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Jesse Wang April 11, 2018

The Confucian Christian: A Study on the Rhetorical and Ideological Accommodation of Alfonso Vagnone's *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* (達道紀言)

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Abstract

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By Jesse Wang

This thesis analyzes the Italian Jesuit Alfonso Vagnone S.J.'s use of rhetorical and ideological accommodation throughout his work *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*—a book that presents Western moral principles through historical anecdotes and short moral sayings. The book is divided into five chapters, each corresponding with one of the Five Cardinal Relationships (*Wulun* 五伦) prescribed in the Book of Rites: Ruler-Official, Father-Son, Husband-Wife, Brothers, and Friends. Using the traditional Chinese and Jesuit works *Precepts for My Daughters*, *The Analects, Mencius, Waiting for the Dawn,* and *On Friendship* as points of comparison, this thesis situates Vagnone's perspective of the *Wulun* among those of his Ming contemporaries and the Confucian classics.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Jesuits of the Late Ming

The impact the Jesuit missionaries and their literature had on the Chinese during the 16th and 17th century China missions is incontrovertible. Using their adept writing abilities, Chinese language skills, and strategic social interactions, the Jesuits were instrumental in the transmission of European culture to Ming China. Leveraging a multitude of literary genres including hagiography, poems, maxims, anecdotes, chreiai, and sententiae, the Ming Jesuits' gift of rhetoric proved effective in persuading their Chinese literati readers to convert to Christianity. Many of these literary works served the purpose of explaining to their audiences the various ways in which the Jesuits and Chinese align in their beliefs, values, and morals.

One of the most famous Jesuit missionaries during the Ming dynasty was Matteo Ricci who many scholars refer to as the father of Jesuit accommodationism Ricci's policy of accommodation focused on framing Christianity not as an alien or foreign religion, but rather as a familiar and local one. Thus, his policy entailed conforming to the Chinese lifestyle, living among the Chinese, learning and speaking the language fluently, as well as composing literature in Chinese that aligned with the Confucian ideology. Most importantly, Ricci emphasized focusing on the literati elite, also known as the scholar-officials or scholar-gentries (士大夫). The Jesuits saw the Chinese literati as their intellectual and social equivalents. Likewise, the Chinese viewed the Jesuits and their impressive knowledge of science, technology, and geography as foreign scholars.

1.2 Alfonso Vagnone, Humanism, and *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*

The Italian Jesuit missionary Alfonso Vagnone (1566-1640) was born in Trofarello (Turin), Italy to a family of aristocrats. He was educated in Latin, Greek, mathematics, and philosophy at the Jesuit Latin School in Turin and later enrolled in the College of Brera, earning

a doctorate in Theology. In 1597, just two years after earning his degree, Vagnone took vows. In 1602, he was assigned to mission work in China (Falato 2016, 22-24).

Like many Jesuits of the 15th and 16th century, Vagnone was a humanist and therefore believed in the interconnected nature of moral betterment and education. First introduced by the father of humanism Francesco Petrarch (1304 - 1374), the ideals of humanism emphasized the development of the whole man. While humanists considered literature, education, and teaching important, they also emphasized the ideas of spirituality, physical exercise, and morality as key components to becoming a well-rounded individual. In essence, humanists were the first to combine learning and personal development to form a new, integrated form of education (Wilcox 1987, 91). These humanist ideals are especially evident throughout Vagnone's *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* (1636), a work that focuses primarily on topics of moral philosophy, education, and self-cultivation.

Illustrations of the Grand Dao was first published in Shanxi, alongside various other ethical and theological works such as *Discourse on the Four Ends of Holy Christian Religion* 天主聖教四末論 (1636), *On Spirits* 神鬼正紀 (1636-1637), and *Beginning and End of the World* 寰宇始末 (1637) (Falato 2016, 32). Giulia Falato speculates that the works published during Vagnone's time in Shanxi may have enjoyed only local fame in the Shanxi region during his life (Falato 2016, 15). Meynard adds that Jesuits who presided in the remote city of Jiangzhou were able to live there only by invitation from the local literati. Considering Vagnone's role at the time as a Superior missionary and his friendship with Han Yun and Han Lin (1600-1649), both of whom were pupils of one of Matteo Ricci's close collaborators Xu Guangqi, Vagnone's works at the time were likely read primarily by many Jiangzhou Confucian literati (Meynard 2014, 97-100).

In order to effectively convey these humanist ideals, however, Vagnone needed to bridge a cultural gap between the Jesuits and the Chinese. Since topics of morality, virtue, and goodness are all central to Confucianism, Vagnone's decision to divide and categorize western moral lessons according to how relevant they were to each of the five Confucian bonds was strategic.

In addition, all of the chreiai and sententiae that were selected and translated into Chinese in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* originate from Greco-Roman and Latin antiquity (Meynard 2014, 17). Given that many of the moral lessons and social principles that the Chinese abided by stemmed from anecdotes, conversations, and quotations from ancient Chinese scholars (i.e. Confucius and Mencius), the words of ancient Greco-Roman philosophers such as Diogenes Laërtius, Plutarch, and Aristotle in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* provide a clear parallel; these ancient western philosophers were, perhaps, meant to be seen as peers to the ancient Chinese masters (Meynard 2014, 16-17).

Moreover, Vagnone's specific use of the literary styles of chreiai and sententiae is notable, as these two forms are especially effective in persuading readers to take away certain mindsets or moral lessons. A chreia is a type of moral anecdote specifically attributed to a person or historical character. Meynard explains that chreiai also cater to philosopher-orators, noting the Greek Cynic philosopher Demonax would always respond to his interlocutors in the chriic form. As such, the chreia was cherished by classical western rhetoricians (Meynard 2014, 16). Similarly, sententiae were brief moral sayings akin to maxims, aphorisms, and apophthegms, usually taken from ancient sources or texts. Unlike chreiai, sententiae do not necessarily have to mention or attribute a historical person; the moral saying may simply stand alone as a universal fact (Meynard 2014, 103). Thus, considering that the *Analects* of Confucius are the most famous collection of sententiae and chreiai, Vagnone's leveraging of these two genres of literature afforded his work a degree of authority and legitimacy to his Confucian literati readers.

1.3 Goldin's Framework: Paradox, Analogy, and Appeal to Example

In order to analyze Vagnone's rhetorical accommodation throughout *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, I systematically noted the ways in which Vagnone's writing reflects the style of method of logical reasoning familiar to the Chinese literati. Paul R. Goldin provides a framework of three primary methods of non-deductive argumentation used in early Chinese philosophy: reasoning by analogy, paradox, and appeal to example (Goldin 2017, 41-51). While this list is

not exhaustive in terms of all forms of non-deductive reasoning that have existed throughout Chinese history, it provides a solid benchmark for assessing Vagnone's style and reasoning in his chreiai and sententiae.

Reasoning by analogy was, according to Goldin, one of the hallmarks of Chinese jurisprudence. Used primarily in moral philosophy, analogy was a way for lawmakers to set precedents for the punishments of different crimes. Geoffrey MacCormack notes that under the articles of the Ming and Qing codes, judges were empowered to decide cases by resort to analogy. For instance, in a 1799 case, a man named Liu attempted to poison his neighbor Teng's pigs after they kept soiling the stream that ran by his house. However, he ended up accidentally poisoning and killing three people who ate the food he had poisoned for the pigs. The Board that presided over the case invoked three rules related to the crime: (1) vicious scoundrels repeatedly molesting or causing harm to others should be punished by exile to four thousand *li*, (2) those who kill accidentally were to be punished by payment of money, and (3) those who shoot arrows in the direction of an inhabited place were to be exiled three thousand *li*. After applying the case of Liu's crime to the three rules, the Board decided to sentence Liu by analogy with the third rule, comparing placing poison in an area frequented by humans as akin to shooting arrows in the direction of an inhabited place. The key to this decision was clearly intention, as the location of the poison made it difficult for the crime to be deemed accidental (thus, the second rule did not apply) (MacCormack 1996, 168).

In the end, reasoning by analogy, as explained by MacCormack and Goldin, is a method of non-deductive reasoning that has its roots in legal and moral philosophy. MacCormack notes that the objective for using analogy in Chinese legal history was to balance the facts (*Qing*)with principle, reason (*li*), and the law (*fa*) to produce a just outcome (MacCormack 1996, 203). In other words, analogies provided a template for judges to apply aspects of the case. Even though the analogy written in the Ming or Qing code did not contain all of the elements or facts of the actual case, the guiding principle inherent within the analogy could still be used to determine the appropriate punishment for the crime.

Paradox was a method of reasoning used to encourage readers and scholars to question unwarranted assumptions about the world. One common technique that paradoxes employ is exploiting a vulnerable key word. Goldin poses the famous example of "a white horse is not a horse" 白馬非馬. This is an example of paradox, because the criteria of being both white and a horse are different from the sole criterion of being a horse. Therefore, the statement makes sense.

Finally, appeal to example was a form of argumentation virtually ubiquitous in ancient Chinese philosophy. Pioneered by the Mohists, appeal to example is simply invoking the story of a historical figure and using that figure's experience as a template to follow. Goldin notes that there are several sub-categories of appeal to example, such as anecdotes and parables. Anecdotes are unique in that the facts within them are, according to Goldin, "fungible." In other words, they can be adapted to serve different arguments and convey different moral lessons.

1.4 Jesuit Logic and Deductive Reasoning

The Jesuits, on the other hand, took on a markedly different approach to logical reasoning. All Jesuits who graduated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were familiar with Aristotelian-inspired deductive reasoning and argumentative strategies. Teachers of philosophy such as Francisco de Toledo (1532-1596) and Pedro da Fonseca (1528-1599) were especially influential, as their logical textbooks *Introductio in dialecticam Aristotelis* (1561) and *Commentaria una cum quaestionibus in universam Aristotelis logicam* (1572) formed the backbone of logical education (Kurtz 2011, 23-24).

Following the teachings of Aristotelian logic that had become commonplace in their educational curriculum, the Jesuits were specifically taught syllogistic forms of argumentation, which is essentially a form of argumentation in which a conclusion is supported by two or more premises (Kurtz 2011, 22-23). Deductive argumentation can be found in Matteo Ricci's *On Friendship*:

> Having a friend is like curing an illness. This is because the physician who honestly loves the sick person must certainly hate the sickness and, in order to cure that sickness, will hurt the sick person's body and embitter the sick person's mouth. The physician cannot endure the sick body of a sufferer, so why should a friend endure the sick body of a

> sufferer, so why should a friend endure the vices of their friends? Admonish them! Admonish them! Why pity their recalcitrant ears? Why fear their knitted brows? (Billings 2009, 99).

Written in syllogistic form, the logic would be as follows:

> p → q
> (If someone truly loves hi friend, he must put a stop to his vices)
>
> q → r
> (To put a stop to his friend's vices, he must admonish his friend)
>
> ∴ p → r
> (If someone truly loves his friend, he must admonish his friend)

Here, there are two premises that logically flow to the conclusion. The major premise is the one right before the conclusion; the predicate of the major premise matches the predicate of the conclusion. The minor premise is the one whose subject matches that of the conclusion. One important distinction between the non-deductive forms of argumentation that Goldin highlights and the Jesuits' Aristotelian syllogistic logic is that the latter form explicitly states the conclusion. In the example from Ricci, the conclusion to admonish the friend is even stated with an exclamation point, illustrating the unequivocal nature of the deductive logic.

1.5 Introducing the Works: *On Friendship, Waiting for the Dawn, The Analects, Mencius,* and *Precepts for my Daughters*

Since each chapter of *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* is dedicated to one of the Five Cardinal Human relationships (*Wulun* 无伦), I needed to select texts that emphasize at least one of the Confucian bonds for an effective comparative analysis. The texts I chose include Matteo Ricci's *On Friendship* (1595), Huang Zongxi's *Waiting for the Dawn* (1663), *The Analects* of Confucius (500 BCE), *Mencius* (300 BCE), and Ban Zhao's *Precepts for my Daughters* (80 CE). These five texts can be separated into two categories: the "ancients" and the "contemporaries," based on the time periods they were published relative to Vagnone's life. *Precepts for my Daughters*, *Mencius*, and *The Analects* are all works that fall under the "ancients" category, whereas *Waiting for the Dawn* and *On Friendship* fall under the "contemporaries" category.

Having a selection of both classic literature of Imperial China as well as more recent works by authors who lived during the same time period and, perhaps, had similar experiences as Vagnone provides context.

Considering that Confucian ideals during the Ming differed greatly from pre-Qin Confucianism, Vagnone could not blindly regurgitate every statement made throughout the *Analects* and expect to please his readers. Meynard notes that even the five relationships have changed in terms of the inferior members' (subject, child, wife, younger brother) duties and obligations to their superior members (ruler, parent, husband, elder brother). He explains that in pre-Qin Confucianism, there was never a demand for absolute obedience of son to father, minister to ruler, or wife to husband; yet, in later Confucianism, the need to make obedience absolute became more pronounced (Li 2014, 120). Thus, Vagnone had to carefully parse through and discover which principles were still applicable to Ming society and which ones were outdated. As such, *On Friendship* and *Waiting for the Dawn* provide key points of reference for understanding how other authors navigated the social and political climate of the Ming. It should be noted that *On Friendship* was published during the Ming and was well-known among the Jesuit missionaries, whereas *Waiting for the Dawn* was published after the fall of the Ming and after Vagnone's death. Nonetheless, these two works reflect changing perceptions of traditional Confucian ideals and are effective aids for assessing Vagnone's ideological accommodation.

The classic texts by Ban Zhao, Confucius, and Mencius, of course, provide a strong backbone for what constitutes traditional Confucian ideals (especially *The Analects*). In addition, these three sources are primary guides for evaluating how closely Vagnone abides by not only pre-Qin Confucian principles, but also by the traditional method of Chinese reasoning. Seeing as the classics are the paradigm of traditional Chinese rhetoric, the books under the "ancients" category will certainly provide a solid benchmark for evaluating Vagnone's linguistic accommodation.

1.6 Methodology and Objective

Recognizing the multi-disciplinary nature of this thesis, I purposefully made my analyses of *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* and other selected texts two-pronged. In order to set the stage for an original rhetorical and ideological analysis, I began with defining my key objective.

My objective was to extend upon the observations made by Thierry Meynard and Sher-shiueh Li. Throughout their annotated translation of *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, Li and Meynard make a plethora of interesting comments on the origins of Vagnone's chreiai, their relevance to Ming society, and the stances that other Chinese scholars took on the issues Vagnone discusses. They also make a point to comment on how the Confucian literati at the time would have received each chreiai, as well as how closely his chreiai align with traditional Confucian ideas. To add onto this discussion, I decided to do a comparative analysis of each chapter of Vagnone's work with the works of both ancient and contemporary scholars. By anchoring my analysis of Vagnone's ideas with a selection of specific works, each of which specifically discuss one of the five Confucian bonds (aside from Mencius which I used to analyze both the brothers and the father-son bonds), my observations extended upon the more general ones noted by Meynard and Li, as I was able to be more specific and meticulous with which of Vagnone's points align or contradict the Chinese texts.

Moreover, these comparative analyses set the stage for situating Vagnone's style and method of linguistic accommodation relative to the styles of Matteo Ricci and Chinese literature throughout pre-imperial and imperial China. Meynard and Li point out that *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* adopts a strategy similar to Ricci's form of accommodationism by straying away from abstract, theoretical treatises and more heavily employing narratives and concrete examples (Meynard 2014, 98). Still, since Vagnone arrived to China and died much later than Ricci, his style and works were more ambitious, as they built upon the works of those before him (Meynard 2014, 129). Giulia Falato adds that after Ricci's death in 1610, Vagnone spearheaded a new stage of the introduction of Western learning by translating European scientific, philosophical and theological texts (Falato 2016, 20). In turn, leveraging Ricci's work as a point

of comparison, my goal was to use my rhetorical analysis to uncover areas in which Vagnone extends upon, or perhaps contradicts with, Ricci and his accommodation strategy.

To bolster my analysis, I employed Goldin's framework and the Jesuits' use of syllogistic structures to note any overarching trends or conclusions as to the degree by which Vagnone's language takes on Chinese or Jesuits' form of argumentation. Since *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* is divided into five sections reflecting the five Confucian bonds, I hypothesized that perhaps Vagnone may have strategically employed more deductive logic for some bonds, while clinging to the Chinese non-deductive logic for other bonds. Analyzing the other works in my comparanda using Goldin's framework and the Jesuits' syllogistic structure would provide a way for me to more meticulously situate *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* among the works of his predecessors and contemporaries.

In summary, this project serves to provide greater insight into the book *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* and the ways in which Alfonso Vagnone's life, education, ideals, and understanding of Confucianism shaped its synthesis. Leveraging a selection of ideas within works by Matteo Ricci, Ming Chinese contemporaries, and the Confucian classics as points of comparison, the series of comparative analyses in the following chapters shed light on an elusive missionary seldom discussed by scholars studying the Jesuit China missions.

1.7 Organization

The structure of this thesis departs from the order of chapters in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*. I begin with my analysis of Vagnone's chapter on friends. His emphasis on friendship is significant, because it highlights a bond that is commonly seen in the Confucian context as the least important of the five bonds. While the ruler-official bond is typically the most important and is the first listed in the Record of Rites 禮記,followed by father and son, husband and wife, and then elder and younger brother, the bond between friends is allocated to the fifth and final position, as it is neither a familial nor a government bond. However, since Vagnone writes a total of 122 entries in the friends chapter, as opposed to the combined total of 52 entries on the three familial bonds (considering that only the first 8 of the 31 items in the brothers chapter are about

brothers), the bond becomes the second most important, only behind the ruler-official relationship which has 158 entries. This significant shift in attention on the relationship between friends, thus, warranted moving the chapter to the forefront of my discussion.

My second chapter combines the two relationships of the father-son bond and the bond between brothers. I chose to amalgamate these two discussions, due to Vagnone's lack of emphasis on the brothers relationship, as only the first 8 of the 31 entries is relevant to the topic delineated in the chapter title. The latter 23 entries discuss the relationship between the elderly and the young, which strays outside the scope of my project. Combining the brothers bond with the bond between father and son made sense, because both are relationships between male members of the same family and are based on blood ties.

The third and fourth chapters discuss the husband-wife and ruler-official relationships, respectively. Following the order prescribed in the Record of Rites, the husband-wife bond follows the father-son bond. I chose to switch the positions of the ruler-official and friends relationships, leaving the ruler-official last in my discussion, because I did not want to begin with Vagnone's two most developed chapters on the two non-familial bonds. Vagnone purposefully bookended his work with the two non-familial relationships, likely because he did not want to come across as trivializing the importance of family. Thus, I also decided to bookend my discussion with the friends and ruler-official bonds.

Chapter 2: Friends Relationship

2.1 The Jesuit Missionaries and the Importance of Friendship

The Jesuit missionaries' strategy of accommodation was centered upon achieving the acceptance of the Confucian literati by framing Christianity as a religion that aligns with, rather than contradicts, Confucianism. David E. Mungello describes this ideological alignment as the "Confucian-Christian Synthesis" (Mungello 1985, 15). Thus, it made sense for the Italian Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci to place great emphasis on the fifth Confucian bond to make friends with the literati. With the deeper impetus of converting the Chinese to Christianity, Ricci and his fellow Jesuit missionaries wanted to stress the importance of relationships that were neither state nor family oriented; the Confucian bond between friends was used as a touchpoint for the foreign missionaries to establish a connection with the local literati.

Throughout Ricci's *On Friendship*, his maxims laud and idealize the concept of friendship. He explains repeatedly that the fifth Confucian bond is one that exists only between two truly virtuous men. This idealization stems from ideas of friendship reflected in classical texts of the medieval and Renaissance periods of European history and, consequently, resurfaces throughout Ricci's work.

According to Lü Miaofen, three recurrent themes arose out of the late Ming debating societies, such as the Yangming School of Mind, that defined the essence of friendship: (1) Spiritual reliance, or the necessity of friends' relying on one another for the cultivation of virtue and learning (2) material reliance, or the importance of friends' rendering financial or political support when necessary, and (3) the ideal and practice of seeking friends from all corners of the land, or the importance of searching for true and worthy friends as far away from home as necessary and at any cost (Billings 2009, 24-25). Ricci took advantage of the growing popularity of friendship discourses, incorporating aspects of the themes discussed by the debating societies to frame his arguments and gain the favor of his audience.

Alfonso Vagnone also clearly places great emphasis on the relationship between friends, as 122 of the 355 chreia and sententiae from *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* are dedicated to the

fifth Confucian bond; the only bond with a greater number of items is the ruler-official relationship with 158 entries (Meynard 2014, 100). Thierry Meynard explains that Vagnone's chreiai on friendship focus on four themes: (1) friendship as the core of a man and as a means of cultivating virtue and wisdom, (2) false friendships involving flatterers, (3) economic transactions and favors between friends, and (4) reproach in friendship (Meynard 2014, 176-178).

The list of themes established by Meynard and Lü provide a solid outline of Vagnone's and Ricci's central topics of discussion. There is clearly a general alignment in ideologies between the two missionaries, as evidenced by the categories covered by both authors: friendship as a means of cultivating virtue (the first category of each) and friendship relative to finances and economic transactions (categories 2 and 3, respectively). Using the lists provided by Meynard and Lü to frame my discussion, this chapter focuses extensively on teasing out the nuances in the stances of both Vagnone and Ricci on each core topic.

2.2 Diverging Styles of Rhetoric and Argumentation

In addition to the ideological nuances, Ricci and Vagnone also diverge in their rhetoric and methods of argumentation. Comparing chreiai from the *Friends Relationship* chapter of Alfonso Vagnone's *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* and maxims from Matteo Ricci's *On Friendship,* the styles of reasoning are distinctly different. Taking a closer look at Vagnone's chreiai, he begins each with an explicit reference to a historical figure. For instance, his first chreiai invokes a statement made by an ancient sage:

> An ancient sage said: 'If you want to know the moral character of a man, take a close look at what kind of man he takes as friends. There is no difference between the likes and dislikes of true friends
>
> 古贤曰：「汝欲知何如人，即审其交为何如友。真友之所好。所恶，无不同之。(Li 2014, 289).

By noting that a certain person made the assertion, Vagnone frames and informs the audience of the context to the description of the moral principle.

Following Goldin's discussion of the three traditional forms of non-deductive argumentation in early Chinese philosophy, the ancient sage's statement falls under the category of appeal to example. The quotation conveys a mindset, most clearly indicated in its concluding remark: "There is no difference between the likes and dislikes of true friends" (Li 2014, 289). Nowhere does Vagnone reference or explain the logic behind the sage's conclusion; the implication is that the audience should simply accept the conclusion as fact. While this style of argumentation may not have been well received by western scholars due lack of supporting evidence, Goldin suggests that the power behind appeal to example was greater and more deeply respected in Ancient China (Goldin 2017, 45).

Furthermore, comparing Vagnone's chreia to the chreia on the topic of friendship in The Confucius *Analects*, there are striking similarities. For instance, the statement from Book 4, "The Master said, 'If you are virtuous, you will not be lonely. You will always have friends,'" closely parallels the structure and argumentation of the ancient sage chreia (Billings 2009, 37). In each of these entries, a specific person is invoked; in the *Analects*, the statement begins with a reference to "The Master," just as Vagnone begins by invoking the "ancient sage." Confucius then makes that assertion that the reader will not be lonely and will have friends, based on the condition that they are virtuous. Again, this statement merely provides a mindset and lacks any form of logical argument. Confucius does not explain the reasoning behind why virtuousness equates to friendship, rather he simply states his point and expects the reader to accept it as fact. In both these cases of Vagnone's chreiai and in the Analects, the authors are clearly employing appeal to example.

By contrast, Ricci's maxims in *On Friendship* follow a distinctly different style and argumentation from that of Confucius and Vagnone. One of the more obvious differences is the lack of context; for instance, in the first maxim of the chapter "My friend is not an other, but half of myself, and thus a second me—I must therefore regard my friend as myself," Ricci does not invoke a historical figure or a figure of authority. The audience can assume that it is Ricci

himself who is making the statement (Billings 2009, 91). While Vagnone also provides sententiae in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, chreiai appear far more frequently in his work.

