

ASPECTS OF ETHICS AND MORALITY
IN THE HEBREW BIBLE AND CONFUCIAN CLASSICS

by

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A P P R O V A L

This dissertation, entitled,
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I. INTRODUCTION

For more than two thousand years the Hebrew Bible and Confucian Classics, revered as the foundation of knowledge, wisdom and truth, have profoundly influenced the moral and ethical codes of mankind - the former in the West and the latter in the East respectively.

The Hebrew and Confucian ethical systems, despite the fact that they were products of two different soils and climates and of two peoples with a different historical and cultural tradition, share much in common in their ideals and practices. The great similarity that exists between the two ethical systems was explicitly pointed out as early as 1512 by an eminent Jew who lived in China, by the name of Tso T'ang, who, after an intensive study of Confucian Classics, said, "Although the written characters of the Scriptures of this religion (i.e., Judaism) are different from the script of Confucian Classics, yet on examining their principles it is found that their ways of common practice are similar." (然教是經文字雖與儒書字異，而揆厥其理，亦有常行之道，以共同也) from the 1512 Inscription found at K'ai-feng Synagogue in China).

The most outstanding feature in which Hebrew and Confucian ethical systems share in common is the fact that they are essentially practical in motive and are

ultimately interested in the establishment of a good society of good men here on earth. That is, the two ethical systems as taught in the Hebrew Bible and Confucian Classics, unlike those of all known religions such as Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Sikhism and Shintoism, have nothing whatsoever to do with life hereafter, for they are only and fundamentally concerned with the present life in the present world. The matter of rewards and punishments in the future life which occupies such an important and vital place in the ethical systems of all religions, ancient and modern, is completely absent in Hebrew and Confucian ethical systems. This is indeed, general as it may be, a very unique and significant point of agreement.

Far more significant than this point of agreement in general nature and motive of ethics is the fact that the Hebrew and Confucian ethical systems are fundamentally in unity with respect to the specific moral principles which should govern relationships among various members of society. Instances of agreement in ethical thoughts are so numerous that it is not too much to say that the ancient Hebrew and Chinese moralists were fundamentally of one mind and one aspiration.

The aim of this volume is, through a careful examination of the contents of the Hebrew Bible and Confucian Classics, to show where the similarity exists and to

show how the two ethical systems resemble each other - particularly with regard to (1) a "Good Life," (2) a "Perfect and Upright Man," (3) a "Good Society."

It is the conviction of the present writer that such comparative study of two ethical systems of East and West, which unfortunately have so long been allowed not only to be misunderstood but also misrepresented as fundamentally opposing to each other, will bring the East and the West to a better understanding of each other and to the realization that the East and the West can work together for a better and happier world through their mutual discovery and acquaintance in common ideals and aspirations. At the same time, such comparative study of two of the oldest living ethical systems, coming from two opposite ends of the earth, will serve a powerful means of discovering the universal values which all modern ethical theorists will find exceedingly valuable in their search for the meaning of "good" and "right."

Primary sources of our investigation will be, as indicated by the title of dissertation, limited to the Hebrew Bible and the Confucian Classics. Confucian Classics will include Shoo Ching(Book of History), Shih Ching(Book of Poetry), Yi Ching(Book of Changes), Li Chi(Book of Rites), Ch'un Ch'iu(Annals of Spring and Autumn), Lun Yu(Analects of Confucius), Chung Yung(Doctrine of the Mean), Tah Sueh (The Great Learning) with its Commentary, Hsiao Ching(Book of Filial Piety), and the Book of Mencius. Any material other than these will be treated as a secondary source.

At the end of this dissertation is attached an appendix (Chapter V) which deals with the relationship between Confucianism and Chinese Judaism. While preparing for the present volume, the author came to discover that one time in history Judaism flourished in a land of Confucianism and that it lost its strength and disappeared completely when its adherents discovered the fact that the Judaism was essentially in harmony and agreement with Confucianism in the principles of establishing the mind and restraining the conduct of man. Inas-much as the disappearance of Chinese Judaism came about due to the close similarity between the Hebrew and Confucian ethical thoughts and is thus closely connected with the subject of this dissertation, the author found it necessary to present a study on the decline of Chinese Judaism.

In submitting this dissertation the author wishes to thank the Dropsie College for having granted him a precious opportunity of learning and of furthering his knowledge in the Hebrew Bible, and the members of faculty who have guided him tirelessly in his path for the search for truth. His special thanks are due Drs. Frank Zimmermann, John L. Mish and Theodore H. Gaster to whose inspiration of brilliant scholarship whatever of merit this study may contain is due. Especially, the author expresses his deep gratitude to Dr. John L. Mish, whose unusually superior scholarship in the history, culture and languages of the Far East is held by

the author in great admiration and respect, and without
whose constant encouragement and assistance this volume
would not have been made possible.

II. AN ASPECT OF ETHICS IN THE BOOK OF PROVERBS AND CONFUCIAN CLASSICS: "Good Life"

The Book of Proverbs is a collection of collections gathered and preserved by Israel's sages over a long period of time. The collections cover a wide range of topics and they come from a variety of different sources including some that were of non-Hebraic origin. Some of the proverbs are very old, going back as far as the time of Solomon or in some cases to an even earlier date. Although the name ~~Solomon~~ Solomon is associated with the Book, it is very doubtful that he wrote any of the proverbs.

Taken together the collections constitute a handbook of conduct, or as we might say today, a text-book of ethics, which gives information as to what ancient Hebrew moralists regarded as a "good life." In the contents of the terms righteousness and wickedness are very clearly and explicitly listed. The sages who expounded the moral maxims were not prophets nor preachers but quiet souls who found their satisfaction in making virtue attractive. However, they leave no doubt as to the severity of their disapprobation of evil.

The sages warn men against the vice of greed and covetousness and bloodshed, together with the envy that is so constant a companion of these corroding sins. "My son, if

sinners entice you, do not consent. If they say, 'Come with us, let us lie in wait for blood, let us wantonly ambush the innocent; like Sheol let us swallow them alive and whole, like those who go down to the Pit; we shall find all precious goods, we shall fill our houses with spoil; throw in your lot among us, we will all have one purse' --my son, do not walk in the way with them, hold back your feet from their paths; for their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed blood. For in vain is a net spread in the sight of any bird; but these men lie in wait for their own blood, they set an ambush for their own lives. Such are the ways of all who get gain by violence; it takes away the life of its possessors."^{1a}

In the Shoo Ching, we read, "All people who of themselves commit crimes, robbing, stealing, practicing villainy and treason, and who kill men or violently assault them to take their property, being violent and fearless of death: --those are to be abhorred by all."^{1b}

A proud, haughty, and arrogant spirit meets with emphatic disapproval. "When pride comes, then comes disgrace; but with the humble is wisdom."² "Pride goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall. It is better to be of a lowly spirit with the poor than to divide the spoil with the proud."³ A similar thought is found in Shoo Ching, where the Prince of Meaou is denounced for his pride. "Stupid is this Prince of Meaou,

ignorant erring, and disrespectful.. Despiteful and insolent to others, he thinks that all ability and virtue are with himself. A rebel to the right, he destroys all the obligations of virtue. Superior men are kept by him in obscurity, and mean men fill all the offices. The people reject and will not protect him. Heaven is sending calamities down upon him. It is virtue which moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride brings loss, and humility receives increase: this is the way of Heaven."⁴

The vice of drunkenness is depicted in telling terms that suggest abundant opportunity for observation of its evils on the part of the sages. "Wine is a mocker, strong drink a brawler; and whoever is led astray by it is not wise."⁵ "Be not among wine bidders, or among gluttonous eaters of meat; for the drunkard and the glutton will come to poverty, and drowsiness will clothe a man with rags."⁶ Again, "Who has woe? Who has sorrow? Who has strife? Who has complaining? Who has wounds without cause? Who has redness of eye? Those who tarry long over wine, those who go to try mixed wine. Do not look at wine when it is red, when it sparkles in the cup and goes down smoothly. At the last it bites like a serpent, and stings like an adder. Your eyes will see strange things, and your mind utter perverse things. You will be like one who lies down in the midst of the sea, like one who lies on the top of a

mast. 'They struck me,' you will say, 'but I was not hurt; they beat me, but I did not feel it.'"⁷ Or again, "It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine, or for rulers to desire strong drink; lest they drink and forget what has been decreed, and pervert the rights of all the afflicted."⁸ Similar warning is found in Shoo Ching where the Duke of Chow attributes the cause of the fall of Shang Dynasty to love of wine, drinking, lewdness and dissipation of King Show: "I have heard it said like wise, that in those times the last successor of those kings was addicted to drink, so that no charges came from him brightly before the people, and he was unchangingly bent on doing and cherishing what provoked resentment. Greatly abandoned to extraordinary lewdness and dissipation, for pleasure's sake he ruined all his majesty. The people were all sorely grieved and wounded in heart, but he gave himself wildly up to spirits, not thinking of ceasing, but continuing his excess, till his mind was frenzied, and he had no fear of death. His crimes accumulated in the city of Shang, and though the extinction of the dynasty of Yin was imminent, this gave him no concern, and he wrought not that any sacrifices of fragrant virtue might ascend to Heaven. The rank odour of the people's resentments, and the drunkenness of his herds of creatures, went loudly upon on high, so that Heaven sent down ruin on Yin and showed no love for Yin, -- because of such excess. There is not any cruel oppression

of Heaven; people themselves accelerate their guilt, and its punishment."⁹ T'ang the Successful, sage kings, as well as their numerous officials are praised for their not indulging in drinking. "O Fung, I have heard it said that formerly the first wise sovereign of Yin manifested a reverential ~~alawe~~ of the bright principles of Heaven, and of the lower people, steadfast in his virtue, and holding fast his wisdom. From him, T'ang the Successful, down to the Emperor Yih, the sovereigns all completed their royal virtues, and revered their chief ministers, so that their managers of officers respectfully discharged their helping duties, and dared not to allow themselves in idleness and pleasure; --how much less would they dare to indulge in drinking! Moreover, in the exterior domains, the Princes of the States of the How, Teen, Nan and Wei, with their chiefs; and in the interior domain, all the various officers, the directors of the several departments, the inferior officers and employes, and the Heads of great Houses, with the men of honored name living in retirement, all eschewed indulgence in spirits. Not only did they not dare to indulge in them, but they had not leisure, being occupied with helping to complete their king's virtue and make it more distinguished, and helping the directors of affairs reverently to attend to the services of the sovereign."¹⁰ But on the other hand, Hebrew moralists recognized a legitimate use of wine and did not dream of prohibition. "Give

strong drink to him who is perishing, and wine to those in bitter distress; let them drink and forget their poverty, and remember their misery no more."¹¹ Shoo Ching also recognizes legitimate drinking: "King Wan admonished and instructed the young and all who were charged with office and in employment, that they should not ordinarily use spirits. Throughout all his states, he required that they should drink only on occasions of sacrifices, and then that virtue should preside so that there might be no drunkenness."¹²

Personal extravagance and love of pleasure and enjoyment are alike rebuked. "He who loves pleasure will be a poor man; he who loves wine and oil will not be rich."¹³ We may compare this with the admonition of Confucius who said: "To find enjoyment in extravagant pleasure; to find enjoyment in idleness and sauntering; to find enjoyment in the pleasure of feasting: --these are injurious."¹⁴ Similar thought is found in the Shoo Ching: "When the palace is a wild of lust, and the country a wild for hunting: when wine is sweet, and music the delight; when there are lofty roofs and carved walls, --the existence of any one of these things has never been but the prelude to ruin."¹⁵ "Heh and Hoh had neglected the duties of their office, and were sunk in wine in their private cities, and the Prince of Yin received the imperial charge to go and punish them."¹⁶ T'ang the Successful also warns: "If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your

chambers, --that is called sorcerer's fashion; if you dare to set your hearts on wealth and women, and abandon yourselves to wandering about or to hunting, --that is called the fashion of dissipation; if you dare to condemn the words of the sages, to resist the loyal and upright, to put far from you the aged and virtuous, and to be familiar with procacious youths, --that is called the fashion of disorder. Now if a high noble or officer be addicted to one of these fashions with their ten evil ways, his family will surely come to ruin; if the prince of a country be so addicted, his State will surely come to ruin. The minister who does not try to correct those vices in the sovereign shall be punished with branding."¹⁷ A King is praised, in the Announcement of Chung-Hwuy, because he "did not approach to dissolute music and woman; he did not seek to accumulate property and money."¹⁸

Various forms of robbery and oppression of the poor are listed and condemned. "He who oppresses a poor man insults his Maker, but he who is kind to the needy honors him."¹⁹ "Do not rob the poor, because he is poor, or crush the afflicted at the gate; for the Lord will plead their cause and despoil of life those who despoil them."²⁰ "Do not remove an ancient landmark or enter the fields of the fatherless; for their Redeemer is strong; he will plead their cause against you."²¹ We find a similar idea in the Shoo Ching, where T'ang the Successful is praised by E,

because he "was kind to the distressed and suffering, as if they were his children, and the people submitted to his commands, all with sincere delight,"²² and because "he substituted his generous gentleness for oppression,"²³ King Wan is also praised, because he "was able to illustrate his virtue and be careful in the use of punishments. He did not dare to show any contempt to the widower and widows."²⁴ Robbery and theft are severely condemned in the Shoo Ching. "Let none of you people presume to rob or detain, or to jump over enclosure and walls to steal away horses or oxen, or to decoy away servants and female servants. If you do so, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments."²⁵ One of the characteristics of the Confucian golden age is that "there was no cunning or intrigue and there were no robbers or burglars, and as a result, there was no need to shut one's outer gates (at night)."²⁶

A personal integrity, truthfulness and sincerity are emphasized. "Better is a poor man who walks in his integrity than a man who is perverse in speech, and is a fool."²⁷ "A righteous man who walks in his integrity--blessed are his sons after him."²⁸ "He who speaks the truth gives honest evidence, but a false witness utters deceit."²⁹ "Truthful lips endure forever, but a lying tongue is but for a moment."³⁰ Sincerity is greatly emphasized in the Confucian Classics. Confucius said, "Hold

faithfulness and sincerity as first principles." In the Shoo Ching we read, "Heaven in its awfulness yet helps the sincere. Wherever you go, employ all your heart."³¹ The Commentary on Great Learning says: "What is meant by 'making the thoughts sincere,' is the allowing no self-deception, as when we hate a bad smell, and as when we love what is beautiful. This is called self-enjoyment. Therefore, the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone. There is no evil to which the mean man, dwelling retired, will not proceed, but when he sees a superior man, he instantly tries to disguise himself, concealing his evil, and displaying what is good. The other beholds him, as if he saw his heart and reins; --of what use is his disguise? This is an instance of the saying -- "What truly is within will be manifested without." Therefore the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone."³² Chung Yung says: "Superior man is ever watchful over himself even when he is not seen by others; he is ever fearing even when he is not heard by others. Nothing is so manifest as that which is hidden; nothing is so conspicuous as that which is invisible. Therefore, the superior man is ever watchful over the self in his solitary moments."³³ Again, "Sincerity is that whereby self-completion is effected, and its way is that by which man must direct himself. Sincerity is the end and the beginning of things. Without sincerity no existence is possible.

Therefore, the superior man regards the attainment of sincerity as the most excellent thing. One who possesses sincerity makes perfect not only himself, but others."³⁴ Again, "Sincerity is the Way of Heaven...He who possesses sincerity, is he who, without an effort, hits what is right, and apprehends, without the exercise of thought; --he is the sage who naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains sincerity, is he who changes what is good, and firmly holds it fast."³⁵ In all these passages the Confucian term for sincerity 誠 (*cheng*) is made of two words: one meaning "word" (言, *yen*) and the other (成, *chung*) meaning to "accomplish", or "carry out". Sincerity therefore means basically "to fulfil, accomplish, or carry out one's word." It means personal integrity, truthfulness, and is used in the same sense as Hebrew אָמַן and אָמַן.

Cursing of parents is condemned while reverence for parents is one of the outstanding characteristics of the good son. "If one curses his father or his mother, his lamp will be put out in utter darkness."³⁶ "Hear, my son, your father's instruction, and reject not your mother's teaching; for they are a fair garland for your head, and pendants for your neck."³⁷ Compare this with King Wan's teaching which says, "Let the youth hearken diligently to the constant lessons of their father."³⁸ Proverbs also says: "A fool despises his father's instruction, but he who heeds admonition is prudent."³⁹ "A wise son makes

a glad father, but a foolish man despises his mother."⁴⁰

"He who deals violence to his father and chases away his mother is a son who causes shame and brings reproach."⁴¹

"Hearken to your father who begot you, and do not despise your mother when she is old."⁴² "Let your father and mother

be glad, let her who bore you rejoice."⁴³ "He who keeps the law is a wise son, but a companion of gluttons shames his father."⁴⁴ "The eyes that mocks a father and scorns

to obey a mother will be picked out by the ravens of the valley and eaten by the vultures."⁴⁵ Filial piety is one

of the most important aspects of Confucian ethical system, and in no other area does Confucian ethics come closer to

the Hebrew ethics. Filial piety plays such an important

part in Confucian ethical life that the Hsiao Ching (Canon of filial piety) goes as far as to assert that "filial

piety is the root of all virtue, and that from which all teaching comes."⁴⁶ Then it continues, "Our bodies--to

every hair and bit of skin--are received by us from our parents, and we must not presume to injure or wound them:

this is the beginning of filial piety. When we have established our character by the practice of the (filial) course,

so as to make our name famous in future ages, and thereby glorify our parents: this is the end of filial piety. It

commences with the service of parents; it proceeds to the service of the ruler; it is completed by the establishment

of the character."⁴⁷ The Li Chi says, "The highest filial

piety is the honoring of our parents; the second is not disgracing them."⁴⁸ The first of these means a positive practice of virtue, so as to give a glorious name to the parents; the second, a negative avoidance of evil conduct, so that the parents will not gain a bad name. If a man keep these two in mind, he will practice every kind of virtue naturally. This^{is} in accordance with the idea in Proverbs that a filial son should not disgrace his parents. In several chapters in the Li Chi, therefore, as well as in the Hsiao Ching, filial piety is made the source of all the virtues. The Li Chi says: "The body is that which has been transmitted to us by our parents. Dare anyone allow himself to be irreverent in the employment of their legacy? If a man in his own house and privacy be not grave, he is not filial; if in serving his ruler he be not loyal, he is not filial; if in discharging the duties of office he be not serious, he is not filial; if with friends he be not sincere, he is not filial; if on the field of battle he be not brave, he is not filial. If he fail in these five things, the evil (of the disgrace) will reflect on his parents. Dare he but be serious? To prepare fragrant flesh and grain which he has cooked, tasting and then presenting them before his parents, is not filial piety; it is only nourishing them. He whom the Superior Man pronounces filial is he whom the people of his state praise, saying with admiration, 'Happy are the parents who have such a son as this!'

That indeed is what can be called filial. The fundamental lesson for all is filial piety. The practice of it is seen in the support (of the parents). One may be able to support them; the difficulty is in doing so with proper reverence. One may attain to that reverence; the difficulty is to do so without selfconstraint. That freedom from constraint may be realized; the difficulty is to maintain it to the end. When his parents are dead, and the son carefully watches over his actions, so as not to pass down a bad name for his parents, he may be said to be able to maintain his piety to the very end. True love (jen) is the love of this; true manners (li) are the doing of this; true righteousness (Yi) is the rightness of this; true sincerity is being sincere in this; true strength is being strong in this. Music springs from conformity to this; punishments come from violation of this...Institute filial piety, and it will fill the space from Heaven to Earth; spread it out, and it will extend over all the space within the four seas; hand it down to future ages, and it will be forever observed; push it on to the eastern, western, southern and northern seas, and it will everywhere be the standard."⁴⁹ So, the utmost importance of filial piety is stressed throughout the Classics with the greatest force possible. Mencius said, "Of services, which is the greatest? The service of parents is the greatest."⁵⁰ In the Hsiao Ching we read: "The disciple Zang said, 'Immense indeed is the

greatness of filial piety!' The Master replied, 'Yes, filial piety is the constant (method) of Heaven, the righteousness of Earth, and the practical duty of Man!'"⁵¹ Again, "He who does not love his parents, but loves other men, is called a rebel against virtue; and he who does not revere his parents, but reveres other men, is called a rebel against propriety."⁵² "The Master said, 'The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows: In his general conduct to them, he manifests the utmost reverence; in his nourishing of them, his endeavor is to give them the utmost pleasure; when they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety; in mourning for them (dead), he exhibits every demonstration of grief; in sacrificing to them, he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things (he may be pronounced) able to serve his parents."⁵³ "He who (thus) serves his parents, in a high situation, will be free from insubordination; and among his equals, will not be quarrelsome. In a high situation pride leads to ruin; in a low situation insubordination leads to punishment; among equals quarrelsomeness leads to the wielding of weapons. If those three things be not put away, though a son every day contribute beef, mutton, and pork to nourish his parents, he is not filial."⁵⁴ "The Master said, 'There are three thousand offences against which the five punishments⁵⁵ are directed, and there is not one of them greater than being unfilial."⁵⁶ In the Shoo

Ching the offence of being unfilial is regarded as a crime even greater than robbery, stealing, practice of villainy and treason, and even murder. "All people who of themselves commit crimes, robbing, stealing, practicing villainy and treason, and who kill men or violent and fearless of death: Fung, such criminals are greatly to be abhorred, and how much more detestable are the unfilial and unbrotherly! -- as the son who does not reverently discharge his duty to his father, but greatly wounds his father's heart; and the father who can no longer love his son, but hates him; and the younger brother who does not think of the manifest will of Heaven, and refuses to respect his elder brother, so that the elder brother does not think of the toil of their parents in bringing them up, and is very unbrotherly to his junior. If we who are charged with government do not treat parties who proceed to such wickedness as offenders, the laws of our nature given by Heaven to our people will be thrown into great disorder or destroyed. You must deal speedily with such parties according to the penal laws of king Wan, punishing them severely and not pardoning."⁵⁷ Such injunction indeed finds its parallel in the Hebrew Bible (i.e., Deuteronomy 21:18-21) where we are told that an unfilial son is to be punished by death in public. Confucius often praised Shun, the legendary sage emperor, for his many virtues, and once he remarked, "How greatly filial was Shun! His virtues was that of a sage; his dignity was the throne; his riches were all within the four seas... Therefore having such great virtue, it could not but

be that he should obtain the throne, that he should obtain those riches, that he should obtain his fame, that he should attain to his long life."⁵⁸ This immediately reminds us of the Biblical injunction "Honor your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land which the Lord your God gives you!" (Exo. 20:12; Cf. Deut. 5:16). It is significant to observe that in both Hebrew and Confucian ethical systems the reward of filial piety is said to be a long life. On this a noted Chinese scholar has made an interesting statement. "The commandment, 'Honor thy father and thy mother,' as found in the Bible, carries with it a promise of reward, 'that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.' (Ex. 20:12). It is interesting to note that the people who have paid the greatest attention to the observance of this commandment also happen to be the nation with the longest history. Shall we say that we see in this significant historical fact an example of the mysterious way God sometimes fulfils his purpose or carries out his promise?"⁵⁹

In the Book of Ecclesiasticus, of which spirit and tone are practically identical with those of the Book of Proverbs, we find an injunction for a proper regard and respect for the aged: "Dishonor not a man in his old age: for even some of us wax old.. Miss not the discourse of the elders: for they also learned of their fathers, and of them thou shalt learn understanding, and to

give answer as need requireth."⁶⁰ Similar injunction is found in the Classics, so we read in the Shoo Ching, "To set up love, it is for you to love your elders."⁶¹ "Let him not slight the aged and experienced, for it may be said of them that they have studied the virtuous conduct of our ancient worthies, and still more, that they have matured their plans in the light of Heaven."⁶² In the Li Chi, we find some rigid rules, which one should observe with regard to the elders, and in these we shall see how much emphasis Confucian ethical system puts on the respect for elders: "A son should serve one twice as old as himself as he serves his father, one ten years older than himself as an elder brother; with one five years older he should walk shoulder to shoulder, but a little behind him. When five are sitting together, the eldest must have a different mat by himself."⁶³ "When (a lad) is following his teacher, he should not quit the road to speak with another person. When he meets his teacher on the road, he should hasten forward to him, and stand with his hands joined across his breast. If the teacher speaks to him, he will answer; if he does not, he will retire with hasty steps."⁶⁴ "If a youth is in attendance of, and drinking with, an elder, when the cup of spirits is brought to him, he rises, bows, and goes to receive it at the place where the spirit-vase is kept... The elder lifts his cup; but until he has emptied it, the other does not presume to drink his."⁶⁵

The commonplace but essential virtue of industry is greatly stressed both in the Proverbs and Shoo Ching: "A slack hand causes poverty, but the hand of the diligent makes rich."⁶⁶ "The hand of the diligent will rule, while the slothfull will be put to forced labor."⁶⁷ "A slothfull man will not catch his prey, but the diligent man will get precious wealth."⁶⁸ "The soul of the sluggard craves, and gets nothing, while the soul of the diligent is richly supplied."⁶⁹ In the Shoo Ching, we read: "I caution you, my high nobles, exalted merit depends on the high aim, and a patrimony is enlarged only by diligence."⁷⁰ "Perfect government is like piercing fragrance, and influences the spiritual Intelligences. It is not the millet which has the piercing fragrance; it is bright virtue. Do you make this lesson of the duke of Chow your motto, being diligent from day to day, and not presuming to indulge in luxurious ease."⁷¹ "The king said, 'Oh! lay it to heart. My senior uncles, and all ye my brethren and cousins, my sons and my grandsons, listen all of you to my words, in which, it may be, you will receive a most important charge. You will tread the path of satisfaction only being daily diligent; --do not have occasion to beware of the want of diligence."⁷²

In the midst of one's own prosperity, thought should be taken for the unfortunate. Charity and generosity toward the needy are given much emphasis: "He who gives to the poor will not want, but he who hides his eyes will get

many a curse."⁷³ "He who closes his ear to the cry of the poor will himself cry out and not be heard."⁷⁴ "He who is kind to the poor lends to the Lord, and he will repay him for his deed."⁷⁵ Charity and generosity are greatly stressed in the Confucian Classics, and in the Li Chi they occupy an important place in the body of social principles. Provision for the needy and the unfortunate was encouraged by recalling that in the glorious days of the past "men did not love their parents only, nor treat as children only their own sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and ample sustenance of the young. They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained."⁷⁶ And in another place Li Chi says, "One who, while quite young, lost his father was called an orphan; an old man who had lost his sons was called a solitary. An old man who had lost his wife was called a pitiable (widower); an old woman who had lost her husband was called a poor (widow). These four classes were the most forlorn of Heaven's people, and had none to whom to tell their wants; they all received regular allowances."⁷⁷ T'ang the Successful is praised in the Shoo Ching, because he "was kind to the distressed and suffering, as if they were his own children."⁷⁸

The prophets' emphasis upon the supreme importance of

justice and righteousness is echoed in the Book of Proverbs: "To do righteousness and justice is more acceptable to Yahweh than sacrifice."⁷⁹ "Do not plan evil against your neighbor who dwells trustingly beside you. Do not contend with a man for no reason, when he has done you no harm."⁸⁰ "It is an abomination to kings to do evil, for the throne is established by righteousness. Righteous lips are the delight of a king, and he loves him who speaks what is right."⁸¹ "It is not good to be partial to a wicked man, or to deprive a righteous man of justice."⁸² "Partiality in judging is not good, he who says to the wicked, "You are innocent," will be cursed by people, abhorred by nations; but those who rebuke the wicked will have delight, and a good blessing will be upon them."⁸³ "A righteous man knows the rights of the poor; a wicked man does not understand such knowledge."⁸⁴ "If a king judges the poor with equity, his throne will be established forever."⁸⁵ "Open your mouth, judge righteously, maintain the rights of the poor and needy."⁸⁶ Emphasis on the practice of righteousness and justice and on righteous judgement is equally laid in the Classics. When Confucius said, "With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and my bended arm for a pillow;—I have still joy in the midst of these things. Riches and honors acquired by unrighteousness are to me a floating cloud,"⁸⁷ he was expressing exactly the same idea in Proverbs where it says, "Better is a little with righteousness than

great revenues with injustice."⁸⁸ Some one asked Confucius, "What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?"⁸⁹ The Master said, "With what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice and recompense kindness with kindness."⁹⁰ Here Confucius was stressing the principles of justice and equity. In the Shoo Ching we read: "Ah! you who superintend the government and preside over criminal cases throughout the empire, are you not constituted the shepherds of Heaven? Whom ought you now to survey as your model? Is it not Pih-e, spreading among the people his lessons to avert punishments? And from whom ought you now to take warning? Is it not from the people of Meao, who would not examine into the circumstances of criminal cases, and did not make choice of good officers who should see to the right apportioning of the five punishments, but chose the violent and bribe-snatchers, who determined and administered them so as to oppress the innocent, until God could not hold them guiltless, and sent down calamity on Meao, when the people had no plea to urge in mitigation of punishment, and their name was cut off from the world?"⁹¹ In the Shoo Ching, King K'ang praises King Wan and Woo for their love of justice: "The former sovereigns, Wan and Woo, were greatly just, and enriched the people. They did not occupy themselves with people's crimes. Pushing to the utmost and

maintaining an entire impartiality and sincerity, they became gloriously illustrious throughout the empire."⁹² Inasmuch as a decision in a criminal case can easily impose any one of the five dreadful punishments (branding, cutting of nose, cutting of feet, castration, and death), judges were required to exercise an extremely cautious deliberation before deciding on a law suit. "In examining the evidence in criminal cases," says Shoo Ching, "reflect upon it for five or six days, yea for ten days, or three months... In setting forth the business of the laws the punishments will be determined by the regular laws of Yin. But you must see that those punishments, as well as the penalty of death, be righteous!"⁹³ Furthermore, an extreme care is demanded in the use of punishments. "Oh! Fung, deal reverently and understandingly in your infliction of punishments. When men commit small crimes, which are not mischances, but purposed, themselves doing what is contrary to the laws, intentionally, though their crimes be but small, you may not but put them to death. But in the case of great crimes, which are not purposed, but from mischance and misfortune, accidental, if the offenders confess unreservedly their guilt, you may not put them to death."⁹⁴ "Heaven, in its wish to regulate the people, allows us for a day to make use of punishments. Whether crimes have been premeditated, or are ~~un~~premeditated, depends on

the parties concerned; --do you deal with them so as reverently to accord with the mind of Heaven... Reverently apportion the five punishments, so as to complete the three virtues... When both parties are present, with their documents and witnesses all complete, let all the judges listen to the five-fold statements which may be made. When they have examined and fully made up their minds on those, let them adjust the case to one of the five punishments. If the five punishments do not meet it,⁹⁵ let them adjust it to one of the five redemption-fines; and if these again are not sufficient for it,⁹⁶ let them reckon it among the five cases of error. In settling the five cases of error there are evils to be avoided against; --being warped by the influence of power or by private grudge, or by female solicitation, or by bribes, or by applications. Where such things are, the offence becomes equal to the crime before the judges."⁹⁷ Judges are required to be men of good characters: "They are not persons of artful tongue who should determine criminal cases, but really good persons, whose awards will hit the right mean. Examine carefully where there are any discrepancies in the statements; the view which you were determined not to follow you may see occasion to follow; with compassion and reverence settle the cases; examine clearly the penal code and deliberate with all your accessors, that your decisions may be all likely to hit the proper mean and be correct: --whether

it be the infliction of a punishment or a fine, examining carefully, and mastering every difficulty."⁹⁸ Those who are in charge of law-suits must be impartial in their actions: "Be intelligent and pure in hearing one side of case. The right ordering of the people depends on the impartial hearing of the pleas on both sides; --do not seek for private advantage to yourselves by means of those pleas. Gain got by the decision of cases is no precious acquisition; it is an accumulation of guilt, and will be recompensed with many evils: --you should ever stand in awe of the punishment of Heaven. It is not Heaven that does not deal impartially with men, but men ruin themselves."⁹⁹ Finally, punishment should not be used carelessly, for the end of it is to promote virtue and not to destroy. Therefore, "The King said, 'Oh! let there be a feeling of reverence. Ye judges and chiefs, I think with reverence of the subject of punishment, for the end of it is to promote virtue.'"¹⁰⁰

Learning and instruction are greatly emphasized: "Give instruction to a wise man, and he will be still wiser; teach a righteous man and he will increase in learning."¹⁰¹ "Take my instruction instead of silver, and knowledge rather than choice gold; for wisdom is better than jewels, and all that you may desire cannot compare with her."¹⁰² "Keep hold of instruction, do not let go; guard her, for she is your life."¹⁰³

"Listen to advice and accept instruction, that you may gain wisdom for the future."¹⁰⁴ "Apply your mind to instruction and your ear to words of knowledge."¹⁰⁵ In the Classics, learning receives a very high place: Confucius said, "Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application?"¹⁰⁶ He said, "To be fond of learning is to be near to wisdom."¹⁰⁷ He said, "He who aims to be a man of complete virtue in his food does not seek to gratify his appetite, nor in his dwelling-place does he seek the appliances of ease; he is earnest in what he is doing, and careful in his speech; he frequents the company of men of principle that he may be rectified: --such a person may be said indeed to love to learn."¹⁰⁸ Confucius said, "There is the love of being benevolent without the love of learning; beclouding here leads to an injurious disregard of consequences. There is the love of straight forwardness without the love of learning; the beclouding here leads to rudeness. There is the love of baldness without love of learning; the beclouding here leads to insubordination. There is the love of firmness without the love of learning; the beclouding here leads to extravagant conduct."¹⁰⁹ Confucius said, "Learn as if you could reach your object, and were always fearing also lest you should lose it."¹¹⁰ Tsze-hsia said, "There are learning extensively, and having a firm and sincere aim; inquiring with earnestness, and reflecting with self-application:

virtue is in such a course."¹¹¹ Once Tsze-Kung asked Confucius why Kung Wan was given the epithet of Cultured. Confucius replied and said, "He was diligent and fond of learning, and he did not blush to learn from his inferiors. That is why he was called Cultured."¹¹² Compare this with "Do not withhold discipline from a child,"¹¹³ in the Book of Proverbs. Li Chi explains why one should learn: "The jade uncut will not form a vessel for use; and if men do not learn, they do not know the way (in which they should go). On this account the ancient kings, when establishing states and governing the people, made instruction and schools primary object;--as it is said in the Charge to Yueh,, 'The thoughts from first to last should be fixed on learning. However fine the viands be, if one do not eat, he does not know their taste; however perfect the course may be, if one do not learn it, he does not know its goodness.'"¹¹⁴ Confucius put much stress on knowledge: "Those who are born with the knowledge are the highest class of men. Those who learn, and so, readily, get possession of knowledge, are the next. Those who are dull and stupid, and yet compass the learning, are another class next to these. As to those who are dull and stupid and yet do not learn;--they are the lowest of the people."¹¹⁵ Therefore, Confucius said, "In teaching there should be no distinction of classes."¹¹⁶

Moderation is recommended. So the sage in Proverbs

desires for himself a moderate and well-balanced life that avoids extremes, either of poverty or riches: "Two things I ask of thee; deny them not to me before I die: remove far from me falsehood and lying; give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with the food that is needful for me, lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, 'Who is the Lord?' or lest I be poor, and steal, and profane the name of my God."¹¹⁷ Again, "It, is not good to eat much honey, so be sparing of complimentary words."¹¹⁸ In Shoo Ching, Duke of Chow praises King Wan for his life of moderation: "King Wan dressed meanly. King Wan did not dare to go to any excess in his excursions or his hunting, and from the various states he received only the correct amount of contribution."¹¹⁹ "Oh! from this time forward," continues the Duke, "do you who have succeeded to the throne imitate his avoiding of excess in his rights, his ease, his excursions, his hunting; from the myriads of the people receive only the correct amount of contribution. Do not allow yourself the leisure to say, 'Today I will indulge in pleasure.' This is not holding out a lesson to the people, nor the way to secure the favor of Heaven."¹²⁰ Yu, the founder of Hsia Dynasty counsels: "Do not find your enjoyment in indulgent case. Do not go to excess in pleasure."¹²¹

Finally, the good life is a life that is lived in fear and reverence of God. Of all the ideas expressed in the Hebrew Bible the conception of God is the most important.

