

1 Introduction

Max Weber neither knew the Chinese language nor collaborated with any sinologist when writing *Konfuzianismus und Taoismus*, which was first published in 1915, revised in 1920, and later translated into English by Hans H. Gerth as *The Religion of China*.¹ So, how was Weber informed of China? Effort is required to find out clues to this question. As pointed out by van der Sprenkel in the 1960s, Weber gave very inadequate references to the sources from which he quoted.² For example, despite making reference to Arthur Smith's *Chinese Characteristics* in his discussion of "the Chinese traits" in the concluding chapter, in neither footnotes nor the text did Weber give any information about Smith's work.³ Another problem is inaccurate citation. Samuel Wells Williams's *The Middle Kingdom* was cited by Weber as "The Midden Empire," which is an obvious mistake to those who have some knowledge of nineteenth-century sinological works.⁴ Also, discussing the business principle of fixed prices, Weber referred to "p. 147f" of *Social Life of the Chinese* by Justus Doolittle, a missionary to China of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

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- 1 Weber 1968. For the German original, see Weber 1989 (hereafter cited as MWG I/19) or Weber 1991 (hereafter cited as MWS I/19). MWS I/19 is the study edition of *Konfuzianismus und Taoismus*. This edition excludes some features of MWG I/19, such as editorial apparatus showing the differences between versions of *Konfuzianismus und Taoismus* and annotations identifying sources consulted by Weber which, however, was not mentioned by him in either the text of *Konfuzianismus und Taoismus* or the footnotes to it. The term "sinologist" is used in this paper to refer to "a person who studies Chinese language, history, customs and politics" (*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*). He or she does not necessarily hold an academic appointment in order to be regarded as a sinologist.
- 2 Van der Sprenkel 1964, 349.
- 3 Weber 1968, 231; MWG I/19, 456.
- 4 MWG I/19, 128. This example is mentioned in van der Sprenkel 1954, 275. Similarly, William C. Hunter's *The "Fan kwae" at Canton Before Treaty Days 1825–1844* became "Canton before treaty days 1821–44" in *Konfuzianismus und Taoismus*. See MWG I/19, 155.

However, the relevant information indeed comes from pages 152 and 153 of the second volume of Doolittle's work.⁵ Unfortunately, these kinds of mistakes are repeated in Gerth's widely used translation, which was first published in 1951, and even in the revised version of Jian Huimei's 簡惠美 Chinese translation published in 1996.⁶

Nevertheless, more accurate information about Weber's sources on China was actually available to Jian when she revised her Chinese translation of *Konfuzianismus und Taoismus*, thanks to the efforts of the German sinologist Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer with the help of Petra Kolonko, a political correspondent for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* whose doctoral work was on Chinese historiography. An index containing bibliographical information of the sources cited by Weber is included in Schmidt-Glintzer's edition of *Konfuzianismus und Taoismus* in the series Max Weber-Gesamtausgabe (Max Weber's Collected Works).⁷

Based on Schmidt-Glintzer's work, this paper discusses the missionary sources used by Weber for *Konfuzianismus und Taoismus*, which will be subsequently referred to as *The Religion of China*. Besides the fact that the history of Chinese Christianity is my research expertise, the reason for discussing this particular group of writings is that a considerable part of published works used by Weber were produced by Christian missionaries.⁸ From Schmidt-Glintzer's index, we can find that Weber also cited published writings about China in European languages by sinologists in America, Britain, Germany, France and Russia, Western travellers, diplomatic officials of Western powers in China, foreigners serving in the Imperial Maritime Customs Service, and, last but not least, the Chinese. However, among the 159 sources from ninety-five authors cited by Weber, thirty-six were published works by twenty-one Christian missionaries including those belonging to the Protestant and Catholic traditions. If we exclude the sources that did not concern China, over a quarter of the sources cited by Weber come from missionaries.⁹

5 MWGI/19, 277.

6 The quality of Gerth's translation was criticized shortly after publication by van der Sprenkel in his review. Andreas E. Buss even argued that "in fact one can find a plethora of incorrect or misleading translations of passages in Weber's essays on India and China. It is therefore not surprising that many misunderstandings have arisen." Buss 1985, 3. It is unfair to pass my judgment on Jian's translation before giving it a thorough examination. However, it should be noted that the revised version of Jian's Chinese translation shows some evidence of her efforts to locate the exact sources used by Weber. For instance, the citation "Smith, *Village Life in China*, pp. 66ff" in the fifth chapter (cf. footnote 38 in MWGI/19, 315) is clarified as "Smith, *Village Life in China*, p. 78." See Weber 1996, 206.

