I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Aim

a. The Aim of the Whole Project

In the past it was usually regarded as sufficient to acknowledge the
roots of one's own civilization, enough for westerners to study Aristotle,
Plato, Augustine and other important figures of western thought. Some
thinkers in the west, however, had been aware for some time that such an
attitude was at best defective and began to direct their attention towards
and stress the importance of the great civilizations of the east.[1] At the
present time, a time which is characterized by increasing international-
ism, the ancient common intellectual and spiritual roots of the whole of
mankind are assuming a status of increasing significance. One cannot
overlook the fact that the Chinese, a third of the human race, possess
their own traditions and ways of thinking. The great thinkers and philos-
ophers, together with literary sources dating from the remote past, are
becoming the common property of man.

The present project attempts to explain some of the basic aspects of the
intellectual and spiritual roots of Chinese civilization.

The purpose of the present project is to discover to what extent Confucius
is a transmitter of traditional thoughts, whether and to what extent he
uses them to construct a new system of thought, and what its special
characteristics are compared with the traditional thinking that existed

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1 For the Chinese influence upon Leibniz, see NEEDHAM 1956, pp. 91, 291–
  303, 323, 326, 339–345, 458, 478, 497–505; BERNARD 1937, pp. 9–18.

before his time.[2] Since Confucius is generally regarded as the first
Chinese philosopher as such,[3] the aim of the project may also be re-
stated as follows: how did his philosophy begin in China and what is the
difference between this philosophy and the traditional thinking that pre-
ceded it? This also suggests a further question: how did such thinking
come to constitute a philosophy, and how is this philosophy defined? The
present work will discuss these questions in two volumes.

b. The Aim of Volume One

The present study contains only the first volume of the whole project.
The division into two volumes is based on sources and chronology. The
first volume deals with the sources prior to Confucius and prior to the
Analects. The chronology is as follows:

The Hsia Dynasty
The Shang or Yin Dynasty   2205-1766
The Western Chou Dynasty   1766-1122   Shih Ching and most of Shu Ching
The Eastern Chou Dynasty   1122- 771   are pre-Confucian.
    - Ch'un ch'iu period   770- 481   The time of Confucius 551-479
    - Chan-kuo period   481- 222   The Analects were compiled after
                                           Confucius.[4]

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2 Confucius himself said: "I have transmitted what was taught to me
  without making up anything of my own." Anal. 7:1. WALEY 1964, p. 123.
  Fung explains: "Confucius said: 'I am a transmitter and not a creator,
  I believe in the past and love it.' This is what the ordinary Ju had
  all along been doing, but Confucius in speaking thus really meant that
  by transmitting he created. Because he created by transmitting, he was
  not merely an ordinary Ju, but the creator of a Ju philosophy."
  FUNG Yu-lan 1962, p. 10. See also FUNG Yu-lan 1967, pp. 62-66 and
  NEEDHAM 1956, pp. 5-7. Needham says: "For the world of his time,
  Confucius' ideas were revolutionary." NEEDHAM 1957, p. 6. The different
  conceptions of Confucius' thinking will be reviewed in vol. 2 of the
  present work.
3 FUNG Yu-lan 1967, p. 8. Confucius "was the first Chinese philosopher
  and the greatest Chinese in history." CHAN Wing-tsit 1973, p. 113.
  See also BODDE 1936, p. 139.

4 WALEY 1964, p. 21.

The aim of this volume is to examine the traditional usage and meaning of the selected Confucian key terms in the most important pre-Confucian sources, Shu Ching and Shih Ching. The analysis is preceded by a review of the history of Yin and Chou dynasties, in order to provide a suitable frame of reference for understanding the usage of the terms in their historical setting.

The principal task of the first volume is to define these terms as they occur in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. The terms are also analysed and a short definition for each terms is given. Especially in the case of Shu Ching I have attempted to make the terms understandable as parts of the Chou ideology. This is done by formulating a pattern to explain how the Chou ideology functions in history, and how the terms function within this pattern as components of the ideology.

The usages of the terms in both sources mentioned are compared with each other, and both the differences and the points they have in common are clarified. This comparison is made in the closing review.

Because the sources took shape gradually over the centuries, attention is also paid to the development of the ideas connected with the terms during the time Shu Ching and Shih Ching assumed the form they probably manifested just prior to Confucius. The occurrences of the terms are tabulated in order to show how their usage varied or developed during different periods of the formation of the sources. An explanatory theory is also put forward in an attempt to explain the phenomena observable in the tables.

The present study concentrates on the following Confucian key terms: T'ien 天 Heaven, Te 德 virtue, Tao 道 way, Li 禮 rites, Yi 義 righteousness, Jen 仁 goodness. Apart from these terms, it is also necessary to touch on some other terms which are closely connected with them.

These concepts are commonly known basic Confucian key terms and are well

represented in the Confucian Analects.[5] In the Chinese world view these terms are in reciprocity to a certain extent. The concept of T'ien particularly concerns the world view on the level of the cosmos. Other terms are more or less ethos-orientated.

The present study, volume one of the whole project, has its own sources and approach. Consequently, although it deals with the terms in sources prior to the Analects, namely, in Shu Ching and Shih Ching, and not in the Analects itself, it can be read as an independent work of its own.

c. The Main Aim of Volume Two

The main aim of volume two of the project is firstly, to analyse the above-mentioned Confucian key terms in the context of the most reliable source of early Confucianism, the Confucian Analects, and secondly, to compare the usages of the terms in the Analects with that in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. To understand more clearly the environment of Confucian thinking, a short comparison of Confucian usage of the terms with Lao Tzu and Mo Tzu is also included.

2. The Scope of the Whole Project

All six terms are more or less represented in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. Some of them occur with great frequency, others more rarely and others again occur very seldom. Consequently, the selection of only one or two terms would have affected the validity of the comparison adversely. This means that in order to carry out a viable comparison between inherited

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5 Ch'en regards Tao, Te, Jen, Yi, Li as the five central concepts of the philosophical system of Confucius. CH'EN Ta-ch'i 1967, p. 71. See also WALEY 1964, pp. 27-50 and FUNG 1967, pp. 66-75. According to the Concordance the number of the occurrences of the terms in the Analects is as follows: T'ien 109 times, Te 40 times, Tao 83 times, Yi 24 times, Li 74 times and Jen 109 times. See LUN Yü Yin Tai, pp. 70, 71, 84, 85, 133, 134, 150, 161, 183, 184.

thought and early Confucianism, the scope of the study has to be consid-
erably enlarged. This breadth of scope makes it possible to see the rela-
tive emphasis on tradition in each term, in other words, to see which
terms transmit the inherited thought, and to what extent and in what ways.
A study of one or two terms would not reveal a coherent pattern in this
respect.[1]

The scope of the project also includes Lao Tzu and Mo Tzu. These philo-
sophers are discussed for the purposes of comparison, namely, to clarify
traditional and Confucian thought as compared with other philosophical
schools of the time.

Other philosophers, like Chuang Tzu and Meng Tzu, are from later times,
although they do not represent slavish developments from Lao Tzu and
Confucius, having access, as they did, to the more primitive Chinese
ways of thought. Hence, an investigation of the terms used by Chuang Tzu
and Meng Tzu and perhaps by other philosophical schools as well, may well
throw light on the primitive usage of the terms and therefore indirectly
on the Confucian heritage.

The first consideration is to study the terms in all sources which reflect
the pre-Confucian tradition and are from an earlier date than Confucius.
Secondly, every philosopher and major literary source from the Chou
period should be studied, since we would then be able to distinguish the

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1 One can easily see the frequencies in the following concordances:
SHANG Shu T'ung Chien, Taipei 1966; MAO Shih Yin Tai, A Concordance
to Shih Ching, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series,
Supplement no. 9, Taipei 1971; LUN Yü Yin Tai, A Concordance to the
Analects of Confucius, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index
Series, Supplement no. 16, Taipei 1972.

