li "the ancient kings sought to represent the Way of Heaven (Tao), and to regulate the feeling of men" and that he who violates Li may be spoken of as dead.⁶ "Of all things by which the people live" Li is the greatest he told Duke Ai, for without Li people would have no means of regulating worship, of maintaining proper relationships between classes,⁷ or maintaining the five relationships. Li serves "to control what is bad and complete what is good", and "to define and determine the due mean", which, as we will see, is the proper functioning of Tao in the life.⁸ In fact, its origin

1. Kuo, Chinese System of Public Education, p.11.

2. Plopper, Chinese Religion Seen through the Proverb, p.218.

3. Anal., II, 3.

4. " II, 5, etc.

5. " XII, 5.

6. Li Ki, Vol. I, p. 367.

7. " " " II, p. 261.

8. Ibid. It is interesting to note the relationship of Li and music. E.g., in royal education these were the fundamental subjects. "Music served to give the inner cultivation; the rules (Li) the external. The two, operating reciprocally within, had their outward manifestation, and the result was a peaceful serenity, reverence of inward feeling and mild elegance of manners", i.e. the Mean. Li Ki, Vol. I, p. 249.

is referred distinctly, in the "Li Yun", one of the books in the "Li Ki", to the "T'ai Yi", another name for Tao. This T'ai Yi separated into heaven and earth, revolved in Yin and Yang, and transmitted its orders to man. Thus, while Li¹ has its origin in heaven its movement reaches to earth.

Li, then, comprises the Tao of Man in his inter-relations in society. Thus the "Doctrine of the Mean" describes the universal Tao (Ta Tao) as consisting in the five social relationships.² That, however, does not mean a non-ethical artificiality based on mere etiquette. Li, as has been suggested, springs from an underlying spirit. "People keep crying Propriety! Propriety! Does propriety consist in mere tokens?"³ "If a man be without the virtues proper to humanity (Jen, or benevolence), what has he to do with the rites of propriety?"⁴

b. Jen (仁), or Benevolence.

In the passage just cited from the "Doctrine of the Mean" Tao is not only equated with the five relationships, but with the three virtues of knowledge, benevolence, and courage. This is a distinct admission that Tao consists not merely in the rites of Li, ethical as they may be, but positively in the great fundamental virtues of man.. Beside grouping together these three virtues, the Chinese often group together benevolence, righteousness, propriety,

1. Li Ki, Vol. I., pp.386-8.

2. XX,8.

3. Analects, XVII,ii (J.J.Poan's translation).

4. "A III,3.

knowledge and faithfulness. The fundamental virtue, however, seems to be Jen, which has been translated as "benevolence", "virtue", "love", etc. It is "the sum total of all the virtues or perfection of man's moral nature"¹. Mencius called a proper relation to men generally, as distinct from love to one's parents, Jen,² while the "Doctrine of the Mean" says Jen is "man",³ i.e. his characteristic element, that which makes him a real man. The character itself is composed of "man" (人) and "two" (二), thus indicating a relationship with others, fellow-feeling or love. According to Mencius⁴ it, along with righteousness, is natural to man's nature,⁵ it is his mind, as in the "Doctrine of the Mean" it is man himself,⁶ and as embodied in his conduct, is Tao.⁷ This is practically the meaning of the "Doctrine of the Mean" in⁸ saying that by practicing Jen, Tao will be cultivated. As Liang Ch'i Ch'ao puts it: "Jen is man expressing his character. Hence to know what Jen is, we must first know what man's nature is".⁹ In other words, Jen and the Tao of man become virtually assimilated and in the process both take on a distinctly ethical color.

c. Chung Shu (忠恕), Reciprocity.

Besides Li and Jen a third term, or expression

1. Kudo, quoted by Zia in "The Confucian Civilization", p.29
2. Bk.VII,II,45.
3. XX,5.
4. Bk.VI,I,1.
5. Bk.VI,I,6.
6. Bk.VII,II,16.
7. Ibid.
8. XX,4.
9. "Political Philosophy of the Ante-Ch'in Period", quoted in "Religious Values in Confucianism" p.18.

purporting to embody the Confucian Tao is "Chung Shu". Confucius said his doctrine or Tao was that of an all pervading unity, which Tseng Tze immediately interpreted thus: "our master's Tao is Chung Shu, and nothing else", while the "Doctrine of the Mean" declares that Chung Shu is not far from the Tao, and continues: "What you do not like when done to yourself, do it not to others". Again, after denying that he is learning many things and keeping them in memory, Confucius remarks that he is seeking an all pervading unity. Though Chu Hsi says the first was spoken in respect to practice and the second in respect to knowledge, it would seem logical that the aim of both remarks was the same, viz., as Legge puts it, "To know myself,--the mind which embraces all knowledge and regulates all practice". Its expression in practice, then would be Chung Shu. Here we have expressed one's entire duty toward himself and others. Both these terms are based on heart. Chung is composed of "heart" (心) and "center" (中), Shu of "heart" and "as" (如). The "center heart" is "I", ego, and represents "inner self-control". The "as heart" is I in sympathy with others. Chung, "loyalty", or "inner self-control" is the spirit, which in outward form is expressed as Li, whereas Shu, "reciprocity", suggests the larger meaning of following one's better nature,

1. Or "contains one all pervading principle", united as *dash* by a string.--Soothill.

2. Anal., IV, 15.

3. XIII, 3.

4. XV, 2.

5. Note on Anal. XV, 2.

6. Legge, note on Anal. IV, 15.

7. L.C. Porter, quoted in "Religious Values in Confucianism", p. 16.

8. Soothill, Three Religions of China, p. 36.

and might, it would seem, correspond to the more concrete expression of Jen. Just as there is one principle running through, and uniting nature, called Tao, one principle or Tao runs through all human relationships, viz., that of reciprocity.

3. The Transcendental Tao of Confucianism: The Doctrine of the Mean.

The synonyms of Tao thus far examined have had to do with the realm of man, with practically no relationship to the Tao of Heaven. The remaining terms to be discussed, however, bring us into direct contact with a transcendental Tao. So far as the "Analects" show, Confucius devoted most of his energy to discussing the Tao of Man, though Tze Kung, in contrast to his culture and refinement which all might hear, says, his "discourse on the nature of man and the Laws of Heaven (T'ien Tao, the Tao of Heaven) it is not given¹ (to all) to hear." However, though there may have been some esoteric teaching on Confucius' part, it remained for the author of the "Doctrine of the Mean" to discuss clearly the Tao of Heaven.

a. Hsing (性), Nature, and Chung Yung (中庸), the Mean.

The first chapter of the "Doctrine of the Mean" opens thus: "What heaven has conferred is called the Nature, an accordance with this nature is called the Tao, the regulation of this path (Tao) is called instruction." In other words, man has been endowed with a moral nature by Heaven, but as he is prone to deviate from it, sages have appeared to instruct him.² The Tao, the work continues, may not be left for an

1. Anal., V, 12 (Soothill). 2. Legge, note on D.M.I, 1.

instant. Were it permissible to leave it, it would not be the true Tao. The state in which Tao may be apprehended is one of harmony issuing from equilibrium. "When there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow or joy, the mind may be said to be in a state of equilibrium. When those feelings have been stirred and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of harmony." Equilibrium (chung 中) is called the "root", i.e. that from which all action grows, while harmony (ho 和) is called Tao, i.e. the way in which action takes place. When the two states exist in perfection happiness throughout heaven and earth will ensue.

There are three things to be noted in this first chapter to the book. One is the profundity of this heaven-¹originated Tao. "Unroll it," says the editor, "and it fills the universe; roll it up and it retires and lies hid in mysteriousness." We are dealing here with something as transcendental as Laotze's Tao, lying back in equilibrium, a state recalling the atmosphere of the "Tao Teh King". The second is the virtual identification of human nature and Tao, a development not surprising since Jen or benevolence has been identified with Tao, but significant historically, as will be seen in the study of the Sung philosophers. The third is the definition of the Mean. The meaning of the second character of Chung Yung (中庸) is a subject of disagree-

1. The character "Li", or "reason" (理) used here as synonymous with Tao, was constantly so employed by the Sung philosophers. See Chapter V.

ment and is not essential. The meaning of Chung, however, is clear. It is not merely "middle", but that state of equilibrium or potentiality in which the passions have not been aroused. The full meaning of the "Mean" would be the expression of "chung" in "ho" or harmony, i.e. the quickening of the emotions in harmonious action not going to extremes in any direction. This is the Mean, and it becomes synonymous with Tao as expressed in the life.

After showing how the Mean can be followed only by the superior man, the author shows the immanence of Tao, yet its profundity. "The way (Tao) which the superior man pursues, reaches far and wide, and yet is secret. Common men and women, however ignorant, may intermeddle with the knowledge of it, yet in its inmost reaches, there is that which even the sage does not know. Common men and women, however much below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practice; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage cannot carry into practice.....Were the superior man to speak of his way (Tao) in all its greatness, nothing in the world would be found able to embrace it, and were he to speak of it in its minuteness, nothing in the world would be found able to split it....The way of the superior man may be found, in its simple elements, in the intercourse of common men and women, but in its utmost reaches, it shines brightly through heaven and earth. Thus is Tao, immanent in the

Nature and practiced according to the Mean, at the same time mysterious and transcendent.

b. Ch'eng, (誠), or Sincerity.

After discussing the cultivation of character through pursuing Tao, implying a pursuit of Jen, a following of the five relationships and an understanding of Heaven, the author strikes the note of Ch'eng, Sincerity: "Sincerity is the Way (Tao) of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the Way (Tao) of Man. He who possesses sincerity, is he who without an effort attains what is right, and apprehends without the exercise of thought. He is the sage who naturally¹ and easily embodies Tao." This sincerity apparently means sincerity to one's nature. One's nature is virtuous, in harmony with the universe. As heaven does nothing contrary to its nature, in other words is sincere in respect to it, man must express his nature in its best aspects genuinely. The result of course will be Li, Jen, Chung Shu, and any other virtues, and all will be according to the Mean. The attainment of Ch'eng does not come immediately. Study of what is good, accurate inquiry, reflection, discrimination² and earnest practice are suggested as prerequisites. But having attained it the result is inspiring. "It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity (chih ch'eng 至誠) that can exist under heaven, who can give its full development to his nature. Able to give its full development

1. XX, 18.

2. XX, 19.

to his own nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men! Able to do this "he can give their full development to the natures of creatures and things," and thus "he can assist the transforming powers of Heaven and Earth," and so "he may with Heaven and Earth form a ¹union." This is one of the most important passages in all Chinese literature. The Tao of Heaven and Earth, Ch'eng, and the Tao of Man are completely alike: "To entire sincerity there belongs ceaselessness. Not ceasing it continues long. Continuing long it evidences itself. Evidencing itself it reaches far. Reaching far it becomes large and substantial. Large and substantial it becomes high and brilliant. Large and substantial--this is how it contains (all) things. High and brilliant;--this is how it overspreads (all) things. Reaching far and continuing long;--this is how it perfects (all) things. So large and substantial (the individual possessing it) is the co-equal of Earth. So high and brilliant, it makes him the co-equal of Heaven. So far-reaching and long-continuing, it makes him infinite. Such being its nature, without any display, it becomes manifested; without any movement it produces changes; and without any effort it accomplishes its ends." ² It would not be difficult to duplicate these thoughts in Laotze. The Tao of Heaven and Earth is like the Ch'eng just described: it is "large and substantial, high and brilliant, far-reaching and long enduring," without any double-

ness, so able to "produce things in a manner that is unfathomable."¹

This then is the Tao of Man. "How great is the Tao proper to the Sage"....."Only by perfect virtue (chih teh 至德)² can the perfect Tao (chih Tao 至道) be made a fact." The last part of the book, in a spirit which would have doubtless been repellent to the Master, consists in a tremendous eulogy of Confucius who "is the equal of heaven," the man who embodied this perfect Tao.³

c. The "Great Learning."

The "Great Learning" is not a treatise on Tao but on education, hardly mentioning Tao, but dealing with the development of the man of Tao. Its purpose is to illustrate virtue in the individual, renovate the people through the individual, and, fundamental to these processes, to rest in the highest excellence (chih shan), which, while not so stated, certainly means Tao. The illustration of virtue begins with an investigation of things and proceeds through sincerity (ch'eng) of thought, and rectifying of the mind to the cultivation of the person (hsiu shen--which in the "Doctrine of the Mean"⁴ is the means for the establishment of Tao). The man whose person is cultivated is a man of Tao and can proceed to renovate the people, first through the family, then through

1. XXVI.

2. XXVII.

3. Yet Confucius himself admitted that in four things, viz. serving father, prince, brother and friend he had failed to attain the Tao of the Superior man. D.M., XIII, 4.

4. XX, 13.

the state, till he tranquilizes the whole world. It is interesting to note that the process begins with the investigation of things, viz., discovering in the phenomena of heaven and earth the laws that apply to our lives, or finding, as the "Doctrine of the Mean" has shown, correspondence between the Tao of Heaven and the Tao of Man. It was this investigation of things which became the guiding principle of the Sung philosophers.

d. The Unity of the Tao of Heaven and the Tao of Man.

To recapitulate: the Confucian Tao, centered in human affairs, and manifesting itself concretely in Li, or rules and ceremonies, is really an expression of man's inner Nature. Jen expresses it, and Chung Shu, as well as Ch'eng. This nature and the Tao that works through it comes from heaven, and the Tao is expressed in a harmonious release in the Mean of the Nature, with the power of transforming others. After all there is no difference between the Tao of Heaven and that of Man, except in their spheres of activity. All nature is unified and integrated as monistically in the system of Confucius as in that of Ladze. Chwangtze's representation of Confucius as a sort of Taoist begins to appear possible, and room is made for mysticism in the Confucian system. The apprehension of Tao becomes essentially an inner experience, and, in terms prophetic of Wang Yang Ming who centuries later identified Tao and Hsin (heart), Mencius could declare that by knowing one's heart one could know all things, for he says "All things

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are already complete in us" and He who has exhausted all his mental constitution (heart) knows his nature. Knowing² his nature he knows heaven.

