CONFUCIUS AND HIS PORTRAITS.

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

[Dr. Berthold Laufer, an enthusiastic sinologist of critical and pains-taking methods, has visited the Far East on three several expeditions made in the interests of science. The last of these was undertaken on behalf of the Field Museum of Chicago and extended over a period of two years, from 1908 to 1910.

From this expedition he returned with a rich store of objects of general interest in many lines. Among other materials he brought back a collection of portraits of Confucius and other pictorial representations of the ancient sage illustrative of various scenes in his life.

In the present article we have a complete collection of this kind which it is hoped will be of interest to the archeologist, to the student of art and to all persons concerned about the religious development of China.—Ed.]

CHINA stands on the eve of a new phase in her history. What is now going on there is bound to eclipse in importance all other revolutionary movements which have shaken that ancient empire. This time it is not, as so often previously, a military insurrection fostered by an ambitious leader to place himself on the dragon-throne, but it is an earnest struggle for the ideals of true progress. Whether the republic will succeed or not, whether the ruling dynasty will be replaced by another, are points of minor issue; the principal point which constitutes a landmark in the thought development of the country is that the people of China at large have risen to signal to the world their intention to break away from the deadening conventionalities of their past and to awaken to the responsibility of honest and progressive government and administration.

It would be a grave error to believe that the impetus to this awakening has come to them wholly from the source of our own civilization. True it is that the several thousand students sent abroad by China during the last ten years and educated in the principles of constitutionalism and national economy have their share in setting the ball of this unprecedented reform movement a-rolling. But those who have followed the literary activity of the reformers
during the last decade are sensible of the fact that they turned their eyes not only to America and Europe, but also, and still more intently, to the golden age of Confucius and Mencius. They pointed out on more than one occasion that the ideas for which the white man’s progress stood were already contained in the books of Confucian philosophy, and that by accepting these in their original purity without the restrictions of the later dogmatic incrustations and combining them with the best of western principles, an ideal state of affairs could be restored. To cast the old ideas into new forms was their guiding motive, and one of the dreams of this Neo-Confucianism is the final triumph of Confucius in the diffusion of his doctrines all over the world.

The idea that government should be conducted for the benefit of the people is not exclusively American. It was proclaimed as early as in the fourth century B. C. by Mencius (Meng-tse), the most gifted of Confucius’s successors, when he made the bold statement: “The people are the most important element in a nation, and the sovereign is the least.” Nor did he hesitate to follow this idea to the extreme conclusion that an unworthy ruler should be de-throned or put to death; that he has no right to interfere with the general good, and killing in such a case is not murder. In the light of historical facts, we are hardly justified in priding ourselves on our own enlightenment in political matters which covers the brief span of a century, and most of the countries of Europe until the beginning of the nineteenth century were still in the clutches of a system of slavish feudalism the vestiges of which are not yet entirely wiped out. China was the first country in the world to overturn feudalism. As early as in the third century B. C., the genius of the Emperor Ts’in Shih broke the feudal organization of the Chou dynasty and founded in its place a universal empire with a centralized government and equal chances for all to enter public service. Since that time no privilege of birth has ever availed, and a sane democratic tendency has always been a strong leaven in Chinese polity.

There is no doubt that in the course of time the new organizers of the empire will succeed in blending the new ideas pouring in from outside with the inheritance of the past to form a new vital organism, and that the new China will surprise the world again by originating new ideas. A new Confucianism will arise, not the one transformed into an unchangeable church-dogma by Chu Hi, the autocratic scholiast of the Sung period (twelfth century) whose work is largely responsible for the mental stagnation of his com-
patriots, but one regenerated and rejuvenated and adapted to the needs of our time.

Such a process of assimilation is possible, because Confucius did not evolve a peculiar philosophy suited to a particular age, but was, above all, a practical man and a politician with a large fund of common sense. He was unequaled as a teacher and educator, a preacher of sound ethical maxims presenting a moral standard of universal value. Christ and Buddha made loftier demands on their followers, but nobody could reach their heights, and few, if any, ever truly lived up to the ideal standard of their precepts. Confucius restricted himself wisely to the exposition of such tenets as were within the grasp and reach of everybody, and produced a society of well-mannered and disciplined men generally decent in feeling and action. Confucius was neither a genius nor a deep thinker, but a man of striking personality, though he was by no means a truly great man and lacked both the charm and eloquence of Christ and Buddha. But in the extent, depth and permanency of influence, no other man in the history of the world can be likened to him. His shadow grew and grew into colossal dimensions from century to century, finally overshadowing the entire eastern world.