There are several studies which are concerned with one term or concept
of one or more the primary sources of this study. Some of these are:
YANG Hui-chieh, Jen Ti Han I Yü Jen Ti Che Hsüeh, Taipei 1975; CHAN,
Wing-tsit, The Evolution of the Confucian Concept Jen, PEW, vol. 4,
1955; T'ANG,Chun-i, The T'ien Ming (Heavenly Ordinance) in Pre-Ch'in
China, PEW, vols 11, 12, 1962; YANG I-feng, K'ung Tzu Yen Li Ch'ien T'se,
JCMS, vol. 13, 1967; TAKEUCHI, Teruo, A Study of the Meaning of Jen
Advocated by Confucius, Acta Asiatica, vol. 9, 1965.

common factors and the basic differences between the philosophies and to discover whether they occupy any common ground which cannot be found in the pre-Confucian literary tradition. This common ground may well reflect a tradition which is not recorded by pre-Confucian literature, but can be seen as an independent source to which the schools had access. However, this common ground may also be a later development common to all the schools. To distinguish this from the pre-Confucian tradition, one method would be to investigate whether any traces can be found in any of the bronzes of such a tradition. If not, then the factors which the schools have in common may well be of a later development.

The differences between all schools should also be studied in order to discover to what extent the differences spring from the differences in the pre-Confucian tradition and to what extent they are innovations of the schools themselves. This would reveal the final position of Confucianism in relation to the pre-Confucian tradition, found in the literary sources before Confucius and in the philosophical schools on the one hand, and in relation to the other schools, on the other.

In the present project a consideration of other schools and the vestiges of pre-Confucian traditions they may contain is ruled out, since to include it would have enlarged the scope of the study to unmanageable proportions when compared with the resources at our disposal. However, a comparison of Confucianism with Shu Ching and Shih Ching provides a good starting-point in this more complex process of comparing Confucianism with the traditional thougt found in other schools.

3. The Approach

The present study has employed the basic approach of referring to all of the occurrences of the six Confucian key terms and mentioning each occurrence of the terms in the footnotes. The order in which the reference is given does not coincide with that of the occurrences of the terms in the sources. The occurrences of the terms are divided into classes, the more extensive classes being divided into sub classes. For example,

all the occurrences of favourable Heaven in Shih Ching can be found in the class of the same name, favourable Heaven in Shih Ching. This class has been divided into sub-classes according to the characteristics of favourable Heaven in Shih Ching.

The text designed to proceed from one class to the next, and a verbal description of the classes is given in the text, sometimes by using direct quotations from the sources to illustrate and characterize the class. The short descriptions of the classes, or titles of the classes are not included in the text itself, but can be found in the comparative tables at the end of the study. These tables provide the reader with, among other things, a quick general review of the study.

Since the reader is able to refer to all of the occurrences of the terms, he can judge the validity of the classifications by checking the occurrences from the documents. For reason of space, it has not been possible to give a direct quotation from the original text in the footnotes. The reference approach has to some extent obviated the onesideness which is apt to occur if only some of the occurrences of the terms are considered. By including all the occurrences, the writer has been compelled to take into account even the minor characteristics of the terms and to consider those occurrences which may be few and which are classified in groups which may not fit well the general trend or meaning of a particular term. This method also helps one to draw conclusions as to the frequency of the occurrences of the terms.[1] It is also an approach which enables one to tabulate the results at the end. If only some of the occurrences had been included, the tabulation would have been more distorted or biased.

This approach, as employed in the present work, aims at providing a background for comparison of the terms with those of the Confucian Analects. It demonstrates all the major aspects of the terms as they occur in Shu Ching and Shih Ching, and shows the proportions of these aspects as they

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1 This kind of quantification is used for example in CREEL 1970, pp. 150, 260, 396, 494, 500. However, for the most part Creel's work does not use this approach except on the pages mentioned.

are revealed in the classes into which the occurrences of the terms are divided. When a similar approach is implemented in the Confucian Analects as well, it also shows the proportions of the aspects there. For example, it shows the frequency of occurrence of favourable Heaven compared with the other characteristics of Heaven in Shu Ching and Shih Ching and the Analects.

Agreement has generally been reached as to the meaning of the majority of the passages where the concepts appear. There are, however, ambiguous cases which have given rise to divergent views among the commentators. In these cases several such views are discussed in the footnotes. The body of the text refers to the most probable interpretations. Sometimes the apparent meaning in a limited context, where only a few words constitute the context, a kind of "micro" context, seems to exist in a state of tension with the general wider context of the totality of the tradition, the "macro" context. The balance between these contexts is important particularly when interpreting Shu Ching. The whole of Shu Ching can be understood in the light of Chou ideology. This conception is reflected in Ch'ü Wan-li's commentary.[2] However, this interpretation must not distort the sentential or grammatical meaning of the text, since the text itself is the sole medium through which the thought is conveyed. In interpreting the text and choosing between the different traditional interpretative choices, Karlgren usually employs linguistic criteria as the basis of his judgement.[3] Those cases in which the micro context seems to contradict sharply the generally accepted consensus concerning Chou thought are sometimes interpreted by introducing different punctuations or by operating with certain probabilities of phonetic loan characters.[4]

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2 CH'Ü Wan-li, Shang Shu Shih I, Taipei 1972.

3 KARLGREN, BERNHARD, Glosses on the Book of Documents, BMFEA, vols. 20 and 21, 1948, 1949.

4 Needham says of the phonetic loan characters: "There was a tendency, from the very early times, to use one character with the sense which properly belonged to another of the same sound. This latter might have a different form, or perhaps had not yet been provided with a form. It is therefore sometimes very difficult to be sure whether certain patterns and combinations ever really had semantic significance. Such purely

Such a case, especially if it occurs several times, may reflect an idea not encountered before; the grammatically most probable interpretation may introduce new characteristics into the general context of Chou thought, and may work as a corrective of the generally accepted view.[5]

In the case of Shih Ching the general framework is not exclusively that of Chou ideology, although Shih Ching is the second most important source of this ideology. Shih Ching reflects the thought of the Chou period, not only the governmental ideology, but also, and more clearly than Shu Ching, the popular tradition. Because of this, the context of the single odes or poems works as a clarifying factor.

The terminological approach has enabled one to maintain validity in the research. For example, because one of the terms is Heaven, T'ien, it has been possible to speak of phenomena connected with the term T'ien. If the question had been something more vague, or inaccessible directly in the sources, "the value of man", for example, it would have been more difficult to maintain validity. It would have been more difficult to define this term, which does not occur in the sources, in such a way that its characteristics would have described it and not something else. Nevertheless, there remains the problem of reliability or possibility of error. Some important fact may have been insufficiently emphasized. However, since we have attempted to implement the principle of inclusiveness of occurrences, the most important aspects are represented by more occurrences than the minor aspects. This approach has increased the degree of reliability when compared with the method where only some of the occurrences are discussed.

The main concern is to present the situation of the tradition of thought as it existed before Confucius according to the sources, and not primarily to study the development of this tradition during the centuries before

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phonetic loan-words were at any rate well calculated to mislead the unwary etymologist of three thousand years later." NEEDHAM 1958, p. 219. See also *ibid*. p. 30 and HENRICKS 1979, pp. 173, 174.

5 For the problem of context, see FANG, Achilles 1967, pp. 266-270.

Confucius. With a knowledge of the nature of the tradition before Confucius, it is possible to see how his thoughts changed when they are compared with this tradition.