7 MWGI/19, 557–568. The index is also included in MWSI/19, 286–293.

8 MWGI/19, 17; MWSI/19, 244.

9 My statistics are based on the index in MWSI/19. However, Weber's own works are excluded from my count of sources, although I include translations of Chinese classics and historical

2 The Missionary Sources used by Weber

While Schmidt-Glntzer's index helps us to know where Weber obtained information about China, we have to be careful that some sources listed in the index might not really have been used by Weber. Missionary sources from three missionaries listed in the index belong to this class. The first one is the journal article by Adele M. Fielde, a woman missionary of the American Baptist Missionary Union stationed in Shantou 汕頭 of Guangdong 廣東, on tenure of land in China. Weber's footnote citing Miss Fielde's work reads, "I do not have access at this moment to A.M. *Fielde*, Land Tenure in China, Journal of the [North] China Branch of the R. Asiat. Soc. 1889 vol. 23 p. 110."¹⁰ In other words, Fielde's work was just noted but not used by Weber. The second is Ernst Faber's *The Mind of Mencius*, which is mentioned in Weber's footnote about his sources in the first chapter but nowhere else. Given Weber's strong reliance on James Legge's translation of the Chinese Confucian classics and the poor quality of the English translation of Faber's work, the actual use of *The Mind of Mencius* by Weber is questionable.¹¹ Similarly, Richard Wilhelm's translations of Confucian and Daoist works, according to Lauren Pfister, were not cited by Weber "even once throughout the balance of *The Religion of China*."¹² Although Schmidt-Glntzer suggested that Wilhelm's translations were accessible to Weber, there is only one occasion where Weber presumably referred to Wilhelm's works: he mentioned Zhuangzi as someone who was not "a pure Confucian" but quoted Confucius "with great reverence" probably because he consulted Wilhelm's remark in his translation of *Zhuangzi*.¹³

However, Schmidt-Glntzer's annotations are helpful to us in identifying obscure sources which Weber used but did not mention in *The Religion of China*. In the first chapter, Weber attributed the comparison between silver mines in Yunnan 雲南 and those in Potosi to Édouard Biot's journal paper entitled "Sur le système monétaire des Chinois" and

works. E. Tiessen and Max Müller are excluded from my count of authors, as their edited volumes are indeed reproductions of Richthofen's and Legge's works respectively. Out of the ninety-five authors, twenty sources from fifteen authors were not related to China. Xia Ruichun's 夏瑞春 (Adrian Hsia's) statistics are thus inaccurate, as he suggested that less than five percent of the sources cited by Weber did not concern China. See Hsia 2003.

10 MWS I/19, 80. Indeed, Weber confessed in this footnote that he did not have access to almost all publications from this journal.

11 Pfister 2000, 97–98. However, it is not clear why Weber did not mention the German original of Faber's *The Mind of Mencius*, which was published in 1877 as *Eine Staatslehre auf ethischer Grundlage, oder, Lehrbegriff des chinesischen Philosophen Mencius*. A book review of this work by an anonymous writer was published in *China Review* in 1877. See Anonymous 1877, 199–201.

12 Pfister 2005, 100. Adrian Hsia shared Pfister's view. See Hsia 2003.

13 MWG I/19, 420; MWS I/19, 179.

regarded such a comparison as a “ridiculous exaggeration,”¹⁴ Thanks to Schmidt-Glintzer, we can now do justice to Biot, as the exaggerated comparison cannot be found in Biot’s work. It actually comes from the German missionary Karl Gützlaff’s journal article entitled “On the Mines of the Chinese Empire.”¹⁵

Hence, the number of identifiable missionary sources used by Weber should be twenty-eight published works by twelve Protestant and six Catholic missionaries. Yet, missionary sources still account for more than one-fifth of the sources related to China cited by Weber. The authors and bibliographical information of these missionary sources are provided in the Appendix.