Aside from this syntactical difference, Ricci's excerpt is also distinct in that it provides supporting logic for his conclusion. His concluding remark is that he must see his friend as though he and his friend were the same person, "I must therefore regard my friend as myself" (Billings 2009, 91). This is not a standalone assertion, however. Ricci explains that he arrived to this conclusion from the premise that his friend is half of himself and, thus, he and his friend are indistinguishable from one another, "My friend is not an other, but half of myself, and thus a second me" (Billings 2009, 91). Thus, Ricci's conclusion follows logically: because he and his friend are one and the same, he must view his friend as a reflection of himself.

While Ricci's maxim certainly demonstrates elements of deductive reasoning not often seen in traditional Chinese literature, there are components of the maxim that indicate the type of non-deductive reasoning that Goldin describes. More specifically, upon further analysis of Ricci's maxim, the first sentence of the entry is an analogy, "Having a friendship is like curing an illness" (Billings 2009, 99). While this premise is used to support the overall conclusion of the entry, the premise itself is not justified or supported by solid evidence. Ricci does not explain the connection between friendship and illness; he simply states that they are alike as though it were a fact.

Building on the insights of Goldin in his discussion on deductive and non-deductive argumentation, I pose that the entry comparing friendship to curing an illness does not squarely fall under the category of deductive reasoning; rather, it is an example of a mixture or an amalgamation of both non-deductive and deductive reasoning. The deductive portion is used to build upon the first premise—which is non-deductive in nature—and reach the conclusion.

The entries from Ricci's *On Friendship* demonstrate a contrast to the works of both Vagnone and Confucius. The latter two authors assert conclusions that they persuade the reader to take on, but they do not offer propositions that the reader can use to follow logically to those conclusions. Supporting evidence is not provided and the reader is expected to simply take on the

mindset of the author. On the other hand, while Ricci also incorporates an unsupported proposition in his maxim at the beginning, his style is distinctly different in that, unlike Vagnone and Confucius, he uses the proposition to build toward a conclusion.

It follows that Ricci's style tends to employ principles of deductive reasoning favored in Greco-Roman philosophical tradition; he leverages conditional "if-then" statements to provide the audience not only with a mindset or point of view, but also a logical framework that may be applied to a wide variety of contexts. Ultimately, when compared to the structure of the excerpts selected from the Confucius Analects, Vagnone's style typically reflects the traditional methods of argumentation of early Chinese philosophy, whereas Ricci's form typically departs from those same themes.

2.3 Applying Goldin and Assessing Lü and Meynard

Taking into consideration the differences in deductive and non-deductive argumentation, as well as the discrepancies in the thematic areas of each work discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, the following analysis will holistically assess the ideological and rhetorical nuances of the chreiai and maxims in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* and *On Friendship*, respectively. Incorporating Goldin's framework and applying it to the categories established by Lü and Meynard, I will systematically evaluate the topics of flattery, reproach, friends from afar, cultivating virtue, and material reliance between friends.

2.4 False Friendship Involving Flatterers

When it comes to flattery, Vagnone spends 28 entries on the topic (43 to 71). The purpose of the sub-section is to warn readers of the flatterer, as following their advice may lead them to compromise their moral integrity. To the cultivated gentleman, or *junzi* in the Confucian context, the flatterer is akin to a slave; they are the most base and miserable of all humans, because they lack ownership of their thoughts and feelings:

> Di-man (Timon?) once said: "The slave, by selling his body, follows his master's order. The flatterer, by selling his mind, satisfies people's desires." Because of this, in [Di-man's] time, a flatterer wanted to see him, but was dismissed with the words: "What can a slave give to a junzi?"

> 弟滿嘗日：「奴者沽其身以從主命，媚者市其心以順人意。」故時有媚者欲見，而辭之曰：「奴僕於君子何與有哉?」
> (Meynard 2014, 309).

Here, Vagnone employs reasoning by analogy. This method of non-deductive argumentation does not prove that slaves and flatterers are equal; the chreia merely points out that the two types of people exhibit similar behaviors and uses this singular trait to conclude that they are essentially the same. More specifically, Vagnone's reasoning stems from the observation that slaves follow their masters' orders, thus satisfying their masters' desires. Similarly, the flatterer tells his friends what they want to hear, which satisfies and placates the friend. In turn, because both slaves and flatterers participate in the act of selling themselves to others, they are comparable and, in Timon's case, indistinguishable in the eyes of the *junzi*.

Overall, the message that this chreia conveys is clear: the flatterer, like the slave, serves only to please and delight others; because he lacks his own sense of judgment, he acts only to satisfy the wants and desires of his friends. Since the purpose of a true and virtuous friendship is to aid in the moral cultivation and betterment of the friend, the flatterers' actions are, thus, reprehensible, as he offers no guidance or means for assisting his friend's growth, moral or otherwise. In short, while flatterers always agree with others' opinions and demands, true friends agree only when appropriate and reject what they find inappropriate, so as to offer true feedback to the benefit of his friend (Meynard 2014, 177).

Ricci's *On Friendship* also alludes to flattery on several occasions. For instance, elements of entry 19, the original source of which comes from the work of Plutarch, discusses the appropriate behavior between friends,

> Proper friends do not always agree with friends, nor do they always disagree with friends, but rather agree with them when they are reasonable and disagree with them when they are unreasonable. Direct speech is therefore the only responsibility of friendship
>
> 正友不常順，亦不常逆友，有理者順之，無理者逆之，故直言獨友之責矣.
> (Billings 2009, 97).

In this maxim, Ricci's language presents elements of deductive reasoning, namely his use of the word "therefore" (gu 故), a connective used to indicate a logical consequence, such as the conclusion of a syllogism. In context, the logical consequence of "therefore" indicates that the premises "proper friends do not always agree with friends" and "[proper friends] agree with them when they are reasonable and disagree when they are unreasonable" entails the conclusion: direct speech is the only responsibility of friendship. This conclusion, however, does not exactly flow logically, as the premises do not prove that the sole responsibility of friends is to use direct speech. In other words, the act of agreeing only when appropriate or reasonable does not necessarily negate other responsibilities that friends may have; the syllogism provides no evidence to fortify its claim that direct communication is the sole task of the friend. In turn, while this maxim certainly uses language that aligns with the logic of traditional deductive reasoning, it fails to follow its conclusion properly from its premises.

In terms of ideology, one distinct difference between Vagnone's and Ricci's writings is that Ricci does not explicitly rebuke those who offer undue praise to others. Instead of placing people who use flattery into a discrete category and marking them as loathsome beings as Vagnone does, Ricci simply cautions readers that friends who are inappropriately agreeable may, in fact, be enemies. In particular, maxim 22, "Praise from one's friends and insults from one's enemies can never be completely trusted" and maxim 24, "The harm that is done by a friend's excessive praise is greater than the harm that is done by an enemy's excessive calumny" illustrate this point (Billings 2009, 99-101). In both of these maxims, Ricci uses a circumspect tone, advising his audience to be wary of compliments and praise from friends. His language is not, however, as striking or detailed as Vagnone's. By contrast, Vagnone's language clearly repudiates flattery as an act of malice and evil. In entry 50, he compares flatterers to parasites that would readily abandon others as soon as they were of no more use to them:

> Ya-na-shi compared flatterers to ants: they go back and forth to the granary without even stopping for a short while. Once the granary is emptied, the road of the ants disappears. He (Ya-na-shi) also compared flatterers to lice: they suck blood by sticking close to a living body. The lice leave naturally when the body is lifeless

> 亞納詩譬諛者蟻遇谷庾來往弗間，庾罄而路即斷矣又譬之蝨，人生則切身吸血;人沒則蝨自退落
> (Meynard 2014, 312).

At one point, Vagnone even insinuates that flattery can lead to one's demise:

> Diogenes [the Cynic] compared flattery to soft strings: by going around a person's neck they are able to strangle one to death
>
> 弟阿日搦於巧媚之言，嘗譬之柔索也，順人頸而絞死之
> (Meynard 2014, 312).

In terms of method of argumentation, each of these chreiai demonstrates reasoning by analogy, as evidenced by the usage of the term "compared" (於). In the first case, Ya-na-shi compares flatterers to ants, and in the second case Diogenes compares flattery to soft strings. The juxtaposition of each of these pairings forms the mindset that flatterers are evil because (1), like ants, they reap the resources of friends and abandon them when those resources are extinguished and (2), like strings, have the capacity to kill a person. Again, these chreiai do not provide a proper argument, as the premises do not logically lead to the reader to their respective conclusions. Instead, the way in which each is presented conveys a sense that the statements of Ya-na-shi and Diogenes are indisputable. That is, there is no direct or explicit proof that allows the reader to logically deduce each speaker's conclusion; the reader is simply expected to accept the validity of their analogies without question.

In turn, the rhetorical and ideological differences on the topic of flattery between friends are apparent. The language presented in the chreiai demonstrates Vagnone's intense disdain for flattery. Ricci's maxims, on the other hand, are far milder in tone, treating flattery like a mistake that should be remedied on the road to establishing a truly virtuous friendship. His maxims serve to caution the reader of the flatterer, rather than eschew them as immoral, basely individuals. While Ricci's stance on flattery is certainly clear, his language is never quite as striking or as vivid in imagery as Vagnone's.

In terms of rhetorical differences, Vagnone uses reasoning by analogy to support his points, whereas Ricci employs language that implies deductive reasoning to arrive at his conclusions. Interestingly, while traditionally those who use non-deductive methods of reasoning have been known to lack proper evidence or premises to logically support their conclusions, Vagnone's chreiai generally use sounder evidence on the topic of flattery than Ricci's maxims (Goldin 2017, 45).

For instance, chreia 44, which discusses Timon and the topic of slavery, the evidence that connects slaves and flatterers is Timon's observation that both types of individuals serve to satisfy the desires of others. While the structure of the chreia does not use explicit logical terminology such as "because" or "therefore," the evidence is nonetheless clear and coherent. On the other hand, maxim 19 in *On Friendship,* while certainly attempting to employ reasoning by deduction, fails to provide relevant evidence to arrive at its conclusion. More specifically, Ricci's maxim attempts to connect the fact that because proper friends do not always agree with their friends and will disagree when they perceive something as unreasonable, direct speech is their sole responsibility. Ricci uses the logical connective "therefore" to insinuate that the aforementioned premises somehow guide the reader to the logical conclusion that friendship requires only one responsibility. However, because not always agreeing with friends does not equate to ridding one of all other responsibilities associated with friendship besides direct speech, this maxim, while seemingly deductive in structure, does not properly flow to its conclusion.

2.5 Reproach in Friendship

The theme of reproach in friendship is the last sub-section of Vagnone's chreiai (97 to 122). He asserts that reproaching friends should be done out of love and for the betterment of the friend. The premise of this sub-section seems to be the converse of the sub-section on flattery; whereas flattery is an indicator of a false friend, reproach—done appropriately—is an indicator of a true friend. For instance, the entry 98 relates how true friends are capable of reprimanding one another regardless of the circumstance:

> When a man worries, he can relax and regain joy by looking at beautiful flowers and smelling their wonderful fragrances. When a man makes mistakes, he can correct them and regain his purity by listening to the good words of friends and observing their responses to him. If you blame someone because you love them, you will not utter any inappropriate words; if you show your love through cordial words, there is no blame that cannot be accepted and, by being accepted, the blame will not fail to be effective
>
> 人憂時，觀美花，嗅異香，可以舒懷而復愉喜。人有過，聞友之善言，觀友之和己，可以遷改而復於潔淨責出於愛情，則言未有不和;愛顯言和而責，未有不通，通則無不效矣。
> (Meynard 2014, 332).

In the first part of this chreia, Vagnone employs reasoning by analogy, juxtaposing the situation in which a man can regain joy by looking at flowers to the situation in which he can correct his mistakes by listening to the good words of his friends. The meaning here is to compare the well-intentioned and cordial reproach of the friend to the aroma of the beautiful flowers. The second part of the chreia, however, uses the logical connective "if," indicating the presence of deductive reasoning. The statements following the second sentence are deductive in structure and can be presented as such:

> $p \rightarrow q$
> (If you blame someone out of love, then you will not utter inappropriate words)
>
> $q \rightarrow r$
> (If you do not utter in appropriate words/ use cordial words, then there is no blame that cannot be accepted)
>
> $\therefore p \rightarrow r$
> (If you blame someone out of love, then the blame will certainly be effective)

In turn, this chreia interestingly employs both non-deductive and deductive methods of argumentation. The first two sentences use reasoning by analogy, while the following sentences are clearly organized as a syllogism.

Overall, Vagnone makes his point clear that those who place blame on others out of love so that they can correct and grow from their mistakes can do so without insult; their words will

be soothing like the sweet scent of flowers. Constructive advice or words of reproach from a friend that are stated cordially will, thus, always be effective.

Moreover, Vagnone clearly regards those who properly admonish their friends very highly, equating such admonishment to curing an illness:

> He (Plutarch) also said: 'It is difficult to advise someone when they get angry and greatly desires something. Only when they calm down a little bit are they able to accept your advice. This can be compared to the development of a disease. In the beginning, it is difficult to cure the disease by medical treatment. Only after the disease has developed for a certain amount of time can it be cured'
>
> 又日：「人怒與欲心甚時，難容諫責;其情少息，方可以虜入之，譬之病發，醫難奏效，奏效須其發過時。」
> (Meynard 2014, 333).

In another excerpt, he compares the virtuous friend to a clever doctor:

> Someone admonished a friend and the friend resented the admonishment. A wise man heard about this and blamed him (the friend), saying: 'A clear mirror reflects your ugliness and a clever doctor cures your illness. How can you resent and reject them?'
>
> 或諫友，友怨之，賢者聞而責之曰：「明鏡以指爾醜，明醫以療爾疾，可怨且拒之乎?」
>
> (Meynard 2014, 333).

These chreiai use reasoning by analogy; in both cases, the friend is compared to a doctor who cures the illness. In the first chreia, the friend's disease is akin to his vices. Vagnone writes that just as a disease must develop for a period of time before it can be cured, the friend must take time to seriously consider others' admonishment. In the end, Vagnone highlights the virtue of honesty; only a true friend will provide straightforward and, if necessary, harsh advice to cure his friend of his immoral or unvirtuous behavior.

Ricci similarly discusses and encourages reproach between friends. In fact, the analogy of the true friend taking on the role of a doctor is also apparent in an entry from *On Friendship:*

> Having a friendship is like curing an illness. This is because the physician who honestly loves the sick person must certainly hate the sickness and, in order to cure that sickness, will hurt the sick person's body and embitter the sick person's mouth. The physician

> cannot endure the sick body of a sufferer, so why should a friend endure the vices of their friends? Admonish them! Admonish them! Why pity their recalcitrant ears? Why fear their knitted brows?
>
> 交友如醫疾，然醫者誠愛病者，必惡其病也，彼以拯病之故，傷其體，苦其口。醫者不忍病者之身，友者宜忍友之惡乎？諫之諫之：何卹其耳之逆，何畏其額之勤 (Billings 2009, 99).

This maxim clearly contains elements of deductive argumentation; it can be broken down as follows:

$p \rightarrow q$

(If physician honestly loves the sick person, then he must cure the sickness)

$q \rightarrow r$

(If the physician must cure the sickness, he must hurt the sick person's body)

$\therefore \quad p \rightarrow r$

(If the physician honestly loves the sick person, he must hurt the sick person's body)

The conditional statements made throughout this excerpt flow logically and, when applied to the context of friendship, provide further support to his conclusion. If Ricci's use of the physician and sick person were applied to the relationship between two friends, the deductive argument would be the following:

$s \rightarrow t$

(If someone truly loves his friend, he must put a stop to his friend's vices)

$t \rightarrow u$

(If he must put a stop to his friend's vices, he must admonish his friend)

$\therefore \quad s \rightarrow u$

(If someone truly loves his friend, he must admonish his friend)

Another entry similarly employs the doctor-patient analogy: "The intention of the doctor is to use bitter medicine to cure a person's sickness; the goal of the flattering friend is to use sweet words to seek a person's wealth" (Billings 2009, 127). In the first entry, Ricci's language indicates a sense of urgency, treating a friend's vices as though it were an intolerable sickness that requires

immediate attention. He explains that a true friend would not hesitate to admonish his friend; he should not fear hurting anyone's feelings, because he knows that it is the right thing to do. The second entry also likens a friend's vices to a sickness. Yet, in this case, Ricci contrasts the intentions of the true friend with that of a false friend. He explains that while the true friend will use bitter language so that his friend will learn from his mistakes, the false friend will use flattery and saccharine language for his own monetary gain.

While Ricci and Vagnone both clearly value the importance of reproach between true friends, Ricci's language is far more sweeping, applying a blanket policy instead of customized approaches to different circumstances. In essence, he exclaims that using harsh, bitter words will always yield positive results, regardless of how painful the admonishment may initially seem. For Ricci, the true friend will never pity or take his friend's feelings into consideration when offering straightforward and blunt advice. Just as a doctor cures the patient's illness with bitter medicine, the virtuous friend uses coarse language to rid the friend of his impure vices. Any language that is sugar-coated or lighter than expected is an indication of flattery and, thus, dishonesty.

Vagnone, on the other hand, tempers his argument by delineating certain criteria for giving the most effective advice: (1) reproaching should be done out of love, (2) given at an appropriate time, (3) use cordial words when possible, and (4) never overly dramatic or done in an angry manner. His chreiai suggest that it is, in fact, quite important to be considerate of the friend's emotions and to use tact, as using extreme language can be hurtful and, ultimately, ineffective. This point is highlighted in entry 111,

> (Plutarch:) A stupid doctor always uses strong medicines, even when treating mild diseases. Does this not harm [his patient's] strength? A stupid friend always blames with harsh words, even when seeing a small fault. Does this not harm their friendship?
>
> 醫之愚者每值輕疾，必重以攻之，有不傷力乎？友之愚者凡見小過，重以責之，有不傷情乎？
> (Meynard 2014, 336).

Thus, Vagnone's chreiai offer more pointed advice to the audience than Ricci's maxims do. Instead of establishing a blanket rule to always offer the most blunt advice, Vagnone recommends a more conscientious procedure.

2.6 Seeking Friends from Afar

The third topic is the thematic area of "searching for true and worthy friends as far away from home as necessary and at any cost" (Billings 2009, 14). Ricci leverages the popularity of the idea of having faraway friends that had become in vogue among the literati during the late Ming, noting the benefit of meeting and learning from strangers from all over the world, "Most things of this world are of no use by themselves, but only begin to be beneficial when combined with others. How could people be the one exception to this?" (Billings 2009, 119). Another maxim illustrates how even chance encounters with foreigners can be rewarding, "If, by chance, I happen to encounter a wise friend, even if we only clap hands once and part, it is never so little that it does not reinforce my will to do good" (Billings 2009, 119). *On Friendship* highlights the functional benefits of meeting new friends and acquiring knowledge from them. Using reasoning by analogy, Ricci's maxims convey the mindset that making new friends, especially form faraway places, is beneficial and brings new opportunities.

Vagnone, by contrast, does not explicitly discuss the concept of friendships from afar. His chreiai do, however, note the difference between new and old friendships. More specifically, his language strongly alludes to the superiority of old friendships to newer ones, "Plutarch said: 'With objects, you cherish new ones, but with friends, you cherish old ones'" (Meynard 2014, 290). Here, Vagnone clearly uses reasoning by analogy, comparing friendships and objects. In a similar chreia, he employs analogy again, comparing older friendships to wine, "If friendship is not like a boat, the newer, the better and more stable, then it could be like sweet wine, the older, the more delicious and stronger" (Meynard 2014, 303). Thus, while Ricci equates making new friends from faraway places with having a superior level of virtue, Vagnone places greater value on long-lasting, older friendships and conveys an attitude of mild disdain toward newer

friendships. In turn, from Vagnone's position on newer friendship, I surmise that he would similarly be averse to making friends with newcomers from foreign lands.

2.7 Friendship as a Means of Cultivating Virtue

Aside from the differences apparent in the thematic areas that are unique to each writer, the categories that do overlap—friendship as a means of cultivating virtue and material reliance between friends—also reveal nuances in the missionaries' ideologies. On the topic of supporting virtue in friendship, Vagnone's chreiai, consistent with Confucius' teaching, assert that true friendships require mutual love and respect for each other's moral virtue and wisdom. Meynard explains, "friendship is identical to loving wisdom, i.e. philosophy. Through friends, wisdom is transmitted: wisdom is received from friends and given to other friends" (Meynard 2014, 177). In other words, true friends are those who can provide insight and add to one's understanding of the world. Entry 32 neatly encapsulates this viewpoint:

> Someone said: "Choose someone as a friend for his wisdom. Through this you can stand with him in accordance with the Way of the world to handle a lot of business and solve a lot of problems. The moon and the stars come across the sun. Though they do not have their own light, neither cannot help but receive the light [of the sun], even to the point of brightening the dark night. Anyone who comes across the wise, even though he himself is stupid, does not fail to receive the favor of the wise's luster, even to the point of enlightening people."
>
> 或曰：「擇友擇其智，方可與立世道而禦萬務，處萬難矣月星凡交於日者，雖自無光，未有不蒙其照，至為甚，光足照夜之黑。凡交於智者，雖為愚，無不受其照之澤，而又足照他人之蒙
> (Meynard 2014, 303).

This chreia demonstrates reasoning by analogy, juxtaposing the wise's luster with the light of the sun. In other words, just as the sun's light is taken in and absorbed by the moon and stars, simply meeting or being in contact with a wiser person can be beneficial and allow the less virtuous to absorb and adopt the wise's good behavior. In turn, Vagnone poses that friends ought to be selected based on whether they can aid one's moral advancement, and befriending someone who has more wisdom to offer is advantageous.

Ricci takes a very similar stance on using friendship as a means for cultivating virtue. Entry 69 in *On Friendship*, taken from Andreas Eborensis's *Sententiae et exempla*, relates that the goal of making friends is to learn and to teach one another,

> The aim of making friends is none other than this: if my friends have more goodness than I do, then I must learn from them and adopt their habits; if I have more goodness than they do, then I must teach them and improve them. Learning in order to teach and teaching in order to learn are mutually beneficial. If their goodness is not worthy of studying and adopting, or if their wickedness cannot be changed, why should I exhaust whole days together with indecent pastimes and vain shadows?
>
> 交友之旨無他，在彼善長於我，則我效習之。我善長於彼，則我教化之是學而即教，教而即學，兩者互資矣如彼善不足以效習，彼不善不可以變動，何殊盡日相與遊謔，而徒費陰影乎哉注：無益之友乃偷時之盜偷時之損甚於偷財，財可复積，時則否 (Billings 2009, 121).

Like Vagnone's chreia, this maxim employs reasoning by analogy, conveying the mindset that the purpose of making friends is to learn and adopt their habits; he does not, however, provide proper evidence or logic to support this assertion. In fact, the first sentence is the chreia's conclusion, yet none of the premises that follow link back to or explain why the statement is true. Yet, Vagnone makes clear that this assertion should be taken as a fact, deflecting potential counterarguments by ending with the rhetorical question, "If their good is not worthy of studying […] why should I exhaust whole days together with indecent pastimes and vain shadows?" This concluding remark further compounds Vagnone's use of non-deductive reasoning, as the chreia does not offer any supporting evidence that proves or explains why making friends with those who are not worthy of studying results in indecent pastimes or vain shadows. This is yet another presumption that Vagnone makes without providing corroboration.

Nevertheless, the context of the chreia emphasizes the theme of an exchange of wisdom. More specifically, he writes that the friend who possesses more goodness should teach the friend who, by comparison, is lacking in goodness. The maxim concludes with the same point that Vagnone makes, which is that it is better to seek out friends who are wiser and who can aid one's moral cultivation. Ricci takes this point a step further, questioning whether a friend who cannot

provide wisdom or heighten one's virtue has any value at all; he even suggests that spending time with friends whose goodness is not worthy of studying would result in days of "indecent pastimes" and "vain shadows." Thus, not only is befriending wiser more virtuous people beneficial, it may be necessary, as befriending those who are not as virtuous, wise, or good could lead to negative consequences and wasted time.