In the case of doubtful documents in Shu Ching, documents which were probably recorded after Confucius and probably include a considerable number of post-Confucian characteristics, a comment is made in the foot-notes. Taking into account these comments and omitting these passages from the formation of the main trends of pre-Confucian thought, the result can be said to represent pre-Confucian thought with quite a large degree of validity.

However, advanced studies concerning the different strata of Shu Ching and Shih Ching, especially by Dobson on Shih Ching, are taken into account. The conclusions drawn by these studies are mostly based on the linguistic analysis of the text, rather than on ideological analysis. A comparison of different ideological characteristics, or characteristics of thought in different strata, may throw some light on the validity of this lin-guistic analysis. Consequently, the introduction includes a short discus-sion of the different strata in Shu Ching and Shih Ching and the end of volume one contains a tabulation of how the ideas are represented in the different strata, a theory being created to explain the results. As far as the style, grammar etc is concerned, this study mainly uses previous works, for example, that of Dobson, The Language of the Book of Songs, to illustrate the different strata. As regards the different strata of the sources, the present analysis attempts to explain the development of the sources within the context of the history of ideas. The statistical approach already provides us with a reliable basis for comparison in this study, a basis that is even more valuable within the scope of the whole project.

The study contains an analysis which includes the division into different aspects of the terms together with a quantification of the occurrences, and the tabulations of the aspects with the strata of the sources. The study also describes the contents or characteristics of the terms

verbally and attempts a synthesis of the different terms. This synthesis
includes a definition of the terms, a summary of the findings and an
attempt to define the most essential aspects of the terms and also the
possible underlying characteristics of the terms. This is a kind of system-
atic analysis, which first describes the different aspects of the terms
separatively and then gives a brief summary and basic definition of the
terms. Furthermore, the necessary comparisons are also made between Shu
Ching and Shih Ching with regard to the terms. This comparison reveals
the differences and similarities between the traditions in Shu Ching and
Shih Ching.

The development of the different strata of the sources, the definitions
of the terms in the sources and the comparison of the two sources with
regard to the terms provide a basis on which the Analects are compared
in the second volume of the project. This first volume postpones full
discussion of the following questions to the second volume: Is there a
continuation of the development of the ideas from Shu Ching and Shih Ching
to the Confucian Analects? Are there any major innovations in the Analects
compared with Shu Ching and Shih Ching? Are the Analects influenced more
by the inherited thought in Shu Ching or by that in Shih Ching? Do the
Analects follow certain ideas found in certain strata in Shu Ching and
Shih Ching? What is the development of the interconnections of the terms
from the inherited tradition in Shu Ching and Shih Ching to the Analects.

The comparison at the end of the Shu Ching and Shih Ching traditions
throws some light on the legitimacy of the approach adopted for this
study. Several studies, in east and west, quite commonly take concepts
from Shu Ching and Shih Ching and combine them in order to expound certain
views. If a comparison of the terms in Shu Ching and Shih Ching reveal
great similarity, such a method can be defended. If, on the other hand,
the comparison reveals discrepancy, such an approach needs to be recon-
sidered. If such discrepancy is revealed, the approach adopted by the
present study is defensible, namely, to study Shu Ching and Shih Ching
separately. Even if great similarity is discovered, one can also study
them separately, since in this way one demostrates that the similarity
justifies the method of studying Shu Ching and Shih Ching together.

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4. The Primary Sources

a. Introductory Notes to Shu Ching

Shu Ching, 書 經 , "Documents" or "Book of History" or "Book of Historical Documents" is also called "Classic Documents" or Shang Shu 尚 書 "Preserved Writings". The most common term for it in Chinese is Shu, 書 , "Writings".[1] The English title "Book of Historical Documents" best corresponds to the contents of Shu Ching.

Shu Ching exists in two version, the "Ancient text", Ku Wen 古 文 and the "Modern text", Chin Wen 今 文 . The ancient text contains fifty chapters and the modern text a mere twenty eight, all of which derive from the ancient text.[2]

The modern text existed as early as the second century B.C., whereas the additional materials in the ancient text are generally agreed to be late forgeries from the third or fourth century A.D. The modern text is not fully reliable either.[3]

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1 CREEL 1970, p. 447.

2 CREEL 1970, pp. 447, 448. See also Watson 1962, pp. 21,22. The division between the New Text Schools, Chin Wen Chia 今 文 家 and the Old Text School, Ku Wen Chia 古 文 家 , arose about 92 B.C. when a set of a version of the Classics, Book of Historical Documents, Book of Rites, Analects, etc. came to light. These were different from the version previously accepted, and were written in the archaic script of the Western Chou. These versions in archaic script were found during the demolition of what was supposed to be Confucius' house, when Prince Kung of Lu, Lu Kung Wang 魯 恭 王 was enlarging his palace. Needham says: "Many subsequent centuries of scholarly debate ended in the conclusion that the story of the discovery was a legend, and that the 'old versions' were probably forgeries, thought not identical with the present 'old text' chapter of the *Shu Ching*, compiled with ancient fragments about +320." NEEDHAM 1956, p. 248; Chu Hsi's commentary is on the "modern text" version only. IBID. pp. 391, 392. For the history of the text and the early commentators, see LIEBENTHAL 1947, pp. 129-131.

3 CREEL 1970, pp. 447, 448; CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, pp. 12-14; CH'IEN Mu 1974, pp. 2, 4-6.

"Even within the earliest material of the *Shu Ching*, critical scholars have detected forgeries unlikely to have appeared before the fourth century. The work as a whole and in the recension, known both *Tso Chuan*

Hsü Fu-kuan has suggested several factors, which one should take into account when deciding the reliability of the texts: First there was no original literature; there was only the oral tradition. With the development of culture, special officials were appointed to organize this oral tradition into a literary form.

In ancient times things generally changed very slowly. This means that the oral tradition with its strong sense of continuity did not change much. When it did change, it changed in such a manner that certain things were omitted and certain things added. The oral tradition was recorded in writing before it was actually fixed and agreed upon. The result was that there were several different recordings based on different oral traditions, recordings which had not been agreed upon as to which of them was the authoritative one.

In the period when the oral tradition began to take on a written form several kinds of concepts existed which varied both in place and time. And the material which resulted from this kind of changing oral tradition

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and to us, was probably compiled during this same half of the second century-that is to say recreated 'from memory' in the early Han!" FEHL 1971, p. 139. Needham says: "Modern scholarship no longer insits that Confucius edited the *Shih Ching* (Book of Odes) or the *Shu Ching* (Historical Classic)." NEEDHAM 1956, p. 4. See also WALEY 1964, pp. 51-54. See also on the "Ancient text" and "Modern text", CH'Ü Wan-li 1964, pp. 138-146; HSI Shui 1973, pp. 47, 48. Of the authorship of the Classics Chow says: "The complicated problem of the authorship of the Classics is not yet completely solved, but we are here concerned with the changing attitudes toward the problem, not its solution. Since the Sung period, scholars had been in doubt about the authorship of several of the six Classics but generally it was accepted that Confucius had participated in writing or revising some or all of them. The 'Antiquity-Doubters' in the 1920's and after took a wholly different view. They suggested, that the term 'six classics' was created after Confucius' time, probably at the end of the Warring States period... The original *Shih, Shu, Li, I* and *Ch'un Ch'iu* were five unrelated books, while the alleged lost *Book of Music (Yüeh)* had never existed. Confucius only read and used the five works as textbooks, and in some cases might have intepreted them, but never wrote or revised them." CHOW,Tse-tung 1969, p. 307. For Confucius as a "forger", see LEVENSON 1972, p. 9. According to Giles, Shu Ching was "diligently collected and edited by Confucius." GILES 1923, p. 7.

