CHAPTER VII

Lessons for Women [1]

INSTRUCTIONS IN SEVEN CHAPTERS FOR A WOMAN'S ORDINARY WAY OF LIFE IN THE FIRST CENTURY A. D.

Introduction

I, the unworthy writer, am unsophisticated, unenlightened, and by nature unintelligent, but I am fortunate both to have received not a little favor from my scholarly father,[2] and to have had a (cultured) mother and instructresses upon whom to rely for a literary education as well as for training in good manners. More than forty years have passed since at the age of fourteen I took up the dustpan and the broom [3] in the Ts'ao family. During this time with trembling heart [4] I feared constantly that I might disgrace my parents, and that I might multiply difficulties for both the women and the men [5] (of my husband's family). Day and night I was distressed in heart, (but) I labored without confessing weariness. Now and hereafter, however, I know how to escape (from such fears).[6]

Being careless, and by nature stupid, I taught and trained (my children) without system. Consequently I fear that my son Ku [7] may bring disgrace upon the Imperial Dynasty [8] by whose Holy Grace [9] he has unprecedentedly received the extraordinary privilege [10] of wearing the Gold and the Purple, a privilege for the attainment of which (by my son, I) a humble subject never even hoped. Nevertheless, now that he is a man and able to plan his own life, I need not again have concern for him. But I do grieve that you, my daughters,[11] just now at the age for marriage, have not at this time had gradual training and advice; that you still have not learned the proper customs for married women. I fear that by failure in good manners in other families you will humiliate both your ancestors and your clan. I am

now seriously ill, life is uncertain. As I have thought of you all in so untrained a state, I have been uneasy many a time for you. At hours of leisure I have composed in seven chapters these instructions under the title, "Lessons for Women." In order that you may have something wherewith to benefit your persons, I wish every one of you, my daughters, each to write out a copy for yourself.

From this time on every one of you strive to practise these (lessons).

Chapter I

Humility

On the third day after the birth of a girl the ancients [12] observed three customs: (first) to place the baby below [13] the bed; (second) to give her a potsherd with which to play; [14] and (third) to announce her birth to her ancestors by an offering.[15] Now to lay the baby below the bed plainly indicated that she is lowly and weak, and should regard it as her primary duty to humble herself before others. To give her potsherds with which to play indubitably signified that she should practise labor and consider it her primary duty to be industrious.[16] To announce her birth before her ancestors clearly meant that she ought to esteem as her primary duty the continuation of the observance of worship [17] in the home.

These three ancient customs epitomize a woman's ordinary way of life and the teachings of the traditional ceremonial rites and regulations. Let a woman modestly yield to others; let her respect others; let her put others first, herself last. Should she do something good, let her not mention it; should she do something bad, let her not deny it. Let her bear disgrace; let her even endure [18] when others speak or do evil to her. Always let her seem to tremble and to fear. (When a woman follows such maxims as these,) then she may be said to humble herself before others.

Let a woman retire late to bed, but rise early to duties; let her not dread tasks by day or by night. Let her not refuse to perform domestic duties whether easy or difficult. That which must be done, let her finish completely, tidily, and systematically.[19] (When a woman follows such rules as these,) then she may be said to be industrious.

Let a woman be correct in manner and upright in character in order to serve her husband. Let her live in purity and quietness (of spirit),

and attend to her own affairs. Let her love not gossip and silly laughter. Let her cleanse and purify and arrange in order the wine and the food for the offerings to the ancestors.[20] (When a woman observes such principles as these,) then she may be said to continue ancestral worship.[21]

No woman who observes these three (fundamentals of life) has ever had a bad reputation or has fallen into disgrace. If a woman fail to observe them, how can her name be honored; how can she but bring disgrace upon herself?

Chapter II

Husband and Wife

The Way of husband and wife is intimately connected with *Yin* and *Yang,*[22] and relates [23] the individual to gods and ancestors. Truly it is the great principle of Heaven and Earth, and the great basis of human relationships. [24] Therefore the "Rites" [25] honor union of man and woman; and in the "Book of Poetry" the "First Ode" [26] manifests the principle of marriage. For these reasons the relationship cannot but be an important one.

If a husband be unworthy then he possesses nothing by which to control his wife. If a wife be unworthy, then she possesses nothing with which to serve her husband. If a husband does not control his wife, then the rules of conduct manifesting his authority are abandoned and broken.[27] If a wife does not serve her husband, then the proper relationship (between men and women) and the natural order of things are neglected and destroyed. As a matter of fact the purpose of these two (the controlling of women by men, and the serving of men by women) is the same.

Now examine the gentlemen of the present age. They only know that wives must be controlled, and that the husband's rules of conduct manifesting his authority must be established. They therefore teach their boys to read books and (study) histories. But they do not in the least understand that husbands and masters must (also) be served,[28] and that the proper relationship and the rites should be maintained.

Yet only to teach men and not to teach[29] women,—is that not ignoring the essential relation between them? According to the "Rites," it is the rule to begin to teach children to read at the age of eight

years,[30] and by the age of fifteen years they ought then to be ready for cultural training.[31] Only why should it not be (that girls' education as well as boys' be) according to this principle?

Chapter III

Respect and Caution [32]

As *Yin* and *Yang* are not of the same nature, so man and woman have different characteristics.[33] The distinctive quality of the *Yang* is rigidity; the function of the *Yin* is yielding. Man is honored for strength; a woman is beautiful on account of her gentleness.[34] Hence there arose the common saying: [35] "A man though born like a wolf may, it is feared, become a weak monstrosity; a woman though born like a mouse may, it is feared, become a tiger."