Ricci also makes his stance transparent in entry 70,

> Suppose there is a man who has no great faith in this Way, and whose cultivation of is moreover still in danger, his heart still struggling and undecided over whether he will manifest goodness or enter into shamefulness. In order to lay open and resolve his doubts, to nourish his virtue and save him from an imminent fall, I believe that there is nothing better than an excellent friend, because whatever I constantly hear and constantly see gradually sinks into my breast until I suddenly understand it all at once—truly, such a friend is like a living law that reproves me with goodness. How magnificent the honorable man is! How magnificent the honorable man is! Sometimes even without the use of speech, and even without the show of indignation, his virtuous authority can prevent immoral actions
>
> 使或人未篤信斯道，且修德尚危，出好入醜，心戰未決，於以剖釋其疑，安培其德而拯其將墜，計莫過於交善友，吾所數聞，所數覩漸透於膺，豁然開悟，誠若活法勸責吾於善也。嚴哉君子！嚴哉君子！時雖言語未及，怒色未加，亦有德威以沮不善之為與
> (Billings 2009, 121).

Again, the theme of the transmission of wisdom and virtue from the more virtuous friend to the less virtuous friend is evident in this maxim. Here, Ricci relates that repeatedly hearing or seeing a good friend's virtuous behavior will, in turn, induce the less virtuous friend to adopt that behavior. Ricci also implies that the friend who possesses greater virtue has a "virtuous authority," which, even without direct communication or explicit signs of disapproval, can cause the less virtuous friend to stop his immoral actions.

While both Ricci and Vagnone arrive at similar conclusions, posing that friendship tends to be a hierarchical relationship, in which the more virtuous friend educates and improves the less virtuous friend, Ricci appears to elevate the wiser friend to a higher social tier than Vagnone does. Ricci's maxims suggest that the "excellent" friend has a power similar to that of a ruler;

this is most apparent in his use of the term "virtuous authority," the context of which mirrors entry 2.1 from the Confucius Analects, "The Master said: 'One who rules through the power of Virtue is analogous to the Pole star: it simply remains in its place and receives the homage of the myriad lesser stars'" (Slingerland 2003, 8). In both of these cases, a sense of wu-wei is evoked; neither the excellent friend nor the one who rules through the power of Virtue requires conscious effort to better the less virtuous friends and the lesser stars, respectively. Instead, their mere presence and the power of their moral virtue is enough to induce positive changes to those who surround them. Ricci also compares the "excellent" friend to a "living law," further likening the more virtuous friend to a ruler guiding his subjects.

Vagnone's chreia, on the other hand, certainly hints at the superiority of the wiser friend, but compares the relationship between friends to that of a master and student. He writes that anyone who comes across the wise will receive the favor of the wise's luster, explaining that receiving this luster will allow the lesser friend to teach others what they have learned. Meynard elaborates, "Friendship here is not described as an egalitarian relation, but described against the background of moral progress. The friend is presented as a master from whom one learns in order to teach others" (Meynard 2014, 303). Thus, unlike Ricci who describes the wiser, more virtuous friend like a despot or authority figure, Vagnone equates the friend to a teacher or master who passes on knowledge to his student.

2.8 Sharing Wealth and Giving Favor Between Friends

On the topic of material reliance between friends, Vagnone's chreiai suggest that it is better to be in the position of the giver rather than the receiver, as one should never enter a friendship on the basis of dependency. Chreia 75 states,

> A rich, respected man in ancient times called on a sage because he wanted to pay him favor. The sage replied: 'If I accept your favor, I have to think about how to pay it back, and cannot avoid being bothered by this thought. If I do not think about paying it back, I cannot avoid being considered ungrateful. Therefore, please allow me not to accept [your favor]

> 古富尊者召賢，欲惠之賢者曰：「欲受爾惠，必將思所以報之，未免多慮之煩者.不圖報，未免似於無情之人.請辭」
> (Li 2014, 321).

This chreia is an example of appeal to example; more specifically, Vagnone employs appeal to history, as the chreia clearly references the experience of a historical figure—the sage. Interestingly, appealing to the sages is an example of a device commonly used by the Mohists. Goldin notes, "Though it is usually taken to be typical of Confucian argumentation, Mohists, i.e., followers of the philosophy of Mozi, pioneered the use of this device, because appealing to the sages was the first of the 'Three Gnomons', also called 'Three Standards,' that they held to be indicative of valid propositions" (Goldin 2017, 47). In general, appealing to history or using references from the past, were commonplace in traditional Chinese literature, as they were used to bolster a certain viewpoint or case. This chreia, for example, is meant to convey to the audience that because the ancient sage behaved in such a way, others ought to follow suit.

Taking a closer look at the message conveyed in this chreia, the sage's interaction with the rich, respected man is demonstrative of the golden rule used in Confucianism and Christianity: to only do to others, as you would have them do to you. Because the rich, respected man wants to do something for the sage, the sage feels that he, in turn, must reciprocate and do the same favor—or a favor of a similar magnitude—for the rich, respected man. This moral transaction between the two friends is not exactly equal, however, as the sage clearly does not wish to be on the receiving side. The sage explains that because he does not want to deal with the burden of having to repay the rich, respected man, he would rather than accept the favor to begin with.

In addition, Vagnone's chreiai also note certain circumstances under which affording favors to friends is done best,

> He (Seneca) also said: 'There are four levels of beauty in giving. The first one is to help at the proper time. The second one is to give without being asked. The third one is to give without expecting return. The fourth one is [to give] without anyone knowing about it

或曰：「恩惠之美，有四級：。惠人於時，一不待人求而惠二既惠，不望人報，三不求人知，四」
(Meynard 2014, 326).

A sense of selflessness is evident in this chreia, as the conditions indicate that the giver's motives should be pure. Not only should the giver not expect anything in return, he should actively take measures to anticipate and prevent the receiver from repaying them; such measures include paying favors without being prompted, as well as doing favors without the receiver's knowledge. In short, the giver should be bestowing favors to his friend out of complete generosity; his intentions should be altruistic.

This sense of altruism is reiterated in chreia 85,

> Seneca said: "There is a kind of friend who is ungrateful even if he has received favors (from his friend). There is another kind of friend who pays back with evil, [even if he has received favors from his friend]. But, the one who loves to give will not spare his favor because of this. This is just like a newborn baby in swaddling clothes: sometimes it will hit its mother and sometimes he will yell at its father, yet no loving parents would abandon it. This is also like a spring: it does not stop flowing even if nobody appreciates. And this is also like the sun: it does not stop shining because of human ingratitude.
>
> 色搦加曰：「友受惠而不感之者有之，又以惡行報之者有之然善施者亦不因而吝其恩，正如赤子在襁褓或擊其母，或詈其父，未見仁親棄之;又如水泉不以人之不謝不流，由光不以人之不感不照.
>
> (Meynard 2014, 325).

The use of reasoning by analogy is evident here, as Vagnone compares the ungrateful friend to a newborn baby. He compares the relationship between the friends to that of a parent and child. He asserts that the true friend will give regardless of whether the receiving friend is appreciative. Just as an infant may not understand the care and love he receives from his parents and lash out, the unappreciative friend may act out wickedly in response to the giving friend's favor. Nevertheless, the receiving friend's bad behavior should not deter the giving friend from doing good. If the friend is truly giving out of complete generosity, then he will give in spite of negative or evil treatment. In short, Vagnone asserts that the true friend will give regardless of whether the receiving friend is appreciative.

Ricci's maxims on the topic of sharing wealth between friends similarly echoes the sentiment behind the golden rule. In entry 29 of On Friendship, Ricci cites Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics, "The material goods of friends are all held in common" (Billings 2009, 103). According to Billings, the maxim conveys the idea that friends' goods ought to be shared between the two and are considered common property. Ricci stresses that the foundation of friendship is the sense of community and togetherness it brings. In maxim 95, the notion of equal sharing of wealth between friends is reiterated:

> In ancient times, there were two men walking together, one who was extremely rich, and one who was extremely poor. Someone commented: 'Those two men have become very close friends.' Hearing this, Dou-fa-de (a famous sage of antiquity) retorted: 'If that is indeed so, why is it that one of them is rich and the other poor?'
>
> 古有二人同行，一極富，一極貧。或日，二人為友至密矣。竇法德〔古者名則聞之日既然何為富者，一為貧者哉注言友之物皆與共也。
> (Billings 2009, 133).

Like chreia 75 from *Illustrations of the Grand Dao,* this maxim employs appeal to history, referencing an interaction between two men from ancient times. As such, this example from the past is meant to bolster Ricci's argument, conveying to his audience that they must learn from history.

The maxim suggests that it is strange or abnormal for two men who are supposedly friends to have such disparate amounts of wealth. If they were truly friends, their wealth would divided evenly between the two. In turn, Ricci's stance on material reliance and giving favor between friends contains similar elements to Vagnone's interpretation, but ultimately does not take as strong of a stance on whether it is better to be the giver or the receiver of favor. While Vagnone's chreiai suggest that giving is a greater indicator of virtue and that there is a greater burden on those who receive favor from others, Ricci's maxims relate more generally that wealth and favor should be distributed evenly between friends; the maxims do not indicate a preference for either position. In short, while Vagnone strongly emphasizes a sense of righteousness and altruism of the friend who afford the favors, Ricci does not specify which friend—the giver or

receiver of gifts—is more righteous; he simply encourages a mutual and indiscriminate sharing between friends.

2.9 Concluding Remarks on Friendship

Friendship, as Norman Kutcher explains, was perceived distinctly differently from the other four Confucian bonds by the literati elite and Jesuit missionaries alike, since it was neither a family bond nor a state bond (Kutcher 2000, 1615). Yet, the fifth Confucian bond of friendship was of immense importance throughout late Ming, which is now considered by many historians as the golden age of friendship. Billings notes, "It can be no mere coincidence that the topic of Ricci's first book in Chinese happened to be enjoying a vogue among the educated elite […] To put it simply, Ricci must have known that friendship was hot" (Billings 2009, 22-23). Similarly, Vagnone, whose work was published a bit later in 1636, placed a great deal of emphasis on friendship. Thierry Meynard notes, "the other relation that gets the most attention is friendship. Ricci's JYL was one of the most influential Christian writings at that time. It was important for missionaries, cut from family bonds, to emphasize this relationship so vital for their mission to China" (Meynard 2014, 86). Thus, Vagnone's and Ricci's motives were in sync with one another; their purpose was to leverage this fifth Confucian bond to gain the trust and favor of the Confucian literati. Nevertheless, when closely analyzing both *On Friendship* and *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, the chreiai and maxims of each, while similar in many ways, contain a myriad of discrepancies and nuances that make these two authors distinctly different in both their rhetoric and ideologies.

Chapter 3: Father-Son and Brothers Relationships

3.1 Christian and Confucian Perspectives on the Father-Son and Brothers Relationships

From the Christian perspective, the relationship between father and son and the relationship between brothers were considered of similar importance. While, certainly, children were expected to demonstrate respect to their parents, children were ultimately the possession of God, thus limiting parental authority (Zhuo 2014, 182-183). In a similar vein, the relationship between brothers was portrayed in an equalitarian context, reflecting the Christian belief that all human beings are equal before God (Meynard 2014, 170).

However, these two relationships were seen in a drastically different light from the Confucian point of view. The father-son relationship, in Confucianism, emphasizes a sense of absolute subordination of the sons to their fathers. The son is expected to live for his father—serving him in his life and mourning him in his death. Likewise, younger brothers were also expected to obey their older brothers. Entry 22 from Book 11 of the *Analects* states:

> Zilu asked, 'Upon learning of something that needs to be done, should one immediately take care of it?' The Master replied, 'As long as one's father and elder brothers are still alive, how could one possibly take care of it immediately?'
>
> 子路問：「聞斯行諸？」子曰：「有父兄在，如之何其聞斯行之？」
> (Slingerland 2009, 119) (Sturgeon 2018).

Thus, the hierarchy between the parent and son, as well as elder and younger brother, is very pronounced in the Confucian context. In contrast, from the Christian perspective, the distinction in power within each pairing is not nearly as apparent.

This tension between the Confucians' dedication to filial piety and the Christians' commitment to God is also apparent across different denominations of Christian missionaries (Faber 1897, 81). Considering this discrepancy in beliefs, the discussion that follows in this chapter will focus primarily on the ways in which Vagnone's *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* and the Confucian text *Mencius* align and contrast in their messages. Specifically, this chapter aims to answer the question of where Vagnone stands in terms of the Christian and Confucian stances

on the father-son and brothers relationships. I will also take note in the following discussions the ways in which the rhetoric of Vagnone and Mencius frame and support their overarching stances. Given that Vagnone tends to take an accommodationist approach in both his language and ideas expressed throughout his work, his method of navigating the aforementioned tension between Christian and Confucian beliefs is certainly worthy of further investigation.

3.2 Vagnone, Father-Son Relationship, and Brothers Relationship

The relationship between father and son is the second chapter within *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, immediately following the ruler-official relationship. While Vagnone was certainly cognizant of the importance of filial piety to the Confucians, the contents of his discussion on the father-son bond does not demonstrate this. In stark contrast to the chapter on the ruler-official relationship, which contains 158 chreiai, the father-son relationship has only 21 chreiai on the topic. Moreover, these chreiai are primarily focused upon education in relation to the moral cultivation of children. Meynard notes that, perhaps, Vagnone saw a similarity between the father-son bond and the bond between student and teacher,

> Among the five relationships, it seems that Confucianism lacks one which is fundamental to the transmission of teaching: the teacher-student relation […] But perhaps, the relation between father and son best embodies the educational project of Confucianism (Meynard 2014, 168).

Within the overarching context of education, the 21 chreiai consider a variety of issues relating to topics including: providing material needs for elderly parents, similarities between humans and animals, and a commitment to both a formal academic education and parental education.

The relationship between brothers accounts for 31 out of the 355 total chreia on the Confucian bonds. Interestingly, however, only the first eight of the 31 chreia specifically discuss brothers, whereas the rest discuss the relationship between old and young. The 31 items each relate to the ways in which brothers can aid each other's moral cultivation, mitigate disagreements, and become more virtuous individuals. Overarching themes, such as age differences between brothers and education, are also discussed.

Mencius and the Story of Shun

Mencius, or "Master Meng," (391-308 B.C.E.) was a Chinese philosopher who lived in the latter part of the Zhou dynasty (1122-249 B.C.E.). His self-titled work *Mencius*, which some scholars believe may have compiled by his disciples, is a collection of anecdotes between Mencius himself, his disciples, and the rulers of the Zhou dynasty during the Warring States era.

In terms of the work's ethical views, moral cultivation is a central and recurring topic of discussion. One of the most well-known figures within Mencius is the character Shun, who in the eyes of Mencius is a *sage-king*—a prime exemplar of Confucian ideals. The story of Shun appears intermittently throughout the books of Mencius. His relationship with his father and brother shed light on how Mencius viewed the Confucian bonds between father and son and between elder and younger brother.

3.3 Father-Son Relationship, Societal Obligation, and Education

As Meynard notes, one of the key themes throughout the chreiai on the father-son relationship is education. The upbringing and moral education of the child is viewed as a reflection of the parent's capabilities and morality. Thus, when a child commits a wrongdoing, the onus falls on both that child as well as his father. This point is clearly conveyed in entry 3:

> Zaleaucus established a law for his country and any offender of this law would have two eyes plucked out. His son violated the law. Everybody wanted to forgive him except his father, who plucked out one of his own eyes responding to his fatherhood, and then he plucked out one of his son's eyes, fulfilling the requirement of the law
>
> 撒流各爲國立律，奸者抉其雙目;其子已犯，衆欲恕之，父不准，乃先抉己-目以全情，又抉子一目以全法。
> (Li 2014, 254).

The even division of the responsibility of the offense is demonstrated in the equal distribution of the punishment: both the son and his father lose one eye. Notably, the father is the one who plucks out his son's eye, indicating the interlinked relationship between the law and one's parental obligations. Since the father is the one who carries out the punishment, he is expressing both his filial duty to reprimand his son and his loyalty to the state.

Another chreia demonstrates a connection between the bond between ruler and subject and the father-son relationship is entry 17:

> According to an old law of the West, a son unfilial to the point of wounding (killing) his parents was ordered to be put in a leather bag and thrown into the river, so that he could not breathe the air from Heaven, he could not be covered by water, and he could not stand safely on earth. Why? For anyone who wounds the root from which he sprang, neither in life nor in death does he deserve to be pitied by the myriad elements.
>
> 西古法，不孝至傷親，命生置革囊投之於浪中，不使吸氣於天不使蒙洗于水，不使安立于地何也？凡傷其所繇生之本，生死不宜見憐於萬物者也。
> (Li 2014, 262).

Here, instead of the father carrying out the rule of the land, the law stipulates, and presumably carries out, the punishment against the unfilial son. The chreia reiterates the idea that the ruler-official bond and the father-son bond go hand-in-hand. In both entries, they appear to reinforce one another, establishing a sense of synchrony between the two relationships.

Elaborating on the dynamic between the father-son and ruler-official bonds, Li notes that in China, some instances of serious crimes had serious implications for the wrongdoer's entire family. According to Article 277 of the Great Ming Code, the punishment for plotting rebellion entails:

> Those who jointly plot shall all be sentenced to death by slicing, without distinction of principals and accessories. Their paternal grandfather, father, sons, sons' sons, brothers, those living in the same household whether or not their surnames differ [from the criminal's], paternal uncles and brother's sons, whether or not they are in different family registers, and [male] relatives of 16 years of age or older, including those who are incapacitated or disabled shall all be punished by decapitation
> (Yonglin 2001, 154).

Interestingly, the punishment described in the article appears to conflate the significance of the father-son and brothers relationship. Not only is the criminal's father and paternal grandfather targeted, but the father's brothers and their sons (the criminal's paternal uncles and male cousins) are also to be punished by decapitation. In other words, from the standpoint of the Ming government, the onus of the son's lack of moral education falls on an entire lineage of fathers

and brothers who have mutually failed to fulfill their Confucian duties in their respective relationships. Again, the law and the Confucian bonds are inseparable.

Mencius, on the other hand, takes a contrasting stance on the significance of the father son bond. While Vagnone and the Ming government indicate that the punishment prescribed by the rule of the land should be carried out, Mencius asserts that the father-son bond takes such precedence over the ruler-official bond that the two should simply flee the country and ignore the law completely. Entry 35 of Book 7A states:

> Tao Ying asked, 'If, while Shun was Son of Heaven and Gao Yao was minister of justice, the Blind Man [Shun's father] had murdered someone, what would have happened?' Mencius said, 'Gao Yao would have apprehended him; that is all.' 'But wouldn't Shun have prevented this?' 'How could Shun have prevented it? Gao Yao had received the authority for this.' 'Then what would Shun have done?' 'Shun would have regarded abandoning the realm as he would abandoning an old shoe. Secretly, he would have taken his father on his back and fled, dwelling somewhere along the seacoast. There he would have happily remained to the end of his life, forgetting, in his delight, about the realm.'
>
> 桃应问曰："舜为天子，皋陶为士，瞽瞍杀人，则如之何？孟子曰："执之而已矣。""然则舜不禁与？曰：夫舜恶得而禁之？夫有所受之也。""然则舜如之何？"曰："舜视弃天下犹弃敝蹝也。窃负而逃，遵海滨而处，终身欣然乐而忘天下〔今译〕桃应问道："大舜做天子，皋陶做法官如果大舜的父亲瞽瞍杀了人，那应该怎么办？"孟子说："把他逮捕起来罢了"桃应又问道："那么大舜就不阻止吗？"494 孟子说："大舜怎么禁止得了呢？去逮捕是有所根据的。"桃应说："那大舜又怎么办呢？"孟子说："大舜把放弃天下看作如同扔掉破鞋样。他会背着瞽瞍偷偷地逃跑沿着海滨居住下来妇终身都很快乐，以至忘记了自己曾经是个天子。"
> (Bloom 2009, 152) (Shi 1993, 495-496).

In other words, the son's filial duty to his father, regardless of his status, takes precedence over his duty to the state. Despite that Shun was the emperor of the land, Mencius states that he should discard his status and previous life. He employs reasoning by analogy, comparing Shun's status, ranking, and everything he had established in the realm to an "old shoe" and escape happily. A very similar anecdote that, perhaps, influenced Mencius's work appears in Book 13 of the Analects, which states:

> The Duke of She said to Confucius, 'Among my people there is one we call 'Upright Gong.' When his father stole a sheep, he reported him to the authorities.' Confucius

> replied, 'Among my people, those who we consider 'upright' are different from this: father cover up for their sons, and sons cover up for their fathers. 'Uprightness' is to be found in this'
>
> 葉公語孔子曰：「吾黨有直躬者，其父攘羊，而子證之。」孔子曰：「吾黨之直者異於是。父為子隱，子為父隱，直在其中矣。」
> (Slingerland 2009, 147) (Sturgeon 2018).

This entry also discusses a situation with a criminal father and his virtuous son. Confucius's concluding remark makes clear, however, that even in the reverse situation, the father would still be expected to cover up his son's wrongdoings. Thus, the father's filial duty to his son and the son's filial duty to his father are both prioritized over their loyalty to the state.

Taking into consideration the situations portrayed in Vagnone's chreia and Mencius's anecdote, there is a clear discrepancy in terms of whether the father's and son's obligation to each other is more important than their obligation to society. Ostensibly, the message behind Vagnone's chreia is that the requirement of the law should be fulfilled. However, it must be noted that the father is the one who vehemently takes the stance that his son cannot go unpunished. In fact, the chreia clearly states that everyone else who witnessed the situation wanted the son to be absolved of the crime. As such, the reader can surmise that should the father not have been so insistent on carrying out the law, the son would probably have left the situation unscathed with both eyes intact. Thus, the question of whether the father-son bond takes precedence over the ruler-official bond cannot be answered definitively with the context given.

The language used in the Mencian and Confucian contexts, by contrast, clearly relate a far more certain answer to the question. The entry in Mencius talks of Shun, an emperor whose father murders someone; the Analects discusses a morally upright son whose father steals a sheep. Despite these vastly different scenarios and degrees of crimes committed, the end result is the same: the son demonstrates his loyalty to his father and undermines his loyalty to the state.

Ultimately, the ambiguity of the message behind Vagnone's chreia may have been a strategic maneuver to avoid controversy. He was certainly well aware of the importance of the Confucian relationships, but including a chreia that would undermine the authority of the Ming

rule would not have been well received by the ministers and officials. Thus, selecting an anecdote that does not put the state and family at odds with one another could very well have been a way for Vagnone to avoid potential backlash and please his audiences.

3.4 Brothers, Moral Cultivation, and the Sharing of Wealth

Moral cultivation and growth are also central themes in Vagnone's chapter on the relationship between brothers. Within the 31 chreia on the topic, the second entry explains,

> Plutarch said: 'In arithmetic, there is multiplication. A small number is multiplied by a bigger one, making the bigger one even bigger and the smaller one also big. Similarly, a young brother attends to his elder. This does not only show the noble character of the elder brother, but also shows his own dignified value
>
> 布路大各曰：「筭有乘法，以数之小，加于数之大，大者逾大，而小者亦大。昆弟以小事大，非特见昆之尊，亦见己之不卑。」
> (Li 2014, 264-265).

The message of this chreia is that there exists a mutual devotion between the younger and older brother. While the younger brother attends to and pays respect to his older brother, he also gains from his obedience by cultivating greater virtue by following his older brother's lead. Li elaborates, "The younger brother does not only honor his elder brother, but through his obedience, he realizes his own true moral nature" (Li, 265).

In addition, the younger brother is demonstrating an internalization and fusion of his identity and moral conduct. He is essentially realizing his devotion and respect to his brother, not as an act of responsibility or simple fulfillment of societal obligation, but rather as an act of love and honor stemming from his innate moral nature,

> The internalization of a moral rule is stressed both by Neo-Confucianism and by Christianity. Christianity, however, departs from Confucianism in emphasizing a fundamental equality in front of God: since each person can realize his true nature as a child of God, we are indeed equal. With this in mind, our chreia above can be read as following: by paying due respect to his elder brother, the younger brother is fulfilling his true nature at the same level or even higher than his elder brother
> (Li 2014, 265).