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is only partially authentic. However, one cannot reject the whole document
because the contents contain something which is a later addition. Moreover,
between the clearly unreliable portion and the reliable portion there is
an area of problematic reliability, and this cannot be rejected very
lightly either.[4]

The oldest part of Shu Ching are the documents from the early Western Chou
period. The following documents are from that period: K'ang, Kao, King Wu
(1111-1105 B.C.) as author; Tzu Tz'ai, partly written by King Wu; Chiu
Kao, probably King Wu as author; Ta Kao, issued by King Ch'eng (1104-
1068 B.C.) or by the Duke of Chou after the death of King Wu; Lo Kao,
by King Ch'eng; Chao Kao, probably by the Duke of Chou; Chün Shih, spoken
by the Duke of Chou to the Duke of Chao; To Fang, by the Duke of Chou,
several years later than To Shih; Ku Ming, at the time of the death of
King Ch'eng. These documents were originals and were not altered much
when the dynasties changed.[5]

The following documents have been regarded as from Western Chou, although
their dating is not undisputed: Pi Shih, P'an Keng and Wen Hou Chih Ming,
which may be from the late period of Western Chou. Chin T'eng is appar-
ently from the late Western Chou or Ch'un Ch'iu period. Wu I was probably
written after the end of Western Chou, but before the time of Confucius,

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4 HSÜ Fu-kuan 1975, pp. 525-528. In principle, Karlgren too, agrees that
   old texts are sometimes reproductions of the spoken language. KARLGREN
   1929, pp. 177, 178. For the criteria for the authenticity of the Ancient
   Chinese texts, see KARLGREN 1929, 165-183.

5 CREEL 1970, pp. 449-454; HSÜ Fu-kuan 1975a, pp. 528, 529. See also
   CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, pp. 76, 88, 83, 84, 70, 95, 102, 91, 110, 116, 126.
   Ch'ü says that the author of Chiu Kao is the Duke of Chou. CH'Ü Wan-li
   1972, pp. 83, 84. However, the author may be King Wu. See CREEL 1970,
   p. 451; KARLGREN 1970, p. 296. C'ien Mu emphasizes the reliability of the
   books of Chou and the importance of the Duke of Chou in producing them.
   CH'IEN Mu 1974, pp. 9, 10. For the reliability of To shih, see NEEDHAM
   1956, p. 553. According to Ch'en Meng-chia, all the documents mentioned
   are from Western Chou. CH'EN Meng-chia 1957, p. 112. See also the
   discussion on Ta Kao, CH'EN Meng-chia 1957, 207-220. For the authorship
   of Chia Kao, Lo Kao and Chao Kao, CH'EN Meng Chia 1955, pp. 163, 164;
   1956, p. 111.

551-479 B.C.[6]

Some documents were apparently originally in a written form. Over the years, especially at periods when dynasties changed, these recordings were re-edited and additions were made. Even so, the original source was preserved. The following documents are of this kind: Kan Shih, T'ang Shih, Kao Tsung T'ung Yüeh, Hsi Pe K'an Li, Wei Tzu and Hung Fan. Hung Fan is from a rather late date, namely, the Warring States period.[7]

Yao Tien, Kao Yao Mo and Yü Kung were originally oral legends, being collected and written down later and although they acquired their written

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6   CREEL 1970, pp. 454, 455, 458-461. According to Ch'ü, Pi Shih is from the Ch'un Ch'iu period. CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, pp. 134, 135. For P'an Keng, see HSÜ Fu-kuan 1975a, p. 529 and CREEL 1938, pp. 64-69. Ch'en regards P'an Keng as dating from the Warring States period, CH'EN Meng-chia 1957, p. 112. Chin T'eng is not regarded as from Western Chou on account both of its style and of its careless treatment of history. CREEL 1970, pp. 457, 458. According to Ch'ü, it dates from the late Western Chou or Ch'un Ch'iu period. CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 67. See also WU Yü 1977, p. 87 and CH'EN Meng-chia 1957, p. 112 and CHAO Kuang-hsien 1980, pp. 1-12; The Analects quote Wu I. See Anal. 14:43, WALEY 1964, p. 191. Ch'en regards Wu I as an early Western Chou Document. CH'EN Meng-chia 1957, p. 112.

    The time given for Confucius' life span is traditional. KRAMERS 1979, p. 22.

7   HSÜ Fu-kuan 1975a, pp. 528, 529. See also CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, pp. 39, 40, 52, 53-55, 60 and Wu Yü 1977, pp. 50, 53, 67-69, 71, 78 and Creel 1970, p. 457. The concepts in T'ang Shih refer to a post Confucian compilation, but before Mencius. See Ch'ü Wan-li 1972, p. 40 and Wu Yü 1977, p. 53. It may be that some of this group were edited before Confucius, some in his time, and some afterwards, and that Hung Fan is the last of this group.

    Needham says of Hung Fan: "This canonical work, traditionally ascribed to the early centuries of the first millennium before our era, is now considered a patchwork (like so many other ancient texts) from pieces of very varying age. That portion at least of the Hung Fan which treats of the five elements must be regarded as a Chhin interpolation of -3rd century (=3rd century B.C.) or at least not older than Tsou Yen." Tsou Yen lived approximately between 350-270 B.C. NEEDHAM 1956, pp. 232, 242, 526. See also GRANET 1950, pp. 165-173, 244-249, 304-319, 375-381 and CREEL 1938, pp. 55-63, 69-90 and FEHL 1971, pp. 108, 109, 127. Ch'en Meng-chia regards Kao Tsung T'ung Yüeh, Hsi Pe K'an Li and We Tzu as Warring States documents. CH'EN Meng-chia 1957, p. 112.

form before Confucius, some additions were made later. The changes intro-
duced in the editing of these documents were probably not very great.[8]

Li Cheng[9] and Ch'in Shih[10] were probably written during the Ch'un Ch'iu
period. Mu Shih[11] and Lü Hsing[12] are presumably from the Warring States
period.

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8 HSÜ Fu-kuan 1975a, pp. 525-528. In Yao Tien the ethical concepts are
   more abundant than those during early Chou. These are said to have
   been added by Mencius. On the other hand, Yao Tien does not have con-
   cepts like Jen and Li. One can assume, therefore, that it was written
   down at a time when these concepts were not widely known, namely, in
   the period when Western Chou was changing to Eastern Chou. HSÜ Fu-kuan
   1975a, pp. 527, 528. Ch'ü places Yao Tien after Confucius, but before
   Mencius. CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 2. According to Hsü, Yao Tien should in
   this case contain more concepts characteristic of that time. The expla-
   nation that it acquired its written form before Confucius, but that
   later some additions were made, seems to be the most probable one.
   For a Western Chou editor changing the text of Yao Tien, see also
   KARLGREN 1948, p. 49. Tung regards the astronomical and calendrical
   data in the Yao Tien as authentic. TUNG Tso-pin 1957, pp. 17-40. On
   revisions to Yao Tien, see CH'EN Meng-chia 1957, pp. 135-146.

   Ch'ü says that Kao Yao Mo was written during the early Warring States
   period, after Yü Kung and Yao Tien. CH'Ü Wan-li 1957, pp. 383, 392.

   The concept 九 州 which we find in Yü Kung, became common rather
   late. CH'IEN Mu 1974, p. 9. For Yao Tien see also CH'IEN Mu 1974,
   pp. 7-9. Needham says of the compilation of Yu Kung: "This may have
   been compiled about -470 but there is much to indicate that it refers
   to conditions in the neighbourhood of -800." NEEDHAM 1974, p. 54. Fehl
   regards Yü Kung as post Confucian. FEHL 1971, p. 108.