The life and labors of this remarkable man have often been narrated, and the canonical books in which his doctrines are expounded are rendered generally accessible through the classical translation of James Legge. But his portraits and his life as it has been represented in Chinese art have not yet been studied in a connected treatment. But this subject which we propose to treat on the following pages will allow us to touch on some characteristic features of the career of Confucius, and to understand the lasting impression which he has left on the minds of his countrymen.

No contemporaneous portrait of China's greatest sage has come down to posterity, nor are there any personal relics of his in existence. As early as the time of the Han dynasty when the study of ancient literature was revived and the Confucian teachings met with general recognition, the necessity was felt of having pictures of the

\[1\] The illustrative material of this article was collected by me at Si-ngan-fu in 1903 and on a visit to K'ü-fu, the burial-place of Confucius, in January, 1904. At that time I also conceived the plan of writing a history of Confucian iconography. On the Chinese rubbings, the engraved lines appear white, while the background is black owing to the use of ink. The original drawings which were carved into the stone were, of course, black on white. We have made an attempt at restoring these originals by taking a photograph of the first negative obtained from photographing the rubbing, thus securing the original sketch in black outlines. This process should be employed for reproducing all Chinese rubbings of this kind and insures an infinitely better idea of the style and real appearance of these pictures.
sage and his disciples. The scholar and statesman Ts’ai Yung (133-192 A. D.) is credited with having painted for the Hung-tu College the portraits of Confucius and his seventy-two disciples. This school was founded in 178 A. D. by the Emperor Ling for the inculcation of Confucian teachings, the name Hung-tu ("the School of the Gate") being derived from the designation of a gate in the imperial palace. It should be understood that the Confucian paintings were not merely prompted by artistic, but by religious motives as well, for there was a well established worship of Confucius in the days of the Han dynasty. The growth of this cult can be traced with a fair degree of accuracy. In the beginning it had a merely local significance, only the princes of Lu and the disciples offering sacrifices to K’ung-tse at certain times of the year, until the first emperor of the Han passed through the country of Lu in B. C. 195 and sacrificed at the tomb of the sage.

This action marks the beginning of K’ung-tse’s national worship. In 58 A. D., in the high schools (hio) established in all the districts of the empire since B. C. 132, solemn honors were rendered to Confucius. Three emperors of the dynasty of Han went to visit the house of Confucius in the country of Lu, Ming-ti in 72 A. D., Chang-ti in 85 A. D., and Ngan-ti in 124 A. D., and celebrated the sacrifices in honor of the Master and his seventy-two disciples. The Emperors Chang and Ngan assembled all descendants of Confucius and presented them with money and silken cloth, and Chang caused the Lun yű to be explained to the students.

The view upheld by some scholars that Confucianism is not a religion is based on a misjudgment of the facts. On the contrary, Confucianism is a religion in a double sense. Confucius stood throughout on the platform of the ancient national religion of China and shared most of the beliefs of his countrymen of that age. His entire moral system has its roots in the most essential factor of this religion, ancestral worship; in the absolute faith in an almighty supreme ruler, the Deity of Heaven; and in the unchangeable will of destiny. He sanctioned and adopted the whole system of ancient rites including the complicated ceremonial of burial and mourning. All this is religion. It is a religion, the fruit and final logical consequence of which is moral instruction, and which terminates in the exposition of the principles of good government and the same laws of the family, not in the sense of an abstract civil law, but always imbued with a deeply religious character.

The development of Confucianism bears the same religious stamp. There are paintings and images of the Master; he is honored like the gods with sacrifices, dances, music and hymns. Temples have been built in every town in his memory; he has been set up as the object of a regular cult. He is certainly not worshiped as a god. Prayer is not offered to him nor is his help or intervention sought. The ceremonies employed at service in his honor are the same as those used in the temples of past emperors. He is venerated and praised as the promoter of learning and civil conduct, as the great benefactor of his country, as the greatest teacher and model of all ages. The service is one of grateful remembrance, and his birthday is observed as a holiday in all public departments. But he must be worshiped in his own temple, and it is forbidden to set up any image or likeness of him in a Buddhist or Taoist temple. It is right for the child to do him obeisance in the school, and the student in the college, for these are the institutions where his teaching and influence are felt. In this aspect we must understand the early development of Confucian pictures.