3 Why did Weber Consult Missionary Sources?

Why did missionary sources constitute a significant part of Weber’s sources about China? To evangelize the Chinese people, systematic studies of Chinese language, literature, and culture were considered by early Catholic and Protestant missionaries to be part of their missionary work, especially for the sake of later generations of missionaries who would follow in their footsteps.¹⁶ Thanks to the protection of the Treaties of Tianjin 天津 (1858) and the Convention of Beijing 北京 (1860), the later generations of Christian missionaries experienced a period of “expansion and institutional-building” in China during the period from 1860 to 1902,¹⁷ which offered them opportunities to be much better informed of China than armchair sinologists. In such a context, some able missionaries produced works documenting more thorough and systematic studies of China. Hence, although in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the stage of sinology had been shifting to professional sinologists, missionaries remained one of the most important sources of information and images of China and its religions, cultures, and societies for Western populations at large.¹⁸ Missionary scholars still played a major part in setting the standards and extending the range of materials covered in sinology, contributing to the foundation of sinology in

14 MWGI/19, 135; MWSI/19, 29.

15 It is noteworthy that Gützlaff did not mention Potosi directly but “the most favoured spots in Mexico and Peru.” Gützlaff 1847, 54. However, Gützlaff’s article contributed to the information that each gold mine in China paid up to forty percent of royalties according to output. MWGI/19, 137; MWSI/19, 31; Gützlaff 1847, 52.

16 Pfister highlighted that the first Protestant missionaries to China had such a mindset. Pfister 2010, 742. However, in my opinion, the Jesuits in Ming-Qing China no doubt shared such a view.

17 Bays 2012, 66–91.

18 Cf. Arnold and Bickers 1996, 8. Also, see Zhang 2005, 2.

Britain and America.¹⁹ Indeed, most of Weber's missionary sources were published during the second half of the nineteenth century, which indicates that missionaries remained a presence in sinology at the time.

4 Who Were the Authors of Weber's Missionary Sources?

Missionary writers whose works were consulted by Weber can be classified into three main groups. The first group were sinologists who had previous careers as missionaries, or in Pfister's term, post-missionary scholars.²⁰ Legge and Williams belonged to this class of authors. After serving the London Missionary Society (LMS) for thirty years, Legge became the first chair professor of Chinese studies at Oxford in 1876. Similarly, the author of *The Middle Kingdom*, Williams became the first professor of Chinese at Yale in 1877 after a career in China spanning around forty years, first as missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and then as secretary and interpreter to the American Legation in China.

Some authors of Weber's sources can be regarded as part-time post-missionary scholars, as they continued to contribute to the knowledge of China while serving in other capacities. Joseph Edkins resigned from the LMS and joined the Imperial Maritime Customs Service in 1880. A prolific author, Edkins ranks joint third with Biot in terms of number of publications cited by Weber, just behind the renowned professional sinologists Édouard Chavannes and J. J. M. de Groot. The works of Edkins cited by Weber reflect the diverse research interests developed at different stages of Edkins's life: While Edkins's article on Chinese arithmetical notation documented his unflagging interest in sciences in China developed through translating scientific works into Chinese for the LMS Press in Shanghai, his works on currency and banking in China belong to the series that he prepared for the Imperial Maritime Customs Service.²¹ The German missionary-turned-sinologist Ernst Johann Eitel is a similar case. He earned a doctorate from Tübingen in 1870 for his work on Chinese Buddhism.

19 Honey 2001, 167; Pfister 2010, 743. Irene Eber even claimed that "modern sinology had its start with works about China by missionaries." Eber 1999, 136, n. 3. Missionaries' contribution to transmitting the knowledge of China to the West was recognized by their contemporaries at home. For example, K. F. Neumann, professor in Armenian and Chinese at Munich, in his submission to *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* honoured Christian missionaries as those who devoted their lives to the studies of the Chinese cultural system. See Neumann 1847, 92. In this article Neumann introduced the life and works of Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China. See Neumann 1847, 93–128.

20 Pfister 2010, 749.

21 Box 1905, 282–289. According to Edkins's obituary by Henri Cordier, Edkins penned more than 140 books and articles. Penny 2007; Preface to Edkins 1905.