9 Its numbered categories and the titles of the chief officials in govern-
   ment are mostly unknown during the Western Chou dynasty. CREEL 1970,
   pp. 461, 462. Some scholars accept it as being from Western Chou. See
   CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 121; WU Yü 1977, p. 156. Ch'en regards this as an
   early Western Chou document. CH'EN Meng-chia 1957, p. 112. Elsewhere
   he does not regard it as a genuine Western Chou Document. CH'EN Meng-
   chia 1956, p. 121.

10 WU Yü 1977, pp. 185, 186. Ch'en Meng-chia regards Ch'in Shih as a
   Western Chou document. CH'EN Meng-chia 1957, p. 112.

11 CREEL 1970, pp. 455, 456; CH'EN Meng-chia 1957, p. 112. Its
   terminology indicates a late date. CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 57. It is from
   the Warring States period. WU Yü 1977, p. 75.

12 The numbered categories indicate a late date of compilation. The concept
   of "five punishments" does not appear in the Western Chou texts.
   CREEL 1970, pp. 161, 463; NEEDHAM 1956, p. 521.

The present study quotes from the translation by Bernhard Karlgren. The Book of Documents, Stockholm 1950, which also includes the Chinese text according to the orthodox Ku Wen version. In some instances Karlgren has preferred the Chin Wen version or indicated emendation by some Chinese scholar or by himself.

Watson says of the difficulties of the text: "The language of the *Documents*, in both its narrative and its speech passages, is extremely difficult. Bernhard Karlgren terms it lapidary, which seems a particularly apt way of conveying the terse, archaic impression which it gives: something stiff, stone-terse, difficult to make out, and blurred in places beyond intelligibility... No one, not even a scholar, picks up the *Documents* and reads it right off; the meaning of many passages remains today the subject of endless dispute among specialists. Nevertheless, in spite of individual words or phrases whose meaning is doubtful or lost, the general sense of the text can still be made out."[13]

b. Introductory Notes to Shih Ching

In ancient times the name of the work was Shih 詩, Songs or Three hundred Songs 詩三百 . The Ching element was added during the later years of the Warring States period.[14]

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13 WATSON, Burton 1962, p. 25. See also KARLGREN 1970 (1948), p. 43.

14 CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, p. 1. See a general introduction to Shih Ching: CH'Ü Wan-li 1964, pp. 147-159.

   The Chinese word Shih 詩 appeared for the first time in Shih Ching itself, in odes 200, 252 and 259. The word is found in neither the earlier bronze inscriptions nor in the oracle bones. In Shu Ching Shih appears in Chin T'eng referring to a quotation of ode 155. Odes 252 and 259 date back to the 9th century B.C. Ode 200 probably also belongs to the same period. "Considering the context and the burden of meaning in which the Chinese word for poetry, *shih*, made its debut at such an early date, we may fairly say that a general conception of poetry as a *literary* art, definable by name and nature, had already begun to develop at a certain high stage of Chinese civilization in antiquity." CHEN Shih-hsiang 1968, pp. 374, 375. See also CH'IEN Chung 1979, p. 58. On Shih in Shih Ching, see KARLGREN 1974, 200, Hiang po, v. 7, pp. 151:152. (The first number 151 indicates the page number of the Chinese

Shih Ching is the most ancient collection or anthology of songs in China; it is the "first Chinese ancestor of pure literature".[15] It was the most important and influential document in the history of Chinese literature. Confucius himself appreciated the Shih Ching.[16]

In China there have been thousands of scholars who have studied and commented on Shih Ching for more than two thousand years. However, most of this literature of commentary is useless to the modern student, because "95 per cent of it consists of homiletics and moralizing effusions."[17]

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text and the second number, 152, indicates the page number of the English translation. From here on the reference is shortened in the following way: SHIH, 200, v. 7, pp. 151:152.) SHIH, 252, v. 10, pp. 211:210; 259, v. 8, pp. 229:228, and in Shu Ching, KARLGREN 1950, K'in t'eng, v. 15, pp. 34:36. (From here on this will be shortened in the following way: SHU Kin t'eng, v. 15, pp. 34:36.)

15 CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, p. 1; LIU James J.Y. 1973, p. 161.

16 KARLGREN 1964a (1942), p. 71. For Confucius' attitude towards Shih Ching, see Anal. 17:9, WALEY 1964, p. 212. "For the *Songs* will help you to incite people's emotions, to observe their feelings, to keep company, to express your grievances. They may be used at home in the service of one's father; abroad, in the service of one's prince. Moreover, they will widen your acquaintance with the names of birds, beasts, plants and trees." See also NEEDHAM 1956, p. 8. and ZAU, Sinmay 1938, pp. 137-150.

There is the following record of the Shu Ching and Confucius in Szuma Chien: "There were more than three thousand ancient songs, but Confucius rejected those which were repetitious and retained those which had moral value, beginning with songs about the ancestors of Shang and Chou, going on to descriptions of the good reigns of both dynasties and thence to the misdeeds of King Yu and King Li. He put the poems about daily life first, starting the folk-song section with the *Song of the Dove*, the Lesser Odes with *The Deer Cries*, the Greater Odes with *King Wen* and the Hymns with the *Temple of Purity*. Confucius chose three hundred and five songs in all, and these he set to music and sang, fitting them to the music of Emperor Shun and King Wu. After that the old rites and music became widely known, to the enrichment of the kingly culture, and the Six Classics were established." SZUMA Chien 1975, p. 22.

This record has been generally rejected; Confucius did not make the collections, he only edited it. CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, pp. 8,9; WALEY 1969, p. 18. See also HO Ching-ch'ün 1960, pp. 2-8; CH'Ü Wan-li 1964, p. 149. Confucius did not reject any of the odes: CHIANG Li-ts'ai vol. 27, 1974, pp. 69-89, vol. 28, 1974, pp. 31-35. Giles says: "The *Shih Ching*, or Book of Odes, is another work for the preservation of which we are indebted to Confucius." GILES 1923, p. 12. See also the present work, p. 15.

17 KARLGREN 1964 (1942), p. 71.

The 305 songs of Shih Ching date back starting from Western Chou to middle Ch'un Ch'iu,[18] Shih Ching is in four parts: Kuo Feng 國 風 , Hsiao Ya 小 雅 , Ta Ya 大 雅 , and Sung 頌 . Judging by the content, Kuo Feng is the latest with some songs from as late as the 6th century B.C. The Ya sections or "Elegantiae" can be identified with the events of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. Chou Sung, or "Eulogia of Chou" is the oldest as regards content indicating the early period of the Chou dynasty, the 10th century B.C. The "Shang Eulogia" are from Duke Hsiang's reign, 651-635 B.C., and the "Lu Eulogia" are from the reign of Duke Shi, 859-627 B.C.[19]

By way of linguistic analysis Dobson has thrown more light on the dating of the poems in Shih Ching. He says: "As to the date of the material, linguistic analysis shews that the language of the four parts of the text is mutually contrastive and comparison with other Archaic Chinese material suggests the contrast to be one of period. This places the dating between the 11th and 7th centuries B.C. Such a dating does not conflict with internal evidence, or with tradition. Further, by dating the first occurrences

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18 CHANG Hsi T'ang 1974, p. 2.