In short, the chreia emphasizes the importance of the younger brother's role in the relationship. His acts of deference toward his older brother aid his moral development, lifting his sense of morality to a level comparable to his older brother. As they both cultivate greater morality, they are also realizing their true nature as equals in front of God.

Interestingly, the chreia's discussion of the older brother's role in the relationship seems to echo the role of the despot in the Confucian ruler-subject relationship. In Book 2 of the Analects, the first entry reads: "The Master said, 'One who rules through the power of Virtue is analogous to the Pole Star: it simply remains in its place and receives homage of the myriad lesser stars'" (Slingerland 2009, 8). In the context of Vagnone's chreia, the message seems to be that, like the subjects who pay homage and follow the morally upright behavior of the ruler, the younger brother similarly pays homage to the older brother and, as a result, cultivates a greater sense of moral obligation and virtue. (*This sentiment is also seen in my previous chapter on Matteo Ricci's On Friendship, where the more virtuous friend serves as an example and aids the less virtuous friend's moral cultivation).*

Extending on the idea that brothers ought to uplift one another and have equal obligation toward each others' moral cultivation, entry 7 adds that jealousy of one's brother is to be avoided. Since brothers are from the same family, rivalry between them is unnecessary and foolish:

> He (Plutarch) said: 'All who are jealous of their brother's fortune are exactly the same as the left, short arm or leg being jealous of the right, long arm or leg. This is stupid'
>
> 或曰：「凡妒其昆弟之福者，正如左手足之短妒右手足之長，愚矣！」
> (Li 2014, 268).

In *Mencius*, the story of Emperor Shun and his half-brother Xiang similarly evokes a sense of obligation and duty that brothers have to one another. The legend of Shun states that after Emperor Yao passed, Shun was chosen to govern the land, much to the dismay of his stepparents and stepbrother Xiang. In an attempt to murder Shun and take the power of the throne, while Shun is repairing the roof of a barn, his father lights the barn on fire while Xiang

removes the ladder to prevent his brother from escaping. Luckily, Shun survives by making a parachute out of his hat. Upon discovering that his brother was behind his attempted murder, Shun enfeoffs his brother the land of Youbi. The dialogue between Wan Zhang and Mencius provides insight into Shun's decision:

> Wan Zhang asked, 'Xiang took as his daily consumption the cause of murdering Shun. Why, then, was it that Shun, upon becoming Son of Heaven, banished him?' […] [Mencius said:] 'A humane man does not store up anger against his brother, nor harbor grievances against him. He simply loves him; that is all. Loving him, he desires to be honored; loving him, he desires him to be wealthy. His enfeoffment at Youbi was to make Xiang wealthy and honored. If, while Shun was a sovereign while his brother had been a common man, could he be said to have loved him?'
>
> 萬章問曰："象日以殺舜爲事，立爲天子則放之，何也？"孟子說：仁愛之人對於弟弟，不把怒氣藏在心底，不把怨恨留在胸中，只是親近他愛護他罷了親近他是想讓他尊貴起來愛護他是想讓他富. 有起來，大舜把象封在有庫國，就是要使他尊貴而富有。自己做了天子，而弟弟卻還是普通老百姓能算得上親近他，愛護他嗎？" (Bloom 2009, 100) (Shi 1993, 324-326).

This exchange reveals several elements of the relationship between Shun and Xiang. First, despite that Xiang is the younger brother of Shun, he does not follow the Confucian ideal of subordination to his elder brother. Instead of honoring, learning, and cultivating a greater sense of morality from his brother, Shun attempts to murder him out of jealousy. It should be noted, however, that perhaps his loyalty to his brother is diminished due to the fact that they are only half-brothers; nevertheless, Mencius, from the language used in the conversation, describes Shun and Xiang as, simply, brothers.

Second, enfeoffment is akin to giving someone the right to rule over an area of land and its people. Considering Xiang's lack of morals and obsession with power, according to the Confucian ideals for what constitutes a virtuous sage-king, he would not be considered worthy to rule. Thus, Shun's decision to enfeoff the land of Youbi to his brother is not just an act of brotherly affection, but also an indicator of the distinction of the hierarchy of the Confucian bonds; in particular, the decision suggests that the bond between brothers takes precedence over the bond between the ruler and his subjects.

Still, there are certain caveats of the enfeoffment that indicate Shun's actions were not purely based on his love for his brother. When Wan Zhang asks Mencius why some consider the enfeoffment as Xiang's banishment, he replies:

> Xiang could take no action in his state. The Son of Heaven appointed officials to administer the state and to collect the tribute and taxes from it, which is why it was called 'banishment.' How could he have been allowed to oppress the people? However, Shun frequently wanted to see him, and so there was a constant flow of people coming to court. This is what was meant by the saying, 'He did not wait for the time of tribute or for affairs of government to receive the lord of Youbi'
>
> 孟子說："象不能在他的封國有所作爲，天子便派遣官吏來協助他治理國家，並上繳貢稅，所以人說是流放。（這樣做。）象難道還能暴虐他的老百姓嗎？盡管如此，大舜還是想常常見到他，因此不斷讓象到朝廷中來，（古書上說："不到朝貢的時候也常假借處理政事接見有庫國君。，說的就是這件事。"
> (Bloom 2009, 101) (Shi 1993, 326).

In other words, Shun made sure that the people his brother were to be ruled over were protected from Xiang's immoral behavior. By assigning officials to take care of the administrative procedures of Youbi, Xiang's position becomes primarily titular. Reflecting the purpose of Shun's decision, Xiang's new role is simply to allow him to be wealthy and honored, but not at the expense of others.

The story of Yao and Xiang paints a more multi-faceted and complex picture of the relationship between brothers when compared to the chreiai within Vagnone's chapter on the brothers relationship. In stark contrast to the moral principle related in Vagnone's second entry, Xiang—the younger brother—certainly does not strive to attend to his older brother and his behavior does not show his own dignified value. Shun, on the other hand, has failed to some degree in his role as the older brother, as he is not able to pass on his noble character to Xiang. Despite that he is, according to Mencius, the paradigm of Confucian morality and virtue, Shun appears to, ultimately, give up the pursuit of changing his brother and simply gives him what he wants: wealth and honor (or a false sense of it).

One striking difference between Vagnone and Mencius is mentioned in the dialogue when Mencius states: “If, while Shun himself was a sovereign his brother had been a common man, could he be said to have loved him?” (Bloom 2009, 101). This statement directly contradicts the message of entry 7 of Vagnone’s chreiai, which states that jealousy of a brother’s fortune is considered foolish, since both are from the same family. However, the sentiment of Mencius’s statement indicates that Shun had an obligation to raise his brother’s status, given his own lofty position as emperor. Clearly there is a sense of unease at the disparity in the brothers’ ranking, as Mencius would impugn Shun’s love for his brother if he were to allow him to remain a commoner. In short, while Vagnone would argue that Xiang’s jealousy was foolish and that he should simply have been made to accept the fact that his brother had a greater fortune, Mencius suggests that the contrast in the brothers’ status was abnormal and needed to be remedied.

Aside from these contrasts, the story of Shun and Vagnone’s chreiai also produce a few similarities. While, perhaps, their stances on jealousy between brothers do not completely align, the overarching theme of equality is still present. Specifically, Vagnone advocates for the idea of a mutual growth and moral cultivation between brothers. The older brother provides a template of what constitutes a noble character, and the younger brother learns from him, producing his own dignified value. There is a sense of harmony in this dynamic and, as Li explains, the idea that all human beings are equal before God. The chreia explains that brothers realize their true nature as children and servants of God. In this sense, the hierarchical distinction between older and younger brother is minimized, and the younger brother is lifted to the same level as his older brother.

In a similar vein, the moral of the story of Shun and Xiang also suggests that brothers ought to be equal. Seeing that Xiang was so driven by jealousy and discontent with his status as a commoner that he was willing to murder him, Shun resolves to raise his younger brother’s status and gives him a land to rule over. While this decision was likely more of a reflection of Shun’s

Confucian virtue, it also indicates that having love for one's brother also entails uplifting and making him a peer. Interestingly, this sentiment is similar to that of maxim 95 from Matteo Ricci's*On Friendship*, which states: "In ancient times, there were two men walking together, one who was extremely rich, and one who was extremely poor. Someone commented: 'Those two men have become very close friends.' Hearing this, Dou-fa-de retorted: 'If that is indeed so, why is it that one is rich and the other poor?'" (Billings 2009, 133). In other words, just as Ricci believes that friendship entails sharing wealth, Mencius's language suggests that the same should be true for brothers.

In the end, when it comes to the relationship between brothers, the story of Shun and Xiang certainly does not fully align with the principles delineated in Vagnone's chreia. Nonetheless, when it comes to hierarchy and power dynamics, both authors' works indicate that equality between brothers is more desirable than not.

3.5 Situating the Bonds Between Father-Son and Brother-Brother

In *Mencius*, Shun's relationship with his father (Gusou) and his stepbrother (Xiang) illustrate the Mencian idea that the bonds between father and son and between brothers incontrovertibly take precedence over one's loyalty to the state. Despite the attempts by Gusou and Xiang to murder him, Shun still resolves to express his filial devotion and love for his father and brother. He enfeoffs the land of Youbi to Xiang and, from the perspective of Mencius, would certainly have abandoned the land and people he ruled over to assist his father's escape from punishment.

Illustrations of the Grand Dao, on the other hand, stands by the idea that government and family function in tandem with one another. In the case of the son who commits a crime, his father takes it upon himself to carry out the punishment, demonstrating his loyalty to the state. Likewise, in the case of the unfilial son, the law reinforces the t importance of filial piety and prescribes a severe punishment for the state to execute in the name of the parents. Li explains, "the family is often viewed as a microcosm of the government, which in turn dictates the health of society. The implication here is that the encouragement and maintenance of happy, orderly

families will inevitably lead to a well-ordered and efficient government" (Li 2014, 266). This sentiment is also present in Book 1 of the Analects, which states that those who obey their parents and elder brothers rarely resist the authority of their superiors (Eno 2015, 1). Thus, the severity of the punishments described in Vagnone's chreiai are a reflection of the idea that the unfilial son is also a threat to the state, as well as the interconnected nature of the brothers, father-son, and ruler-official relationships.

3.6 Complications and Alternative Interpretations

While the works contrast each other in striking ways, it would be inaccurate to claim that Vagnone and Mencius are in complete opposition with one another. Vagnone never explicitly portrays a situation in which a father, son, or brother chooses between following the law and his family. The situations presented throughout his chreiai appear to circumvent this dilemma completely, making it seem as though government and family are never at odds.

Similarly, the story of Shun within *Mencius* is also complicated by the fact that Shun is the ruler in question. Thus, as emperor, would not his decision to ignore his attempted murder by the hands of Xiang and Gusou be a reflection of both his filial piety as well as the will of the state? Based on the Analects, which states that the emperor is like a virtuous pole star that other stars pay reverence to, Shun's decisions provide a moral template for his subjects and future rulers to follow. In the words of the *Classic of Filial Piety*:

> The Master said, 'Those who love their parents do not dare to hate others. Those who respect their parents do not dare to show contempt toward others. The filial piety of the Son of Heaven consists in serving his parents with complete love and respect so that his moral influence reaches the common people and he becomes a model for the distant regions in all directions
>
> 子曰：「愛親者，不敢惡於人；敬親者，不敢慢於人。愛敬盡於事親，而德教加於百姓，刑於四海。蓋天子之孝也。《甫刑》云：『一人有慶，兆民賴之。』」(Ebrey 1993, 64) (Sturgeon 2018).

In turn, it could be said that by disregarding the law of the land and absolving his brother and father of their crimes, Shun is paradoxically demonstrating his filial piety and serving as a moral

role model for his people at the same time. By undermining the ruler-official bond, Shun is essentially fulfilling his duty as The Son of Heaven—to serve his parents with complete love and respect.

3.7 Concluding Remarks on Father-Son and Brothers Relationships

To answer the question of whether the works of Vagnone and Mencius reflect the disparate perspectives of the missionaries and the Confucians on the father-son bond and the brothers bond, the answer is two-pronged. With regards to the bond between brothers, Vagnone's chreiai do align with the Christian belief that all are equal in the eyes of God and, as such, the roles of the elder and younger brothers are considered of similar importance. Moreover, he condemns jealousy between brothers as foolish and nonsensical, because brothers come from the same family and are, thus, like two arms or two legs on a body. Even if one arm is longer than the other, that does not mean that that arm is superior to the other. However, in terms of his stance on the father-son relationship, Vagnone seems to take a more Confucian approach on the topic, most notably in his chreia on the punishment of the unfilial son. It seems that Vagnone wanted to take a stronger stance on filial piety and the duty children have to their parents in order to appease his Confucian audience.

Mencius's stance on filial piety also aligns closely with the Confucian perspective, specifically in the portrayal of Shun and his father. Even when Shun's father tries to kill him, Shun does not resolve to punish him. On the other hand, the message conveyed from the dynamic between Shun and his brother does not appear to fully align with the Confucian expectation of the brothers bond. While it may be argued that Shun expresses his love for Xiang by giving him Youbi to rule over, his action does not serve to aid his younger brother's moral cultivation. The Analects emphasize that the younger brother is to consult his older brother for moral guidance, and Shun's decision to reward his brother for attempting to murder him certainly does not qualify as appropriate brotherly admonishment.

Chapter 4: Husband-Wife Relationship

4.1 The Significance of the Husband-Wife Bond and Marriage in China

The relationship between husband and wife is one of the three Confucian bonds that have an explicit and absolute superordinate-subordinate power dynamic; the other two are the ruler-official and the father-son bonds. In the case of the husband-wife relationship, the wife is traditionally placed in the subordinate position, as evinced in the text of the *Liji* (Book of Rites): "The woman follows (and obeys) the man: in her youth, she follows her father and elder brother; when married, she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son" (Legge 1885, Book IX).

According to Meynard, the unequal roles of husband and wife stem from a duty to procreate. Since, in the Confucian context, men had a duty to create a male heir to lead the household upon his death, the wife's value depended on her ability to produce a son. As such, wives who were infertile or could not produce a male heir were frowned upon. Meynard further comments that the wife is never fully integrated into the husband's family and is often seen as a nuisance or a cause of trouble (Meynard 2014, 173).

Some female authors disagreed with this sentiment, asserting that the role of the wife was equally as important as that of the husband. The first female Chinese historian, Ban Zhao 班昭 (45 CE – 116 CE), lived during the Western Han. In her book, *Precepts for My Daughter*, she compares the relationship of the husband and wife to the workings of yin and yang. She also laments the fact that gentlemen seem to only understand that their wives must be governed, leading them to educate only their sons, while neglecting the education of their daughters. Ban Zhao concludes that in order for the husband to be served and ritual duties performed, the wives must be taught to read and write at a young age (Idema 2004, 38).

From the perspective of the Jesuit missionaries, marriage in China generally aligned with the principles and ideals reflected in western marriages. For instance, in *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, Matteo Ricci states that the purpose of marriage is to have children and produce an heir: "First, marriage is for the begetting of children and setting up of families" (Meynard 2016, 341). He also echoes the sentiment of the previously mentioned entry in the Analects by suggesting that wives bring about disorder and burden. In the text, when the Chinese scholar asks how marriage can be harmful, the Western scholar explains:

> The nature of morality is most profound and mysterious, but the minds of men are unavoidably steeped in darkness. Further, man's quickness of understanding is constantly blunted by passion. If a man becomes a slave to passion, it is as if a small light has been hidden inside a lampshade of thick skin and he is plunged into even greater darkness. How, then, will he be able to attain to the most sublime levels of morality? A person who has undertaken to be chaste is like one who has cleansed the eye of his mind of all dust and who has therefore increased the volume of light, and can thoroughly comprehend the subtlest truths of morality
> (Meynard 2016, 344-345).

The implicit message is that men will not be able to reach the highest levels of morality if they choose to marry too soon. Ricci suggests that a wife will somehow cause the man to be affected by passion and, thus, weaken his moral clarity.

4.2 Ban Zhao and Precepts for My Daughters

Ban Zhao is a female writer who lived during the Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE). While she is not the first female writer in Chinese history, she is the first to have written a significant body of work in all genres of literature that existed during her life, and her work *Precepts for My Daughter* is the first prose tract on wifely duties in Chinese literature. Throughout the work, she presents the subordination of women as an accepted fact of life that young women must cope with and learn how to survive under. Wilt Idema explains:

> Most likely the text was not written as a blind justification of the traditional division of labor between women and men, but rather as a practical guide for young and inexperienced girls on how to survive when they suddenly find themselves in the unfamiliar and intimidating surroundings of their husband's home
> (Idema 2004, 33).

Much like *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, *Precepts for My Daughters* explains various moral truths about marriage and appropriate methods for dealing with unforeseen situations. Topics such as handling conflicts between husband and wife and ideal characteristics for wifely comportment are all emphasized throughout the treatise. Ultimately, Ban Zhao offers valuable insight into a woman's perspective on the husband-wife Confucian bond, as well as a point of contrast with the typically male-dominated scholarship on the topic, such as Zhu Xi's treatise *Jinsilu* 近思錄 (Reflections on Things at Hand) which mentions the topic of widow chastity.

4.3 Situating Vagnone

Taking into consideration the fact that there exists some dissonance within traditional Chinese texts on the husband-wife relationship, this chapter will primarily focus on evaluating Vagnone's stance relative to that of the women writers who lived before and during the Ming period. As evinced in Ban Zhao's *Precepts for My Daughtes* and the *Analects*, the importance of the wife's role appears to vary across different works. Focusing on the four categories delineated by Li and Meynard, I will analyze the ways in which Vagnone navigates this discrepancy in ideals; I aim to elucidate Vagnone's strategy of accommodation to support (or undermine) the beliefs of his fellow Jesuit missionaries, the Confucian literati, and the women writers of traditional China.

4.4 Illustrations of the Grand Dao and The Husband-Wife Relationship

Alfonso Vagnone's *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* contains 23 chreiai on the topic of the husband-wife relationship. The list of themes, as discussed by Meynard, include: (1) proper motives for a man to marry a woman, (2) ways for a man to peacefully coexist with his wife, (3) criteria to consider for a successful and proper marriage, and (4) principles by which wives and widows should abide (Meynard 2014, 171-172). Based on these thematic areas, it appears that the role of men is heavily emphasized throughout the 23 chreiai, with the first two categories focusing on the ways in which men ought to approach and maintain a union with a woman. The third theme applies to both men and women, and the fourth applies solely to women.

4.5 Proper Motives for Marrying a Woman

Vagnone begins the chapter on the husband-wife relationship with chreiai on the topic of evaluating women, from a male perspective, when searching for a suitable wife. The chreiai emphasize a woman's virtue as the prime factor for consideration, as the wife's virtue, or lack thereof, will directly affect her children. For instance, the first chreia, referencing Antisthenes, states:

> Antisthenes said: '[The only criteria for a man] in choosing his wife is her virtue. Otherwise, children will be born from the half of her which is not virtuous.'
>
> 安弟斯德：「夫欲娶，惟贤。否则生子必从其不贤之半。」
> (Li 2014, 278).

The chreia follows the typical format of an appeal to example, as evidenced by the opening reference to the historical figure Antisthenes. Yet, the entry also contains elements of deductive reasoning. The use of the word "otherwise" (否则)is a logical connector indicating a condition; in this case, the condition is the negative consequence the mother's lack of virtue will have on her children. When written as a logical syllogism, the above chreia can be broken down as follows:

> $\sim p \rightarrow \sim q$
> (If a man does not choose his wife based on virtue, the wife will not be virtuous)
>
> $\sim q \rightarrow \sim r$
> (if the wife is not virtuous, the children will not be virtuous)
>
> $\therefore \sim p \rightarrow \sim r$
> (if a man does not choose his wife based on virtue, his children will not be virtuous)

On the other hand, the syllogism can also be written from a positive standpoint, demonstrating the conditional outcome should the man consider the woman's virtue when selecting his wife:

> $p \rightarrow q$
> (If a man chooses his wife based on virtue, the wife will be virtuous)
>
> $q \rightarrow r$
> (If the wife is virtuous, then the children will be virtuous)

∴ p → r
(If a man chooses his wife based on virtue, his children will be virtuous)

Interestingly, the entry is very clearly written for a male audience, advising the reader from the perspective of a man. Vagnone impugns the virtue and morality of the woman, suggesting that men should be skeptical when choosing their wives. However, he fails to mention any other factor that may affect the children's virtue, such as the husband's virtue or moral behavior. Li elaborates, "This chreia carries a prejudice against women, since it suggests that the virtue of the husband is a matter of fact, but the virtue of a wife is questionable. Therefore, the husband should strive to look for a rare thing, i.e., a woman's virtue" (Li 2014, 278). In other words, the onus of whether the woman's children are virtuous falls squarely on the wife's shoulders.

The double standards between men and women on the topic of morality and virtue is brought up again in entry 6, which reads:

> Philo was virtuous and his wife was frugal. Someone asked (her): 'Why are you the only one not wearing a jade hair-pin?' She answered: 'I decorate myself with the reputation and virtue of my husband'
>
> 「費樂爲賢，其妻儉約。或問：「何獨不用瑜珈首餙耶？」答：吾以夫之名德爲餙。」
> (Li 2014, 280).

Here, both the husband and wife are considered virtuous in their own ways. Philo is considered virtuous and is explicitly described as such in the opening sentence. The wife, on the other hand, is also virtuous, but her virtue is described in terms of her frugality; Li explains, "The value of the wife is not in herself, but in her husband. She is not said to be wise, only her husband Philo is said to be so. The statement about a wife's frugality expresses a virtue also present in Confucian society […] Frugality is the fullness of virtue" (Li 2014, 281).

Ban Zhao takes a more equalitarian approach to the pairing of husband and wife. Of course, in traditional Chinese culture, the union of man and woman for marriage is decided wholly by their parents. Nonetheless, Ban Zhao asserts that there are criteria to keep in mind in

order for the marriage to be successful in the long run. In the second chapter of her work *Precepts for My Daughters*, she writes:

> If the husband is not wise, he will be incapable of governing his wife and if the wife is not wise, she will be unable to serve her husband. If the husband does not govern his wife, he will lose his dignity. If the wife does not serve her husband, she will be neglecting her duties. But two tasks are one in their function
>
> 夫不賢，則無以御婦; 姻不賢，則無以事夫。夫不 禦婦, 則威儀廢缺; 婦不事夫, 則義理墮闕。方斯二事，其用一也。
> (Idema 2004, 37) (Zhang 1996, 2).

The structure of her argument is very much deductive in argumentation. Written out in syllogistic form, the passage can be easily presented as:

> p → q
> (If the husband is not wise, he will be incapable of governing his wife)
>
> q → r
> (If the husband does not govern his wife, he will lose his dignity)
>
> ∴ p → r
> (If the husband is not wise, he will lose his dignity)

On the other hand:

> t → u
> (If the wife is not wise, she will be unable to serve her husband0
>
> u → v
> (If the wife is unable to serve her husband, she will be neglecting her duties)
>
> ∴ t → v
> (If the wife is not wise, she will neglect her duties)

Interestingly, the concluding statement made in each of these syllogistic structures is not stated explicitly, indicating that Ban Zhao expects the readers to make the final deduction on their own. This reflects the traditional Chinese way of implicit conclusions, which encourages greater reader engagement with the logic. Another interesting observation is that the virtue of the husband and wife are both based on their wisdom. This contrasts Vagnone's chreia that uses

different factors to assess virtue for each party. As mentioned before, entry 6 indicates that wisdom is used to evaluate the husband's virtue, while frugality is used to evaluate the wife's virtue. The fact that Ban Zhao uses the same criterion for both husband and wife, again, reinforces her position that the roles are equally important. Moreover, she uses this point to support the education of daughters, in addition to sons, later in the chapter. Ban Zhao also states that there will be negative repercussions should either party be lacking in these aspects, indicating that both parties are equally responsible for pulling the weight in the relationship.