In 194 A.D., the prefect of I-chou (Ch'eng-tu in Sze-ch'uan) erected a hall in which to perform the rites (li-tien) on behalf of Chou Kung. On the walls of this hall, he had the images of P'an-ku, the ancient emperors and kings, painted; further he painted on the beams Chung-ni (Confucius), his seventy-two disciples and the famous sages downward from the age of the Three Sovereigns. These paintings were restored or renewed several times, first by Chang Shou who was prefect of I-chou in the period T'ai-k'ang (280-290 A.D.) of the Tsin dynasty; then by Liu T'ien in 492 A.D. In the Kia-ju (1056-64 A.D.) period of the Sung dynasty Wang-kung Su-ming made copies of these wall-paintings distributed over seven scrolls on which 155 figures were represented; and in the Shao-hing (1163-64 A.D.) period of the Southern Sung dynasty Si Kung-yi had another copy made and engraved on stone. It consisted of 168 figures and was placed in the Hall of the Classics of Ch'eng-tu. Nothing of these works has survived. 3

But several early Confucian pictures have been transmitted on the bas-reliefs of the Han period in Shantung. The greater bulk of these, numbering forty-six, are now collected in a stone chamber near Kia-hiang; they were discovered and exhumed in 1786 by Huang I and represent the remains of stone carvings which once

3 From I-chou ming hua lu, "Records of Famous Painters of Sze-ch'uan" (reprinted in the collection T'ang Sung ts'ung shu) by Huang Hiu-fu of Kiang-hia (in Wu-ch'ang) at the time of the Sung dynasty. A preface by Li T'ien-shu is dated 1006 A.D.
decorated the mortuary chambers of three separate tombs of the second century A. D. The scenes displayed on these bas-reliefs comprise two main groups, historical and mythological. Portraits of the ancient mythical sages, Fu-hi and Nü-wa, the Emperor Yü, and examples of filial piety and feminine virtue and devotion are there depicted; we are, further, treated to long processions of warriors, horseback riders, chariots with their occupants and drivers, scenes of battle and hunting, peaceful domestic scenes and favorite mythical concepts. On one of these slabs we find fourteen, on another nineteen, on a third twenty-two, and on a fourth eighteen disciples of Confucius represented in uniform style. Among these, Tse-lu is distinguished by an explanatory label recording his name.¹

There are three representations of Confucius himself. One of these, depicting the visit of K'ung-tse to Lao-tse, is of particular interest; the stone is preserved in the Hall of Studies at Tsi-ning chou, Shantung. In the center we see to the left Lao-tse; to the right K'ung-tse holding in his hands two chickens as a present to his host. Between the two sages there is a young boy, the attendant of Lao-tse, busily engaged in cleaning the road with a broom. To the left is Lao-tse’s chariot and to the right that of K’ung-tse, followed by three men. Therefore the philosophers are represented at the moment when they have just alighted from their vehicles and are meeting

¹Chavannes, _La sculpture sur pierre en Chine_, pp. 39, 42, 57, 60.
for the first time. This event is narrated by the historian Se-ma Ts'ien in his brief biography of Lao-tse (Shi ki, Ch. LXIII). The much ventilated question whether the interview between the two philosophers is historical or was merely invented by Taoists for the purpose of turning the Confucianists to ridicule, does not concern us here. I for my part see no reason why the two should not have met somewhere to exchange ideas, though their speeches as recorded are certainly later makeshifts. We see that this idea had crystallized during the Han period and that it must have been dear to the people of that age. Whether historical or not, from the viewpoint of art this subject is very happily chosen and must be looked upon in the light of an allegory. While the artist was not able to contrast the two philosophers by a sharp characteristic, he had doubtless in mind to impress their worldwide contrast on the minds of his public: Lao-tse, the transcendentalist who made philosophy rise from earth to heaven, and Confucius, the moralist and politician who made philosophy descend from heaven down to earth.