Having resigned from the LMS in 1879, he joined the government of Hong Kong as the Inspector of Schools. After being employed as a civil servant, Eitel maintained his interests in Chinese religion, linguistics, and philosophy, while extending to Chinese literature, porcelains, and customs. A frequent contributor to *China Review*, he served as its editor until he left Hong Kong for Australia in 1897.²²

Another group of authors of Weber's sources comprises those who spent a significant portion of their adult lives in China as missionaries and produced works on China in scholarly manners. Like Edkins and Eitel, they may be regarded as part-time sinologists residing in China. Frank H. Chalfant, a missionary of the American Presbyterian Mission (North) stationed in Weixian 濰縣 of Shandong 山東, became renowned for his studies of oracle bone scripts. As for his Catholic counterparts, examples include Louis-Charles Delamarre of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris (Société des Missions étrangères de Paris), Henri Havret of the Society of Jesus, who founded and edited the sinological series *Variétés sinologiques*, and P. Albert Tschepe, who was also a Jesuit and contributed to the same series.

In addition to Williams's *The Middle Kingdom*, which offers a general introduction to China, four types of missionary sources were consulted by Weber for his writing of *The Religion of China*. The first type is the translations of Chinese classics and historical works, which were frequently cited by Weber. Legge is no doubt the most important contributor in this regard. His translations, which were produced with the help of the Chinese scholar Wang Tao 王韜,²³ were cited by Weber so extensively that he decided "the great central works of classical Chinese literature will not be cited separately when reference is made to a passage."²⁴ Catholic missionary sources in this category include Delamarre's French translation of the first part of *Zizhi tongjian gangmu sanbian* 資治通鑑綱目三編 (1746) about the history of the Ming dynasty, and Tschepe's works covering several states of the Warring States period and the Qin 秦 empire. The second type is published monographs which cover a wide range of subjects related to China including economics, history, language, geography, religion, and philosophy. The third type is published articles in nineteenth-century sinological journals such as *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society*,²⁵ *China Review*,

22 Wong 2000, 73–91.

23 The nature of Wang Tao's influence on Legge's scholarship was complicated. While Wang's works were cited by Legge in various notes within the later volumes of the *Chinese Classics*, according to Pfister, about half the time (depending on the text) Legge disagreed with Wang's assessment and explanation of various passages. Pfister 2007, 105, n. 35. For detailed studies of Legge's life and works, see Girardot 2002; Pfister 2004; Wong 1996.

24 MWS I/19, 27; Weber 1968, 250.

25 Yang Qingkun 楊慶堃 (C. K. Yang) referred to it mistakenly as *Journal of the Peking Royal Society*. Yang 1968, xxxviii. Sunar regarded *Journal of the Peking Royal Society* and *Journal of the*

Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The writings of Smith and Doolittle belong to the fourth type, namely missionary accounts of the social life of the Chinese people based on field observations and daily contact with them.

5 The Quality of Weber's Missionary Sources

Most of the sources used by Weber, according to Schmidt-Glintzer, can be regarded as academically reliable, except *China under the Empress Dowager* by John Bland and Edmund Backhouse and William Francis Mannix's *Memoirs of Li Hung Chang*, both of which have been proven to be fabrications.²⁶ Schmidt-Glintzer's judgment generally applies to Weber's missionary sources. The authors featured in the *Variétés sinologiques* series were commended by E. H. Parker for doing their best to avoid ill-natured comparisons and criticism, although, as some twentieth-century sinologists suggested, they might not necessarily have offered insightful perspectives.²⁷ Some of Weber's missionary sources were influential ones, whether in the scholarly world or for the general public of the West. Chalfant's *The Early Chinese Writing*, published by Carnegie Museum, is the first account of oracle bones in English.²⁸ Smith's works were important in forming the image of China in the West at the turn of the twentieth century. His *Chinese Characteristics* was the most widely read book on China and the Chinese in America and Europe, as well as among expatriates in China, up until the 1920s.²⁹

In his introduction to Gerth's English translation, Yang Qingkun 楊慶堃 (C. K. Yang) nevertheless tended to have a low opinion of missionary sources.³⁰ He argued that as far as sources containing field observations and primary and secondary sources of nineteenth-century China are concerned, Weber for the most part "had to rely on the writings

Peking Oriental Society as two separate journals of which articles were consulted by Weber. Sunar 2014, 86. However, there was no such thing as *Journal of the Peking Royal Society*!

26 MWG I/19, 67.

27 Parker 1898, 183. K. S. Latourette has pointed out that Tschepe's histories of Qin and the warring state Han, which Weber consulted, "contain a good deal of material, but show no very great perspective or critical acumen." Latourette 1943, 89. Such a view was also shared by Derk Bodde. Tschepe's history of Qin was the earliest specialized work in the field in the West. While commending Tschepe's work as "a detailed translation and paraphrase, mostly based on the *Shih-chi* [*Shiji* 史記]," Bodde pinpointed that it presents "Ch'in history reign by reign and year by year, factually and without evaluation." Thus, it is not surprising that Bodde suggested that serious scholars consult Chavannes's translation of *Shiji*, which Weber also did. Bodde 1986, 94.