Comparing the language of Ban Zhao and Vagnone, both authors stipulate that there are specific criteria to look for in a partner for marriage. However, while Vagnone focuses on solely the criteria that women should possess, Ban Zhao mentions criteria for both husband and wife. Notably, however, Ban Zhao abstains from any statement that would indicate that the husband's nature—or lack of wisdom—would ever impact the virtue of his children. When she presents the criteria of husband and wife, the language is meticulous in making balanced remarks (as seen in the syllogistic form above). More importantly, Ban Zhao does not advice women to be specifically wary or cautious of a man's lack of virtue or wisdom. Instead, her language suggests that her readers simply be aware that there will be serious repercussions should either the husband or the wife be lacking in wisdom. This unbiased position is markedly different from the male-favoring Confucian stance reflected in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*.

4.6 Ways for Husband and Wife to Peacefully Coexist

The second thematic group that Li invokes is the proper behavior for a husband to deal with his wife when having a dispute. An important overarching point made among the chreiai within this group is that the husband should maintain a humorous disposition when dealing with his wife. In entry 8, Vagnone writes:

> Socrates was wise, but his wife (Xanthippe) was not. She was generally so garrulous and annoying that nobody could bear her. One day when she scolded [Socrates] and complained a lot, the sage left because he had the virtue of tolerance and patience. His wife became so angry that she went upstairs and poured a pot of water over his head. Thereupon he smiled and said, "I always know that normally after thunder comes rain

> 束格辣德贤而妻不贤，每嘲喧不可当。一日多言多怨，贤以忍德出，妻愈激，登楼以水灌之。贤者咲日：r 雷后固知有雨。」
> (Li 2014, 282).

The chreia clearly employs the non-deductive argumentation of appeal to example, as the entry relates a story of two historical figures: Socrates and Xanthippe. Moreover, the story does not contain a definitive argument; it merely captures a certain outlook on life. Yet, the chreia also exhibits elements of reasoning by analogy, specifically in the last sentence, in which Socrates compares his wife to thunder and rain.

Combining the two forms of non-deductive reasoning, appeal to example and reasoning by analogy, Vagnone's chreia expands upon his previous point, in which he suggests that women's morals and virtue should be scrutinized. His perspective is made clearest in his reference to Xanthippe's seemingly erratic and irrational behavior, "his wife [Xanthippe] became so angery that she went upstairs and poured a pot of water over his head" (Li 2014, 282).

As a result, instead of fighting back or lashing out against his wife, Socrates—an example of a virtuous man—merely smiles and compares his wife's anger to a natural phenomenon—the weather. Essentially, Socrates naturalizes his wife's abusive behavior, acting as though her lack of couth is expected since she is a woman. Li further explains, "the story clearly reveals a certain bias of western culture against women, with which the Chinese tradition would have approved. The image in the Chinese is even more vivid with his wife climbing the stairs and pouring water on Socrates" (Li 2014, 282).

Vagnone references the story of Socrates and Xanthippe in a later chreia, with the added character of Socrates's friend Alcibiades:

> Someone (Socrates) invited a friend (Alcibiades) to visit, but his wife (Xanthippe) shouted [so loud] inside [her chamber], that the guest was extremely uncomfortable and wanted to leave. The master stopped him by saying: 'I have been enduring my wife for thirty years, can you not do it even for a while?' The guest was persuaded, leading the wife to smile and promise an immediate change
>
> 或请友坐，妻内嚣，客大不安，且欲辞退。主留，谓之日：吾三十余载忍之，尔乃一时，弗能忍乎？」客服妻咲后致改牟

(Li 2014, 283).

The addition of Alcibiades to the narrative changes the dynamic between Socrates and Xanthippe. Similar to the previous chreia, Socrates behaves calmly and does not lash out against his wife for her poor manners. Instead, when he notices that his guest is uncomfortable and wants to leave, he reminds him that he has dealt with his wife's behavior for thirty years and politely asks that he cope with the temporary discomfort. Xanthippe, seeing that another man was so disturbed by even a brief moment of her presence, realizes how understanding her husband has been by comparison and, as a result, promises to change her ways. In turn, the chreia, using appeal to example, demonstrates the effectiveness of the husband's use of patience and humor to calm his wife.

In entry 10, the relationship dynamic between another erratic and violent wife and her peaceful, humorous husband is illustrated,

> The scholar (Diogenes the Cynic) once left his home. His wife was so angry that she tore his clothes. The sage laughed and did not move. Around him, some encouraged him greatly to punish her, but he said: 'Do you really want a couple to be openly in conflict, so that you may have an excuse to laugh at them?'
>
> 是士一日出门，妻怒而扯其衣，贤咲而不动，左右激劝之以处分。答曰：「汝辈似欲夫妇明争，而因取咲乎？」
> (Li 2014, 283).

While the general theme of this chreia matches the previous ones in terms of advising the male audience to retain a humorous disposition when dealing with their wives, this chreia provides further insight into the importance of why the husband should remain calm. Specifically, Diogenes explains that he wants to retain his dignity and save his wife and himself from public embarrassment.

Overall, the primary method of argumentation that Vagnone employs in his chreiai on the topic of husbands coexisting with their wives is appeal to example. He mainly uses this form of non-deductive reasoning by painting the narrative of specific historical figures who display the ideal behavior of the virtuous husband. Socrates is mentioned twice and is illustrated as a wise, self-contained, and diplomatic man. His behavior, even in the face of his wife pouring dirty

water on him, is calm and humorous. Vagnone lauds Socrates, describing him as "wise" and referring to him as a "sage" (Li 2014, 282). On the other hand, he emphasizes the negative qualities of Xanthippe, explaining that she was not wise and "generally so garrulous and annoying that nobody could bear her" (Li 2014, 282).

Vagnone's use of appeal to example is notable in these chreiai and especially on this topic, because there is no real logic behind assuming women are more irrational than men and will behave like Xanthippe. Moreover, there is no way to prove that constantly retaining a humorous disposition in the face of conflict is the most effective way for husbands to deal with their wives.

Certainly, Vagnone makes a point to mention specific practical reasons for maintaining one's calmness in public, such as in chreia 10, in which Diogenes explains that he wants to avoid public embarrassment. Also, in entry 8, Socrates compares his wife to the thunder and rain, suggesting the futility of fighting back, as retaliating against his wife would be like trying to spar with nature's forces. In the original text from which Vagnone derives these chreiai, Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, Socrates does provide some reasoning for his passivity. During a conversation between Socrates and Alcibiades, Socrates compares Xanthippe to geese,

> 'And you do not mind the cackle of geese.' 'No,' replied Alcibiades, 'but they furnish me with eggs and goslings.' 'And Xanthippe,' said Socrates, 'is the mother of my children' (Laertius 1925, 164-167).

In other words, Socrates's logic is that he is able to deal with his wife's outbursts and irrational behavior, because, just as geese provide him with eggs and goslings, his wife provides him with children. As such, just as he is able to cope with the cackling of geese, he can also deal with the frustration that his wife brings. Essentially, Socrates justifies the unfortunate dynamic between his wife and himself due to functional benefit he derives from her; he acknowledges that there is a tradeoff and is at peace with it.

Nevertheless, the deductive reasoning used within the conversation between Socrates and Alcibiades is not mentioned in Vagnone's work, perhaps because it gives too much leverage for women to justify abusive behavior. Instead of framing the argument as women are allowed to act erratically because they bear the husbands' children, Vagnone simply relates a narrative in which a wise and calm man deals with his troublesome and annoying wife.

This decision to omit this original logic would make sense given the Confucian literati's fear of female power, a sense of wariness that is most explicitly mentioned in the Book Seventeen of the Analects, "The Master said, 'Women and servants are particularly hard to manage: if you are too familiar with them, they grow insolent, but if you are too distant, they grow resentful'" (Slingerland 2009, 211). In other words, the Analects asserts that women must be managed and controlled with firmness in order to prevent them from creating larger problems. Edward Slingerland elaborates,

> The danger of 'female power' is a constant theme in traditional texts from the earliest times, usually manifesting itself in two ways: more generally, as a force analogous to alcohol that intoxicates men and leads them into immorality, and more specifically in the form of the deleterious influence of concubines or dissolute wives who hold the ear of the ruler and thereby lead the state into moral and political ruin. We have already seen examples of the former sense […] With this in mind, the sense of 17.25 is probably one that would not seem particularly strange to a man in Victorian Europe: considering their potentially dangerous sexual power and inability to control themselves, household women (i.e. wives and concubines), like servants, need to be managed firmly, but with respect, if they are to remain obedient and not overstep their proper roles (Slingerland 2009, 212).

Thus, since Socrates's deductive reasoning affords Xanthippe power over him—namely because she is able to bear his children—and justifies her behavior, his logic would likely be poorly received by Confucian audiences.

As such, the omission of the original logic mentioned in Diogenes may have been a way for Vagnone to circumvent a potentially subversive way of thinking that would contradict the Confucians' understanding of the husband-wife relationship. In turn, the message behind the chreiai is far more simplified: husbands ought to mirror the virtuous behavior of the wise sage Socrates and, as a result, their wives will naturally become more virtuous, calm, and

understanding. The reason behind why the husbands should be so passive is veiled and retains its ambiguity by the use of appeal to example.

Some women writers of traditional China, on the other hand, paint a different perspective on disharmonious marriages. For instance, the poet Zhu Shuzhen 朱淑真 (1135 CE – 1180 CE) is a prime example of a wife who exhibits behavior that is completely opposite to that of Xanthippe. Despite that she was married to a low-ranking husband who did not appreciate her literary talents and plagued by frustrations over her unrealized potential, Zhu Shuzhen never sought to lash out against her husband. Instead, her poetry clearly relates her emotional biding. In her *shi*poem titled *Feelings on a Spring Day* from *A Broken Heart*, she writes:

> On official business to east and west, never his own master,
> Father and mother a thousand miles away, always in tears.
> Not only is there no goose to deliver a letter to my home,
> But the call of the cuckoo stirs up the traveler's sorrow.
> The sun warm, the birds singing—this lovely scene for naught, the flowers' gleam, the willows' shade fill my eyes in vain.
> Atop the tower dispirited and despairing I lean on the balustrade,
> And my heart follows the white clouds floating to the south
> (Idema 2004, 249).

Zhu Shuzhen expresses her feelings of depression over the circumstances that she believes are out of her control. In the first two lines she references her husband's lowly position as someone who simply follows orders and does the bidding of others. According to Wilt Idema, some scholars argue that she may have been married to a low-ranking official; others claim she was likely married to a narrow-minded clerk (Idema 2004, 247). In the second line, she laments the fact that her parents live far away and that they, perhaps, miss their daughter. The fifth and sixth lines paint a warm picture of sun, birds, and trees outside her home. She regrets, however, that even the beautiful setting before her cannot alter her mood and lift her sadness. She concludes with an ominous tone, stating that her heart, like the white clouds above her, is floating southward, perhaps indicating that her depression will only worsen over time.

The behavior that Zhu Shuzhen exhibits in her poetry aligns with that of the ideal chaste wife explained in Ban Zhao's *Precepts for My Daughter*. More specifically, Ban Zhao writes in her chapter titled *Lowly and Weak:*

> In ancient times a daughter was placed under the bed on the second day after her birth, given a tile to play with, and then her relatives fasted and announced [her birth to the ancestors]. She was placed under the bed to show her lowliness and weakness, and emphasize that she would serve others […] To act with modesty and submission, deference and respect, to place others before oneself, to live without being praised for one's virtues and to suffer every injustice, to bear shame and hide disgrace, and to live always as it filled with fear—this is what it means to be lowly and weak and serve others (Idema 2004, 36-37).

Ban Zhao's language conveys a general sense of sacrifice on the wife's part. The wife—or the daughter in preparation for becoming a wife—learns and accepts that she will not be treated fairly by others. She must accept that the wants and needs of her husband will always come first, and her primary duty is to serve others. Similarly, Zhu Shuzhen seems to be cognizant of these principles, as her poetry appears to convey the notion that she is suffering in silence. For instance, she writes poetry and laments her circumstances while her husband is away, and she sits in a tower isolated from others so that she may suffer and slowly languish in solitude. In another poem titled *Getting Up, Two Poems*, she writes:

> I
> I get up but take no pleasure in applying rouge and powder,
> I have to force myself to look in the mirror at my sickly face:
> My skinny waist, a sign of how I am plagued by idle sorrows,
> My copious tears, caused by my deep sadness at being parted.
>
> II
> Too listless to face the mirror and pencil my black brows,
> Who cares I the locks framing my face hang like mist!
> But the servant girl hasn't the slightest idea how I feel,
> And insists on sticking a branch of plum blossom in my hair.
>
> (Idema 2004, 249).

Here, Zhu Shuzhen, despite her lack of motivation and sadness, writes that she wakes up every day to apply her makeup in order to fulfill her wifely duties. She further explains, in the second poem, that she hides her sorrow from others, including the servant girl who is unaware of her

depression. This, again, follows Ban Zhao's principle of wifely sacrifice; the chaste wife puts others before herself.

Thus, Vagnone, Zhu Shuzhen, and Ban Zhao appear to align in their stance that sacrifice and accommodation are necessary in the husband-wife relationship. However, they diverge on which party affords the sacrifice. From Vagnone's perspective, clearly the husband is the one who must be compliant with his wife's disorderly conduct and unvirtuous behavior. This is made abundantly clear by his chreiai on the relationship between Xanthippe and Socrates, where Socrates is the character that must contain his emotions and use humor to dissipate his wife's anger. Ban Zhao and Zhu Shuzhen, on the other hand, believe that the wife is the one who sacrifices the most. Both female authors believe in the principle of serving and pleasing the husband by maintaining composure and elegance. Zhu Shuzhen demonstrates this principle by not only suffering in silence, expressing her emotions through her poetry, but also pushing through her sadness to fulfill her role as the chaste wife—applying rouge and powder, penciling in her black eyebrows, etc.

The women writers and Vagnone also differ in that Ban Zhao and Zhu Shuzhen do not necessarily have a course of action or response to a potential conflict with the husband. While Vagnone's chreia advises the husband to use humor, the only method of handling the situation, from the wife's perspective, would be to simply maintain obedience. Ban Zhao writes,

> Your husband's actions will sometimes be straight and sometimes crooked, his opinions will sometimes be correct and sometimes mistaken. You cannot but stand up for what is right and dispute what is wrong. But once you start fighting and arguing, there will be anger and rage. This all stems from a lack of deference and subservience. If you cannot restrain yourself in your disrespect for your husband, there will be shouting and cursing. If there is no end to anger and rage, beatings are bound to follow […] Once slaps and blows begin, how can duty survive?
>
> 夫事有曲直，言有是非。直者不能不争，曲者不能不讼讼争既施，有忿怒之事矣此由于不尚恭下者也。侮夫不节，谴呵从之;忿怒不止，楚挞从之夫为夫妇者，义以和亲，恩以好合，楚挞既行，何义之存？谴呵既宣，何恩之有？恩义俱废，夫妇离矣。
> (Idema 2004, 38) (Zhang 1996, 2).

In turn, Ban Zhao asserts that maintaining peace and affection between husband and wife is of utmost importance. Should the husband be wrong in his opinion, the wife must exercise restraint and stop herself from disrespecting him.

4.7 Criteria to Consider for a Successful and Proper Marriage

Only two chreiai discuss the topic of criteria for proper marriage. The first is entry 9 in the chapter, which references Diogenes: "Someone asked Diogenes: 'When is the right time to get married?' He answered: 'Neither for the young nor for the old man is the time right'" (Li 2014, 282). The chreia solely uses appeal to example and, notably, is directed toward the male readers as Diogenes states "neither for the young nor for the old man" (Li 2014, 282). The criteria for the appropriate age for a woman to marry is not addressed in this chreia.

The original text from Diogenes, Li notes, is far more lighthearted in tone than Vagnone's abridged version,

> On being asked by somebody, 'What sort of man do you consider Diogenes to be?' A Socrates gone mad,' said he. Being asked what was the right time to marry, Diogenes replied, 'For a young man not yet: for an old man never at all' Being asked what he would take to be soundly cuffed, he replied, 'A helmet.' Seeing a youth dressing with elaborate care, he said, 'If it's for men, you're a fool; if for women, a knave.' (Laertius 1925, 55).

The topic of marriage within the chapter on Diogenes is mentioned only briefly and is nested within a cursory dialogue between a stranger and Diogenes, in which Diogenes rapidly answers a series of questions. According to Li, Diogenes's response to the question of the right time to marry is tongue-in-cheek, as he believes the question is a very obvious one.

However, Vagnone's edited version of the response is not as ironic; in fact, he is very direct and concise, emphasizing the importance and strictness of age as a criterion for marriage. Unlike the original text, which states that the time for marriage for young men will come later and old men should not marry at all, Vagnone treats young and old men the same, emphatically discouraging both groups from marriage. Li explains,

> In the context of Chinese society, this chreia may have represented a powerful criticism of the practice of families arranging marriage for young children, and of men remarrying

> or taking young concubines at an advanced age. A few critical thinkers at the time, like Lü Kun, objected to seventy-year old men remarrying
> (Li 2014, 283).

In turn, Vagnone turns what originally was meant to be a humorous quip by Diogenes into a serious assertion, warning his readers that it is unnatural to marry at extremely young or extremely old ages. The reader may also deduce that since marriage is inappropriate for those of young and old ages, then marriage must only be appropriate for those in their central or intermediate periods of life.

The second chreia deals with the topic of dowries and marriage:

> Lycurgus established a law in the country in which women were ordered to get married without having to prepare a dowry. Someone asked why. He answered: 'I do not want women of no virtue to be able to marry easily because they have money. I also do not want virtuous women to have difficulty getting married because they do not have enough money [for a dowry]'
>
> 里古耳戕立制於國，即令嫁，而不備嫁資。或問故，答曰：吾不欲女之不賢者因備重資，而易出嫁也;亦不欲女之賢者因無備資而不易出嫁也
> (Li 2014, 284).

Extending upon his previous chreia which states that men should marry women based on their virtue, this chreia takes on a similar tone, barring the converse from occurring: unvirtuous women marrying due to their wealth. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, the chreia places the onus on women, suggesting that it is the unvirtuous women's fault for having the capacity to marry easily. Vagnone fails to mention that it would be the men who value money over virtue who would marry such women in exchange for the dowry. A more gender-neutral law would stipulate that men should not be allowed to marry women based on her dowry; this law, however, specifically targets women.

In terms of method of argumentation, this chreia is more complex than previous ones and contains elements of deductive reasoning. While the chreia does employ appeal to example by referencing the historical figure Lycurgus, it also contains conditional statements and logical connectors. Broken down into syllogistic form, the logic could be written as follows:

a = money, b = virtue, c = marriage

(a ^ ~b) → c
(If a woman has money and no virtue, she will marry easily)

(~a ^ b) → ~c
(If a woman has no money and has virtue, she will not marry easily)

In order to change this improper way of marriage, Lycurgus's law would take money (dowry) out of the equation, leaving virtue as the only criteria for marriage. The new syllogism would be:

b = virtue, c = marriage

~b → ~c
(If a woman lacks virtue, she will not marry easily)

b → c
(if a woman has virtue, she will marry easily)

Lycurgus's response is set up in the form of a conditional statement, followed by the statement's contrapositive. The second to last sentence, "I do not want women of no virtue to be able to marry easily because they have money" depicts a causal relationship between money and marriage: if a woman has money, then she will be able to marry easily (Li 2014, 284). The last sentence illustrates the lack of the condition mentioned previously—money—and the opposite result occurring—difficulty getting married. The setup of Lycurgus's explanation is an example of western deductive logic, specifically in the form of cause and effect reasoning.

Moreover, Lycurgus's logic is clearly centered upon the notion that having enough money to prepare a dowry is the only reason women of no virtue are able to marry easily. He concludes that by abolishing the dowry completely, virtue will—by default—become the sole criterion by which women will be evaluated for marriage.

Both of the chreiai that deal with the criteria to consider for a proper marriage contain elements of appeal to example—more specifically, appeal to history—as well as deductive reasoning. Unlike the previous thematic area, however, these chreiai do not cling to the notion that the criteria of age and dowry are important to consider merely because they historically have always been. Instead, Vagnone employs deductive logic to make a deliberate argument. The argument of the first chreia is that marriage is not for the very young or old, thus leading the

audience to deduce that marriage is for people in midlife. The second chreia's argument is that dowry should not be a factor when assessing a woman's prospects for marriage, therefore getting rid of the dowry will allow for other more appropriate factors to come to the forefront, namely the woman's virtue.

4.8 Principles of Wives and Widows

The topic of fidelity of women to their husbands is discussed within the chreiai and focus on the praiseworthy characteristics that the chaste wife and widow ought to exhibit. An overarching theme among these chreiai is a sense of dependency and responsibility that the wife has to her husband. Both practical and moral obligations are featured heavily.

The first chreia that falls under this thematic category is entry 4, which relates the story of a woman named Laelia:

> Lie-le-li-ya (Laelia?) was a virtuous wife and remained a chaste widow. Someone encouraged her to get married [again]. She answered: 'For you, my husband has already passed away, but for me, he is not dead'
>
> 襤勒里亞賢婦，喪夫居節。或勸之嫁，答曰：「夫雖已死於人，未死於我。」(Li 2014, 280).

The chreia begins with the description of the historical character Laelia; as a wife, she is virtuous, and as a widow she is chaste. What follows is her perhaps indignant response to someone encouraging her to marry again. Laelia explains that, to her, her husband is not dead. By contrast, she also asserts to others, and the stranger in particular, that her husband is dead to them, indicating that the bond she has with her deceased husband is unique and special. The wife feels a sense of obligation and devotion to keep the memory of and her feelings toward her husband alive.

The theme of devotion and dependency to the husband is further reinforced in entry 18. Vagnone writes: "He (Plutarch) also said: 'When the moon meets the sun, it cannot be seen until it has left the sun. The moon becomes brightest when it faces the sun squarely. A virtuous woman goes contrary to all [that happens to the moon]. She can be seen only in the presence of

her husband. The further away the husband goes, the longer she stays in her room'" (Li 2014, 286). In this chreia, reasoning by analogy is the most prominent form of argumentation. Referencing Plutarch, Vagnone compares the husband to the sun and the wife to the moon. He explains that just as the moon becomes brightest when facing the sun, the virtuous woman is seen publicly only when in the proximity of the husband. Li elaborates, "The Chinese interpretation, changing most to only, does not allow for any independence whatsoever, because a woman can never be seen without her husband" (Li 2014, 287).

Extending upon this point, the next chreia adds onto the sun and moon analogy: "He (Plutarch) also said: 'When the moon rises to its zenith and attempts to cover the sun, it surely loses its brightness. The wife who attempts to become master and to keep her husband at home will lose her virtue'" (Li 2014, 287). This chreia explains the repercussions should the wife fail to follow the principles established in the previous one.

While the previous chreia explains that the moon shines brightest when facing the sun; this chreia explains that the moon loses its brightness when attempting to cover the sun. Similarly, the wife who asserts dominance and individuality will lose her virtue. Here, Vagnone employs reasoning by analogy, comparing the wife's virtue to the moon's brightness. Li writes, "The Chinese interpretation of this idea, on the other hand, describes the wife losing her virtue after an attempt to 'hide' her husband. This puts the husband-wife relation at the moral level of virtue: a wife becomes virtuous by being dependent on her husband. If she wants to emancipate herself, she loses any virtue she may have" (Li 2014, 287).

Overall, the chreiai on the topic of virtuous wives and widows heavily feature reasoning by analogy. The use of the sun and moon analogy to represent the husband and wife, respectively, appears twice. While both roles of husband and wife are presented in these chreiai, the entries are clearly targeted toward women. Vagnone's intention is made clearest in the tone of entry 19, which explicitly relates the consequence that women will face should they undermine the authority of their husband: they will lose their virtue. Likewise, entry 18 explains the positive effects that women will experience when they fulfill their responsibilities as chaste

wives: if they are appropriately seen in public only in the company of their husbands and hide themselves when the husbands are away, they will be brilliant and shine the brightest. By referencing the natural phenomena of the dynamic between the sun and moon, Vagnone conveys the sense that the protocol wives ought to follow is natural and, like all natural forces, should be accepted without argument.