Actually it is the idea of God's relationship to man as a part of the world process which provides the unifying theme of the entire book. Whether God is referred to as Yahweh, Elohim, El Shaddai, Adonai or some other name, he is the one who more than any other factor determines the course of events, and it is his nature whom the various authors attempt to reveal. Of course, it is true that each book deals with a different subject and that the idea of God is not uniformly expressed throughout the Hebrew Bible. But taken as a whole, the conception of God is the central theme in it and it plays a most important role. The prophets, for example, were known by their contemporaries as spokesmen for Yahweh. It was their chief function to proclaim the message which he alone had given to them. The lawgivers who formulated the particular codes of law by which the people were to be governed were conscious of duty, for it was God's requirements which they tried to embody in the specific rules and regulations that they gave to their people. Historians saw in the march of events a fulfilment of this divine purpose and they believed it was the attitude of people toward the laws and ordinances of God that would finally determine their destiny. The priests were a group who ministered before God on behalf of their people. They emphasized both moral and ritualistic

requirements, for as they saw it, obedience to Yahweh's commands should take precedence over everything else. The psalmists wrote hymns of praise to God in recognition of all the miraculous things ~~she~~ ~~he~~ ~~had~~ ~~done~~. The Apocalyptists were aware of an intense struggle between the forces of good and evil, but even in the darkest hours of their nation's history they were confident that God's purpose would never be overthrown. Because of their faith in God they could proclaim their belief in the ultimate triumph of his cause and the establishment of righteousness on earth.

In the Book of Proverbs, God is described as a pure ethical ruler: the hater of wickedness and lover of righteousness. Wickedness is an abomination to him: "The way of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord, but he loves him who pursues righteousness."¹²² "The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord, but the prayer of the upright is his delight."¹²³ "The thoughts of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord, the words of the pure are pleasing to him."¹²⁴ "The Lord is far from the wicked, but he hears the prayer of the righteous."¹²⁵ "The Lord's curse is on the house of the wicked, but he blesses the abode of the righteous."¹²⁶ "The Lord does not let the righteous go hungry, but he thwarts the craving of the wicked."¹²⁷ "Men of perverse mind are an abomination to the Lord, but those of blameless ways are his delight."¹²⁸ God is the champion of justice and righteousness: "He who

who justifies the wicked and he who condemns the righteous are both alike an abomination to the Lord, and false scales are not good."¹³⁰ "Lying lips are an abomination to the Lord, but those who act faithfully are his delight."¹³¹ "Everyone who is arrogant is an abomination to the Lord; be assured, he will not go unpunished."¹³² God is also described as one who watches and examines the affairs of man: "The eyes of the Lord are in every place, keeping watch on the evil and the good."¹³³ "If you say, 'Behold, we did not know this,' does not he who weighs the heart perceive it? Does not he who keeps watch over your soul know it, and will he not requite man according to his work?"¹³⁴ "A man's ways are before the eyes of the Lord, and he watches all his paths."¹³⁵

Therefore a good life is lived in the fear of the Lord: "Be not wise in your own eyes; fear the Lord, and turn away from evil."¹³⁶ Fear of the Lord is strongly demanded because it is "the beginning of knowledge."¹³⁷ Also, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the Holy One is insight."¹³⁸ "The fear of the Lord is instruction in wisdom, and humility goes before honor."¹³⁹ Fear of the Lord is inculcated, because it prolongs life: "The fear of the Lord prolongs life, but the years of the wicked will be short."¹⁴⁰ "The fear of the Lord is a fountain of life, that one may avoid the snares of death."¹⁴¹ "The fear of the Lord leads to life; and

he who has it rests satisfied; he will not be visited by harm."¹⁴² So the Sage warns: "Let not your heart envy sinners, but continue in the fear of the Lord all the day."¹⁴³ And again: "Honor the Lord with your substance and with the fruit of all your produce."¹⁴⁴

In ancient Chinese life the conception of God played a very important part. That the Chinese had in their minds a being, or power, or even a person that governed mortals below is attested and gathered from the terms, ti (Lord, 帝) Shang ti (Lord on High, 上帝) and T'ien (Heaven, 天) so liberally and religiously used in the "Shoo Ching", "Shih Ching", "Yin Ching", and "Li Chi". Shang ti and t'ien are frequently used interchangeably in the ancient Classics. For in many paragraphs in the Shoo Ching and Shih Ching both terms are used side by side. So we read in the announcement of King K'ang where King K'ang, after praising Wan and Woo for their justice and benevalence, says, "So they received the true favoring decree from Shang Ti; and so did great T'ien approve of their ways, and give them the four quarters of the empire."¹⁴⁵ In another place Duke of Chow, in his advice to young Prince Shih, says, "Prince Shih, t'ien gives long life to the just and the intelligent; it was thus that those early ministers maintained and regulated the dynasty of Yin. He who at last came to the throne was extinguished by the majesty of t'ien... Prince Shih, aforetime when Shang ti was afflicting Yin, he encouraged

anew the virtue of the Tranquilizing King, till at last the great favoring decree was concentrated in his person

(大命于厥躬) ."¹⁴⁶

That the Chinese regarded Shang ti as a personal being is made clear as we read the narratives in the Shoo Ching and many poems in the Shih Ching by which the ancient Chinese expressed their personal feelings and views. Shang ti, in the mind of the Chinese, was high and great. It was by his favor that sovereigns ruled and nations prospered, and it was at his decree (the mandate of Heaven) that thrones were upset and kingdoms were brought to nought. So we read in the Shoo Ching: "His (last King of Shang Dynasty) crimes accumulated in the city of Shang, and though the extinction of the dynasty of Yin was imminent, this gave him no concern, and he wrought not that any sacrifices of fragrant virtue might ascend to Heaven. The rank odour of the people's resentments, and the drunkenness of his herds of creatures, went loudly up on high, so that Heaven sent down ruin on Yin and showed no love for Yin, --because of such excesses. There is not any cruel oppression of Heaven; people themselves accelerate their guilt, (and its punishment."¹⁴⁷ In another place: "Examining the men of antiquity, there was the founder of Hsia dynasty. Heaven guided his mind, allowed his descendants to succeed him, and protected them. He acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient. But in process of time the decree in

announced the correcting work of God. In our affairs we have followed no double aims. May I not say that you were very lawless? I did not want to remove you. The thing came from your own city. When I consider also how Heaven has drawn near to Yin with so great tribulations, it must be that what was there was not right."¹⁵⁰ In his advice to Prince Shih, Duke of Chow said: "Prince Shih, Heaven, unpitying, sent down ruin on Yin; Yin has lost its appointment, and the princes of our Chow have received it. I do not dare, however, to say, as if I knew it, 'The foundation will ever truly abide in prosperity.' Nor do I dare to say, as if I knew it, 'The final end will issue in our misfortunes.' Oh! Prince, you have said, 'It depends on ourselves.' I also do not dare to rest in the favor of God, never forecasting at a distance the terrors of Heaven in the present time when there is no murmuring or disobedience among the people; --the issue is with men. Should our present successor to his father prove greatly unable to reverence Heaven and the people, and so bring to an end their glory, could we in our families be ignorant of it? The favor of Heaven is not easily preserved. Men lose its favoring appointment because they cannot pursue and carry out the reverence and brilliant virtue of their forefathers."¹⁵¹ In another place a king of Chow addresses himself to the people of Yin: "I announce and declare to you of the many regions, abandoned himself to great excess, and reckoned on the favoring decree

announced the correcting work of God. In our affairs we have followed no double aims. May I not say that you were very lawless? I did not want to remove you. The thing came from your own city. When I consider also how Heaven has drawn near to Yin with so great tribulations, it must be that what was there was not right."¹⁵⁰ In his advice to Prince Shih, Duke of Chow said: "Prince Shih, Heaven, unpitying, sent down ruin on Yin; Yin has lost its appointment, and the princes of our Chow have received it. I do not dare, however, to say, as if I knew it, 'The foundation will ever truly abide in prosperity.' Nor do I dare to say, as if I knew it, 'The final end will issue in our misfortunes.' Oh! Prince, you have said, 'It depends on ourselves.' I also do not dare to rest in the favor of God, never forecasting at a distance the terrors of Heaven in the present time when there is no murmuring or disobedience among the people; --the issue is with men. Should our present successor to his father prove greatly unable to reverence Heaven and the people, and so bring to an end their glory, could we in our families be ignorant of it? The favor of Heaven is not easily preserved. Men lose its favoring appointment because they cannot pursue and carry out the reverence and brilliant virtue of their forefathers."¹⁵¹ In another place a king of Chow addresses himself to the people of Yin: "I announce and declare to you of the many regions, abandoned himself to great excess, and reckoned on the favoring decree

of Heaven, making trifling excuses for his conduct. And so in the case of the sovereign of Hsia; --his schemes of government were not of a tendency to secure his enjoyment of the empire, so that Heaven sent down ruin on him, and the chief of your State entered into the line of his succession. Indeed, it was the case that the last sovereign of your Shang was luxurious to the extreme of luxury, while his schemes of government showed neither purity nor progress, so that Heaven sent down such ruin on him. The wise, not thinking, become foolish, and the foolish, by thinking, become wise. Heaven for five years waited kindly, and forebore with the descendant of T'ang, to see if he would indeed prove himself the true ruler of the people, but there was nothing in him deserving to be regarded. Heaven then sought among your many regions, making a great impression by its terrors to stir up one who might look reverently to it; but in all your regions, there was not one deserving of its regard. There were, however, our kings of Chow, who treated well the multitudes of the people, and were able to sustain the burden of virtuous government. Heaven thereupon instructed them and increased their excellence, made choice of them, and gave them the decree of Yin, to rule over your many regions."¹⁵² Passages after passages may be multiplied, but these are sufficient in serving our purpose to show that in the minds of the Chinese it was by the favor of Shang ti or t'ien that sovereigns ruled and

nations prospered, and it was at his decree that thrones were upset and kingdoms were brought to nought.

From the passages quoted above we also learn that the conception of God, in ancient China, was purely ethical. He knew none whatsoever of the cultic immoralities which were associated with some of the fertility gods of the Near East. Shang ti or Heaven was thoroughly ethical, and in this point he was nearer to the God of the Book of Proverbs than to any deity of known religion. Like Yahweh, in the Proverbs, Shang ti was a hater of wickedness and lover of righteousness and virtue. Luxury, arrogance, pride, injustice, oppression -- all these were abominations to Shang ti. He favored the virtuous and punished the wicked. This idea comes from the belief that Heaven or Shang ti was the author of moral laws. Heaven is the source of moral authority. Those who are immoral commit sin against Heaven and cannot escape its retribution. It is always impartial and shows no favor in administering justice. So declares a poet in the Shih Ching, "Heaven gave birth to the multitudes of the people; and wherever there are things they are governed by fixed laws."¹⁵³ This notion of the heavenly origin of the moral laws is much more clearly and definitely stated in the Shoo Ching: "It is by the arrangement of Heaven that we have a universal order here. It is the ordinance of Heaven that we have a regular proceeding here. Through universal respect and united reverence, let there be a

harmonious regulation. Heaven favors the virtuous... Heaven punishes the guilty."¹⁵⁴ Again: "On the good-doer He sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer He sends down all miseries. Do you but be virtuous, be it in small things (or large), and the myriad regions will have cause for rejoicing."¹⁵⁵ Compare this with passages in Proverbs: "A good man obtains favor from the Lord, but a man of evil devices he condemns," (12:2). "The curse of the Lord is on the house of the wicked but he blesses the abode of the righteous."¹⁵⁶ Yi Yin, the sage-minister, again expresses the identical idea in his discourse on "Absolute Virtue". "It was not that Heaven felt any partiality for the Lord of Shang; but Heaven comes to (him who practices) absolute virtue. It was not that Shang courted the favor of the lower people, but the people turned towards (him who practiced) absolute virtue. Where there is absolute virtue, there is no undertaking that is not favorable. Where virtue contradicts itself, there is no undertaking that is unfavorable. Favor or disfavor does not wrongfully fall upon men: for Heaven sends down misfortune or prosperity according to their virtue."¹⁵⁷ Again, "Oh! Heaven knows no favoritism. Only those who are reverent are favored by it."¹⁵⁸ Such conception of Heaven or Shang ti certainly corresponds to the idea that wickedness is an abomination to Yahweh in the Proverbs.

The conception of Shang ti or T'ien again corresponds

to that of Yahweh in Proverbs in that Shang-ti is bright and illuminating: "Great Heaven, so bright, the earth below lies in thy illuminating survey."¹⁵⁹ "Great Heaven is exceedingly bright."¹⁶⁰ "Great Heaven is bright and is with you in all your journeys. Great Heaven is clear-sighted and is with you in all your wanderings."¹⁶¹ Compare this with "The eyes of the Lord are everywhere, keeping watch upon the evil and the good."¹⁶²

Therefore, like in Proverbs, Shang-ti, the Supreme ruler of the universe, is to be feared and revered. The poet Fang Peh, of the Chow dynasty, who mourns the prevailing misery of the people suffering from the reckless policy of King Yu, strongly urges the King and his counsellors to revere and fear the wrath exhibited by Heaven. "Revere the wrath of Heaven, and dare not to make sport or be lax. Revere the ways of Heaven, and dare not to be wild and unruly. Great Heaven is bright and is with you wherever you wander."¹⁶³ It was precisely due to this reason that Confucius said: "He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray."¹⁶⁴ Reverence to Heaven is expressed by another poet in Shih Ching: "Let us be reverent, let us be reverent. The way of Heaven is evident, and its decree is not easy to follow. Say not that it is high, high above us. It ascends and descends around these people; daily overseeing us, it is wherever we are."¹⁶⁵ In the same spirit, King Wu addresses K'ang Shu who was about to be appointed Marquis of Wei, a

former stronghold of the Shang Dynasty: "Oh! Fang, my little child, be reverent as if thy person were suffering from a disease; awesome though Heaven be, it yet helps the sincere."¹⁶⁶ It is also interesting to observe that in the Shoo Ching it is taught that "Heaven gives long life to the just."¹⁶⁷ Compare this with Prov. 10:27: "The fear of the Lord prolongs life, but the years of the wicked will be short."

III. An Aspect of Ethics in the Book of Job and Confucian Classics: "Perfect and Upright Man"

The Book of Job opens with these words: "There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job; and that man was perfect and upright (7ψ?! 07), one who feared God, and turned away from evil."¹ Then in Job's apologia pro vita sua (chapters 29-31) we find a description of that "perfect and upright man". Job declares himself to have been a ready helper of the poor and weak. Orphans and widows were found in him succor and strong defense against the oppressor. "I delivered the poor who cried, and the fatherless who had none to help him. The blessing of him who was about to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my justice was like a robe and a turban. I was eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame. I was a father to the poor, and I searched out the cause of him whom I did not know. I broke the fangs of the unrighteous, and made him drop his prey from his teeth."² He even felt himself to be brother to his slaves. "If I have rejected the cause of my manservant or my maidservant, when they brought a complaint against me... Did he not who made me in the womb make him? And not one fashion us in the womb?"³ He was always to be found on the side of justice and righteousness⁴ and was of impeccable honesty. "If my step has turned aside from the way, and my heart has

gone after my eyes, and if any spot has cleaved to my hands; then let me sow, and another eat; and let what grows for me be rooted out."⁵ He was possessed of a cheerful, buoyant disposition which made him an encouragement and joy to his fellows. "Men listened to me, and waited, and kept silence for my counsel. After I spoke they did not speak again, and my word dropped upon them. They waited for me as for the rain; and they opened their mouths as for the spring rain. I smiled on them when they had no confidence; and the light of my countenance they did not cast down. I chose their way, and sat as chief, and I dwelt like a king among his troops, like one who comforts mourners."⁶ He was truthful and sincere and had no consciousness of any secret sins. "If I have concealed my transgressions from men, by hiding my iniquity in my bosom, because I stood in great fear of the multitude, and the contempt of families terrified me, so that I kept silence, and did not go out of doors--Oh! that I had one to hear me!"⁷ He was wholly free from sexual taint, avoiding even impure thoughts, much more acts of shame. "I have made a covenant with my eyes; how then could I look upon a virgin?"⁸ "If my heart has been enticed to a woman, and I have lain in wait at my neighbor's door; then let my wife grind for another, and let others bow down upon her. For that would be a heinous crime; that would be an iniquity to be punished by the judges; for that would be a fire which consumes unto Abaddon, and it would burn

to the root all my incense."⁹ He disclaimed all undue esteem for wealth and declared that he never put his hope and confidence in his riches. "If I have made gold my trust, or called fine gold my confidence; if I have rejoiced because my wealth was great, or because my hand had gotten much...this also would be an iniquity to be punished by the judges, for I should have been false to God above."¹⁰ He shared his abundance with the less fortunate and practiced a liberal hospitality both toward his neighbors and toward travelers. "If the men of my tent have not said, 'Who is there that has not been filled with his meat?' (the sojourner has not lodged in the street; I have opened my doors to the wayfarer)."¹¹ He had been faithful to all obligations arising out of his position as a holder and tiller of the soil. "If my land has cried out against me, and its farrowes have wept together; if I have eaten its yield without payment, and caused the death of its owners; let thorns grow instead of wheat and foul weeds instead of barley."¹² Best of all, he did not find any satisfaction in the misfortunes of his personal enemies, nor had he ever called down curses upon them. "If I have rejoiced at the ruin of him that hated me, or exulted when evil overtook him (I have not let my mouth sin by asking for his life with a curse)... Oh, that I had one to hear me!"¹³

The "perfect and blameless man" is thus pictured as a man of justice, righteousness and kind spirit. Job,

according to the Biblical narrative, offered many generous and humanitarian services to the needy, poor, and the orphan and the widows and thus he was a good man in the eyes of the public. But what made Job a "perfect and upright" man was the noble nature of his inner character. All of his good acts were results of his pure heart. He was pure and upright within, and so he was pure and upright without. His heart was never enticed to a woman, therefore he would not lie in wait at his neighbor's door (31:9); he was compassionate in his heart, therefore he would not rejoice at the ruin of him that hated him, and he would not let his mouth sin by asking for his life with a curse (31:29, 30); he was loving in his heart, therefore he would deliver the poor who cried, and the fatherless who had none to help him; and he would furthermore go out to search out the cause of him whom he did not know (29:12,16). Thus Job followed his inner self which was essentially just, and righteous, and his outward conduct was naturally just and righteous. So the quality of a perfect and upright man is not merely *in* performing numerous acts of merit outwardly--but his inner motive and inner character must be pure, just, and righteous. And at the same time, the quality of a perfect and upright man is not merely being pure, just, and righteous within--but his inner character must be manifested by outward conduct. Confucian Classics frequently speak of a perfect, blameless, and complete man. It was Confucius' favorite

subject to discuss on the virtues of a perfect and upright man. And it is the aim of present chapter to show that the Confucian concept of a perfect and upright man is essentially identical with that in Job.

In the Confucian ethical system, the idea of jen(love, benevolence) and li(propriety) occupy the most important places, and the perfect and upright man is one who lives in accordance with those two principles.

The word li is a very comprehensive term and does not find an English equivalent with corresponding meaning. Lin Yutang has made the following comment on li: "Li, which is again and again said in these discourses(i.e., in Li Chi) to be the essence, the sine qua non, the foundation, or the indispensable principle, of government, cannot merely mean the observance of ritual, but represents a philosophy of social order and social control.... It means a system of well-defined social relationships with definite attitudes towards one another, love in the parents, filial piety in the children, respect in the younger brothers, friendliness in the elder brothers, loyalty among friends, respect for authority among subjects and benevolence in the rulers. It means the mental state of piety. It means moral discipline in man's personal conduct. As a broad principle of personal conduct, it means

propriety in everything, or doing the proper thing. As a broad social principle, it means 'the order of things,' or 'everything in its right place.' It means ritualism and the observance of forms. It means continuity with the past. Finally, it means courtesy and good manners."¹⁴ In the Li Chi, it is said: "Li is to a country what scales are to weight and what the carpenter's guide-line is to straightness, and what the square and the compasses are to square and circles. Therefore, when the scales are exact, one cannot be deceived in respect to weight; when the guide-line is properly laid, one cannot be deceived in respect to the right angle and the circular line; and when the sovereign is familiar with li, he cannot be deceived by cunning and crooked manipulations. Therefore, a people who respect and follow li are called 'a people with a definite principle', and a people who do not respect and follow li are called 'a people without a definite principle'. Li is the principle of mutual respect and courtesy. Therefore when it is applied to worship at the temples, we have piety; when it is applied to the court, we have order in the official ranks; when applied to the home, we have affection between parents and children and harmony between brothers; when applied to the village, we have respect for order between the elders and the juniors."¹⁵ In another place, Li Chi states that li is indispensable in cultivating human nature and human duties. It says:

"What is human nature? It consists of the seven things, joy, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hatred and desire, all of which do not have to be learned (i.e., they are natural instincts). What are the human duties? Kindness in the father, filial piety in the son, gentility in the elder brother, humility and respect in the younger brother, good behavior in the husband, obedience in the wife, benevolence in the ruler and loyalty in the ministers--these ten are the human duties. What is good for mankind means general confidence and peace, and what is bad for mankind means struggle for profit, robbery and murder. Therefore how can a sage dispense with li in his efforts to cultivate the seven emotions and the ten duties, and to promote mutual confidence and peace and courtesy and discourage the struggle for profit and robbery? Food and drink and sex are the great desires of mankind, and death and poverty and suffering are the great fears or aversions of mankind. Therefore desires and fear (or greed and hatred) are the great motive forces of the human heart. These, however, are concealed in the heart and are not usually shown, and the human heart is unfathomable. What other principle is there besides li which can serve as the one all-sufficient principle to explore the human heart?"¹⁶ "Therefore," says Li Chi, "the duties of li are the main principles of human life, serving the purpose of promoting mutual confidence and social harmony and strengthening the social ties and bonds of friendship....

Li is a great channel through which we follow the laws of Heaven and direct the proper courses the expressions of the human heart. Therefore, only the perfect man knows that li is indispensable. Therefore, to destroy a kingdom, to upset a family or to ruin a man, you must first take away from him this sense of li.¹⁷

Li alone, however, cannot make a perfect and upright man, because it is only an external manifestation of what is right. Li must be accompanied by jen, the quality of sincere genuineness. No matter how correct and proper one's actions may be in outward appearance, if they lack sincere genuineness and motive they amount to nothing. This is why Confucius said: "When a man is not jen, of what account are his li?"¹⁸ If a man lacks inner virtue and genuineness of nature, though he practice the outer adornments of fine manners, they but add to his emptiness and artificiality. So Confucius again remarked: "The Superior man takes righteousness(Yi, 義) as his basic stuff(Chih, 質); practices it with the rules of proper conduct(li); brings it forth with modesty; and renders it complete with sincerity: such is the Superior Man."¹⁹ The idea here is that proper manners, or li, and the "basic stuff" which is a man's inner virtue must operate in mutual cooperation. In the Li Chi, it is said: "Jen is the foundation for proper conduct and the embodiment of conformity with the standard of right.... It follows, therefore, that to govern a country

without li is like tilling a field without a plough. To observe li without basing it on the standard of right is like tilling the field and forgetting to sow the seeds. To try to do right without cultivating knowledge is like sowing the seeds without weeding the field. To cultivate knowledge without bringing it back to the motive of jen, is like weeding the field without harvesting it."^{20a} Job is called "perfect and upright" because he is deemed upright not only in his outward conducts but also in his inner motive, and this idea exactly corresponds to the Confucian concept of a perfect or complete man. Outwardly, Job performed many righteous and humanitarian acts, and inwardly he was so virtuous and upright that he never rejoiced at the ruin of him that hated him or exulted when evil overtook him, and his heart was never enticed to a woman.

Jen is purely the inner quality of man that motivates him to do good. Therefore, a perfect and upright man is the man who not only performs all his acts in relation to another in the proper manner by means of li but also bases his actions on jen. Like li, jen is also a very comprehensive word and does not find its equivalent in any other language. The word jen (仁) is composed of the character meaning "man" (人), combined with the character for "two" (二). Thus it is a word embracing all those moral qualities which should govern one man in his relations with another. Due to the com-

prehensive nature of its meaning, the word jen has been translated, now by "love" (Lyall),^{20b} now by "sympathy, or loving kindness, or friendly feeling, or better, feeling of fellowship" (Suzuki),^{20c} now by "perfect virtue" and "benevolence" (Legge),^{20d} now by "manhood-at-its-best" (Ware),^{20e} and by "true manhood" (Lin Yutang).^{20f} Let us turn to Confucius himself and see what he meant by that term jen. The Lun Yu reports: "Once when Fah Ch'ih asked the meaning of jen, the Master replied: 'It is to love your fellow men.'^{20g} The Lun Yu says again: "When Chung Kung asked the meaning of jen, the Master said: 'When abroad, behave as if interviewing an honored guest; in directing the people, act as if officiating at a great sacrifice; do not do to others what you do not like yourself.'"^{20h} Confucius said again: "The man of jen is one who desiring to maintain himself sustains others, and desiring to develop himself develops others, To be able from one's own self to draw a parallel for the treatment of others: that may be called the way to practice jen."²⁰ⁱ The Lun Yu says again: "When Yen Yuan asked the meaning of jen, the Master replied: 'Jen is the denial of self and response to the right and proper (li)... If not right and proper (li), do not look; if not right and proper, do not listen; if not right and proper, do not speak; if not right and proper, do not move.'^{20j}

From the above definitions of jen by Confucius, we conclude that jen is the manifestation of the genuine nature, acting in accordance with propriety(li), and based upon love and sympathy for others. The perfect and upright man, in Confucian ethics, is therefore one who loves his fellowmen.²¹ He is the one who does not do to others what he does not like himself.²² He is the one who, "wishing to establish himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing himself to succeed, seeks also to succeed others."²³ The perfect and upright man is one who "is able from one's own self to draw a parallel for the treatment of others."²⁴ In other words, he puts himself into the position of others in all his dealings with them. So he does ^{not} rejoice at the ruin of him that hates him, or exults when evil overtakes him.

Like Job, a man of jen, or the perfect and upright man would deliver the poor and the fatherless. He would cause the widow's heart to sing for joy. He, like Job, would be eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame, and a father to the orphan. For he puts himself into the position

of others. He would not violate the rights of others, for he would not do to others what he does not like himself. Conscientiousness to others(Chung, 忠) and altruism(Shu, 恕) are said to have been the only doctrine of Confucius. The Lun Yu reports: "The Master said: 'Shen! My teaching contains one all pervading principle.' 'Yes,' replied Tseng Tzu. When the Master had left the room the disciples asked: 'What did he mean?' Tseng Tzu replied, 'Our Master's teaching is conscientiousness(Chung) and altruism(Shu), and nothing else.'" ²⁵ To say that all pervading principles of Confucius is Chung and Shu, is the same as saying that it is jen. For when Confucius said that the man of jen, while wishing to establish himself seeks to establish others and while wishing himself to succeed seeks also to succeed others, he meant the virtue of conscientiousness to others(Chung), and when he said that the man of jen does not do to others what he does not like himself, he meant the virtue of altruism(Shu). A perfect man is

jen does not do to others what he does not like himself; he meant the virtue of altruism (shu). A perfect man is also a man of filial piety. So Mencius says, "There has never been a man of jen who has neglected his parents."²⁶ A perfect man is also a man of respect, magnanimity, sincerity, earnestness and kindness. Lun Yu reports: "Tzu Chang asked Confucius the meaning of jen, whereupon Confucius replied: 'To be able wherever one goes to carry five things into practice constitutes jen.' On begging to know what they were, he was told: 'They are respect, magnanimity, sincerity, earnestness, and kindness. With respect you will avoid insult; with magnanimity you will win over everyone; with sincerity men will trust you; with earnestness you will have achievement; and with kindness you will be well fitted to command others.'²⁷ A perfect man does not practice wickedness. Confucius says, "If the will be set on jen, there will be no practices of wickedness."²⁸ Above all the perfect and blameless man is the Confucian Chun tsze (君子), for Chun tsze is a man of jen. Confucius said: "The Chun tsze does not, even for the space of a simple meal, act contrary to jen. In moments of haste, he cleaves to it. In seasons of danger, he cleaves to it."²⁹ Chun tsze is translated sometimes as superior man, sometimes gentleman, and sometimes a sage. He is an ideal man in Confucian ethical system, and he is essentially the Confucian perfect and

blameless man." Every Confucianist endeavors to become a Chun tsze; it is his aim and goal. Confucius said: "The Chun tsze in everything considers righteousness to be essential. (cf. Job: "I have put on righteousness, and it clothed me.) He performs it according to the rules of propriety. He brings it forth in humility. He completes it with sincerity. This is indeed a superior man."³⁰

The Master said: "The superior man is distressed by his want of ability. He is not distressed by men's not knowing him."³¹ The Master said: "The superior man is dignified, but does not wrangle. He is sociable, but not a partizan."³² The Master said: "The Superior man does not promote a man simply on account of his words, nor does he put aside good words because of the man."³³ A superior man does not conceal his errors: "The faults of the superior man are like the eclipses of the sun and moon. He has his faults, and all men see them; he changes again, and all men look up to him."³⁴ Compare this with Job: "If I have concealed any transgressions from men, by hiding my iniquity in my bosom, because I stood in great fear of the multitude..."³⁵ "The superior man is correctly firm, and not firm merely."³⁶ "The superior man thinks of virtue; the small man thinks of comfort. The superior man thinks of the sanctions of law; the small man thinks of favors which he may receive."³⁷ The Master said: "The mind of the superior man is conversant

with righteousness; the mind of the small man is conversant with gain."³⁸ The Master said: "The superior man is satisfied and composed; the mean man is always full of distress."³⁹ Confucius said: "There are three things of which the superior man stands in awe. He stands in awe of the ordinances of Heaven. (cf. "There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job; and that man was perfect and upright, one who feared God..." Job 1:1) He stands in awe of great men. He stands in awe of the words of sages."⁴⁰ "The superior man has a dignified ease without pride. The mean man has pride without a dignified ease."⁴¹ The Master said: "The superior man is easy to serve and difficult to please. If you try to please him in any way which is not accordant with right, he will not be pleased. But in his employment of men, he uses them according to their capacity. The mean man is difficult to serve and easy to please. If you try to please him, though it be in a way which is not accordant with right, he may be pleased. But in his employment of men, he wishes them to be equal to everything."⁴² "The superior man is affable, but not adulatory."⁴³ The Master said: "The superior man seeks to perfect the admirable qualities of man, and does not seek to perfect their bad qualities. The mean man does the opposite of this."⁴⁴ The Master said: "The superior man may indeed have to endure want, but the mean man, when he is in want, gives way to unbridled licence."⁴⁵ Tsze-hsia said: "The superior man

undergoes three changes. Looked at from a distance, he appears stern; when approached, he is mild; when he is heard to speak; his language is firm and decided."⁴⁶

The Master said of Tsze-ch'an that he had four of the characteristics of a superior man: "In his conduct of himself, he was humble; in serving his superiors, he was respectful; in nourishing the people, he was kind; in ordering the people, he was just."⁴⁷ (Cf. Job: "My justice was like a robe

and a turban. I was eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame. I was a father to the poor...")⁴⁸ The Master said: "The superior man is modest in his speech, but exceeds in his actions."⁴⁹

Confucius said: "The superior man has nine things which are subjects with him of thoughtful consideration. In regard to the use of his eyes, he is anxious to see clearly. In regard to the use of his ears, he is anxious to hear distinctly. In regard to his countenance, he is anxious that it should be benign. In regard to his demeanor, he is anxious that it should be respectful. In regard to his speech, he is anxious that it should be sincere. In regard to his doing of business, he is anxious that it should be reverently careful. In regard to what he doubts about, he is anxious to question others. When he is angry, he thinks of the difficulties (his anger may involve him in). When he sees gain to be got, he thinks of righteousness."⁵⁰ The Master said: "The superior man wishes

to be slow in his speech and earnest in his conduct."⁵¹ Tsze-lu asked what constituted the superior man. The Master said: "The cultivation of himself in reverential carefulness. "And is this all?" asked Tsze-lu. Confucius said, "He cultivates himself so as to give rest to others."⁵² The Master said: "The

object of the superior man is truth. Food is not his object. The superior man is anxious lest he should not get truth; he is not anxious lest poverty should come upon him."⁵³ In Chung Yung, it is said: "Tao (the Way) may not be left for an instant. If it could be left, it would not be the path. On this account, the superior man does not wait till he sees things, to be cautious, nor till he hears things to be apprehensive. There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself, when he is alone."⁵⁴ Confucius explains that Tao is none other than jen: "When one is conscientious to others (Chung) and practices the principle of reciprocity (*shu*), he is not far from Tao. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others."⁵⁵ Again, "The way of the superior man may be found, in its simple elements, in the intercourse of common men and women; but in its utmost reaches, it shines brightly through heaven and earth."⁵⁶ The superior man is also distinguished by his entire sincerity. The Master said: "Earnest in practicing the ordinary virtues, and careful in speaking about them, if, in his practice, he has anything defective, the superior man dares not but exert himself; and if, in his words, he has any excess, he does not allow himself such licence. Thus his words have respect to his actions, and his actions have respect to his words; is it not just an entire sincerity which marks the superior man?"⁵⁷ The superior

man is never static but continually grows with new knowledge. Chung Yung says: "The superior man honors his virtuous nature, and maintains constant inquiry and study, seeking to carry it out to its breadth and greatness, so as to omit none of the more exquisite and minute points which it embraces... He cherishes his old knowledge, and is continually acquiring new. He exerts an honest, generous earnestness, in the esteem and practice of all propriety (li)." ⁵⁸ Mencius also frequently spoke about the superior man. He said that the superior man's greatest duty is to help men to practice virtue. "To take example from others to practice virtue, is to help them in the same practice. Therefore, there is no attribute of the superior man greater than his helping men to practice virtue." ⁵⁹ The superior man does not manifest either narrow-mindedness, or the want of self-respect. Mencius said: "Po-i was narrow-minded, and Hui of Liu-hsia was wanting in self-respect. The superior man will not manifest either narrow-mindedness, or the want of self-respect." ⁶⁰ Superior man is just and would not accept bribe: "To send a man a gift when he has no occasion for it, it is to bribe him. How is it possible that a superior man should be taken with a bribe?" ⁶¹ Superior man gets hold of what he learns. Mencius said: "The superior man makes his advances in what he is learning with deep earnestness and by the proper course, wishing to get hold of it as in himself. ~~Having got hold~~

~~of it as in himself.~~ Having got hold of it in himself, he bides in it calmly and firmly. Abiding in it calmly and firmly, he reposes a deep reliance on it. Reposing a deep reliance on it, he seizes it on the left and right, meeting everywhere with it as a fountain from which things flow. It is on this account that the superior man wishes to get hold of what he is learning as in himself."⁶² Superior man is a man of jen and li (benevolence and propriety). Mencius said: "That whereby the superior man is distinguished from other men is what he preserves in his heart;--namely, benevolence and propriety. The benevolent man loves others. The man of propriety shows respect to others. (cf. Job's benevolent acts to the poor, fatherless, widow, the blind, and the lame.) He who loves others is constantly loved by them. He who respects others is constantly respected by them."⁶³ This is in line with my earlier statement that the perfect and upright ~~right~~ man is a man of jen and li, that is, of correct inner motive and righteous conduct. Superior man delights in three things. Mencius said: "The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be ruler over the kingdom is not one of them: That his father and mother are both alive, and that the condition of his brothers affords no cause for anxiety;--this is one delight; that, when looking up, he has no occasion for shame before Heaven, and, below, he has no occasion to blush

before men;--this is a second delight; that he can get from the whole kingdom the most talented individuals, and teach and nourish them;--this is the third delight."⁶⁴

The superior or the perfect man is also spoken of as a Confucianist (ju, 儒). Originally ju was a term applied to scholars versed in arts and possessed of education. In the time of Confucius, there were two kinds of ju: the superior and the inferior. So Confucius, speaking to Tzu Hsia, said: "Be you a ju of the superior type, not a ju of the inferior type."⁶⁵ Literally translated: "Do you become a 'superior man ju,' and not an 'inferior man ju' (收為君子儒, 無為小人儒).