28 Dong 2005, 274.

29 Hayford 1985, 153; MWS I/19, 244; Wilkinson 2000, 761.

30 Yang 1968, xxxviii–xxxix.

from missionaries, travellers, and Western diplomatic officials.”³¹ Yang made two points of criticism of them: First, most of these authors were without training in the social sciences; second, they lacked the necessary objectivity for reliable observation and analysis. Missionaries were prone to be blamed. As rightly pointed out by David Arnold and Robert Bickers, “to a generation of largely secularly trained and secularly minded professional academics missionary writings prompt suspicions of evangelical bias which precludes an objective approach to the past.”³² All in all, missionary sources to Yang were among those which were guilty of leading Weber astray.

In regard to missionary sources, there are three points I would like to make in response to Yang’s criticism. First, while Weber drew on sources written by missionaries, he also noticed and made use of English, French, and German writings produced by educated Chinese.³³ Among the English writings is *Village and Town Life in China* (1915), written by two Chinese graduates of the London School of Economics, namely Liang Yugao 梁宇皋 (Y. K. Leong), who was active in the politics of the Federation of Malaya, and Tao Menghe 陶孟和 (L. K. Tao), professor of sociology at Peking University.³⁴ Liang and Tao’s work examines the internal working of a Chinese village and the town administration of China. It was regarded by Schmidt-Glintzer as the first sociological study of China.³⁵ Weber also consulted the works of the Chinese Jesuit Huang Bolu 黃伯祿 (Pierre Hoang) on the imperial administration of the Qing dynasty and property contracts in Chinese society.³⁶ As for German sources written by educated Chinese, Weber consulted the doctoral dissertations on Chinese economics by Zhang Wu 張武 (Chang Wu) and a Chinese whom Weber referred to as Wen Hsian Liu,³⁷ as well as the German translation of *Les Chinois peints par eux memes*

31 Yang 1968, xxxviii.

32 Arnold and Bickers 1996, 3.

33 Weber also mentioned *The Economic Principles of Confucius and His School*, the doctoral dissertation defended at Columbia University by Chen Huanzhang 陳煥章 (Chen Huan Chang), a famous advocate of Confucianism as the state religion of Republican China. It is noteworthy that the doctoral dissertation by Zhou Yiqing 周毅卿 (Nyok Ching Tsur), Karl Bücher’s doctoral student at Leipzig and a native of Ningbo 寧波, was mentioned by Weber in the footnote about his sources as “the best work thus far on the economic life of a (modern) Chinese city.” There is, however, not any clue that Weber actually made use of Zhou’s work. The lack of information about English sources by Chinese authors could be a reason for Weber’s limited use of them. For example, the doctoral dissertation by Wei Wenbin 魏文彬 (Wei Wen-pin), again at Columbia University, came to Weber’s attention “only during proofreading.” MWS I/19, 27–29; Weber 1968, 250–253.

34 MWS I/19, 100, 290.

35 MWS I/19, 268.

36 MWS I/19, 92–93, 106, 289.

37 MWS I/19, 94, 180. Zhang Wu’s dissertation is “Die chinesische Kreditvereinigung” [The

(China painted by the Chinese) by Chen Jitong 陳季同 (Tscheng-Ki-Tong), a Chinese diplomat in France in the late nineteenth century.³⁸ Weber's use of these works means that he also obtained information on intimate Chinese personal and social life from the Chinese themselves to complement the information from missionary observers.³⁹

Second, Yang's criticism of missionary sources shows that he did not know much about the background of those he criticized. Yang stated that for religious life Weber had to make extensive use of the writings of the "embittered Dutch missionary" de Groot, whose work was liable for Weber's empirical inaccuracies. In fact, de Groot had never been a missionary. He was a colonial officer of the Dutch Indies before becoming a professional sinologist.⁴⁰