Ban Zhao's chapter titled *Complete Devotion* talks specifically about the topic of remarriage. In the chapter, she asserts that while the husband has a duty to remarry after his wife's death, a woman should not remarry, as it would offend the gods and would be a crime against her duty to her husband:

> According to the Rites, the husband has the duty to marry again [upon the death of his wife], but there is nothing written about a second marriage for women [upon the death of the husband]. Therefore it is said that the husband is the sky—just as one can nowhere escape from the sky, one can never become separated from one's husband. A woman's remarriage offends the gods and ghosts and will be punished by heave; it is a crime against the rites against duty and your [new] husband is bound to despise you
>
> 《礼》，夫有再娶之义，妇无二适之文，故曰夫者天也．天固不可逃夫固不可离也。行违神祇天则罚之;礼义有愆，夫则薄之。
> (Idema 2004, 39) (Zhang 1996, 3).

Ban Zhao clearly employs reasoning by analogy, comparing the husband to the sky. The wife, however, does not have an alternate symbol in the analogy; she is simply a human who cannot escape the sky. As such, the wife cannot escape the legacy and memory of her husband.

This analogy also matches, in some respect, the planetary analogy made in Vagnone's chreia, in which he compares the husband to the sun and the woman to the moon. The dynamic is similar in that the sky is clearly an omnipresent entity that is literally inescapable; in this sense the sky is more powerful than a human. Likewise, the sun is larger and brighter than the moon and, thus, a more powerful entity than the moon. However, certainly, Ban Zhao's comparing the sky to a human diminishes the role of the wife far more than comparing the sun and the moon (since the sun and moon are comparable and exchange positions in the sky during day and night). This may be due to the fact that the husband's power and influence over his wife greatly

increases upon his death. Ban Zhao elaborates on the responsibilities of the widow later in the chapter:

> Rites and duty should govern your sitting and rising, your ears should not listen indiscriminately, and your eyes should not gaze upon evil; when you go out you should not dress seductively and at home you should not neglect your appearance; you should not assemble in crowds with your friends or peer out of the gates and door: this is what is called complete devotion and proper demeanor
>
> 然所求者，亦非谓佞媚苟亲也，固莫若专心正色礼义居絜，耳无涂听，目无邪视，出无冶容，人无废饰，无聚会群辈，无看视门户，此则谓专色矣。若夫动静轻脱，视听陕输，入则乱发坏形，出则窈窕作态，说所不当道观所不当視此谓不能专心正色矣
> (Idema 2004, 40) (Zhang 1996, 3).

In other words, while during his life the husband has his own duties and responsibilities to fulfill on his part of the husband-wife relationship, upon his death it is the wife who must continue to fulfill her duties and constantly express her loyalty to him. From this interpretation, the analogy of the sky (i.e. making the husband into a god-like figure to the wife upon his death) and the human (wife) makes sense. Moreover, the superordinate-subordinate power dynamic between husband and wife is further reinforced.

Vagnone and Ban Zhao clearly align under the same stance that women should not remarry after the death of their husbands. Moreover, the sense of dependency and dedication to serving and honoring the husband is equally apparent across both works. For instance, Vagnone asserts that women should hide away when their husbands are away and only come into public view when standing next to the husband. Similarly, Ban Zhao states that the woman should not be seen in crowds with their friends or dress seductively in public after their husband's death. Both of these scenarios indicate that the wife is like the husband's belonging; once she is married to him, she must be dedicated to him, even after his death.

4.9 Overarching Observations and Concluding Remarks on Husband-Wife Relationship

Vagnone and Ban Zhao clearly overlap on various points on the topic of the husband-wife relationship. For instance, both authors acknowledge that conflicts may arise between

husband and wife, but that one party or the other must understand how to dissipate the tension. Vagnone believes that this burden falls on the husband's side, as he advises his readers to take on a humorous disposition and simply laugh off the wife's ridiculous behavior. Ban Zhao believes that sometimes the husband will act irrationally and behave in a manner that may upset the wife; in this scenario, it is up to the wife to ease the tension and maintain her obedient comportment. In terms of who is more likely to incite the argument, however, Vagnone certainly takes the stance that the wife is more likely to spark a disagreement. Ban Zhao, in contrast, takes a more neutral position.

Ultimately, to answer the question of where Vagnone stands relative to the traditional Confucian stance and that of Ban Zhao on marriage, he leans more toward the traditional Confucians. This is made apparent by his decision to speak from the male perspective and to specifically address his male audience. He never advises female readers about which criteria they should look for in a husband (even though parents are the ones making the final decision on marriages); his chreiai are always advising men. Moreover, Vagnone clearly believes that men are naturally and ought to be assumed to have more virtue and composure than women. His selected anecdotes of Xanthippe and Socrates portray a relationship that paints the wife as unvirtuous and foul. By contrast, Ban Zhao does not state that women or men are more inclined to exhibit problematic behavior. Instead, she simply states that husbands and wives are prone to fighting at some point in their marriage, but the wife has the responsibility to maintain herself in the name of her wifely duties. For Ban Zhao, fulfilling duty, as a wife, comes before all else.

Chapter 5: Ruler-Official Relationship

5.1 Background on the Persecution and Exile of Alfonso Vagnone

The ruler-official relationship has the greatest number of chreiai dedicated to its chapter of all the relationships that Vagnone discusses in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*. With 158 of the 355 sayings, the ruler-official relationship constitutes forty-five percent of the overall contents of the book.

Considering the political turmoil that China was facing throughout the Ming dynasty, specifically with the corruption of local officials and eunuchs in the court, the issues that were affecting Chinese society, as well as the missionaries themselves, at the time likely influenced Vagnone's decision to emphasize the roles and relationships between the emperor and the political authorities in his work. Meynard notes:

> Vagnone and Han Yun may have chosen to document the political wisdom of the West for two complementary reasons: first, to show the West had a tradition in many ways similar to China, but also, second, to stress some points in which the West could contribute new ideas to China. We should be reminded that even though the Jesuits were very much impressed by the sophistication of the Chinese government, they were also very much aware of the corruption of the local officials and the eunuchs in the court. (Meynard 2014, 152)

Notably, Vagnone himself was at one point targeted by a local vice Minister of Rites Shen Que (沈榷) who initiated Vagnone's investigation and arrest after Shen had been reportedly bribed by local Buddhists. Giulia Falato elaborates:

> In his report about the persecution in Nanjing, Vagnone and Semedo provide their personal interpretations of the main causes of the incident. In particular, they both speak of bribes from local Buddhists, a religious debate that had involved Xu Guanqi and a bonze, friend of Shen's who even died shortly after, and various controversies with Xu and Yang Tingyun, which turned 'his confusion into poison and his silence into rage' (Falato 2016, 27).

As a result of the arrest, Vagnone was exiled to Canton for a period of time and then to Macao; his total exile lasted from 1617 to 1624. The six years involved physical beatings with sticks, month-long journeys in cages, and long periods of imprisonment (Falato 2016, 28-29).

5.2 Structure and Contents of the Ruler-Official Chapter in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*

According to Li and Meynard, the chreiai within the chapter can be divided into ten discrete categories, which I have condensed into seven: (1) the role and cultivation of the ruler, (2) the populist style of monarchical government, (3) dedication to study, (4) rejection of violence, (5) management of officials, (6) the making and rendering of justice, and (7) economic and taxation policy.

Considering the jarring events Vagnone had to endure at the hand of corrupt local officials, the overarching themes of humility, faithfulness, and—most notably—his staunch rejection of violence perhaps more than coincidentally align with his own personal experiences and the lessons he learned throughout his persecution and exile.

5.3 Huang Zongxi's Perspective on Chinese Government and Corruption

Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince (明夷待訪錄) is a political treatise written by the Ming Chinese philosopher Huang Zongxi (1610-1695) who believed that the Chinese government was in serious need of change. His work criticizes various aspects of the Ming leadership, specifically that the ruler's role and behavior had changed since ancient times, "Huang's opening objection [is] that the ruler, instead of being a 'guest' of the people as in ancient times, had come to regard the people as guests in 'the biggest estate of all, bequeathed for perpetual enjoyment by his progeny" (Struve 1988, 475). Throughout the work, Huang provides guidance, calling for a definite plan and structure for the government to implement.

Huang's tone throughout his work conveys his entrenchment in Confucian ideology. He continually cites the words of Mencius to bolster his arguments and leverages the stories of figures from the past to point out the ideal behavior for ministers and rulers. Certainly, there are no open or direct declarations of hostility against the reigning emperor at the time; nevertheless, Huang's critique of Chinese despotism and his call for Confucian constitutionalism are made invariably clear.

5.4 Structure and Contents of Waiting for the Dawn (明夷待訪錄)

Waiting for the Dawn systematically discusses concerns for higher and lower levels of government. He balances his discussion, placing emphasis on both detail-based practices and abstract principles by which rulers and officials should abide. William De Bary explains,

> The guidance Huang meant to impart was not simply of a proverbial sort […] It combines theory and practice—not in the Western sense of abstract theorizing, but in stating broad principles first and then working them out in detail based on actual historical practice. It is balanced in its concern for what is central and what is peripheral, for the higher levels of government as for the lower; for economic, political, and military factors as for the moral and intellectual; for both the symbolic and the systematic […] It may not be equally precise or accurate in all its details but it is, without question, a well-defined plan, not just lofty and loose speculation
> (De Bary 1993, 8).

The treatise has sixteen sections, including the preface and colophon, which can be streamlined in to eight overarching categories: (1) the role of the ruler, (2) the purpose of ministership, (3) law, (4) school, education and the selection of scholar-officials, (5) choosing a capital for the nation, (6) frontier commandaries, (6) the land and military systems, (7) finance and economic policies, and (8) the role of court officials (i.e. subofficials and eunuchs). These categories of discussion demonstrate Huang's near-exhaustive understanding of economic, military, and political theory of his time, as well as his staunch devotion to the application of Confucian ideology and related principles.

5.5 The Significance of Huang Zongxi and Alfonso Vagnone

Both Alfonso Vagnone and Huang Zongxi lived during the Ming dynasty, yet each of their works—*Illustrations of the Grand Dao* and *Waiting for the Dawn*, respectively—paints a perspective from a different stage of the dynasty's cycle. The former was published in 1636 toward the very end of the Ming, while the latter was published in 1663 during the Qing rule. As such, Vagnone's work serves to provide insight into the ways the Ming dynasty could salvage its failing reign, whereas Huang's work is more of a reflection of the reasons the Ming dynasty failed and how the Chinese could restore its government in the future, after the reign of the Manchus; hence, the use of the term "waiting" in the title of his work (De Bary 1993, 8).

While these works were published close to three decades apart, their topics of discussion and overarching recommendations align in many areas. Both authors chastise the Ming government for its lax management of officials and subofficials, and they each call for a greater and more vigorous moral cultivation of the emperor (among other similar standpoints).

In turn, considering the overlapping contents of these works, the authors' contrasting styles, methods of argumentation, and ideas are certainly worthy of further investigation. Since both works target Confucian literati readers that lived during the end of the Ming and start of the Qing, this chapter assesses the ways in which Vagnone mirrors and diverges from the content and syntax of the Ming Chinese writers of his time.

5.6 Analyzing the Thematic Areas and Overarching Points

Illustrations and the Grand Dao and *Waiting for the Dawn* cover a wide array of topics. Taking into consideration the ten categories listed by Li and Meynard and the chapter titles delineated in *Waiting for the Dawn*, this chapter streamlines the list of topics, focusing on the categories with the most substantive material and that are mentioned in both works. Honing in on the topic areas that both authors emphasize and in which their reasoning are most developed, my analyses of the authors' logical argumentations and styles appearing later in this chapter reflect what both authors deemed most important. Seeing as their discussions on certain topics are less exhaustive than others, Vagnone and Huang indicate that certain areas of the Chinese leadership during the Ming required greater attention than others. As such, the topics emphasized in both works include: the role and moral cultivation of the ruler, the importance of education and dedication to study, the rejection of violence and the use of military, and the management of officials, subofficials, and eunuchs. These four thematic areas provide a solid framework for a comparative analysis of the two works.

5.7 The Role and Moral Cultivation of the Ruler

The chreiai that discuss the role and ideal behavior of the ruler largely contain some reference to morality and the ways in which moral behavior and leadership are naturally intertwined. Similar to the Confucian analogy of the emperor as the pole star, while his subjects

revolve around and follow him as the virtuous role model, Vagnone extends upon this sentiment by explaining that, in fact, ruling justly in accordance to the rites is the only way for the king to win the loyalty of his people. Entry 26 reads:

> While he was heir apparent, Alexander the Great gave small gifts to win over people's hearts. His father Philip reprimanded him, saying: "It is a mistake to expect the people will be loyal to you after you have given them small gifts. A fire made by dry wood has to be constantly kept by some other fuel. Only when you rule justly in accordance with the rites and show them more kindness will you receive loyalty
>
> 歷山爲儲主時，以小惠結民心。父斐禮伯責曰：r 小惠獲民望其後忠，謬矣。乾卓所生之火，必恒以薪養之。欲得民心，執義禮而多恩澤，而後可。」
> (Li 2014, 199).

This entry is an anecdote and employs appeal to history, as Vagnone references the historical figure Alexander the Great. Philip's response in the second sentence demonstrates a clear use of reasoning by analogy; he compares people to a fire and Alexander's gifts to dry wood. The last sentence of the chreia contains elements of deductive reasoning, as the statement is conditional. Alexander's father, Philip, explains that only by ruling the people in a just manner will the people become loyal to their ruler. The logical indicator "only" establishes that ruling justly is a condition that is both necessary and sufficient to attain the result of the having people's loyalty. Putting this in logical notation, the statement can be written as: $p \Leftrightarrow q$ where p is ruling justly and q is the people's loyalty.

Interestingly, these three forms of argumentation seem to dovetail into each other. The appeal to history establishes a context and a sense of authority, as the historical figure invoked is a famous western leader. Within the anecdote, reasoning by analogy is used to establish the mindset that the people, like fire, are an insatiable group that will constantly crave and expect more than what they are given. Finally, the conditional statement at the end of the chreia declares that the only solution is to rule justly: a fitting answer to the seemingly hopeless predicament illustrated in the analogy. These three forms of logic not only flow elegantly together, but also are necessary for their message to make sense.

If the analogy situated between the appeal to history and the conditional statement were removed, the final statement would be far less impactful. The solution would still be for the ruler to rule justly, but the reason that ruling justly is the only way to gain the people's loyalty would be unclear. A reader might question why giving the people money or, perhaps, highly coveted government positions would not be an appropriate substitute for giving them gifts. The analogy of comparing the people to an insatiable fire is clearly necessary to strengthen the conclusion of the chreia.

In terms of the content and the moral lesson of this chreia, the message is that using bribery will only give rise to the peoples' expectation of more gifts and bribes in the future. Instead, the only way for the king to win over his people is by setting a good example and exercising kindness under his rule. In a sense, Vagnone likens the role of the ruler to that of a teacher; as the king, Alexander the Great had a duty to serve as a role model for others to look up to. By using bribery and giving small gifts, he would be disregarding his duty to the people and would serve as a poor example for his people to follow.

This notion of service through demonstration of virtuous behavior is also mentioned in entry 12, which reads: "There is no one higher than the king in [his] kingdom. Yet if the king wants to go higher, he should be humble and lower himself" (Li 2014, 191). In other words, the king, by default, already possesses a tremendous amount of power. However, there is always a chance that the people will overthrow the king if they are unsatisfied. In order to prevent this situation from happening and enhance the power of the king, the king must demonstrate his humility; only then will the people have loyalty to the king. Li explains,

> This sententia suggests two different kinds of authority: the first, a political one based on power and dominance, and the second, a moral authority based on virtue. Obviously, the ruler has already obtained the first authority. The ruler is challenged to strive for an even greater authority, one coming from humility
> (Li 2014, 191).

In turn, the ruler's success is, according to Vagnone, heavily dependent upon his moral cultivation and character. In order for a ruler to remain at his most powerful and win over the

loyalty of his people, he must demonstrate that he is a morally upright individual who possesses both humility and selflessness.

Huang's stance on the role of the ruler—or, prince, in his text—is very similar. In the chapter titled "On the Prince," Huang explains that in the ancient time, the prince's role was like that of a tenant—he was an occupant of the land, but not the master. The master, on the other hand, was considered to be everyone else who existed under heaven; Huang uses the term "all-under-Heaven" to describe this.

Using the depiction of the ruler-subject dynamic from ancient times as the ideal example for what ought to be implemented during the Ming dynasty, Huang further explains that the prince used to be loved and supported by all, because he had the people's best interest in mind. In a sense, he had the greatest burden of all people; unlike other people who only served their own selfish purposes, the prince had a vision to uplift all people and benefit everyone,

> Then someone came forth who did not think of benefit in terms of his own benefit but sought to benefit all-under-Heaven, and who did not think of harm in terms of harm to himself, but sought to spare all-under-Heaven from harm. Thus, his labors were thousands of times greater than the labors of ordinary men. Now to work a thousand or ten thousand times harder without benefiting oneself is certainly not what most people in the world desire. Therefore in those early times some men worthy of ruling, after considering it, refused to become princes—Hsu Yu and Wu Kuang were such […] To love ease and dislike strenuous labor has always been the natural inclination of man. (De Bary 1993, 91).

In terms of method of argumentation, Huang uses appeal to history. Like Vagnone, Huang invokes historical figures to bolster his argument; here, he references princes of the past as prime exemplars of moral behavior. This excerpt also demonstrates deductive reasoning and can be restated in propositional form:

> $r \rightarrow s$
> (If one seeks to benefit all-under-Heaven and to spare all-under-Heaven from harm, then one's labors are a thousand times harder than that of the ordinary man.)
>
> $s \rightarrow t$
> (If one desires to labor a thousand times harder than the ordinary man, then one is worthy of becoming a prince.)

∴ r → t
(If one seeks to benefit all-under-Heaven and to spare all-under-Heaven from harm, then one is worthy of becoming a prince.)

Likewise, in the case of Hsu Yu and Wu Kuang, the propositional form can be written as:

hw → ~s
(Hsu and Wu did not desire to labor a thousand times harder than the ordinary man.)

∴ hw → ~r
(Hsu and Wu did not seek to benefit all-under-Heaven and spare all-under-Heaven from harm.)

Still, methods of non-deductive argumentation are present throughout Huang's work. In fact, the statements used to support his deductive reasoning are a series of unsupported premises. For instance, he begins the chapter with the statement, "in the beginning of human life each man lived for himself and looked to his own interests" and ends his thought with "to love ease and dislike strenuous labor has always been the natural inclination of man" (De Bary 1993, 91). These assertions align with the Cheng-Zhu school of Confucianism, which asserts that while human nature is inherently good, diligent and vigorous effort are required to purify and cultivate one's "original goodness" (De Bary 1999, 692). The sentiment of Huang's passage is similar in that he admits that tremendous effort and energy is required to attain the level of goodness that a virtuous prince possesses, but cultivating such a vigorous work ethic to maintain or expand one's goodness goes against man's natural inclination. Nonetheless, his discussion on humans' primordial desires and inclinations remains non-deductive, as he provides no proof to support his statements.

Ultimately, Huang's depiction of the subservient and self-sacrificing ruler archetype closely parallels the language used in Vagnone's chreiai. Clearly, both Huang and Vagnone believe that in order for a king to be successful and maintain his power, having the approval of his people is of utmost importance. In order to have the degree of approval necessary for the maintenance of power, the king must demonstrate generosity, virtue, and a selfless attitude; he

must be one who genuinely cares for others and strives to benefit society at large, rather than just himself.

5.8 The Importance of Education and Dedication to Study

The second thematic area is the studies and education of the government officials. Vagnone uses these chreiai to demonstrate that officials do not simply rule through solely their morality or virtue; they must commit to a strict regimen of study and exhibit stellar academic capabilities before they are selected to their positions. Entry 52 reads:

> The great king Darius once said that his many trails had fortunately helped him accumulate great wisdom. Someone found his words faulty, saying: 'Accumulating great wisdom through trials and [successful] affairs is not as good as accumulating it through study. In fact, [the accumulate wisdom through trials] greatly harms national strength, to the degree of endangering it; but, [to do it through study] is without danger or harm
>
> 大略大王嘗日其多試以事，幸積大智。或罪其言，曰：「以試以事而積大智，不如以學而積之也。蓋彼多損國力甚險危此無危無損。」
> (Li 2014, 211).

This entry incorporates both appeal to history and deductive reasoning. Vagnone contextualizes the chreia by invoking the king Darius, followed by a logical discussion on why accumulating wisdom through studying is superior to accumulating wisdom through trial and error. In propositional form, this chreia yields:

> $p \rightarrow q$
> (If one accumulates wisdom through trials, one causes harm to the nation.)
>
> $q \rightarrow r$
> (If one causes harm to the nation, one's method of accumulating wisdom is inferior.)
>
> $\therefore p \rightarrow r$
> (If one accumulates wisdom through trials, one's method of accumulating wisdom is inferior.)

Likewise:

> $s \rightarrow \sim q$
> (If one accumulates wisdom through study, one does not cause harm to the nation.)

$\sim q \rightarrow \sim r$
(If one does not cause harm to the nation, one's method of accumulating wisdom is superior.)

$\therefore p \rightarrow r$
(If one accumulates wisdom through study, one's method of accumulating wisdom is superior.)

Using harm to the nation to measure the superiority or inferiority of a given method of accumulating wisdom, Vagnone draws the valid inference that studying trumps trial and error.

The overarching message of this chreia is to establish a sense of precedence; academia is clearly strongly preferred than actual experiences, as studying and learning a subject does not have the same risk of failure or danger that real experiences have. Li explains,

> This chreia emphasizes the importance of a careful study of the situation before making any decision. Confucianism also stresses the need of a careful study before engaging in direct political action. The freedom in remonstrance of this anonymous advisor is quite startling, since he is suggesting a policy opposed to the one advocated by Darius (Li 2014, 211).

The importance of education is similarly emphasized in sentential 133: "An official without enough education is like a mediocre physician. He may start to cure diseases only after having harmed many lives" (Li 2014, 244). Again, making mistakes in practice is clearly looked down upon; Vagnone advocates for strict dedication to one's studies before becoming a government official, as having the proper preparation will reduce the likelihood of such accidents and, thus, allow the official to better serve the people.

Huang also places a heavy emphasis on education, as he dedicates an entire chapter to a discussion on schools. Throughout the chapter he explains that the courts in ancient times considered the opinions of scholars and academics. However, in recent times, schools have failed to train scholar-officials properly, allowing them to be driven by ideas of wealth and status,

> Rarely, indeed, has anyone escaped the evil tendencies of the times; consequently, people are apt to think the schools of no consequence in meeting the urgent needs of the day. Moreover, the so-called schools have merely joined in the mad scramble for office through the examination system, and students have allowed themselves to become infatuated with ideas of wealth and rank (De Bary 1993, 105).

In turn, Huang asserts that this uncontrolled desire by status-driven students to acquire higher ranking and greater wealth is essentially what has caused schools to fail in their function of training scholar-officials:

> Finally, because of the seductive influence of the court, there has been a complete change in the qualifications of schoolmen. Furthermore, those scholars with real ability and learning have often come from the countryside, having nothing to do with the schools from start to finish. So, in the end, the schools have failed even in the one function of training scholar-officials
> (De Bary 1993, 105).

Huang's method of argumentation here is more inductive in nature. More specifically, the reasoning does not follow deductive logic because the premises stated do not naturally flow to their conclusion. These premises include (1) people are apt to think the schools of no consequence in meeting the urgent needs of the day, (2) students have become driven by wealth and noble rank, and (3) scholars with real ability and learning come from the countryside.

The conclusion Huang arrives to is that the schools have failed to train scholar-officials. Of course, readers—especially the Confucian literati—can assume that proper training of scholar-officials requires that those officials are motivated by aiding others and benefitting society, or must have a commitment to the metropolitan area in which they serve. However, these assumptions require outside knowledge and cannot be deduced solely by the information given.