Now for self-culture [36] nothing equals respect for others. To counteract firmness nothing equals compliance. Consequently it can be said that the Way of respect and acquiescence is woman's most important principle of conduct.[37] So respect may be defined as nothing other than holding on to that which is permanent; and acquiescence nothing other than being liberal and generous. Those who are steadfast in devotion know that they should stay in their proper places; those who are liberal and generous esteem others, and honor and serve (them).

If husband and wife have the habit of staying together, never leaving one another, and following each other around [38] within the limited space of their own rooms, then they will lust after and take liberties with one another. From such action improper language will arise between the two. This kind of discussion may lead to licentiousness. Out of licentiousness will be born a heart of disrespect to the husband. Such a result comes from not knowing that one should stay in one's proper place.

Furthermore, affairs may be either crooked or straight; words may be either right or wrong. Straightforwardness cannot but lead to quarreling; crookedness cannot but lead to accusation. If there are really accusations and quarrels, then undoubtedly there will be angry affairs. Such a result comes from not esteeming others, and not honoring and serving (them).

(If wives) suppress not contempt for husbands, then it follows

(that such wives) rebuke and scold (their husbands). (If husbands) stop not short of anger, then they are certain to beat (their wives). The correct relationship between husband and wife is based upon harmony and intimacy, and (conjugal) love is grounded in proper union. Should actual blows be dealt, how could matrimonial relationship be preserved? Should sharp words be spoken, how could (conjugal) love exist? If love and proper relationship both be destroyed, then husband and wife are divided.

Chapter IV

Womanly Qualifications

A woman (ought to) have four qualifications:[39] (1) womanly virtue; (2) womanly words; (3) womanly bearing; and (4) womanly work. Now what is called womanly virtue need not be brilliant ability, exceptionally different from others. Womanly words need be neither clever in debate nor keen in conversation. Womanly appearance requires neither a pretty nor a perfect face and form. Womanly work need not be work done more skilfully than that of others.

To guard carefully her chastity; to control circumspectly her behavior; in every motion to exhibit modesty; and to model each act on the best usage, this is womanly virtue.

To choose her words with care; to avoid vulgar language; to speak at appropriate times; and not to weary others[40] (with much conversation), may be called the characteristics of womanly words.

To wash and scrub filth away; to keep clothes and ornaments fresh and clean; to wash the head and bathe[41] the body regularly, and to keep the person free from disgraceful filth, may be called the characteristics of womanly bearing.

With whole-hearted devotion to sew and to weave; to love not gossip and silly laughter; in cleanliness and order (to prepare) the wine and food for serving guests, may be called the characteristics of womanly work.

These four qualifications characterize the greatest virtue of a woman. No woman can afford to be without them. In fact they are very easy to possess if a woman only treasure them in her heart. The ancients[42] had a saying: "Is Love[43] afar off? If I desire love, then love is at hand!" So can it be said of these qualifications.

Chapter V

Whole-hearted Devotion [44]

Now in the "Rites" is written the principle that a husband may marry again, but there is no Canon that authorizes a woman to be married the second time.[45] Therefore it is said of husbands as of Heaven, that as certainly as people cannot run away from Heaven,[46] so surely a wife cannot leave [47] (a husband's home).

If people in action or character disobey the spirits of Heaven and of Earth,[48] then Heaven punishes them.[49] Likewise if a woman errs [50] in the rites and in the proper mode of conduct, then her husband esteems her lightly. The ancient book, "A Pattern for Women," (*Nü Hsien*)[51] says: "To obtain the love of one man is the crown of a woman's life; to lose the love of one man is to miss the aim in woman's life." [52] For these reasons a woman cannot but seek to win her husband's heart. Nevertheless, the beseeching wife need not use flattery, coaxing words, and cheap methods to gain intimacy.

Decidedly nothing is better (to gain the heart of a husband) than whole-hearted devotion and correct manners. In accordance with the rites and the proper mode of conduct, (let a woman) live a pure life. Let her have ears that hear not licentiousness; and eyes that see not depravity. When she goes outside her own home, let her not be conspicuous in dress and manners. When at home let her not neglect her dress. Women should not assemble in groups, nor gather together, (for gossip and silly laughter). They should not stand watching in the gateways. (If a woman follows) these rules, she may be said to have whole-hearted devotion and correct manners.

If, in all her actions, she is frivolous, she sees and hears (only) that which pleases herself. At home her hair is dishevelled, and her dress is slovenly. Outside the home she emphasizes her femininity to attract attention; she says what ought not to be said; and she looks at what ought not to be seen. (If a woman does such as) these, (she may be) said to be without whole-hearted devotion and correct manners.

Chapter VI

Implicit Obedience [53]

Now "to win the love of one man is the crown of a woman's life; to lose the love of one man is her eternal disgrace." [54] This saying advises a fixed will and a whole-hearted devotion for a woman. Ought she then to lose the hearts of her father- and mother-in-law? [55]

There are times when love may lead to differences of opinion [56] (between individuals); there are times when duty may lead to disagreement. Even should the husband say that he loves something,[57] when the parents-in-law say "no," this is called a case of duty leading to disagreement. This being so, then what about the hearts of the parents-in-law? Nothing is better than an obedience which sacrifices personal opinion.

Whenever the mother-in-law says, "Do not do that," and if what she says is right, unquestionably the daughter-in-law obeys. Whenever the mother-in-law says, "Do that," even if what she says is wrong, still the daughter-in-law submits unfailingly to the command.

Let a woman not act contrary to the wishes and the opinions of parents-in-law about right and wrong; let her not dispute with them what is straight [58] and what is crooked. Such (docility) may be called obedience which sacrifices personal opinion. Therefore the ancient book, "A Pattern for Women," says: "If a daughter-in-law (who follows the wishes of her parents-in-law) is like an echo and a shadow,[59] how could she not be praised?"