Third, missionaries in general spent much more time in China than other professional sinologists or observers of the Chinese. This enabled them to have sustained contact with the Chinese people and opportunities to glean first-hand information. For example, Smith had resided in northern China for almost twenty years when *Chinese Characteristics* was published, even though Jin Yaoji 金耀基 (Ambrose Yeo-chi King) regarded Smith's observation as "cursory" (*fuguang lueying* 浮光掠影).⁴¹ Similarly, Doolittle had spent ten years in his station in Fuzhou before he first published two-thirds of the contents of *Social Life of the Chinese* anonymously in the *China Mail*, an English newspaper published in Hong Kong.⁴²

Chinese Credit Association], Berlin, 1917. MWSI/19, 286. Weber cited Wen Hsian Liu's dissertation defended at Frankfurt as "Die Vorteile des ländlichen Grund und Bodens und seine Bewirtschaftung in China." MWS I/19, 94. However, according to Schmidt-Glintzer, the title of Liu's dissertation should be "Die Verteilungsverhältnisse des ländlichen Grund und Bodens und dessen Betriebsweise in China" [Distribution conditions of land property and its operation modes in China]. Schmidt-Glintzer also suggested that the dissertation was published by Ebering in Berlin in 1919, and its author should be "Wen Hsien Liu" instead of "Wen Hsian Liu." MWS I/19, 290. Since I have not been able to find out the Chinese name of either of these, no Chinese characters of Liu's name are provided.

38 MWS I/19, 128, 154, 269, 292.

39 Cf. Yang 1968, xxxix.

40 Yang 1968, xxxix. Indeed, it was impossible for de Groot to be a missionary. According to Barend ter Haar, de Groot left the Roman Catholic Church when he was twenty years old. Ter Haar 2006, 540.

41 In his work *Cong chuantong dao xiandai* 從傳統到現代 (From tradition to modernity), Jin demonstrated his lack of understanding of Smith's background and works. Citing a secondary source about Smith's *Chinese Characteristics*, Jin listed the negative qualities of the Chinese discussed by Smith in that work but ignored the positive ones such as industry, economy, contentment, and cheerfulness. Jin also mistakenly changed Smith's nationality from American to British and anachronistically regarded Williams as Smith's later generation. Jin 1979, 77.

42 MacGillivray 1907, 254; Preface to Doolittle 1865.

Therefore, while some missionary sources might not be objective enough, they still contain information useful not only to Weber but also to scholars of Chinese studies today. Charles Hayford criticized Smith for his failure to overcome the use of his own middle-class American society as a reference point and standard of value in *Chinese Characteristics*.⁴³ However, this did not prevent Smith's observation in *Chinese Characteristics* from helping Benjamin Elman to illustrate cases of elderly candidates attending the imperial civil examination in Qing China.⁴⁴ Doolittle could not avoid having prejudice against the "sensual" and "vicious" qualities of the Chinese people from a missionary's perspective. Still, he is fairly judicious in his description of a full range of topics inclusive of Chinese religion, philosophy, education, and political organization.⁴⁵ T. H. Barrett has commented that Doolittle's observations of the culture of northern Fujian in *Social Life of the Chinese* were remarkably detailed and "still provide much of interest to anthropologists today."⁴⁶

The value of missionary sources does not rest on the texts themselves, but on how to use them critically. Missionaries were by nature and vocation prone to be biased. However, such biases are often not obscure. They can be somehow better known than those of other writers.⁴⁷ Weber was not ignorant of the evangelical bias underlying his missionary sources. That was why he regarded Tschepe's work on the history of the Warring States period as "useful despite the unavoidable 'Christian' reflections, which often strike us as somewhat naïve."⁴⁸ Also, as Yang suggested, Weber attempted to use his sources with good discrimination.⁴⁹ Weber knew where missionary sources contain valuable information. As he explained in the footnote about his sources, Edkins's *Religion in China* was consulted because it reproduced numerous conversations.⁵⁰ At the same time, Weber did not hesitate to question the reliability of missionary sources, given other sources were available for him to compare and judge. For example, to Weber, Galliard's work on Nanking "does not yield much knowledge of Chinese urbanism."⁵¹

My view that Weber did not use missionary sources indiscriminately is supported by Jack Barbalet's observations about Weber's understanding of Confucianism. In *Confucianism and the Chinese Self: Re-examining Max Weber's China*, Barbalet pointed out that Weber was both true to the missionary and sinological representation of Confucianism but also