See text and translation in Dr. P. Carus, Lao-tze's Tao-Tch-King, pp. 95-96 (Chicago, 1898).

The best critical examination of this question is furnished by J. H. Plath, Confucius und seiner Schüler Leben und Lehren, I, pp. 29-36 (Munich, 1867); also Chavannes, Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien, Vol. V, p. 299.
In another bas-relief representing Confucius in the act of playing on a row of sonorous stones, this contrast between the Confucian and Taoist way of thinking is also insisted on. We read in the Confucian Analects (Lun yü, XIV, 42) the following story, also copied by Se-ma Ts'ien: "The Master was in Wei and playing one day on a sonorous stone, when a man carrying a straw basket passed the door of the house where he was, and said: 'Truly, he has a heart who thus strikes the sonorous stone.' A little while after he added: 'What a blind obstinacy (to be intent on reforming society)! Nobody knows him (appreciates his doctrine), so he should stop teaching. It the ford is deep, I shall cross it with bare legs; if it is shallow, I shall hold up my clothing to my knees.' The Master said: 'How cruel this man is (having no pity with others)! His mode of life is certainly not difficult.'" The basket-bearer is a sage with a taste for Taoist philosophy, tired of active life and hiding himself in a humble calling. When he heard Confucius's music, he recognized at once his love for his fellow mates, but also his obstinate character which caused him to seek constantly for official employment; he reproached him and advised to resign. Confucius's reply shows that such a resignation seemed to him easy; the sage must not be satisfied with an abdication and the life of a recluse, but struggle along against all obstacles.

On the sculpture we observe Confucius in an open hall, the roof of which is supported by two pillars. The nine wedge-shaped sonorous stones carved from jade are suspended in a wooden frame, and he is just striking the second stone with a stick. His music seems to have impressed the two men lying prostrate in front of him, while two others emerge from behind the instrument. The musician is leaning against a pillar, and the itinerant sage, basket in hand, is standing to the left of him outside the house. Naive and crude as these early conceptions of the Han period may be, there is, nevertheless, as the Chinese would say, "heart" in them (yu sin), and a certain measure of temperament.

Another representation on a stone of the Han period is known among the Chinese as "picture of K'iung, the holy man, traveling through all countries" (K'iung shêng jêng yu-li ko kuo t'U). It is doubtless symbolic of his thirteen years' wanderings after he had left his native country Lu in disgust, when he went from state to state in search of a ruler who would afford him an opportunity of

*Quotation from the Book of Songs (Shi king, ed. Legge, p. 53). The meaning is that the sage remains in seclusion or shows himself in public according to the circumstances.
putting into practice his principles of good government. In the upper zone of the sculpture, he is seated, apparently taking a rest, between a man who is making kotow before him, and a woman saluting him on her knees with uplifted hands,—evidently host and hostess who received him in their house. In the lower zone, his traveling cart drawn by a running horse is shown, indicating his peregrinations.

Some twenty years ago, Mr. F. R. Martin, the zealous Swedish collector and editor of several sumptuous publications of Oriental art and antiquities, discovered in the possession of a farmer in the village Patiechina, province of Minusinsk, Siberia, the fragment of an ancient Chinese metal mirror which aroused considerable interest, as an inscription in Old Turkish characters was incised into its surface. What interests us more in this connection, is a curious representation of Confucius brought out in high relief on the back of this mirror. The fact that this figure is intended for Confucius becomes evident from the inscription of six characters saying:

8 Compare Martin, *L'âge du bronze au Musée de Minousinsk* (Stockholm, 1893), Plate XXV, whence our illustration is derived.
“Yong K’i-k’i is holding a conversation with K’ung fu-tse.” De-veria searched in the *Kin-shih so,* a well-known archeological work published in 1821 in twelve volumes, one of which is entirely devoted to the subject of metal mirrors. There he encountered an engraving illustrating the complete mirror, half of which Martin had luckily found in Siberia. On this one we see the interlocutor of Confucius. Who was Yen K’i-k’i? In the Taoist book bearing the name of the philosopher Lieh-tse (I, 9)⁹ we are treated to the following anecdote:

⁹ It is doubtful whether or not he was an historical personage. Giles regards him as a mere allegorical creation introduced by the philosopher Chuang-tse for purposes of illustration. The historian Se-ma Ts’ien does not mention
One day Confucius was taking a walk near Mount T'ai when he observed Yung K'i-k'i strolling around in the region of Ch'eng. Clad only with a deer-skin girdled by a rope, he was singing and accompanying himself on a lute. Confucius asked him: 'Master, what is the reason of your joy?' He responded: 'I have three reasons to be joyful. When Heaven produced the multitude of beings, it is man who is the noblest of all; now I have obtained the form of a man,—this is the first cause of my joy. In the distinction existing between man and woman, it is man who has the place of honor, and woman who holds the inferior rank; now I obtained the form of a
male,—this is the second cause of my joy. Among men, coming into the world, there are those who do not see the sun and the moon (i. e., born dead), others who die before they have left their cradles; now I have already lived up to ninety years,—this is the third cause of my joy. Poverty is the habitual condition of man; death is his natural end; since I am in this habitual condition and shall have this natural end, why should I be afflicted? ’ Confucius said: ‘Excellent is this man who knows how to expand his thoughts!’”

On the mirror we see the happy recluse and beggar handling his lute, his deer-skin being accentuated by rows of spots. Confucius is carrying a long staff terminating in a carved dragon’s head on the mirror of Siberian origin; such dragon-staves are still used by old people in China, and specimens of them may be viewed in the Field Museum. In the Kin-shih so, this mirror is arranged among those attributed to the age of the T’ang dynasty (618-905 A. D.), but the subject there represented is doubtless much older and will certainly go back to the Han period in which Taoist subjects in art are abundant. Also the naive style of the drawing of the figures betrays the same epoch, while, as far as I know, human figures but very seldom occur on metal mirrors of the T’ang period.

The most striking feature about this picture is that it illustrates a scene derived from a Taoist source and to be found in a Taoist writer only.10 The conclusion is therefore justifiable that the artist who sketched this composition was also a Taoist, and that Confucius was the subject of a school of Taoist artists. In the Han bas-reliefs of Wu-liang we met the scene of Confucius’s interview with Lao-tse inspired by Taoist tradition, and the story of the hermit lecturing to the music-loving Confucius on the advantage of inactivity bears a decidedly Taoist flavor,—both of these scenes being noteworthy amidst many others of a definite orthodox Confucian cast, as, e. g., the series of ancient emperors and the Confucian disciples.

There are accordingly, as we are bound to admit, two distinct currents in early art as regards Confucian subjects, a purely Confucian and a Taoist tendency of thought. The latter is conspicuously obtrusive, for in the three designs which we know thus far it is in each case a Taoist saint who celebates a triumph over Con-

10 The two brothers Fêng, the authors of the Kin-shih so, quote the story from the Kia yû, “The Family Sayings,” a Confucian book edited by Wang Su in 240 A. D., but Devéria denies that it occurs there. He himself quotes it in a much abbreviated form after the concordance P’ei zên yûn fu which gives the philosopher Chuang-tse as its source. This cannot be correct either, for I cannot find the text in Chuang-tse. I am inclined to think that it is on record only in Lieh-tse.
Fucius and sarcastically or humorously exposes his shortcomings. Neither can there be any doubt that of the two groups the Taoist achievements are the more interesting and attractive ones in tenor and spirit, while those of the Confucian school are stiff, shadowy and inane. Quite naturally, since the Confucianists of the Han period were purely scholars without any religious cult and religious devotion, with no room for images or imagination fostering artistic sentiments; the Taoists, on the contrary, were stirred by a lively power of poetic imagination and animated by a deep love of nature, as well as stocked with a rich store of good stories. Indeed, China's art in the Han period is under no obligation to Confucianism, for the simple reason that this system had nothing to give to art, nor took any interest in art, nor was able to inspire any artistic motives. Greek art was not nourished by the wisest axioms of Socrates or by the lofty idealism of Plato. The Chinese artists turned their eyes with a correct instinct towards the legends and stories of emotional Taoism, and from this soil, paradoxically enough, grew also the figure of Confucius who in an artistic sense was perhaps more of an ideal to them or closer to their hearts than to the Confucianists. But he appears to have been to them rather an allegory by which to inculcate certain of their axioms than a man of flesh and blood.