19 CHEN Shih-hsiang 1968, p. 379. As regares the latest song, some rely on Mao's tradition saying that this is no. 144 dating from 599 B.C. Some say that the latest is no. 153 from 510 B.C., other regarding no. 133 as the latest dating from 506 B.C. CHANG 1974, p. 2. Liu says that the songs are from about the beginning of the Chou dynasty 1122 B.C. to the middle years of Ch'un Ch'iu, about 570 B.C. LIU Ta Chieh 1976, p. 30.

Liu says that the Feng section includes the earliest pieces in the anthology (c. 1100-950 B.C.) as well as some later works of a similar nature (c. 700-600 B.C.) According to him, the Ya sections are from about 800-750 B.C, and the Sung sections from 750-600 B.C. LIU, James J.Y. 1973, p. 161.

Of the reliability of Shih Ching John C.H. Wu says: "I have examined all the relevant evidences for myself and come to the conclusion that these poems that we read in the Mao Edition are, with due allowance being made for a few possible corruptions and missing passages here and there in the texts, exactly the same ones that Confucius himself read..." WU, John C.H. 1936, p. 22.

Fehl says: "Recent scholarship dates the composition of the several sections of the *Shih Ching* within the period from about 700 to 500 B.C. with the reservations that many odes may have existed in an earlier oral tradition and that many owe their present form to later emendations. By and large these songs and poems were the work of men living during the Spring and Autumn period - during the years covered by the chronicle of the *Tso Chuan*." FEHL 1971, p. 127.

of grammatical innovations the dating can be refined: the *Sung* to the 11th–10th, the *Ta Ya* to the 10th–9th, the *Hsiao Ya* to the 9th–8th and the *Kuo Feng* to the 8th–7th centuries B.C."

As regards the language of Shih Ching, Dobson says that linguistic analysis does not reveal dialect differences, or social stratification. "On the contrary, the language of the *Book of Songs* has a homogeneity, as the constant 'echoing' of lines from one poem to another suggests. This points to a central poetic tradition in the use of language to which either all poets subscribed, or the collectors and recorders of these poems used, or both."

Dobson remarks further that although there are four periodic strata of the language and the poems date back to different periods, this does not mean that within the four divisions some poems are not earlier than others or that there is no overlapping.[20]

According to Dobson, when the grammatical form is once established it tends to be echoed and re-echoed throughout the Shih Ching. Also entire lines occur in echoed fashion from one poem to another, from one section to another. Dobson says further: "One characteristic of the four divisions of the *Book of Songs* is that within each division the mutual borrowing of lines is greater than borrowings from without. This bears out a characteristic shewn by linguistic analysis of the distinctiveness of the linguistic characteristic of each of the four division. Another characteristic is the hierarchical ordering of the division, since the tendency to borrow lines is greatest from Sung in the *Ta Ya*, from *Ta Ya* in the *Hsiao Ya*, and from *Hsiao Ya* in the *Kuo Feng*. This bears out a characteristic shewn by linguistic analysis that the four divisions correspond with linguistic

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20 DOBSON 1968, pp. xxviii, xxix, 242. Dobson adds: "Further studies of the 'borrowed lines', of the plagiarized phrases, of the comparative use of the pleromatic words together with the development of prosodic innovations, might make possible an even more sophisticated scheme of dating, than the rough periodization by divisions permits." See also DOBSON 1964, pp. 322–334; DOBSON 1964a, p. 318; POKORA 1973, 29. Pokora quotes Dobson here. See also CREEL 1938, pp. 49–54. A methodic example of dating a single poem: CH'Ü Wan-li 1956, pp. 192–210. According to this, ode no. 168 is from the time of Hsüan Wang 宣 王 whose reign began 827 B.C. For the year see, VANDERMEERSCH 1977, p. 35.

time periods, the *Sung* being of the earliest and the *Kuo Feng* of the
latest period.[21]

The above mentioned apparently means that there is an accumulation of
grammatical forms from the older parts to the newer parts of Shih Ching,
where the old forms and the innovations appear together. This leads one
to wonder of whether there are any corresponding ideological characteris-
tics which tend to develop additively, in such a way that in the older
strata there are certain elementary or basic ideological notions and in the
newer strata the presence of these notions plus some refinement or sophis-
tication of them. This leads to a further question with regard to the
tradition in Shu Ching. Since most of the books of Chou in the Ku Wen
version of Shu Ching date back to early Western Chou, it may be asked what
is the tradition in Shu compared with that in Shih Ching, whether there
are similarities between the early strata of Shih Ching and Shu Ching
and whether these show a similar possible ideological development or not.

The specialists have found it difficult to prove whether Shih Ching origi-
nates from the upper class or from the ordinary people.[22]

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21 DOBSON 1964a, p. 315; DOBSON 1968, p. 263.

22 According to Karlgren, the authors of the songs are generally not known.
   Judging grom the high literary style, the strict prosody and rhythm the
   strict rhyme scheme and the "upper class" diction, it is most probable
   that most of the songs are written by the gentry and are not the products
   of uneducated farmers. Because the songs contain many opinions of ordi-
   nary people, the authors of the songs were presumably close to the ordi-
   nary people. KARLGREN 1964 (1942), p. 75. Chang says that the songs
   are local folk songs collectively created, songs of the workers, people
   of the lowest class, or at least written by those who are close to the
   working people or by those who like the ideas of the working people.
   These songs spread orally from mouth to mouth, from generation to gener-
   ation. CHANG Hsi-t'ang 1974, pp. 1-3. According to Gernet, the songs
   are popular songs, and did not originate among the gentry but among
   the peasants. GERNET 1972, p. 82.

   Granet says of the origin of the Shih Ching: "The rustic themes which
   they contain and the simple manners which they represent suggest that
   the songs of the *Shih Ching* are of rustic origin." And of the concep-
   tion that the Shih Ching is of scholarly origin he remarks: "If the
   Chinese believe in the scholarly origin of the *Shih Ching*, it is because
   of the scholarly interpretation given to it... The theory of the schol-
   arly origin of the Odes is closely connected with their educational

The songs show a "combination or fusion of techincal niceties, high sophis-
tication and refinement of sensibilities with keen, direct, simple and
perharps sometimes naive observations of man and nature in this temporal
world." The reason for this fusion is the process of development which
"could be traced from folk origins to the polish and refinement of courtly
circles or the intelligentsia".[23] This theory of development seems most
probable.

The songs of the courtly world in their final form were all sung to musi-
cal accompaniments. The songs were also danced to music and were used as
polite quotations by the nobility as an aid to urbane conversation. Later,
the music and dance were separated from the songs which became literary
in character.[24]

When the Western Chou perished, its literary material was not considered
transportable and consequently the Eastern Chou did not possess a great
deal of such material. In the east existed the state of Lu, which pos-
sessed a larger amount of literary material than other states in the east.
Before Confucius the three hundred songs constituted a teaching book 傳
本 of the Lu state, exclusively used by the teachers or the learned.
After Confucius it became a standard work 定 本 of the Confucians to
be used by everyone. The Book of Songs in the Lu state was not necessarily
the same book which was used in other states. The songs in general were
restricted in locality and time and were not necessarily to be found in

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function." GRANET 1975, pp. 81, 84. See also GRANET 1919, pp. 85, 89,
and GRANET 1951, pp. 80, 81. For confirmation of Granet's findings, see
SCHINDLER 1961, pp. 179, 180; Needham, too, agrees with Granet's
approach. NEEDHAM 1956, p. 217.

It may be mentioned as of interest that Lee Chen-tong strongly holds
the view that the songs have only one author. LEE Chen-tong 1978, p. 133.
According to Ch'ü the section Kuo Feng originates from the upper classes.
CH'Ü Wan-li 1963, pp. 477-491. Ch'en disagrees, see CH'EN P'an 1963,
pp. 493-504. For the four parts, see GILES 1923, p. 12.