43 Hayford 1985, 165.

44 Elman 2000, 292.

45 Barnett 1985, 115.

46 Barrett 2003, 315–316.

47 Arnold and Bickers 1996, 4.

48 MWS I/19, 58; Weber 1968, 264.

49 Yang 1968, xxxix.

50 MWS I/19, 28; Weber 1968, 251.

51 MWS I/19, 37; Weber 1968, 256–257.

dissented from it. On the one hand, the claim that Confucianism constitutes an orthodoxy against which all other creeds are heterodox, which is an underlying assumption of Weber's account in *The Religion of China*, actually has its roots in European sinology to which missionary sources contributed a lot.⁵² On the other hand, the missionary representation of Confucianism as originally a native Chinese religion was not entirely accepted by Weber, as he insisted that Confucianism is not a religion.⁵³

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that sometimes, although missionary sources provide more accurate interpretations of Chinese thought, Weber disregarded such interpretations in order to, in Barbalet's words, "serve his prior understanding and purpose."⁵⁴ One of the examples that illustrates this point is Weber's interpretation of the Daoist idea of *wuwei* 無為. In the seventh chapter of *The Religion of China*, Weber explained *wuwei* through the *Dao* 道 as "rendering one's self absolutely void of worldly interests and passionate desires until release from all activity is attained."⁵⁵ However, as indicated in Legge's commentary on *Laozi* 老子 included in his translation of the Daoist text, which Weber no doubt consulted, Legge correctly understood the Daoist *wuwei* as action accommodating to rather than confronting what it is directed toward. In other words, *wuwei* "was not an absolute quiescence and inaction, but had a method in it."⁵⁶ According to Barbalet, Weber interpreted *wuwei* as radical inaction, instead of adopting Legge's interpretation, because it "serves Weber's imputation of mysticism in the *Laozi* and Daoism in general." In doing so, Weber could argue that Confucianism and Daoism, despite sharing a number of features in common, were different, because Weber suggested that "the Confucians [...] were not mystics."⁵⁷ This supports Weber's contrast of Daoism and Confucianism in terms of a distinction between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, although such a contrast, as Barbalet argued, "reflects a misunderstanding of the means of imperial Chinese state rule."⁵⁸

6 Conclusion

Christian missionaries were instrumental in informing Weber about China in various aspects including but not limited to religion, which supposedly concerned them most. Surely missionary sources vary in value, which was noted by Weber too.⁵⁹ However, there are traits in *The Religion of China* showing that Weber exercised his critical judgment on missionary

52 Barbalet 2017, 24.

53 Barbalet 2017, 25–26.

54 Barbalet 2017, 80.

55 MWS I/19, 161–162; Weber 1968, 181–182.

56 Legge 1891, 107. This is discussed in Barbalet 2017, 82.

57 MWS I/19, 162; Weber 1968, 182.

58 Barbalet 2017, 80.

59 MWS I/19, 196; Weber 1968, 231.

sources and attempted to glean useful information from them. Also, Weber's disregard for Legge's more accurate interpretation of the Daoist idea of *wuwei* is an example which indicates that Christian missionaries should not be entirely blamed for Weber's misinterpretations concerning China. It is hoped that the findings of this paper will facilitate fairer assessments of the relationship between missionary sinology and Weber's *The Religion of China*, contributing to a better understanding of Christian missionaries' historical impact on the study of China.

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Appendix 1: Sources by Catholic Missionaries⁶⁰

Author	Publication details
Delamarre, Louis-Charles (ed. and trans.)	1865. Yu tsiouan Thoung kian kang mou: san pien. Histoire de la dynastie des Ming. Composee par l'empereur Khian-Loung. Paris: Goupy.
Gaillard, Louis	1903. <i>Nankin d'alors et d'aujourd'hui: aperçu historique et géographique</i> . Variétés sinologiques, no. 23. Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique.
Le Gall, Stanislas	1894. <i>Le philosophe Tchou Hi, sa doctrine, son influence</i> . Variétés sinologiques, no. 6. Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique.
Gandar, Dominique	1903. <i>Le Canal Impérial. Étude historique et descriptive</i> . Variétés sinologiques, no. 4. Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique.
Havret, Henri	1893. <i>La province du Ngan-Hoei</i> . Variétés sinologiques, no. 2. Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique.
Tschepe, P. Albert	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1910. <i>Histoire du royaume de Han (423–225)</i>. Variétés sinologiques, no. 31. Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique.⁶¹ 2. 1896. <i>Histoire du royaume de Ou (1122–473 av. J.C.)</i>. Variétés sinologiques, no. 10. Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique. 3. 1909. <i>Histoire du royaume de Ts'in (777–207 av. J.C.)</i>. Variétés sinologiques, no. 27. Chang-hai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique.⁶²