An adequate representation of China's greatest man was made possible only under the influence of Buddhist art from India, and we now have to view Confucius as seen and portrayed by the Buddhists. While in the Han period the intention was merely to depict Confucius, his disciples and incidents from his life for the instruction of the people, the artistic conception of the sage remained for the glorious age of the T'ang dynasty. This work is the creation of one of the greatest painters of the East, Wu Tao-tse or Wu Tao-yüan. The actual work has not survived, but like several others of his, it is preserved to us, engraved on a stone tablet in the Confucius temple of K'ü-fu. Whoever has seen the famous Kuan-yin, by the same artist, engraved on stone in the Pei-lin of Si-ngan fu, cannot rid himself of the impression that the Buddhist style of folds in the robe was transferred also to this portrait of Confucius. It is not so impressive as we should expect from a painter of such reputation; the face is rather typical and conventional, but it is hard to judge how much was lost in executing this reproduction after a painting from which a drawing had first to be made to be pasted over and chiseled into the stone. Below, there is the signature: "brush (pi) of Wu Tao-tse"; above, the following eulogy is engraved: "In virtue he is equal to Heaven and Earth. In reason
CONFUCIUS AFTER PAINTING OF WU TAO-TSE.
(Original 1.50×0.63 m.)
(tao), he excels ancient and present times. He edited the Six Canonical Books (leu king)¹¹ and is transmitted as a model to all generations."

It should not be presumed that Wu Tao-tse created an original conception of the sage emanating entirely from his own mind. We know that he studied the works and endeavored to form his style on that of the older painter Chang Sêng-yu¹² who flourished in the beginning of the sixth century under the Liang dynasty. The Emperor Ming, says Professor Hirth,¹³ expressed his astonishment that Chang Sêng-yu had painted the figures of Confucius and his disciples in a certain Buddhist monastery by the side of a representation of Rojana Buddha, wondering how those worthies had come among the Buddhists, whereupon the painter said nothing but: "The future will show." And indeed when all the Buddhist monasteries and pagodas were burned in a general persecution of the Indian religion during the Posterior Chou dynasty, that one building escaped destruction because it contained a portrait of Confucius. Although there is no actual record to show that Wu Tao-tse depended on a model of his older colleague in his creation of Confucius, there is reason to believe that in his close study of his predecessor's works he had come across such a sketch and received from it some kind of inspiration. This dependence can now be gathered from a unique painting in the wonderful collection of Mr. Charles L. Freer in Detroit. It was acquired by him from one of the Buddhist temples on the West Lake (Si hu) near Hang-chou where it was kept as a relic, and according to a lengthy testimonial written on the scroll, contains "genuine traces" (chên tsî) of the brush of Chang Sêng-yu, i.e., the fundamental work is from the hands of the great painter himself, while restorations have been made from time to time, according to circumstances. The subject of this painting is a walking Kuan-yin holding a basket with a goldfish in it (i.e., Avalokiteśvara the Saviour),¹⁴ imbued with life and spirituality. The face is enlivened by a more naturalistic flesh-color than exists in any other

¹¹ In this enumeration, the Yi ki, "Record of Music," is added as the sixth to the old standard series of the Five Canonical Books (wu king) which are the Yi king, Shu king, Shi king, Li ki, and Ch'ün t's'i. The Yi ki is now incorporated in the Li ki.

¹² Giles, loc. cit., p. 47.

¹³ Scraps from a Collector's Note Book, p. 59.

¹⁴ After a long research of this subject I have no doubt that Avalokiteśvara is a Buddhized figure of Christ, or at least Christian in its fundamental elements, but the exposition of this subject would require a special monograph. The two pictures published in The Open Court, July, 1911, p. 389, are patterned after the above painting of Chang Sêng-yu.
Chinese painting. This admirable work of art renders it quite clear to us from what source Wu Tao-tse drew inspiration for his Kuan-yins, and I am therefore inclined to assume a similar source of inspiration for his Confucius.