Later on, the term was restricted exclusively to the Confucian school, and today of course all Confucianists go by that name. In the Li Chi, ju is used synonymously with the superior man, and we find there again the characteristics and moral nature of the perfect and upright man. Li Chi says: "The Confucianist does not consider gold and jade to be precious treasures, but leal-heartedness and good faith. (cf. Job: "If I have amde gold my trust, or called fine gold my confidence; if I have rejoiced because my wealth was great, or because my hand had gotten much..."); he does not desire lands and territory, but considers the establishment of righteousness as his domain; he does not desire a great accumulation of wealth, but looks on many accomplishments as his riches;

it is difficult to win him, but easy to pay him; it is easy to pay him, but difficult to retain him. As he will not show himself when the time is not proper for him to do so, is it not difficult to win him? As he will have no fellowship with what is not righteous, is it not difficult to retain him? As he first do the work and then take the pay, is it not easy to pay him?--such are the conditions of his close association with others. Though there may be offered to the Confucianist valuable articles and wealth, and though it be tried to enervate him with delights and pleasures, he sees those advantages without doing anything contrary to his sense of righteousness; though a multitude may attempt to force him (from his standpoint), and his way be stopped by force of arms, he will look death in the face without changing the principles (which) he maintains...he has no occasion to regret what he has done in the past (cf. Job's protest on his innocence), nor to make preparations for what may come to him in the future (for he always acts in accordance with the principles of righteousness and propriety); he does not repeat any error of speech; any rumors against him he does not pursue up to their source; he does not allow his dignity to be interrupted; he does not dread to practice (before hand) the counsels (which he gives):--such are the things in which he stands out and apart from other men."⁶⁶ "He may be killed, but

he cannot be disgraced; in his dwelling he will not be extravagant; in his eating and drinking he will not be luxurious."⁶⁷ "The Confucianist considers leal-heartedness and good faith to be his coat-of-mail and helmet; propriety and righteousness to be his shield and buckler; he walks along, bearing aloft over his head jen (benevolence); he dwells, holding righteousness in his arms before him; the government may be violently oppressive, but he does not change his course:--such is the way in which he maintains himself."⁶⁸ A man of such character can certainly be compared with Biblical Job, who, despite his tragedies and sufferings, did not forsake righteousness. "The Confucianist lives and has his associations with men of the present day, but the men of antiquity are the subjects of his study. Following their (principles and example) in the present age, he will become a pattern in future ages. If it should be that his own age does not understand and encourage him, that those above him do not ~~bring him... forward, or even that calumniators~~ and flatterers band together to put him in danger, his person may be placed in peril, but his aim cannot be taken from him. Though danger may threaten him in his undertakings and wherever he is, he will still pursue his aim, and never forget the afflictions of the people;--such is the anxiety which he cherishes."⁶⁹ "The Confucianist when he hears what is good, tells it to (his

friends), and when he sees what is good, shows it to them; in the view of rank and position, he gives the precedence to them over himself; if they encounter calamities and hardships, he is prepared to die with them; if they are long (in getting advancement), he waits for them; if they are far off, he brings them together with himself:--such is he in the employment and promotion of his friends."⁷⁰

"The Confucianist keeps his person free from stain, and continually bathes and refreshes his virtue; he sets forth what he has to say (to his superior by way of admonition), but remains himself in the back-ground, trying thus quickly to correct him; if his superior do not acknowledge (his advice), he more proudly and clearly makes his views known, but still does not press them urgently; he does not go among those who are low to make himself out to be high, nor place himself among those who have little wisdom to make himself out to have much; in a time of good government, he does not think little (of what he himself can do); in a time of disorder, he does not allow his course to be obstructed; he does not (hastily) agree with those who think like himself, nor condemn those who think differently:--so does he stand out alone among others and take his own solitary course."⁷¹ "Gentleness and goodness are the roots of jen; ~~justice~~ respect and attention are the ground on which it stands; generosity and large-mindedness are the manifestation of it; humility and cour-

tesy are the ability of it; the li (propriety) is the demonstration of it; speech is the ornament of it... Sharing and distribution are the giving of it. (cf. Job: If I have withheld anything that the poor desired, or have caused the eyes of the widow to fail, or have eaten my morsel alone, and the fatherless has not eaten of it...if I have **seen** anyone perish for lack of clothing, or a poor man without covering; if his loins have not blessed me, and if he was not warned with the fleece of my sheep...if the men of my tent have not said, 'Who is there that has not been filled with his meat?' (the sojourner has not lodged in the street; I have opened my doors to the wayfarer (Job 31:16, 17, 19, 20, 31, 32); the Confucianist possesses all these qualities in union and has them, and still he will not venture to claim a perfect **hjen** **ity** on account of them:--such is the honor(he feels for its ideal), and the humility (with which) he declines it (for himself.)"⁷² "The Confucianist is not cast down, or cut from his root, by poverty and mean condition (This reminds us of Job who was afflicted by poverty and mean condition but was not cast down and cut from his righteous spirit.); he is not exalted or exhausted by riches and noble condition; he feels no disgrace that rulers and kings (may try to afflict); he is above the bonds that elders and superiors (may try to impose); and superior officers cannot

distress him. Hence he is styled a Confucianist-- a Ju..."⁷³ So at the end of Zu Hsing it is said: "When Confucius came (from his wanderings to Lu) to his own house, duke Ai gave him a (public) lodging. When the duke heard these words, he became more sincere in his speech, and more righteous in his conduct. He said, 'To the end of my days I will not presume to make a jest of the name of Confucianist.'"⁷⁴

From these passages quoted in length, we cannot fail to discover the lofty ideals of Confucian ethics. The perfect and upright man is a man of noble character with such qualities as benevolence, righteousness, propriety, kindness, justice, firm determination. Essentially, he is a Chinese Job, and has all the qualities which Job is said to have possessed. Just as in Job both outward conduct and inner quality of man are emphasized, so is laid a stress on the moral character of a whole man in Confucian ethics|through the doctrine of jen and li (benevolence or true manhood and propriety). Many have striven to attain that goal for the past two thousand years or more; some have succeeded and some have failed. But the "perfect and blameless man" is there in the Classics just as Job is there in the Hebrew Bible as the example of an ideal, moral man. Being humble, Confucius never admitted that he had reached the stage of a perfect and upright man,⁷⁵ but from his teach-

ings and various descriptions of him,⁷⁵⁶ his conduct and life as found in the Classics, we can only conclude that he lived the life of a perfect and upright man, and as Job represents all the moral qualities of a perfect man so does Confucius. For the past twenty-five hundred years, he has been looked up by followers of his doctrine as the true embodiment of the ethical qualities which he taught. Immediately after his death his fame spread far and wide, and soon he became the model of a perfect and upright man for Chinese and later for Koreans. Szema Chien (145-85 B.C.), the Grand Historian of Han Dynasty, visited the native town of Confucius four hundred years after the Master's death, and he thus spoke of Confucius: "The Book of Songs says, 'High is the mountain I look up to, and bright is his example for our emulation! Although I cannot reach the top, my heart leaps up to it.' As I read the books of Confucius, I thought to myself how he must have looked. When visiting Lu, I saw the carriages, robes, and sacred vessels displayed at the Temple, and watched how the Confucian students studied the historical systems at his home, and hung around, unable to tear myself away from the place. There have been many kings, emperors and great men in history, who enjoyed fame and honor while they lived and came to nothing at their death, while Confucius, who was but a common scholar clad in a cotton gown, became the acknowledged Master of

scholars for over ten generations. All people in China who discuss the six arts, from the emperors, kings and princes down, regard the Master as the final authority."⁷⁶

The Six arts (六藝), also called "Six Classics" (六經) and Six Teachings (六學), refer to Shih Ching, I Ching, Shoo Ching, Li Chi, Yueh, and Ch'un Ch'iu. The value of these six arts are explained in Huai-nan-tzi (淮南集) as follows: "The Six Disciplines are different in kind, yet all are the same in principle. Gentleness and kindness, accommodation and beneficence: these are the influence of the Shih. Simplicity and purity, sincerity and honesty: these are the teachings of the Shoo. Clear-sightedness and logical comprehension: these are the meanings of the Yi. Respectfulness and modesty, veneration to others and humbleness: these are what are brought about by the Li. Magnanimity and simple ease: these are the transformations wrought by the Yueh. The ability to make criticisms and argue about ideas: these are the results of the detailed analysis of the Ch'un Ch'iu."⁷⁷

IV. AN ASPECT OF ETHICS IN THE HEBREW PROPHETIC WRITINGS AND CONFUCIAN CLASSICS: "Good Society"

- A. In the writings of eighth century prophets and Shoo Ching-Shih Ching.

That the Hebrew prophets were above all else social teachers and reformers is a well-known fact to all those who are familiar with the prophetic writings in the Hebrew Bible. Appearing at a time when such social evils as injustice, oppression, violence, dishonesty, bribery, cruelty, luxury, and heartlessness were common practices among the influential, the privileged, and the powerful, men like Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel became champions of justice, righteousness, and humanitarian spirit. Their appearance was no accident; there was crisis, and as generally happens the need produced the men. As the prophets were championing the principles of justice and righteousness in ancient Israel, there were also men on the other side of the Old World who were passionately and vehemently concerned with the rights of common men and social order. Appearing at a time when Chinese society was plagued by political, social, and moral chaos, sages like Tang, Wan, Woo, Confucius and Mencius sought to change and rectify the condition of their day as champions of justice, righteousness and humanitarian spirit. Their appearance, as in the case of the Hebrew prophets, was no accident; there was crisis, and the need produced the men. And their teachings are well preserved in the Classics. Therefore, when we examine the social

message of the Hebrew prophets and Chinese sages we cannot but marvel at their closeness and common characteristics in ideals and aspirations. They all hated tyranny and injustice; they abhorred oppression and violence. They all deplored dishonesty, bribery, luxury, and the naked selfishness that reigned. They all lamented for the lack of kindness and compassion. They all deplored oppressive and unprincipled government, and desired to see the principles of justice, righteousness, and benevolence put into practice. In other words, they all served as the "national and social conscience" of their day. As we examine their social teachings we shall come to see how much akin are the ideals of Hebrew and Chinese moralists to one another.

To understand fully the social principles which prophets and sages laid down it is necessary first to become acquainted with the immediate social conditions with which they were dealing. Studied in the light of their historical background, their teachings may also be readily interpreted into universal terms and used for a solvent for the social problems of all ages.

The eighth century before the Christian era was characterized by social chaos in ancient Israel. We find vivid descriptions of the conditions of this period in the writings of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah who lived in that century. Amos lived during the latter half of the long

reign of Jeroboam II, which began about 783 B.C. and continued until 743 B.C., a period of forty one years.¹

An interesting and peculiar combination of circumstances had brought Israel to a position of great prosperity. Her fortunes were determined for more than a century by the conditions existing in the kingdom of Syria immediately to the north. Syria's power was determined in turn by her relationship to Assyria, the powerful monarchy beyond the Euphrates. When Assyria was strong enough to break the power of Syria the latter was unable to trouble Israel, but when Assyria was kept in her own land by internal difficulties or more pressing wars, Syria was free to harass the kingdom of Israel.

Syria and Israel were at war during the reign of Ahab, and it was the campaigns of Shalmanezzer II against Damascus that saved Israel from destruction. Jehu was involved with Syria in the payment of tribute to Shalmanezzer, but after the death of Shalmanezzer there was a period of over thirty years during which no western expedition was undertaken from Nineveh. Syria regained her strength in those years and repaid herself for her losses by a pitiless exploitation in Israel. At the period of Israel's direct distress Ramman-Nirari III took the reins of power with a strong hand in Nineveh and made a vigorous campaign against Damascus. Joash of Israel then took advantage of the weakness of Syria to inflict upon her a severe defeat. He conducted

three campaigns against his old oppressor, and recovered from Damascus the Israelitish towns which had been captured in the former wars.² Jeroboam II., who came to the throne of Israel about 780 B.C., inherited the energy as well as the fruits of the victories of his father, Joash. For a half-century also Palestine was relieved from the destructive attacks of Assyria. Shalmanezar III., who succeeded the great conqueror Ramman-nirari, was himself obliged to assume the defensive. Under a native prince, the Armenians, whose home was among the mountains in the north, became so formidable ~~that~~ ^{they/} not only threw off the yoke, but also threatened the independence of Assyria. During the two succeeding reigns frequent revolts and out-breaks of pestilence exhausted still further the resources of the empire. The vassal states availed themselves of its weakness to renounce their allegiance. Among the first to do this were the principalities of Palestine.

During this period of freedom from foreign attack, Jeroboam II pushed the boundaries of Israel to their farthest limits. The territory of her old rivals, the Moabites, was reconquered. Damascus was too much weakened to offer effectual resistance. The sway of Israel extended from Arabah, on the southeastern end of the Dead Sea, to Hamath, between the Lebanons.³ Judah's territory was correspondingly expanded, so that, excepting the northeast, the ancient empire of David was again under the rule of the Hebrews. Commerce and

trade also sprang up, bringing to the Israelites wealth and prosperity unheard of since the days of Solomon. The marvellous natural resources of Israel were allowed for the first time to assert themselves. Architecture flourished as in the days of Solomon, noble dwellings for the king and his courtiers making the cities magnificent.⁴ The religious service was carried on in a splendid manner.⁵

Yet all this prosperity was superficial. It, as repeated so often in human history, brought train of social vices. It created two distinctive classes of society -- the poor and the rich. The prosperity was marked by the luxury of the few at the expense of the toil and poverty of the many. During the Solomonic era the economic power was in the hands of the king; now it was controled by a section of society. With this, the rich became richer and the poor became poorer. Amos gives us some insight into the situation in the northern kingdom in his days. The wealthy class, day and night, were pursuing the life of ease and idle luxury unmindful of general welfare. Amos describes them as "those who lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat lambs from the flock, and calves from the midst of the stall; who sing idle songs to the sound of the harp, and like David invent for themselves instruments of music; who drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the finest oils, but are not grieved over the ruin of Joseph."⁶ Terrible were the oppression and injustice which the poor were experiencing under the hands of the rich and

the privileged. "They sell the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes--they that trample the head of the poor into the dust of the earth, and turn aside the way of the afflicted."⁷ The rich employed every means to take advantage of the poor for their selfish gains. Amos calls them as those "who trample upon the needy, and bring the poor of the land to an end, saying, 'When will the new moon be over, that we may sell grain? And the Sabbath, that we may offer wheat for sale, that we may make the epha small and the shekel great, and deal deceitfully with false balances, that we may buy the poor for silver and the needy for a pair of sandals, and sell the refuse of the wheat?'"⁸ They afflicted the righteous, took a bribe and turned aside the needy in the gate.⁹ They hated him who reproved in the gate, and they abhorred him who spoke the truth.¹⁰ By bribing the judges they turned justice to wormwood and cast down righteousness to earth.¹¹ "Do horses run upon rocks? Does one plow the sea with oxen? But you have turned justice into poison and the fruit of righteousness into wormwood."¹² Even the women were so far gone in their pursuit for luxury that they urged their husbands to furnish their feasts from the proceeds of extortion. Amos calls them "cows of Bashan, who are in the mountain of Samaria, who oppress the poor, who crush the needy, who say to their husbands, 'Bring, that we may drink!'"^{13a} Little later, Hosea described the social condition of the eighth century in more vivid terms: "There is no faithfulness

or kindness, and no knowledge of God in the land; there is swearing, lying, killing, stealing, and committing adultery; they break all bounds and murder follows murder. Therefore the land mourns, and all who dwell in it languish, and also the beasts of the field, and the birds of the air; and even the fish of the sea are taken away."^{13b} Thus Hosea ~~condemns~~ lists murder;¹⁴ he deplores the lack of truth, mercy, and knowledge of God among his contemporaries; he lists ~~sin~~ perjury;¹⁵ theft;¹⁶ lying and deceit.¹⁷ He also records such evils as drunkenness: "A band of drunkenness, they give themselves to harlotry; they love shame more than their glory";¹⁸ burglary: "they deal falsely, the thief breaks in, and the bandits raid without";¹⁹ the use of false balances: "A trader, in whose hands are false balances, he loves to oppress";²⁰ and the stealing of land by the removal of the landmarks.^{21a}

Amos appeared in Israel as the first stern challenger of the fundamental policies and practices of the society. Prophets, like Nathan and Elijah, before him had often challenged the particular acts of kings.^{21b} But Amos went deeper and brought a message to the people that concerned itself with the fundamental basis of their life.

Amos' contention was that his contemporaries became so dull in their moral sense that they did not know how to do right, and that what they knew was only to store up violence and robbery in their strongholds.²² At the same time, he believed that such condition of the people would

eventually result in self-destruction. Amos became convinced that the social corruption of Israel was so great that the doom of the nation was inevitable. With a fine figure he represented Yahweh as standing beside a wall with a plumbline in his hand.²³ What can be done with a misbuilt wall but break it down? Again the prophet sees a basket of summer fruit - a symbol of the ripeness of decay. And in Hebrew the figure is more striking, for there is a use of pun: the word for the "summer fruit" has the same sinister sound as the word "end" (זָרַח and זָרַח). The end of a bad society would be destruction. It was, therefore, Amos' task to inform his contemporaries how to do right. So he cried out: "Seek good and not evil, that you may live; and so the Lord, the God of hosts, will be with you, as you have said. Hate evil, and love good, and establish justice in the gate; it may be that the Lord, the God of hosts, will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph."²⁴ The sum of Amos' message was that a society founded upon injustice could not endure. The only way for survival and lasting prosperity was by seeking good and hating evil of injustice and oppression. Without this even the most magnificent and splendid ^{religious/} service would mean nothing. "I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy viols."²⁵ Amos reached out to the great truth that Yahweh is to be served through the social relationships of men. He affirms

He affirms it in the great word that is the keynote of his prophecy, a permanent summons to every human society, and a rebuke to any religion that would serve God and forget men. "Let justice," declared the prophet, "roll down as waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream."²⁶ Amos' indictment was not limited to Israel alone. He included other nations as well. They were condemned for their offences against humanity. Damascus was rebuked for her cruelty;²⁷ Edom was execrated for violating a fraternal covenant;²⁸ the Ammoritess were denounced because they murdered helpless and defenceless women in their ways of conquest. Condemnation was also meted out to the Moabites for the barbarous act of destroying the body of the king of Edom, who lost his life in battle.²⁹ Hosea too, like Amos, taught that the things which Yahweh desired were justice and righteousness. But he also added something new - loving-kindness, mercy and faithfulness: "Sow for yourselves righteousness, reap the fruit of loving-kindness; break up your fallow ground, for it is the time to seek the Lord, that he may come and rain salvation upon you."³⁰ The only way to life is by sowing righteousness and practising loving-kindness. Hosea was more concerned with man's conception and knowledge of God and his relationship to God, and accordingly stressed on this line whereas Amos stressed almost exclusively the relationship between man and man. Like Amos, however, he

would have none of ritual as a substitute for morals:

"I desire loving-kindness(hesed) and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God rather than burnt-offerings."³¹ The idea of hesed is a peculiar contribution of Hosea, and on the significance of this passage Lods comments thus: "According to Hosea, Jahweh's demands are summed up in the word hesed, a very comprehensive word, which, for want of an adequate equivalent, we are obliged to translate, now by piety, now by mercy, love, or grace: it corresponded fairly closely to the Latin pietas, meaning not only the feeling of a faithful believer towards God, or of a son towards his father (filial piety), but also the feeling of God or of a leader towards his subordinates, and, in a general way, the natural feeling which prompts a man, apart from the constraint of law, to be kind and indulgent towards the members of his family or tribe. According to Hosea, the 'knowledge of God,' by which he means the knowledge of God's will, can never be attained without this hesed. Amos had widened the national religion of his people until, in principle, it embraced all peoples. Hosea deepened it, by making it consist solely of an interchange of love between the nation and its God. With a greater aptitude than Amos had for probing to the heart of things, he is not contented with external rules of conduct, he must search out the secret feelings by which actions are prompted."³²

Isaiah and Micah were primarily concerned with the problems of Judah, the southern kingdom. The continuance

of the rule of the Davidic dynasty in the south with some kings who were men of ability gave Judah a settled political life which was very different from the turbulent experience of the northern kingdom. The geographical position of Judah, moreover, in the rugged hills with her one great city, the easily defended fortress of Jerusalem, gave her immunity from foreign attacks which saved her from many of the harsh experiences of her neighbor. To be sure, she had suffered severely from Syria and had been badly beaten by Israel itself; but comparatively she was less exposed. The extreme weakness of Syria which allowed Israel to regain her strength under Jeroboam II gave also opportunity for Judah under Uzziah and his son Jotham to develop her resources. Ahaz succeeded to a kingdom prosperous and secure.

The course of social progress had been much the same in the south as in the north. Although Judah had not suffered as much from the crushing wars carried on with the terrible cruelty of those times, yet she had by no means been altogether free. As already mentioned, defeats had been inflicted upon her by Syria and Israel, and also by Egypt, and heavy tributes had been exacted during many years. As in the north, this hardship fell most heavily upon the poor. The military service which took them from their farms, the harsh taxation which was laid on them while the rich went free, the consequent debts, usurious interest, mortgaging and loss of ancestral inheritance, made the

lot of the poor extremely bitter in the days of Judah's distress.

There was prosperity in the south, but like in the north, most of the benefits went into the hands of the privileged and the powerful. As in the north, the poor became poorer and the rich became richer. Oppression, fraud, and the injustice of the courts gave the wealth of the kingdom to the privileged classes. The writings of Isaiah reveal the sharp and bitter contrast between the rich and the poor. Isaiah claims that there are "people who decree iniquitous decrees, and writers who keep writing oppression, to turn aside the needy from justice and to rob the poor of my people of their right, that widows may be their spoil, and that they may make the fatherless their prey."³³ The elders and princes of the people are said to "have devoured the vineyard, the spoil of the poor," and to have crushed the people and ground the face of the poor.³⁴ Accepting bribes, the court would decide the poor and innocent in favour of the rich and the guilty. "They acquit the guilty for a bribe, and deprive the innocent of his right."³⁵ "...princes are rebels and companions of thieves. Every one loves a bribe and runs after gifts. They do not defend the fatherless, and the widow's cause does not come to them."³⁶ The rich exercised their power on the poor so pitilessly for their selfish gains that the poor men were driven from their little patrimony and left landless and homeless because the oppressors "added house to house and field to field till there

is no more."³⁷ Violence and bloodshed were abroad in the land. ("He looked for justice, but behold, bloodshed; for righteousness, but behold, a cry!")³⁸ As in the days of Amos and Hosea in the north, drunkenness and debauchery were the order of the days. ("Woe to those who rise early in the morning, that they may run after strong drink, who tarry late into the evening till wine inflames them!")³⁹ And the women had nothing better than to spend time and money upon lavish personal adornment of which they were sinfully proud. ("The daughters of Zion are haughty and walk with outstretched necks, glancing wantonly with their eyes, mincing along as they go, tinkling with their feet.")⁴⁰ But above all all, people lost sense of right and wrong. They called "badness good and goodness bad," regarded "darkness as light and light as darkness," and considered "bitter sweet and sweet bitter."⁴¹ Thus the moral sense was becoming dulled; and there was a lack of keen, moral discrimination and a general unresponsiveness to idealistic instruction and a smug self-satisfaction.

Micah, a younger contemporary of Isaiah, saw the same condition which Isaiah had witnessed. He calls "the heads of the house of Jacob and rulers of the house of Israel" those "who abhor justice and prevent all equity, who build Zion with blood and Jerusalem with wrong."⁴² "Its heads give judgment," says Micah, "for a bribe, its priests teach for hire, its prophets divine for money..."⁴³ Oppression which rulers and heads of the nation practised on the

defenceless people was so great that they were described by the prophet as "cannibals" who "tear the skin from off my people, and their flesh from off their bones; who eat the flesh of my people, and flay their skin from off them, and break their bones in pieces, and chop them up like meat in a kettle, like flesh in a caldron."⁴⁴ At night, the heads and the rulers devised evils and carried them out when the morning came. They "devise wickedness," says Micah, "and work evil upon their beds! When the morning dawns, they perform it, because it is in the power of their hands, and take them away; they oppress a man and his house, a man and his inheritance."⁴⁵ The privileged and the powerful class would treat their own own people worse than foreigners and enemies, robbing them without provocation, separating women from their tender children and finally depriving the children themselves of their heritage in Yahweh by selling them as slaves into alien countries.⁴⁶

Only few men, like Isaiah and Micah, were sensitive to such moral and social crisis, and realized the imminent danger. Like Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah were disturbed by the fact that righteousness and justice were not found in the land and in their society. Isaiah's great indictment was against the privileged class that had acquired possessions of vast estates by dispossessing the poor yeomen of the ancestral possessions. Against such pitiless act the prophet pronounces woe: "Woe to those who join house to house, who add field to field, until there is no more room, and you

add field to field, until there is no more room, and you are made to dwell alone in the midst of the land."⁴⁷ Similarly Micah pronounced his woe: "Woe to those who devise wickedness and work evil upon their beds!... They covet fields, and seize them; and houses, and take them away; they oppress a man and his house, a man and his inheritance."⁴⁸ With a vision infinitely clearer than that possessed by modern social and political reformers, Isaiah saw the results of such land policy. To him there could be but one result - depopulation and diminished production. "Surely many houses shall be desolate, large and beautiful houses, without inhabitant. For ten acres of vineyard shall yield but one bath, and a homer of seed shall yield but an epha."⁴⁹ Isaiah was not against the accumulation of wealth itself. Rather he was against the methods by which the wealth was acquired, for it was acquired on the expense of the poor and the helpless. Therefore he pronounced woe: "Woe to those who decree iniquitous decrees, and the writers who keep writing oppression, to turn aside the needy from justice and to rob the poor of my people of their right, that widows may be their spoil, and that they may make the fatherless their prey!"⁵⁰ Isaiah's indictment was also against those who were in charge of legal court. He laments for the fact that the judges acquitted the guilty for a bribe and deprived the innocent of his right, that princes were rebels and companions of thieves, that everyone loved a bribe and ran after gifts,

that they did not defend the fatherless, and that the widows' cause did not come to them.⁵¹ Therefore, he denounced the heads and rulers of the nation with these words: "Is it not for you to know justice? - you who hate the good and love the evil... What will you do on the day of punishment, in the storm which will come from afar? To whom will you flee for help, and where will you leave your wealth?"⁵² Isaiah's indictment was also against the sins of intemperance, and the heaviest woe of all is pronounced upon "those that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink, who tarry late into the evening till wine inflames them."⁵³ "Woe to those who are heroes at drinking wine, and valiant men in mixing strong drink... Therefore, as the tongue of fire devours the stubble, and as dry grass sinks down in the flame, so their root will be as rottenness, and their blossom go up like dust."⁵⁴ Isaiah also denounced the idleness and luxury of particularly of the women of his day. Luxury had developed a spirit of barbaric display and immodest egotism. Idleness had produced an indifference to the rights of others. The sense of social responsibility was lost. Arrogance was coupled with greed. Sympathy for suffering humanity had disappeared. Such a condition, in the north had attracted the attention of Amos in his day, and caused him to apply one of his most cutting phrases in describing those women as "the cows of Bashan... who oppress the poor, who crush the

needy." Isaiah, with the same discrimination, but in greater detail, describes the luxury-loving women of Judah, and warns them of the consequences of their conduct: "In that day the Lord will take away the finery of the anklets, the headbands, and the crescents; the pendants, the bracelets, and the scarfs; the headdresses, the armlets, the sashes, the perfume boxes, and the amulets; the signet rings and nose rings; the festal robes, the mantles, the cloaks, and the handbags, the garments of gauze, the linen garments, the turbans, and the veils. Instead of perfume there will be rottenness; and instead of girdle, a rope; and instead of well-set hair, baldness; and instead of a rich robe, a girding of sackcloth; instead of beauty, shame."⁵⁵ Isaiah also reproaches with severe language the conduct of these women upon the streets of the capital: "The daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with outstretched necks, glancing wantonly with their eyes, mincing along as they go, tinkling with their feet; the Lord will smite with a scab the heads of the daughters of Zion..."⁵⁶ In another place he pleads with these society women to hear his voice: "Rise up, you women who are at ease, hear my voice; you careless daughters, give ear to my speech,"⁵⁷ and warns: "In little more than a year you will shudder, you careless women; for the vintage will fail, the fruit harvest will not come. Tremble, you women who are at ease, shudder, you careless ones."⁵⁸

Amos and Hosea had made it clear that what God desired was not splendid religious service with all the best sacrifices in superficiality but justice, righteousness, mercy and knowledge of God. It was also the task of Isaiah and Micah to socialize and ethicize the popular conception of God. The people of the eighth century were not deficient in religion; their need was rather for a richer and more humanized religion. What angered the prophets most was the people's smug self-satisfaction: they were guilty of all kinds of antisocial conduct and yet they counted upon Yahweh's approval and co-operation. Therefore, Micah declares: "Hear this, you heads of the house of Jacob and rulers of the house of Israel, who abhor justice and pervert all equity, who build Zion with blood and Jerusalem with wrong. Its heads give judgment for a bribe, its priests teach for hire, its prophets divine for money; yet they lean upon the Lord and say, 'Is not the Lord in the midst of us? No evil shall come upon us.' Therefore because of you Zion shall be plowed as a field; Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins, and the mountain of the house a wooded height."⁵⁹ Before Micah made this address Isaiah had already clearly expressed in his oration what God desired: "Hear the words of the Lord, you rulers of Sodom! Give ear to the teaching of our God, you people of Gomorrah! 'What to me is the multitude of your sacrifices? says the Lord; I have had enough of burnt offer-

ings of rams and the fat of fed beasts; I do not delight in the blood of bulls, or of lambs, or of he goats. When you come to appear before me, who requires of you this trampling of my courts? Bring no more vain offerings; ⁱ incense is an abomination to me. New moon and sabbath and the calling of assemblies - I cannot endure iniquity and solemn assembly. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hates; they have become a burden to me, I am weary of bearing them. When you spread forth your hands, I will hide my eyes from you; even though you make many prayers, I will not listen; your hands are full of blood. Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean; remove the evil of your doings from before my eyes; ~~cease to do evil; learn to do~~ good; ~~seek~~ justice, correct oppression; defend the fatherless, plead the widow." ⁶⁰ By this Isaiah certainly did not intend to do away with ritualism. Rather he desired that the ~~prayers and sacrifices~~ prayers and sacrifices should come from sincere hearts and clean lips. A just and generous life is the necessary background of true religion; and ceremonial, no matter how generous and elaborate, could not take the place of true and upright living.