Chapter VII

Harmony with Younger Brothers- and Sisters-in-law

In order for a wife to gain the love of her husband, she must win for herself the love of her parents-in-law. To win for herself the love of her parents-in-law, she must secure for herself the good will of younger brothers- and sisters-in-law. For these reasons the right and the wrong, the praise and the blame of a woman alike depend upon younger brothers- and sisters-in-law. Consequently it will not do for a woman to lose their affection.

They are stupid [60] both who know not that they must not lose (the

hearts of) younger brothers- and sisters-in-law, and who cannot be in harmony with them in order to be intimate with them. Excepting only the Holy Men, few are able to be faultless. Now Yen Tzû's [61] greatest virtue was that he was able to reform. Confucius praised him (for not committing a misdeed) the second time.[62] (In comparison with him) a woman is the more likely (to make mistakes).

Although a woman possesses a worthy woman's qualifications, and is wise and discerning by nature, is she able to be perfect? Yet if a woman live in harmony with her immediate family,[63] unfavorable criticism will be silenced (within the home. But) if a man and woman disagree, then this evil will be noised abroad. Such consequences are inevitable. The "Book of Changes" [64] says:

"Should two hearts harmonize,
The united strength can cut gold.
Words from hearts which agree,
Give forth fragrance like the orchid."

This saying may be applied to (harmony in the home).

Though a daughter-in-law [65] and her younger sisters-in-law are equal in rank, nevertheless (they should) respect (each other); though love (between them may be) sparse, their proper relationship should be intimate. Only the virtuous, the beautiful, the modest, and the respectful (young women) can accordingly rely upon the sense of duty to make their affection sincere, and magnify love to bind their relationships firmly.

Then the excellence and the beauty of such a daughter-in-law becomes generally known. Moreover, any flaws and mistakes are hidden and unrevealed. Parents-in-law boast of her good deeds; her husband is satisfied with her.[66] Praise of her radiates, making her illustrious in district and in neighborhood; and her brightness reaches to her own father and mother.

But a stupid and foolish person as an elder sister-in-law uses her rank [67] to exalt herself; as a younger sister-in-law, because of parents' favor, she becomes filled with arrogance. If arrogant, how can a woman live in harmony with others? If love and proper relationships be perverted, how can praise be secured? In such instances the wife's good is hidden, and her faults are declared. The mother-in-law will be angry, and the husband will be indignant. Blame will reverberate and spread in and outside the home. Disgrace will gather upon the

daughter-in-law's person, on the one hand to add humiliation to her own father and mother, and on the other to increase the difficulties of her husband.

Such then is the basis for both honor and disgrace; the foundation for reputation or for ill-repute. Can a woman be too cautious? Consequently to seek the hearts of young brothers- and sisters-in-law decidedly nothing can be esteemed better than modesty and acquiescence.

Modesty is virtue's handle;[68] acquiescence is the wife's (most refined) characteristic. All who possess these two have sufficient for harmony with others. In the "Book of Poetry" it is written that "here is no evil; there is no dart."[69] So it may be said of (these two, modesty and acquiescence).[70]

NOTES

[1] After this translation was made the writer noted that the title "Lessons for Women" had been given to this treatise by MacGowan (see *Imperial History,* second edition, Shanghai, 1906, p. 120, note).

Pan Chao's successors in the field of moral writings have been so much more widely quoted than herself that modern China as well as the west has failed to appreciate the ethical value of this treatise. The classical style of the composition has likewise prevented a widespread knowledge of the contents except as interpreted through traditional teachings. Apparently it is these traditional interpretations which have been the sources for the so-called translations (see Cordier: *Bibliotheca Sinica,* Histoire, I, col. 675) in western literature. A detailed study of the text itself shows that it contains much which could be of permanent value to modern womanhood.

[2] Pan Chao here alluded to her father as 先君.

[3] This expression for the marriage of the girl, 執箕帚, is found in the *Han Shu* (*chüan* 1, 高帝紀上) where the father of the future empress Lü, 呂后, offered her to the future founder of the House of Han. Although the term was perhaps originally used to designate the duties of a girl in her husband's home, this could not be said to be true in the case of the empress Lü. It had become conventionalized, as an expression for the inferior position of the daughter-in-law in relation to her parents-in-law, see commentary on the passage.

While according to tradition fifteen years was the age of marriage for girls, and Pan Chao was married at fourteen, twenty, and even twenty-three is given in the *Li Chi,* see Legge: *Li Ki, SBE,* XXVII, 479.

[4] 戰戰兢兢 is translated by Legge (Book of Poetry, II, V, 2:6, *Classics,* IV, 333): "We should be apprehensive and cautious"——; and 而今而後, 吾知免夫. (Analects 8:3, same, I, 208), "Now and hereafter, I know my escape."

In a note (same, IV, 333) is found 戰=恐, "to be afraid," 兢=戒, "to be cautious"; and (I, 209) 而=自, "from."

Legge (*Classics,* I, 252) noted that "懼 is fear when the troubles have arrived."

[5] The husband's place is without, the wife's place is within, the home. Below, in Chapter VII (p. 89) of "Lessons"), Pan Chao used 外內 as well as 中外.

[6] Or such faults.