4. Mencius, and the Goodness of Human Nature.

The essential goodness of human nature has been suggested at various points in the survey of the Confucian Tao. The concepts of Jen and Ch'eng imply it, as does the notion that the Nature, or Hsing is heaven-given. It merely remained for Mencius to declare categorically and unequivocally that man's nature is good. The philosopher, Kao, a sort of a sophist, argued with Mencius on this point. One of his examples was that of confined water which, if an opening were made to the west would flow west, if to the east, east. So man's nature is indifferent to good or evil as water is to east or west. To which Mencius replied that water, while indifferent to east and west, is not indifferent to up or down. It can be unnaturally forced to go up, but it naturally flows downward. So "the tendency of man's nature to good is like³ the tendency of water to flow downwards." Common to all men are the feelings of commiseration, shame and dislike, reverence and respect, and approving and disapproving, implying the virtues of benevolence (Jen), righteousness (Yi), propriety (Li) and knowledge.⁴

However, despite these virtues, differences exist in men. These are due, however, not to moral indifference, but

1. Bk.VII,I,4.
2. Bk.VII,I,1.

3. VI,I,2.
4. VI,I,6,vii.

to environmental or cultural differences. Thus, "in good years the children of the people are most of them good, while in bad years most of them abandon themselves to evil." Depravity is due to "the circumstances through which they allow their minds to be ensnared and drowned."¹ Likewise, just as trees, constantly hewn down no longer push forth new shoots, the mind constantly fettered and unnourished becomes depraved. "Therefore, if it receive its proper nourishment there is nothing that will not grow. If it lose its proper nourishment there is nothing that will not decay away."² Besides there is the deliberate choosing of something of immediate advantage in preference to that which is of greater benefit, which Mencius calls "losing the proper nature of one's mind."³

It is this same view of the very facts which might tend to invalidate Mencius' view of innate goodness that is especially stimulating. His is not a wholesale denial of evil because the monistic Tao, back of life, is good. His explanation of evil may not be convincing, but he admits that it exists. Man's mind is lost, and he seeks to call it back. Genuinely pathetic is his statement of the end of learning: "Benevolence is man's mind and righteousness is man's path (lu). How lamentable it is to neglect the path and not pursue it, to lose this mind and not know to seek it again. When men's fowls and dogs are lost they know to seek for them again, but they lose their mind and do not know to seek for it. The great end of learning is nothing more than to seek

1. VI,I,7. 2. VI,I,8. 3. Ibid,10.

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for the lost mind."

5. Hsüntze and Human Depravity.

Mencius' idealistic idea of human nature was destined to become the orthodox Confucian doctrine. Yet it did not go unchallenged even within Confucian circles. Even his compromising admission that man's mind is lost in spite of his innate tendency toward good was not satisfactory to Hsüntze (320-235 B.C.), who took a very realistic view of this nature, viz. that left to itself it tends to evil. Inborn desires, unsatisfied, lead to quarrelling, he argued, with the result that wise men introduced rules of propriety to produce equilibrium in society, pure artificiality (wei 偽)² as opposed to human nature. It is this artificiality, rather than the development of goodness in human nature that produces the ideal state: "Human nature is the original foundation and raw material, while artificiality means refinement and culture. If not for the original nature artificiality would have nothing to apply itself to; and if not for artificiality the original nature would fail to polish itself. Through the cooperative adjustment of the two we have a class of people called the wise, and the consolidation of the empire is thereby effected." As Yang and Yin create the universe so harmony³ is obtained through the adjustment of these two principles.

Now in making these deductions, Hsüntze claimed a place in the Confucian school. For this artificiality was nothing less than Li, one of the great principles of Confucius.

1. VI,I,11. 2. XIX, quoted by Suzuki,op.cit.,p.104. 3.Ibid,p.106.

Mencius had followed the clue of Jen, and the human virtues, the other great Confucian principle. Hsüntze felt he was merely harking back to the other principle which had been overshadowed by the Mencian development. For if human nature is good the logical conclusion, though Mencius had not gone so far, would be to discard rules of Li and examples of sages and relapse to a Rousselian state; and, conversely, if Li and the examples of the sages are of value, as Confucius taught, human nature cannot be good. Therefore Tao must be found in Li, with which Hsüntze often associates Yi (righteousness). The Tao of living in society is described as controlling desires by Li and Yi.¹ They make the life and its end beautiful, thereby making man's Tao complete.² Li is the "utmost of human morality (Tao)...As heaven is the utmost in height, the earth is the utmost in depth, so the sage is the utmost in Tao. Hence the student who resolutely studies Li becomes a sage."³

Along with Li must be recognized social distinctions. "The Tao of human life cannot be without its distinctions; no distinction is greater than social divisions; no social division is greater than Li; the rules of proper conduct (Li) are not greater than the sage kings."⁴ All of this rests upon the authority of ancient kings and of continued usage. "A Tao which antedates that of the three dynasties is vague," the superior man in his conduct does not differ from that of the later kings.⁵

1. IV,23. 2. XIX,9. 3. XIX,8. 4. V,6. 5. VIII,22.

This is a bringing of Tao down into very human terms.

There is no room for a transcendental Tao with which man must seek to harmonize himself and in pursuing which he may lose himself in speculation. Hsüntze is practical. His attitude toward the Tao of Heaven is thus expressed: "One ought not to grumble at Heaven that things happen according to its Way (Tao). Hence, to know the Way of Heaven is man's duty; he who does this is a great sage. To produce without acting and to obtain without seeking, this is what is meant by the office of Heaven. Therefore, although the Way of Heaven is deep, this man will not put deep thought upon it; although it is great, he will not use his ability for investigation--this is what is meant by refraining from contesting with Heaven.

16887 Heaven has its seasons, Earth has its wealth, man has his government. The foregoing is what is meant by being able to form a triad with Heaven and Earth....Only the Sage does not seek to know Heaven." According to this, Hsüntze's position seems to be that the universe must be taken as it is; by not seeking to understand it one can really understand it, and thus know that his responsibility lies not with transcendental speculation, but with practical affairs of government, viz., the Tao of Man, or Li. In taking this attitude Hsüntze seems to be aiming at popular superstition. "If a person neglects what man can do, and seeks for what Heaven does, he fails to understand the nature of things." The result will be, "If the

right way of life (Tao) is cultivated and not opposed, then Heaven cannot send misfortune....If a person rebels against Tao and acts unseemly then Heaven cannot make him fortunate. ..One ought not to grumble against Heaven that things happen according to its Tao. Hence the Way of Heaven is man's duty; he who does this is a great sage.¹

However, this practical, positivistic Tao, is not easy to lay hold of. Hsüntze insists on practical study in contrast to meditation in order to progress in moral training.² Still, meditation has its practical place. There are three conditions for a knowledge of the truth: "How can a person know the right (Tao)? By the mind. How does the mind know? By emptiness, unity or concentration, and unperturbedness."³ This echoes the "Tao Teh King", and the "Harmony" and "Equilibrium" of the "Doctrine of the Mean". Prejudice and passion, Hsüntze continues, are excluded by emptiness and unperturbedness, and the mind centered on the active task of discovering truth. This is not idle speculation or meditation, it is active achievement for it was thus that the sages produced Li, and thus that we can test the validity of their principles. This, it is obvious, is not a reaching into the transcendental, or an attuning one's self to the universe, it is intellectual dealing with the moral laws of man. But having come to an understanding of Tao one has but taken the first step. He must know the right (Tao), will the right, and do the right.⁴ Only when he does it can he be said

1. XVII,12,13. 2. I,Suzuki,op.cit.p.108. 3. XXI,7. 4. Ibid,8.

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to embody Tao. "Although a man has knowledge, unless he cares
for Tao, he is as bad as a robber."²

It appears from this that Hsüntze's Tao was distinctly ethical, though positivistic. The moral works in society. Li is fundamentally moral. And this moral Tao embraces all spheres of life. Hsüntze, in a chapter called "Removal of Prejudices", criticizes a number of the influential philosophers of his period for overlooking certain essential aspects of Tao. Mo-tze, for example, emphasizing utility, overlooked the elegance of life. His Tao would merely be seeking for profit. Chwang-tze, overemphasizing nature, did not know man. His Tao was merely cause and effect. Sungtze, emphasizing desire, overlooked virtue, making Tao merely satisfaction. And so with others. "These different presentations are all one aspect of Tao. Now the right Way of Life is constant and includes all changes; one aspect is insufficient to express the whole. Those who have partial knowledge perceive one aspect of the Way, but they cannot know its totality."³ In contrast to these men who had a partial Tao he extols Confucius who with his Jen and wisdom was possessed of the whole Tao. In another statement regarding the pervasiveness of Tao, he approaches a monistic idea of the universe, out of keeping with his non-metaphysical mind: "All things are one section of the Way; one thing is a section of all things. The stupid man sees only one section of one thing and thinks that he knows the Way; but he has no such knowledge."⁴ Thus this principle,

as with Confucius, gave an all-pervading unity: all can be understood in the light of Tao. "The man who is expert with things judges one thing by another thing. The man who is expert in the principles of life (Tao) comprehends all things and judges them. Hence the superior man concentrates on principles (Tao) and uses them to assist in investigating things. When he uses them to assist in investigating things he can get at the truth. When he investigates and discusses according to an upright mind, he can put all things in their proper place."¹

Equal, as we have seen, with heaven and earth, the man of Tao is indeed superior. One who "has emphasized Tao and Yi (righteousness)...can despise kings and dukes."²

"He who loves the Way and carries it out is a scholar. He who has a firm purpose and treads the Way is a superior man."³

Moreover, he finds himself able to influence people in a way not unlike that suggested by earlier philosophers. "If the man who has a responsible post attends to what belongs to Nature ("t'ien" or "heaven"), the people themselves will keep to the right way of life (Tao)."⁴

The old doctrine of non-assertion is re-emphasized. "The true policy (Tao) of the man who knows how to rule by force is not to be anxious to use force."⁵ "The acting out of Tao by the man of Jen is without effort (wu wei). The performance of the Sage is without forcing himself."⁶ In other words he is above a

1. XXI,10

2. II,17

3. II,21

4. XVII,15

5. IX,6

6. XXI,13

meticulous attention to Li. Li expresses his nature.

If Tao has this value to man it is not surprising that Hsüntze considers it the most precious thing in the world.

One is not remiss in his pursuit of it because of poverty,¹ nor, having it, is he looked down on by others because of his poverty.² "To start following Tao is like exchanging one for two,--how can there be any loss? To leave Tao and pick one's own inner standards is like exchanging two for one--how can there be any gain?"³

6. Motze, and the Tao of Universal Love.

Before leaving the Confucian school a glance should be taken at the great heretic, condemned by both Mencius and Hsüntze, Motze and his Tao. Motze has been called a utilitarian, because of his objection to excessive expenditure, whether for luxurious living or ceremonies and ancestral sacrifices, in view of the economic condition of the people. It was this anti-ceremonialism that brought him and his school into collision with Hsüntze. His distinctive teaching, or at least the one that has popularized him with modern young China, and led him to be considered the most Christian among the Chinese philosophers, was his doctrine of universal love, (chien ai), as opposed to the graded love of the Confucianists. As this was thought to threaten the five relationships it was attacked by Mencius.

Introduced incidentally into Motze's discussion of this

doctrine, we discover his Tao. He does not touch on its transcendental characteristics. Like the Confucian Tao it belongs to man, and is purely governmental. It is always associated with universal love. If this principle is adopted for the benefit of the empire, then "men of principle (Tao) will instruct one another".¹ "If...the rulers of the empire truly and sincerely wish all in it to be rich and dislike any being poor; if they desire its good government and dislike disorder, they ought to practice universal mutual love (chien hsiang ai) and the interchange of mutual benefits. This was the law of the sage kings; it is the way (Tao) to effect the good government of the empire (天下之治道也) it may not but be striven after."² This is his conclusion to the first part of his chapter on "Universal Love". Elsewhere it is distinctly called the way of the sage kings (聖王之道) and the most advantageous thing (li,利)³ for the myriads of the people.

7. Values in the Confucian Tao.

Such then, was the Tao of Confucius. Essentially it seems to be the same as that of Laotze, in that it represents the unity behind all things. Confucius emphasized its expression in the life of man and society; Laotze its transcendental aspect. Yet each held, in a minor way, to the point emphasized by the other. The chief point of difference between them is the Confucian insistence on rules as opposed to the laissez faire attitude of the Taoists, in which respect experience has taught us that Confucius was

1. Legge, Ch. Classics, Vol. II, Prolegomena to Mencius, p. 113.

2. Ibid, p. 110. 3. Ibid, p. 119.

more practical than Laotze, for a society based on our human nature. On the other hand Confucians feel that actions, though controlled by rules, should express the moral nature of Tao: there is an inwardness with them as with the Taoists.

While in Confucius' ordinary interpretation of Tao we miss the mystical element that makes Laotze's attractive, we cannot but be grateful for his bringing Tao down definitely into our active lives. Tao is immanent said Laotze. Yes, said Confucius, and to find Tao it is not necessary to abandon life's ordinary activities, for it is implicit in the social and political structure. Life, as men really live it, must conform to Tao, it must be moral. Concrete human relationships are sacred and must so be recognized. They spring from lives that are sincere, and harmonized with the universe, but the Tao, there embodied, must be expressed in the commonest duties of life. Here is a Christian truth. God is immanent, not only as creator, but as One who has intimate relation with life, and dominates its every activity. Without such a belief there is no ethical basis for human relationships, and we are grateful that, where Laotze missed this among his other truths, Confucius rescued it for us, dignifying and sanctifying and giving moral motives to our lives lived among our fellows. Whether it take the form of benevolence, reciprocity, politeness, or the universal love of Motze, the Tao is near at hand to be lived in active, non-

contemplative, life. Even as Mencius testified: "Tao is
like a great road, it is not difficult to know it";¹
"Tao lies in what is near, and men seek for it in what
is remote."²

1. Bk.VI,II,2,vii.

2. Bk,I,11.

PART II. THE ECCLECTIC TAO.

CHAPTER IV. THE IDEA OF TAO COMES IN CONTACT
WITH FOREIGN RELIGIONS.

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1. Buddhism.

In the year 61 A. D. the emperor Ming Ti dreamed for several nights that a golden clad man stood before him holding a bow and arrows and pointing to the West. In obedience to the vision he sent an embassy westward who on the road met two monks leading a white horse laden with scriptures. Thus the religion of the Buddha was officially introduced into China.

This however does not mean that there had been no previous knowledge of the new faith in China. The centuries just preceding the Christian era were centuries of intercommunication and it is inconceivable that the Buddha's doctrines had not been heralded in the east before this time. Tradition tells of a mission of eighteen Buddhists to Sianfu in 217 B. C. and that an image was brought back by an expedition in 121 B.C. Indeed, the dream of Ming Ti itself demands as a psychological explanation some previous contact with this religion.

a. The Appeal of Buddhism to the Chinese Mind.

The sixth century before Christ had been one of peculiar activity of the human spirit. There was Heraclitus with

1. It has been thought by some that these monks were actually disciples of St. Thomas in India, and that the Sutra of Forty-two Sayings they produced contain obvious Christian elements.

his Logos in Greece, Laotze and Confucius in China with Tao, Hebrew prophets with their Word of Jehovah, and not least Sakyamuni, or Gautama Buddha, in India with his Dharma. Dharma, of course belonged to Sakyamuni personally no more than did Tao to Laotze. It had practically the same connotation to the Indian mind that Tao had to the Chinese. It was law, order, or the relations pointing out the permanent realities or verities of the universe.¹ While we cannot agree with Sarkar that the trend of religious evolution in these two lands had moved along the same lines,² India having been always more speculative than China, and the gap having been made still greater by the adoption of Confucius' this-worldly philosophy, the Tao idea undoubtedly did present a philosophical and religious concept on which the more developed ideas of Sakyamuni could be grafted. Taoism and Buddhism saw not only a Tao, or Dharma, or universal law in the universe, but they both recognized only one principle in the universe with which the conscious soul should seek identification, as the way of final salvation. To this end both insisted on the quiet life of retirement and contemplation. The Taoist became a "hsien jen" or "shen" and was finally absorbed in Tao, the Buddhist devotee became, after countless cycles, an arhat, bodhisattva or buddha and lost his personality in Nirvana.