Thus Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah all became champions of justice and righteousness. In their view, a "good society" was one in which these two principles reigned together with the spirit of hesed. A good society meant that rights of common men were not violated merely because they

were weak, poor and defenceless. It meant that the spirit of love and compassion reigned so that the poor, the helpless, the orphans, and the widows were cared and protected. It meant that the rich and the powerful would not violate the principles of justice in the court, so that all could be protected by justice and none might suffer without cause. There is one passage, though it is not attributed by some scholars to Micah, which sums up the social message of the eighth century prophets: "He has showed you, O mankind, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you, but to do justice, and to love kindness(hesed), and to walk humbly with your God?"^{61a}

When we turn to the Confucian Classics we not only find the similar moral and social crisis which prevailed in Chinese society at various times but also meet with numerous moralists who, having come in the prophetic spirit, sought to dispel the evils of their day and establish a "good society" filled with justice, righteousness, order, and peace. Sometimes they appeared as wise and benevolent kings, sometimes as a duke denouncing unjust and oppressive rulers, and sometimes as great teachers such as Confucius and Mencius. They were all alike fundamentally concerned with the social health, and their entire aim was to build a good society ruled by good men and inhabited by good people. Their conception of "good society"

is essentially the same as that of the eighth century Hebrew prophets. They all alike abhorred injustice, oppression and violence. They all alike lamented for the lack of humanitarian spirit in society. They all alike denounced ease and idle luxury as well as intemperance. This will be made very clear as we read some of the narratives from Shoo Ching and Shih Ching as well as sayings of Confucius and Mencius.

Shoo Ching(Book of History) and Shih Ching(Book of Poetry) are consisted of numerous historical documents of Chinese antiquity. They were, according to Chinese tradition, edited by Confucius himself. These two books are extremely important in that they are the only sources for information on pre-Confucian ethics of the Chinese people. In these two books we find the social ideals which developed in the periods before the sixth century B.C. It is difficult to determine to what extent the historical documents in the Shoo Ching are genuine, but this much is certain: many historical narratives which were once regarded as legendary stories have been affirmed as genuine historical facts within the past few decades through Chinese archaeological contributions.^{61b} Whether some of the narratives are legendary or fact, by the time of Confucius all traditions recorded in the Shoo Ching had been fixed and were held in high esteem by Confucius himself. This is shown in his own words: "I am a transmitter and not a creator, believing

in and loving the ancients..."(述而不作, 信而好古

Analects, VII:i). In another place he said: "I am not
 one who was born in the possession of knowledge; I am one
 who is fond of antiquity, and earnest in seeking it there."

(我非生而知之者, 好古, 敏以求之者也

Analects, VII: xix).

In the Shoo Ching we learn that in the last days of Hsia Dynasty(?2205-1766B.C.), ^{the} Chinese people were suffering under extremely unjust, oppressive and violent rules of their king. Shoo Ching informs us that it was Tang the Successful that met the challenge, and in his Announcement, we find something similar to the prophetic indictment on the lack of justice and righteousness in society. Tang speaks in a tone which resembles that of the Hebrew prophets denouncing tyranny and oppression: "The King of Hsia," declares Tang, "extinguished his virtue and played the tyrant, extending his oppression over you, the people of the myriad regions. Suffering from his cruel injuries, and unable to endure the wormwood and poison, you protested with one accord your innocence... The way of Heaven is to bless the good and to punish the wicked.. It sent down calamities on the House of Hsia, to make manifest its crimes. Therefore, I, the little child, charged with the decree of Heaven and its bright terrors, did not dare to forgive the criminal. I ...making clear announcement to the spiritual Sovereign of the high heavens, requested leave to deal with the ruler of Hsia as a criminal. Then

I sought for the great sage, with whom I might unite my strength, to request the favor of Heaven on behalf of you, multitudes. High Heaven truly showed its favor to the inferior people, and the criminal has been degraded and subjected. Heaven's appointment is without error;- brilliantly now like the blossoming of flowers and trees, the millions of the people show a true reviving. It is given to me, the one man, to give harmony and tranquility to you states and families."⁶² Tang, then, admonished the princes of Hsia Dynasty: "Throughout all the states that enter on a new life under me, do not, ye princes, follow lawless ways; make no approach to insolent dissoluteness: let every one observe to keep his statutes: - that so we may receive the favor of Heaven. The good in you, I will not dare to conceal; - I will examine these things in harmony with the mind of God..."⁶³ Later, in the Shoo Ching, King Ching, while reviewing the history of Chinese empire, recalls the accomplishment of Tang. Like Amos, he denounces the luxury and idleness: "God sent down correction of Hsia, but the sovereign only increased his luxury and sloth, and would not speak kindly to the people. He proved himself on the contrary dissolute and dark, and would not yield for a single day to the leading of God; - this is what you have heard. He kept reckoning on the decree of God in his favor."^{64a} Compare this with Micah's charge: "Hear this, you heads of the house of Jacob and rulers of

of the house of Israel, who abhor justice and pervert all equity, who build Zion with blood and Jerusalem with wrong. Its heads give judgment for a bribe, its priests teach for hire, its prophets divine for money; yet they lean upon the Lord and say, 'Is not the Lord in the midst of us? No evil shall come upon us.'" (Micah, 3:9-11). King Ching also denounces the cruel oppression and pitiless rule: "By great inflictions of punishment also, he increased the disorder of the States of Hsia. The first cause of his evil course was the internal misrule, which made him unfit to deal well with the multitudes. Nor did he seek at all to employ men whom he could respect, and who might display a generous kindness to the people, but he daily honored the covetous and cruel, who were guilty of cruel tortures in the cities of Hsia. Heaven on this sought a true leader for the people, and made its distinguishing and favoring decree light on Tang the Successful, who punished and destroyed the sovereign of Hsia. Heaven's refusal of its favor to Hsia was decided, and it was because the righteous men among your many regions were not permitted to continue long in their posts of enjoyment, and the many officers whom Hsia respected were quite unable to maintain an intelligent preservation of the people in the enjoyment of their lives, but on the contrary aided one another in oppression, so that of the hundred ways of promoting prosperity, they could not advance one."^{64b} Tang, on the other hand, is

praised for his virtuous and beneficent rule: "In the case indeed of Tang the Successful, it was because he was the choice of your many regions that he superseded Hsia and became the leader of the people. He paid careful attention to the essential virtues, in order to inspire the people, and they on their part imitated him, and were inspired. From him down to the emperor Yih, the sovereigns all made their virtue illustrious, and were cautious in the use of punishments; - thus also exercising an inspiring influence over the people. When they, having examined the evidence in criminal cases, put to death those chargeable with many crimes, they exercised the same influence; they did so also, when they liberated those who were not purposely guilty..."^{64c} As was in the case of Hebrew prophets, King Ching pronounces divine judgement and punishment upon the wicked: "Heaven had no set purpose to do away with the sovereign of Hsia, or with the sovereign of Yin. But it was the case that your ruler, being in possession of your many regions, abandoned himself to great excess, and reckoned on the favoring decree of Heaven, making trifling excuses for his conduct. And so in the case of the sovereign of Hsia; - his schemes of government were not of a tendency to secure his a tendency to secure his enjoyment of the empire, so that Heaven sent down ruin on him."⁶⁵

Truly in this we cannot help being impressed by the profound moral sentiments which ancient Chinese moralists

possessed and by their attitude toward oppression, cruelty, injustice, and violence. They spoke almost in the same prophetic tone when they condemned and denounced social evil.- particularly those of the rulers. Their prophetic spirit will be seen more clearly when we come to King Wan and King Woo.

According to the Shoo Ching, the very Yin(or Shang)⁶⁶ Dynasty which Tang the Successful had established in compliance with the will of Heaven, also fell into moral and social degeneration after several centuries of social stability, economic prosperity, and political tranquility. The condition that prevailed in China during the last days of Yin Dynasty is vividly described in the Shoo Ching. It was characterized by drunkenness, lawlessness, injustice, highway robbery, villainies, treachery and confusion: "The great deeds of our founder(Tang)", says the viscount of Wei to the Grand Tutor and Junior Tutor, "were displayed in former ages, but by our being lost and maddened with wine, we have destroyed the effects of his virtue in these after times. The people of Yin, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws; and for criminals there is no certainty that they will be apprehended. The lesser people consequently rise up, and make violent outrages on one another. The dynasty of Yin is now sinking in ruin; - its condition is like that of one crossing a large stream, who can find neither ford nor bank.

That Yin should be hurrying to ruin at the present pace."⁶⁷
 To this, the Grand Tutor added: "King's son... has no reverence for things which he ought to reverence, but does despite to the aged elders, the old official fathers... When I look down and survey the people of Yin, the methods of government to them are hateful exactions, which call forth outrages and hatred; - and this without ceasing. Such crime equals belongs to all in authority, and multitudes are starving with none to whom to appeal."⁶⁸ In the Shih Chi is found a still more graphic description of the moral crisis which prevailed in the court of Yin during the last days of the dynasty. King Wan denounces the oppressive ministers, extortionate exactors, violent oppressors, robbers, thieves, and the lack of righteousness in the court. King Wan's indictment is quite comparable to that of the Hebrew prophets: "Alas! Alas! you Yin-shang, that you should have such violently oppressive ministers, that you should have such extortionate exactors, that you should have them in offices, that you should have them in the conduct of affairs! Alas! Alas! you Yin-shang, you ought to employ such as are good, but you employ instead violent oppressors, who cause many dissatisfactions. They respond to you with baseless stories, and thus robbers and thieves are in your court. There Thence come oaths and curses, without limit, without end.... Alas! Alas! you Yin-shang, you show a strong fierce will in the center of the kingdom, and consider the contracting of

of enmities a proof of virtue. All unintelligent are you of your proper virtue, and so you have no good men behind you, nor by your side. Without any intelligence of your proper virtue, you have no good intimate adviser nor minister.... Alas! Alas! you Yin-shang, it is not Heaven that flushes your face with spirits, so that you follow unrighteousness and imitate it. You go wrong in all your conduct; you make no distinction between the light and the darkness (Compare this with Isaiah 5:20: "Woe to those... who put darkness for light and light for darkness..."); But amid clamour and shouting, you turn the day into night.... Alas! Alas! you Yin-shang, all around you is like the noise of cicadas, or like the bubbling of boiling soup. Affairs, great and small, are approaching to ruin; and still you and your creatures go on in this course. Indignation is rife against you here in the Middle Kingdom, and extends to the demon regions.... Alas! Alas! you Yin-shang, it is not God that has caused this evil time, but it arises from Yin's not using the old ways. Although you have not old experienced men, there are still the ancient statutes and laws. But you will not listen to them.... Alas! Alas! you Yin-shang, people have a saying, 'When a tree falls utterly, while its branches and leaves are yet uninjured, it must first have been uprooted.' The beacon of Yin is not far-distant: - It is in the age of the last sovereign of Hsia."⁶⁹

It is very interesting to note that Hebrew prophets

as well as Chinese moralists associated morality with national destiny. Hebrew prophets and Chinese sages all alike firmly believed that a moral chaos in government and society would inevitably result in national destruction. This is a unique and significant similarity, for to all the ancient ethical systems only those of the Hebrew prophets and Confucian sages have this notion. It should also be observed, at this point, that another unique and significant similarity is the fact that both Hebrew and Confucian ethical systems, unlike those of Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, and Sikhism, have nothing to do with life hereafter, but are fundamentally concerned with the life here on earth.

King Wan, according to Shoo Ching, rose up to meet the challenge of the moral crisis which existed in the last days of Hsia Dynasty. Like Hebrew prophets, he was also called by God for his moral mission. So we read in the Shih Ching: "God said to King Wan, 'I am pleased with your intelligent virtue, not loudly proclaimed not portrayed, without extravagance or changeableness, without consciousness of effort on your part, in accordance with the pattern of God.' God said to King Wan, 'Take measure against the country of your foes. Along with your brethren, get ready your scaling ladders, and your engines of onfall and assault, to attack the walls of Ts'ung.'" ⁷⁰

"King Wan is famous," continues the Shih Ching, "yea, he is very famous. What he sought was the repose of the people;... A sovereign true was King Wan! King Wan received the appointment (of Heaven), and achieved his martial success. Having overthrown Ts'ung, he fixed his capital city in Fung. A sovereign true was King Wan!"⁷¹

Elsewhere in the Shih Ching, King Wan is thus praised:

"King Wan is on high; Oh! bright is he in heaven...

King Wan ascends and descends, on the left and right of

God. Full of earnest activity was King Wan, and his

fame is without end... Profound was King Wan; Oh! conti-

nuous and bright was his feeling of reverence. Great is

the appointment of Heaven!... The appointment is not

easily preserved. Do not cause your own extinction.

Display and make bright your righteousness and name, and

look at the fate of Yin in the light of Heaven. The doings

of High Heaven, have neither sound nor smell. Take your

pattern from King Wan, and the myriad regions will repose

confidence in you... This King Wan, watchfully and reverently,

with entire intelligence served God, and so secured the great

blessing. His virtue was without deflection; and in conse-

quence he received the allegiance of the States from all

quarters."⁷²

King Wan, however, died before he brought his work of reform and moralization to a completion. It was King Woo, his son, who completed his father's unfinished task. In the Shoo Ching are found several declarations

which King Woo made as he was carrying out his moral mission as the champion of justice and righteousness. More than any other Chinese sages, King Woo comes closer to the Hebrew prophets in his indictment on the unjust, oppressive and violent deeds of the rulers and the ruling class. Of course, like the Hebrew prophets and his predecessors, Tang, and King Wan, King Woo felt he was charged by the divine power with his moral mission. Like Jeremiah, he had no other choice except submitting himself to God. He says, "The iniquity of Shang is full. Heaven gives command to destroy it. If I did not comply with Heaven, my iniquity would be as great."⁷³ He deplored oppression, violence, luxury and idleness, and the lack of justice and righteousness among the rulers of Shang. In his indictment upon the rulers of his day, we can certainly see that he was not too far from the Hebrew prophets in his moral sense. Thus we read in the Great Declaration: "... of all creatures man is the most highly endowed. The sincere, intelligent, and perspicacious among men becomes the great sovereign; and the great sovereign is the parent of the people. But now, Show, the King of Shang (or Yin) does not reverence Heaven above, and inflicts calamities on the below. He has been abandoned to drunkenness, and reckless in lust. (Cf. Isaiah's denunciation on the sin of intemperance: "Woe to those who rise early in the morning, that they may run after strong drink, who tarry late into the evening till wine inflames them!" 5:11). He has dared to exercise cruel oppression.

Along with criminals he has punished all their relatives. He has put men into office on the hereditary principle. He has made it his pursuit to have palaces, towers, pavilions, embankments, ponds, and all other extravagances, to the most painful injury of you, the myriad people. He has burned and roasted the loyal and good. He has ripped up pregnant women. Great Heaven was moved with indignation, and charged my deceased father Wan reverently to display its majesty; but he died before the work was completed. On this account, I, Fa, who am but a little child, have by means of you... contemplated the government of Shang; but Show has no repentent heart. He abides squatting on his heels, not serving God... The victims and the vessels of millet all become the prey of wicked robbers; and still he says, 'The people are mine: the decree is mine.' never trying to correct his contemptuous mind. Now Heaven, to protect the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them instructors, that they might be able to be aiding to God, and secure the tranquility of the four quarters of the empire. In regard to who are criminals and who are not, how dare I give any allowance to my own wishes? 'Where the strength is the same, measure the virtue of the parties; where the virtue is the same, measure the their righteousness.' Show has hundreds of thousands and myriads of ministers, but they have hundreds of thousands and myriads of minds; I have three thousand minⁱsters, but

they have one mind. The iniquity of Shang is full. Heaven gives command to destroy it. If I did not comply with Heaven, my iniquity would be as great."^{74a} As King Woo was on his way to clean up the decays of Yin Dynasty he made another declaration, again pronouncing his condemnation upon lawlessness, lack of virtue, dissoluteness, intemperance, recklessness, and oppression and above all the hurt of the innocent: "I have heard that good man, doing good, finds the day insufficient, and that the evil man, doing evil, likewise finds the day insufficient. Now Show, the king of Shang, with strength pursues his lawless way. He has cast away the time-worn sires, and cultivates intimacies with wicked men. Dissolute, intemperate, reckless, oppressive, his ministers have become assimilated to him; and they form parties, and contract animosities, and depend on the emperor's power to exterminate one another. The innocent cry to Heaven. The odor of such a state is plainly felt on high."^{74b} Like the Hebrew prophets, King Wan pronounces divine judgment: "Heaven loves the people, and the sovereign should reverence Heaven. Kee, the sovereign of Hsia, could not follow the example of Heaven, but sent forth his poisonous injuries through the states of the empire: - Heaven favored and charged Tang, the Successful, to make an end of the decree of Hsia. But the crimes of Show exceed those of Kee. He has stript and degraded the greatly good men; he has behaved with cruel tyranny to his

reprover and helper... I must now go forward. My military prowess is displayed, and I enter his territories, to take the wicked tyrant. My punishment of evil will be shown more glorious than that of Tang. Rouse ye, my heroes! Do not think that he is not to be feared; - better think that he cannot be withstood. His people stand in trembling awe of him, as if the horns were falling from their heads. Oh! unite your energies, unite your hearts; so shall you forthwith surely accomplish the work to last for all ages."⁷⁵ King Woo made another declaration, in which he denounced the king for his pride and unjust, oppressive, cruel, and violent deeds: "Show, the king of Shang treats with contemptuous slight the five constant (五常)⁷⁶ virtues, and abandons himself to wild idleness and irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven, and brought enmity between himself and the people. He cut through the leg-bones of those who were wading in the morning; he cut out the heart of the worthy men. By the use of his power killing and murdering, he has poisoned and sickened all within the four seas. His honor and confidence are given to the villainous and bad. He has driven from him his instructors and guardians. He has thrown to the winds the statutes and penal laws. He has imprisoned and enslaved the upright officers... He makes contrivances of wonderful device and extraordinary cunning, to please his woman. God will no longer indulge him, but

with a curse is sending down on him this ruin... Oh! the virtues of my deceased father Wan, was like the shining and influence of the sun and moon. His brightness extended over the four quarters of the empire, and shone signally in the western region. Hence it is that our Chow has received the allegiance of many States. If I subdue Show, it will not be my prowess, but the faultless virtue of my deceased father Wan. If Show subdue me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wan, but because I, who am a little child, am not good."⁷⁷ "The ancients have said, 'The hen does not announce the morning. The crowing of a hen in the morning indicates the subversion of the family.' Now Show, the king of Shang, follows only the words of his wife. He has blindly thrown away the sacrifices which he should present, and makes no response for the favors which he has received; he has blindly thrown away his paternal and maternal relatives, not treating them properly. They are only the vagabonds of the empire, loaded with crimes, whom he honors and exalts, whom he employs and trusts, making them great officers and nobles, so that they can tyrannize over the people, exercising their villainies in the city of Shang. Now I, Fa, am simply executing respectfully the punishment appointed by Heaven."⁷⁸

In all these declarations we can certainly feel something of the prophetic concern for justice, righteousness, and compassion. King Woo had a strong sense of a moral mission in his day, and like the Hebrew prophets he

he felt that he was definitely sent by God to purify the decayed society. As we read the declarations we cannot but be reminded of Jeremiah's denunciations on the unrighteous and oppressive kings of his day, which are so clearly recorded in the 21st and 22nd chapter of his book. The difference between the Chinese sage-kings and the Hebrew prophets was that the former had the power to carry out their moral mission.

As it was with Hebrew prophets, a good society for these Chinese moralists meant a society in which just, righteous, virtuous, and benevolent leaders ruled, in which oppression, cruelty, injustice and violence are not found. It meant a society in which idleness and vain luxury of the few privileged men should not exist at the expense of the toil and poverty of many. It meant a society in which no one suffers under law without cause. It meant a society in which the multitudes of the people find peace, repose, tranquility, and receive due protection of the law. And it meant a society in which rulers as well as common men feared and revered God.

B. 7th-6th Century Prophets and Confucius-Mencius

The seventh century in ancient Israel was also placed in a moral-social crisis similar to that of the eighth century. The condition that prevailed in that century is vividly described in the writings of three con-

temporary prophets. Habakkuk complains to God about the presence of violence, strife, contention and destruction, and he says, "The law is slacked and justice never goes forth. For the wicked surround the righteous, so justice goes forth perverted."⁷⁹ Zephaniah, a little earlier, had described the condition of Judah with these words: "Her officials within her are roaring lions; her judges are evening wolves that leave nothing till the morning. Her prophets are wanton, faithless men; her priests profane what is sacred, they do violence to the law."⁸⁰ Jeremiah gives another description: "Wicked men are found among my people; they lurk like fowlers lying in wait. They set a trap; they catch men. Like a basket full of birds, their houses are full of treachery; therefore they have become great and rich, they have grown fat and sleek. They know no bounds in deeds of wickedness; they judge not with justice the cause of the fatherless, to make it prosper, and they do not defend the rights of the needy."⁸¹ "An appalling and horrible thing has happened in the land: the priests prophecy falsely, and the priests rule at their direction; my people love to have it so..."⁸² There was, of course, some justice and righteousness in the land, and certainly there were some upright men in Judah,⁸³ but there was so much oppression, injustice, and lawlessness that in the eyes of the prophet, every one, from the least to the greatest, from the rich to the poor, from the high to the

low, alike broke away from the restraints of righteousness. So he cried out: "From the least to the greatest of them, every one is greedy for unjust gain; and from prophet to priest, every one deals falsely. They have healed the wound of my people lightly, saying, 'Peace, peace,' when there is no peace."⁸⁴ Again, "Run to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, look and take note! Search her squares to see if you can find a man, one who does justice and seeks truth."⁸⁵ Again, "This is the city which must be punished; there is nothing but oppression within her. As a well produces its water, so she produces her wickedness; violence and destruction are heard within her; sickness and wound are ever before me."⁸⁶

Out of such moral crisis which prevailed during the seventh century came forth Zephaniah, Habakkuk, and Jeremiah, - all desiring to build a good society. Being sensitive to the evils of their own day, these prophets also attacked them with passionate vehemence and with a reforming zeal. Habakkuk, pronouncing series of woes upon the oppressive world-ruler,⁸⁷ pointed out that the abuse of his power by means of murder, treachery, greed in robbery and violence of every sort will react upon the oppressive himself. For Yahweh is the ruler of the moral universe and right will avenge itself upon the head of the tyrant. As we have already seen, this was precisely what the Chinese moralists tried to convey in their orations. Habakkuk condemned the oppressor for his violation of fundamental

human rights and principles. Zephaniah, finding the ruling classes to be the chief offenders of justice and righteousness, pronounced woes upon them. The Day of the Lord would surely come with destruction. To those who were humble and did Yahweh's commands, Zephaniah gave words of encouragement to continue in their righteous life, for thus only could they hope to receive protection "in the day of Yahweh's anger." "Seek the Lord, all you humble of the land, who do his commands; seek righteousness, seek humility; perhaps you may be hidden on the day of the wrath of the Lord."⁸⁸ Jeremiah, called upon by Yahweh in a period of moral decay, was also trying to turn back the tide of corruption. He was very clear in his mind as to the requirements of the proper social relation. For him the prime and fundamental demand was justice tempered with mercy between man and man. "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, let not the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him who glories glory in this, that he understands and knows me, that I am the Lord who practise kindness, justice, and righteousness in the earth; for in these things I delight, says the Lord."⁸⁹ Therefore, Jeremiah's conception of an ideal king will be one who conforms to this requirement. He says: "Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will raise up for David a righteous Branch, and he shall reign as king and deal

wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land."⁹⁰ When King Zedekiah's messengers came to Jeremiah to get an advice for the king with regard to the impending invasion by Babylon, the prophet gave this advice: "Do justice and righteousness, and deliver from the hand of the oppressor him who has been robbed. And do no wrong or violence to the alien, the fatherless, and the widow, nor shed innocent blood in this place."⁹¹ At the same time he pronounced woe to the king "who builds his house by unrighteousness, and his upper rooms by injustice; who makes his neighbor serve him for nothing and does not give him his wages..."⁹² He continued: "Do you think you are a king because you compete in cedar? Did not your father eat and drink and do justice and righteousness? Then it was well with him. He judged the cause of the poor and the needy; then it was well. Is not this to know me? says the Lord. But you have eyes and heart only for your dishonest gain, for shedding innocent blood, and practicing oppression and violence."⁹³ To the general public he offered deliverance in the name of Yahweh from the impending catastrophe, if they would truly amend their ways and their doings, if they would truly execute justice one with another, if they would not oppress the alien, the fatherless or the widow, or shed innocent blood."⁹⁴ Thus a "good society" in the view of the seventh century prophets was essentially the same as that of the eighth century prophets.

During the early part of the sixth century we find the moral condition of Judah to be in the lowest ebb in Israel's history. The Judeans, at this time, are said, according to Ezekiel, to have outdone all the nations in their wickedness by forsaking the commandments and ordinances of their God. Ezekiel, whose prophetic ministry began in 593 B.C. in Babylonia by the river Chebar, gives us some insight into the situation that prevailed in Judah and Jerusalem. He says: "Thus says the Lord: This is Jerusalem; I have set her in the center of the nations, with countries round about her. And she has wickedly rebelled against my ordinances more than the nations, and against my statutes more than the countries round about her, by rejecting my ordinances and not walking in my statutes."⁹⁵ The moral decay, in the eyes of the prophet, was so bad that even Sodom, Gomorrah, and Samaria, the outstanding embodiments of evil until that time could not compare with Jerusalem in her iniquity: "Have you not committed lewdness in addition to all your abominations? Behold, every one who uses proverbs will use this proverb about you, 'Like mother, like daughter.' You are the daughter of your mother, who loathed her husband and her children; and you are the sister of your sisters, who loathed their husbands and their children. Your mother was a Hittite and your father an Amorite. And your elder sister is Samaria, who lived with her daughters to the north of you; and your

younger sister, who lived to the south of you, is Sodom with her daughters. Yet you were not content to walk in their ways, or do according to their abominations; within a very little time you were more corrupt than they in all your ways. As I live, says the Lord God, your sister Sodom and her daughters have not done as you and your daughters have done. Behold, this was the guilt of your sister Sodom: she and her daughters **had** pride, surfeit of food, and prosperous ease, but did not aid the poor and needy. They were haughty, and did abominable things before me; therefore I removed them, when I saw it. Samaria has not committed half your sins; you have committed more abominations than they, and have made your sisters appear righteous by all the abominations which you have committed. Bear your disgrace, you also, for you have made judgment favorable to your sisters; because of your sins in which you acted more abominably than they, they are more in the right than you." ⁹⁶ The iniquity, which Judah committed was not only ritualistic offences, but also many violations of moral law such as murder, neglect and oppression of the poor and weak, injustice, disregard of filial piety, lewd conduct, adultery, usury, bribery, tale-bearing, robbery, and juggling with weights and measures. So Ezekiel declares: "The guilt of the house of Israel and Judah is exceedingly great; the land is full of blood, and the city full of injustice."⁹⁷ "Father and mother are treated with

contempt in you; the sojourner suffers extortion in your midst; the fatherless and the widow are wronged in you."⁹⁸

"There are men in you who slander to shed blood, and men in you who eat upon the mountains; men commit lewdness in your midst. In you men uncover their father's nakedness; in you they humble women who are unclean in their impurity. One commits abomination with his neighbor's wife; another lewdly defiles his daughter-in-law; another in you defiles his sister, his father's daughter. In you men take bribes to shed blood; you take interest and increase and make gain of your neighbor by extortion; and you have forgotten me, says the Lord."⁹⁹ "The people of the land have practiced extortion and committed robbery; they have oppressed the poor and needy, and have extorted from the sojourners without redress."¹⁰⁰ Among the exile, there were also self-styled prophets who prophesied out of their own minds speaking falsehood and divining a lie.

"They have spoken falsehood and divined a lie; they say, 'Says the Lord,' when the Lord has not sent them, and yet they expect him to fulfil their word. Have you not seen a delusive vision, and uttered a lying divination, whenever you have said, 'Says the Lord,' although I have not spoken?"¹⁰¹

With falsehood and lie these false-prophets misled the people of Yahweh by promising peace in vain: "They misled my people, saying, 'Peace,' when there is no peace."¹⁰² There were female magicians who, for their own selfish profits, shed the blood of the innocents: "You have profaned me among

my people for handfuls of barley and for pieces of bread, putting to death persons who should not die and keeping alive persons who should not live, by your lies to my people, who listen to lies."¹⁰³ Sometime before the overthrow of the Jewish monarchy the country was in a political chaos. There was a semblance of government, but the kings, being the creatures of Egypt or Babylonia, felt no responsibility to or for their subjects. They were therefore cruel and arbitrary. They were like shepherds who looked only after their own interests: "Ho, shepherds of Israel who have been feeding yourselves! Should not shepherds feed the sheep? You eat the fat,, you clothe yourselves with the wool, you slaughter the fatlings; but you do not feed the sheep. The weak you have not strengthened, the sick you have not healed, the crippled you have not bound up, the strayed you have not brought back, the lost you have not sought, and with force and harshness you have ruled. So they were scattered, because there was no shepherd; and they became food for all the wild beasts."¹⁰⁴ The examples of the kings were naturally followed by their princes, who also, in their smaller spheres, ruled with force and harshness. Finally the land was filled with violence, oppression, and injustice. The political leaders, misusing their power, not only practised injustice and oppression, but also shed the blood of many innocent citizens: "Behold, the princes of Israel in you, every one according to his power, have been bent on shedding

blood."¹⁰⁵ They shed blood for their own selfish gains: "Her princes in the midst of her are like a roaring lion tearing the prey; they have devoured human lives; they have taken treasure and precious things; they have made many widows in the midst of her."¹⁰⁶ "Her princes in the midst of her are like wolves tearing the prey, shedding blood, destroying lives to get dishonest gain."¹⁰⁷ Among the most heinous sins of Ezekiel's time committed by the people was the human sacrifice which was motivated by their idolatrous spirit. Thus Yahweh accused Jerusalem of her evil: "You also took your fair jewels of my gold and of my silver, which I had given you, and made for yourself images of men, and with them played the harlot; and you took your embroidered garments to cover them, and set my oil and my incense before them. Also you with fine flour and oil and honey - you set before them for a pleasing odor, says the Lord God. And you took your sons and your daughters, whom you had borne to me, and these you sacrificed to them to be devoured. Were your harlotries so small a matter that you slaughtered my children and delivered them up as an offering by fire to them."¹⁰⁸

Out of such moral crisis came forth Ezekiel, called upon by God, with a moral mission. His first task, as a moralist, was to give a definition of a righteous man and that of a sinner. At a time when the Judeans were faced with a national crisis due to Babylonian invasion

and captivity this was all the more necessary and important. He had to give an answer to those who complained, saying, "The way of Yahweh is not fair."¹⁰⁹ Or, "Yahweh sees us not; Yahweh has forsaken the land."¹¹⁰ Or again, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge."¹¹¹ Ezekiel's simple answer ~~was~~ ^{and/} that the calamity was due to sin that "the soul that sins shall die," while the righteous man "shall surely live." In the 18th chapter, Ezekiel explains what constitutes a righteous man and what constitutes a sinner: A man is righteous and does what is lawful and right "if he does not eat upon the mountains or lift up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, does not defile his neighbor's wife or approach a woman in her time of impurity, does not oppress anyone, but restores to the debtor his pledge, commits no robbery, gives his bread to the hungry and covers the naked with a garment, does not lend at interest or take any interest, withholds his hand from iniquity, executes true justice between man and man, walks in my statutes, and is careful to observe my ordinances..."¹¹² Such a man is indeed righteous and shall surely live. But "a son who is a robber, a shedder of blood, who does none of these duties, but eats upon the mountain, defiles his neighbor's wife, oppresses the poor and needy, commits robbery, does not restore the pledge, lifts up his eyes to the idols, commits abomination, lends at interest, and takes increase... shall surely die; his blood shall be upon himself."¹¹³

Ezekiel summarized his ethical thought in the following words: "When the son has done what is lawful and right, and has been careful to observe all my statutes, he shall surely live. The soul that sins shall die. The son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father, nor the father suffer for the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon himself, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon himself."¹¹⁴ Compare this with a statement in Shoo Ching, where Tsoo Ke (1323 B.C.) says: "In its inspection of men below, Heaven's first consideration is of their righteousness, and it bestows on them accordingly length of years or the contrary. Heaven does not cut short men's lives; - they bring them to an end in the midst themselves."¹¹⁵ Ezekiel made it one of his supreme ethical ideas by elevating the importance of individual in society, whereas up to his time social solidarity had made it difficult for the individual to find recognition on his own merits. The idea of the doctrine of election had become so mechanical and demoralized among the common people that when the exile took place they could not understand why Yahweh would forsake his people. This was always the main problem which the prophets of the eighth and seventh century had to face with. Jeremiah had already initiated the doctrine of individual responsibility by saying that "every one shall die for his own sin; each man who

eats sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge."¹¹⁶
 Ezekiel fully developed this doctrine. For him it is required by the very nature of Yahweh; that being himself a righteous being, he cannot punish a righteous man or reward a sinner.

Ezekiel differed from his predecessors in that his chief emphasis, like that ^{of} Hosea, was on cult. It was the avoidance of the worship of other deities and of the abominations connected with pagan cults in which he was especially interested. He deplored the people's more or less orgiastic rites, including sexual licence. In this he was not a hundred percent social prophet. Yet he specified a longer list of social sins than the other prophets. They are pride; surfeit of food and prosperous ease combined with failure to provide for the poor and needy; robbery; failure to restore the pledge, taking "interest and increase" (the profit motive); practicing extortion, especially on the sojourner, the alien.

For Ezekiel, a "good society" simply meant one in which none of the above-mentioned vices were practised.

Clearly Ezekiel had familiarity with a collected Torah, which is lacking in other prophets. This made it possible for him to base every item in his indictment on its demands; and there is a touch ^{of} legalism in his demands. He appealed to the tradition that was known to all Israel, to God's written will.

Thus, coming in the time of moral crisis and speaking in the name of Yahweh, Hebrew prophets sought to build a "good society" here on earth - by doing away with the existing evils of society. They were filled with indignation when they saw men oppressing and exploiting one another. They denounced injustice, oppression, violence, and the lack of humanity. They were very practical and very practically minded moralists. They could not remain silent when they saw the widow and the fatherless being oppressed by the rich and the powerful. They could not tolerate the ruling class when they acquitted the guilty for a bribe and deprived the innocent of his right. They could not stand seeing the rich living in luxury and at ease drinking wine in bowls and anointing themselves with the finest oils while poor peasants were helplessly suffering with starvation without the necessities of life. They could not forgive the leaders who were eating the choice lambs clothing themselves with the wool, slaughtering the fatlings but were neglecting to feed their subjects. And above all, they could not bear to see one human being depriving another of his fundamental human rights and dignity by means of oppression, injustice and violence. Therefore, the prophets spoke out, with all their passion, against the wrongs of their time, and doing this they informed men as to the nature of a "good society." Their social message is summed

up in the memorable passage: "He has showed you, O mankind, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and love kindness(hesed), and to walk humbly with your God?"¹¹⁷ They prophets demanded justice for a good society, but they demanded more than justice. They demanded a justice tempered by the quality of hesed - compassion, kindness, love, grace, piety, or whatever one may call it. It was indeed to a genuine spirit of brotherhood which should pervade the whole of society that the prophets summoned their contemporaries.