[7] Fan Yeh in the biography of Pan Chao called the son Ch'êng, 成. The commentator, Wang Hsien-ch'ien, wrote that while elsewhere it is recorded that the personal name of the son was Ch'êng, and the style Ku, 穀, or Tzû-ku, 穀子, it was strange for the mother to call her son by the style, 字, rather than by the personal name, 名 (*San Fu Chüeh Lu, chüan* 1, p. 1, *Êrh-yu T'ang Ts'ung Shu,* 1821, cf. Chapter III, note 19.) See also *Ch'ung-ting Wên Hsüan Chi P'ing, chüan* 2, 重訂文選集評, 曹大家東征賦 (1778), by Yü Kuang-hua, 于光華.

[8] 清朝, "Pure Dynasty." This was chosen by the Manchus for the name of the recent dynasty, 1644-1911.

[9] E. H. Parker ("The Educational Curriculum of the Chinese," *China Review,* IX [1880-1881], 5) wrote that as late as the Manchu dynasty the successful candidates for *hsiu-ts'ai,* 秀才, at the graduation ceremony *kotow* thrice to his Majesty, and this is called 謝聖思.

[10] According to the *Han Shu* (*chüan* 19, 百官公卿表) this allowed two thousand piculs of grain, the gold seal, and the purple robe. See biography of Pan Chao, p. 41; the memorial in behalf of Pan Ch'ao, p. 74; *Tz'û Yüan,* 子, p. 109, 戎, p. 4.

[11] Not necessarily only her own daughters, but girls of her family. This term, 諸女, seems to deny the assertion both of the French missionaries and of S. Wells Williams that these "Lessons for Women" were written to the empress who was a pupil of Pan Chao. In (*Hui-hsiang*) *Tung Han Yen-i* (*chüan* 4, 繪像東漢演義, 第 58 回) the writer had Pan Chao herself call her daughters into her presence for them to read these "Lessons," and for her to explain to them the difficult passages, and had Ma Rung to order the wives and daughters of his family to study with the daughters of Pan Chao. See p. 41.

[12] Pan Chao does not indicate that any such custom existed in her time, it was the custom of ancients—people who were "ancient" more than eighteen hundred years ago.

[13] That is: "on the floor, or the ground," cf. Maspero: same, pp. 128-129.

[14] In the Book of Poetry (II, IV, 5:8-9, *Classics,* IV, 307) it is written that "Daughters shall be born to him——. They shall have tiles to play with." W. Scarborough ("Chinese Modes of Address," *Chinese Recorder,* X [1879], 267) wrote that "the birth of a daughter is (1879) politely spoken of as 弄瓦."

S. Wells Williams ("Education of Woman in China," *Chinese Recorder,* IX [1880], 45) stated that "The tile is here used as an emblem of weaving, because women prepare the fibres of the nettle-hemp and grass-cloth for the loom by rubbing them on tiles, even to this day." (1880).

Giles (*Adversaria Sinica,* p. 312) wrote of "'tiles as playthings for girls' from which it has been too hastily inferred that the Chinese have themselves admitted their absolute contempt for women in general. Yet this idea never really entered into the mind of the writer—the tile, so far from being a

mere potsherd implying discourtesy was really an honorable symbol of domesticity, being used in ancient times as a weight for the spindle." See also B. Laufer: *Jade, A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion* (Chicago, 1912), p. 100.

[15] Legge (*Classics*, I, 198 and 232) noted that 齋 means "to fast," or rather denotes "the whole religious adjustment enjoined before the offering of sacrifice, . . . Sacrifices presented in such a state of mind were sure to be acceptable."

L. C. Hopkins ("Working the Oracle," *New China Review*, I [1919], 113) wrote that "Lo Chên-yü, 羅振玉, in his *Yin Hsü Shu-ch'i K'ao-shih*, 殷虛書契考釋, or 'Critical Interpretation of the Records of the Tumulus of Yin,' Introduction to the sixth section, on 'The Oracle Sentences,' says there are inquiries as to (1) the sacrifice known as *tsi*, 祭 (see below, note 17; (2) that known as *kao*, 告, announcement——; and (4) ordinary journeys, literally 出入, going out and entering."

[16] Legge (Analects 13:19, *Classics*, I, 271) translated 執事敬, "In the management of business, to be reverently attentive." Note the use of 執 above, note 3.

[17] For women's place in the family group in the *Li Chi*, see Legge, *SBE*, XXVII and XXVIII; in the Chou dynasty, see Maspero: same, pp. 120, 121, 123-128; in ancestral worship, same, p. 264.

In the *Chinese Repository* (I, 1832, 500) an observer wrote of "rites, performed at the tombs of ancestors, parents, and friends—(that) the practice is universal, and when the men are absent from their families, the women go to perform the rates." J. G. Andersson (*The Dragon and the Foreign Devils*, Boston, 1928, pp. 110-111) gives an account of a mother and her son making an offering to the memory of the lately deceased father of the family, who "had been the headman of his village, and as a mark of honor toward the deceased and his widow, the boy——had been made his father's successor in office with his mother as assistant."

S. Wells Williams ("The Perpetuity of Chinese Institutions," *Chinese Recorder*, XIII, 1882, 84) related that "Underlying these (Chinese national) characteristics is one general idea——. This is the worship and obedience due to parents and ancestors—(an) indirect result of which has been to define and elevate the position of the wife and mother. As there can be only one 'Illustrious consort' (of the father), 先妣, named on the tablet, there is of course only one wife, 妻, acknowledged in the family. There are concubines, 妾,——but this acknowledged parity of the mother with the father, in the most sacred position she can be placed, has done much to maintain the purity and right influence of women."

L. C. Hopkins ("Working the Oracle," *New China Review*, I 1919, 249) stated that of "Various sacrificial services now known as *tsi*—— Lo observes on the evidence of the Bone inscriptions that the word *tsi* or *chi* denoted only one of the total number of sacrificial ceremonies, and not, as it became later, the general term for all." See above, note 15.

