



III. THE TERMS USED IN SHU CHING

1. T'ien, Heaven

H.G. Creel has evolved the following theory about T'ien:¹ T'ien means

¹ Chinese scholarship has tended to follow the SHUO Wen in explaining the character T'ien 天 in abstract terms, as an ideograph showing in the form of a picture that which is above — man 人. SMITH 1957, p. 190; Shuo Wen says: 天 顛 也. "Heaven means the top." SHUO Wen Chieh Tzu 1973, p. 3. Shuo Wen was originally written by Hsü Shen 許慎, who died about 120 B.C. For Shuo Wen, see CREEL 1948, p. 14; NEEDHAM 1954, p. 30. For T'ien meaning the top, see: KAO Shu-fan 1974, p. 295. A similar interpretation is also given by Wieger: "Heaven, the vast — extent of space that is above 人 men, the highest of things." WIEGER 1965, p. 26. According to Karlgren, "the graph is a drawing of an anthropomorphic deity." In the oldest bronzes the graph is which, according to Karlgren, is an anthropomorphic picture. KARLGREN 1957, p. 104; KARLGREN 1964a, p. 36. See also NEEDHAM 1956, p. 580. The graph can be seen in the inscription on oracle bones, for example  and in bronzes  from which it developed through several modifications to the present form 天. CHANG Hsüan 1968, p. 191. See also SMITH 1957, p. 190.

Of the etymologies generally Needham says: "Throughout Chinese recorded history many of these etymologies remained unknown, even to Hsü Shen, the 2nd-century father of Chinese lexicography, whose *Shuo Wen Chieh Tzu* (Analytic Dictionary of Characters) was the predecessor of so vast a train of dictionaries and encyclopaedias. So far as we know, Hsü Shen never saw a bone inscription of the Shang period. He regularly gave, however, the 'lesser curly' (*Hsiao chuan* 小篆) or 'seal' forms of the characters, and it was only by comparing these with the forms found in the bone and bronze inscriptions that scholars were enabled to decipher the latter. Hsü Shen misinterpreted many characters, but was right as to many more. Some of his ideas which were formerly thought to be absurd or fantastic have been confirmed by study of the bone inscriptions... That scholars of today know much more about the writing, and the thought behind it, of the Shang period, the formative time of Chinese orthography, than people did who lived a few centuries later, is just one of the paradoxes of archaeological science." NEEDHAM 1956, p. 218.

All this presumably means that the etymological meaning of a character

"the 'Great Spirits', that is, the spirits of the former kings and great personages of the past, considered as a body. By an easy transition it was used also to mean 'the abode of the Great Spirits', that is the heavens, the sky. Here, then, we have the idea of Heaven as a vague symbol of the vast power of the great spirits and the place where they dwell. Since Chinese does not commonly distinguish singular and plural, it was easy to think of this vague, over-ruling power as a single person, and thus, from the 'Great Spirits', we get the idea of a single 'Great Spirit', Heaven, a vast, somewhat impersonal over-ruling deity."²

As we have seen, T'ien was not known as a supreme deity during the Shang period. At that time T'ien apparently did not represent a deity at all, although Chou people presumably had a chief deity, called T'ien, before they came into close contact with the Shangs. In adopting features of the Shang way of life, the Chou discovered that Shang-ti resembled their Heaven, and identified the two. The Chou people also combined Heaven or Shang-ti through blood relationship with the Chou race, so that apparently the deity represents or is a deified first ancestor of the race. Probably the sense of a "deified first ancestor of the race" is more important than the sense of Heaven.³

does not necessarily reflect its meaning in Shu. This is confirmed by the following: "The meaning of a classical Chinese word cannot be inferred from the components of the graph or graphs used to write it; on the contrary, ideographic origin of the graph for a particular word may be postulated only after having determined both the word's meaning and its pronunciation by linguistic and philological methods generally applicable to all languages;" and "Classical Chinese graphs themselves do not have meaning; they are used only to provide visual representation of words. It is the words that they are used to write that have meaning." CIKOSKI 1977a, p. 20.

2 CREEL 1936, pp. 342, 343. Creel also remarks that the origin of Heaven as a deity among the Chou people is very difficult to trace. CREEL 1936, p. 342.

3 CREEL 1936, p. 342; KARLGREN 1964a, p. 36; KÖSTER 1955, p. 207. Kremsmayer arrives at his conclusion mainly on the basis of etymology: "Die Etymologie des Zeichens ist eindeutigerweise das Bild einer anthropomorphen Gottheit oder exakter ausgedrückt, des vergöttlichten Urahns der Sippe... Aus der Etymologie des Zeichens scheint mir hervorzugehen, dass die Bedeutung 'Himmel' als sekundär anzusprechen wäre." KREMSMAYER 1956, pp. 72, 73.