Let us now turn to the Chinese. The Chow Dynasty(founded in 1122 B.C.), which was established on the lofty ideals of King Wan and King Woo, too began to decay as years passed. And when we turn to the 8th, 7th and 6th century we find that the moral, social, and political condition which prevailed in China in those periods was as bad as that which existed in Israel in the corresponding periods. The period between 722 and 481 B.C. is known as "Ch'un Ch'iu" or the "Spring and Autumn" period¹¹⁸ in Chinese history. This period is characterized by its political, moral, and social chaos which China never before or since has experienced. Perhaps

no more dreadful record of a nation's struggle can be imagined than that which is recorded in Ch'un Ch'iu. Mencius, who was born in 372 B.C. and died in 289 B.C.,¹¹⁹ has described the condition, especially that of Confucius' time in the following words: "Again, the world faced decay and principles of right government faded away. Perverse speaking and oppressive deeds again became rife. There were instances of ministers who murdered their sovereigns and of sons who murdered their fathers."¹²⁰ No Chinese historian would disagree on this. Ssema Ch'ien (145-85 B.C.) wrote: "In the time of Confucius, the power of the Chow Emperors had declined, the forms of worship and social intercourse had degenerated, and learning and scholarship had fallen into decay."¹²¹ Huh Shih, the well-known Chinese philosopher and historian remarks: "The age of Confucius ... was an age of political disintegration, social unrest, and intellectual anarchy. Above all, it was an age of moral disorder. 'The whole world is one seething torrent' -- so said one of his contemporaries. 'The world is out of order' (Wu Tao) was the most prevalent characterization of the time."¹²² The Ch'un Ch'iu itself reports that during the period of 242 years there were thirty-six regicides. There were also numerous dominicides, parricides, assassinations, murders, and usurpations for the sake of wealth, power, or selfish

pleasure. During the political turmoil, injustice and oppression were common practices of the ruling classes. This is perhaps best described in a narrative recorded in the Li Chi, which reads: "In passing by the side of Mount Thai, Confucius came on a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave. The Master bowed forward to the crossbar, and hastened to her; and then sent Zeh-lu to question her. 'Your wailing,' said he, 'is altogether like that of one who has suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, 'It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed here by a tiger. My husband was also, killed (by another), and now my son has died in the same way. The Master said, 'Why do you not leave the place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government here.' The Master then said (to the disciples), 'Remember this, my little children. Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers.'¹²³ There were also instances in which the minister abducted the queen, killed the king, and seized the throne. There were instances in which the ruler, habituated to court effeminacy and indulgence, murdered the queen and neglected the state affairs. Bribery was a common practice among the public officials. The poor and the needy were neglected. "Needless to say," remarks L. S. Hsu, "political corruption was prevalent. False propaganda led, public opinion astray. The evils of the rule of political bosses were notorious. Furthermore, political bosses and landlords

had formed combinations contrary to the interests of the mass of the people, most of whom were petty farmers. Political tyranny and economic exploitation went hand in hand.... The public grievances against tyrannical governments were being expressed throughout the empire."¹²⁴ Moral relations among the people were confused and became lax; there was breakdown of all rights and duties; relationships and obligations proper to the various strata or classes of society and state were being obliterated. It was similar to the situation that prevailed in Judah during her last days. The princes were neither princely themselves nor were they regarded as princes; the ministers not only failed to perform their ministerial duties faithfully but also forgot the allegiance and loyalty which they owed to their rulers; fathers were no longer the moral and spiritual heads of their families; sons had forgotten the filial piety and obedience proper to their status in the family. Therefore, Confucius declared: "Let the prince be prince; let the minister be minister; let the father be father; let the son be son!"¹²⁵ Again when asked as to what he would first undertake were he to govern a state, he said: "It must needs be the rectifying of names! If names be incorrect, speech will not follow its natural sequence. If speech does not follow its its natural sequence, nothing can be established. If nothing can be established, no rules of conduct or music

will prevail. Where rules of conduct and music do not prevail, law and punishments will not be just. When law and punishments are not just, the people will not know where to place their hands and feet."¹²⁶ In these passages also we learn that the age in which Confucius found himself was one in which activities, duties, relations, and institutions no longer meant what their names indicated and were no longer functioning as their names indicated. It was the kind ^{of/} society which Isaiah had found, in which goodness was called bad and badness good. Therefore, Confucius said: "The Ku(a vessel with corners) no longer has corners."¹²⁷ By this he implied that to say a cornerless vessel is a Ku(a vessel with corners) is like calling goodness bad and badness good, and that where such condition exists there would be no ground of certainty and validity for daily discourse and judgment of truth and falsehood, right and wrong. Confusion of names meant confusion of moral standards and social relationships. Princes, ministers, fathers, and sons -- all alike had lost moral sense and principles of right and wrong, and could not distinguish good from bad. This was indeed the kind of condition which Hebrew prophets bitterly denounced. Amos complained that men of his time did not know how to do right, and Isaiah rebuked his contemporaries for calling goodness bad and badness ~~angood~~, and putting darkness for light and light for darkness.

Nowhere can we find more vivid descriptions of the social condition of the age than in the popular songs and poems which Confucius edited and transmitted to the succeeding generations. Some of the poems which are found in the Shih Ching are very old going back as far as 1700 B.C.,¹²⁸ but a great number of them were written during the 8th century and onward, the last poem having been written around 585 B.C. In the study of moral and social condition which prevailed during the Ch'un Ch'iu period these poems are of indispensable value as contemporary testimonies.

In a poem composed in the eighth century, the writer bemoans the misery and oppression caused by king's employment of worthless officials whom he calls "devouring insects":

Heaven sends down its net of crime:--
 Devouring insects, who weary and confuse
 Men's minds,
 Ignorant, oppressive, negligent,
 Breeders of confusion, utterly perverse:--
 They are the men employed to tranquil our country.

Insolent and slanderous.--
 The King does not know a flaw in them.
 We, careful and feeling in peril,
 For long in unrest,
 are constantly subjected to degradation.

As in a year of draught,
 The grass not attaining to luxuriance;
 As water plants attached to a tree;
 So do I see in this country
 All going to confusion.¹²⁹

In the same poem, the writer bemoans the lack of virtue among the officials of his day, to which he ascribes national

disaster:

Formerly when the former kings received their
appointment, there were such ministers as the
duke of Shao,
Who would in a day enlarge the kingdom a
Hundred li.
Now it is contracted in a day a hundred li.
Oh! Alas!
Among the men of the present day,
Are there not still some with the old virtue?¹³⁰

Another poem describes the misery, oppression and injustice
caused by a ruler:

There is no peace in the country,
And the people are in distress.

Men had their land and farms,
But you have taken them away.
Men had their people and followers,
~~But you have violently taken them from them.~~
There is one who is innocent,
But you have imprisoned him.
There is a guilty man,
But you have let him go free!¹³¹

In another poem, the writer bemoans the oppression caused
by government:

My heart with its sorrow
Feels as if it were tied and bound by something.
This government of the present time --
How oppressive it is!....
The fish are in the pond,
But they cannot enjoy themselves.
Although they dive to the bottom,
They are clearly seen.
My sorrowing heart is deeply pained,
When I think of the oppression in the kingdom.

Mean-like, those have their houses;
Abjects, they will have their emoluments.
But the people now have no maintenance.....
The rich may get through,
But alas for the helpless and solitary!¹³²

Another poet complains about a government official for his

deeds of violence and oppression:

This Hwang-foo
Will not acknowledge that he is acting out of season.
But why does he call us to action
Without coming and consulting with us?
He has removed our walls and roofs,
And our fields are all either a marsh or a moor.
He says, "I am not injuring you;
The laws require that thus it should be."¹³³

In another poem, the writer, with a prophetic spirit, denounces
the unjust and irresponsible actions of ministers:

Lofty is that southern hill,
With its masses of rocks,
Terrible are you, O ministers of State
The people all look at you!
A fire burns in our grieving hearts;
The kingdom is verging to extinction:
Why are you still blind to this state of things?
You terrible ministers of State,
Why are you so unjust?
Heaven is multiplying its afflictions;
The people are grumbling;
And yet you do not correct nor bemoan yourselves!¹³⁴

In a poem composed in the 8th century, an officer, while
complaining about the arduous duties unjustly imposed upon
him, gives an insight into the kind of life which ruling
class was living, and which Amos of the same century would
have bitterly denounced:

Under the wide heaven, all is the king's land.
Within the sea-boundaries of the land,
All are his servants.
How unjust are those in power....

Some enjoy their ease and rest,
And some are worn out in serving the State!
Some lie and loll upon their couches,
And some never cease marching about!

Some never hear a sound,
And some are cruelly toiled.
Some lazily roast, on their backs looking up,

And some are all-bustled in the service of the King.

Some indulge long in pleasure and drinking,
And some are miserable....¹³⁵

Number of such examples may be multiplied, but these clearly give us vivid descriptions of the condition that prevailed in the centuries just preceding Confucius' time. When he Confucius was born in 551 B.C., China was in a hopeless anarchy -- politically, socially and morally. Under the hundreds of princes, dukes, barons, and local chieftains who were constantly warring with one another, the common people were going through endless miseries. The whole country was run by the greedy ruling classes. So Confucius remarked: "The princes of today are greedy in their search after material goods. They indulge themselves in pleasure and neglect their duties and carry themselves with a proud air. They take all they can from the people and invade the territory of good rulers against the will of the people, and they go out to get what they want without regard for what is right. This is the way of modern rulers..." (Li Chi, Aikung Wen). There was Emperor, still holding a theoretic sovereignty over the Chinese Empire, but he became too weak and powerless. He could do nothing to restore order. There was so much injustice, violence, oppression in the society that some people preferred being eaten up by tigers in the mountains to living in human society which was filled with lawlessness and oppression. On the top of all this, there

was intellectual chaos. Some like Laotse repudiated civilization entirely in the spirit of nihilism (Wu Wei, "do nothing!"). "There were," says Lin Yutang, "Sophists, Stoics, Hedonists, Epicureans and downright Naturalists. Many people... began to suspect civilization itself, and harked back to primitive life..."¹³⁶ Some modern thinkers are harking out of such a crisis came forth Confucius. It is, therefore, no wonder that the social ideals of the Chinese sage and the Hebrew prophets share so much in common. Like the Hebrew prophets Confucius sought to dispel the errors of his time, to effect changes, and to restore order in society believing in the force of moral ideals, in learning, and in maintaining a high moral standard in human relationships as the only way of life. His entire aim was to build a "good society." He "stood for a rationalized social order through the ethical approach, based on personal cultivation."¹³⁷ And he "aimed at political order ... and sought political harmony in man himself."¹³⁸

Like the Hebrew prophets, Confucius was also firmly convinced that he received a divinely appointed task in his moral mission. Once he was in a personal danger in K'wang, and yet he showed no sign of anxiety or fear. He simply observed that the moral mission had been entrusted to him by Heaven and that the Heaven would not allow him to be perished. He said, "After the death of King Wan, was not the cause of truth lodged here (in me)? If Heaven had

wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal, should not have got such a relation to that cause. While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of K'wang do to me?"¹³⁹

His confidence in the power of Heaven, and his sense of a moral mission to men appointed by Heaven, was as strong as that of the prophets of Israel.¹⁴⁰

Like the Hebrew prophets, Confucius was sensitive to the social conditions of his time. He enunciated his moral principles to all classes of society -- kings, princes, the rich as well as the poor, the parents and children, the husband and wife. But above all he was deeply concerned for the health of society. Confucius, we are told by Mencius, wrote the Ch'un Ch'iu because he feared the evil condition of his days and the danger that would inevitably bring self-destruction. "Again, the world faced decay and principles of right government faded away. Perverse speaking and oppressive deeds again became rife. There were instances of ministers who murdered their sovereigns and of sons who murdered their fathers. Confucius was afraid and wrote the Ch'un Ch'iu."¹⁴¹ The effect of this work, Mencius further informs us, was so great that the rebellious ministers and villainous sons were terror-stricken.¹⁴² The Ch'un Ch'iu, as anyone can see, is a very dry book, and no one would find it to be interesting or exciting to read. It is extremely monotonous in contents and mode of expression. The edge of

the utterances which Confucius made, however, lay in the precision of the terms employed. "He used," wrote Ssema Ch'ien before the Christian era, "different words implying approval or condemnation in criticism of the practices of his times," and he did this "in the hope that should a great king appear in the future and open the book and adopt the principles implied therein, the unruly princes and robbers of power would be ashamed and restrain themselves."¹⁴³ By pronouncing ethical judgments it was the intention of Confucius to reform a corrupt age and restore it to rightness. For example, in recording the 36 cases of regicide, sometimes the term shih(弑) and sometimes the term sha(殺) was employed. They both mean "to kill," but whenever shih was used it was to indicate that the killing was illegitimate and accordingly was condemned by Confucius; when sha was employed it was to indicate that the act was legitimate and approved by Confucius. So we read in Ch'un Ch'iu: "On the day of Mow-shin, Cho-yu of Wei killed(shih) his ruler, Hwan."¹⁴⁴ Here Confucius condemns the act of Cho-yu because he illegitimately murdered his superior to seize his power and position. Then we read in another passage: "In the ninth month, the people of Wei killed(sha) Cho-yu in Puh."¹⁴⁵ Here Confucius approves the people of Wei for their regicide, because the man whom they killed was none other than the above-mentioned Cho-yu who had himself murdered his superior and become a usurper of power.

When the Hebrew prophets rose up to undertake the task of rectifying their corrupt society, they generally turned to the leaders and ruling class though they were not unconcerned for the morality of the common people. Amos confronted the leading representatives of the classes which he arraigned and directed against them his sternest denunciation. The positive principle underlying his stern arraignment was that the first duty of rulers was to protect jealously and valiantly the rights of the poor and defenceless and above all to be the examples of righteous life. With all the force of his brilliant oratory Isaiah attacked the faithless guides who were leading astray his people. In the name of Yahweh he preferred a sweeping charge against the elders and the princes: "You yourselves have devoured the vineyards. The spoils of the needy are in your houses. What do you mean by crushing my people and by grinding the face of the needy."¹⁴⁶ Micah went directly to the capital city, Jerusalem. There he addressed to the leaders in scathing words, calling the leaders merciless "cannibals," and opening his oracle with familiar phrase, "Hear now O heads of Jacob," or "Hear this, ye heads of the house of Jacob." Zephaniah, although of royal rank and a citizen of Jerusalem, joined in an unsparing attack upon the guilty rulers of Judah: "Her rulers in her midst are roaring lions, her judges are evening wolves, who leave nothing over until the morning; her prophets are braggarts, faithless men, her priests profane

what is holy and do violence to the law."¹⁴⁷ Jeremiah likewise turned to the leaders of Judah and delivered Yahweh's message. So did Ezekiel, pronouncing judgment upon the princes of Israel who were, according to their power, bent on shedding blood and upon the "shepherds" who neglected to feed their sheep. Prophets turned to the leaders and ruling class because they were largely responsible for the nation-wide demoralization. They felt that the cause of all social evils lay in the leaders, for they not only neglected their duties to lead the common people on the right path but furthermore became themselves the foremost examples of injustice, oppression, and violence.

Like these prophets, when Confucius undertook the task of rectifying the corrupt society of his day, he too turned to the leaders and the ruling classes, for as was in the case of Israelitish society, the evils of Chinese society at that time had their source in the ambitions of greedy princes and those who were privileged and powerful.

Perhaps, more than any moral leaders, Confucius had an excessive faith in the power of example. He believed that if the leaders were upright and righteous, the common people would follow the same course. He said: "He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the North Polar Star, which keeps its place and all the

stars turn toward it."¹⁴⁸ Again, "Government is merely setting things right. When you yourself lead them by the right example, who dares to go astray?"¹⁴⁹ Baron K'ang Ch'i asked Confucius concerning government, saying, "If I kill off the bad citizens, and associate with the good citizens, what do you think?" Confucius replied, "What's the need of killing off people on the part of a ruler of a country? If you desire what is good, the people will become good also. The character of the ruler is like wind, and the character of the common people is like grass, and the grass bends in the direction of the wind."¹⁵⁰ Again, the Baron, distressed about the number of thieves in the State, inquired of Confucius how to do away with them. Confucius replied, "If you, sir, were not covetous, although you should reward them to do it, they would not steal."¹⁵¹ On another occasion, Confucius remarked: "When the ruler himself does what is right, he will have influence over the people without giving commands, and when the ruler himself does not do what is right, all his commands will be of no avail."¹⁵² Again he said: "If a ruler rectifies his own conduct, government is an easy matter, and if he does not rectify his own conduct, how can he rectify others?"¹⁵³ Thus in correcting the evils of society, Confucius sought to rectify the leaders and those who were in authority first. The Commentary on Taisueh was not written by Confucius but certainly reflects his thoughts when it says: "Never has there

been a case of the sovereign loving benevolence, and the people not loving righteousness. Never has there been a case where the people have loved righteousness, and the affairs of sovereign have not been carried to completion."¹⁵⁴

Confucius was, more than anything else, interested in building a "good society." And for him, there was only one way to attain it, and that was in the moral cultivation of the rulers and leaders. Like the Hebrew prophets, he sought to bring about a society built on the principles of justice, righteousness, and humanity. Confucius firmly believed that such a society would be possible only when the top was following the right course. Therefore, he spent much of his time discussing on the conduct of rulers.

When one of his disciples asked Confucius how leaders ~~should~~ act in their official task, Confucius replied: "Let them honor the five excellent, and banish away the four bad, things; -- then may they conduct government properly."¹⁵⁵ When asked about the five excellent things, Confucius replied: "When the leaders are beneficent without great expenditure; when they encourage labor without cause for complaint; when they pursue what they desire without being covetous; when they maintain a dignified ease without ¹⁵⁶being proud; when they inspire awe without being severe."¹⁵⁶ To Confucius, these constituted the five principles which all rulers must observe. The first principle is that rulers should work for the greatest welfare of the people at the greatest economy of

the nation. The second principle is that the leaders should institute a system of taxation in such a way that the people find no cause for complaint. In the time of Confucius, tax was paid by labor. The autocratic rulers then often demanded labor of the people during the busy seasons of the farming, and so the people complained. Confucius, therefore, said: "When the leaders demand labor from the people in proper manner and for their own good, who will complain?"¹⁵⁷ The third principle is that the leaders should devise ways and means to enrich the life of the people, material, spiritual and social, without being covetous. Confucius said: "Make it your aim to wish for moral well-being and you will never be liable to be covetous."¹⁵⁸ The fourth principle is that of equality. Confucius said: "Whether they have to do with many people or few, or with things great or small, they do not dare to indicate any disrespect."¹⁵⁹ Thus Confucius urged the importance of respecting people. On one occasion he said that the affairs of the people should be attended as if to partake in a great religious sacrifice.¹⁶⁰ At another occasion, he remarked that when the rulers treat the people reverently the people will be loyal and respectful to the nation."¹⁶¹ The fifth principle is that the rulers should be respected and revered but not feared. That is, their rule should be respected and laws enforced due to the

their moral influence, not to severe punishment or drastic administration. Rule by threat and fear is condemned by Confucius. So he once remarked: "In presiding over lawsuits, I am as good as anyone. The thing is that we should make it our aim that there may be no lawsuits at all, so that people who have actually done wrong will be too ashamed of themselves to indulge in words of self-defence."¹⁶²

When asked about the four bad principles which all rulers should avoid, Confucius mentioned cruelty, oppression, injury and meanness. He said: "The undue punishment of crimes committed through ignorance arising out of a neglected education is cruelty. The requirement of the people to do or not to do certain things suddenly without first clearly giving public notice is oppression. To leave orders at first in abeyance and uncertainty, and certainly to enforce their performance by severe punishment is injury. To treat subordinates as if bating with them exactly and meanly, thus behaving like professional men, not like gentlemen, is meanness."¹⁶³

Confucius has also laid down nine cardinal rules which every ruler must follow. "For every one," said the Sage, "called to the government of nations and empires there are nine cardinal directions to be attended to:

1. Cultivating his personal conduct.
2. Honoring worthy men.

3. Cherishing affection for, and doing his duty toward, his kindred.
4. Showing respect to the high ministers of State.
5. Identifying himself with the interests and welfare of the whole body of public officers.
6. Showing himself as a father to the common people.
7. Encouraging the introduction of all useful arts.
8. Showing tenderness to strangers from far countries.
9. Taking interest in the welfare of the princes of the Empire."¹⁶⁴

"When the ruler pays," explained Confucius, "attention to the cultivation of his personal conduct, there will be respect for the moral law. When the ruler honors worthy men, he will not be deceived (by the crafty officials). When the ruler cherishes affection for his kindred, there will be no disaffection among the members of his family. When the ruler shows respect to the high ministers of State, he will not make mistakes. When the ruler identifies himself with the interests and welfare of the body of public officers, there will be a strong spirit of loyalty among the gentlemen of the country. When the ruler becomes a father to the common people, the mass of the people will exert themselves for the good of the State. When the ruler encourages the introduction of all useful arts, there will be sufficiency of wealth and revenue in the country. When the ruler shows kindness to the strangers from far countries, people from all quarters of the world will flock to the country. When the ruler takes interest in the condition and welfare of the princes of the empire, he will inspire

country. When the ruler takes interest in the condition and welfare of the princes of the Empire, he will inspire awe and respect for his authority throughout the whole world."¹⁶⁵

As to how the ruler cultivates his personal conduct, Confucius says: "By attending to the cleanliness and purity of his person and to the propriety and dignity of his dress, and in every word and deed permitting nothing which is contrary to good taste and decency."¹⁶⁶ As to how the ruler gives encouragement to worthy men, the Sage replies: "By banishing all flatterers and keeping away from the society of women, holding in low estimation possession of worldly goods, but valuing moral qualities in men."¹⁶⁷ As to how the ruler inspires love for his person among the members of his family, he says: "By raising them to high places of honor and bestowing ample emoluments for their maintenance; sharing and sympathizing with their tastes and opinions."¹⁶⁸ As to how the ruler gives encouragement to the high ministers of State, he says: "By extending the powers of their functions and allowing them discretion in the employment of their subordinates."¹⁶⁹ As to how the ruler gives encouragement to men in public service, the Sage replies: "By dealing loyally and punctually with them in all engagements which he makes with them and allowing a liberal scale of pay."¹⁷⁰ As to how the ruler gives encouragement to the mass of the people, he says:

"By strictly limiting the time of their service and making all imposts as light as possible."¹⁷¹ As to how the ruler encourages the artisan class, he says: "By ordering daily inspection and monthly examination and rewarding each according to the degree of his workmanship."¹⁷² As to how the ruler shows kindness to foreigners, the Sage replies: "By welcoming them when they come and giving them protection when they go, commending what is good in them, and making allowance for their mistakes (in ignorance)."¹⁷³ As to how the ruler takes interest in the welfare of the princes of the Empire, Confucius says: "By restoring lines of broken succession and reviving subjugated states, putting down anarchy and disorder wherever they are found, and giving support to the weak against the strong, fixing stated times for their attendance and the attendance of their envoys at court, loading them with presents when they leave, while exacting little from them in the way of contribution when they come."^{174a}

Confucius was not an orator who, unlike the Hebrew prophets, did not cry out in shrines or streets. The Lun Yu says, "Confucius was gentle but dignified, austere yet not harsh, polite and completely at ease."^{174b} And it is not likely that he ever was like any of the Hebrew prophets who addressed themselves in public in piercing words. Rather he was a tireless teacher, who, in gentle persuasion, sought to correct the wrong-doers of his time.

Yet in his message we find the spirit of the Hebrew prophets and much of their social message. For like the Hebrew moralists, Confucius desired to bring about a society in which the principles of justice, righteousness and humanity prevailed. When Confucius said, "With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and my bended arm for a pillow; -- I have still joy in the midst of these things. Riches and honors acquired by unrighteousness are to me as a floating cloud,"^{174c} or "When a country is ill-governed, riches and honor are things to be ashamed of,"^{174d} he was not too far from Amos in his condemnation of the riches acquired by means of injustice and oppression.

Virtue is an indispensable element for all rulers to possess. Confucian ethics has no place for any ruler who is not virtuous. Therefore so much stress is laid throughout the Classics on the cultivation of virtue by rulers. The word te (virtue, 德) is a general term which comprises qualities of justice, righteousness, and benevolence, and very often it simply means "morality." Confucian ethics regards virtue as the first requirement of rulers. So we read in the Commentary on Taisueh: "The ruler will first take pains about his own virtue. Possessing virtue will give him the people. Possessing the people will give him the territory. Possessing the territory will give him its wealth. Possessing the wealth, he will have resources for expenditure. Virtue is the root; wealth

is the result. If he make the root his secondary object, and the result his primary, he will only wrangle with his people, and teach them rapine.... The ruler's words going forth contrary to right, will come back to him in the same way, and wealth, gotten by improper ways, will take its departure by the same."¹⁷⁵ The Commentary, discussing on the need of a virtuous minister in government, quotes a passage from Shoo Ching: "In the Declaration (of the duke of Ch'in, it is said) 'Let me have but one minister, plain and sincere, not pretending to other abilities, but with a simple, upright mind; and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as though he himself possessed them, and, where he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, and really showing himself able to bear them and employ them:-- such a minister will be able to preserve my sons and grandsons, and black-haired people, and benefits likewise to the kingdom may well be looked for from him. But if it be his character, when he finds men of ability, to be jealous and hate them; and, when he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, to oppose them and not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them:-- such a minister will not be able to protect my sons and grandsons and black-haired people; and may he not also be pronounced dangerous to the State?'"¹⁷⁶ "To see men of worth," continues the

Commentary, "and not be able to raise them to office; to raise them to office, but not to do so quickly:-- this is disrespectful. To see bad men and not be able to remove them; to remove them, but not ^{do/}so at once:-- this is weakness."¹⁷⁷

Ethics of the rulers was further developed by Mencius, who appeared in the fourth century, B.C. in an age similar to that of Confucius. Much of the social evils that existed in the days of Confucius had not diminished when Mencius was born in 372 B.C. Mencius characterizes the spirit of his age when he says: "Sage-kings cease to arise, and the feudal lords give rein to their lusts. Unemployed scholars indulge in unreasonable discussions."¹⁷⁸ On one occasion he said to the King Hui of Liang, "Your dogs and swine eat the food of men, and you do not know to make any restrictive arrangements. There are people dying from famine on the roads, and you do not know to issue the stores of your granaries for them. When people die, you say, 'It is not owing to me; it is owing to the year!' In what does this differ from stabbing a man and killing him, and then saying, 'It was not I; it was the weapon!'"¹⁷⁹ He continued: "In your kitchen there is fat meat; in your stables there are fat horses. But your people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who have died of famine. This is leading

on beasts to devour men."¹⁸⁰ Concerning the the rulers of Ch'in and Ch'u, Mencius said: "The rulers of those states rob their people of their time, so that they cannot plough and weed their fields, in order to support their parents. Their parents suffer from cold and hunger. Brothers, wives, and children are separated and scattered abroad. Those rulers drive their people into pit-falls, or drown them."¹⁸¹ On another occasion, he said to King Hsuan of Ch'i: "Today the living of the people is so ordered that they have not enough to serve their father and mother above, nor enough to keep their wife and children below. In a glad year their whole life is bitterness, and in a bad year they cannot escape perishing."¹⁸² Again, he described the condition of his day by saying, "Among the leaders of men throughout the Empire there is not one who does not find pleasure in killing men."¹⁸³ Thus, in denouncing the evils which kings, princes and the ruling class were practising, Mencius was in the spirit of Amos, Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Especially we are reminded of the words of Ezekiel with which he denounced the leaders of his day: "Her princes in the midst of her are like wolves tearing the prey, shedding blood, destroying lives to get dishonest gain.(Ezek. 22:27)

The age of Mencius was further characterized by what was called "doctrines of the hundred schools." By the time of Mencius, in a period of 107 years since Confucius' death, not only Confucianism had declined but also many diverse

doctrines such as Utilitarianism of Mo Tzu, Hedonism of Yang Chu, and Nihilism of Chuang Tzu, caused intellectual anarchy in Chinese society. To Mencius all these doctrines were simply heretic and perverse.

So, Mencius thus spoke with regard to his mission: "Confucius made the Ch'un Ch'iu, and rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror.... I do wish to rectify men's hearts, and to put an end to perverse doctrines; to oppose their one-sided actions and put away their licentious expressions."¹⁸⁴ Mencius conceived of himself as the only man, in a time of disorder and intellectual confusion, able to perpetuate Confucius' teachings and to carry out the moral mission. He said: "If there is a desire that the world should enjoy tranquility and good order, who is there today, besides myself, to bring it about?"¹⁸⁵ And again: "Now what I desire to do is to study to be like Confucius."¹⁸⁶ This was in accordance with his singular admiration for the Sage, for he said: "Never since the creation of the world was there a person equal to Confucius."¹⁸⁷ Therefore, what Mencius taught was basically the doctrines of Confucius; he taught nothing that went beyond the thought of his Master in moral ideals. He spoke in the spirit of Confucius and made it his duty to uphold and transmit his Master's doctrines. Even the doctrine of jen (love, humanity) which becomes such an important part of his entire ethical system was initiated by Confucius.

In addressing himself to the rulers of his day, Mencius made justice and love two most fundamental themes. When Mencius came to see King Hui of Liang, the King asked: "Venerable Sir, since you have not counted it far to come here, a distance of a thousand li, may I presume that you are provided with counsels to profit my kingdom?"¹⁸⁸ Mencius replied: "Why must your Majesty use that word 'profit' (利)?" What I am provided with, are counsels to love and justice (jen and Yi, 仁義), and these are my only topics."¹⁸⁹ Mencius continued: "If your Majesty say, 'What is to be done to profit my kingdom?' the great officers will say, 'What is to be done to profit our families?' and the inferior officers and the common people will say, 'What is to be done to profit ourselves?' Superiors and inferiors will try to snatch this profit the one from the other, and the kingdom will be endangered."¹⁹⁰ "Let your Majesty," advised Mencius, "say, 'love and justice,' and let these be your only themes. Why must you use that word -- 'profit'?"¹⁹¹ King Hui asked Mencius for an advice with regard to his dealings with two enemy States, Ch'in and Ch'u. Mencius answered: "If your Majesty will indeed dispense a government of love (jen cheng, 仁政) to the people, being sparing in the use of punishments and fines, and making the taxes and levies light, so causing that the fields shall be ploughed deep, and the weeding of them be carefully attended to, and that the strong-bodied, during their days of leisure,

shall cultivate their filial piety, fraternal respectfulness, sincerity, and truthfulness, serving thereby, at home, their fathers and elder brothers, and abroad, their elders and superiors, -- you will then have a people who can be employed, with sticks which they have prepared, to oppose the strong mail and sharp weapons of the troops of Ch'in and Ch'u."¹⁹² "Those (rulers of Ch'in and Ch'u),"¹⁹³ continued Mencius, "drive their people into pit-falls, or drown them. Your Majesty will go to punish them. In such a case, who will oppose your Majesty? In accordance with this is the saying, -- 'Love has no enemy.' I beg your Majesty not to doubt (what I say.)"¹⁹⁴ On one occasion, the King Hsuan of Ch'i asked Mencius: "What virtue must there be in order to attain to royal sway?" Mencius replied: "The love and protection of the people; with this there is no power which can prevent a ruler from attaining to it."¹⁹⁵ To the same, Mencius said: "Now, if your Majesty will institute a government whose action shall be love, this will cause all the officers in the kingdom to wish to stand in your Majesty's court, and all the farmers to wish to plough in your Majesty's fields, and all the merchants, both travelling and stationary, to wish to store their goods in your Majesty's market-places, and all travelling strangers to wish to make their tours on your Majesty's roads, and throughout the kingdom who feel aggrieved by their rulers

to wish to come and complain to your Majesty. And when they are so bent, who will be able to keep them back?"¹⁹⁵ Mencius, like his Master, had an excessive belief in the power of example. He believed that if all things were right at the top everything would go well in the entire society. He said: "Let the prince be correct, and everything will be correct. Once rectify the prince, and the kingdom will be firmly settled."¹⁹⁶ Again: "If the sovereign be benevolent, all will be benevolent. If the sovereign be righteous, all will be righteous."¹⁹⁷ On one occasion, he said to King Hsuan of Ch'i, "Treat with reverence due to age the elders in your own family, so that the elders in the families of others shall be similarly treated; treat with the kindness due to youth the young in your own family, so that the young in the families of others shall be similarly treated: -- do this, and the kingdom may be made to go round in your palm. It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'His example affected his wife. It reached to his brothers, and his family of the State was governed by it.'-- The language shows how (King Wan) simply took his kindly heart, and exercised it towards those parties. Therefore the carrying out his kindness of heart by (a leader) will suffice for the love and protection of all within the four seas, and if he do not carry it out, he will not be able to protect his wife and children. The way in which the ancients came greatly to surpass other men, was no other but this: -- simply that they knew well

how to carry out, so as to affect others, what they themselves did."¹⁹⁸

Loving good and hating evil were strongly emphasized by the Hebrew prophets. Amos said: "Seek good, and not evil... Hate evil, and love good..." (Amos 5:14a, 15a). Similarly Isaiah demanded: "Cease to do evil, learn to do good..." (Isaiah 1:16b, 17a). This is echoed in Mencius, for he regarded a leader who loves good more highly than a man of vigor, of wise council and of much information. Thus the Book of Mencius reports: "The prince of Lu wanting to commit the administration of his government to the disciple Yo-chang, Mencius said, 'When I heard of it, I was so glad that I could not sleep.' Kung-sun Chau asked, 'Is Yo-chang a man of vigor?' and was answered, 'No.' 'Is he wise in council?' 'No.' 'Is he possessed of much information?' 'No.' 'What then made you so glad that you could not sleep?' asked Kung-sun Chau. To this Mencius replied, 'He is a man who loves what is good.' 'Is the love of what is good sufficient?' asked Kung-sun Chau. Mencius replied: "The love of what is good is more than a sufficient qualification for the government of the kingdom; -- how much more is it so for the State of Lu? If a minister love what is good, all within the four seas will count 1,000 li but a small distance, and will come and lay their good thoughts before him."¹⁹⁹

As we have already seen, in the view of the Hebrew prophets, a "good society" meant one which was based upon the principles of justice, righteousness, and humanity. With Chinese moralists also these principles became the fundamental subjects to which they constantly summoned their contemporaries. Confucius said: "The superior man holds righteousness to be of highest importance. A man in a high position, having valour without righteousness, will be guilty of insubordination; one of the lower people, having valour without righteousness, will commit robbery."²⁰⁰ Mencius said: "Righteousness is man's straight path."²⁰¹ Mencius valued righteousness even more highly than life itself. So he said: "I like life, and I also like righteousness. If I cannot keep two together, I will let life go, and choose righteousness. I like life indeed, but there is that which I like more than life, and therefore, I will not seek to possess it by any improper ways. I dislike death indeed, but there is that which I dislike more than death, and therefore there are occasions when I will not avoid danger."²⁰² At the same time, a good society for Confucius and Mencius meant one in which the spirit of humanity and compassion prevailed. It is, as Confucius said, a society in which the people "show kindness and compassion to the widows, fatherless, childless men, and those who are disabled by disease, so that they are all sufficiently maintained."²⁰³

This certainly is not far from Isaiah's plea for a "good society": "Seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."²⁰⁴ A good society for Confucius and Mencius meant one in which the principle of jen prevailed among all its members. We have observed that jen is the manifestation of the genuine nature, acting in accordance with propriety(li), and based upon sympathy for others. Positively, it means "to love your fellowmen,"²⁰⁵ and negatively, it means "not to do to others what you do not like yourself."²⁰⁶ Adolphe Lods has defined Hebrew hesed as "the natural feeling which prompts a man apart from the constraint of law, to be kind and indulgent towards the members of his family or tribe."²⁰⁷ To the great Hebrew prophets a "good society" meant one in which this spirit of hesed prevailed, and Confucius and Mencius were not too far from the prophets when they sought to build a "good society" in which everyone, in the spirit of jen, while "desiring to establish himself establishes others, and while desiring to succeed himself succeeds others."²⁰⁸

In the foregoing chapters we thus discovered how much akin were the ethical teachings of the Hebrew Bible and Confucian Classics. What we discovered was basically in accordance with the words of a learned Jew who almost five hundred years ago said: "Although the written characters of the Scriptures of this religion (i.e., Judaism) are different from the script of Confucian Classics, yet on examining their principles it is found that their ways of common practice are similar." (1512 Inscription from K'ai-feng Synagogue).