With such affinity it is no wonder that the Chinese

1. Sarkar, Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes, p.14.

2. Ibid, p.3.

welcomed the new and profounder doctrine from the West, especially when Taoism itself had hinted in legends that something that would fill life with light and hope was to come from T'ien Chu (天竺 an old name for India) and lands beyond.¹ Buddhism, particularly the type that captured China, the Mahayana, or Great Vehicle, with its Gospel of immediate salvation, satisfied a need not met in the old Chinese philosophies. Well might a Taoist alchemist be chided for his vain search for the elixir of life, by an Indian scholar:

"How vain these prayers for five score year
Of such poor life as this!
When Life is yours in endless stores
Of Amitayu's bliss."²

And well might a converted Confucian contend that not only is the Buddhist doctrine of impermanence truer than the Taoist attempts at prolongation of life, but that Buddhism is better than Confucianism, good as this is as a basis of government, because it not only faces the facts of life, but offers mystical satisfaction to heart yearnings.³

Thus has it come to pass that Buddhism, despite periodic persecution, has not only made a place for itself in China, but become a very part of Chinese consciousness on a par with the indigenous thought, so that the common saying is that the three religions (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism), or the "san chiao", are one. And yet the mediator in the indigenization has been the Tao idea. Truly has

1. Reichelt: Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism, p.9.
2. Saunders: Epochs in Buddhist History, p.127.
3. Ibid.

Okakura said, "Confucian China would never have accepted the idealism of India had not Laotze and Taoism towards the end of the Chow dynasty prepared a psychological foundation for the development of both these extremes of Asiatic thought."¹ As the centuries have progressed the gods of Taoism and Buddhism have become merged² and today Taoism is an impotent system of superstition entirely overshadowed by the higher Buddhism, so that, thanks to the help rendered by the philosophy of Laotze,³ "the Way of Confucius and the Way of Sakya-muni" have become the "two wings" without either of which⁴ China cannot fly."

But to achieve this conquest Buddhism itself had to go through a transformation. Philosophically the Chinese were monistic, but practically they were not transcendental; they were this-worldly. Confucianism stood for human relationships, Taoism for inherent goodness of the natural life. Pessimistic and atheistic Buddhism, forced to change even before leaving India, entered China with a God-idea involved in its pantheism, with an ethical idea in the doctrine of Bodhisattvas,⁵ and with a more normal estimate of human life.

The first two missionaries who came in A.D. 61 to

1. Quoted in Saunders, op.cit.,p.120
2. It is generally accepted that images were first introduced into China by Buddhism, though Sarkar (op.cit.,p.130) says they existed in the fourth century before Christ.
3. In the absence of Chinese texts on Buddhism with which to compare translations, it is assumed by the writer that Tao has been rendered by "Way".
4. Wen Li, quoted in Saunders, op.cit.,p.120.
5. Reischauer, Christianity and Northern Buddhism, p.20ff.

Loyang, it is true, represented more of the Southern or Hinayana type of the religion, as indicated by their "Sutra of Forty-Two Sayings". After a statement of the facts of Sakyamuni's life, a reference to the rules for monks, the ten precepts and four stages of arhatship, comes a discourse which is very Taoistic, which Saunders summarizes thus: "Let the sage remember that whosoever insults him is like one who spits against the sky, his spittle returns upon his own head! The Way is difficult, yet the pure in heart and single in purpose can understand it, and it is a Way of joy and power--the power of meekness which is restful and pure. By it ignorance is vanquished, lust is cast out, and freedom attained. Let all be benevolent and avoid attachment, which clouds the mind and dulls the keen edge of the spirit. He who is bound to wife and child is more closely a captive than he who lies manacled in prison." After other suggestions on disciplining mind and body comes a characteristic conversation between Buddha and his disciples. "What is the life of man?" he asks. "It is the span allowed to him on earth," one replies, and another, "It is the (energy of the) food we eat," to whom the Master answers that they know not "the Way". A third suggests, "It is the sequence of many single moments," to which Buddha replies: "Thou art not far from the true¹ Way."

These early missionaries, representing Hinayana Buddhism, despite their advances toward Taoism, seem to have

1. Saunders, op.cit., p.124.

made little progress. It was in 147, when Anshihkao, a prince of the Parthians, who had turned missionary, and Lokaraksha, came preaching the Gospel of O Mi T'o of whom the two predecessors seem to have known only as it were from afar, that Buddhism began its triumphs. In contrast to the Arhat, or saint who saved himself through self-effort, they told of the Bodhisattva who found salvation by identifying himself with human needs and thereby saving others. Thus, by mere faith in the name of the great Bodhisattva, O Mi T'o (Jap. Amida), a mortal man may at death pass immediately into the Western Paradise without going through the endless cycle of changes. This Western Paradise itself gave promise of a personal immortality different from Nirvana.

b. The Schools of Northern Buddhism.

(1) The Pure Land, or Ching T'u, School.

It was under a Taoist, Hui Yuan (慧遠) (336-416) that this doctrine took form in a specific school in China, the Pure Land Sect (Ching t'u淨土; Jap., Jodo), which put the doctrine of salvation by faith into strong relief. Shan Tao (善道) became its greatest exponent. Dissatisfied in heart, after reading many sutras, he picked up, in the monastery, after prayer for guidance, an O Mi T'o sutra, which changed his entire outlook. After studying with Tao Cho (道綽), one of Hui Yuan's successors, he emerged as a great teacher, and "unlike others, recognized Amida only of all the Buddhas."¹ It was through Shan Tao that the Amida faith

1. B.L.Suzuki, Honen Shonin and the Jodo Sect, Eastern Buddhist, Jan.-April 1922, p.319ff.

became powerful in Japan. While it had already flourished to some extent it was not till Honen, dissatisfied, stumbled upon the works of Shan Tao and, thrilled with their promise of salvation, preached the doctrine and founded the Jodo sect (1175), that it seized the imagination of the people. This, and the Shin Sect, founded by Shinran, one of Honen's converts have made the Amida doctrine the most appealing type of Buddhism in Japan, as it is in China.

(2) The Meditation, or Ch'an School.

Although this Buddhism that won the masses accommodated itself to the popular demand for a divine savior granting salvation without a departure from normal life, the meditative type still has had wide vogue. This is represented in the Meditation, or Ch'an (禪) school, (Jap. Zen), introduced by the removal to China in 520 of Bodhidharma, or Tamo, the twenty-eighth patriarch after Sakyamuni. This type of Buddhism, as Saunders puts it ¹, is "simplified, mystical and austere" teaching a pantheistic realism on which basis it builds its systematic mind training through contemplation. ² The Buddha nature is immanent in all things, in fact according to the founder, "the heart is Buddha. Outside of it there is no reality. Apart from thought all is unreal....Nirvana itself is a state of heart....Know that thou art Buddha and thou canst not sin." ³ Evil and good are one in this pantheism. Eternal Truth is to be found in unity with Nature.

1. Epochs in Buddhist History, p.145. 2. Ibid, p.142. 3. Ibid, p.138.

Laotze seems to speak in sentences such as these: "Ye who seek for purity and peace go to Nature. She will give you more than ye ask. Ye who long for strength and perseverance go to Nature....Ye who aspire after an ideal go to Nature....¹ Ye who yearn after enlightenment go to Nature." Without this there will be disharmony in the life. Yet, like the Tao of Taoism, the ideal is close at hand for

"Within me dwells my 'self';
Yet ere this little 'I' awoke,
Came the free Buddha²self
And dwelt within."²

In the Ch'an system of mind culture we find a type of topic for contemplation called "kung an" (Jap. "koan"), some of which are indeed mystifying, as these: "Why did Tamo leave India and come to China?" answered by, "The cyprus tree in the courtyard," or, "Who is the Buddha?" "A pound of flax." Here, as in Taoism, we have a complete abandonment of logic and learning. But in the place of reason we get intuition, as this "kung an" reveals: "Only he who has tasted salt knows what salt tastes like. If you want to know, taste!...There is a teaching which cannot be taught." Here is an echo of Laotze's opening sentence: "The Tao that can be tao-ed is³ not the true Tao."

Ch'an Buddhism has a wide influence in Japan, standing next to the Shin school numerically. In China its most important subdivision is the Lin Chi school which emerged in Shantung in the ninth century, and has been especially influential among the educated. Stressing salvation by self-

1. Saunders, op.cit.,p.141.2. Ibid.

3. Ibid,p.144.

discipline as well as meditation it has appealed to Confucians, so that the mandarins of the Empire gladly adopted the rosary as part of their costume to show the connection¹ between Confucianism and this type of Buddhism.

(3) T'ien T'ai, or the Harmonizing School.

Since Buddhism since its early history has contained such divergent elements it is not surprising that harmonizing efforts have been made. Such a labor on the part of Chih Yi (智顗), a pupil of Tamo's, resulted in the T'ien T'ai (天台 Jap. Tendai), school, so named from the mountains in which he had his monastery. All the ways of Buddhism are included, so that one may choose for his means of salvation between philosophical speculation and faith in O Mi T'o. The harmonization was accomplished by admitting that the teaching of all the sutras represented Gautama's teaching, but that this teaching differed at different periods in his life. Finally, in the fifth period, he preached the deepest doctrines, viz., that every individual might attain Nirvana and Buddhahood. Herein the doctrine of O Mi T'o is admitted into orthodox Buddhism and at the same time the values of the other types retained. T'ien T'ai Buddhism postulates an Absolute giving reality to both noumenal and phenomenal, the relative being "at once identical with and differing from the Absolute,² which is self-dependent." All things fundamentally are identical, whether good or evil, as truly as in any pantheistic system. Six stages are recognized in the progress toward

1. Reichelt, op.cit.,p.306. 2. Saunders, op.cit.,p.146.

enlightenment. The first several have to do with knowing and meditating on the "Three Truths", viz., "that all is empty and the world unreal, that the dharmas of the phenomenal world are real because they are a manifestation in time of the Eternal, and that they are neither real nor unreal, for being conditioned they are real, and yet unreal in the sense that their existence is empty of real worth and meaning." ¹ After various further steps one comes to positive illumination by comprehending the doctrine of the Middle Path. This will be discussed further below.

c. Some Scriptures of Buddhism.

The chief Scripture of the T'ien T'ai school is the "Lotus Scripture", an apocalyptic work written in the second century in India and translated into Chinese in 253. It describes the coming of the Buddha into historic manifestation as Ju Lai, and also narrates the work of Kwan Yin, Goddess of Mercy, savior and hearer of prayers, the concept of whom is frequently merged in Buddhist thought with that of O Mi T'o, and whom Dr. Richard constantly calls the Holy Spirit. Its three leading ideas are identical with those of the Gospel of John, being light, life and love.

One other, out of the hundreds of Scriptures of Buddhism, that is worth noting is the "Awakening of Faith, the fundamental work for the Pure Land School. This, too, came from India, its date being uncertain. It was translated into Chinese in 550. It is profoundly philosophical, and difficult

1. Saunders, op.cit., p.148.

to understand, teaching "One Reality of which individual minds are parts."¹ It expounds the doctrine of the three bodies of Buddha and insists on faith in him who saves by his grace, though whether, in the early texts, as in the later, this faith was to center in O Mi T'o as a personification of the Dharmakaya,² is not certain.³

d. Tao in Buddhism.

Having thus rapidly surveyed the progress and the schools of Buddhism in China, we have noticed striking resemblances to Taoism, and the Tao idea, without necessarily using the word Tao. We now have to consider the actual use of the term in Buddhist literature.

(1) Tao as Doctrine.

In the first place Tao is used, as in Confucianism, to refer to doctrine or a particular way of conduct, life, or philosophy. Thus it is applied to the "Noble Eight-fold Path" of right belief, aims, speech, actions, means of livelihood, endeavor, mindfulness and meditation.⁴ The Mahayana patriarch, Nagarjuna (second century), taught that there were two ways of life, one the way of difficulty, or salvation by effort, "nan hsing tao" (難行道), and the other that of ease or salvation by faith in O Mi T'o, "yi hsing tao" (易行道). The first has been called the holy path, "shen tao men" (神道門), the other is the "ching t'u men", or Pure Land School.⁵ This seems to be

1. Saunders, op.cit., p.98.

2. Buddha's body of absolute reality. See below, p.95.

3. Saunders, op.cit., pp.99,100.

4. 八聖 (or 正) 道分. Eitel, under "marga".

5. B.L.Suzuki, Eastern Buddhist, Jan.-April 1922, p.316.

the use of "Tao" in the "Guide to Buddhahood", where one chapter is called "The Steps in the Imperfect Character of the Religious" (法道法徼門), "Tao" apparently being synonymous with "religion", and one section is headed "The Unsurpassed Law" (無上道戒).

(2) Tao as a Transcendental Principle.

In the "Lotus Scripture" "Way", or Tao, seems to carry the idea of "doctrine", where Richard frequently translates, "the Way of God", and "the True Way", "the Right Way".¹ This is described as a Way which people follow or enter upon, as if it were a system for them to act out rather than a cosmic principle that governs them. Yet these are but two sides of the same thing. He who follows the hard or easy way, or who follows the Way of God will by so doing experience Reality. He will know Tao, the eternal principle of the universe. Two ways are spoken of, both expressing "God", viz.,

"The human Way which lengthens life,
The Divine which more secures, -e'en Immortality,"²

corresponding to the Tao of Heaven and Man of Chinese philosophy. In another passage we come face to face with the Tao of Laotze:

"There is a Way which enables
Its students to attain the highest Wisdom.
This Way is called
'Eternal Righteousness'
From Eternity until now
Its nature is calm."³

Buddhist ascetics are called "Tao Shih" (道師), or

1. New Testament of Higher Buddhism, pp. 154, 162, 168, 185, 194, 199, 206, etc.

2. Ibid, p. 182.

3. " p. 150.