23 CHEN Shih-hsiang 1968, p. 371.

24 CHEN Shih-hsiang 1968, pp. 377, 388, 404. See also LIU Ta-chieh 1976,
pp. 31-33. Kennedy says: "Now it has been universally assumed that the
odes were sung, and this division into stanzas suggests the repetition
of a melody." KENNEDY 1939, p. 285. See also GRANET 1975, pp. 11, 12.

all states.[25]

There were four versions of the Shih Ching during the Han dynasty; each version was supported by a different school. These schools were: Han, Lu, Ch'i and Mao. The versions of the Ch'i and Lu schools disappeared during the six dynasties. During the T'ang period (618-906 A.D.) the Han version was still in existence. A remnant of the Han version can still be found in the Shan Shih Wai Chuan. Other early works retain considerable portions of the "Odes of the three schools", Han, Lu and Ch'i, in the form of quotations. These were isolated from their contents by Chinese scholars of the Ch'ing era. The fourth school, Mao Heng and Mao Ch'ang from the second century B.C. was authoritative even during the Eastern Han period (25-220 A.D.) and from the T'ang period onwards it was predominant.[26]

James J.Y. Liu characterizes the Shih Ching clearly: "The first group (Kuo Feng) consists of hymns originally sung to the accompaniment of music and dance at sacrifices to gods and royal ancestral spirits... These hymns express a sense of awe, but hardly reveal a supernatural world imagined in such vivid and concrete detail as we find, for instance, in the Homeric epics. Their language is archaic but straightforward, little adorned with imagery, and not very different from prose.

The second group (Ya) includes ceremonial odes and festive songs used at feudal courts. The external world reflected in them is an aristocratic one, in which banquets, hunting and military campaigns play important parts. Some of them narrate dynastic legends and may be considered a kind of proto-epic, though they have never been developed into full epics. The language of these poems is somewhat livelier than that of the hymns, but still straightforward and unsophisticated.

The third group (Sung) comprises ballads and songs of popular origin from various feudal states, probably revised by court poets. They present

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25 CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, pp. 9-11.
26 KARLGREN 1964 (1942), p. 71.

considerable variety, ranging from social protests to unabashed love songs, and from epithalamiums to dirges. Most of them are concerned with the life of the common people: their joys and sorrows, their daily occupations in peace and war, their simple faith in life, and their instinctive sense of the dignity of man. This group is more advanced than the other two in artistry, displaying a fresher and more emotive diction, richer imagery, and more dexterous versification. The mode of expression is often oblique, making use of explicit or implicit comparison, and juxtaposition of logically unconnected but emotionally associated objects and ideas."[27]

Karlgren says of the philological difficulties: "The Shih is philologically a very difficult text; in nearly every line there are words or phrases that are rare in the ancient literature and which already became obsolete at an early stage: they constitute so many hard nuts to crack."[28]

The present study quotes from the translation by Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Odes, Stockholm 1974, which also includes the Chinese text of the traditionally accepted Mao school.

5. Other Works in this Field

The "works quoted", which by no means includes all the works written about the Shu Ching and Shih Ching, shows that there are numerous works related to the present topic. However, the author has not found any single work with a method similar to that of the present study and covering the same area. The work that comes closest is that of Thaddeus John Gurdak, Tradition and Holiness in the Analects of Confucius, University of Wisconsin-Madison, diss. 1976. This study uses the Shu Ching and Shih Ching and the Confucian Analects as primary sources, and the general framework is the definition of religion as "ultimate concern" by Tillich. Although Gurdak's definitions of method and aim are not very clear, his

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27 LIU James J.Y. 1973, p. 161. See also GRIPEKOVEN 1955, pp. 34-36; WATSON 1962, pp. 203-205.

28 KARLGREN 1964 (1942), p. 80.

study possesses some useful insights especially as regards the Confucian Li. However, due to his technical manner of documentation it remains unclear in many instances how he has arrived at his conclusions, and where he derives his opinions. This prevents one from using his conclusions for a futher development of his ideas.[1]

An important study on Chou thought is Herrlee G. Creel, The Origins of Statecraft in China, vol. 1, The Western Chou Empire, Chicago 1970. In this study Creel concerns himself with the problems of the sources. Those of Shu Ching he discusses in depth, but pays scant attention to the problems

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1 He defines his aim as: "Rather, the focal concerns of this work will be: does the picture of Confucian thought as presented accurately reflect the social and psycho-social processes known to be at work in civilizations similar to that of Chou China? Does the presented understanding of Confucian thought stray from what is known to be central to the perspective of similar cultures as understood from a study of the phenomenology or history of religions? Does the image of Confucius' thought present a coherent and integrated understanding of the work of a man of his own time and culture?" The "similar culture" most often referred to is that of the Jews of Old Testament.

As to method, Gurdak has relaxed "some of the more stringent patterns of scholarly method and presentation". However, he says that his attempt is to "present a contextual understanding and appreciation of Confucius' contribution to his times based on as rigorous as possible an examination of the available data. This essay, consequently, will not concern itself with the finer points or minutiae of exegetical method: rather, it seeks to paint, using broad and bold strokes, the background and outlines of that promised contextual understanding which can then be further elucidated and developed in later work." According to this, and also judging by the contents of the work, Gurdak's study seems to be a kind of "pilot study" with partial documentation on Confucian tradition in its historical context. The relaxation of method has led to invalidation and unreliability of results. One example may suffice: He asserts without either reference or reason that the Ya sections of the Shih Ching "were most likely products of the Ch'un Ch'iu times." The poems express, according to Gurdak, individual reaction and lamentation. Gurdak seems to regard as an important conclusion to his study the Confucian emphasis on the individual, and that this was Confucius' contribution in the area of the locus of the tradition. GURDAK 1976, pp. 4, 5, 97-103, 145, 178, 311. However, the Ya sections are products of the time well before Confucius, with their emphasis on "individual reaction and lamentation", see the present study, p. 20. This weakens Gurdak's main finding on Confucius' contribution to the tradition. To be able to draw Gurdak's conclusion, one should not be able to find the individual emphasis in the Shih Ching at all.

of Shih Ching. He also uses Bronze inscriptions and several other written
bodies of material as his sources. The purpose of Creel's study "is to
trace the origin and development of political ideas and governmental in-
stitutions in China, from the earliest times of which we have knowledge
down to approximately the beginning of the Christian Era." Creel deals
with the situation prior to the Chou dynasty, the Chou dynasty itself,
the ideology of Chou, its governmental organization, finance and system
of justice. He also discusses the barbarians, warfare in general and
feudalism and the royal techniques of control. The present study often
refers to this work, and Creel's ideas concerning Heaven are particularly
noteworthy. His theories with regard to Heaven can be found in some of
his other works as well. The present study differs from The Origins of
Statecraft in China in that it employs a terminological method and concen-
trates mainly on Shu Ching and Shih Ching, and its aim is also different.
Creel's study has a wide historical perspective, which has proved useful
to the present writer particularly in the chapter on historical background.[2]

Another important work of a general nature, and one which also includes
topics related to the second volume of the present study is Hsü Fu-kuan,
The History of the Chinese Philosophy of Human Nature, The Pre-ch'in
Period (Chung Kuo Jen Hsing Lun Shih), Taipei 1975. In this study of early
Chou thought and religion Hsü discusses the concepts Li, the Tao of Heaven,
and of humanistic spirit and religion in the early Chou dynasty, the
humanization of religion, the Doctrine of the Mean, Confucius, Mencius,
Mo Tzu, Lao Tzu etc. Hsü's point of view is the conception of human nature
in the period preceding the Ch'in period. His method of presentation is
quite wide and he touches on a great number of questions in the develop-
ment of thought in early China. The work is not particularly formal or
technical, but it reveals a deep sense of scholarhip with regard to early
China and can be recommended to anyone who is concerned with this field
of study.