First, we saw how much akin were the ethical teachings of the Book of Proverbs and the Confucian Classics to one another with regard to a "good life." They all alike condemned the vice of greed, covetousness, and bloodshed. A good life, as we saw, is without pride, as well as haughty and arrogant spirit. Humility is, therefore, regarded as an essential part of good life. We saw how the vice of drunkenness was condemned both in Proverbs and Confucian Classics. Extravagance and the love of pleasure and luxury were also condemned. They also condemned robbery, theft and oppression. Personal integrity, truthfulness, and sincerity were highly commended for a good life. Industry and diligence were highly praised. Charity and generosity to the poor were regarded as essential part of good life. Justice and righteousness in the court were indispensable virtues of good judges, and

at the same time bribery was condemned. Moderation also was regarded as an important part of a good life. Learning, instruction, and wisdom were emphasized for the enrichment of a good life. And above all, a good life could not be achieved without fear and reverence for God, the authority of all moral laws.

Secondly, we saw how much akin were the Hebrew and Confucian views of a "perfect and upright man" to each other. A "perfect and upright man," in the Book of Job and Confucian Classics, is basically a man who is virtuous, righteous, and benevolent within, and whose goodness of inner character is manifested through his good works without. He is a man of utmost sincerity who would never feel ashamed of himself under any circumstance. He is a man of utmost integrity who has no occasion to regret past acts, for he continually abides in righteousness. He is a man who keeps on being good and doing good without necessarily expecting a reward.

Lastly, we saw how Hebrew prophets and Chinese sages all alike deplored social evils such as injustice, cruelty, oppression, violence, luxury and idleness, and how they all alike lamented for the lack of justice, righteousness and humanity among the rulers and influential members of society. Their view of a "good society" was essentially one and the same. As it was with the Hebrew prophets, a good society for the Chinese sages meant a

society in which just, righteous, virtuous, law-abiding and benevolent leaders ruled, in which oppression, cruelty, violence, injustice and vain luxury of the few privileged men should not exist at the expense of the toil and poverty of many. It meant a society in which no one suffers without due process of law. It meant a society in which the multitudes of the people find peace, tranquility and repose. It meant a society in which the poor, the orphans, the widows, the childless men and the helpless people are not despised but adequately cared for.

V. APPENDIX: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONFUCIANISM AND CHINESE JUDAISM

A. Why Did Chinese Judaism disappear?

The complete disappearance of Judaism in China has puzzled the mind of Jewish historians in view of the fact that wherever there is allowed a reasonable amount of freedom Jews have always prospered and flourished economically, culturally and religiously. So long as no severe physical persecution afflicted a Jewish population in any part of the Diaspora, Jewish life always continued to grow in number as well as in influence. Jews in China not only enjoyed freedom in all their activities but also never suffered under any form of persecution, for if there were one nation that did not know anti-Semitism it is China. Furthermore Jews received high honor and won great respect and confidence among the native people. Many of them reached the highest honors of the state, as testified by the marble monuments.

It is difficult to determine exactly when Jews arrived in China. Interesting theories have been presented from time to time. As early as 1900, Marcus Adler maintained that "Jews had settled in China some time during the Han Dynasty, which ruled from 200 B.C. to 220 A.C."¹ He even went as far as to say that some of the lost ten tribes could have entered China in a period much older than the said period. "It is quite possible," he says, "that the Jewish colony in China may be of even older date. Having

regard to the fact that the trade route of ancient times from China and India was not exclusively maritime, but crossed the steppes and highlands of Central Asia, and then passed through Media, Mesopotamia and Syria, it is not at all impossible that sections of the ten tribes of Israel may have found their way to China."² In 1912, S. M. Perlman, on the basis of Isaiah 49:12, held the view that that "Chinese Jews were descendants of the lost ten tribes of Israel and were already settled in China prior to the erection of the Second Temple by Zorobabel, and the re-establishment of the Jewish commonwealth by Ezra."³ In 1930, A. H. Godbey went further back and attempted to trace the origin of Chinese Judaism to the time of Amos. "It seems," he said, "that we must recognize several origins of Judaism in China, and that we must begin by recognizing Israelite trade with China as early as the eighth century B.C. Amos 3:12 has the luxurious of Samaria lolling on dmsk, "damask" - the "silken cushions" of a couch, reads Moffatt. The name tells us that Aramaeans of Damascus were the silk-importers of the time."⁴

These theories are all without any reliable evidence and are merely conjecture. It should be noted that the so-called "silk route" was not in existence until the 1st cent. B.C. The first Chinese contact with the West was made in 128 B.C. when Emperor Wu **Ti** sent Chang Ch'ien to Bactria in the extreme west of Turkestan to make an alliance to meet

attacks by the Huns - the fierce tribes of nomads in Mongolia. Only after the Chinese (during the Han Dynasty) broke the power of the Huns in the first century B.C. and only after all of Turkestan was brought under Chinese rule that a trade route was established which crossed Turkestan from China, passed through Persian territory, and reached the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Until this period there was virtually no access from China to the West.⁵

Also, "אֶרֶץ סִינִים" in Isaiah 49:12 was erroneously taken as "land of China" by some (first suggested by Gesenius). This, however, was strongly opposed by Dillman, Duhm, and also by Richtofen (China, Vol. I., p. 436., 504). C. C. Torrey was also among these scholars who opposed to the "China" theory, and said, "The word סִינִים is probably the result of some scribal error. The reading סִינִים, "the people of Syene," proposed by J.D. Michaelis, and recently favored by many scholars, is perhaps the most likely."⁶

A. H. Sayce also remarks: "It is now agreed that the Sinim of Isaiah lxix. 12 - if it be a correct reading - has nothing to do with the Chinese. According to Professor de Lcouperie it denotes the Shinas of the Hindu-Kush."^{7a} It should also be noted that the name Ch'in did not come into a general use as the name of China until 221 B.C., and the name Tsin not until 265 A.C.

The effort to fix the date of first arrival of the Jews in China is all the more complicated by the fact that

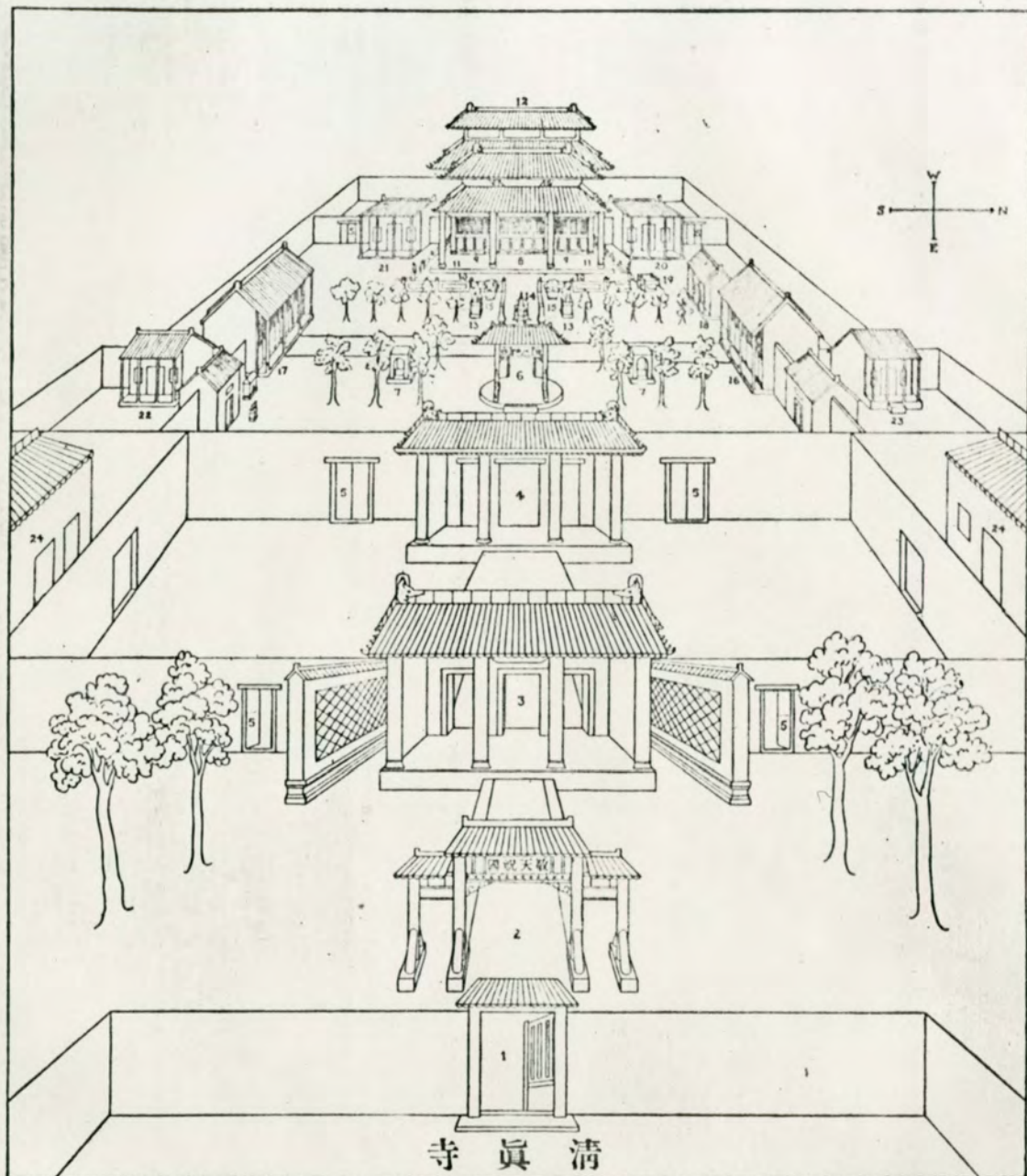
Chinese historical documents are completely silent on their origin. Jews are first mentioned in Yuen Shi (Official History of Mongol Dynasty) under the year 1329 on the occasion of the reestablishment of the law on the collection of taxes.^{7b} It is further complicated by the fact that historical documents in the form of several inscriptions,^{7c} which Chinese Jews themselves have left are in conflict one another as to the date of their first arrival in China. The earliest inscription (1489) states that "Bringing tribute of Western cloth, they entered the court of Sung (960-1279 A.C.)," while the 1512 and 1679 inscriptions state that "This same religion (of Abraham and Moses), from the time of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.C.), entered and established itself in China." The 1663 inscription goes back further and states that "The religion had its origin in T'ien-chu (India? - but probably intended to mean Syria or Judah). In the Chow period (1122 B.C.-256 B.C.) it began to be handed down in the Middle Continent)." Thus among the Jews themselves there was no agreement as to their first settlement. The only date they all agreed upon was the year in which their synagogue was first built in K'ai-feng, which was 1163. Nevertheless, one fact is certain, and that is, that Jews were in China as early as 851. For in that year two Mohammedans, upon their visit to China, reported that they were encountered with numerous Jews.⁸

We are thus at loss and uncertainty as to when Jews

first came to China. We are only sure of the fact that by the 10th century the number of Jews in China was sufficiently numerous living in several cities. And when Marco Polo visited China in 1286 he found Jews in great prosperity and high government positions.^{9a} And as years passed the Jews became a people of considerable standing. According to the inscriptions, many became provincial governors, ministers of state, and high military commanders. Some even received special honor and favor from emperors for excellent performance of their duties as magistrates, supervisors, and physicians, so that the 1489 Inscription reads: "Yen Ching, the physician, in the nineteenth year of Yung Lo(1421), received from the Emperor, through Chou-fu Ting Wang, a present of incense and (permission) to rebuild the synagogue... In the twenty first year of Yung Lo(1423) a memorial was presented on the merits (of the physician), and by Imperial decree he was given the surname Chao, and there was conferred upon him the grade of Embroidered Robe Body-Guard, and he was promoted to be colonel in the constabulary of the Chekian Province." Jews were not only accepted with honor and respect by the native Chinese but also were allowed a full freedom to maintain their religious tradition. This freedom was first guaranteed by the Emperor himself , so that the 1489 Inscription reports: "The Emperor said: You have come to our China: Reverence and preserve the customs of your ancestors, and hand them down at Pien-liang(K'ai-feng)."^{9b}

In 1163, their first synagogue was built in the capital city of Sung.^{9c} They rigidly maintained their religious and cultural tradition. They taught Hebrew and ~~possessed~~ possessed quite a number of scrolls of Torah, Prophets, and Hagiographa. ~~They~~ also possessed some portions of Apocrypha and several prayer books. Among their observances we find mention of Circumcision, Sabbath, Feast of Tabernacle, Rejoicing of the Law, and the Fast of Atonement. Passover was also kept. Several times - in the years 1279, 1421, 1445, 1461 and 1512 - the synagogue was damaged by flood, but it was always repaired and enlarged by its members who freely contributed their money and service. It was a very beautiful building with all the details, as we can see in the sketches made by Fathers Domingo and Brucker (See, following pages). As late as the 17th century, the synagogue building was in a magnificent condition well taken care of by its members, and we see a glimpse of the beauty in 1679 Inscription:

"The two halls, Front and Rear, which were built through contributions from followers of the religion, once more became radiant with gold and jade, and far more glorious than in former times. The two porches had halls for chanting the Scriptures and for lecturing... The steps of the halls were lofty and orderly, the cypress trees were thick and the pines flourishing, greatly manifesting an atmosphere of purity and peace. It had become a very magnificent spot in the garden of Liang (K'ai-feng). Father Pere Gozani, upon his visit to



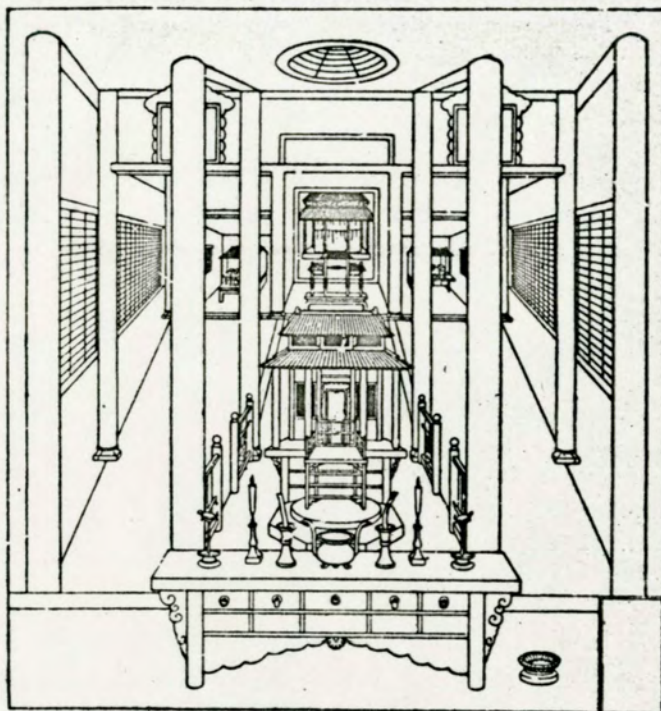
1. Exterior view of the K'ai-feng synagogue

Copied by Père J. Brucker, S.J., from drawings prepared by Père Jean Domenge, S.J., who visited the K'ai-feng synagogue in 1722. Reproduced from *Inscriptions Juives* of Père Jérôme Tobar, S.J. (cp. Chap. IV, p. 53).

EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE K'AI-FÊNG SYNAGOGUE

1. *Street entrance on the east. Over this gateway were the Chinese characters Ch'ing Chên Ssu—The Temple of Purity and Truth. On the street side of the gateway there were two large stone lions flanking the entrance, which were afterwards removed to the entrance of a Buddhist temple. These are not shown in the sketch.*
2. *Memorial Archway (P'ai-lou) of the Chao Clan, through which one approached the main gateway of the synagogue courtyards. This was situated in the centre of the first or outer courtyard (Part II, Chap. VII).*
3. *Ta-Mên or Great Gateway of the first courtyard, with its two side doors. It had decorative walls extending fan-wise on each side.*
4. *Êrh-Mên, or Second Gateway, with its two side doors.*
5. *Postern gateways. Two lead from the first courtyard into the second courtyard; two lead from the second courtyard into the third courtyard, where the main halls of the synagogue are located; and two lead into the fourth or innermost courtyard.*
6. *Memorial Archway of the Ai Clan.*
7. *Stone tablets with Chinese inscriptions. That on the right contained the 1489 and 1512 inscriptions; that on the left contained the two inscriptions of 1663.*
8. *The Front Hall (Ch'ien Tien).*
9. *The lattice fronts of the Front Hall. These are opened as doorways from the verandah terrace into the hall itself. The wood-work of the partitions was in red, the upright columns in black.*
10. *The open terrace on the east of the Front Hall. On this platform the mat sheds were erected for the Feast of Tabernacles. It was surrounded by a white marble balustrade, which was removed to the Confucian Temple upon the destruction of the synagogue, and used for a similar purpose in that temple.*
11. *Verandah terrace of the Front Hall.*
12. *The Rear Hall (Hou Tien.) An extra three sections (chien) were added to the western end or rear of this hall in the Ch'êng Hua period (1465-88); and apparently it was in this part of the hall that the Ark of the Revered Writings (Tsun Ching K'an) was placed, as well as the racks for the Square Scripture portions (Fang Ching), and the Miscellaneous Writings (San Chih), and other objects associated with the most sacred part of the synagogue. This hall was connected with the Front Hall by a covered walk, not seen in the sketch.*
13. *Two marble lions on pedestals, flanking the pathway to the Front Hall.*
14. *A large iron incense tripod stood between the lions immediately in the centre of the terraced path to the hall. This object and its location at this place are definitely Buddhist conventions.*

15. *Two large carved stone bowls with their bases. These were said to be for flowers. Only two are noted in the sketch, but it is known that at least eight were in the synagogue (Illus. 6).*
16. *The North Lecture Hall. The two Lecture Halls were apparently also used as reception halls, and for meetings.*
17. *The South Lecture Hall.*
18. *The Kitchen, which was probably also associated with the Kosher preparation of meats.*
19. *The well, which had a stone curb around it. Near this was a building not shown in the sketch, which was used for ablution purposes.*
20. *Hall of the Founder of the Religion—Abraham.*
21. *Hall of the Holy Patriarchs.*
22. *Ancestral Hall of the Chao Clan. The Chao stone of 1679 was discovered at this place built into the wall of a house occupied by a Chao family.*
23. *Ancestral Hall of probably the Li clan.*
24. *Small residences occupied by members of the community were ranged along the north and south sides of the second courtyard.*



SKETCH OF SYNAGOGUE.

Large Table for Incense.
 Chair of Moses or Pulpit.
 Balustrade reaching to the Bethel.
 Tablet with Prayer for Emperor.
 Arcade with Inscription.
 Beth 1 surmounted with a Dome.
 Cells for Scrolls.
 Columns.
 Windows.
 Repositories for Prayer Books and Bibles.
 Basin for Washing of Hands.
 Two Tablets on which the Ten Commandments were emblazoned.
 Inscription, "Hear, O Israel."
 Dome surmounting Chair of Moses.

the synagogue in 1704, further described: "In the middle of their synagogue is a magnificent pulpit, standing very high, with a noble cushion richly embroidered in it. This is Moses' Pulpit, on which every Saturday (their Sabbath) and the most solemn days, they lay the Book of the Pentateuch, and read it."¹⁰ Elsewhere he says: "There also are seen in two other places in this synagogue, several old chests, wherein are carefully preserved a great number of little books, into which they have divided the Pentateuch of Moses, called by them Ta Ching, and the other books of their Law. They use their books for prayer, and shewed me several, which, as I imagined, were writ in Hebrew. Some of them were new, and the rest old and half torn. All these books are preserved with greater care than if they had been of gold and silver."¹¹ The Synagogue also had ministers of religion, who were called man-la (mullah). The man-la were the Jewish counterpart of the Mohammedan Mullahs, and were in charge of teaching.

By 1860, however, all this was in the past **glory**. The synagogue was ruined to the dust, and the number of Jews had diminished to about 200 **families** whereas formerly K'ai-feng alone had more than thousand souls. Samuel Scherschewsky, after his visit to K'ai-feng, gave this report: "There are in the colony two hundred or three **hundred families** of Jewish descent and a fair proportion of them are in good circumstances... They have entirely lost their religion and are scarcely distinguishable in any way from the heathen...

They have ceased to practise the rite of circumcision. In features, dress, habits, religion, they are essentially Chinese... They cannot read the law, although the manuscripts are still in their possession."¹² By 1903, none of the Jews "could write or read Hebrew; none observed the Mosaic Law. The Sabbath was not kept."¹³ After having made a visit to the Jewish community in K'ai-feng in 1932, David A. Brown described the condition of Jewish life as follows: "Their synagogue is no more. The very land upon which it stood had passed into the hands of the Canadian Mission. The memorial stones were the property of the Jews no longer, for two of these stones have been transplanted to the churchyard of the Canadian Mission, and the others was said to be in the possession of a Mohammedan group in K'ai-feng, while the scrolls and records were scattered in many parts of the world.... In days gone by, since the destruction of the last synagogue about 1854, this site has been described as a water hole, and a place where rubbish was deposited. But since the Canadian Mission has come into possession of the property, the hole has been filled in, and it is now a sort of commons where little Chinese children of the neighborhood play games and make mud-pies, as do children the world over."¹⁴ "What my emotions were," he continued, "standing on that ancient and historic site, would be hard to describe. For I conjured these rather spacious grounds as covered with buildings much in the form of the Temple in Jerusalem, yet with a touch of Chinese architecture. Giving the imagination fully play, I

could picture these Chinese Jews conducting their services daily, on the Sabbath and on the holy days, worshipping the one God, the God of Israel, offering their prayers facing the west, towards Jerusalem just as millions of other Jews have done these many centuries."^{15a}

The crucial question is, - "What did happen?" As already mentioned, there never was a persecution from without. On the contrary, the Jews enjoyed freedom in their religious life. The only pressure that might need to be mentioned is the imperial decree that the Wan-Wan-Sui Tablet bearing the words, 大清皇帝萬歲萬歲萬歲歲 ("May the Great Ch'ing Imperial Dynasty rule through myriads of years") should be placed in the sanctuary. All religious temples in China were required to obey the decree, but in the case of Jewish synagogue a compromise was made so that Shema Tablet bearing the words "שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד" was placed "בֵּרַךְ שֵׁם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ לְעֹלָם וָעֶד" was placed above the Wan-Wan-Sui Tablet. Thus the difficulty was easily solved, and it presented no problem in the religious life of the Jews.^{15b}

Being unable to find the real causes, most of Jewish historians have simply ignored the problem altogether, while some have tried to attribute the causes of decline of Chinese Judaism to such external forces as flood, famine, and civil war.¹⁶ These, to be sure, inflicted some hardships on some members of the community, but they were by no means determining factors. For as the inscriptions themselves show, a great

number of Jews was not only well-to-do citizens but ~~wase~~ in high positions of the local and state government. Whenever **synagogue** suffered damage in flood there were always those who were willing to repair the damage, and furthermore with every repair the synagogue was enlarged. So the 11663 Inscription says: "Whether the expenses for these (repairs and additions of the synagogue) were paid with money contributed in common by the members of the religion, or whether with money from the private purse of individual men, the pattern of the synagogue was finally completed, and compared with the former one it was more complete, so that nobody who saw it failed to be aroused to a sense of solemn respect." Also, the 1679 Inscription, the latest of the five, states that, in spite of several flood mishaps since the synagogue had been first built in 1163, "The two halls, Front and Rear, which (were built) through contributions from followers of the religion, once more became radiant with gold and jade, and far more glorious than in former times." Such result would certainly have not come about if flood, famine, civil war, or even isolation had so terribly weakened the Jewish position. We must remember that even though Jews were at times afflicted by the external forces, they always revived their strength and came back to their former position. Those Jews who occupied high positions in Chinese government would not allow the Jewish community disappear under misfortunes of flood or famine.

In 1932 Dr. David A. Brown said, "The reasons for the collapse of the Jewish colony are a story which may someday be told..."^{17a} It is the aim of this chapter to tell that story.

The present author emphatically maintains that the real reasons of the collapse of Jewish colonies in China were not external but internal. To be more specific, this thesis maintains that the complete disappearance of Chinese Judaism came as a result of voluntary Confucianization on the part of Jewish intellectuals and upper class members of the colonies. It was therefore a voluntary assimilation into Chinese culture. The Confucianization did not come about overnight. It came gradually until it finally reached its peak in the latter part of the 18th century.

It first began in the 15th century when several influential members of the Jewish community, having studied the Confucian Classics, passed in the Confucian Civil Service Examination. In the years followed, the number of Confucian scholars among Jews multiplied. Thus among the few Jewish names which occur in the inscriptions and local gazetteers,^{17b} we find the following figure: in the 15th century at least 3 Jews became members of Confucian literati, in the 16th century, 5, and in the 17th century, 9.¹⁸ As more Jews were thus becoming members of Confucian literati each year and generation, occupying themselves constantly in the study of Confucian Classics, there was less interest in the studies of Jewish culture and Hebrew language on the part of Jewish

intellectuals.¹⁸⁵ At the same time Chinese Judaism was gradually losing its vital strength, and when the synagogue was ruined in 1854 so much Confucianization had already taken place on the part of the rich and influential members of the Jewish community that, unlike in former times, there was no more Jewish spirit left in the community, and the once glorious synagogue was left unattended and without repair and protection.

The question which this chapter purposes to answer is, - "What made the Jewish intellectuals so ready and willing to Confucianize themselves?"

At first when Jews began to study the Confucian Classics it was purely for professional reasons. China had maintained the Civil Service Examination for more than a thousand years. Any one that desired to serve the country in any official capacity or to bring fame and renown to himself and to his family must pass in that examination. That was the only way for any Chinese to attain fame and honor. Now, the examination was entirely based on Confucian Classics, so that whoever wanted to try the examination had to master and know the entire contents by heart. For a long time - until the beginning of the 15th century Jews had not taken advantage of the Confucian Civil Service Examination. They were still rigidly abiding by their own religious and cultural traditions. Confucianism was simply another heathenism to them, and they did not obviously want to have anything to do with it. This is shown by the fact that no stone monument had been made prior to the 15th century. As well-known, it is not a Jewish custom to erect inscribed monuments in connection with places of worship

prior to the 15th century. As well-known, it is not a Jewish custom to erect inscribed monuments in connection with places of worship, but is characteristically Confucian and Chinese practice to do so. For about 300 years since 1163, the year in which synagogue was first built, K'ai-feng Jews did not follow the Confucian practice. The first monument was erected in 1489. Now, the first case of a Jew becoming a Confucian literati, according to the biographical information supplied by William White,¹⁹ occurred in 1403. A Chao Teng received Chu-jen degree (Master's degree in Confucian Classics) in that year and Chin-shih (doctorate) in the following year. Between 1403 and 1489 many other Jews joined Chao Teng, so that the Confucian influence was finding its way into the Jewish community. And the erection of the inscribed monument, under the influence of Confucian practice, finally came about in 1489.

Once few learned Jews, through their knowledge in the Confucian Classics, obtained high positions with all the fame, honor, and prestige which went with them, many more Jews took up the study of Confucian Classics for the same reason. So by the latter part of the 17th century, according to the information supplied by the inscriptions and local gazetteers, at least six Jews received Chu-jen degree, and at least seven received Chin-shih degree. Now, these numbers may not seem to look large, but we must remember that these two degrees were extremely difficult to obtain.-- especially the Chin-shih degree. Examination for the Chin-shih

degree was held only in every three years in the capital city before the emperor. Hundreds of thousands of top scholars chosen throughout the Empire would gather together in the capital city to compete for the examination. The examination was so difficult and also strenuous that many candidates passed out in the hall. The number of successful candidates was always extremely small, and of course, they would receive a triumphal entry when they returned home. Therefore the fact that at least seven Jews reached the top honor was not a small achievement. Beside these, we also learn that at least five received licentiate degree of Kung-sheng grade, two received licentiate degree of Pa-kung grade, and one was a major and another colonel in the army. An Ai Chun, having received Chu-jen degree, was appointed Annalist of the Household of Prince Te, who was the second son of the Emperor Ying Tsung of Ming Dynasty. A Chao Teng, whom I have already had an occasion to mention, having received the Chin-shih degree, became Supervising Censor of the Board of Rites at Peking. A Chao Ying-Cheng, having received also Chin-shih degree, held various high positions such as Senior Secretary of the Board of Punishments, Military Commandant of the Chekian-Fukien Circuit, and also received a special honor from Emperor. A Chin Sheng became an officer of the Chin Wu Advance Guard of the Imperial Body-Guard. A Li Chen, as recipient of Chu-jen degree, was appointed District Magistrate. A Li Jung and a Likuang Chi, as Chu-jen degree, became Director of Studies. A Li Kuang-tso, after receiving Chin-shih, held

many high offices such as Provincial Judge of Kiang Si, Imperial Envoy, Provincial Commander-in-Chief, Literary Chancellor, and Provincial Treasurer. There was also a Jew by the name of Li Ying-Yuan, who, after receiving the highest degree of Chin-shih, was appointed Special Secretary in the Hall of Literary Glory (Wen Hua Tien) at Peking, where well-known Confucian scholars expounded the Confucian Classics before the Emperor. Li Ssu-tzu was another Jew who became Special Secretary in the Wen Hua Tien.²⁰

But something else was happening. Before the Jews had come into contact with the Confucian Classics, that is, before the 15th century, the Classics had been avoided by them since they were books of another heathen religion. But when they began to study the Classics in detail, they were greatly astonished not only by the lofty ethical ideals found in them but furthermore by the great similarities which they found existing between their own ethics and that of the Classics. And the learned Jews recorded this surprising discovery in their inscriptions. So we read in the 1512 Inscription: "Although the written characters of the Scriptures of this religion (i.e., Judaism) are different from the script of Confucian Classics, yet on examining their principles it is found that their ways of common practice are similar." (然教是經文字，雖與儒書字異，而揆厥其理，亦有常行之道，以其同也)

And in the 1489 Inscription, we read: "Confucian religion and this religion (i.e., Judaism)

agree on essential points and differ only in secondary ones. For them the principles of establishing the mind and restraining the conduct are nothing more than honoring the Way of Heaven, venerating one's forefathers, giving high regard to the relations between the ruler and his subjects, being filial to one's parents, living in harmony with one's wife and children, maintaining the order between the higher and the lower, and having affectionate feelings with one's friends."