[18] 含垢. Literally "Let her hold filth in her mouth, let her swallow insult."

[19] 整理. Pan Chao here used a term which in modern writings carries the reader from the concrete picture of a woman tidying up self and home as she goes about her tasks to the fact of the disorder in Chinese historical records calling for a scientific study of all source materials, see article by Hu Shih in 古史討論集, pp. 198 ff; as well as other articles in the same

book. See preface by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao to his lectures (1925): same; also Ku Chieh-kang's *Ku Shih Pien,* Preface (pp. 1-103), pp. 30-59 ff. Hu Shih (*China Year Book,* 1924, p. 650) calls 整理國故 the "systematization of the national heritage."

[20] G. Jamieson, "Translations from the *Lu-li,* or General Code of Laws," *China Review,* X (1881-1882), 97:" But the wife had special duties to perform in the periodical sacrifices. She was a sort of priestess assisting her husband, and ——. It was her duty to prepare the sacrificial cakes, the rice, the millet, and the fruits, and to see them served up upon the proper vessels."

[21] Same, VIII (1879-1880), 197: "The 宗, *Tsung,* correspond precisely to the group known as the Agnates (from the point of view of a woman) of the Civil Law, except they do not include adopted strangers by blood." For table of *Tsung,* see same, p. 200.

Legge (*Classics,* I, 271, in note 20) wrote that "宗族 is a designation for all who form one body having the same ancestor (note the use of the term in Introduction above)—being all of the same surname from the great-great grandfather to the great-great grandson—the circle of his relatives." For Chinese Family Nomenclature, see H. P. Wilkinson: *New China Review,* III (1921), 159-191. For a description of a clan, see P. G. von Möllendorf: "The Family Law of the Chinese," *JRAS, NCB,* XXVII (1892-1893), 170-171.

G. Jamieson (same, VIII [1879-1880], 201) noted that the custom of ancestral sacrifices is in harmony with the system of succession. "Every family has its own particular *sacra,* consisting of the ancestral tablets, which are handed down from father to son, increasing in number as one generation is added to another, and it is the duty of the eldest son or the adopted successor to take charge of these, and to perform the customary Rites with all due reverence."

The *Li-Chi, Hwan I,* Legge, *SBE,* XXVIII, 428) says that "The ceremony of marriage was intended to be bond of love between two (families of different) surnames, with a view, in its retrospective character, to secure the services in the ancestral temple, and in its prospective character, to secure the continuance of the family line."

G. Jamieson (same, X, 1881-1882, p. 97) quoted the following comment on the above passage from the *Li Chi*: "The superior man marries so that when he sacrifices to his ancestors he may—have some one to assist him in the worship—and when a wife is divorced the formula says, 'So-and-so is not intelligent. She is incompetent to assist me in serving up the offerings at the sacrifices.'"

Herbert Chatley (Magical Practice in China," *JRAS, NCB,* XLVIII, 1917, pp. 16-17) wrote that "it is perfectly clear that the Chinese behave and have behaved for millennia as if the soul of each clan were a continuous organism, having an annual pulse, incarnate in the living descendants, transfusable into women brought into the clan by marriage and into children co-opted by adoption, immanent in all lives associated with the family, and present at the tombs, the ancestral temple, and the family altar." Confucius certainly believed that a worshipper should behave as if the ancestors were present (Analects 3:12, Legge, I, 159).

For a modern scholar on ancestral rites, see E. T. C. Werner's translation of an article by Hu Shih, "Reform in Chinese Mourning Rites," *New China Review,* II (1920), 225-247; *Hu Shih Wên Ts'un, chüan* 4, pp. 132 ff. (cf. Chapter IV, note 11).

[22] Léopold de Saussure ("On the Antiquity of the *Yin-Yang* Theory," *New China Review,* IV, 1922, 457-459) noted that "If this idea has been little understood up to now, it is simply because the unity and the value of the astronomico-cosmological system of Chinese antiquity have not been sufficiently recognized. The fundamental basis of the Chinese conception lies in the revolution of the seasons, in the alternation of heat and cold, of darkness and light. The two antithetic principles were later" named *Yin-Yang.*

The *Yin* and *Yang* according to Maspero (same, p. 482, note 1) appeared for the first time in a philosophic sense in the *Hsi Tz'û,* 繫辭, a work which he dates about the end of the fifth century B. C. The definition of *Yin* and *Yang* as forces he considers to be an introduction of modern ideas into ancient Chinese thought (same, note 2).

Li Ju-chên's "Flowers in the Mirror," 李汝珍: 鏡花緣 (c 1825) is an early nineteenth century protest against the inequality of man and woman, and a declaration for equality of the sexes, see Hu Shih's edition, I, 19-49, together with Hu Shih's comments in an article, "A Chinese Declaration of Rights for Woman," *Chinese Soc. and Polit. Science Review,* VIII (1924), 100-109.

[23] Compare 通達神明 with 通于明神, pp. 117, 118.

[24] Mencius (V, I, 2:1, *Classics,* II, 346) said, 男女居室, 人之大倫也, "that male and female should dwell together, is the greatest of human relations."

G. Jamieson (same, X, 1881-1882, 96) stated that "Marriage has always been considered by the Chinese as the most solemn and important act of life. It is the root and origin of future existence. An unholy union is like want of harmony between heaven and earth." For the Five Relationships, see Mayers, II, no. 149.