"Masters of Tao"¹ and lay brethren in a monastery "Tao jen",
 or "men of Tao",² suggesting a mystical comprehension of Tao
 on their part. In the Pure Land School, which, as we noted,
 was founded by a Taoist, we find such expressions "yü tao",
 (遇道), to enter Tao, or become a monk; "te tao", (得道), to
 receive Tao, or become a saint or arhat, and "ch'eng tao" (成
 道), to be perfected and enlightened, or become a Buddha.
 A "Tao ch'ang" (道場)³ is a place where masses are said for
 the dead, where spiritual powers are expected also to work
 for the benefit of mankind, and hymns and prayers often re-
 quest "May the four corners of heaven be transformed into a
 tao-ch'ang."³

"Enlightenment", the Buddhist summum bonum, is, as we
 might expect from the fact that "to become a Buddha" is ren-
 dered "ch'eng Tao", is expressed not merely by the translit-
 eration of the Sanskrit "bodhi"⁴ and by "ming", the Chinese for
 "brightness",⁵ but also by "Tao". Thus, under the sacred bo
 tree, or "p'u t'i shu", or "tao shu", did Buddha attain en-
 lightenment or "ch'eng tao".⁶ The Bodhimanda, or altar of in-
 telligence surrounding this tree, around which, as the center
 of the earth all Bodhisattvas sit down on attaining Buddhahood,
 is the "p'u t'i tao ch'ang".⁷

1. Eitel, under "tapasvi".

2. Reichelt, op.cit., p.261.

3. " " " p.130.

4. "p'u t'i" (菩提) or "p'u t'i hsin" (heart of bodhi).

5. Eitel, under "bodhi".

6. Ibid, under "Sakyamuni", "bodhidruma"; cf. Journal of Royal
 Asiatic Society, Jan.1929, Mahayana Catechism, p.49. (佛初成道)

7. Eitel, under "bodhimanda".

Progress by the mastery of four fundamental truths (ssu ti 四諦) is considered necessary for conversion. The last of these is the Tao truth, while the way of progress itself is called the "Fourfold Path", or "Ssu Tao" (四道)¹. These four truths are "the doctrine that misery is a necessary attribute of sentient existence; that the accumulation of misery is caused by the passions; that extinction of passion is possible," and last, the marga, or Tao truth, "the doctrine of the path that leads to extinction of passion,"² in other words into Nirvana.

Tao, then is enlightenment, and as such is practically the same as attainment of Nirvana, "a permanent supreme Reality, blissful and serene, though ineffable. Some schools interpret it as a life of conscious union with the universal Buddha, and some as the awakening of the true Buddha self in the human heart."³

"As the forces cease to exist, then the false powers of the finite mind cease to exist, and this is called Nirvana, when the natural forces of the True Model (Ju Lai) alone work."⁴ Attaining Nirvana, then, would appear identical

1. Eitel, under "arya".
2. Ibid, under "aryasatyani". Note also this definition of the four truths: "To know non-origination is to be regarded as the pain truth; to know non-conjunction is to be regarded as the origination truth; to know non-destruction of abolition is to be regarded as the abolition truth; to attain to the path by non-duality Dharma (無 = 法 得 道) is named the path truth (Tao ti)."-Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Jan. 1929, Mahayana Catechism, p.48.
3. Saunders, op.cit., p.xvi.
4. Richards, New Testament of Higher Buddhism, p.88.

with "ch'eng Tao". As Ananda Coomaraswamy says: "Nibbana (the Pali for Nirvana) is one of the many names for the goal and summum bonum to which all other purposes of Buddhist thought converge. What are the Moksha to the Brahman, the Tao to the Chinese mystic, ...Eternal Life to the followers of Jesus, that is Nibbana to the Buddhist. To attain to this Nibbana, beyond the reach of Evil, is the single thought that moves the Buddhist aspirant to enter on the Paths."¹

(3) Tao as Buddha.

It remains to investigate the relation of Tao to Buddha and the Absolute. Of course, with its manifold shades of thought it is to be expected that Buddhism has inconsistent ideas along this line. Two common sayings, e.g. seem contradictory, one which calls Heaven Buddha (Lao t'ien fo yeh) (老天佛爺) and another: "Heaven perfected Buddha's nature,"² bringing him, as Plopper states, within the Tao, while Reichelt, emphasizing the quality of mercy in a Buddha, says that the functions of judgment and punishment are "left to the objective powers of the universe represented by impersonal powers working through the Tao."³ However, extreme pantheism cannot but coalesce Buddha, Tao, the world and the individual. Within the body, declares the Lin Chi school is the "true man" without a position⁴ who cannot be approached, "the Buddha within you". Then follows a series of questions

1. Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism, p.115.
2. Both in Chinese Religion Seen through the Proverb, p.143.
3. Reichelt, op.cit., p.196.
4. "chen jen", as in Taoist writings.

and answers: "What is Buddha? A mind pure and at rest. What is the law? A mind clear and enlightened. What is Tao? In every place absence of impediments and pure enlightenment. These three are one." Even the O Mi T'o school which is as far removed from pantheism as is possible in Buddhism identifies O Mi T'o with the individual, when, laying his hand on his heart the devotee exclaims "O Mi T'o is myself."¹ One has found himself by being absorbed, even in this life, into Buddha.

Thus we see Buddha definitely associated with Tao. The identification becomes more noticeable in his relation to Dharma, a conception which DeGroot says the Chinese have not hesitated to identify with their Tao.² Buddha is Dharma. Says Dr. Anesaki: "The chief aim of the Lotus... is to exalt the historic manifestation of the Buddha and to identify his person with Cosmic Truth (Dharma)."³ "He who has seen me has seen the Dharma", declared the historical Sakyamuni, meaning thereby "nothing less than the causal nexus of the universe,"⁴ in other words he is Reality itself. This leads to the doctrine of the three bodies which we will consider presently. Modern T'ien T'ai does not hesitate to identify Buddha with the Absolute or the

1. Edikins, Chinese Buddhism, p.164.

2. Religion of the Chinese, p.164. Eitel, however, merely gives "ta mo" (達磨) as the Chinese of the Sanskrit, under "dharma".

3. Quoted in Saunders, Gospel for Asia, p.82.

4. Saunders, Gospel for Asia, p.95.

Middle Path (chung tao ¹中道), which includes all things, nature, power, cause and effect. It is the One Reality, Chen Ju (真如) of which things (shih 事) and reason (li 理) are but two sides. "When the universe is looked at from the standpoint of the absolute, it is called phenomena perfected by reality, but when looked at from the standpoint of the relative, it is called phenomena produced by things."²

Things are the product of the confused mind, though according to the T'ien T'ai heretics the mind of Absolute Reality produced all things, including Buddha.³ Reality is defined in four ways, the first two being transcendent and immanent vanity, the third the transcendent Middle Way, while the fourth declares that phenomena themselves are the Middle Way, to which the four teachings culminating in the Yüan Chiao correspond, and to which four conceptions of Buddha's personality correspond. While T'ien T'ai recognizes all four, it is only the last conception of reality which leads to the omnipresent Buddha of T'ien T'ai proper.⁴

1. This is to be distinguished from the Middle Path of the "Separate Teaching". T'ien T'ai divides its comprehensive teaching into four stages of doctrine, from primitive Hinayana Buddhism up to the complete teaching, which it calls the Yuan Chiao (圓教). When one reaches the third stage, the Pieh Chiao (別教), he discovers the middle path (Chung Tao), after meditating on vanity and fleeting nature of things. This Middle Path, however, is not the final goal, for in this stage the vanity of things and their fleeting nature is taught as separate from men, and a further course of meditation is necessary before enlightenment comes. -Armstrong, The Doctrine of the Tendai Sect, Eastern Buddhist, April-June, 1924, p.41.
2. Armstrong, Doctrine of the Tendai Sect, p.43..
3. Ibid, p.44.
4. Ibid, pp.48,49.

This Buddha conception is embodied in the idea of Ju Lai (如來). Absolute Reality is Chen Ju, variously translated as "he who is", or "the true norm", corresponding to the Sanskrit "Tathagata", "the mysterious latent power which lies beyond all existence,"¹ and "Ju Lai", for which there is no Sanskrit equivalent, "he who appears thus," or "the norm which has appeared," signifies that "this divine power 'had appeared', was personified, incarnated in the highest Buddha group."² To express this the Trikaya doctrine, or the doctrine of the three bodies has been developed, expressed in various ways. Saunders explains it thus: There is the Dharmakaya or absolute reality, the Nirmanakaya or accommodated body historically manifested and Sambhogokaya, the transfigured "body of enjoyment" seen by Bodhisattvas. "The Sakyamuni of the Lotus is the immaterial, yet visible embodiment of the eternal and cosmic Dharmakaya seen by man as Nirmanakaya or accommodated body, for he accommodates himself to human limitations."³

T'ien T'ai has several ways of conceiving the three bodies. E.g. "a distinction is made between each of them and the one body. Since the first body is the whole of reality, even if Sakyamuni appears he is still the eternal reality. The second body is the wisdom of enlightenment, and is also at one with the first body....The third body is the outer work of revelation or enlightenment....(It) teaches en-

1. Reichelt, op.cit., p.36. 2. Ibid. 3. Gospel for Asia, p.96.

lightenment in order to save men; it is Sakyamuni Buddha."¹
 Another way to look at the three bodies is that they blend into each other: "The absolute Buddha corresponds to the 'Middle Path', the second body to the conception of 'Empty Reality', and the third body to 'Fleeting Truth'.²" Corresponding to these bodies we have also the conception in the "Awakening of Faith" and "Hua Yen King" that Chen Ju spreads itself in three directions, as T'i, or underlying essence, the foundation of all things, Hsiang, or phenomenal manifestations of that essence, and Yung, activity, which three attributes are often designated as "fa shen" (法身) "pao shen" (報身) and "hua shen" (化身), "law body", "revealer body", "change body". The first represents the impersonal power from which all forms of life and things emanate; the second the emanation that reveals the characteristics of dharma, corresponding to Buddha; the third "the earthly reflection of pao shen, taking innumerable forms according to the rotating wheel of dharma and drawing all things into the deep unity of creation."³

Thus, though differing in details these various conceptions of the three bodies agree in that either in the second or third body the Absolute, Chen Ju, has become manifest in the world. He "has manifested himself in many forms -- Omīto, Sakyamuni,⁴ etc., and is yet to manifest himself

1. Armstrong, op.cit., p.47.

2. Ibid.

3. Reichelt, op.cit. pp.37, 200.

4. Cf. "Shih chia ju lai" (釋迦如來), "Sakyamuni Ju Lai" in Eitel, under "Sakyamuni".

in Mi Lei, the Buddhist Messiah, whose joyful smile which greets you at the entrance to most temples is prophetic of the universal joy which he is expected to bring.¹ In the light of this discussion it is obvious that the contribution the Tao of Buddhism has to offer to our study is the idea of an incarnate Tao. In its pantheism it, as Taoism, leads us to discover God in Nature as a fundamental of natural religion; in its conception of Chen Ju manifesting itself in Ju Lai it makes a definite advance toward a distinctly Christian concept. The Eternal can become incarnate in history, and, further, as Buddhist mysticism affirms, realized in oneself. The practical bearings of these doctrines upon Christian approach to China are obvious.

e. T'ai Hsü and Neo-Buddhism, and the Christian Mission to Buddhists.

In 1920 the "Hai Ch'ao Yin", or "Sound of the Tide", a monthly magazine for the propagation of Buddhism in the modern world, was established by the monk T'ai Hsü, the apostle of the Neo-Buddhist revival. Later he became president of a newly established Buddhist college in Wuchang. Under his stimulus Buddhism has taken on a new vitality and is seeking to adjust itself to modern life.

While it is difficult to systematize his philosophy, a few facts are apparently thus: Buddhism should be associated, not with religion, but science, in which he includes not merely physical sciences and psychology, but that of intuition

1. Millican, Chen Ju, in Chinese Recorder, Feb. 1924, p. 120.

and enlightenment whereby we recognize Reality beyond the illusions of life. This Chen Ju, or "quality of changelessness or sameness in all things, places and events"¹ is of the nature of the spiritual, and is explained as something like "atoms or electrons, or something beyond electrons."² There is something suggestive of "Creative Evolution" in his conception of this principle, for the Chen Ju is "a Becoming One, the summation of all the Buddhas and the consummation of all things." This is his two-fold definition of Ju Lai. The first is, "He who with this true Ju (真) -all-pervasive, unchanging quality--has already appeared (lai 來) amidst things, ceaselessly revolving according to principle, is called Ju Lai." The second is, "He who comes into the revolving feelings and senses (of men) and through testimony to the true sameness (Ju) frees them from the superstition which is their cause is called Ju Lai. In the first appearance Ju Lai is spoken of as the True Buddha; in the second as the Transforming Buddha."³ In fact Gautama was not final; though Ju Lai is a savior only in that he gave an example of taking the path to Buddhahood. We may even criticize him, for in this day we should know more than he. All of us may, like him, be absorbed back into Chen Ju.⁴ Though recognizing salvation through another (他救) in distinction

1. T'ai Hsü, Meaning of Chen Ju and Ju Lai, Ch. Rec., Feb. 1924, p. 119.
2. Millican, quoting T'ai Hsu, T'ai Hsü and Modern Buddhism, Ch. Rec., June 1923, p. 330.
3. T'ai Hsü, Meaning of Chen Ju and Ju Lai, p. 119.
4. Millican, T'ai Hsü and Modern Buddhism, p. 330.

from that by oneself (自救), the Pure Land teachings are¹ conspicuously absent from his thinking. Yet, according to the rules of the "Buddhist Philosophical Club" of Hangchow which he founded "O-mi-t'o-fu" is to be chanted, and one of the rules for self-improvement is to comply with the Three² Precious Ones, viz. Sakyamuni, O Mi T'o and Ju-lai-fu.

In 1922 there was opened in Nanking by Dr. Reichelt "The Christian Mission to Buddhists", an adaptation of Christianity to Buddhist monastic life. Hither come travelling monks, Taoists as well as Buddhists, and read their sacred sutras together with John's Gospel which teaches that the Tao not only is the light that has been shining in darkness, but that this Tao became flesh. Above Hoffmann's head of Christ, hanging behind the altar, in the worship hall, hang the words: "T'ai ch'u yu Tao", (太初有道), "In the beginning was the Word." More than one of the travelling monks have stayed to enroll as "Tao yu", or disciples of the Tao in the³ Christian brotherhood that is developing in this monastery.

In the summer of 1923 T'ai Hsü convoked the first "World Conference of Buddhists" at Kuling, among the invited speakers being Dr. Reichelt. Using as his theme the first eighteen verses of John's Gospel, Dr. Reichelt told of the Tao, shining as a light (another familiar Buddhist term) from eternity, and finally manifested as Son of Man, the

1. Millican, T'ai Hsü and Modern Buddhism, p.331.

2. Ibid, pp.329,330.

3. Twinem, A New Brotherhood, Ch.Rec., Nov.1923, p.639ff.

Tao in flesh, imparting light and life and grace to all. T'ai Hsü's reaction, which was significant, we give in Dr. Reichelt's words: "He first acknowledged that the place where we could meet was in our ideas about Tao. Then he gave a deep and spiritual explanation of what Tao means to the Buddhists. His closing remark was 'Jesus Christ is the incarnated Tao. This I now understand. But for us the chief thing is that the Tao can also be incarnated in us.'"¹ And thereby he admitted the two points of contact the Buddhist Tao has with Christianity. It has been manifested in Gautama, O Mi T'o, and Ju-lai, says T'ai Hsü, and once for all, says the Christian, in Christ. And, not in the pantheistic sense of Buddhism, but in as profoundly mystical a sense the Absolute takes possession of the human heart, and the Tao that was incarnated in Christ is "incarnated in us" as Christ in us, "the hope of glory".