There were also other deified ancestors, or spirits of ancestors, which come under the term Shen 神. However, these were not proper gods, but strong spiritual powers.⁴ To distinguish T'ien from these it could be emphasized that T'ien is a supreme deity.

The most frequently mentioned function of T'ien in Shu Ching is that of punishment and reward. Heavenly responses are directed towards the Hsia, Yin and Chou dynasties, responses for which there are certain causes and which have certain objectives. These responses are discussed below.⁵

Heavenly favour before Yin is mentioned in connection with the ancient legendary kings. Heaven's reaction was favourable when the king acted

Creel remarks that early Chou literature contains more occurrences of T'ien than of Ti. "The testimony of the original text of the *Book of Changes* is inconclusive, since T'ien as certainly referring to the deity occurs only twice as against once for Ti. But in the *Poetry* there are 140 references to the deity T'ien, as opposed to only 43 to Ti or Shang Ti. Twenty-two of these occurrences are in the royal title, 'Son of Heaven'. These are certainly references to the deity, but even if they are eliminated, there remain 118 occurrences of T'ien, almost three times as many as of Ti or Shang Ti.

In our twelve Western Chou sections of the *Documents*, the deity T'ien is named 116 times, as compared with only 25 mentions of Ti or Shang Ti. In Western Chou bronze inscriptions of my corpus, the deity T'ien is mentioned 91 times, Ti or Shang Ti only 4. Of the occurrences of T'ien on the bronzes, 71 are in the royal title 'Son of Heaven', and 3 in what may be other royal titles. But even if these are eliminated, the deity T'ien is mentioned 17 times, more than four times as often as Ti is named.

In all of our Western Chou sources, if the meaning of the character is disregarded, T'ien occurs 383 times. This stands in sharp contrast to the fact that in all of the known Shang inscriptions this character seems never to occur at all." These phenomena in Creel's opinion reflect the fact that T'ien was a Chou deity. Creel 1970, pp. 494, 495.

- 4 KARLGRÉN 1964a, pp. 34, 35. Other gods, Shen 神 were governed by Shang-ti 上帝. He was also concerned with the virtue of men, rewarding the good and punishing the wicked. However, he rarely involved himself in the everyday life of men. CHANG Yin-lin 1973, p. 47.
- 5 This study is not concerned with placing any special emphasis on the punitive aspects of T'ien. The emphasis that exists is due to the fact that such aspects are so often mentioned in Shu Ching and are apparently of some importance to Chou thought as recorded in Shu Ching.

through virtuous assistants,⁶ and "used their bright virtue".⁷ The context in these two cases gives one to understand that the virtue of the assistants and the king caused Heaven to react favourably, although this relation of cause and effect is not expressed very emphatically.

"Your assistants should be virtuous, if you (move) act (through them), there will be a grand response (sc. from the people). They will wait for your will, and so it will be manifest that you have received (your mandate) from God on High 上帝. "Karlsgren says that the king himself is inactive except for his attention to incipient symptoms, by the directing of which he can remain at peace. He intercedes actively only through his good ministers, at which the whole people respond, attending upon his will, and the people's willing acceptance of his rule is the proof that he has the mandate of God."⁸


The ultimate result of having virtuous ministers is clear when the passage continues 天其申命用休. "Heaven will renew its mandate and (use=) apply blessings."⁹

6 SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 10, pp. 10:9, 11. (This form of reference means: KARLGRÉN, The Book of Documents, Kao Yao mo, v. 10, the text in Chinese is on p. 10 and the translation is on pp. 9, 11. The names are romanised in accordance with Karlsgren's romanisations, because the reference is to his translation. In other contexts the Wade-Giles romanisation is used. If other translations of Shu Ching are referred to, they are identified with the name of the translator.) 直 here stands for 愆 which is equal to 德, virtue. CH'U Wan-li 1972, pp. 22, 23. See also KARLGRÉN 1970 (1948), p. 120. Ch'eng emphasises the importance of the old kings for Chinese culture. This means that one should systematically discuss the terms that relate particularly to them. CH'ENG Shih-ch'üan 1975, p. 5.

7 SHU Tsi Ts'ai, v. 5, pp. 47:48. Here 明德, "bright virtue".

8 SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 10, pp. 10:9, 11. KARLGRÉN 1970 (1948), p. 121. See also SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 20, pp. 13:12; Pán keng, v. 20, pp. 22:23; Ku ming, v. 34, pp. 72:73.

9 SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 10, pp. 10:11. 申 is used here for to repeat, and 休 for blessing. CH'U Wan-li 1972, p. 23. See the usage of 其 in DOBSON 1974, p. 188. GABELENTZ 1953, p. 235 translates this sentence: "Der Himmel wird (sene günstige) Schickung erneuern und Wohlthaten üben."