S. Wells Williams ("Education of Woman in China," *Chinese Recorder,* XI, 1880, 47) wrote that "It is well known that the language has one character, 妻, for wife; and quite another, 妾, for the other woman brought into the family. The relation between the two is acknowledged in the eyes of Chinese law, but our terms of first and second wives, or wife and concubine, do not exactly convey the native idea. The *Tsieh,* 妾, is not a wife at all, of which there can be only one, ——. The relation between the two is like that of Sarah and Hagar in Abraham's household, but the *tsieh* cannot be summarily ejected with her children from the family. She is taken into it by a kind of purchase and without the formalities of the first marriage,—yet the children of the *tsieh* are regarded as legal heirs of the family."

[25] After the Han dynasty there were three Chinese classics into which the name *Li,* 禮, entered: (1) 周禮, (2) 儀禮 (3) 禮記. They are often called "The Three Rituals," see Wylie: *Notes,* p. 4; Mayers, II, no. 42. For the significance of the character, and a discussion of the Classics, see Legge: *SBE,* XXVII, Intro., 2-11; also *Li Chi,* Legge's translation, *Hwan I, SBE,* XXVIII, 428-434. Maspero (same, pp. XII, 579, 591) dates *Chou Li,* fourth and third centuries B. C., with revisions and interpolations at the time of the Han; *I Li,* a Han work from earlier sources, and *Li Chi,* fourth to first century B. C. treatises compiled under the Han scholars.

Legge (same, p. 430): "Whence it is said, 'The ceremony of marriage is the root of the other ceremonial observances."

[26] Legge: *Classics,* IV, 1-5.

[27] See the Book of Poetry, I, IV, 8, *Classics,* IV, 85.

[28] Analects 20:3 (*Classics,* I, 354): 不知禮, 無以立也, "Without an acquaintance with the rules of propriety, it is impossible for the character to be established." And note that this is from the section where the genuineness of the text is questioned, and thus would reflect the more Han Confucian thought.

E. H. Parker ("The Philosopher Sün-tsz," fifth chapter, *New China Review,* IV, 1922, p. 14) translated 禮義, "courtesy and equity." Cf. Dubs: *Hsüntze,* Chap. VIII, *"Li*: The Rules of Proper Conduct."

[29] The Analects (15:38, *Classics,* I, 305; cf. 275) records 有教無類, "The Master said, 'In teaching there should be no distinction of classes.'" Yet nowhere do Confucius' sayings show any interest in teaching women.

The opening sentence of the "Doctrine of the Mean" is: 天命之謂性, 率性之謂道 修道之謂教, which Legge (*Classics,* I, 383) translated: "What Heaven has conferred is called The Nature; an accordance with this nature is called The Path (of duty); the regulation of this path is called Instruction."

Leonard Hsü of Yenching University, Peiping, translates this:

> "What God has endowed is nature;
> The pursuit of nature is the Way;
> The cultivation of the Way is education."

[30] *Li Chi, chüan* 5, 內則: 八年出入門戶 (*SBE,* XXVII, 478.)

[31] Legge (*Classics,* I, 196, note 4) translated 學, "liberal education." And in a note on Analects 1:6 (same, p. 140) he wrote that "after the performance of these things, 則以學文, 'he should employ them in polite studies'—not literary studies merely, but all the accomplishments of a gentleman also: ceremonies, music, archery, horsemanship, writing, and numbers." Cf. Maspero: same, p. 131.

[32] The Analects (8:2) says that 愼而無禮則葸, which Legge translated (*Classics,* I, 208): "Carefulness without the rules of propriety becomes timidity."

The Analects (7:12) also says that 子之所愼, which Legge (*Classics,* I, 198) translated: "The things in reference to which the Master exercised the greatest caution."

[33] See note 22 above.

The Chinese have a common expression, "Woman is woman; man is man"—the two being different, they are not comparable.

[34] I. T. Headland ("Chinese Women from a Chinese Standpoint," *Chinese Recorder,* XXVIII, 1897, 14) quoting, translated this passage: "The *Yin* and *Yang,* like the male and the female, are very different principles; the virtue of the *Yang* is firmness; the virtue of the *Yin* is flexibility. So man's strength is his honor; woman's weakness is her beauty."

From the "Great Plan" of the Book of History, Legge (V, IV, 17, *Classics,* III, 333) translated that "for the reserved and retiring there is the strong, 剛, rule; for the lofty and intelligent there is the mild, 柔, rule."

In the hexagrams of the *I Ching,* 易經, the two elemental lines correspond to the two primordial substances *Yin* and *Yang,* and the unbroken lines are called *"Kang"* or "hard" lines, and the broken ones *"jou"* or "soft" lines, cf Maspero: same, p. 483.

Mencius (VII, II, 25:5, translated by Legge: *Classics,* II, 490) said that

"He whose goodness has been filled up is what is called a beautiful man," 充實之謂美.

Huai-nan Tzû's 陰以柔爲用, (*chüan* 1, p. 10b), F. H. Balfour ("The Principle of Nature," *China Review,*" IX, 1880-1881, 288) translated 柔勝出於已者其力不可量, "weakness can overcome what is far stronger than itself." See also same, p. 289, and Lao Tzû's *"Tao Tê Ching,"* Chap. 61, 謙德, P. Carus: *Lao Tsze's Tao-Teh-King* (Chicago, 1898), p. 128.

Giles (*Dict.,* no. 8139) translated 男以疆爲貴, "strength is the glory of man"; and (no. 8419) 女以弱爲美, "weakness is woman's charm."

[35] Giles (*Dict.,* no. 8139) translated "if you have a son like a wolf, you still fear lest he should be a weakling"; and (no. 8419) "if your daughter is (timid) as a mouse, you still fear lest she should turn out a tigress."