Another work which deserves special mention is Joseph Needham, Science
and Civilisation in China, vol. 2, Cambridge 1956 including a comprehen-
sive bibliography. The work deals with the main philosophical schools and
draws comparisons with Western thinking. Although at first sight this

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2   See the quotation: CREEL 1970, p. 1.

work seems to be far removed from the sphere of interest of the present study, it does put forward well documented opinions concerning Shu Ching and Shih Ching, and explains many of the basic concepts of Chinese thinking in general. An indispensable work for anyone studying early Chinese traditions.

These three general works are often referred to in the present study, since they contain ideas relevant to it. There are also works which examine one concept or idea and its development in history. T'ang Chün-i writes in his The T'ien Ming (Heavenly Ordinance) in pre-Ch'in China, PEW vol. 11, 1962 and part two PEW vol. 12, 1962, about the Heavenly mandate in the pre-Ch'in philosophical schools. He also discusses T'ien Ming in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. He handles these two sources together in a methodical manner and arrives at three different conclusions: "First, in ancient Chinese thought Heaven is seen as omnipresent and impartial, favoring no particular man or nation." "Second, the Heavenly mandate is conferred on a man only after his cultivation of virtue." "Third, to preserve the Heavenly *ming*, men ought to cultivate virtue; and the Heavenly *ming* is unceasing." "These three implications of the ancient doctrine of the Heavenly *ming* may be summarized as follows: first, 'the omnipresence of the Heavenly *ming*'; second, 'the common root of the Heavenly *ming* and human virtue'; and, third, 'the unceasingness of the Heavenly *ming*'. The full implications of these three ideas were not realized in as great detail in the *Odes* and *Documents* as they were in the thought of later Confucians; (and partly for this reason, no doubt) the ideas have not been grasped by previous scholars." T'ang studies these on a rather general level, dealing only with some main characteristics, and omitting the differences between the traditions in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. Moreover, the idea of omnipresence does not seem to arise naturally from the material used in his article. T'ang's approach, although briefly presented, is good, because he discusses the ideas contained in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. Such ideas are often neglected in the discussion of philosophical and ethical concepts.[3]

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3 T'ANG, Chün-i 1962, pp. 202-204.

The central concept of Confucianism, Jen, has been given its due attention
by many scholars. Due to its rare occurrences in Shu Ching and Shih Ching
it is not often studied in connection with these. However, Takeuchi,
Teruo, in A Study of the Meaning of Jen Advocated by Confucius, Acta
Asiatica, vol. 9, 1965, discusses in depth the meaning of Jen in Shih
Ching and Shu Ching. Takeuchi stresses Jen as meaning outer appearance in
both Shih Ching and Shu Ching calling this the "so-called external meaning
to Jen".[4]

Wing-tsit Chan, The Evolution of the Confucian Concept Jen, PEW, vol. 4,
1955, (reprint New York 1964) is a widely known work on the concept of
Jen. Chan makes brief mention of Jen in connection with Shu Ching and
Shih Ching. His work is more useful to the second volume of the present
study. Neither does Yang Hui-chieh in his Jen Ti Han I Yü Jen Ti Che Hsüeh,
Taipei 1975, The Study of the Confucian Concept of Jen in Ancient Chinese,
pay much attention to Jen in pre-Confucian tradition.

Jao Tsung-yi has made as study of the concept of Te, The Character Te in
Bronze Inscriptions, The proceedings of a Symposium on Scientific Methods
of Research in the Study of Ancient Chinese Bronzes and Southeast Asian
Metal and Other Archaeological Artifacts, October 6-10, 1975, National
Gallery of Victoria Melbourne, Australia, Victoria 1976, ed. Noel Barnard.
Prof. Jao shows that the concept already existed in the oracle bones
during the Shang period. Jao also discusses the early meaning of the term.
It seems that the important terms of later philosphy should be studied
further, in the light of their early usage in the oracle bones and bronze
inscriptions. In this context Jao's work represents a valuable contribution
to the research into early thought in China. David Nivison has arrived at
similar findings to Jao but independently. See Nivison, David S., Royal
"Virtue" in Shang Oracle Inscriptions, Early China, vol. 4, 1978, 1979.

A special study of Li has been made by Noah Edward Fehl, Li Rites and
Propriety in Literature and Life, A perspective for a Cultural History
of Ancient China, Hong Kong 1971. Hsu Cho-yun says in the Foreword:

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4 TAKEUCHI 1965, p. 74.

"Professor Fehl reveals to the reader the origins of *li* as an inviolable shamanistic rite. He also shows the sophistication of *li* as an aristocratic code in the feudal society. And finally, he attributes to Hsün-tzu the achievement of enriching the concept of *li* as a way of learning and living." Fehl also discusses Li in Shih Ching, in the Confucian Analects and in other early philosophical schools.

In the study of Shu Ching, the most frequently used commentaries are: Ch'ü Wan-li, Shang Shu Shih I, Taipei 1972, which pays particular attention to the context, including the ideological contexts, in the interpretation of Shu Ching. Ts'eng Yün-ch'ien, Shang Shu Cheng Tu, Hong Kong 1976, is quite a profound commentary, and can be used as a standard commentary when other works are not available. Some other commentaries are also used: for instance, Sun Hsing-yen, Shang Shu Chin Ku Wen Chu Shu, Taipei 1976 and Wu Yü, Shin I Shang Shu T'u Pen, Taipei 1977. Wu quotes a good deal from the commentaries of Ch'ü Wan-li and Ts'eng Yün-chien. An indispensable western work for the interpretation of Shu Ching is Bernhard Karlgren, Glosses on the Book of Documents, Stockholm 1970. Karlgren has collected together many interpretations from which he chooses his own interpretation or suggests a new one. His major concern seems to be to understand the grammatical meaning of each sentence and also the problematic passages.

In interpreting Shih Ching the following works are used fairly often: Yao Chi-heng, Shih Ching T'ung Lun, Hong Kong 1963, which is a compilation of different commentaries on Shih Ching. Chu T'ien-kuan-hung, Mao Shih Hui Chien, Taipei 1920, which is of Japanese origin, a compilation, but more profound than Yao's work. This commentary discusses many things not dealt with by other commentators. Ch'ü Wan-li, Shih Ching Shih I, Taipei 1974 and Bernhard Karlgren, Glosses on the Book of Odes, Stockholm 1964, are also used. Mao's commentary on Shih Ching deserves special mention, although this is already included in the compilations referred to above. For the early meaning of most of the concepts discussed, reference is made to Peter Boodberg, The Semasiology of Some Primary Confucian Concepts, PEW vol. 2, 1953. Boodberg discusses the etymologies of these concepts in an attempt to find the most appropriate English translations for the terms.

In addition to these, several articles, commentaries and other works are referred to, of which some reflect ideas quite important for this study.

The bibliography mentions only those works which have been directly referred to. There are a few indirect references mentioned in the footnotes, but not in the bibliography.

The romanization of the pronunciation of Chinese characters follows the Wade-Giles system according to the Mathews' Chinese English Dictionary. In cases where the dictionary provides alternative forms of romanization, the first alternative is chosen. The diacritical marks are omitted, except for the umlaut u as ü. In referring to Karlgren's translation of Shu Ching, his romanizations of the documents are used. Moreover, in other cases, when a different romanization occurs in a name of a work used or in a quotation, the romanization is not changed. In some quotations the Wade-Giles romanization is added in brackets in the interests of clarity.