(其儒教與本教，雖大同小異，然其立心制行，亦不過敬天道，尊祖宗，重君臣，孝父母，和妻子，序尊卑，交朋友。)

Finally, the 1679 Inscription says: "Adam, the first ancestor of our religion, transmitted the religion to Noah, who in turn transmitted it to Abraham, and thus the religion began. The Scriptures have been propagated in accordance with the principles (tao) of both Heaven and Humanity, and in harmony with the teachings of Confucius and Mencius." Once Jews discovered that the Confucian Classics were of high ethical quality and that they were essentially in harmony with their own Scriptures, they paid respect and reverence to the Classics. This came quite easily because Confucian Classics not only did not make any reference of whatsoever to the Hebrew Bible, unlike New Testament and Quran, but also did not present any danger to the practice of their own religion. Confucian Classics were purely ethical in contents and purpose and had no theological ideas which might endanger Judaism. This respect and reverence for the Confucian Classics is acknowledged in the 1512 Inscription, in which a Jew by the name of Tso T'ang says: "It is commonly

understood that the Confucian Classics were for the purpose of communicating (the knowledge of the Way).... It (the Way) is a principle (li) of daily usage and common practice which has been followed by all men from antiquity to the present. Therefore in great things like San Kang and Wu Chang (Three Cardinal Objects of Duty and Five Constants Virtues)²¹ and in small matters like the fine details of events and objects, there is nothing in which the Way is not, and no moment when it is not functioning; in short it is concerned with everything. Without the Confucian Classics the Way cannot be conserved, but without the Way the Classics cannot be put into practice. Suppose the Classics did not exist, then the Way would not be supported, and men would wander blindly, not knowing where to go, and would finally put credence in absurd gossip and walk in gloomy darkness. Therefore the Way of the saints and sages has been transmitted through the Six Classics, for the instruction of after generations up to the present, and will reach finally to myriads of succeeding generations." Then the same author informs us that what the Hebrew Bible and Confucian Classics teach is basically the one and the same: "Although the written characters of the Scriptures of this religion (i.e., Judaism) are different from the script of Confucian Classics, yet on examining their principles it is found that their ways of common practices are similar. That is why when the Way (Tao) reigns between father and son, the father extends loving-kindness and the son responds with filial love. When the Way reigns between prince and

minister, the prince is benevolent and the minister is reverential. When the Way reigns between brothers, the elder is friendly and the younger respectful. When the Way reigns between married couples, the husband is conciliatory and the wife complaisant. When the Way reigns between friends, they will be mutually helpful and faithful."^{22a}

From this time on Jews studied the Classics not simply for professional reasons, but also for their own moral edification, and the influence of Confucianism on the life of Chinese Jews is clearly manifested in the inscriptions. We get the impression that the Jews knew the Classics much better than they knew the Hebrew Bible. Their mode of thinking is thoroughly Confucian. It is not surprising, therefore, that in all inscriptions we do not find a single reference to the Hebrew Bible. They constantly make reference to the Classics but not even once to the Bible. When the elders were thus absorbed into Confucianism it was quite easy for their children to follow the same course, for they, too, like their fathers, would have wanted to study the Classics and follow the foot-steps of their fathers in position and influence, and inasmuch as they were grown up in the homes of Confucian literati all they knew was Chinese. Hebrew was neglected by the younger generation and since Bible had never been translated into the Chinese the only ethical teachings they knew were those in the Confucian Classics. It took only few generations before a complete Confucianization took place in the Jewish colony. And when the synagogue was ruined in

1854 no one cared^{22b} any more about his old tradition, for the new generation was now thoroughly Confucian and Chinese in life and thought, and no longer remembered their past. With ignorance in their religious and cultural tradition, this new generation greatly intermingled with the natives, which, of course, inevitably resulted in the wide practice of intermarriage with the native Chinese and consequently in the adoption of most of the Confucian cults such as ancestral worship, three years' mourning for parents, and even the veneration of Confucius, although these cults had already been practiced among Jews as early as the 15th century, as we shall soon see. This was why Samuel Schreschewsky reported after his visit to K'ai-feng in 1867 that "They have entirely lost their religion and are scarcely distinguishable in any way from the heathen.... They intermarry with the natives and have ceased to practice the rite of circumcision. In features, dress, habits, religion, they are essentially Chinese.... They cannot read the law, although the manuscripts are still in their possessions."²³

B. Confucian influence upon Chinese Judaism

Let us now examine the contents of the inscriptions which were found in the K'ai-feng Synagogue as well as the accounts of those who visited the Jewish community and see to what extent Confucian Classics had exerted influence upon the ethical, philosophical and religious ideas of the Chinese Jews before they were completely assimilated into Chinese culture in the middle of the 19th century.

As already mentioned, a great many Jews in China became members of Confucian literati. This very presence of many accomplished Confucian scholars in the Jewish community was powerful enough to bring the entire community under the Confucian influence. This influence is clearly manifested in the inscriptions themselves and furthermore attested in the accounts of those who visited the Jewish community on various occasions.

One of the strong Confucian influences is first seen in the adoption by Jews of numerous Chinese terms which are strictly Confucian and found in the Confucian Classics. First, in all inscriptions, the Confucian T'ien(Heaven) and T'ien Tao (The Way of Heaven) are employed to designate Elohim or Adonai. This is interesting in view of the fact that when the Syrian Nestorians made their inscriptions in the 7th century in China, they, instead of using the Confucian terms, transliterated Syriac ܐܠܗܐ into Chinese 阿羅訶 (A-lo-hê), realizing that the Confucian terms did not quite convey the Biblical concept of God.¹ So in 1489 Inscription, which was composed by Chin Chung, a Chinese Jew and a Bachelor Graduate of the Tse-kuang Grade of the Confucian literati, we read: "Abraham(A-wu-lo-han), the patriarch who founded the religion of Israel(Yi-tzu-lo-yeh), was of the nineteenth generation from P'an-ku Adam(A-tan)².... He meditated upon T'ien(Heaven). Above it is ethereal and pure; (below) it is most honorable beyond compare. The T'ien Tao(the Way of Heaven) does not speak, yet 'the four seasons pursue their course, and all creatures are produced.'" The 1512 Inscription reads: "When men follow the Tao(Way) in their acts of worship in blessing and praising T'ien(Heaven) above, the Author and Preserver of all things, they make sincerity and reverence, in all their motions and attitude, the sole foundation of their

conduct." The 1679 Inscription reads: "Levi(Li-wei), the Wu-ssu-ta³, was in charge of the religion; the Yentula,⁴ erected the foundation and roughly built the synagogue and the courtyards. There were then 73 clans(hsing), more than 500 families(chia) altogether. The religion (taught them) to venerate August Heaven..." That the Jews borrowed the Confucian terms is further attested in the account of Pere Gozani, who visited the synagogue in 1701. He reported: "Their synagogue is oriented west, and whenever they pray to God, they turn to that quarter, and worship under the names of T'ien, Shang-T'ien(August Heaven), and Shang-ti (Lord High)... They told me that these names were borrowed from the Chinese books, and they used them to express the Supreme Being...."⁵

Ethically, Chinese Jews were greatly influenced by the Confucian Classics. Of course, the terms which they employed were all from the Classics. They also adopted such basic Confucian ethical systems as Wu Chang(the five constant virtues), Wu-lun(the five basic social relationships) and San-kang(the three cardinal objects of duty). Furthermore they acknowledged that the Confucian Classics were indispensable in the moral life ^{of/} man. So we read in the 1512 Inscription: "...the Confucian Classics are for the purpose of communicating (knowledge of) the Way. What is the Way? It is a principle(li) of daily usage and common practice which has been followed by all men from antiquity to the present. Therefore, in great things like

the San-kang(Three Cardinal Objects of Duty) and Wu-chang (Five constant Virtues), and in small matters like the fine details of events and objects, there is nothing in which the Way is not and no moment when it is not functioning; in short it is concerned with everything. Without the Confucian Classics the Way cannot be conserved, but without the Way the Classics cannot be put into practice. Suppose the Classics did not exist, then the Way would not be supported, and men would wander blindly, not knowing where to go, and would finally put credence in absurd gossip and walk in gloomy darkness. Therefore the Way of the saints and sages has been transmitted through the Six Classics, for the instruction of after generations up to the present, and will reach finally to myriads of succeeding generations." The same Inscription furthermore asserts that the ethics of the Hebrew Bible is nothing more than the application of Wu-Chang, Wu-Lun, Jen, and of the Confucian Classics. So we read in the Inscription: "Although the written characters of the Scriptures of this religion (Judaism) are different from the script of Confucian Classics, yet on examining their principles(li) it is found that their ways(tao) of common practice are similar. That is why when the Way(tao) reigns between father and son, the father extends loving-kindness and the son responds with filial love. When the Way reigns between prince and minister, the

prince is benevolent and the minister is reverential. When the Way reigns between brothers, the elder is friendly and the younger respectful. When the Way reigns between married couples, the husband is conciliatory and the wife complaisant. When the Way reigns between friends, they will be mutually helpful and faithful." Here we should remember that the Jewish writer, at the same time being a Confucian scholar, is essentially speaking in terms of Confucian Wu-Lun (the Five Basic Social Relationships). The Inscription continues: "In the Way there is nothing greater than Jen (Love) and Yi (Righteousness), and when these are put into practice, the 'feeling of commiseration' and the 'feeling of shame and dislike' will be the natural results. In the Way there is nothing greater than Li (Propriety) and Chih (Wisdom), and when they are put into practice, the 'feeling of reverence and respect' and the 'feeling of approving and disapproving' will be natural results." Here again we should remember that the writer is quoting from the Book of Mencius, where it says: "The feeling of commiseration belongs to all men; so does that of shame and dislike; and that of reverence and respect; and that of approving and disapproving. The feeling of commiseration is a product of Jen (love); that of shame and dislike is a product of Yi (righteousness); that of reverence and respect is a product of Li (propriety); and that of approving and disapproving is a product of Chih (wisdom)."⁶ Again when the same Inscription says, "Con-

cerning widows and widowers, and orphans and childless old men, and the lame and infirm of every sort, there is none that is not succoured and relieved by compassion, so that no one becomes shelterless," he is quoting from Li Chi, where it says: "When the great Tao prevailed... They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained."⁷ Just to what extent Confucian Classics influenced upon the Jews is seen in the following description of Jewish life, in the same Inscription: There is no doubt that the writer is speaking with a Confucian mind and not with a Jewish mind. "Should one desire to see what is taking place today, it may be said that some, having gained degrees in literature, bring 'glory to their parents' and acquire 'renown for themselves';⁸ and others, in position of dignity either in or outside (the court) serve their prince and spread benefits among the people. Some are engaged in military operations, both offensive and defensive, and spend themselves in their loyalty and gratitude to the Empire.... However, their fear of the decrees of Heaven, their observance of the imperial laws, their high esteem for the Wu-Lun (Five Basic Social Relationships), their veneration for the Wu-Chang (Five Constant Virtues), their respect for the customs received from their ancestors, their filial piety towards their parents, their respect for their superiors, their harmony with their neighbors, their attachment for

their masters and their friends... All these belong to this (Way). Truly, such are the Scriptures, in their applications of the Way(Tao) in regard to daily usages and common practices. Therefore it is, that from what 'Heaven has conferred, and nature has obeyed,' there is perfection; that from 'instruction through keeping the Way,'^{9a} there is progress; and that from the virtues of Jen(love), Yi(righteousness), Li(propriety), and Chih(wisdom), there comes preservation."

Another strong Confucian influence upon the Chinese Jews is seen in their extensive utilization of the Confucian Classics in the inscriptions. As already mentioned in Introduction, in all their inscriptions in not even once, do we find a reference made to the Hebrew Bible. They constantly mention the fact that they too possess a Scripture as the Chinese, but it is always to the Confucian Classics that they turn for authority when they discuss their religious, ethical and philosophical ideas. This is no doubt due to the fact that majority of the learned, Jews, as members of the Confucian literati, were much better versed in the Classics than with the Hebrew Bible. We must not forget the fact that the Confucian scholars knew the Classics almost by heart and constantly occupied themselves in their studies. In the following statements from the 1489 Inscription we shall see how deeply Confucian ideas penetrated into the minds of

the learned Jews: "In every month there should be four day's fasting. Fasting is the entrance to the Way, and the foundation upon which good works are laid up. Today a good deed is laid up, tomorrow a good deed is laid up, and with this beginning in good deeds the piling up becomes a habit. When the time of fasting comes, no evil is done, but all sorts of good actions are performed; thus the 'seven days (of the week) are brought to a good ending, and a new week commences.' As the Yi Ching says, 'The good man doing good, finds the day insufficient.' The Shoo Ching also expresses this same meaning."^{9b} The Inscription continues: "At the four seasons of the year there is abstention for seven days, in consideration of the calamities experienced by all the ancestors, and also sacrifices are then made to the forefathers, in order to repay the source (of the good things that have been derived). Cutting off from all food and drink, there is rigid abstinence for one whole day, reverently praying to Heaven, for repentance of previous faults, and for the moving towards the new good deeds of the present day. Is this not the meaning of the saying of Hexagram Yi (益) and in the Yi Ching, as explained by the Sage (Confucius) when he says, 'The wind and the thunder unite, and the Superior Man moves toward the good that he has seen, and corrects the faults which he has committed.'?" In these statements note how the Jewish writer utilizes Confucian Classics in support of the religious practices of the K'ai-feng Jews.

The synagogue building contained within it many small tablets which were hung on pillars, on the door ways, and walls. Many of the words written on these tablets were passages taken from the Confucian Classics. For example, one of the archway inscriptions bears the following words: "Reverently Accord with August Heaven." (欽若昊天). This phrase was taken directly from the Shoo Ching, where it forms part of an address made by the Sage-Emperor Yao to his two astronomers: "Reverently Accord with August Heaven to calculate and delineate (the movements and appearances of) the Sun, the Moon, the stars..."¹⁰ One of the vertical tablets which were hung on the building bears the following words: "Cultivating the virtues of Jen, Yi, Li, Chih, and Hsin(faith), you reach the first principle of Sages and Philosophers." This tablet speaks of the famous Confucian Wu-Chang(Five Constant Virtues), and was written by a Chao Ying-tou, a Jew and a member of the Confucian literati.¹¹ Another vertical inscription says: "The Teaching(of Judaism) agrees with Ni San, that men are derived from Heaven and the Ancestors. At the Winter Solstice we cultivate reverential obedience to the Canons of the Ancient Rulers concerning the closing of the barriers. The writings were discovered by Pa'o Hsi, so that righteousness might be contained in modes and forms. For Seven Days we fast that we may obtain a renewed mind, able to perceive

Heaven and Earth." This tablet was written by an Ai Fu-sheng, a Jew, who called himself a disciple of the honorable religion.¹² Ni San in the tablet refers to Confucius, while Pa'o Hsi refers to Fu Hsi. Fu Hsi is regarded as the author of the Hexagrams in the Yi Ching. The "Seven Days" and the "closing of barriers" are associated with Hexagram XXIV of Yi Ching.

When the Confucianization took place among the Jews in their ethical life, it was inevitable that the Confucian influence penetrated into other areas of their life too. So we learn that the Jews adopted ancestral worship, which was strictly a Confucian practice. One of the vertical inscriptions which were hung on the synagogue building bears the following words: "We reverence the ancestors in the temple, and sacrifice to the forefathers in the Hall; by which also we express our desire to fulfil the offerings to the Ancestors."¹³ Also the 1489 Inscription says: "All men observe the established laws, know how to honor Heaven and to venerate the ancestors, and show themselves loyal to the prince and filial to their parents. This is due to the work of... Manla (Teacher of the Synagogue)." ¹⁴ Elsewhere the same Inscription says: "Truly, in the matter of honoring Heaven, if a man did not venerate his ancestors he could not then properly offer sacrifices to their forefathers. Thus, in the Spring and Autumn sacrifices to the ancestors, one 'served the dead as he would have

served the living; he served the departed as he would have served those present!' He offered oxen and sheep, and seasonal food, and did not fail to honor the ancestors because they had already passed on." Thus Chinese Jews practised ancestral worship like Confucianists, and again as elsewhere they turned to the Confucian Classics for authority in their attempt to justify this practice. Namely, they turned to Chung Yung, where it says: "In the Spring and Autumn, they repaired and beautified the temples of the ancestors, set forth their ancestral vessels, displayed their various robes (of ceremony), and presented the offerings of the various seasons... They occupied the places of their forefathers, practised their ceremonies, and performed their music. They revered those whom they honored, and loved those whom they regarded with affection. Thus they served the dead as they would have served the living; they served the departed as they would have served them had they been continued among them."¹⁵

that/
The fact the Jews practised the ancestral worship is attested in the account of Pere Gozani, who in his letter to Pere Joseph Suarez of Rome in 1704, said: "'Tis certain, as you yourself may perceive by their ancient inscriptions which I now send you, and as they themselves have assured me unanimously, that they honor their dead in the Tz'u-tang, or Hall of the Ancestors, with the same ceremonies as are employed in China..."¹⁶

The Confucianization among Jews manifested itself also in the practice of three years of mourning for parents. The 1663 Inscription reports: "The three sections of the Rear Hall, and the Ark of the Revered Scriptures, were completed by Chao Ying-cheng alone, from funds contributed by him from his salary, when he had returned home on leave for the official three years' mourning of his parents. He was a Chin-shih (the highest degree in Confucian literati) of the Ping hsu (1646) Examination, and was Assistant Commander of the Chang-nan Route Army." Three years' mourning for parents is one of the most important injunctions observed by all Confucianists, and the injunction is found in the Li Chi, where it says: "In serving his father, a son... should serve him laboriously till his death, and then complete the mourning for him for three years."¹⁷

That the Chinese Judaism disappeared as a result of voluntary Confucianization is nowhere more clearly attested than in the Pere Gozani's report that the Jews venerated Confucius. In a letter which he wrote from K'ai-feng to Rome in 1704, he thus reported: "There having been formerly (as at present) Bachelors, and Chin-sheng, who are a degree below Bachelors, I took the liberty to ask whether they worshipped Confucius. They all answered, and even their ruler, that they honored him in like manner as the ... literati in China; and they partook with

them in the solemn ceremonies performed in the halls of their great men. They added also, that in spring and autumn, they paid their ancestors the honors which are usually offered up to them in China, in the hall adjoining to their synagogues."¹⁸

Finally the 1663 Inscription says: "In matters concerning capping, marriage, deaths, and funerals, the Confucian(Hsia) rites are observed."

The contents of the five historical inscriptions which were made on stone slabs in the courtyard of Jewish synagogue, 清真寺 (Ch'ing Chên Ssu - "The Temple of Purity and Truth") in K'ai-feng, China, are reproduced in the following pages. The first inscription was made in 1489; the second in 1512; the third and fourth in 1663; and the fifth in 1679. Their English translations are found in William C. White's Chinese Jews, Part II, Inscriptional, (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1942).

眞孝記

[illegible]

9. Ink-rubbing of the 1489 Stone Inscription

經書起

[illegible]

夫一財榮之立教也其由來遠矣始於周時為聖古氏十九世孫繼之女媧繼之何無羅漢羅
漢之於鬼神而推以敬天為崇使人盡性合天固心見道而已殷傳而後聖祖默含生焉神明
降作息用飲食經之終日也其大者神與祭祭與禮禮與義義與忠忠與信信與仁仁與義義與禮
三德禮正以人見天之時致其心也其大者神與祭祭與禮禮與義義與忠忠與信信與仁仁與義
而後者忽焉在後也左之如在其右也右之如在其左也無敢動也無敢言也無敢視也無敢聽也
以事神之私求其公之義也此物之心不為虎必不為蛇必不為狐必不為狸必不為犬必不為
室堂下視乎此此天之木也物之中心乎神而神以具於人而人具於神神以具於人而人具於神
曰七日來復過而復見天地之心乎神而神以具於人而人具於神神以具於人而人具於神
理而天道遠矣然明理如日之出無一人不可不聞者於此而無一人不可不聞者於此而無一人
更而教尊尊奉明理如日之出無一人不可不聞者於此而無一人不可不聞者於此而無一人
教而經一十三部方經教而經一十三部方經教而經一十三部方經教而經一十三部方經
水經二十六卷於水經教而經一十三部方經教而經一十三部方經教而經一十三部方經
清順治丙戌年進士大德教而經一十三部方經教而經一十三部方經教而經一十三部方經
順安居於垣終身之德教而經一十三部方經教而經一十三部方經教而經一十三部方經
時貢士高選等生同德教而經一十三部方經教而經一十三部方經教而經一十三部方經
清萬歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲歲
水難獲數部止纂序為一部焚燬之今奉入尊經館之中其左右之十二部乃水惠後所漸次
是倫宗言于是明其燬初其與聖祖制經之義祖宗尊經之故雖上下數千百年如在一日計自
訂証聖經於前李慎之修補于後有功於經之義祖宗尊經之故雖上下數千百年如在一日計自
之親今日不猶命日之親皆人耶猶想其久而下傳教勸諸石以垂不朽之記於予予汴人素
而增補之俾人知其德之由來直以見今日經之傳其教中諸天之功不可及也為記
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大清康熙二十六年歲次己卯仲夏上浣日 提學 提學 提學 提學 提學 提學 提學 提學 提學 提學 提學 提學 提學 提學 提學 提學
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Ink-rubbing of upper half of 1663 inscription; Obverse

The original stone has disappeared, but this rubbing was found by Père Brucker among the records sent to Europe by the early Jesuit missionaries who visited K'ai-fêng.

碑陰題名

清真寺之修始於宋孝隆興元年迄今已數百年於茲矣雖數經變更而寺址依然存立乃自明末崇禎十五年壬午滄桑之後寺基圯壞見者莫不潸然至我朝順治十年癸巳敎眾旋汴復業公議捐資重修而李趙艾張高金等七姓各輸囊金重建前殿三間敎祖殿三間其後殿三間尊經合龍一座乃兵巡漳南道副使丙戌科進士趙映乘丁艱旋里出俸資而獨成之者也至於聖祖殿三間大門三間二門三間銅鑪瓶六副乃高登魁高登科修之北誦經堂三間係艾姓同修南講堂三間趙允中允成映宸率姪元鑑同修艾生枝修牌坊一座金之鳳立殿中皇清萬歲龍樓一座趙允中允成復修行殿九間及殿中欄杆地屏燭臺供桌殿前至大門內甬路南經當甬路艾應奎率子叢生永胤顯生達生復生等修石欄井一眼石獅一對鳳燈一座竹簾五掛花扇七面李禪置銅鑪三副艾也德置銅蓮花燈二座修殿前月臺石欄及北經堂甬路艾惟一修廚房三間趙允中高登科趙元鑑修迴圍大牆一道艾也德也若修大門外花牆月臺其焚修住宅及桌燈爐鼎一切樹木應用器皿等物七姓公置之寺之規模於是成猶然昔日之盛其粉飾黝墨較昔更為壯觀附勒碑陰以誌其盛云

殿中舊藏道經十三部壬午胥淪於水貢生高選撈獲七部敎人李承俊撈獲

三部實至河北聘請掌教去其模糊、裁其漫壞、參互考訂、止纂成金經一部、尊金龜
中教人宗之、其在一部、及掌教李禎亦舊經而重修之、其在右一部、乃嘯喇李承先
重修之、其餘十部、乃漸次修整者也、教中艾惟一與同族公修一部、趙允思修一部、
金應選與同族修一部、高登魁修一部、趙映乘修一部、嘯喇石自俊修一部、李
輝同姪毓秀修一部、高登科修一部、嘯喇張文瑞與同族修一部、嘯喇艾達生同
兄弟子姪修一部、至是而十三部乃全矣、煥然一新、誦者易曉、觀者悅服、要皆掌
教嘯喇之所手著、而教衆之所勸成、謹軌於石、俾後人知經書之修、其有美。

C. CHINESE TEXT OF THE 1679 INSCRIPTION

12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
及講堂也	燠然大觀今日奉經曰行禮拜於祠堂尊崇如昔教之有涼經之不失諸人之	又配以聖祖殿與夫門牆一切工力乃高姓捐資同修後殿積廣地平惟人力	公始也復址者吾參將承基又始也進非人力實天祐之也既而教眾旋汴復	大清定鼎固原參將承基是時以大梁道中軍守備率兵防汴因數請教眾復業且	時有經如有涼也不期明末壬午菊月河決而寺沒寺沒經亦隨流教人貢士	前殿規模宏遠成化中高鑑等力建後殿相擬高深粧金結彩並作穿廊接連	周定王令賜香重修及永樂時俺誠	以敬皇天尊經節用即拜載	命自天竺來漢時入中華於汴立寺宋孝隆興時也	清真寺趙氏建坊並開基源流序	
則	全姓咸之						代孫以奏聞有功欽賜趙姓				

12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
功不可泯也	已竭吾教人趙映乘清初進士刑部郎中兵巡浙閩謁寺愴然捐資千金獨建後殿	業者曰多又得各天守其舊典而公均有功德者也而七姓公議捐資起建至清殿	懼寺廢教散乃立壇留守而前後兩殿始得全也由今追昔創地者吾俺都喇錦衣	高道奉父命入寺取經數度往返雖流離各天未嘗一刻忘於經也我	前殿前後殿既落成無經又何以為宗天順年趙應由甯波奉經歸沐而經傳焉是	奉經隨之	正統中歲又寺基圯壞李榮見其額捐資建	元至元五鬼達重建寺苑又一新矣至明高太祖元年皆賜地	列微五鬼達領掌其教俺都喇立基草創殿院而教人七十有三姓五百餘家教	之女媧又傳羅漢教興焉今而經傳本天人之道合孔孟之理	之	
堂堦峻整栢森松茂大有清淑之概巍然為梁園一勝境矣惟寺	教人捐金而前後兩殿又金碧輝煌較昔為盛矣兩廡之有誦經											

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父子兄弟共建於今西來鐘秀儼然

無疑矣今而後

育增

豈僅建坊已哉坊成

也經始於康熙戊午秋七月落成於康熙己未春三月也滾不文謹稽首沐手

石匠

石

匠

化鳳

鐵匠

枝

画匠張文德

石匠韓尚武程得銀鐫

FOOTNOTES to CHAPTER II

- 1a. Prov. 1:10-19; 14:30; 15:27; 21:26; 28:16;
cf. Eccclus. 14: 3-19
- 1b. Shoo Ching(Legge, III) p. 392
凡民自得罪. 寇攘姦宄, 殺越人于貨
啓不畏死. 固弗斃.
2. Prov. 11:2
3. Prov. 16:18; 19; 18:12; 21:4, 24; 29:23
4. Shoo Ching(Legge, III), p. 64
5. Prov. 20:1
6. Prov. 23:20, 21
7. Prov. 23:29-35
8. Prov. 31:4, 5
9. Shoo Ching(Legge, III), pp. 408, 409
10. Ibid. pp. 406, 407
11. Prov. 31:6-7
12. Shoo Ching(Legge, III), pp. 394, 395, 397
13. Prov. 21:17; cf. Eccclus. 4:31; 14:3-7
14. Analects(Legge, I), XVI, V
15. 樂驕樂, 樂佚遊, 樂宴樂, 損矣.
15. Shoo Ching(Legge, III), p. 159
內作色菜, 外作禽菜, 甘酒嗜音, 峻宇彫牆
有一于此未或不亡.
16. Ibid., p. 162
義和廢厥職, 酒菜于厥邑, 胤后承王命徂征
17. Ibid., pp. 196, 197

18. Shoo Ching(Legge, III), p. 180
19. Prov. 14:31
20. Prov. 22:22,23
21. Prov. 23:10
22. Shoo Ching(Legge, III), pp. 207,208
23. Ibid., pp. 194.195
24. Ibid., p. 383
25. Ibid., p. 624
26. Li Chi(Sacred Books of the East, XXVII), Li Yun, Sect. I, 2
27. Prov. 19:1
28. Prov. 20:7
29. Prov. 12:17
30. Prov. 12:19
31. Shoo Ching, p. 387

天畏棐愆

32. Great Learning, Commentary, Ch. VI, 1-2
 所謂誠其意者，毋自欺也，如惡惡臭，如好好色，此之謂自謙，故君子必慎其獨也。
 小人閒居為不善，無所不至，見君子，而后厭然，揜其不善，而著其善，人之視己，如見其肺肝然，則何益矣。此謂誠於中，形於外，故君子必慎其獨也。
33. Chung Yung, I, 2-3
 道也者，不可須臾離也，可離，非道也，是故君子戒慎乎其所不睹，恐懼乎其所不聞，莫見乎隱，莫顯乎微，故君子慎其獨也。
34. Ibid., XXV, 1-2,3a
 誠者，自成也，而道，自道也。
 誠者，物之終始，不誠無物，是故君子誠之為貴，誠者，非自成己而已也，所以成物也。

35. Chung Yung, XX, 18

誠者，天之道也，...

誠者，不勉而中，不思而得，從容中道，聖人也。
誠之者，擇善而固執之者也。

36. Prov. 20:20

37. Prov. 1:8,9; 6:20

38. Shoo Ching, p. 403

39. Prov. 15:5

40. Prov. 15:20

41. Prov. 19:26

42. Prov. 23:22

43. Prov. 23:25

44. Prov. 28:7

45. Prov. 30:17; cf. Eccclus. 3:1-16; 16:1-5

46. Hsiao Ching(Sacred Books of the Last, III), p. 466

47. Ibid., pp. 466-467

48. Li Chi, (S.B.E., XXVIII), Bk. XXI, Sect. II, 9

49. Ibid., 11-12

50. Mencius, (Legge, II), p. 309

孟子曰，事孰爲大，事親爲大

51. Hsiao Ching, p. 472-473

52. Ibid., p. 479

53. Ibid., p. 480

54. Ibid., p. 481

55. Cutting off nose, cutting off feet, branding, castration, and death

56. Hsiao Ching, p. 481

57. Shoo Ching, pp. 392, 393

58. Chung Yung, XVII, 1-2

子曰：舜其大孝也與，德為聖人，尊為天子，
富有四海之內，故大德，必得其位，
必得其祿，必得其名，必得其壽。

59. Y. C. Yang, China's Religious Heritage (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943), p. 87

60. Ecclesiasticus 8:6, 9

61. Shoo Ching, p. 195

立愛惟親

62. Shoo Ching, p. 427

則無遺壽者，曰其稽我古人之德，矧曰其有
能稽謀自天

63. Li Chi (S.B.E., XXVII), p. 68

64. Ibid., p. 70

65. Ibid., p. 81

66. Prov. 10:4

67. Prov. 12:24

68. Prov. 12:27

69. Prov. 13:4; cf. 6:6-11; 12:11; 21:5; 22:29; 28:19

70. Shoo Ching, p. 532

戒爾卿士，功崇惟志，業廣惟勤。

71. Ibid., p. 539

至治馨香，感于神明，黍稷非馨，明德惟馨。
爾尚式時周公之猷訓，惟日孜孜，無敢逸豫。

72. Ibid., p. 599

王曰：嗚呼，念之哉，伯父，伯兄，仲叔，季弟，幼子，
童孫，皆聽朕言，庶有格命，今爾罔不由慰日勤，
爾罔或戒不勤。

73. Prov. 28:27
74. Prov. 21:13
75. Prov. 19:17; cf. 3:27,28; 11:25; 17:5
76. Li Chi (S.B.E., XXVII), p. 365
77. Ibid., pp. 243,244
78. Shoo Ching, pp. 207,208
79. Prov. 21:3
80. Prov. 3:29,30
81. Prov. 16:12,13
82. Prov. 18:5
83. Prov. 24:23b-25
84. Prov. 29:7
85. Prov. 29:14
86. Prov. 31:9; cf. Eccclus. 4:30; 21:4,8
87. Analects, VII, XV
 子曰：飯疏食飲水，曲肱而枕之，樂亦在其中矣。
 不義而富且貴，於我如浮雲。
88. Prov. 16:18
89. Analects, XIV, XXXVI, 1
 或曰，以德報怨，何如
90. Ibid., 2,3
 子曰：何以報德，以直報怨，
 以德報德
91. Shoo Ching, pp. 278-279
92. Ibid., p. 566
 昔君文武，丕平富，丕務咎，底至齊信。
 用昭明于天下。

93. Shoo Ching, pp. 390, 391
94. Ibid., p. 388
95. That is, if the result of investigation does not show ~~that~~ one of the five punishments should be employed.
96. That is, if such a sentence will not be acquiesced in as just.
97. Shoo Ching, pp. 599, 600, 602, 603
98. Ibid., pp. 607, 608
99. Ibid., pp. 609, 610
100. Ibid., p. 609
王曰，嗚呼敬之哉，官伯族姓，朕言多懼，
朕敬于刑，有德惟刑
101. Prov. 9:9
102. Prov. 8:10-11
103. Prov. 4:13
104. Prov. 19:20
105. Prov. 23:12
106. Analects, I, I.
子曰，學而時習之，不亦說乎。
107. Chung Yung, XX, 10
子曰，好學近乎知。
108. Ana. I, XIV
子曰，君子食無求飽，居無求安，敏於事，
而慎於言，就有道，而正焉，
可謂好學也已。
109. Ibid., XVII, VIII, 3
好仁不好學，其蔽也愚，好智不好學，其蔽也蕩，
好信不好學，其蔽也賊，好直不好學，其蔽也絞，
好勇不好學，其蔽也亂，好剛不好學，其蔽也狂。

110. Analects, VIII, XVII
子曰，學如不及，猶恐失之。
111. Ibid., XIX, VI
子夏曰，博學而篤志，切問而近思，仁在其中矣。
112. Ibid., V, XIV
子貢問曰，孔文子，何以謂之文也，子曰，敏而好學，不恥下問，是以謂之文也。
113. Prov. 23:13
114. Li Chi(S.B.E., XXVIII), p. 82
115. Analects, XVI, XIXVIII
孔子曰，生而知之者，上也，學而知之者，次也，困而學之，又其次也，困而不學，民斯為下矣。
116. Ibid., XV, XXXVIII
子曰，有教無類。
117. Prov. 30:7-9
118. Prov. 25:27
119. Shoo Ching, p. 469
120. Ibid., p. 471
121. Ibid., p. p. 55
罔遊于逸，罔淫于樂。
122. Prov. 15:9
123. Prov. 15:8
124. Prov. 15:26
125. Prov. 15:29
126. Prov. 3:33
127. Prov. 10:3
128. Prov. 11:20
129. Prov. 17:15
130. Prov. 20:23

131. Prov. 12:22

132. Prov. 16:5

133. Prov. 15:3

134. Prov. 24:12

135. Prov. 5:21

136. Prov. 3:7

137. Prov. 1:7

138. Prov. 9:10

139. Prov. 15:33

140. Prov. 10:27

141. Prov. 14:27

142. Prov. 19:23

143. Prov. 23:17

144. Prov. 3:9

145. Shoo Ching, p. 567

145. 用端命于上帝，皇天用訓厥道，付畀四方

146. Ibid., pp. 480, 481

君奭，天壽平格。保乂有殷，有殷扁可天滅威...