[36] The "Great Learning," translated by Legge (*Classics,* I, 359), says that "All must consider the cultivation of the person the root of everything besides." Cf. Mencius VI, I, 16; VII, I, 1-3, *Classics,* II, 419, 449-450.

This term, 修身, was used for the name of the ethics which was given a place with textbook even in the primary grades of the government schools of China for the first few years of the Republic.

[37] Mencius (III, II, 2:2, *Classics,* II, 265) said: 以順爲正者, 妾婦之道也, "to look upon compliance as their correct course is the rule for women."

[38] 周旋. Literally "follow around"; idiomatically, "to pay attention to."

[39] *Li Chi,* Legge: *SBE,* XXVIII, 432; "she was taught here (three months before her marriage) the virtue (德), the speech (言), the carriage (容), and the work (功), of the wife." Cf. Maspero: same, p. 133.

[40] In the Analects (14:14, *Classics,* I, 280) it is found that "My Master speaks when it is time to speak, and 人不厭其言, so men do not get tired of his speaking."

[41] Legge (*Classics,* I, 284, note 22) wrote that "Properly, 沐, is to wash the hair with the water in which rice has been washed, and 浴 is to wash the body with hot water."

[42] Analects 7:29, *Classics,* I, 204: 仁遠乎哉,我欲仁, 斯仁至矣. "The Master said: 'Is virtue a thing remote? I wish to be virtuous, and lo! virtue is at hand.'" This is the one place where Pan Chao gave a direct quotation from the Analects or from Confucius without crediting it to its source.

[43] On Analects 1:2, Legge (*Classics,* I, 139, note 2) stated that "仁 is explained as 'the principle of love,' 'the virtue of the heart.' 仁 is man,'—'benevolence' often comes near it."

Léopold de Saussure, "On the Origin of Ideo-phonetic Characters," *New China Review,* III (1921), 392, note) wrote that "仁, *jên* (humanity), is merely a special meaning of the word 人, *jên* (man). Though deprived of accurate views on the etymological evolution, the Chinese scholars point out this phonetic identity in the saying: 仁者人也: 'Humanity is man.'" Cf. *T'oung Pao* (1910), p. 244 (1913), p. 808; Dubs: same. Maspero (same, pp. 464-465) prefers "l'Altruisme," which must be distinguished from "l'Amour Universel" preached by Mo Ti.

[44] This is just the meaning of the western rime:

"All that you do, do with your might,
Things done by halves are never done right."

Chapter V of "Lessons" applies this spirit in the broad field of the relationship of man and wife.

[45] This sentence was written about the same time that the Corinthian Christians were asking Paul what his advice was about widows. Cf. *Li Chi* (Legge, *SBE,* XXVII, 439): "Once mated with her husband, all her life she will not change (her feeling of duty to him) and hence, when the husband dies she will not marry (again)."

[46] Analects 3:13, Legge (*Classics,* I, 159): "He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray."

[47] Not even after the death of a husband does the worthy wife yet leave her husband's home.

[48] G. M. H. Playfair ("One Phase of Chinese Superstition," *China Review,* XVI, 1887-1888, 232) wrote that "a belief in the personal intervention of their gods in human affairs is a deep-rooted tenet of Chinese faith." Cf. The poem "Travelling Eastward," pp. 117-118.

[49] For three Chinese stories to illustrate, see G. C. Stent, "The Double Mail Murderers," *China Review,* X (1881-1882), 41-43; G. M. H. Playfair, "The Wicked Mother-in-law," same, XI (1882-1883), 173; Anonymous, "The Restoration of the Jadestone Ring," same, XIII (1884-1885), 247-250.

[50] P. G. von Möllendorf ("The Family Law of the Chinese, and Its Comparative Relations with that of Other Nations," *JRAS, NCB,* XIII, 1878, 111, 115) wrote that "the wife comes into the power of her husband,—though she shares the rank and the position of her husband,—the husband has the right to inflict corporal punishment on her."

[51] 女憲. This is thought, even by contemporary Chinese historical critics, to be the title of a long lost book. Both Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (died January, 1929) and Ku Chieh-kang told the writer this was their opinion.

[52] The full translation is as follows: "To become of like mind with one man may be said to be the final end; to fail to become of like mind with one man may be said to be the eternal end."

[53] See *Li Chi,* Legge: *SBE,* XXVIII, 430-431. M. F. C. ("The Chinese Daughter-in-law," *Chinese Recorder,* V [1874-1875], 207-214) aptly remarked that "Those who with native ability combine patience and shrewdness, adroitly manage the whole family, while seeming to be everyone's servant. They are so conciliating, and so winning, so wise, and yet so modest," that they win their way.

[54] A repetition of the quotation above; see note 52.

[55] Hu Shih ("The Social Message in Chinese Poetry," *Chinese Soc. and Polit. Science Review,* VII, 1923, 72) wrote that "in the Chinese family system where children are morally bound to live together under the same parental roof, there often arise troubles between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law, between sister-in-law and the younger brothers and sisters. There is in the Han literature of social problems a long poem entitled 'The Wife of Chiao Chung-ch'ing' (孔雀東南飛, *K'ung-ch'üeh Tung-nan Fei*) which tells the story of a faithful wife who was loved by her husband, but whose mother-in-law disliked her so much that she was forced to return to her own home." For translation of this poem see Waley: *The Temple,* pp. 113-125.

[56] The commentary suggests that 離 should be written 麗 which according to an earlier authority means 著. So instead of "differences," the reading would be "agreements."

[57] 云爱 has the idea 云是, but to Pan Chao it was impossible to have the son say "yes" when just below the mother says "no."