Considering both Huang's treatise and Vagnone's sententiae, I observe that there is a clear divergence in terms of each author's focus. More specifically, Huang's focus is primarily on morality and virtue; his language suggests that because those who scramble to take the imperial examinations and study vigorously in school are driven by their desire for status and wealth, they have defeated the purpose of their role as scholar-officials. In a sense, their judgement has been compromised and, concomitantly, their schools have failed them as well, because passing the examination and becoming someone of noble rank should indicate a greater sense of selflessness and duty to the people. He goes on to say that the scholar-officials of the

court and the academies, whose students focused on true learning rather than official advancement, were openly in conflict and frequently disagreed with one another.

While Huang's reasoning is somewhat sound, his argument is based largely on intention. It is the scholar-officials intention that matters the most. The fact that they have external motivations such as wealth and status, to Huang, indicates that they should not be allowed to serve in the court, regardless of their decision-making abilities.

On the other hand, Vagnone's sententiae on this topic place a far greater emphasis on the actions and the results of the officials. For instance, in his physician analogy, the physician is only a "mediocre" one, because he has made mistakes in the past and harmed lives through his practice. Vagnone does not assert that the physician's right to practice be revoked or that his entire training was meaningless; his point is simply that the physician should have practiced more and acquired a greater education before practicing medicine. Nowhere in this entry does the physician's intent, virtue, or morality come into play.

Likewise, Vagnone's reference to the great king Darius further indicates his preference for results over intent. The message behind the chreia is that king Darius should have accumulated great wisdom through his education, rather than through trial and error. The tone suggests that Vagnone is chastising Darius for harming his nation's strength by making avoidable mistakes. However, Vagnone does not take into account the king's external motivations; the chreia does not mention whether or not the king has a desire for power or money. His reputation as ruler is simply defined by his trials and how many successes and failures he has had as a result of them.

Thus, while Huang's language indicates that having external motivations or a desire for higher status automatically makes a scholar-official unfit for service, Vagnone's chreiai and sententiae on the same topic clearly focus far more on the causal relationship between education and success as a leader. He is less concerned about the relationship between education or schooling and cultivating morality, as the topic of the leader's virtue is discussed in an entirely separate category of chreiai. As such, Huang's and Vagnone's stance on education clearly

contrast in terms of the content they deem appropriate or necessary to be taught to prospective rulers and officials. While the former prioritizes intent, morality, and virtue, the latter prioritizes results and avoiding mistakes.

5.9 The Rejection of Violence; Appropriate Use of Military

Vagnone's rejection of violence is also evident throughout his chreiai in this chapter. These chreiai are typically centered upon the notion that rulers should not use their military power as a means to control the people. In general, Vagnone staunchly rejects the use of violence, which he deems unnecessary. A truly virtuous ruler would not require such heavy-handed tactics, as his people should genuinely trust and support him:

> When King Alfonso [of Aragon] went out without escort, someone advised him of [possible danger. The king answered: 'People's love and respect are my armour and weapons'
>
> 豐所王出無護衛，或諫爲險，答曰：「民愛敬，乃吾之甲兵。」
> (Li 2014, 199).

In other words, items associated with violence, such as armour and weapons, as well as the use of force are deemed by Vagnone as superfluous and unnecessary.

> The notion of abstaining from violence appears again in an analogy in entry 83:
> Bees have stingers and yet do not use them against objects. So how can a king use his power to take revenge?
>
> 蜂有刺，非用以蟄物，王有權，豈用以復讎？
> (Li 2014, 224).

Here, Vagnone uses reasoning by analogy to compare bees to kings. Just as bees have stingers and choose not to use them, kings possess military power and should similarly control the urge to use it. According to Li, "In the Western ethical tradition, members of the animal kingdom are often chosen as exemplars of virtue. There are many example of this in these chreiai. The idea is that both people and animals follow a law inscribed in their nature. The moral law uniting the animal and human worlds could have had a strong resonance for Neo-Confucians" (Li 2014, 224). As such, this analogy serves to provide Vagnone's audience with an ideal template to

follow; this example of the behavior of bees demonstrates the principle of virtue by which kings and rulers should similarly abide. Kings must reject the use of violence and rule using only their high sense of morality and virtuous behavior.

Huang similarly dedicates a section of his treatise to his stance on the military system of China. His overarching viewpoint on the use of violence and force is that such tactics are more appropriate for ordinary men, rather than higher ranking officials or scholars. He explains, "To protect the nation and its sacred shrines is the business of gentlemen. To obey commands and exert themselves physically is the business of ordinary men" (De Bary 1993, 145). In other words, there is a distinct difference between military men and generals; Huang demarcates a separation of rank and their respective roles.

He further argues that when military men were made to be generals, they quickly switched sides and betrayed their home country at the first sign of crisis: "At the time the military men who were given high commands were mere upstarts, like clouds raised by a whirlwind. They had not in the past dared to strike a blow against the enemy, and when the crisis came they rode with the tide, changing flags and 'using their sharp swords on nothing but the carcasses of the helpless'" (De Bary 1993, 146). Huang uses reasoning by analogy to compare the military men to clouds, pointing to the military men's fickle nature. Just as clouds are easily moved by the winds, the lower ranking military men historically have changed sides and abandoned their loyalty to their king and disregarded the lives of innocent bystanders (i.e. "the helpless") in order to save their own lives and advance their own fortunes.

Moreover, Huang's language appears to convey the message that military men lack the self-cultivated virtue and morality that higher-ranking officials possess. In the previous paragraph, he writes that civil officials and scholars were righteous and were loyal to their country even in their death,

> The men who followed I-tsung in death were all civil officials. At the time, if they had been given a brigade and had joined in a death struggle with the brigands, there might still have been some hope of saving the situation. At least they would not have had to commit [useless] suicide the day the capital was taken. Those who held out for the right

> cause in the country districts were all civil officials and scholars. If at the time they had been given the means to do something, who knows but what they might have won instead of lost? Need they 'have come to driving helpless civilians out to fight' and having them slaughtered?
> (De Bary 1993, 145).

In other words, Huang argues that while it is inappropriate for the lower military men to be promoted to the status of generals, civil officials and scholars should be the ones given the position, as they possess a deeply-ingrained sense of loyalty to their nation; this is clearly evidenced by the fact that they committed suicide at the fall of the Ming Dynasty.

Huang further bolsters his argument by stating that men who are stout and unafraid to die would not make good generals. He poses that perhaps some may counter his argument by citing the successful military men turn generals P'eng Yüeh and Ch'ing P'u, but likens using these cases to support the idea that military men would be effective generals to believing that the medicinal herbs aconite and hellebore could be an appropriate substitute for food,

> It may be asked, 'If that is so, were not P'eng Yüeh and Ch'ing P'u good generals in ancient times?' My reply to that is that P'eng Yüeh and Ch'ing P'u were not made generals by Han Kao-tsu. They owed nothing to him, yet he owed much to them. The case is like one who eats aconite and hellebore to cure disease. If people seeing that P'eng Yüeh and Ch'ing P'u were accomplished in war, want to make generals of military men, it is as if someone seeing that aconite and hellebore cure diseases, want to eat them as regular food
> (De Bary 1993, 146).

Here, Huang appears to convey the idea that giving power to military men is appropriate only under certain, specific circumstances. Just as the medicinal herbs aconite and hellebore are used only to cure diseases, Huang argues that giving executive power to military men and making them generals would similarly only be appropriate when under attack or as a last resort. Likewise, just as it would be inappropriate to consume medicinal herbs on a daily basis and use them as a substitute for sustenance, Huang suggests that perceiving military men turn commanders such as P'eng Yüeh and Ch'ing P'u as exemplary leaders would be similarly inappropriate.

Huang and Vagnone take on fairly different stances when it comes to the use of force and violence. Yet, it is also important to consider the diverging circumstances that each of the authors appear to be addressing. Vagnone wrote *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* after his exile and during the rule of the Ming dynasty. His experiences and the hardships he faced at the hands of the government officials likely influenced his work, as his discussion on violence is primarily geared toward the relationship between the ruler and his people. On the other hand, Huang's*Waiting for the Dawn* was written after the fall of the Ming Dynasty and during the Manchu rule. As such, his work clearly addresses flaws and mistakes that occurred in the past throughout the Ming rule. His chapters on military rule mainly discuss the relationship between higher ranking officials, such as generals, and military men during times when China was under attack by outside forces. In Huang's case, his discussion expands further and addresses more than simply the ruler and officials; he delves into the diverging qualities of generals and military men, as well as their allegiance to their nation. In short, both authors address the function and appropriate usage of the military. Huang writes mainly about situations affected by conflicts with other nations and people, whereas Vagnone speaks more to domestic affairs and the use of military in relation to controlling the people within the nation.

5.10 Management of Officials, Subofficials, and Eunuchs

The fifth category of chreiai within the chapter deals with the ruler's management of his officials. One of the most interesting points that Vagnone conveys in this subset of chreiai is that the ruler's power is heavily based upon his own judgment and decision-making capabilities. Meynard explains this as a reflection of "a very personal use of power" (Meynard 2014, 162). In other words, the ruler must take into consideration the opinions of all officials, but he must be wary of incompetent or corrupt officials and maintain his own judgment so as not to become a puppet to them. Entry 41 encapsulates this overarching point:

> The king is stupid when he looks through the eyes of the officials, listens through their ears, speaks through their mouths, and decides through their minds. One unable to look, listen, speak, or decide by oneself can be considered as the servant of his officials, not as their king

> 王者之愚，以臣目視，以臣耳聞，以臣言，以臣心議，而自不足視，聞，言，議者，謂之其臣之僕，不謂之其臣之王
> (Li 2014, 206).

Here, Vagnone employs reasoning by analogy, comparing the king to a servant. He poses that like a servant who cannot take action without the command or input from someone else, the king is stupid should rely on his officials to make his decisions.

The disposability of officials is another theme that appears intermittently throughout these chreiai. Vagnone goes as far as to compare officials to flies biting the wounds of the people:

> The emperor Tiberius didn't want to move officials, comparing them to flies biting the wounds of the people, so satiated that they could inflict no more pain. If the old, satiated flies were pushed away and new ones came, would there not be new wounds, increasing the pain further?
>
> 弟伯略王不欲易官，譬之蠅久坐于病人之癰，已飽，不致痛刺若逐其舊飽而餓者至，豈不新傷而愈痛乎？
> (Li 2014, 193).

Again, reasoning by analogy is used in this entry, with the additional use of appeal to history to contextualize the anecdote. Invoking the thoughts of an emperor named Tiberius, Vagnone compares incompetent officials to flies and the destruction they cause to human wounds. This excerpt also contains elements of inductive reasoning. Comparing officials to flies, Vagnone states that when flies are pushed away, new ones will come and create new wounds. The conclusion derived from this analogy is that dismissing officials and assigning new ones to take their place will similarly result in more problems for the people. While this conclusion is not explicitly stated, the premises—namely the fly analogy—provide strong support for its validity.

The message behind this chreia is that sometimes officials are so incompetent that removing and replacing them would cause even more harm than simply allowing them to stay. The tone of this sententia indicates that officials—no matter how carefully selected—are always

susceptible to impropriety and corruption. It is up to the ruler to mitigate the negative consequences of these types of officials and to protect the wellbeing of the people.

On the other hand, Vagnone acknowledges that there may be no other option than to fire corrupt officials. In entry 22 he writes:

> This king just came to the throne and he dismissed those he met who were useless and evil, saying: 'The financial situation is not good and we exhaust it by supporting these useless officials. Why should this be tolerated by a good king? These kinds of officials are exactly the ones who make a king drown his own country'
>
> 是王初立，所遇無益及諸不善之臣，逐之，曰：r 國力不長而窮之以供無益者，豈爲政範所容！何也？溺國于王者莫若是臣！」
> (Li 2014, 197).

Considering both entries 15 and 22, the broader sentiment that Vagnone conveys is that the ruler's judgment is primary. While certainly it is important for the ruler to consider the opinions of his officials, it is also entirely within his discretion to replace or even completely expunge the positions of the officials and assume absolute sovereignty.

In the end, the ruler's moral cultivation and political decision-making capabilities are the ultimate deciders of the success or failure of the sovereign state. He must avoid becoming a puppet to his officials by maintaining his own sense of judgment. As ruler, it is expected that his morality and virtue outrank that of those beneath him.

In contrast to Vagnone, Huang takes on a differing stance on the topic of managing subordinate officials, particularly in terms of who has the autonomy to manage and dismiss them. He uses the term *subofficial,* to indicate a class of people who perform minor and subordinate official functions—custodians, scribes, aides, and orderlies. While subofficials were not technically full-fledged officials since they did not need to take the imperial examination, they still had key administrative responsibilities that were crucial to the success of the land. As such, Huang vehemently advocates for the employment of scholar-officials to replace subofficials, who he believed were "runners and flunkies" whose presence perpetuated evil (De Bary 1993,

161). He also advocates for a more careful selection process in order to ensure that properly qualified people are nominated for the positions.

Interestingly, Huang asserts that minor posts in the Six Ministries and courts should be filled by, specifically, metropolitan graduates, as well as sons of privileged officials and qualified members of the Imperial College; he asserts that metropolitan graduates should have priority for these positions, while sons of privileged officials and members of the Imperial College have secondary priority,

> What do I mean by employing scholar-officials? Minor posts in the Six Ministries, the departments (*yüan*), and the courts (*ssu*) should be filled first of all from among the metropolitan graduates who are serving government internships, next by men appointed as the sons of privileged officials, and next by members of the Imperial College who have qualified to serve in the government
> (De Bary 1993, 163).

Notably, the role of the ruler or emperor is omitted in this discussion. Huang does not at any point claim that the ruler has the discretion to appoint or dismiss scholar-officials to subofficial positions. In fact, Huang calls for the implementation of a hierarchy, in which each rank within the hierarchy is able to select members of the one below:

> What are today the staff supervisors of the various yamen, and the assistant magistrates of the prefectures and districts, were in Han times classed as section clerks. Their superiors were all permitted to make their own appointments. Thus, they were the subofficials of ancient times. Later on, such appointments were handled by the Ministry of Personnel. Their superior still, however, appointed their own departmental employees to serve as subofficials. This continued down to the present, when the term 'section clerk' was lost while the true status of the subofficial was also lost
> (De Bary 1993, 164).

In short, Huang does not believe that the emperor should have the default power to select and dismiss his subordinates. Instead, he calls for a streamlining of roles and a restoration of status to the position of section clerk, who would be appointed by their superiors. In particular, he asserts that scholars look down at the roles and duties of subofficials, but in ancient times, all of the lower-ranking roles, ranging from storekeepers to night watchmen, were filled by scholars (*shih-jen*). In turn, by elevating the status of the section clerk and affording them the proper esteem for

their position, the scholars would take over the duties of the subofficial and eliminate the role completely.

On the topic of eunuchs, Huang exhibits similar disdain. Eunuchs, according to Edward Mungello, were a class of men within the inner court who were less educated than the literati and owed their loyalty totally to the emperor (Mungello 1985, 67-68). Throughout the three-part chapter titled *Eunuchs*, Huang regrets the rise of power and influence that eunuchs had attained over the course of several dynasties and accuses them of having brought on an "endless series of disasters" (De Bary 1993, 165). He asserts that the proper role of the eunuchs should be the ruler's slaves, while the ministers should be the ruler's friends and teachers. Instead, however, eunuchs were given the position and authority of ministers of the imperial household, displacing the authority of the scholar-officials.

Notably, Huang places partial onus of the decline of the Ming on the emperor. He explains that because the emperor preferred the subservient and slavish behavior of the eunuchs, scholar-officials began to emulate the manners and appearance of slaves in order to gain his favor. As a result, they abandoned the previously established teacher-friend relationship with the emperor and ceased providing him with proper advice.

In order to restore balance, Huang calls for the dismissal of the greater majority of the emperor's eunuchs,

> From the earliest times to the present, no one has cared about whether eunuchs can contribute to governance, but only about how to prevent eunuchs from making trouble. Yet when a ruler has a great multitude of eunuchs, even though they have not yet made trouble, they are like a fire hidden under a pile of kindling wood. I believe that a ruler should dispose of all but his Three palaces. If he does this, no more than several tens of eunuchs will be enough to serve their needs.
> (De Bary 1993, 169).

Huang employs reasoning by analogy to compare the eunuchs to a fire. Like a fire's boundless energy and catastrophic capabilities, Huang conveys that eunuchs are similarly capable of grave consequences. As such, just as removing kindling wood would diminish a fire, disposing of the

emperor's extraneous palaces of women and female attendants would likewise reduce the eunuchs' destructive power.

In the end, Vagnone and Huang take on vastly contrasting stances on the topic of managing officials and subofficials. Vagnone's chreiai suggest a centralization of power, in which the ruler's judgement is of primary importance and should take precedence over the opinions of his advisors and subordinates. On the other hand, Huang believes in a more diversified spread of power, asserting that re-establishing a previously successful hierarchy and employing scholars to a broader range of positions, rather than simply the most respected roles, would prevent the abuse of power.

Both authors, however, share the overarching sentiment that those who possesses greater morality and virtue are the ones who can be entrusted with the power to rule and guide others. Throughout Vagnone's chreiai, one recurring theme is that the officials are typically the ones deemed untrustworthy and useless, never the ruler. Instead, the ruler is assumed to be morally upright and pure. Characters such as Phocion and Emperor Constantine are described as "the virtuous descendent of a former king" and "a humane monarch, excelling in generosity toward the people" (Li 2014, 195-196). Their only downfall is trusting the officials too much or allowing themselves to be deceived. Similarly, in *Waiting for the Dawn*, Huang suggests that those of lower status or peasants are more likely to commit wrongdoings than those from metropolitan areas or who come from privileged backgrounds (De Bary 1993, 162-163).

Thus, in each of these instances, the person—or position—with greater moral cultivation is the one who should be assigned the responsibility of those ranked below and who lack virtue. In Vagnone's case, he claims that there are certain instances under which the emperor should simply dismiss all of his officials and assume total power and responsibility over their roles; likewise, in Huang's chapter, he asserts that scholar-officials ought to take over the role of the section clerk and rid the land of subofficials.

Ultimately, at the crux of each of their chapters on the topic of the management of officials, Vagnone and Huang agree that morality and virtue are of primary importance and are

key factors in determining who deserves power. They both assume that the greater, or higher, the status of the individual, the less likely they are to demonstrate immoral behavior and, in the end, those who commit wrongdoings and perpetuate evil are disposable. Like parasites, they can be removed to the benefit of the greater community.

5.11 Concluding Remarks and Observations on the Ruler-Official Relationship

The Ruler-Official bond and the internal workings of the Chinese government, as Mungello explains, were somewhat idealized by Jesuit missionaries, including Matteo Ricci, who believed that the government was run by philosophers and scholars (Mungello 1985, 67). Of course, Vagnone, from his own experiences, was quite aware of the rampant corruption under the Ming rule. The overarching tone and sentiment inherent within the chreiai and sententiae of the ruler-official chapter in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* indicates Vagnone's preference for an autocracy. Citing various historical examples of virtuous western rulers, he makes clear his belief that the ruler's judgement is of primary importance. By contrast, Huang, who experienced firsthand the end of the Ming and rise of the Qing, makes a clarion call for a "Confucian constitutionalism," under which the ruler's power is limited and authority is restored to the scholar-officials whose loyalties were to the Confucian teachings (De Bary 1993, 64-65). Thus, Vagnone and Huang recognize an abuse of power under the Ming, but provide disparate solutions to remedy the issue. While both authors lean on Confucian principles as the backbone to their arguments, their distinctly different approaches clearly reflect their respective personal experiences and the contrasting time periods during which their works were published.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Vagnone's Perception of Each Confucian Bond's Internal Power Dynamic

Based on the chreiai analyzed throughout my discussion, a few general conclusions can be drawn about Vagnone's perception of the inherent power dynamic within each of the five Confucian bonds. Throughout the chapters of *Illustrations of the Grand Dao,* Vagnone appears to support certain hierarchical distinctions between pairings of certain bonds and support more equalitarian relations between pairings of other bonds.

One of the bonds that Vagnone advocates for a greater distinction in power is the ruler-official bond. This is clearly evidenced throughout the chapter, as the chreiai continually point out a need to defer to the ruler's judgement. Unlike other bonds that require a degree of respect and deference from both parties within the relationship, the ruler-official bond is unique in that the ruler affords very little if any respect to his officials, while the officials are expected to wholly obey their ruler without question.

Vagnone's chreiai commonly feature the underlying assumption that the ruler is somehow, by default, more virtuous and moral than those who serve him. As mentioned in my previous chapter, the trend appears to be that those who possess greater morality and virtue are those who can be trusted with the power to rule. In contrast, officials are frequently portrayed as useless, evil, and selfish. Thus, Vagnone's preference for an autocracy, calling for a greater emphasis on the ruler's judgement both in terms of his political decision-making and his dismissing and appointing of officials, is a clear indicator of his support for a greater disparity in power between ruler and official.

Another bond that Vagnone expressly makes hierarchical is the bond between husband and wife. A key indicator of Vagnone's bias toward the husband in the chapter is the continual appearances of chreiai from the male perspective. Yet, unlike the relationship between ruler and official that demonstrates one party with absolute power and the other with minimal power, the wife possesses some clout in the husband-wife relationship. Specifically, the wife's power is observed in the recurring narrative of Xanthippe and Socrates. Despite that Xanthippe behaves

erratically and treats her husband poorly, Socrates—as the husband—is said to exhibit virtuous behavior for not retaliating. In the original text, Socrates explains that his abstention from anger and retaliation comes from the value he places in his wife's role as the mother of his children. As mentioned in my chapter on the husband-wife relationship, Socrates explains that just as he does not mind the cackling of geese because they provide him with eggs, he does not mind his wife's irrational behavior because she birthed his children. In turn, the value placed in the wife within the husband-wife relationship is relatively greater than the value placed in the official within the ruler-official relationship; in the western context, the wife cannot be removed from her position, and she is allowed to behave unscrupulously and disobey her husband without serious punishment.

Still, the overarching sentiment on the power dynamic between husband and wife is that the wife maintains a subordinate position in the relationship. This is specifically made clear in the planetary analogy of entry 18, which compares the husband to the sun and the wife to the moon. Another entry that reinforces the hierarchy in power is entry 6, in which the male character Philo's wife states that she decorates herself with the virtue and reputation of her husband (Li 2014, 280). Both of these entries transparently convey the message that the wife is like an extension of her husband—an ornament publically visible only alongside him.

Notably, the disparity in power between husband and wife is amplified when the husband dies and the wife becomes his widow. Vagnone makes clear that a widow who remains loyal to her dead husband and chooses not to remarry is a chaste one (Li 2014, 280). Li notes that, in alignment with the Confucian moral standard, widows were expected to hold the family together and preserve its economic viability (Li 2014, 280). Thus, despite that the husband has died, his power within the relationship is heightened, as the wife (or widow) must live out the rest of her life mourning and honoring him by remaining single and continuing to fulfill her wifely duties. In this sense, the husband, upon his death, takes a tremendous amount of power and liberty away from his wife, as she loses a degree of freedom in her everyday life and must become more isolated than before. In turn, Vagnone's chreiai emphasize a greater power disparity between

husband and widow than between husband and wife. Since the relationship between husband widow is one-sided, the disparity in power is comparable to if not greater than that between ruler and official.

The third relationship that Vagnone highlights as superordinate-subordinate in nature is the father-son bond. This dynamic is made clearest in entry 17 of the chapter, which recounts an old law of the West that stipulates that the unfilial son will be placed in a leather bag and thrown in the river to die. In other words, the son's existence, to a large extent, is dependent upon his ability to be filial and virtuous; if he is not, then he does not even deserve to live. In addition, nowhere in his chreiai does Vagnone stipulate that parents will be executed should they mistreat or wound their children. Thus, Vagnone makes evident that the father's role in the father-son relationship takes precedence.

However, unlike the ruler-official bond and even the husband-wife or husband-widow bonds, the party in the superordinate position (the father) has a relatively significant duty to the party in the subordinate position (the son). Throughout the chapter, the education and moral cultivation of the son is greatly emphasized. Vagnone believes that the child's upbringing and growth is solely the parents' responsibility. He is so pronounced in this stance that he states that even some animals that carefully raise their offspring and more respectable than human parents who neglect their children (Li 2014, 260). Still, the most provocative chreia discussing the father's responsibility to his son is entry 3, which relates the story of the father who plucks out his own eye and his son's eye, because his son violated the law.