60 The bibliographical information is based on Schmidt-Glitzner's index with minor corrections.

61 There is another edition of Tschepe's work on the states of Han 韓, Zhao 趙, and Wei 魏 in the Warring States period (475–221 BC). Its title is *Histoire du royaume de Han (423–225)*, which interestingly does not include the states of Zhao and Wei. In footnote 36 of the second chapter of *Konfuzianismus und Taoismus*, Weber cited Tschepe's work as "Hist. du R. de Han, Var. Sino. 31." Thus, it is possible that Weber consulted *Histoire du royaume de Han (423–225)* instead of *Histoire des trois royaumes Han (423–230), Wei (423–209) et Tchao (403–222)*, as suggested by Schmidt-Glitzner. MWS I/19, 62, 113, 292.

62 Tschepe's work on the state of Jin 晉 during the Warring States period, *Histoire du royaume de Tsin (1106–452)*, was not mentioned by Weber. Indeed, Weber mixed up 'Tsin' (Jin) with 'Tsin' (Qin 秦). Thus, I exclude this from my count of identifiable missionary sources used by Weber. MWS I/19, 58, 91, 292.

Appendix 2: Sources by Protestant Missionaries

Author	Publication details
Chalfant, Frank H.	1906. <i>Early Chinese Writing</i> . Memoirs of the Carnegie Museum, vol. 4, no. 1. Pittsburgh.
Doolittle, Justus	1866. <i>Social Life of the Chinese</i> . 2 volumes. London: Sampson Low and Marston.
Dudgeon, John	1893. "On the Population of China," <i>Journal of the Peking Oriental Society</i> 3.3, 183–201.
Edkins, Joseph	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1905. <i>Banking and Prices in China</i>. Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press. 2. [1893]. <i>Chinese Buddhism</i>. Second edition. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner. 3. 1901. <i>Chinese Currency</i>. Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press.⁶³ 4. 1887. "Place of Hwang Ti in Early Tauism," <i>China Review</i> 15.4, 233–239. 5. 1884. <i>Religion in China. Containing a Brief Account of the Three Religions of the Chinese: With Observations on the Prospects of Christian Conversion amongst that People</i>. London: Trübner. 6. 1886. "Local Value in Chinese Arithmetical Notation," <i>Journal of the Peking Oriental Society</i> 1.4, 161–171.
Eitel, E. J.	1890. "Die Schu-king Finsterniss" [The Shoo-king Eclipse] Von Dr. G. Schlegel and Dr. F. Kühnert. Amsterdam, 1889. <i>China Review</i> 18.4, 265–266.
Gützlaff, Karl	1847. "On the Mines of the Chinese Empire," <i>Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> , 43–59.
Legge, James	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1867. <i>The Life and Teachings of Confucius</i>. London: Trübner. 2. 1861–1872. <i>The Chinese Classics</i>. 5 volumes. Oxford: University Press. 3. 1879–1891. <i>The Sacred Books of China</i>. 6 volumes. (ed. Max F. Müller, <i>The Sacred Books of the East</i>, vols. 3, 16, 27, 28, 39, and 40). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Macgowan, John ⁶⁴	1886. "Chinese Guilds or Chambers of Commerce and Trade Unions," <i>Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> 21, 133–192.
Martin, William A. P.	1898. "Chinese Discoveries in the Arts and Sciences," <i>Journal of the Peking Oriental Society</i> 4, 19–28.
Medhurst, Walter H. (ed.)	1853. <i>Pamphlets Issued by the Chinese Insurgents at Nanking: To which is added a History of the Kwang-se Rebellion, Gathered from Public Documents, and a Sketch of the Connection between Foreign Missionaries and the Chinese Insurrection, Concluding with a Critical Review of the above Pamphlets</i> . Shanghai: North China Herald.
Smith, Arthur	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1894. <i>Chinese Characteristics</i>. Revised edition. New York: Fleming H. Revell. 2. 1899. <i>Village Life in China</i>. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier.
Williams, Samuel Wells	1883. <i>The Middle Kingdom. A Survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts and History of the Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants</i> . Revised edition. 2 volumes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

63 Weber cited the year of publication as 1890.

64 Lufti Sunar incorrectly referred to MacGowan as "MacGawen." Sunar 2014, 89.