[58] Analects 8:2 is translated by Legge (*Classics,* I, 208): 直而無禮則絞, "straightforwardness, without the rules of propriety, becomes rudeness."

[59] This term, 影響 in modern usage has come to mean "influence."

[60] Note the use of 蔽, above, p. 84.

[61] 顏子 or 回, was the favorite disciple of Confucius; see Legge: *Classics,* I, Prolegomena, 112-113; Giles: *Biog.,* no. 2465; Mayers, no. 913; Analects 6:2, 11:6-10, Legge: same, I, 185, 239-240.

Ssû-ma Ch'ien (*chüan* 61, 伯夷列傳) said of Yen Tzû: 附驥尾而行益顯 (translated by Mayers, no. 913), "Clinging (as a fly) to the swift courser's tail his progress was thereby the more brilliant." In the Confucian temple at Ch'ü-fu, 曲阜, is an incised slab which represents Confucius followed by Yen Tzû, and is after the design by Ku Kai-chih, see Waley: *Chinese Painting,* p. 63.

Wang Ch'ung (IX, 28, "Confucius Interrogated," 論衡, 問孔, translated by A. B. Hutchinson, *China Review,* VII, 1878-1879, 43, 89, 170, 171, 173, here and elsewhere references to Wang Ch'ung can be found in the later translation [Berlin, 1907, 1911], of *Lun-Hêng* by Alfred Forke) said of Yen Tzû, that he was one of the principal disciples of Confucius, an advocate of education as the proper regenerator. He surpassed in wisdom and in quickness of perception.

[62] Analects 6:2 (*Classics,* I, 185): 不貳過, "he did not repeat a fault." According to this passage Yen Tzû had two virtues: (1) he never visited his anger upon another, 不遷怒; (2) he never repeated a fault.

[63] Literally "the people in the same room." In China today the daughter-in-law often lives in the same room, 室, but not necessarily the same compartment, with her mother-in-law in the women's courtyard, while the husband has his room up in front in the men's courtyard.

[64] See Legge's translation, *SBE,* XVI, 易繫辭 (Maspero: same, p. 480, dates about end of fifth century B. C.). Legge (The Great Appendix, p. 362) incorrectly translated:

"But when two men are one in heart,
Not iron bolts keep them apart;
The words they in their union use,
Fragrance like orchid plants diffuse."

The idea is rather that in loving unity there is strength and beauty as the two (or the group) meet life's responsibilities.

[65] Chang Chü-chêng, 張居正 (1525-1582 A. D., Giles: *Biog.,* no. 41; *Nü Chieh Chih Chieh,* 女誡直解, *Chang Wên-chung Kung Ch'üan Chi* 5, 張文忠公全集五, 1901), considered *sao,* 嫂, an error, and substituted *shu,* 叔, and interpretated this passage to mean that "although younger brothers- and sisters-in-law are of the same rank (as the daughter-in-law), since those of one rank fall into groups, there should be mutual respect, and although love between these may be sparse," etc. In this interpretation he makes *ti,* 敵, to mean *hsiang-têng,* 相等.

[66] 嘉美. Literally "praises the beauty of her character."

[67] The *Li Chi* gave the power of control of other sons' wives to the eldest daughter-in-law, see Legge, *SBE,* XXVII, 457-458.

[68] In the Book of Changes, *Hsi Tz'û* (Legge: same, p. 397), is found: "*Li* shows us the foundation of virtue, *Ch'ien* its handle," 謙德之柄也.

[69] This quotation from the 周頌 section of the Book of Poetry differs from the text of Mao, 毛詩; see Legge (*Classics,* IV, 585) who translated as follows:

在彼無惡 "There (in their States), not disliked;
在此無斁 Here (in Chou), never tired of."

The Li Hsien commentary, 唐太子李賢註, of the T'ang dynasty, says that 射, instead of 斁, followed the Han text, 韓詩, one of the well-known texts of the Book of Poetry in the Han dynasty (see *Classics,* I, Prolegomena, 8-10).

[70] In "Die Lebensgeschichte des Philosophen Mongtse" (*Chinesische Blätter für Wissenschaft und Kunst,* Veröffentlichung des China-Instituts zu Frankfurt am Main, I, 2, 1926, Darmstadt, Germany) Richard Wilhelm (died, 1930) included nine scenes from a scroll of a Sung painting (1101-1126 A.D.) illustrating Pan Chao's "Lessons for Women," which he also translated in part (pp. 83-87). These scenes were photographically reproduced (1913) from a scroll now in the possession of a former high official of the Chinese Government.

CHAPTER VIII

Three Short Poems

A. THE BIRD FROM THE FAR WEST [1]
(circa 101 A. D.)

Pan Chao's elder brother, Governor-general in East Turkestan, the Marquis of Ting-yüan, Pan Ch'ao, presented a (strange) large bird [2] to His Majesty (the emperor Ho, 89–105 A. D.).[3] His Majesty commanded Pan Chao by mandate to compose verses suitable to the occasion of the presentation of the gift, and she wrote:

Congratulations to haunts of the Bird (from the Far West);
Miraculous [4] that peak of the K'un-lun [5] which gave him birth:
He differs greatly from a small one of like name.[6]
Lo! he belongs to the ranks of the Imperial Phoenix.[7]

In his breast he cherishes virtue,[8] he seeks the Righteous One;[9]
Soaring ten thousand *li* he has come, travelling (eastward).
Alighting at the imperial court, he halts, resting;
He delights in the Spirit of Harmony, so at leisure here he roams.

(All ranks at court,) high and low, dwell in mutual love;
They listen to the harmony of music in its refined praise.[10]
(Themselves) from east and west, from south and north;[11]
All think[12] of submitting, and coming to serve and live.