2. Monotheistic Faiths: Judaism, Mohammedanism, Christianity.

Buddhism, however, was not the only foreign religion to enter China during the early Christian era. Manicheanism came in from central Asia, Judaism and Mohammedanism entered, though not as proselytizing faiths, and Assyrian Christianity, called Nestorianism, though much older in organization and belief than Nestorius, appeared as a distinctly missionary faith. It is interesting to note how some of these faiths accommodated themselves to Chinese terminology, including the idea of Tao.

1. Reichelt, Conference of Chinese Buddhist Leaders, Ch.Rec. Nov. 1923, p.667ff.

a. Judaism.

The Jews were the latest to arrive. They came from Persia in 1163, and until recently maintained a synagogue at Kaifeng. Tablets commemorating the repair of this synagogue at various times indicate an interesting adaptation of Tao to Jewish use. One dating from 1489 declares that Abraham, noticing that the Tao of Heaven did not speak, set himself to draw it out of God by faithful service, thus founding the religion as has been transmitted through Moses and Esdras to the present. The "Tao" or "way" to honor heaven while obvious in itself should be based on "li pai" (禮拜, the present Christian term for worship) and "ch'ing chen" (purity and truth). Heaven must be ever present to the mind, and its Tao, though formless, is ever there above if we but pursue it with our hearts. After a discussion of Tao, quotations from the "Book of Changes" and other classics, an admission of ancestor worship, a comparison between the worship of the sages by the three major Chinese religions in their worship halls and that of August Heaven by the Jews in their Israel Hall, the statement is made: "Confucianists and ourselves in the main believe the same thing, but differ in detail; the essential points of both parties being to respect the Tao of Heaven, to honor our ancestors, be loyal to our princes, dutiful to father and mother, kind to wife and children, content with our grade in life, and sociable with friends; in a word, we do not ignore any of the Five Relationships." This inscrip-

tion is typical. One from 1512 likewise discusses the Jewish Tao in classical Chinese terms, and another from 1663 declares that Moses discovered the Mean (chung yung).¹

b. Mohammedanism.

A Mohammedan inscription at Sianfu dating probably from the T'ang dynasty (618-907) composed by a certain Wang Hung, a Secretary of the Board of Revenues, reads thus: "I have always humbly understood that that which for countless ages never fails us is Tao while that which for all time has worked with touching effect is the heart. It is the inspired men whose heart is one and whose Tao is the same who touch the heart and never fail us for all time, for which reason it is that inspired men may appear anywhere within the four oceans; and when we speak of inspired men, we mean that this heart and this Tao are alike within them....And how is it that with languages so different, the Tao corresponds exactly? It is because the hearts being one their Tao is the same." Then follows a suggestion that one should have Tao in all activities of life, the idea being that Heaven, the Creator of all things is Lord. Finally the Tao for serving Heaven is summed up in one sentence: "Transgress not the re-²verence of our own hearts."

It will be observed that the Tao to which these religions lean is that of Confucianism rather than Taoism, the Tao of universal truth in conformity to the will of heaven,

1. Parker, China and Religion, pp.165-70.

2. Parker, Studies in Chinese Religion, p.264ff.

inward in man, and expressing itself in deed and ceremony. Nestorianism, however, made a closer approach to the transcendental Tao, which was only natural in view of its sympathy with Buddhism as well as Taoism.

c. Assyrian Christianity.

One of the romances and tragic mysteries of Christian history is the rise and decline of Assyrian Christianity in China. They came in 635, at about the time of the Mohammedan conquest of Persia, A-lo-pen (阿羅本) being their great missionary. According to Assyrian records a Metropolitan was appointed for China about 714, from 719 to 745 many missionaries were sent thither, and in 757 the Emperor Su Tsung ordered many churches to be built, and his successor Tai¹ Tsung, still more. After that comes silence, except that Marco Polo found another group of Assyrians who apparently entered China with the Mongol conquerors and departed with them (1280-1368).

(1) The Nestorian Tablet.

In 1625 a tablet was discovered at Sianfu, the capital under the T'ang dynasty, inscribed in 781 by one Li Yen (呂巖), bearing a eulogy of the propagation of the Luminous Religion, the name borne by Nestorianism (ching'chiao 景教). A comprehensive account of its doctrines and history is given, a rescript of the Emperor T'ai Tsung, the ruler when Alopen arrived, an account of continued Imperial favor and a long hymn of praise for this favor.

1. Couling, The Luminous Religion, Ch.Rec., April, May, 1924, pp.214ff., 308ff.

The following are passages relevant to our purpose:
 Of Aloha, (阿羅漢), the Christian God, it is said that he is
 "One who is true and firm, who being Uncreated, is the Origin of the origins; who is ever Incomprehensible and Invisible, yet ever mysteriously existing to the last of the lasts; who holding the Secret Source of Origin, created all things, and who, bestowing existence on all the Holy ones, is the only unoriginated Lord of the Universe....Setting in motion the primordial spirit, he produced the two principles of Nature¹ (yin and yang)."

Messiah "taught how to rule both families and kingdoms according to His own great plan," and established "his New Teaching of Non-assertion (wu yen 無言)² which operates silently through the Holy Spirit."

After describing Christian worship it is said "This ever True and Unchanging Way (Tao) is mysterious and almost impossible to name," the terms being distinctly Taoist, echoing the "Tao Teh King". Then the relation of the new religion to the Emperor, (T'ai Tsung) , or "Sage", is described: "The Way (Tao) would not have spread so widely had it not been for the Sage and the Sage would not have been so great were it not for the Way (Tao)." In fact he had "investigated the Way in his own Forbidden apartments, and being deeply convinced of its correctness and truth, he gave special orders for its propagation."³

1. Saeki, The Nestorian Monument in China, p.162.

2. Ibid, 163.

3. Ibid, 165.

The Imperial rescript, issued in 638, recommending the preaching of Alopen, is quoted: "The Way (Tao) had not, at all times in all places, the self-same human body. Heaven caused a suitable religion to be instituted for every region and clime so that each one of the races of mankind might be saved....Having carefully examined the scope of his (Alopen's) teaching, we find it to be mysteriously spiritual, and of silent operation....Let it have free course throughout the empire."¹

Again it is asserted: "There is nothing which the Way (Tao) cannot effect through the Sage; and whatever it effects, it is right for us to define it as such in eulogy. There is nothing which the Sage cannot accomplish through the Way (Tao)!"²

Tai Tsung (763-779) is said to have "walked in The Way of the Silent-operation."³ ("wu wei", without "Tao").

Finally in the hymn, after showing how various Emperors have followed the Way, comes the paean:

"How vast and extensive is the True Way! (Tao)
Yet how minute and mysterious it is.
Making a great effort to name it,
We declared it to be Three-in-One,"

concluded with the prayer that God might help his servants preach, and the declaration that they raise this monument to Him with praise.⁴

Such was the Tao of the first Christians of China, the Tao of Christian mysticism rather than doctrine and practical life, though it governed life, and the Tao that found

1. Ibid, p.166. 2. Ibid, p.169. 3. Ibid. 4. Ibid, p.174.

its source and highest expression in the God-Creator whom Laotze but dimly visioned. In appropriating so completely the terminology and ideas of Taoism, these early disciples were utilizing the elements of permanent and Christian value in the Tao idea and filling it with new meaning implicit in it, thus setting an example for their modern successors.

(2) The Golden Pill Society.

There have been interesting speculations as to what became of the Luminous Religion. Perhaps, under persecution the Christians joined the monotheistic Mohammedans. More likely they were merged with the Buddhists or Taoists in some of the secret religious societies in a number of which Nestorian influences are thought to be discoverable. Indeed the one weakness of these Christians seems to have been a tendency to compromise. They not only "baptized" Buddhist and Taoist terms, which was legitimate enough, but engraved the cross, with the lotus of Buddhism, and the cloud of Taoism together at the top of their famous tablet. Adam, or Lü Yen, the engraver of the inscription, is found helping an Indian monk to translate a Buddhist sutra into Chinese. Later, if he is really to be identified with Lü Hsiu Yen (呂秀巖) as Saiki makes out, he founded the "Golden Pill Society" or "Chin Tan Chiao (金丹教), a secret society, which even today claims some ten million adherents. This organization is important, because its founder, Lü Hsiu Yen, whether he were the same as Lü Yen or not, taught a doctrine containing

many Christian elements and claimed to have found the secret of immortality, which, unlike the Taoist charlatans, he placed on a moral and spiritual basis, using "Yang" and "Yin" with higher meaning than ordinary. In fact, he claimed not to have discovered the secret, but to have learned it from the first of the "Eight Immortals" (pa hsien 八仙), who, he said, had lived seven centuries before, and who, there is reason to believe, was represented in images with a white face. This one he calls "The Warning Bell which does not trust physical force" (鍾離權), "The King of the Sons of God" (王陽子), "The Quiet (寂) Tao", and other terms equally suggesting that the white-faced immortal of seven centuries before might have been Christ.¹ Thus, if this organization actually goes back to Nestorianism, we have the first illustration of the term Tao being applied to the incarnate second Person of the Christian Trinity, a foregleam of the value modern Christians have found in that term making it correspond to the Logos of the Fourth Gospel.

1. Ibid, p.53ff.

CHAPTER V. TAO IN THE SUNG PHILOSOPHERS.

CHAPTER V. TAO IN THE SUNG PHILOSOPHERS.

The syncretic Tao, or Tao as modified by outside influences, appears not only in the adoption of the Tao idea by incoming religions, but by the modification of Chinese thought by these religions, notably Buddhism. Buddhism produced a tremendous intellectual activity, which culminated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Sung school of philosophers, so named from the Sung dynasty (960-1280 in which they appeared, a group, who while continuing, so they thought, the orthodox Confucian tradition, were undoubtedly stimulated in their speculations by the presence of Buddhist-¹ic philosophy. Indeed Chu Hsi, their leading representative, is said to have borrowed from T'ien T'ai and Nagarjuna.² This school includes the Five Philosophers; Chou Tun I (b.1017), Shao Yung, the brothers Ch'eng Hao and Ch'eng I, and Chang Tsai. However, it is to the ideas of Chu Hsi, (1130-1200) its leading exponent, that we will devote our attention.

1. The Investigative School.

The Sung philosophers based their method on the suggestion of the "Great Learning" that things should be investigated, which means, according to Chu Hsi, so exhausting their principles "that their uttermost point may be reached."³

While this may mean investigating particular bodies, the idea

1. Chiang, Study in Chinese Principles of Education, p.75.
2. Wieger, History of Religious Beliefs and Philosophical Opinions in China, p.671.
3. Chinese Religions Ideas, p.126, MacLagen.

is that highest reason (chih li 至理) exists everywhere, hence investigation of things is not to find out the reason for their existence, but to prove that chih li, or Tao, in other words, underlies¹ their existence. Hence this group is often called the Investigative (ke wu 格物) School. This Li goes back to the T'ai Chi or Great Ultimate of the "Yi King" (Appendix III), which was the basis of the Sung Cosmogony, out of which, by movement and rest on its part, spring Yin and Yang,² or, respectively, material and non-material, coexisting and inseparable. This resolves itself into an original monism, though it is expressed in the dualism of material and immaterial. Apparently the monism is materialistic in most representatives of the school, though Chu Hsi, seems to give priority to Li, or the non-material, and so admits the supremacy of the spiritual. Thus it is apparent why Sung philosophy is variously termed monistic and dualistic, materialistic, and sometimes even theistic.

2. Chu Hsi.

a. Material and Spiritual: Ch'i and Li.

In considering Chu Hsi we will first investigate his conception of the material and immaterial elements in the universe, viz. Ch'i (氣) or ether, Li (理) or law or reason. Their contrast has been variously explained as matter and mind, matter and force, matter and form in the Platonic sense. The contrast is better brought out, perhaps,

1. Chiang, op.cit., pp.70,71.

2. Suzuki, Brief History of Early Chinese Philosophy, p.161.

by considering Ch'i as the plenum that fills the universe, and Li as the rule of life or law of its being to which every object, animate or inanimate, conforms itself.¹ This does not mean that Li in one object is independent of Li in another, for there is but one Li in the universe, "Li is one, its functions are diverse."² Its difference in different objects is due to its ability to manifest itself in the Ch'i of these objects, even as sunlight, according to Chu Hsi's figure, when shining through a mat-shed, is limited by the coarseness or fineness of the matting.³ Li is actually a universal principle residing in the individual object, an individualization, as we will see later, of Tao. It holds to the organism the same relation that Tao does to the universe.⁴ Li is fundamentally ethical, for it is divided into the four component elements of Love (Jen), Righteousness, Reverence, and Wisdom, often listed as the four virtues by the Chinese. Therefore, it is more than mind as opposed to matter. Rather, it is the property of mind, even as Chu Hsi says "Li apart from mind would have nothing in which to inhere,"⁵ and the true contrast between Li and Ch'i is not that between matter and mind, but between matter and the ethical and moral.

In regard to the temporal relationships of Li, there is but little hesitancy on Chu Hsi's part. Of course it exists before the individual in which it resides. We are like guests, coming and going; Li is the host.⁶ In relation to Ch'i,

1. Bruce, Chu Hsi and His Masters, p.109.

2. Ibid, p.112. 3. Ibid, p.113. 4. Ibid. 5. Ibid, p.116.

6. Ibid, pp.118,119.

paradoxical as it may sound, he affirms coexistence, and yet priority on the part of Li. They are coexistent, but Li is the root or source.¹ There is no doubt as to where he puts the emphasis. At the beginning, he even asserts, Li was antecedent, and unhesitatingly declares, whatever the facts about temporal priority may be, that Li is the ultimate ruler.²

b. The Supreme Ultimate.

The Supreme Ultimate in Chu Hsi is, as the ground of all things, apt to be confused with both Ch'i and Li, with, however, the emphasis on the side of reason and the ethical. First, we notice that it is identified with Li. "The Supreme Ultimate is expressed in one word, Law." "There are but two elements in the universe, viz., energy and inertia. It follows that there must be the Law of energy and inertia, and this is what is termed the Supreme Ultimate."³ Moreover, the Supreme Ultimate is the source of all laws, being called the ultimate extreme of law" (li chih chi chih 理之極至) and the "highest law (chih li 至理)."⁴

On the other hand, as final cause, the Supreme Ultimate is also inherent in matter. It is identified with Ch'i. "The Supreme Ultimate is simply ether which divides itself unequally into the two ethers (Yin and Yang)....Again it divides itself into the five agents (or elements, viz. wood, fire, earth, metal, water), and again multiplying itself it becomes the all things." However, in the same paragraph he

1. Ibid, pp112,113. 2. Ibid. 3. Ibid, p.136. 4. Ibid.

again refers to the Supreme Ultimate as Law.¹ In fact it is the creator and director of the two modes. "The Supreme Ultimate is the immaterial Law, the two modes are the material instruments." "Energy and inertia, the positive and negative modes, belong to the immaterial; but the energy is the energy of the Supreme Ultimate, the inertia is the inertia of the Supreme Ultimate, and yet energy and inertia are not the Supreme Ultimate."² After all, while inherent in and inseparable from matter, it is not the same. "The Supreme Ultimate is the Supreme Ultimate and the Two Modes are the Two Modes."³ And just as Ch'i is subordinate to Li, so the Two Modes, while coexistent with the Supreme Ultimate, derive their existence from it. Thus the immaterial element is again found to be fundamental. And naturally, it is discovered to be ethical. "The Supreme Ultimate is the most excellent and supremely good ethical principle. What Chou Tze calls the Supreme Ultimate is the supremely excellent archetype of everything that is called good in heaven and earth and man and all the things."⁴ In fact it becomes identified with moral law, or Tao.

c. Tao as Li and the Supreme Ultimate.