The Emperor Yüan of the Liang dynasty (reigned 552-554 A.D.), equally famous as poet, art patron and practical artist, also

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Amiot in Mémoires concernant les Chinois, Vol. XII, p. 432, and Hirth, loc. cit., p. 61.
We add two further portraits of Confucius ascribed to Wu Tao-tse, both variations of the first picture, this type being known as "the standing Confucius." The eyes and the expression of the countenance are different in these two which are more genial and humane, with a touch of good humor; it is the type of the kind-hearted old gentleman. The three stone engravings differ considerably in size. It will be noticed that the blazon with the star-ornament on the lower edge of the robe in the large portrait is wanting in the two smaller ones. But the close agreement between the three shows how well the tradition of the original painting of Wu Tao-tse has been preserved.

It is striking that in the three pictures Confucius is carrying a sword. The sword-guard is shaped like the petals of a lotus, and the rectangular hilt is surmounted by a hanger suspended from a band laid around the shoulder. No such statement is to be found in any ancient text, and no attribute could be more inappropriately chosen for the sage who was always operating with moral suasion. Wu Tao-tse adhering to Buddhist thoughts, it might be urged, had in mind the sword of wisdom brandished by Mañjuśrī, and the artists, intent on adorning their figures with characteristic attributes as taught by Buddhist tradition, were certainly at a loss as to how to decorate Confucius.

There is a bust portrait of him preserved on a stone tablet in K'ü-fu said also to go back to Wu Tao-tse. While much is chronicled in the Lun-yü in regard to Confucius's habits, deportment and dress, his disciples have recorded little about his appearance. The later legend assigning to his figure "forty-nine remarkable peculiarities" was evidently woven in imitation of Buddha's marks of beauty, and the later descriptions of his person seem to have been made from portraits then in existence. He is described as a tall man of robust build, with high and broad forehead, with a nose curved inward and rather flat; his ears were large—a sign of sincerity—his mouth rather wide, and the upward curve of the corners of his mouth, as well as his small but broad eyes gave to his countenance the expression of a genial old man heightened by a long and thin beard. Some of these features are reproduced in this portrait which remained the permanent typical model for all subsequent representations. A copy of it was dedicated for the Museum of Inscriptions (Pei lin) of Si-ngaü-fu in 1734 by the sixth son of the Emperor Yung-chêng, Prince Kuo (Ho-shê Kuo Ts'in-wang), his seal in Chinese and Manchu being attached to his name in the inscription.
It should not be presumed that Confucius's portrait has become a household picture in the Chinese home. It is nowhere found on the walls of a private mansion or a public office; he is considered too holy to be exposed to the profane eye, and his name and teachings are too deeply engraved into the hearts of his countrymen to require an outward symbol.

CONFUCIUS IN THE MIDST OF TEN DISCIPLES.
After painting in Buddhist style by Wu Tao-tse.

A stone engraving, the original of which, I think, is actually from the hands of Wu Tao-tse, offers the most curious representation of this subject in art in that it is conceived in an entirely Buddhistic style. It demonstrates the embarrassment and helplessness of the artists in coping with the problem of making sober
Confucianism an inspiration for art. Philosophers and moralizers of the type of Confucius, prosaic and without a gleam of imagination, are hardly a stimulus to art, and Wu Tao-tse certainly did not know what to make of it and how to picture him. If we did not read it in the accompanying inscriptions, we could hardly guess that Confucius and ten of his disciples are supposed to be represented here. The disciples are clad in the robes of Buddhist monks and are actual counterparts of the Arhat (Lo-han). Confucius is characterized merely by his higher seat and his umbrella; it is remarkable that he is placed in the background. The composition is not bad, but it is dull, and from the viewpoint of Confucianism the picture is a travesty. The stone is preserved in K'ü-fu and was engraved in 1095 A.D. Above the picture are inscribed two eulogies on the sage, one composed by the Emperor T'ai-tsu (960-976 A.D.)\(^9\) the other by the Emperor Chên-tsung (998-1022 A.D.), both of the Sung dynasty. Old Father Amiot (loc. cit.) reports that Tsung-shou, a descendant of Confucius in the forty-sixth generation (i.e., in the first part of the eleventh century) makes mention of a portrait of K'ung-tse represented seated, ten of his disciples in front of him. This portrait, he adds, was painted by Wu Tao-tse who lived under the T'ang; it resembles in its physiognomy the portrait of small size preserved in his family. Indeed, the inscription below this picture gives the name of this Tsung-shou as having caused this engraving to be made after a painting of Wu Tao-tse in his possession. Amiot refers to another family portrait of the philosopher mentioned by his descendant in the forty-seventh generation (end of the eleventh century) who says that the family K'ung still keeps some garments which had belonged to their illustrious ancestor, his portrait in miniature, and a portrait of his disciple Yen-tse, and that the family knows by an uninterrupted tradition that these two portraits are true likenesses. It is hardly credible that this family tradition is founded on any substantial fact, and that the portrait referred to could be traced back to any model contemporaneous with Confucius.