君奭，在昔上帝割，申勸寧王之德，其集大命于厥躬。

147. Ibid., p. 409

148. Ibid., p. 427, 431

149. Ibid., p. 454, 455

150. Ibid., pp. 458, 459

151. Shoo Ching, pp. 474-477
 152. Ibid., pp. 499-502
 153. Shih Ching (Legge, IV), III, III, VI, 1

天生烝民，有物有則

154. Shoo Ching, p. 73, 74
 天敘有典，敕我五典，五惇哉，天秩有禮，自我五禮，有庸哉，同寅協恭和衷哉，天命有德，天討有罪
155. Ibid., p. 198
 作善降之百祥，作不善降之百殃，爾惟德，罔小，萬邦惟慶
156. Prov. 3:33
157. Shoo Ching, p. 216
 非天知我有商，惟天佑于一德，非商求于下民，惟民歸于一德，德惟一，勤罔有凶，德二三，勤罔有凶，惟吉凶不僭在人，惟天降災祥在德
158. Ibid., p. 209
 惟天無親，克敬惟親
159. Shih Ching, II, VI, III, 1
 明明上天，照臨下土
160. Ibid., III, III, II, 10
 昊天孔昭
161. Ibid., III, II, X, 8
 昊天曰明，及爾出王，昊天曰旦，及爾游衍
162. Prov. 15:3
163. Shih Ching, III, II, X, 8
 敬天之怒，無敢戲豫，敬天之渝，無敢馬也，昊天曰明

164. Analects, III, XIII, 2

獲罪於天，無所禱也。

165. Shih Ching, IV, ^I(iii), III (Legge, P. 598)

敬之敬之。天維顯思。命不易哉。無曰高高在上。
陟降厥士。日監在茲。

166. Shoo Ching, p. 387

嗚呼。小子封。侗厥乃身。敬哉。天畏棗

167. Ibid., p. 480

天壽平格

FOOT NOTES to CHAPTER III

1. Job, 1:1
2. Job, 29:12-17
3. Job, 31:13, 15
4. Job, 29:14, 16b, 17
5. Job, 31:7
6. Job, 29:21:25
7. Job, 31:33, 34, 35a
8. Job, 31:1
9. Job, 31:9-12
10. Job, 31:24, 25, 28
11. Job, 31:31-32
12. Job, 31:38, 39, 40
13. Job, 31:29, 30, 35a
14. Lin Yutang, Wisdom of Confucius, (New York: The Modern Library, 1938), pp. 205, 209
15. Li Chi, (S.B.E., XXVIII), Bk. XXIII, 5, 6
16. Li Chi, (S.B.E., XXVII), Li Yun (Bk. VII), Sect. II, 19, 20
17. Ibid., Sect. IV, 6
18. Analects, III, III
子曰。人而不仁，如禮何。
19. Ibid., XV, XVII
子曰。君子義以為質，禮以行之，孫以出之，信以成之，君子哉。
- 20a. Li Chi, (S.B.E., XXVII), Bk. VII, Sect. IV, 11, 12
- 20b. Leonard A. Lyall, Mencius, (New York, 1932)

- 20c. D. T. Suzuki, A Brief History of Early Chinese Chinese Philosophy (London, 1914) p. 51
- 20d. James Legge, Chinese Classics (Hong Kong, 1960)
- 20e. James R. Ware, The Sayings of Confucius (New York, 1955)
- 20f. Lin Yutang, The Wisdom of Confucius (New York, 1938)
- 20g. Analects, XII, XXII
樊遲問仁，子曰，愛人。
- 20h. Ibid., XII, II
仲弓問仁。
子曰，出門如見大賓，使民如承大祭
己所不欲，勿施於人。
- 20i. Ibid., VI, XXVIII
夫仁者，己欲立而立人，己欲達而達人。
能近取譬，可謂仁之方也已。
- 20j. Ibid., XII, I
顏淵問仁，子曰，克己復禮為仁...
非禮勿視，非禮勿聽，非禮勿言。
非禮勿動。
21. Ibid., XII, XXII, See note 20g
22. Ibid., XII, II
23. Ibid., VI, XXVIII, 2
24. Ibid., VI, XXVIII, 3
25. Ibid., IV, XV

26. Mencius, (Legge, II), p. 127

未有仁，而遺其親者也。

27. Analects, XVII, VI

子張問仁於孔子。孔子曰，能行五者於天下，爲仁矣。請問之，曰，恭，寬，信，敏，惠，恭，則不侮，寬，則得衆，信，則人任焉，敏，則有功，惠，則足以使人。

28. Ibid., IV, IV

子曰，苟志於仁矣，無惡也。

29. Ibid., IV, V, 3

君子無終食之間違仁，造次必於是，顛沛必於是。

30. Ibid., XV, XVII

子曰，君子義以爲質，禮以行之，孫以出之，信以成之，君子哉。

31. Ibid., XV, XVIII

子曰，君子病無能焉，不病人之不已知也。

32. Ibid., XV, XXI

子曰，君子矜而不爭，群而不黨。

33. Ibid., XV, XXII

子曰，君子不以言舉人，不以人廢言。

34. Ibid., XIX, XXI

子貢曰，君子之過也，如日月之食焉，過也，人皆見之，更也，人皆仰之。

35. Job. 31:33,34

36. Analects, XV, XXXVI

子曰，君子貞，而不言。

37. Ibid., IV, XI

子曰，君子懷德，小人懷土，君子懷刑，
小人懷惠。

38. Ibid., IV, XVI

子曰，君子喻於義，小人喻於利。

39. Ibid., VII, XXXVI

子曰，君子坦蕩蕩，小人長戚戚。

40. Ibid., XVI, VIII, 1

孔子曰，君子有三畏，畏天命，畏大人，
畏聖人之言。

41. Ibid., XXIII, XXVI

子曰，君子泰而不驕，小人驕而不泰。

42. Ibid., XIII, XXV

子曰，君子易事而難說也，說之不以道，不說也，及其使人也，
器之。小人難事而易說也，說之雖不以道，說也，
及其使人也，求備焉。

43. Ibid., XIII, XXIII

子曰，君子和而不同，小人同而不和。

44. Ibid., XII, XVI

子曰，君子成人之美，不成人之惡，小人反是。

45. Analects, XV, I, 3b

子曰，君子固窮，小人窮斯濫矣。

46. Ibid., XIX, IX

子貢曰，君子有三變，望之儼然，即之也溫，聽其言也厲。

47. Ibid., V, XV

其行己也恭，其事上也敬，其養民也惠，其使民也義。

48. Prov. 29:14b

49. Analects, XIV, XXIX

子曰，君子恥其言而過其行。

50. Ibid., XVI, X

孔子曰，君子有九思，視思明，聽思聰，色思溫，貌思恭，言思忠，事思敬，疑思問，忿思難，見得思義。

51. Ibid., IV, XXIV

子曰，君子欲訥於言，而敏於行。

52. Ibid., XIV, XLV

子路問君子，子曰，脩己以敬，曰，如斯而已乎，曰，脩己以安人。

53. Ibid., XV, XXXI

子曰，君子言其道不謀食，耕也，食在其中矣，學也，祿在其中矣，君子憂道不憂貧。

54. Chung Yung, I, 2, 3

道也者，不可須臾離也，可離非道也，是故君子戒慎乎其所不睹，恐懼乎其所不聞，莫見乎隱，莫顯乎微，故君子慎其獨也。

55. Ibid., XIII, 3

忠恕，違道不遠，施諸己而不願，亦勿施於人。

56. Chung Yung, XII, 4
君子之道，造端乎夫婦，及其至也，察乎天地
57. Ibid., XIII, 4b
庸德之行，庸言之謹，有所不足，不敢不勉，有餘，不敢盡，言顧行，行顧言，君子胡不慥慥爾
58. Ibid., XXVII, 6
君子，尊德性，而道問學，致廣大，而盡精微，
(極高明，而道中庸) 溫故而知新，敦厚以崇禮
59. Mencius, p. 206
取諸人以爲善，是與人爲善者也，故君子莫大乎與人爲善
60. Ibid., II, I, IX, 3
孟子曰，伯夷隘，柳下惠不恭，隘與不恭，君子不由也
61. Ibid., II, II, III, 5
無處而餽之，是貨之也，焉有君子而可以貨取乎
62. Ibid., IV, II, XIV
孟子曰，君子深造之以道，欲其自得之也，自得之，則居之安，居之安，則資之深，資之深，則取之左右逢其原，故君子欲其自得之也
63. Ibid., IV, II, XXVIII, 1-3
孟子曰，君子所以異於人者，以其存心也，君子以仁存心，以禮存心，仁者愛人，有禮者敬人，愛人者，人恆愛之，敬人者，人恆敬之
64. Ibid., VII, I, XX, 1-4
孟子曰，君子有三樂，而王天下與存焉父兄俱存，兄弟無故，一樂也，仰不愧於天，俯不忤於人，二樂也，得天下英才而教育之，三樂也
65. Analects, VI, XI
66. Li Chi, (S.B.E., XXVIII), Ju Hsing (Bk. XXXVIII), 6, 7

67. Li Chi, (S.B.E., XXVIII), Ju Hsing (Bk. XXXVIII), 8
 68. Ibid., 9
 69. Ibid., 11
 70. Ibid., 14
 71. Ibid., 16
 72. Ibid., 18
 73. Ibid., 19
 74. Ibid., 19
 75a. See, Chung Yung, XIII

- 75b. Analects reports: "Confucius said: 'At fifteen I began to be seriously interested in study. At thirty I had formed my character. At forty I had no more perplexities. At fifty I knew the will of Heaven. At sixty nothing that I heard disturbed me. At seventy I could let my thought wander without trespassing the moral law.'"

II, IV

子曰，吾十有五，而志于學，三十而立，四十而不惑，五十而知天命，六十而耳順，七十而從心所欲，不踰矩。

76. Szema Ch'ien, Shiki, Book XLVII, from Lin Yutang's Wisdom of Confucius. pp. 99-100.
 77. Fung Yu-Lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, tr. by Derk Bodde, (Peiping: Henri Vetch, 1937), p. 401

FOOT NOTES to CHAPTER IV

1. II Kings 14:23,29
2. II Kings 13:17-19,25
3. II Kings 14:25; Amos, 6:14
4. Amos, 3:15; 5:11
5. Amos, 3:14; 4:4f; 21:23
6. Amos, 6:4-6
7. Amos, 2:6b-7a
8. Amos, 8:4-6
9. Amos, 5:12
10. Amos, 5:10
11. Amos, 5:7
12. Amos, 6:12
- 13a. Amos, 4:1
- 13b. Hosea, 4:1-3
14. Hosea, 6:8,9
15. Hosea, 10:4
16. Hosea, 7:1
17. Hosea, 7:1,13; 11:12; 12:1
18. Hosea, 4:18
19. Hosea, 7:1b
20. Hosea, 12:7
- 21a. Hosea, 5:10
- 21b. See, II Sam. 12:7; I Kings 18:4,13; 19:10,14
22. Amos, 3:10

23. Amos, 7:8
24. Amos, 5:14-15
25. Amos, 5:21-23
26. Amos, 5:24
27. Amos, 1:6
28. Amos, 1:9
29. Amos, 2:1-3
30. Hosea, 10:12
31. Hosea, 6:6
32. Adolphe Lods, The Prophets and the Rise of Judaism,
tr. by S. H. Hooke, (New York: E. P. Dutton And Co.,
1937), p. 89
33. Isaiah, 10:1-2
34. Isaiah, 3:14-15
35. Isaiah, 5:23
36. Isaiah, 1:23
37. Isaiah, 5:8
38. Isaiah, 5:7b
39. Isaiah, 5:11; cf. 5:22,23; 22:13; 28:1
40. Isaiah, 3:16
41. Isaiah, 5:20
42. Micah, 3:9-10
43. Micah, 3:11
44. Micah, 3:2-3
45. Micah, 2:1-2
46. Micah, 2:8-9
47. Isaiah, 5:8

48. Micah, 2:1-2
49. Isaiah, 5:9-10
50. Isaiah, 10:1-2
51. Isaiah, 5:23; 1:23
52. Micah, 3:1-2a, 3
53. Isaiah, 5:11
54. Isaiah, 5:22, 24
55. Isaiah, 3:18-24
56. Isaiah, 3:16-17
57. Isaiah, 32:9
58. Isaiah, 32:10, 11a
59. Micah, 3:9-12
60. Isaiah, 1:10-17
- 61a. Micah. 6:8
- 61b. Discovery of the Oracle Bones has shed much light on the ancient civilization of China. Most of these oracle bones were used in the 14th century before the Christian era, and some may still go back further than 18th century. See, L.C. Hopkins in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1911, pp. 1025-1034; 1915, pp. 49-61, 289-303; 1917, pp. 69-89,
62. Shoo Ching, pp. 186, 187, 188
63. Ibid., pp. 189, 190
- 64a. Ibid., pp. 495, 496
- 64b. Ibid., pp. 496-498
- 64c. Ibid., pp. 498-499
65. Ibid., pp. 499-500
66. Yin Dynasty is known ^{in/} Chinese History as Shang as well as Yin-shang.
67. Shoo Ching, pp. 273-275

68. Shoo Ching, pp. 276,277
69. Ibid., p. 454
70. Shih Ching(Legge, Vol. IV), pp. 454.455
71. Shoo Ching, pp. 460-461
72. Ibid., pp. 427,428,429,431,433
73. Ibid., pp. 287
- 74a. Ibid., pp. 283-287
- 74b. Ibid., p. 290
75. Ibid., pp. 290-293
76. See, FOOT NOTES TO: CHAPTER V, A, Note 21.
77. Shoo Ching, pp. 294-297
78. Ibid., pp. 302-304
79. Hab. 1:2-4
80. Zepha. 3:3-4
81. Jeremiah, 5:26-28
82. Jeremiah, 5:30-31a
83. This is shown by the record of the honesty and integrity of the workmen engaged in the repairing of the temple in 621 B.C. They were intrusted with large sums of money contributed by the worshippers for the purchase of materials and the payment of wages. "But no accounting shall be asked from them for the money which is delivered into their hand, for they deal honestly." II Kings 22:7
84. Jere. 6:13-14
85. Jere. 5:1
86. Jere. 6:6b-7
87. Habakkuk, 2:6-17
88. Zepha. 2:3
89. Jere. 9:23-24

90. Jere. 23:5
91. Jere. 22:3; cf. 21:12a
92. Jere. 22:13 According to verse 18 this woe was
apparently pronounced upon King "Jehoiakim, ~~the~~
the son of Josiah, King of Judah."
93. Jere. 22:15-17
94. Jere. 7:5, 6a
95. Ezek. 5:5-6
96. Ezek. 16:43b-52
97. Ezek. 9:9a
98. Ezek. 22:7
99. Ezek. 22:9-12
100. Ezek. 22:29
101. Ezek. 13:6-7
102. Ezek. 13:10a
103. Ezek. 13:19
104. Ezek. 34:2b-5
105. Ezek. 22:6
106. Ezek. 22:25
107. Ezek. 22:27
108. Ezek. 16:17-21; cf. 20:26; 23:39
109. Ezek. 18:25a
110. Ezek. 8:12; 9:9
111. Ezek. 18:2b
112. Ezek. 18:6-9
113. Ezek. 18:10-13
114. Ezek. 18:19b-20

115. Shoo Ching, p. 264
116. Jere. 31:30
117. Micah 6:8
118. This title was derived from the name of the Chronicle "Ch'un-Ch'iu" which means Spring and Autumn. It records the history of the period between 722 and 481 B.C. Confucius is traditional author of the Annals and is said to have utilized the official state annals of Lu, the native state of Confucius.
119. Leonard A. Lyall, Mencius, pp. xvii, xviii
120. Mencius, III, II, IX
121. Lin Yutang, The Wisdom of Confucius, p. 88
122. Hu Shih, The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China (Shanghai: The Oriental Book Co., 1928) p. 22.
123. Li Chi(S.E.B., XXVII), Bk. II, Sect. II, Pt. III, 10
124. Leonard S. Hsü, The Political Philosophy of Confucianism, (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1932) p. 9.
125. Analects, XII, XI
126. Ibid., XIII, II
127. Ibid., VI, XXIII
128. Legge has arranged the poems chronologically in his Shih Ching. Chinese Classics Vol IV, pp. 82-86.
129. Shih Ching, III, III, XI, 2-4
130. Ibid., 7
131. Ibid., III, III, X, 1b, 2
132. Ibid., II, IV, VIII, 8a, 11, 13
133. Ibid., II, IV, IX, 5
134. Ibid., II, IV, VII, 1, 2
135. Ibid., II, VI, I
136. Lin Yutang, loc. cit. p. 8

137. Ibid., p. 6
138. Ibid.,
139. Analects, IX, V
 子畏於匡曰文王既沒文不在茲乎天之將喪斯文也
 後死者不得與於斯文也天之未喪斯文也匡人
 其如予何
140. H. H. Rowley, Prophecy and Religion in Ancient China and Israel (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1956), p. 125
141. Mencius, III, II, IX, 7f
 世衰道微邪說暴行有作臣弑其君者有之
 子弑其父者有之孔子小懼作春秋
142. Ibid., III, II, IX, 11
 孔子成春秋而亂臣賊子懼
143. Lin Yutang, The Wisdom of Confucius, p. 96
144. Ch'un Ch'iu (Legge, Chinese Classics V), p. 14
145. Ibid.
146. Isaiah, 3:14b-15b
147. Zepha., 3:3-4
148. Analects, II, I
 子曰爲政以德譬如北辰居其所而衆星共之
149. Ibid., XII, XVII
 政者正也子帥以正孰敢不正
150. Ibid., XII, XIX
 如殺無道以就有道何如孔子對曰子爲政
 焉用殺子欲善而民善矣君子之德風小人之德草草上
 之風必偃
151. Ibid., XII, XVIII
 苟子之不欲雖賞之不竊

152. Analects, XIII, VI

子曰，其身正，不令而行，其身不正，雖令不從。

153. Ibid. XIII, XIII

子曰，苟正其身矣，於從政乎何有，不能正其身，如正人何。

154. Great Learning, Commentary, X, 21a

未有上好仁，而下不好義者也，未有好義，其事不終者也。

155. Analects, XX, II, 1

子曰，尊五美，屏四惡，斯可以從政矣。

156. Ibid.

子曰，君子惠而不費，勞而不怨，欲而不貪，泰而不驕，威而不猛。

157. Ibid., XX, II, 2

擇可勞而勞之，又誰怨

158. Ibid.,

欲仁而得仁，又焉貪。

159. Ibid.

君子無衆寡，無小大，無敢慢。

160. Ibid., XII, II

161. Ibid., II, XX

子曰，臨之以莊，則敬，孝慈，則忠，舉善而教不能，則勸。

162. Great Learning, Commentary, IV.

子曰，聽訟，吾猶人也，必也，使無訟乎。
無情者，不得盡其辭，大畏民志，
此謂知本。

163. Analects, XX, 11, 3

子曰，不教而殺，謂之虐，不戒視成，謂之暴，
慢令致期，謂之賊，猶之與人也，
出納之吝，謂之有司。

164. Chung Yung, XX, 12

凡為天下國家有九經，曰，修身也，尊賢也，親親也，
敬大臣也，體群臣也，子庶民也，來百工也，柔遠人也，
懷諸侯也。

165. Ibid., XX, 12, 13

修身，則道立，尊賢，則不惑，親親，則諸父昆
弟不怨，敬大臣，則不眩，體群臣，則士之報
禮重，子庶民，則百姓歸，來百工，則財用足，
柔遠人，則四方歸之，懷諸侯，則天下畏之。

166. Ibid., 14

齊明盛服，非禮不動。

167. Ibid.

去讒遠色，賤貨而貴德。

168. Ibid.

尊其位，重其祿，同其好惡。

169. Chung Yung, XX, 14

官, 盛往使, (所以勸大臣也).

170. Ibid.

忠信重祿

171. Ibid.

時使薄斂,

172. Ibid.

日省月試既稟稱事

173. Ibid.

送往迎來, 嘉善而矜不能

174a. Ibid.

繼絕世, 舉廢國, 治亂持危, 朝聘以時,
厚往而薄來,

174b. Analects, VII, XXXVII.

子溫而厲, 威而不猛, 恭而安.

174c. Ibid., VII, XV

174d. Ibid., VIII, XIII, 3

邦無道, 富且貴焉恥也.

175. Great Learning, Commentary, X, 6, 7, 8, 10

君子, 先慎乎德, 有德, 此有人, 有人, 此有土,
有土, 此有財, 有財, 此有用, 德者, 本也, 財者,
末也, 外本內末, 爭民施奪...
是故官悖而出者, 亦悖而入, 貨悖而入者,
亦悖而出.

176. Great Learning, Commentary, X, 14

177. Ibid., 16

見賢而不能舉，舉而不能先，命也，見不善，而不能退，退而不能遠，過也。

178. Mencius, III, II, ix, 9

聖王不作，諸侯放恣，處士橫議。

179. Ibid., I, I, iii, 5

狗彘食人食，而不知檢，塗有餓殍，而不知發，人死，則曰，非我也，歲也，是何異於刺人而殺之，曰，非我也，兵也。

180. Ibid., I, I, iv, 4

庖有肥肉，廄有肥馬，民有飢色，野有餓殍，此率獸而食人也。

181. Ibid., I, I, V, 4, 5

彼奪其民時，使不得耕耨以養其父母，父母凍餓，兄弟妻子離散，彼陷溺其民。

182. Ibid., I, I, vii, 22

今也，制民之產，仰不足以事父母，俯不足以畜妻子，樂歲終年苦，凶年不免於死亡。

183. Ibid., I, I, vi, 6

今夫天下之人牧，未有不嗜殺人者也。

184. Ibid., III, II, ix

孔子成春秋，而亂臣賊子懼...
我亦欲正人心，息邪說，距詖行，放淫辭。
(以承三聖者)

185. Mencius, II, II, xiii

夫天未欲平治天下也。如欲平治天下，當今之世，舍我其誰也。吾何為不豫哉。

186. Ibid., II, II, ii, 22

乃所願，則學孔子也。

187. Ibid., II, I, ii, 23

自有生民以來，未有孔子也。

188. Ibid., I, I, i, 2

叟，不遠千里而來，亦將有以利吾國乎。

189. Ibid., I, I, i, 3

孟子對曰：王何必曰利，亦有仁義而已矣。

190. Ibid., I, I, i, 4a

王曰：何以利吾國，大夫曰：何以利吾家，士庶人曰：何以利吾身，上下交征利，而國危矣。

191. Ibid., I, I, i, 6

王亦曰：仁義而已矣，何必曰利！

192. Ibid., I, I, v, 3

王如方色仁政於民，省刑罰，薄稅斂，深耕易耨，壯者以暇日，脩其孝弟忠信，入以事其父兄，出以事其長上，可使制梃，以撻秦楚之堅甲利兵矣。

193. Ibid., I, I, v, 5, 6

彼陷溺其民，王往而征之，夫誰與王敵，故曰：仁者無敵，王請勿疑。

194. Mencius, I, I, vii, 3. Legge takes as ("Love and protect") in accordance with Chu Hsi's interpretation. See, Legge, Chinese Classics, Vol. II, p. 138.

德何如，則可以王矣。

曰，保民，而王，莫之能禦也。

195. Ibid., I, I, vii, 18

今王發政施仁，使天下仕者，皆欲立於王之朝，耕者，皆欲耕於王之野，商賈，皆欲藏於王之市，行旅，皆欲出於王之塗，天下之欲疾其君者，皆欲赴愬於王，其若是，

196. Ibid., IV, I, xx

孰能禦之

(君仁，莫不仁，君義，莫不義) 君正，莫不正，一正君，而國定矣。

- 197.. Ibid., IV, II, v

孟子曰，君仁，莫不仁，君義，莫不義

198. Ibid., I, I, VII, 12

老吾老，以及人之老，幼吾幼，以及人之幼，天下可運於掌，詩云，刑于寡妻，至于兄弟，以御于家邦，言舉斯心加諸彼而已，故推恩，足以保四海，不推恩，無以保妻子，古之人，所以大過人者，無他焉，善推其所為而已矣。

- 199.. Ibid., VI, II, xiii, 1-7

魯欲使樂正子為政，孟子曰，吾聞之，喜而不寐，公孫丑曰，樂正子強乎，曰，否，有知慮乎，曰，否，多聞識乎，曰，否，然則奚為喜而不寐，曰，其為人也好善，好善足乎，曰，好善優於天下，而況魯國乎，夫苟好善，則四海之內，皆將輕千里而來，告之以善。

200. Analects, XVII, XXIII

子路曰，君子尚勇乎，子曰，君子義以為上，君子有勇而無義，為亂，小人有勇而無義，為盜。

201. Mencius, IV, I, X, 2

202. Ibid., VI, I, x, 1b, 2

生,亦我所欲也,義亦我所欲也,二者,
不可得兼,舍生而取義者也。生亦我所欲,
所欲,有甚於生者,故不爲苟得也,死亦我
所惡,所惡,有甚於死者,故患有所不辟也。

203. Li Chi (S.B.E., XXVII), Book VII, Sect. I, 2

204. Isaiah, 1:17

205. Analects, XII, I

206. Ibid., XII, II

207. Lods, op. cit.

208. Analects, VI, XXVIII

FOOT NOTES TO: CHAPTER V - APPENDIX

A. Why did Chinese Judaism disappear?

1. Marcus N. Adler, Chinese Jews, (Oxford: Horace Hart, 1900), p. 6.
2. Ibid; Similarly by Manasseh-ben-Israel (The Jews of China, by Julius J. Price, Monist, Vol. 26, #1 1916, p. 116)
3. S. M. Perlman, The History of the Jews in China, (London: R. Mazin and Co., 1913), p. 7.
4. Allen H. Godbey, The Lost Tribes of Myth, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1903), Ch. XIII
5. Derk Bodde, China's Gifts to the West, (Washington: American Council on Education, 1942), pp. 1-2; Also, G. F. Hudson, Europe and China, (London: Edward Arnold and Co., 1931), p. 61ff.
6. C. C. Torrey, The Second Isaiah, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), p. 385.
- 7a. A. H. Sayce, The Races of the Old Testament, (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1891), p. 167.
- 7b. Perlman, op. cit. p. 7.
- 7c. "There are five inscriptions carved on three stone slabs, two of the stones containing inscriptions on the front and back surfaces.
The earliest is the inscription of 1489, being the second year of the Hung Chih period. On the back of this same stone is the inscription of 1512, being the seventh year of the Cheng Te period. This stone had been set up in a small pavilion in the synagogue courtyard, and when the two Chinese delegates visited the synagogue in 1850 they had great difficulty in copying the inscription, owing to the debris which had accumulated around it. In 1866 when Dr. W. A. P. Martin visited K'aifeng the synagogue buildings had entirely disappeared, and only this stone remained standing in the open, exposed to the elements. In 1912 it was given by the Jews to the Canadian Church Mission, and has since been standing by the main entrance of Trinity Cathedral, K'aifeng. A full-sized reproduction of this stone with its inscriptions was made on the spot, and is now set up in the Chinese Library

of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

The Second Stone, which also contained two inscriptions, one on each face of the stone, is lost, but rubbings of the inscriptions are in the library of the Siccawei Mission, Shanghai. This stone was presumably in position in 1850, for the delegates spoke of two pavilions with stone inscriptions, but they had opportunity to copy only the inscriptions of the earlier stone.

The obverse inscription of this stone contains the date of 1663, being the second year of the K'ang Hsi period. The reverse inscription on the back of the stone contains no date, but it is assumed to be about 1663, or shortly after, because of the character and content of the inscription.

The third stone contains an inscription on one surface only, and is dated 1679, being the eighteenth year of the K'ang Hsi period. It was discovered in 1912, built into the back wall of the house adjoining the synagogue site, which was occupied by a family of the Chao clan. The inscription had been almost obliterated, through coin-tossing games of children, so no translation has hitherto been attempted. This stone is concerned mostly with the history of the Chao clan. It was presented to the Canadian Church Mission by the K'aifeng Jews, and is now set up on the left of Trinity Cathedral entrance, opposite the first stone."

William White, Chinese Jews, Pt. III, pp. 147-148

8. See, Ancient Accounts of India and China, By Two Mohammedan Travellers, tr. by Eusebius Renaudot (Paris, 1718)
- 9a. Polo's Travels, Murray's translation, p. 999.
- 9b. It was the Emperor Heaon-tsung of the Sung Dynasty.
- 9c. In 1163, K'ai-feng was the capital of Sung.
10. From The Letters of Pere Gozani, translated from Portuguese. See, William White's Chinese Jews, Part I, p. 40.
11. Ibid.
12. Quoted by James A. Muller in his A Visit to the K'ai-feng Jews, See, White's Chinese Jews, Part I, p. 189.
13. Berthold Laufer, A New Source for the History of the Chinese Jews, See, White's Chinese Jews, Pt. III, p. 13.
14. David A. Brown, Through the Eyes of an American Jew, See, White's Chinese Jews, Pt. I, p. 156, 158

- 15a. Ibid.
- 15b. There was also Imperial Tablet of the Ming Dynasty. William White, Chinese Jews, Pt. II, p. 25.
16. So, Bernard Postal in the Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol 3, p. 156
- 17a. Brown, op. cit., p. 153
- 17b. "Among the various kinds of histories in Chinese literature, a very large and unique group is that of the local gazetteers called the chih. Of these the county gazetteers, Hsien-chih, embrace some 1,700 sets, each of which brings together a mass of historical data relating to that particular locality. These include names and dates of important officials who have ruled in the districts, and particularly the names and dates of scholars who have been successful in the official examinations, and the posts to which they have been appointed. With the additions through the years, these naturally have had to be drastically revised, so that new editions have to be issued from time to time. Nevertheless, many of the names of important local personages are retained, and so the gazetteers are a veritable mine of information concerning local celebrities. The county which more closely concerns K'ai-feng is Hsiang-fu, and of the Hsiang-fu gazatteer two editions were available, one dated 1739, and the other 1898. Both of these were invaluable in tracing individual Chinese Jews..."
William White, Chinese Jews, Pt. III, pp. 148-149.
- 18.. This information was obtained from White's "Biographical Notes on Chinese Jews," Chinese Jews, Pt. III, p. 110 ff.
- 19.. White, Chinese Jews, Pt. III, p. 119
20. See, note 18.
- 21 The Three Cardinal Objects of Duty: (三 綱)
- (1) The sovereign is the object of a subject' duty.
 - (2) The father is the object of a son's duty.
 - (3) The husband is the object of a wife's duty.
- The Five Constant Virtues: (五 常)
- (1) Benevolence (Jen, 仁)
 - (2) Righteousness (Yi, 義)
 - (3) Propriety of demeanor (Li, 禮)
 - (4) Knowledge or wisdom (Chih, 智)
 - (5) Good faith (Hsin, 信)

22a. The Jewish writer is, here, speaking in terms of Confucian Wu Lun, which constitutes the Five Basic Social Relations: (五倫)

- (1) Between sovereign and subject (君臣有義)
- (2) Between father and son (父子有親)
- (3) Between elder brother and younger (長幼有序)
- (4) Between husband and wife (夫婦有別)
- (5) Between friend and friend (朋友有信)

22b. No doubt, among the lower class members of the Jewish Community there was less Confucianization. But when the rich and powerful members all became mandarins there wasn't much that the lower class members could do, for they were too poor and weak to rebuild the ruined synagogue.

23 See, Note 12. Schwabky,

B. Confucian influence upon Chinese Judaism

1. Professor Saeki has made following remark on A-lo-hê (阿羅訶):

"This is no doubt the Chinese phonetisation of the Syriac term for Eloh, God, and is equivalent to the Hebrew (plural) 'Elohim,' although the three Chinese characters used here are exactly the same as those which the Buddhist translator Kalayashas employed to represent 'Arhat,' the fruit of Buddha."

P. Y. Saeki, The Nestorian Monument in China, (London, 1916), p. 188

2. P'an-ku is the first man in Chinese mythology. The writer of the inscription, being a Jew, was also familiar with Biblical Adam.. So, as we can see, he very conveniently joined them together as P'an-ku Adam.
3. Wu-szu-ta (五思達) is generally accepted by scholars as a Persian word meaning master (senior) of a community or assembly. The word is regarded as Chinese form of Persian literary word Oustad, or the vulgar Ousta. It seems that the word was used by Chinese Jews to designate their rabbis.

This, plus other evidences, has caused some scholars to believe that the Chinese Jews came from Persia by way of India. "The Indian Jews had emigrated from Persia," says Berthold Laufer, "and Persian influence is plainly evident among the Chinese Jews. Like the Persian Jews, they divided the Pentateuch into fifty-three sections (instead of fifty-four), the Masoretic fifty-second and fifty-third sections being combined into one, which was recited during the week of the Feast of Tabernacles. Like the Persian Jews, they counted twenty-seven letters of the Hebrew alphabet (instead of the standard of twenty-two) by rating the final kaph, mem, nun, pe, and tsad as separate letters. All directions as to the recitation of prayers were given in Persian, and according to Dr. E. N. Adler, a Judeo-Persian translation is added to some hymns in a prayer-book for the Passover service. The most interesting point is that the Chinese Jews designated the rabbi by the Persian word ustad ("teacher," "master"), used in the same sense by the Persian Jews; thus, our earliest inscription speaks of a Lieh-wei Wu-szu-ta, 'Rabbi Levi.'"

Berthold Laufer, A New Source for the History of the Chinese Jews, in American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature, Vol. 46, no. 3, April, 1930.

4. Yen-tu-la (俺都刺) is also a Chinese phonetisation of a non-Chinese name of **probably Persian** origin, and obviously designates the office of supervisor of the synagogue buildings.

5. From the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, Vol. XVIII, pp. 31-48. (Paris, 1781). See, The Letters of Pere Gozani, White's Chinese Jews, Pt. I, p. 40.

6. Mencius, VI, I, vi, 7

惻隱之心，人皆有之，羞惡之心，人皆有之，恭敬之心，人皆有之，是非之心，人皆有之，惻隱之心，仁也，羞惡之心，義也，恭敬之心，禮也，是非之心，智也。

7. Li Chi, (S.B.E., XXVII), Book VII, Sect. I, 2

8. The quotation here comes from the Hsiao Ching (Canon of Filial Piety), where it says:

"When we have established our character by the practice of the (filial) course, so as to acquire renown for ourselves for the future and bring glory to our parents: - this is the end of filial piety. Hsiao Ching, Chapter I.

9a. The quotation here also comes from the Confucian Classics, that is, from Chung Yung, Chapter I, where it says:

"What Heaven has conferred is called the nature; an accordance with this nature is called the path of duty; the regulation of this path is called instruction."

天命之謂性，率性之謂道，修道之謂教。

9b. Several quotations here also come from the Confucian Classics, namely from Yi Ching and Shoo Ching.

The idea that no evil is done, in time of fasting, and that the seven days are brought to a good ending etc. comes from the Hexagram XXIV of Yi Ching where it says: "Fu indicates that there will be free course and progress. The subject of it finds no one to distress him in his exits and entrances; friends come to him, and no evil is done. It will return and repeat its course. In seven days comes its return."

The idea that good man, doing good, finds the day insufficient comes from Shoo Ching (p. 290), where the

King Woo says in his Great Declaration: "I have heard that the good man, doing good, finds the day insufficient, and that the evil man, doing evil, likewise finds the day insufficient."

See, page 104 of this volume.

10. Shoo Ching, p. 18
11. See, note 21 in FOOT NOTES TO CHAPTER V, A.
12. See, note 9b
13. See, White's Chinese Jews, Pt. II, p. 149
14. Manla was the Jewish counterpart of Mohammedan mulla.
15. Chung Yung, XIX, 3, 5
16. See, note 5.
17. Li Chi, (S.B.E., XXVII), Bk. II, Sect. I, Pt. I, 2
18. See, note 5.

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