It thus appears that Li and T'ai Chi are terms synonymous with Tao. Having noticed its manifestation in the individual as Li, and in the Universe as the Supreme Ultimate we are prepared to make a closer examination of Tao as

1. Ibid, p.137. 2. Ibid, p.138. 3. Ibid. 4. Ibid, p.140.

definitely so called by Chu Hsi. In the first place, he follows Mencius in holding to the nearness of Tao. "The Tao is present everywhere, how are we to find it?..Simply by turning and looking within." "We need not talk about empty and far away things; if we would know the reality of Tao we must seek it within our own nature."¹

But Tao, thus individualized, is also universal. The essence of Tao lies not in the fact that the moral principles Love, Righteousness, Reverence, and Wisdom are found in us but that from this "we infer that others possess them also, that indeed of the thousands and tens of thousands of human beings and of all things in the universe, there is none without these principles. Extend our investigations as far as we will, we shall still find that there is nothing which does not possess them." It is because of Tao that the hawk flies and the fish swims, and everything follows its natural course.²

The difference between this, and the similar conception of Li has already been indicated. Fundamentally they are the same, but they present different aspects of the same unity. Tao emphasizes the comprehensiveness of principles, Li calls attention to the minute. According to Li, everything has its own rule of existence, according to Tao, everything conforms to one great Moral Law. It is the self-existent Law of the Universe which existed before all things and is the true source of all things.³

1. Ibid, p.161. 2. Ibid, p.161f. 3. Ibid, p.165.

In his insistence that Tao, though representing universal Moral Law, is also found in the individual, and further, that it is moral, and hence expresses itself in virtue, which he defines as "the practice of Tao,"¹ Chu Hsi runs directly counter to Taoist and Buddhist conceptions of Tao.

Laotze decried the practice of righteousness and benevolence as substitutes for Tao. Chu Hsi replies, "If we separate Tao from Love and Righteousness we have no ethical principles at all, in which case how can Tao be Tao? You have nothing left but empty abstraction. You cannot destroy them without destroying virtue, for they are virtue." Laotze and the Buddhists stressed the mystical side of Tao, as something distant. Chu Hsi contended that since Tao is actually love and righteousness it cannot be removed from life. "Is it maintained that Tao is lofty and distant, inscrutable and mysterious, and beyond the possibility of human study? Then I answer that Tao denies its very name from the fact that it is the principle of right conduct in everyday life for all men, that it is like a road which should be travelled upon by the countless myriads of people within the four seas; it is not what the Taoists and Buddhists describe as Tao, empty formless, still, non-existent and having no connection with men. Is it maintained that Tao is far removed from us, so vast as to be out of touch with our needs, and that we are not called upon to study it? Then I say that Tao, present as it is in all the world in the relation between sovereign

1. Ibid, p.261.

and minister, and between father and son, in down-sitting and up-rising and in activity and rest, has everywhere its unchangeable, clear law, which cannot fail for a single instant.¹"

d. Human Nature and Tao: Nature, Hsing and Mind, Hsin.

If Tao is thus present within one, it is but a step to identify human nature with Tao. This is indeed in line with the Doctrine of the Mean which identifies man's nature (Hsing 性) with what Heaven has decreed (Ming, or T'ien Ming 天命) which is equated with Tao. Ming and Hsing are the same, the difference being that as Decree it is looked at as something bestowed, as Nature, as something received, and that the Nature is simply the universal Decree individualized. Thus Chu Hsi does not hesitate to identify Hsing and Li: "Subjectively it is the Nature, objectively it is Law;" and his pupil Ch'en Pei Hsi says "The Nature is Law as it is in myself. It is simply that this Law received from heaven becomes my own and is therefore called my own." Likewise Hsing and Tao become different expressions of the same identity. Shaotze had said: "The Nature is the concrete expression of Tao," and Chu Hsi, defining more explicitly, declared: "The term Moral Order(Tao) is used in a universal sense, the term Nature in the individual sense", and, without abandoning his idea of the inwardness of Tao, "The Moral Order is Law as we find it in the external world, the Nature is Law as we find it in ourselves." In other words, as Dr. Bruce

1. Ibid, pp.166ff.

suggests, we have here a Pauline emphasis on the divine law¹ written in the heart.

Not only does the nature of Hsing become identified with Tao, but the mind or heart, Hsin (心), does also. Man's mind is one with the Universal Mind. Here is where Chu Hsi most closely approaches his Buddhist contemporaries. "Man receives the Decree of Heaven and so is born, and because this, by which Heaven gives me birth is received by me in its entirety, to be lord of my complete personality, and in its entirety to reside in me, spiritual and intellectual, continuously illuminating and imperishable--this we call the mind of man. Its substance, answering to what are termed the principles of Origin, Beauty, Utility and Potentiality is inherent in man as the Nature principles of Love, Righteousness, Reverence and Wisdom. Its operation, answering to what are termed the ethers of Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter, is manifested in me as the four feelings, Solicitude, Conscientiousness, Courtesy and Moral Insight. Therefore, although the substance of the Mind resides in a very minute spot, that which constitutes its substance is really as great as Heaven and Earth; the countless laws of the universe are present in their completeness, and there is not a single thing outside their scope." Again he says: "Permeating the whole universe there is but one law as the ultimate reality....The Moral Law (Tao) of Heaven is limitless, and the law of my mind is limitless; the Moral Law of Heaven enters into every single

1. Ibid, pp.187ff.

thing without exception and there is not one thing in the Universe without exception which is not divine; and the Law of my mind also enters into everything without exception, and there is not one thing in the Universe which is not in my mind.¹"

But, granted that Hsing, Hsin, and Tao are identical, and all-embracing, and granting that Chu Hsi's language smacks of Buddhism, there are certain great differences to be observed between his theory of a universal human mind and the Buddhist's. According to the latter the universe contains one mind, that of Buddha, of which our mind is a part. Our individuality consists in entanglement with external things, so that what we call our mind is really not such. By extricating ourselves from the delusion of things and losing our mind, we can find our true mind in that of Buddha. This would result in the destruction of social virtues. Chu Hsi, on the other hand, postulates one mind in the universe, manifesting divine law. This mind is received by us, and with the universal mind, the Law of the universe becomes ours too. Our obligation is to develop our mind to the utmost, bringing it into harmony with the source. Thus individuality is perfected rather than obliterated, and virtue, especially the four cardinal virtues, cultivated to the full.²

That this is the real implication of Chu Hsi's doctrine of Hsin united to Tao is apparent when we notice his

1. Ibid, p.249. 2. Ibid, p.254f.

doctrine of evil. While Tao, or Law, or the Supreme Ultimate, is present in every thing, man can receive it more perfectly than lower animals, and come into uninhibited possession of the four virtues. In other words he possesses Equilibrium, or the Mean.¹ Man's Nature is essentially good. Even when evil is present, this is true, for the Nature itself is not more soiled by evil than is water by mud when the stream becomes turbid. Nevertheless, moral differences do exist between men which Chu Hsi accounts for in three ways: first, physical endowments are unequal; second, though men are obligated to overcome such imperfection in endowment, they often refuse to do so; and third, the original impurity is accentuated by indulgence. Failure to overcome the original defects may be by lack of self-discipline, lack of watchfulness and by excess, or disturbance of the Mean. Conversely, conversion consists in refusal to recognize the physical nature as the real Nature, and in a rigorous cultivation of oneself.² This being Chu Hsi's attitude toward evil in the life, it is obvious that complete identification of the human mind with the universal mind, of the Hsin with Tao, depends not on passive absorption, but on active struggle. In a very Christian sense, the law being written on man's heart, he must strive to reach such perfection that he is holy, as the Lawgiver is holy, and when, all bars down, he feels at one with Him.

e. Tao, the All-Embracing, the Mind of the Universe.

We have thus discovered that according to Chu Hsi, all

1. Ibid, p.217. 2. Ibid, p.220ff.

the great elements in the universe and man are constituents or aspects of Tao. Hsing, or man's Nature, Hsin, or his mind, Ming, heaven's decree, Li, law or reason, T'ai Chi or Supreme Ultimate,--all are Tao. And of course T'ien or Heaven itself is included. As distinguished from Tao as ethical law, T'ai Chi, law as the firstcause, Ming, law as immanent in nature, or Li, law individualized, T'ien would stand for law self-existent.¹ Through them man and nature, animate and inanimate, with the laws of their being, are integrated with the forces of the universe in one interdependent whole, at heart ethical. Not only so, but Chu Hsi discovered, as a consequence, a great parallelism or identity of principles on various planes of the universe. With Li, as we saw, he associated four cardinal virtues, Love, Righteousness, Reverence, and Wisdom. Likewise with Tao, the transcendental and universal aspect of Li, he associated, as its outworking in the moral order of Heaven, the Four Ultimata of Yuan, Heng, Li, Cheng, or Origin, Beauty, Utility and Potentiality. Again, on the human plane, he found four feelings, corresponding to these other groups, Solicitude, Conscientiousness, Courtesy, and Moral Insight. In nature he equated the five agents with these groups, as well as the four seasons. Changing the order of the virtues, he compared them to the seasons, Love and Reverence being similar to Spring and Summer in that they represent a giving out of life, and Righteousness and Wisdom to Autumn and Winter, as a gathering in.² Far-fetched as such a scheme may appear

1. Ibid, p.282. 2. Ibid, p.261.

it is interesting as illustrating the unity of nature, and the fundamental supremacy of the ethical running through it, that Chu Hsi stood for. The Universe has a mind. Otherwise, as he said to a pupil who argued to the contrary, "cows would produce horses, and peach trees would bear plum blossoms."¹ This means, as Dr. Bruce says, a Pilot of the Universe, motivated, as he further shows, by love (Jen), the vital impulse of the universe which produces all other virtues. This comes close to the idea of a personal God, an idea which probably Chu Hsi's teaching cannot bear. However, as MacLagen says, while it may be "difficult to say with Bruce that Chu Hsi was a theist," "at least he was more than a materialist, if that means one who finds the ultimate conception of the world in that which falls under the category of quantity subject to physical laws."²

3. Wang Yang Ming.

From the time of Chu Hsi till the modern awakening China produced but one original philosopher, Wang Yang Ming, (1472-1529) who, however, because of his intellectual kinship, can legitimately be considered along with the Sung School. Reared a thoroughgoing Confucianist, but finding no comfort in his beliefs, he drifted into Taoism and particularly Buddhism in an effort to solve the meaning of life. He is³ supposed to have been strongly influenced by Bodhidharma. For years he suffered from ill-health; then later entered

1. Ibid, p.306.

2. Chinese Religious Ideas, p.105.

3. Saunders, Epochs of Buddhist History, p.135.

official life from which he was banished into a remote region where he not only civilized the barbarians with his Jen, but came into a fuller realization of Tao. Putting away his inclination toward Taoism and Buddhism he devoted himself to the Great Learning. His real "conversion" came after an attempt to find Tao or Li in the manner prescribed by Chu Hsi, and the investigative school viz., by investigating things. After futilely studying a piece of bamboo Wang realized its futility and made the illuminating discovery that the Tao of the sages was to be found in his own heart. "I was wrong", said he, "in looking for principles in things and affairs. My nature¹ is sufficient."

What developed was an idealistic intuitionism. Apart from the heart there is nothing, not even Li, or Ch'i. In fact he recognizes no distinction between the two. If one knows his heart he knows Li, Tao, and Heaven, for all are identical. There is only one heart. "When the heart of Tao goes astray", he says, "we may call it the heart of man, but it is the same heart."² This does not seem different from Chu Hsi's position. In fact, except for the dualistic element in Chu Hsi's monism, there was no difference in their philosophy, only a difference in method. Both sought to find highest reason, chih li. Chu Hsi emphasized finding it in investigation (ke wu chih chih 格物致知) and a study of universal laws whereby we come to know the characteristics of Tao. Wang

1. Maclagen, opus cit., p.126.

2. Zia, Confucian Civilization, p.92.

appeals to the heart alone.¹ His classic formula became "To know and to do are the same" (chih hsing ho i 知行合一).

This formula is explained in letters to friends thus: "To do with clear sight and conscious effort is knowing and to know with true insight and definite idea is doing. On the contrary, to do without clear sight and conscious effort is doing haphazardly. It is what Confucius said, 'Learning without thinking is blind', therefore, we must say 'to know'. And to know without true insight and definite idea is but an illusion. It is what Confucius said, 'Thinking without learning is vain'." "No knowledge in the world can be called so without putting it into action. When we start to know, we have already started to do."²

He advocates a normal, natural life. This is seen in the working out of his psychology, which, while derived from Buddhism, was applied differently. To Buddhism's injunction, "Enlighten yourself," Wang adds, "Be on familiar terms with people." To its demand to suppress bodily desires he adds that of keeping T'ien Li or heavenly reason. Where Buddhism insists on discarding the wandering mind he insists also on keeping the righteous mind.³ Both Buddhism and Confucianism go astray in attempting, with great effort and worry, to carry out their practices, the first, of ignoring social relationships, the second of carrying them out. They seek to do this, in the manner prescribed according to the creed of each, in

1. Lo, Philosophy of Confucius, Ch.Rec., Jan.1923, p.20.

2. Chiang, Study in Chinese Principles of Education, p.63.

3. Zia, op.cit.,p.92.

order to avoid trouble, but in doing they find trouble. Buddhism seeks to find the "nothing", or enlightenment, but the way to find it is not to make the attempt, for the attempt is in itself a thing hindering the attaining to the result. In fact, for accomplishing anything what is demanded is an absolute calm, which means a casting out of worry about the result, for it is the result rather than the activity itself that always gives concern in doing a thing. This state of calmness is found when the mind is active, not when it is deliberately at rest. Therefore the real "nothing" is to be found not in the negation of activity and the external, but in their unity, in other words, it would appear, in living a normal life¹ without worry.