The Buddhist character of such pictures as this one struck also the Chinese, still more when statues of the sage came into vogue which are reported as early as in the T'ang dynasty (618-905 A.D.). Under the Sung dynasty, in 960 A.D., clay images of Confucius and the disciples were prepared by order of the Emperor Tai-tsu and exhibited in the \(Wén\ mio\) (Temple of Literature devoted to his cult). In 1457, the Ming Emperor Ying-tsung had a statue of Confucius cast of copper which was placed in a hall of

\(^9\) Compare Biot, loc. cit., p. 324.
the palace and had to be respectfully saluted by all ministers before they were allowed into the imperial presence for the discussion of state affairs.

An end was made to these idolatrous practices in 1530 when the statue of Confucius was removed from his temples in conse-

![Image of an altar in honor of Confucius in Nan-Yang College near Shanghai.](image)

**ALTAR IN HONOR OF CONFUCIUS. IN NAN-YANG COLLEGE NEAR SHANGHAI.**

quence of the severe remonstrance of an official, Chang Fu-king, who strongly protested against making an idol of Confucius and thus defiling the memory of the sage who was a teacher of the nation greater than any king or emperor. In his memorial he recalls the fact that in early times the plain wooden tablet inscribed with the name of Confucius was found sufficient to do homage to his memory,
and that the usage of portraits and statues sprang up only after the introduction of Buddhist sects. At the present time, all statuary is removed from the Confucian temples, the tablet with the simple words “The Perfect Sage, the Old Master, the Philosopher K’ung” taking its place, as shown in our illustration of the altar of Confucius

CONFUCIUS AND HIS FAVORITE DISCIPLE YEN-TSE.
Style of the painter Ku K’ai-chih. Engraved on stone in the Confucian temple of K‘ü-fu.

in Nan-yang College near Shanghai, with the four words on the walls: Ta tsai K‘ung-tse, “Truly great art thou, Confucius!” There are, however, two exceptions to this rule, in the great temple of Confucius in K‘ü-fu and in a small temple dedicated to him on the T’ai-shan, the sacred mountain in Shantung, where Confucius and his four main disciples, the so-called Four Associates (se p’ei), Yen-
tse, Tsêng-tse, Tse-se and Méng-tse are represented, not by tablets, but by their images.

There are several other pictures of Confucius attributed to Wu Tao-tse by tradition, which, however, seem to be less founded than in the case of the previous representations. One of these is a drawing representing the sage in half-profile walking along, followed by his disciple Yen-tse. Two copies of it have been handed down, the one in Si-ngan fu, first engraved on stone in 1107 A.D. under the Sung, and afterwards under the Ming in 1563 A.D.; the other copy, preserved in the Confucius temple of K'ii-fu, was cut in 1118 A.D. and is the one here reproduced. The differences between the two are slight; on the latter, the sage appears taller, leaner and older. According to another tradition, the original picture is traced back to Ku K'ai-chih, the famous painter of the fourth century, and I am under the impression that this tradition is correct. To my feeling, the style of this sketch is not that of Wu Tao-tse, but plainly that of Ku K'ai-chih as revealed in the collection of wood-engravings made after his paintings, entitled Lích nụ chuan ("Scenes from the Lives of Virtuous Women"). It is very possible, of course, that his work has passed through the hands of Wu Tao-tse and was imitated by him, as we know he actually did in other cases.\(^{17}\) Also here, both Confucius and his disciple are carrying swords, and Wu Tao-tse may have adopted this feature from his older colleague.

[to be continued.]

\(^{17}\) Binyon in *Burlington Magazine*, 1904, p. 43.