In turn, the father has the greater position of power in the father-son relationship. This is made clear by the fact that the unfilial son's punishment is death, whereas the irresponsible father is simply looked down upon. Nonetheless, the father-son relationship is complicated by the fact that the father is liable for his son's crimes. Taking all of these factors into consideration, it can be said that the difference in power between father and son, from Vagnone's perspective, is marginally greater than that between husband and wife. Comparing the consequences should those in their respective superordinate positions neglect their roles, the outcomes are fairly

similar. For instance, just as a husband who does not demonstrate exemplary behavior and engages in conflict with his wife will be publically ridiculed, a father who does not fulfill his duties and properly educate his son will be looked down upon and seen as stupid (Li 2014, 283) (Li 2014, 261). On the other hand, when comparing the consequences of immoral behavior on behalf of each bond's respective subordinate party, Vagnone's reactions differ. The most extreme punishment for the son who is not filial is death, whereas the punishment for the uncontained wife is—from the husband—a smile and humor.

Interestingly, one similarity between the husband-wife and father-son bond is that, in both cases, the virtue and actions of the subordinate party can have a significant impact on the reputation and honor of the respective superordinate party. In the case of the husband-wife relationship, should the wife lack virtue, she will pass her unvirtuous qualities on to her husband's children, which directly affects his lineage and status. Similarly, should a son break the law, the onus falls on his father as well for not having properly cultivated his morality. In this sense, the subordinate parties of both bonds have a degree of power over their superordinate counterparts; thus, the power dynamics are comparable. Still, considering the drastically harsher punishment that the unfilial son must face compared to that of the problematic wife, the disparity in power between father and son is decisively greater than that between husband and wife.

While the power dynamics of the ruler-official, husband-wife, and father-son bonds are pronounced within their respective chapters in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao,* Vagnone does advocate for more even divisions of power between the remaining two bonds: friends and brothers. In terms of the relationship between friends, the theme of equality is woven throughout the chapter. Notably the relationship between friends is the only bond of the five Confucian bonds that uses the same term for both parties within the pairing (while the difference between brothers is sometimes ambiguous, there are occasions in which Vagnone differentiates the two by using the terms "older brother" and "younger brother"). One of the most significant chreia that explicitly supports the notion of equality between friends is chreia 75 in the chapter discussing friendship, which relates the exchange between a rich, respected man and a sage. The

sage explains that he cannot accept the rich man's favor, because he would then have to think about how to return the favor and did not want to take on that burden (Li 2014, 321). This chreia demonstrates the principle of reciprocity in friendship, as the sage clearly takes returning friends' favors very seriously.

On the other hand, not all friendships are capable of having equality. Vagnone mentions that there can exist a friendship between a wicked friend and a virtuous friend. He asserts that just as parents would never toss aside a bad behaving infant, the virtuous friend cannot abandon their wicked friend; the duty of the virtuous friend is to aid the wicked friend's moral growth (Li 2014, 325). Clearly, this dynamic is not equalitarian, as the majority of the responsibility and duty within the relationship falls on the virtuous friend. The expectation, however, is that the wicked friend will eventually learn from his friend and also become virtuous and good.

The relationship between brothers, on the other hand, is arguably the relationship that Vagnone advocates most for equality. His stance is made abundantly clear in the entry that stresses the fundamental equality brothers have in front of God. Entry 31 within the chapter states that the younger brother serves and honors his older brother; in doing so, he cultivates virtue equivalent to if not greater than his older brother's (Li 2014, 264-265). The most compelling chreia that supports Vagnone's stance on equality between brothers is entry 7, in which he invokes Plutarch. The chreia uses reasoning by analogy to compare two brothers to a person's left and right arms or legs. Just as it would be silly for one arm to be jealous of or believe itself to be superior to the other arm, the chreia asserts that jealousy between brothers is stupid because they come from the same family (Li 2014, 268).

In turn, when comparing Vagnone's chreiai on the bonds between friends and between brothers, he certainly advocates more strongly for equality between brothers, as under no circumstance does he state that one brother is superior to the other. Even in the case of the chreia discussing the relationship between older and younger brother, the key takeaway remains that the younger brother will cultivate virtue equal to that of his older brother. Compounded by the fact that, unlike friends, brothers are blood-related and from the same family, it is clear from

Vagnone's language that he believes the relationship between brothers to be the least hierarchical and most equalitarian of the five Confucian bonds.

Looking at Vagnone's perspective of the five Confucian bonds holistically, I observe that—from greatest to smallest difference in power—the bonds can be listed as:

1. Husband-Widow
2. Ruler-Official
3. Husband-Wife
4. Father-Son
5. Friend-Friend
6. Brother-Brother

It should be noted that I make a distinction between the husband-widow relationship and the husband-wife relationship, seeing as the dynamic between the two changes when the husband dies. The disparity in power is larger in his death than it is in his life, which is why the husband-widow bond appears above the husband-wife bond on the list.

To create a more visual understanding of the bonds' power dynamics, I created a diagram illustrating the degree of disparity in power within each of the five relationships (Appendix A). The diagram situates the superordinate positions on the left side and the subordinate positions on the right side. When looking at all five bonds together, the diagram clearly shows the ruler-official and the husband-widow bonds with the greatest distance between each, followed by the father-son and the husband-wife bonds. The bond between friends and the bond between brothers are the two with the smallest distances between them. The diagram is also organized based on the number of entries dedicated to each bond, starting with the bond with the greatest number of entries—the ruler-official bond—and ending with the bond with the fewest entries—the bond between brothers. While technically the chapter on the brothers bond has 21 chreiai, only eight of those entries specifically talk about brothers; thus, the brothers bond is the one of the fewest entries.

6.2 Measuring Moral Responsibility vs. Power

Huang Zongxi suggests in his treatise *Waiting for the Dawn* that there is a correlation between moral responsibility and power. For instance, he states that only those who were capable of taking on the labors thousands of times greater than that of the ordinary man were worthy of ruling as the Son of Heaven (De Bary 1993, 91). This sentiment is also reflected in Vagnone's chreiai, as the kings and rulers he invokes are often described as "virtuous" or "humane," while lower officials were deemed "evil" and untrustworthy. Taking this correlation between factors into consideration, I created a diagram to illustrate each of the Confucian bonds, based on moral responsibility and innate power (Appendix B). Power, here, is a function of moral responsibility or duty, because virtue comes before power; only those who are capable and demonstrate a sense of moral duty are worthy of wielding greater power.

Before I continue with the explanation of my diagram, I must first define specifically what I mean in my use of the terms "power" and "moral responsibility." From my understanding of *Illustrations of the Grand Dao,* power and influence go hand-in-hand. A ruler has power, because his decisions affect the lives of those over which he rules. A husband has power, because his presence—or lack thereof—directly affects his wife's life, namely whether or not she can go out and be seen in public; moreover, it could also be said that a husband's decision to marry a virtuous (or unvirtuous wife) has direct consequences on his children, such as whether or not his children will have good virtue, thus influencing the father-son relationship. In turn, my definition of the term "power," describes the influence that one's social position may have on the lives of others. The greater the influence one has on those around him, the greater his power.

In a similar vein, moral responsibility traditionally deals with the degree to which one must serve society and others. However, I contest that moral responsibility also has to do with to what degree the actions of others affect the party in question. For instance, as mentioned previously, a son's immoral actions directly affect his father. Similarly, a wife's unscrupulous behavior may lead to public embarrassment for the husband, especially if he openly engages in arguing with her. In each of these cases, the father and husband, respectively, have greater moral responsibility, because the counterparts (for which they are responsible) directly impact them.

This makes sense, because if a father is responsible for the moral cultivation of his son, his son's crime is an indication of his father failing to fulfill his moral duty. Thus, my usage of the term "moral responsibility" is not limited to simply one's duty to the betterment of society and to others; it also encompasses the degree by which others' actions (specifically those who look to a superordinate authority for moral guidance) affect and circle back to the person in question. In short, moral responsibility is bilateral.

Since the ruler has the greatest amount of moral responsibility (over his people) and power, he is placed in the upper right corner of the diagram. Other positions with significant moral responsibility include the husband and father, who are liable for the actions of the wife and son, respectively. Of course, the father has a somewhat greater degree of moral responsibility, as his son's education is his duty. The father also has a greater degree of power than the husband, because he has greater control over his son than the husband has over his wife.

The moral responsibilities and power of the younger and older brothers are comparable, with the elder brother having slightly greater power, because his younger brother serves and obeys him. Still, both brothers have less power compared to the husband, father, and ruler, because neither is able to significantly control or influence the other. Vagnone makes very clear his belief that brothers should not be jealous of one another and are better off as equals.

The official is placed relatively high in terms of power, but possesses less moral responsibility than virtually every position other than the younger and elder brothers. My reasoning behind the official's position in the diagram is that Vagnone's emphasis on implementing an autocracy in the chreiai of the ruler-official chapter indicates his belief that officials have more power than they should. However, since their actions (or misdeeds) are often attributed to the ruler or the government at large, they have relatively low moral responsibility. This point is made explicit in entry 41 of the ruler-official chapter, in which Vagnone notes that a king who blindly follows the advice of his officials is stupid; certainly, the officials are wicked and deserving of punishment, but the responsibility of the nation and the people affected by the officials' advice remains with the ruler.

Finally, in the bottom right quadrant of the diagram lie the son, wife, friend, and widow. The son has a high degree of moral responsibility but relatively low power, because his duty is primarily to serve his father. While the actions or misbehavior of others do not typically affect the son (i.e. a father's poor behavior does not reflect poorly on the son), the severe consequences for disobeying or exhibiting unfilial behavior on the son's part warrant the son's position on the diagram. The friend, according to Vagnone, certainly has a very high degree of moral responsibility. As discussed before, Jesuit missionaries were strategically emphatic about the Confucian relationship between friends, as it was a non-familial bond that encouraged greater relations and bonding between the Jesuits and the Chinese.

The near-exhaustive discussion on the proper behavior, motives, and principles delineated within the chapter on friendship clearly reflects Vagnone's stance that the moral responsibility and trust placed in a true friend is to be taken seriously. Still, the friend does not have a significant amount of power within the bond or to others in general, because the relationship between friends—like that between brothers—remains relatively equalitarian in nature. Unlike a ruler who can dismiss officials and whose decisions affect everyone under his rule or the father who can punish or even have his son executed for his unfilial behavior, a friend does not have the same influence over his counterpart in the friends relationship. In fact, Vagnone makes a point to emphasize that a friendship can oftentimes require a great deal of sacrifice. For instance, if one is friends with an unvirtuous or wicked friend, he has a duty to aid his moral cultivation, whether it be through friendly admonishment or reproach. Even if the unvirtuous friend is ungrateful and retaliates against the virtuous friend, the latter still has to fulfill his duty (Li 2014, 325).

Finally, the two remaining positions are the wife and the widow. As stated before, these two roles are technically the same; however, I made a clear distinction the responsibilities and power of the widow and wife are markedly different. The wife has a high degree of moral responsibility on the diagram, because her role is primarily to serve her husband. While, certainly, the wives invoked throughout the husband-wife chapter are often described as

immoral, petty, and morally questionable, Vagnone's stance remains that the wife ought to be subservient and obedient. In multiple entries, Vagnone expressly makes clear that a wife who tries to dominate or gain power in the relationship over her husband is an unvirtuous wife. The widow, on the other hand, possesses even greater moral responsibility, as her duties expand without any reciprocity from the husband, because he has passed. Of all the positions delineated on my diagram, the widow is the only position who I deem possesses a negative degree of power from her position. Seeing as the widow is essentially forced to hide herself away from public eye while still serving her dead husband's family, she possesses no power or influence over others; her life becomes one of near-complete servitude.

Overall, my diagram presents a visual of the degree of moral responsibility and power inherent from each position of the five Confucian bonds. While, certainly, the diagram does not aim to be quantitative by any means, the relative positions of each of the ten points are based on evidence cited directly from Vagnone's text and are, thus, sound. Of course, recognizing that Vagnone's chreiai do contradict each other at times, the selection of entries used to synthesize this diagram were chosen based on whether they contain recurring themes, messages, or narratives. Entries with characters or stories that build upon previous chreiai indicate the value and importance Vagnone placed in the chreia's underlying message. As such, I purposefully focused on those types of entries to reflect Vagnone's beliefs as accurately as possible.

6.3 Overarching Conclusions on Vagnone's Primary Methods of Argumentation and Goldin's Framework

Overall, Vagnone employs deductive reasoning rather infrequently. Instead, his chreiai often feature appeal to example, as the greater majority of the entries throughout the book begin by invoking a historical figure. Also, there are a plethora of occasions in which Vagnone employs reasoning by analogy within the context of an appeal to example. Both of these types of reasoning are non-deductive in nature and fall under Goldin's framework for forms of argumentation native to early Chinese philosophy.

Looking at the maxims of Matteo Ricci's *On Friendship*, elements of deductive reasoning do come up more often than they do in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*. In addition, on different occasions, Ricci combines elements of deductive reasoning with those of non-deductive reasoning. A prime example of this appears in his entry comparing friendship to curing an illness. As discussed in my previous chapter, while the whole of the entry is deductive in nature, as it includes two premises that provide clear evidence to support a conclusion, the opening sentence is an analogy—a form of non-deductive reasoning. Interestingly, Huang Zongxi's treatise *Waiting for the Dawn* also amalgamates deductive and non-deductive forms of reasoning throughout. This is made especially apparent in his passage on those who are worthy of becoming the Son-of-Heaven. While his logic can be rewritten in syllogistic form, it is still contextualized using appeal to history, as he invokes the historical figures Hsu Yu and Wu Kuang to frame his argument. Thus, the two sources under the category of the "contemporaries" exhibit elements of both Aristotelian logic, as well as traditional Chinese non-deductive logic.

The sources that I label the "ancients," on the other hand, nearly always abstain from explicitly deductive logic. A prime example of the ancients' aversion to deduction appears in Mencius during a dialogue between Tao Ying and Mencius. Tao Ying asks Mencius what Shun—the Son of Heaven—should do if his father murders someone. Mencius replies: "Secretly, he would have taken his father on his back and fled […] forgetting, in his delight, about the realm" (Bloom 2009, 152). Mencius provides absolutely no evidence or logical argument to support his conclusion that Shun, the emperor, should flee his own nation with his father and live happily in another realm. Certainly, the underlying principle is clearly based on the Confucian ideal of filial piety and duty to one's parents, this connection is not made clear in any of the sentences from the passage. Strangely, this is not an example of appeal to history, as Mencius is not recounting an event that actually happens; he merely surmises that Shun would behave in such a way. Still, he weaves analogies throughout his response to bolster his argument, indicating his preference for non-deductive argumentation.

Ban Zhao also tends to lean toward a non-dedutive approach. Notably, however, in one of the passages of her book *Precepts for My Daughters*, she sets up her logic in a near-complete syllogistic form. As discussed in my chapter on the husband-wife relationship, the passage deals with the repercussions should either the husband or the wife lack wisdom. She writes:

> If the husband is not wise, he will be incapable of governing his wife and if the wife is not wise, she will be unable to serve her husband. If the husband does not govern his wife, he will lose his dignity. If the wife does not serve her husband, she will be neglecting her duties. But two tasks are one in their function
>
> 夫不賢，則無以御婦; 姻不賢，則無以事夫。夫不 禦婦, 則威儀廢缺; 婦不事夫, 則義理墮闕。方斯二事，其用一也。
> (Idema 2004, 37) (Zhang 1996, 2).

While this excerpt seems to take on the flow of deductive reasoning, it lacks an explicit conclusion to complete the syllogism. Thus, it remains, simply, a series of premises that end with a conclusion that cannot be drawn deductively from the evidence given (i.e. “But two tasks are one in their function”).

Ultimately, comparing the language and logic used in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* to the other works of this thesis, Vagnone clearly takes the traditional Chinese forms of non-deductive reasoning to heart and relies heavily on appeal to example, reasoning by analogy, or an amalgam of both to support the arguments within his chreiai. Similarly, older works such as*Mencius* and *Precepts for My Daughters* largely employ non-deductive argumentation, perhaps as a way to engage and challenge their readers to arrive at their own conclusions based on the evidence given. Ban Zhao’s passage on the importance of wisdom in the husband-wife relationship appears to purposefully neglect to tie the premises to an explicit conclusion. This mirrors the philosophy of Confucius and reflects, perhaps, the inherent nature of inductive reasoning. Entry 8 of Book 7 in the Analects states:

> The Master said, ‘I will not open the door for a mind that is not already striving to understand, nor will I provide words to a tongue that is not already struggling to speak. If I hold up one corner of a problem and the student cannot come back to me with the other three, I will not attempt to instruct him again

子曰：「不憤不啟，不悱不發，舉一隅不以三隅反，則不復也。」
(Slingerland 2009, 66) (Sturgeon 2018).

Thus, based on passages, excerpts, and chreiai analyzed, Vagnone's rhetoric and style of argumentation lean more toward that of the works of the "ancients." The works of the "contemporaries" on the other hand are distinctly different from *Illustrations of the Grand Dao* because they do not abide as closely by the logical templates set by the classics.

6.4 Limitations and Drawbacks

One of the most significant challenges of my research was the nature of the genre of chreiai, sententiae, and maxims. When chreiai and sententiae are evaluated collectively, they may appear to convey contradicting messages. Livia Kohn and Michael Lafargue explain in their discussion of Lao-tzu's *Dao De Jing* that aphorisms are often restricted in scope in order to draw the reader's attention to an important but, perhaps, frequently overlooked consideration relevant only to a very limited range of situations. In other words, while some aphorisms highlight a principle or truth that is true in a few specific circumstances, the same principle or truth may be false or inapplicable to a variety of other situations. In turn, while pithy statements with the same common semantic structure, such as aphorisms, maxims, chreiai, sententiae, etc., often suggest a connection between two things, they are unlike general laws in that those two things (observations, objects, people, or events) are not always connected (LaFargue 1998, 264-265).

LaFargue poses the famous phrase "a watched pot never boils" as an example of an aphorism that does not invoke a natural law, but rather evokes an image of a person anxiously waiting for the pot to boil and feeling as though the pot will "never boil." LaFargue explains, "the image evokes a sensed connection, which does not always occur but sometimes occurs, between anxious waiting and the feeling that what is waited for will never come" (LaFargue 1998, 265-266). Likewise, the chreiai and sententiae in *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*, while certainly meaningful and true in some contexts, are similar to the aphorisms that LaFargue describes in that they are not universal principles or laws that apply to every context.

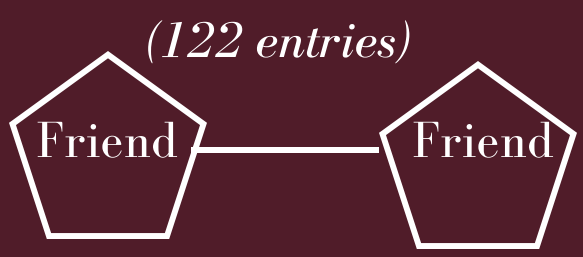
6.5 Future Endeavors, Areas of Further Research, and Final Remarks

I certainly encourage future scholars to extend upon my linguistic and ideological analyses of Vagnone's literary contributions. Other works such as *Tongyou Jiaoyu* 童幼教育 (On the Education of Children, c. 1632) and *Jiaoyao Jielüe* 教要解略(Comprehensive exposition of the Lord of Heaven, c. 1615) also exist. Conducting literary analyses on those works to observe the ways in which Vagnone's rhetoric and methods of argumentation evolve over time could provide further insight into his unique accommodation strategy.

Ultimately, this thesis does not pretend to exhaustively analyze all aspects of the rhetoric, style, and ideology of *Illustrations of the Grand Dao*. Instead, my goal was to expand upon the sparse scholarship on Alfonso Vagnone and use a series of comparative literary analyses to better situate his work within the greater context of the literature of Imperial China. In the end, Alfonso Vagnone was not merely a carbon copy of Matteo Ricci or any of the other well-known Jesuit missionaries. His contribution to the development of Sino-European relations is significant and conveys his deep-rooted respect for Confucian ideology.

APPENDIX A

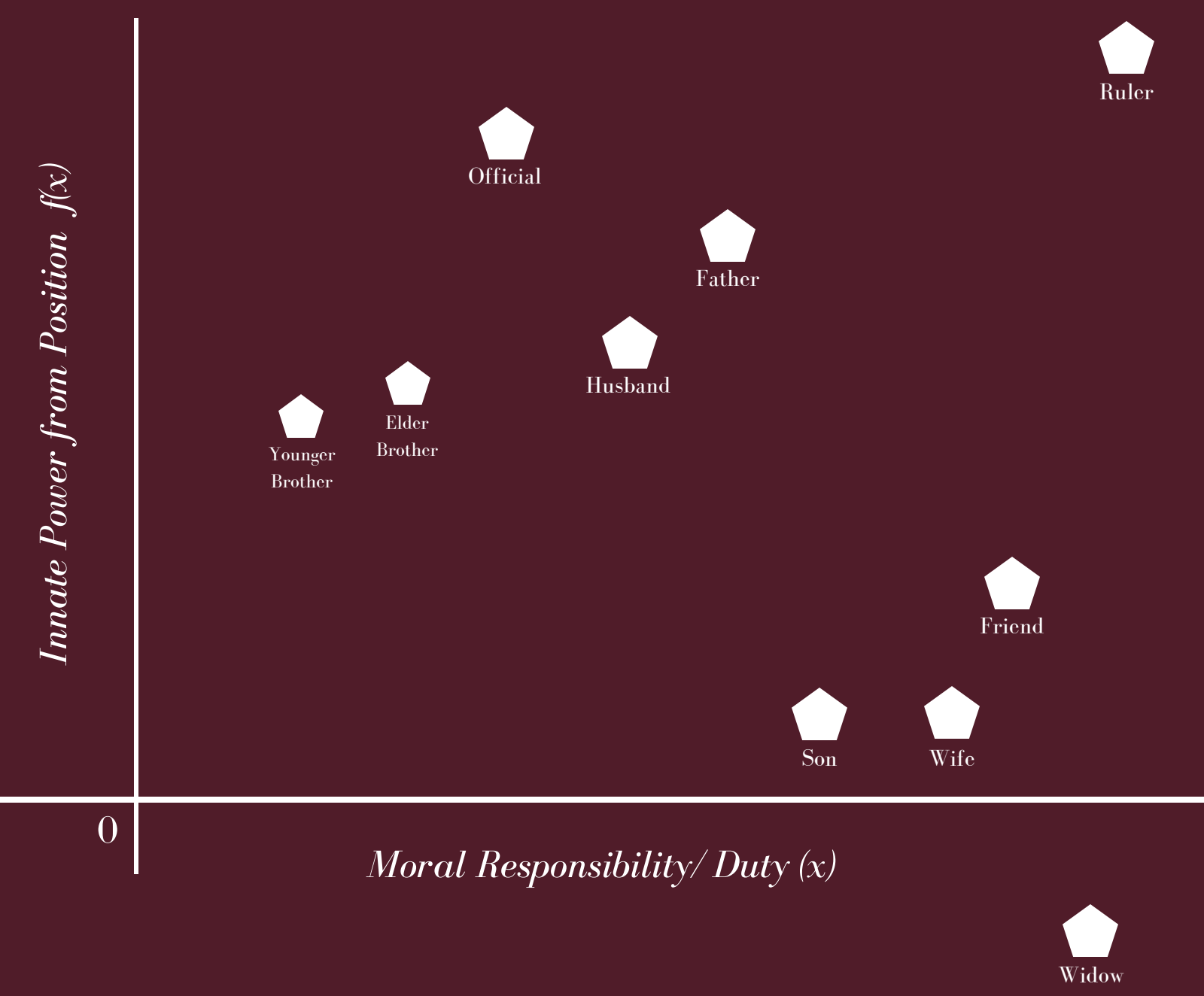
POWER DYNAMIC WITHIN EACH RELATIONSHIP (VAGNONE)



(8 entries; other 13 deal with relationship between elder and younger people)

APPENDIX B

MEASURING MORAL RESPONSIBILITY VS. POWER



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