It is interesting to note that the Wang Yang Ming school has had a profound effect in Japan. With the rise of Neo-Confucianism in the Tokugawa period the Chu Hsi school was supreme, representing official learning, and was protected by the state, while the Wang Yang Ming school, just arising, represented a more popular movement and was persecuted. As it gained in influence, however, it produced the statesmen and warriors of Satsuma who have led Japan to the position of greatness she now occupies. It is interesting to note that neo-Confucianism was introduced into Japan by priests of Zen or Ch'an Buddhism, indicating that this Confucian movement initiated by men like Chu Hsi and Wang Yang Ming, actually

1. Fung, Comparative Study of Life Ideals, p.212ff.

represented a sort of syncretism between Buddhist and Confucian ideas.¹

4. Values in the Tao of Neo-Confucianism.

The Sung philosophers contribute but little new to the Tao idea, rather they reemphasize significant features in the older philosophy. The Universe, according to Chu Hsi's grand cosmological scheme, is instinct with Moral Reason. In every aspect in which he considers it and its component parts, Tao is present. To put it in Christian terms, not only the heavens declare the glory of God, but the smallest atom in the physical universe, and man's nature as well, for God is there. The path to complete realization of what this means must come through striving and overcoming the evil that has found lodgement within one's nature, until Tao is fully supreme in one's life.

But a far greater truth is implied than the necessity of developing Tao in one's life. This implication, put in Christian terms, is that God can be known by man. The virtues in man imply the same in the universe in an even greater degree. God's nature is at least like man's at its best. Knowledge, love, appreciation of beauty, loyalty to righteousness, and all the other values of life at its best point to the same things in the Power at the heart of the Universe. Chu Hsi's parallel between the virtues of Li and the ultimata of Tao, and Wang Yang Ming's discovery of the universal Tao in

1. Reischauer, Studies in Japanese Buddhism, p.143ff.

his own heart, is capable of at least this much Christian application.

To the inwardness of Tao, reemphasized by Chu Hsi, Wang Yang Ming adds a note of faith. Why seek outside one's heart for that which is present? To know and act synchronize. Or in Christian language, to act on faith, or walk by faith, constitutes salvation. If Tao is in the heart, accept it. And, though the Christian cannot find a saving Tao in human nature as such, tokens of this saving power are in the heart indeed, and respond when the Incarnate Tao is recognized, and man, acting on faith, is enabled to cast aside struggle and worry, and in the unity of activity and the external, walk the common road in the liberty of the sons of God.

CHAPTER VI. PRESENT DAY APPLICATIONS OF
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As in the days when Buddhism came to China, so today, the contact with a foreign civilization is bringing about a literary and philosophical upheaval. Then the change came gradually; it was after the passage of centuries that a synthesis of the indigenous and the foreign was made in the adoption of the Tao idea, for example, by the Pure Land School, or, later still, in the restatement of orthodox Confucianism by the Sung philosophers under the stimulus of Buddhism. Today, with access from the West comparatively easy for the last century, and foreign ideas permeating China's intellectual life during this period, a few decades are witnessing what as many centuries saw when the first advance of foreign thought was made upon China. Chinese scholars are busy putting Western thought into readable Chinese, and at the same time re-interpreting ancient Chinese ideas in terms of modern philosophy or political science. Witness the work in the new colloquial literary style of Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, with his "Political Philosophy of the Ante-Ch'in Period", of Hu Shih with his "History of Chinese Philosophy", or Liang Shou Ming with his "Civilization and Philosophy of the Orient and the Occident", or numerous essays on such subjects as "Indestructibility" by Hu Shih postulating an immortality of influence, or "Art as a Substitute for Religion" by Ts'ai Yuan P'ei, or "Laotze's

Political Philosophy" by Kao I Han. Naturally all sorts of viewpoints are suggested, and certainly the final word as to the synthesis of Chinese and Western thought is far from having been expressed.

1. Tao in the Political Revolution.

It is interesting to observe that the Chinese Revolution under the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, has had Tao as its foundation principle. The Three Principles of the People, advocated by Sun Yat Sen in his book of that name are Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood, the first, viz., developing a genuine national consciousness, being fundamental to the others. A nation, in his mind, is not synonymous with a state, which may embrace several groups united by force, but with a racial or cultural group composing a unit. "In simple terms", he says, "the race or nationality has developed through natural forces, while the state has developed through force of arms. To use an illustration from China's political history: Chinese say that the "wang Tao", royal way or way of right, followed nature; in other words natural force was the royal way. The group moulded by the royal way is the race, the nationality. Armed force is the 'pa Tao', or the way of might; the group formed by the way of might is the state." In other words, his attempt to establish the principle of nationalism is a harking back to the Tao of Kwantze and early political philosophers, who advocated the royal way, and an echo of Laotze himself who said that the natural way in life and government would be the successful way. Quoting approvingly the statement, "Only when we resist Might are we moving

1. San Min Chu I, p.7.

with nature", he closes, with the passion of a prophet, one of his lectures thus: "If we want to resist Might we must unite our four hundred millions and join the twelve hundred fifty millions (i.e. the oppressed) of the world. We must espouse nationalism and in the first instance attain our own unity, then we can consider others and help the weaker, smaller peoples to unite in a common struggle against the two hundred fifty millions (the Imperialists). Together we shall use Right to fight Might, and when Might is overthrown and the selfishly ambitious have disappeared, then we may talk about cosmopolitanism."¹

2. Tao in Modern Religious Movements; the Tao Yüan.

While the Tao idea is playing a part in this new intellectual and political awakening, it is to the religious world that we need to turn to find its significant expression. Confucianism has tried to organize itself into a church, and so is advocating the Tao of Man, as presented in the Classics, as the salvation of modern China. Buddhism, as we saw, is reviving under T'ai Hsü, and even in effete Taoism new life is appearing. Numerous scholars have been giving extended and appreciative critical study to Laotze's teachings, perhaps the most outstanding example being Admiral Ts'ai Ting Kan, who has published at his own expense a new edition of the "Tao Teh King" with notes.²

Recent years have seen the birth of a number of

1. Ibid, p.76.

2. Porter, China's Challenge to Christianity, p.160.

religious or ethical societies. One of these is the "Tao Teh Hwei", a society for the cultivation of virtue, Tao and Teh together being the common modern term for "virtue". Probably the most remarkable movement is the "Tao Yüan" or "Hall of Tao", an eclectic organization established in Tsinan in 1921 when Liu Min Tseng, an army officer, playing with a planchette, to his utter surprise received a revelation in the form of a book purporting to come from the Great First Cause and called "The North Pole True Scripture". So impressed were he and his friends that they established this new organization which is a syncretism of Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity. This has spread rapidly throughout the principal cities of China, making a strong appeal to the educated and official class. It stresses morality and has carried on a great deal of philanthropic work. The planchette is used at its meetings for the purpose of receiving revelation. It does not seek to establish a new religion, for all five religions spring from the Primeval Tao, and in joining the Tao Yüan a man is not expected to give up his old faith. In fact some Christians have joined and feel (mistakenly we think) that they are finding more in their Christianity as members of the Tao Yüan than as members of the church. One such a person voices the expectation that the different religions will soon be abolished leaving behind only their spiritual essence, which is Tao. When that has happened all men¹ will have accepted Tao and ceased from evil.

1. O'Neill, Quest for God in China, p.72.

A catechism published by the movement explains its purpose and conception of Tao. The object of the Tao Yüan is explained as "the equal cultivation of the inner life and its outward expression. Generally speaking the cultivation of the inner life consists in meditation, and the cultivation of the outward expression consists in philanthropic work." The advantages of meditation are that it "purifies the heart and modifies the passions. It is the root of the cultivation of character and of the salvation of men." In answer to the question, "The Way (Tao) of what religion does the Tao Yüan teach?" it is declared, "It teaches the Great Way of the Source of All Things. It does not inquire what the advantages of any particular religion may be; but it does its utmost to help each." The God worshiped is defined as "the Primeval Father together with the Founders of the Five Great Religions. ...In reality He is Boundless Spirit; He is just the Primal Source of Life. He is the Primal Progenitor of the Universe, the Source of the Great Tao." He is not to be regarded as father or sovereign, as is customary in religion. "It is easy thus to take a mistaken view of the great Tao." After a statement that the functions of the organization are preaching the moral life and carrying on philanthropy, this comment is added: "Where a Tao Yüan is established, there are those who live according to the right way (Tao); where no Tao Yüan is established, there are also those who live according to the right way. What place is there which is not the Tao

Yüan of the Primeval One? Thus all may know that those who without the Tao Yüan both do (philanthropic) work, and also live according to the right way, are the ones who understand the True Tao.¹

As for the Founders of the Religions, the worship hall contains the tablets of them all, and on appropriate days sacrifices are offered to each. For example, on Christmas Day offerings are made to the tablet of Jesus.

3. Tao in Common Life.

The potency of the Tao idea among the common people can be observed from three standpoints, that of organized religion, that of popular superstition, and that of common sayings or proverbs.

a. Organized religion.

Taoism as an organized religion is a depraved form of superstition venerating a multitude of deities utterly foreign to the early teachers of Tao. However, in the worship of some of these an advance is made over their philosophical monism in that Tao emerges almost as a personal deity. Taoism's most popular deity is the Pearly Emperor, or Yü Hwang, whose image, in 1013 was placed, in obedience to a vision, in a temple for the first time. By imperial order this was the title conferred: "The Great Supreme, Opening Heaven, Holder of the Seals, Ruler of the Universe, Embracing the Power of the Shen (god, spirit), Embodying the Tao, the Pearly Emperor, the Great Ti² of Heaven." Likewise Laotze has been exalted to the supreme

1. Drake, The Tao Yüan, Chinese Recorder, March 1923, p.134 f.
2. L. Hodous, The Sacrifice to Heaven, Chinese Recorder, Dec. 1915, p.774.

place. The venerable seer worshipped in the main shrine of a Mukden temple is called "His Celestial Excellency of Reason and Virtue,"¹ the Grand Pure One, the Grand Supreme Prince Lao," and the attendant priest declares that the Taoist supreme Deity is "the Old Honorable One who was from the beginning," who is source and origin of all things, and is to be apprehended by purifying the soul.² Whether or not these deities are considered as complete embodiments of Tao or merely deified mortals who were genuinely men of Tao, it is significant that at least the possession of Tao qualifies them to receive worship.

b. Popular Superstition: Feng Shui.

The system of "Feng Shui" ("wind-water") represents the most universal type of popular superstition. This is the science whereby lucky days are chosen or auspicious locations for all types of purposes from graves to dwellings. Fundamentally it goes back to the idea of a Tao of Heaven and Earth with which the Tao of Man must be kept in harmony, and has been defined as "the way in which the Chinese tries to keep the dwellings of his dead and his own dwellings in such accord with Nature, so in tune with Nature's power, that prosperity may attend his family."³ The Tao of Heaven embraces Yin and Yang, the five elements, the five planets, the twenty-eight constellations, the great Bear and the Northern Bushel. Through these powers earth is ruled. On earth the Yin and

1. Doubtless "Reason and Virtue" are "Tao Teh".

2. O'Neill, Quest for God in China, pp.34,35.

3. Porter, Feng Shui, or How the Chinese Keep in Tune with Nature, Chinese Recorder, Dec. 1920, p.839.

Yang forces flow like currents and where they converge is to be found the most auspicious location for anything. Elevations are of Yang, undulating ground of Yin, and it is for Feng Shui to discover the arteries of this system and the heart to which it flows.

Upon this theory that Tao, represented by Yin and Yang, is present in the earth, and also in the individual life, calculations are made by means of a Feng Shui compass. It is described as consisting of "a small compass needle set in a wooden case which is surrounded by eighteen circles upon which appear the trigrams.. in various combinations, the twenty-eight constellations, the degrees of the ecliptic, symbols of planets, elements and zodiac, the stars of the 'Bushel', a miniature calendar, the odd and even numbers that indicate Yang and Yin, the signs of the compass, and lucky and unlucky days. By the use of this compass the expert can determine in a moment what powers are at work at a given place with reference to a given time."¹ This time may be either that when the observations are being made or the hour of birth of the individual for whom they are being made.

Feng Shui, then, stands for the harmony of man and Nature. It enters every department of life. Even at death one's body must be so placed that the forces of the universe may continue to invigorate him, and that his posterity may still be blessed. Superstitious as this is, there is something moral about this system. This harmony between man and

1. Ibid, p.841.

the universe is moral, and "unless a family remains good and upright it cannot expect to enjoy the benefits that even an auspiciously placed ancestral grave would promise."¹ Feng Shui has never lost this moral element and thus degenerated into mere magic.

c. Proverbs.

The vitality of any idea can be determined by the extent to which it enters ordinary thinking and conversation. Judging from quotations from Confucius and Mencius which are almost as common as proverbs, and from its employment in proverbs themselves, Tao still has a strong hold on the Chinese mind. The following are a few examples:

"Tao lies in being invisible."² "Tao is eternally existent, it does not work in vain."³ Here we have the transcendental Tao. Other proverbs show us Tao in character. "He is entirely Tao," is said of one whose words and actions accord with propriety.⁴ "A pure heart is needed to follow Tao."⁵ "Self-exaltation is far from Tao".⁶ "If you wrangle over things of little importance, you lose the Great Way (Tao)"⁷ "Dull-sighted and vulgar people do not recognize Tao."⁸ "To believe Tao is easy; to keep Tao is hard."⁹ "Great trees meet the wind; when one's Tao is high, slander comes."¹⁰ "Tao without plans will not succeed; neither will plans without Tao."¹¹ "Follow Tao; do not follow the prince."¹² "In cultivating Tao, though no one has seen it, and it is hidden in one's heart,

1. Ibid, p.842.

2. Plopper, Chinese Religion Seen through the Proverb, p.214.

3. Ibid. 5. Ibid, p.215. 7. Ibid. 9. Ibid. 11. Ibid.

4. Ibid. 6. Ibid, p.216. 8. Ibid. 10. Ibid, p.217. 12. Ibid.

it is known by Heaven." ¹ "Movement must follow Tao; words must depend on sincerity." ² Thus the teachings of the ancients have been engraved upon the hearts of the common people in China.

4. Japanese Shinto.

A word must be said regarding the Tao idea as it has found a place in the popular patriotic religion of Japan, that of Shinto, which literally means "the Way (Tao) of the Gods" (Shen Tao). Pure Shinto was the native polytheism and nature worship existing prior to the introduction of Confucianism in the fifth century of our era, at that time a conglomeration of cults without a name. Obviously this name, corresponding to the Tao of Heaven, was given under Chinese influence. This so interacted with Buddhism that early in the ninth century the resultant came to be known as Ryobu Shinto, or Two-Sided (兩部) Shinto. Revived Shinto, which sought to eliminate the influence of both Confucianism and Buddhism began with Motowori (1730-1796). It is the religion which has been a power in modern Japan uniting religion and patriotism and insisting on reverence for and implicit obedience to the Mikado. Natural forces are personified and anthropomorphized, and ancestors, especially those of the royal house (which is descended from the chief Shinto deity) deified, and Yamato Damashii, the Spirit of Japan, cultivated. Japan is considered as "the sacred land of the gods; every mountain,

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid, p.268.

river, rock, tree and cloud is the abode of some deity."¹

Thus in Japan as well as China Tao has come to represent the idea of the spiritual immanent in nature and supreme in political society.

5. The Christian Tao.

The most prominent term in the Christian Church after the name of her Lord is the term Tao, usually combined with Li (理) into the word "Tao Li". The usual translation for this is "doctrine". It thus means the Gospel message. Evangelists preach it, ("ch'uan Tao"), and hearers believe it ("hsin Tao li"), and are thus entitled to baptism. Unfortunately, however, "Tao Li", as commonly accepted, carries with it too much of the idea of mere intellectual dogma. To believe it means to accept the truth of the Christian message as good doctrine by intellectual assent, without a corresponding change of heart. Of course this should not be. Tao and Li, as we have seen, are both ethical and transcendental terms. Indeed, in common parlance a man without character is described as having no "Tao Li". However, the term has been applied too long to the mere ethics of Confucius as good teaching on a human plane to be otherwise interpreted by the masses. It is the duty of the Church to read back into these terms not only an ethical content, but a transcendent, making the Tao of Christianity obviously linked up with the Power in the world making for righteousness whom we call God, and Who is to be

1. Reischauer, Studies in Japanese Buddhism, p.82; also Parker, Religion in China, pp.247-270.

apprehended not merely intellectually but definitely through experience.

A careful study of the use of Tao in the Chinese Bible does show this tendency. Frequently it appears in the Old Testament, usually translating the English "Way" (Heb. ¹יָדָבָר), though "Word" (Heb. ²אִמְרָתָא) is so rendered, as in the verse: "He showeth his word (Tao) unto Jacob." It refers to the Way of God, the following being a few of the many examples of its use: "As for God, his way is perfect." "The meek will he teach his ways." "Teach me thy way, O Jehovah." "Then will I teach transgressors they ways." Frequently it is connected with "Lu", another term for "road" in the word "Tao lu", but the meaning is the same when referring to the Way of God, though it is also the common designation of an ordinary road. Moreover, as in classical Chinese, we find Tao applied to the way of evil men as opposed to the way of God or the righteous. Thus, "The way (Tao) of the wicked is darkness." From this we see that all of the spiritual and transcendent as well as merely ethical ideas embodied in the Hebrew conception of the Way of God have a legitimate place in the Christian Tao.

In the New Testament ³ὁδός is usually rendered "Lu" rather than "Tao" as it refers chiefly to an ordinary path; ⁴λόγος, however, is frequently, and ⁵ῥῆμα, occasionally, rendered "Tao", though often they are translated, like the Hebrew ⁶מִלִּין, "Hwa" or "Yen", or "Wu" meaning "words", or "Ming",

1. Ps.147:19.

2. Ps. 18:30.

3. Ps.25: 9.

4. Ps.27:11.

5. Ps.51:13.

6. Prov.4:19.

meaning the divine "decree". In this discussion, unless otherwise indicated, $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ will be understood as the original translated as "word" or "Tao". There will be no attempt at exegesis of the original, but merely one to point out the implications of the uses of Tao in the translation. The meaning of Tao, herein discovered, it is expected will be in line with the deeper Christian interpretations of the original terms.

In the first place the New Testament Tao represents Eternal Truth. It is that which is preached (ch'uan Tao) constantly, people hear it (t'ing Tao),¹ the "word of God" is increased as disciples multiply.² It is that which is received by the groups represented in the parable of the sower. (Once, in Matthew's account "Tao li" is used.) It³ is the Way ($\delta\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$) persecuted by Paul and the Ephesians. It is the "good doctrine" (shan Tao) which Timothy has followed.⁴ It is the "word of truth" which he should handle aright.⁵ It is the "word" of Jesus' preaching at which people wondered.⁶ It constitutes the "word (Tao li) of reconciliation."⁷ It is the "way ($\delta\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$) of salvation".⁸ It is the word of truth (chen li ti Tao).⁹ It is the "word of life".¹⁰ Thus there is something more than merely platitudinously ethical in Tao, there is something vital in it, able to impart a genuinely new life in a man. Thus it works out into character. Men are not only to be "hearers" (t'ing Tao) but

1.Lk.5:1 etc.

4.I Tim.4:6.

7.II Cor.5:19.

2.Acts 6:7.

5.II " 2:14.

8.Acts 16:17.

3. " 19:9;22:4.

6.Lk.4:36.

9.Eph.1:13; Col.1:5.

10.Phil.2:16.

"doers of the word" (hsing Tao).¹ Its highest manifestation in life is love, the "more excellent way ($\delta\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$)" of Paul,² and we are told that "whoso keepeth his word ($\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$), in him hath the word of God been perfected."³ This word of God can be corrupted,⁴ but in its purity it is powerful, "living and active, sharper than any two edged sword...quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart,"⁵ and potent in its results, though its devotees may be hindered, "for the word of God is not bound."⁶

From this it is not difficult to pass on to the idea that Tao is to be experientially apprehended in the life. Like an echo of Chinese sages we learn that Tao ($\rho\eta\mu\alpha$)⁷ "is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart." It is something to be tasted.⁸ It, as the "word (Tao li) of Christ" is to dwell in one.⁹ It is the "implanted word which is able to save your souls."¹⁰ It is the word by which God "brought us forth" to be first-fruits,¹¹ and through which, rather than "of corruptible seed" we have been "begotten again".¹² Those who reject Jesus do not have the word abiding in them,¹³ nor do those denying sin.¹⁴ Abiding in Tao, or his word, or having his word abide in one, is the essential requirement of a follower of Jesus. "If ye abide in my word, then are ye truly my disciples."¹⁵ "If a man love me he will keep my word (Tao): and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and

1.Jas.1:22.

6.II Tim.2:9.

11.Jas.1:18.

2.I Cor.12:31.

7.Rom.10:8.

12.I Pet.1:23.

3.I John 2:5.

8.Heb.6:5.

13.John 5:38.

4.II Cor.2:17.

9.Col.3:16.

14.I " 1:10.

5.Heb.4:12.

10.Jas.1:21.

15.John 8:31.

make our abode with him. He that loveth me not keepeth not my words (Tao): and the word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's who sent me."¹ In the great passage on the vine and branches Jesus declares "Already ye are clean because of the word (Tao) which I have spoken unto you," and follows it up with the discourse on abiding in each other.² And in the high-priestly prayer, with its emphasis on communion, Tao likewise appears. "I manifested thy name unto the men whom thou gavest me out of the world:...and they have kept thy word (Tao)." "I have given them thy word (Tao)." "Sanctify them in the truth: thy word is truth (Tao)."³

The transcendent nature of Tao, united with God, and expressing itself in human character, as well as its reception in the life only by experiential appropriation, is clear. But there is one more step. Tao, as indicated above, produces the new life which comes from God. But what if that new life is actually produced by God himself coming into our life? What if **Tao** is not merely something coming from God, but God himself? This is the teaching in the Chinese New Testament. The rider on the white horse in Revelation, viz., Christ, is the Word (Tao) of God.⁴ John, in his first epistle, describes the incarnation as that of the "Word (Tao) of life".⁵ And, in utterly unequivocal terms the identification of the creative God and Tao, the historic Christ, and the redeeming and

1. John 14:23,24.

2. " 15:3.

3. " 15:6,14,17.

4. 19:13.

5. 1:1.

indwelling Savior is made in the prologue to his Gospel. "In the beginning was Tao, and Tao was with God, and Tao was God. ...All things were made through him and without him was not anything made that hath been made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men.....As many as received him, to them gave he the power to become children of God, even to them that believe on his name.....And Tao became flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father) full of grace and truth." This then, is the Christian Tao. It is not a theological formula to be intellectually accepted, it is a Power, the very Power of the Eternal God, surging into the life in the person of His Redeeming Son, the Indwelling Christ, our Savior.

1. 1:1ff.

CONCLUSION..

C O N C L U S I O N

We have now come to the end of our study of Tao. Throughout the long ages of Chinese history we have followed the idea and discovered it to be one vital principle uniting men and modes of thought of all centuries and varied types. Transcendental mysticism and practical living in an every day world, individualism and social and political cooperativism, pantheistic Taoism or Buddhism, and theistic Islam or Christianity, all find a common denominator in Tao. It is this that harmonizes the antitheses of the universe, spirit and matter, good and evil, seen and unseen, in a way inscrutable to man and often crudely expressed. Yet back of his acceptance of this idea stands his certain conviction that at the heart of things is a power making for righteousness which can be trusted to lead man and the universe through all vicissitudes to peace at last.

This of course is a distinctly Christian belief. Indeed, stripped of the monistic and pantheistic ideas that are associated with it, and which tend to identify good and evil, we have found Tao to be essentially Christian, so Christian, indeed, that there has been no hesitancy to adopt it into the vocabulary of Scripture. We have pointed out various Christian elements in the various philosophical expressions of Tao. In concluding our study it but remains to summarize

our findings.

In the first place the idea of Tao implies the unity of Nature. We are in a uni-verse. Life and experience may not be the same throughout, but all is under the same law-giver, the same guiding intelligence. God, to put Tao into its Christian equivalent, is at the heart of things as Creator and Sustainer.

A corollary to this is that the Creator is immanent and transcendent. Tao is near at hand, permeating everything, minute and great. Yet though it enters intimately into commonest life, even the sage cannot fully comprehend its workings, so transcendent it is. This is he of whom man can ask¹ "Whither shall I flee from thy presence?" and at the same time confess, "Clouds and darkness are round about him."²

A fundamental element in the Tao idea is that Tao is ethical. We are dealing with more than blind force, or abstract law. Tao is a power making for righteousness. This brings us face to face with the Christian God, not an Allah of arbitrary, whimsical despotism, but a Jehovah of righteousness and holiness.

Moreover, the Tao idea insists that man's highest blessedness is found in a state of harmony with Tao. Life comes from Tao, and spontaneously should express the nature of immanent Tao. Man lives, in other words, not by bread alone, but by the spiritual reality Christians call God.

If man is dependent on an ethical Tao the conclusion

1. Ps. 139:7. 2. Ps. 97:2.

is that his great aim is to live ethically. Therefore the Tao idea stresses the supreme value of character in the individual. Its injunction, in Christian terms is, "Like as he who called you is holy, be ye yourselves also holy in all manner of living,...Ye shall be holy; for I am holy."¹

The necessity of spiritual experience is insisted upon. Not only should man be in harmony with Tao, but the only way to this and to the resultant character is through experiential apprehension. One cannot learn about Tao, he must know Tao. The mind must be utterly emptied. Knowledge and power flood in through the gates of spiritual intuition and enlightenment. As the Apostle declared, spiritual things can be discerned only by spiritually minded. And as Jesus taught, a new birth, birth by the Spirit, is the passport to the Kingdom of God.

Such experience implies that Tao, or God, can be known. He can be known through the highest values of the human heart. The four virtues of man, expressed in Li, find their place in Tao. As Browning put it of love:

"Do I find love so full in my nature, God's ultimate gift,
That I doubt his own love can compete with it? Here the parts
shift?²
Here, the creature surpass the Creator,-the end what Began?"

But God can best of all be apprehended in moments of communion, intuition and enlightenment. The ancient devotees of Tao who practiced meditation have a message to Christians of this modern age of distraction, calling upon them to relearn the lost art of communion, when with door shut upon the world they

1. I Pet.1:15,16. 2. Saul.

come into direct touch with the Father "who seeth in secret", and enter into the ineffable joy the apprehension of Him imparts.

But most of all, as Christians maintain, God is to be known in the Incarnation. Even this, as we discovered, is part, not of the universal Tao idea, but of its Buddhistic expression. The Absolute Tao has been revealed; or as the Christian Scriptures put it, "Tao became flesh" in the person of Jesus Christ. And not only so, but he is reincarnated in his followers, empowering them, and assuring victory in the struggle toward holiness.

The supremacy of faith is part of the Tao idea. Men find Tao as little children, it is a gift. Then by the exercise of this faith, a man of Tao finds himself able to exert power over nature, literally to remove mountains. How suggestive this is of the requirements for entrance into the Kingdom of heaven, and the apprehension of the Savior, and how suggestive of the mighty works that his followers are called upon to work through faith.

But Tao is practical. It demands faith working through love in common activities of life. A mystical reception of Tao is not enough, it must incite one to live amid the five relationships victoriously. Transcendent Tao is immanent in the obligations and relationships of life. Faith, as the apostle said, without works is dead. The indwelling Christ empowers for service. If one lives by the Spirit, by the Spirit he

should also walk.¹ Eternal principles bounded by temporal categories, must express themselves in Christian living.

Tao implies more than activity as the most potent thing of life. The intrinsic influence of character is emphasized. The man of Tao, without undue effort, transforms men and communities. A life lived in the power of Christ, as a light shining before men, will lead men to glorify the Heavenly Father and follow the Master.

This suggests that more than personal righteousness is expected. The whole outlook of literature on Tao, particularly in its Confucian aspect, is toward a transformed society. Tao is that by which kings reigned and families prospered. Even the Buddhist prayer is that the world might become a "Tao ch'ang". And the Christian strives to make the will of God potent in state and society, and looks to the day when the entire earth shall be filled with his knowledge and glory.

The potency of right and its assured victory is at the heart of the Tao idea. Non-activity (Wu Wei) implies it. "Stand still, and see the salvation of Jehovah,"² the patriarch exclaimed, and set a standard which God's servants in their hurried impatience to transform the world have been prone to forget. More of faith in His Power and Providence, less of striving in one's own might, and a confidence of thereby seeing victory for the cause of Christ--this is a thoroughly Christian application of a great truth contained in Tao.

1. Gal.5:25. 2. Ex.14:13.

The last great value in the Tao idea is that of the immortality of the soul. Though sometimes the soul was conceived of as impersonal, and its immortality as reabsorption into the great Principle, the truth was ever emphasized that good will not perish and that the ultimate end of man will be a state of ineffable blessedness. When the transitory is sloughed off, the world of values will remain, and, with a fuller faith than the old Chinese philosophers, we feel that that which alone on earth could appreciate them, the human soul, must abide, and that in Christ death will be swallowed up in victory, not of absorption into God, but of personal, individual fellowship with Him for all ages.

Such are the Christian values in the idea of Tao. It is a great and comprehensive idea, worthy of finding a large place in Christian thought. Its utilization by the Christian forces of China has only begun, but some day, when Chinese civilization shall have followed the lead of Greek civilization and acknowledged the supremacy of Christ, Confucius, Lao-tze, and the galaxy of sages will take their place with Plato and Socrates as far-off heralds of the day, and, like the philosophical conceptions of those Greek philosophers, the Tao they travailed to see realized among their people will hold its place as a cherished Christian treasure, and will find its complete realization in a society impregnated with the spirit and life of the Tao who became flesh and gave men the power to become the sons of God.

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