Etymologically Ming 命 is an ancient graph of a mouth, a tent and a person kneeling . NEEDHAM 1956, p. 548.

Here Shang-ti 上帝 seems to be identified with T'ien 天, and Heaven, T'ien, is an agent of the continuity of the Mandate, Ming 命, and blessing.

It is also understood that Wen and Wu for whom the Heavenly blessing 天休 continuously increased, set a fine example to the Chou ruler. To follow this example is to apply "Heaven's majesty." 天威¹⁰

When the former kings practised their virtue, Heavenly favour ordained that the people and the territory of the Central Kingdom be delivered to Heaven into the hands of the former kings. The present king should "by means of virtue 德 harmonize and gladden and (be before and after) take care of the foolish people, and thus gladden the former kings who received the mandate."¹¹ Here the virtue, Te 德, of the former kings caused them to enjoy the Heavenly blessing. They were a fine example to the present kings, who were encouraged by means of virtue to harmonize and gladden and to take care of the people, and thus reciprocally to gladden the former kings. Here one can see again the continuity of the virtue and blessing of the former kings which still benefits the world. The reciprocal relation between present and former kings leads one to presuppose that the former kings were believed to survive in another sphere and were not indifferent to the things on earth.

The Heavenly response to the legendary virtuous kings was only favourable. No punitive actions by Heaven are mentioned in this context. However, the time of Hsia is also included in the dynastic thought of Chou. Even at that time reasons are said to have existed on account of which the anger of Heaven was provoked. These reasons comprised violating of the five elements and the neglect of and disregard for the three governing forces, Heaven, Earth and Man. The reaction of Heaven was to cut off its appointment to rule, Ming, from the rebellious lord or king. It was the

10 CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 115; SHU Kün Shi, v. 20, pp. 60:62; KU ming, vv. 6, 24, 25, pp. 69, 72:70, 71.

11 SHU Tsi ts'ai, vv. 5-7, pp. 47:48. For a general exposition of harmony in Chinese thought, see LIDIN 1974, pp. 5-9.

duty of the king to execute the punishment; he said that he executes Heaven's punishment 天之罰. If the fighters in battle obey the king, they will be rewarded in the temple of the king's ancestors. If the king is not obeyed, the fighters will be killed with their wives and children at the altar of the Soil. This episode is from the beginning of the Hsia dynasty, occurring, according to tradition, during the reign of the second king.¹²

During the last years of the dynasty, when the Hsia dynasty was changing to the Shang dynasty, the punitive actions and the reasons for the punishments are clearly stated. The lord of Hsia has much guilt 罪. Firstly, he has neglected the governmental work and the people and even obstructed the efforts of the people. Secondly, he has despised Heaven's command and has not thought of the sacrifices perpetually and reverently. God even visited the temple of Hsia, but the lord of Hsia increased his pleasurable ease and was not willing solicitously to speak to the people. He is said to be licentious and unable for a whole day to be stimulated by God's 帝 guidance.¹³

12 SHU Kan shi, vv. 3,4, pp. 16, 19:18; LEGGE vol. 3, 1969, pp. 152-155. This document includes later additions, see p. 15. Presumably "five elements" 五行 is a later addition. For an explanation of the five elements and three governing forces in Kan Shih, see LO Chi'i-yü 1979, pp. 9-21.

13 SHU T'ang shi, vv. 1-3, pp. 19:20; SHU To fang, vv. 3-5, 15, pp. 63:62, 64. The reasons for punitive actions by Heaven are more varied than those in T'ang shi, which probably also includes more later additions than To fang. See p. 15. See also similar reasons for punishment, SHU To shi, v. 5, pp. 54:55.

These Shu Ching accounts of the last bad ruler of Hsia are apparently "Chou fabrications designed to lend the persuasion of 'historical precedent' to their own ideological interpretation of the supplanting of the evil Shang by the virtuous Chou." WRIGHT 1969, p. 319. In SHU T'ang shi, v. 1, pp. 19:20. 有夏多罪, here 有 may have been used to show respect for the ruler of Hsia. TAKASHIMA 1978, 1979, p. 26. This possible honorific meaning of 有 implies that despising the ruler despite his wrongdoings did not belong to the Chou attitude. Ch'eng T'ang 成湯, T'ang the Successful (=T'ang the Achiever), see p. 33.

For these reasons, Heaven gave the mandate to T'ang the Achiever, and it punished and destroyed the lord of Hia".¹⁴ The Heavenly punishment was carried out by T'ang who said: "Heaven has charged (me) to kill him." For this T'ang needed the support of the people and thus addressed the masses uttering dire threats against those refusing to obey.¹⁵ One can see from the above that the punishments against Hsia were carried out by the representative of the following dynasty. The punishment was imposed on the ruling house, was a sudden one, and not particularly long drawn-out. The Heavenly attitudes to Hsia were exclusively punitive according to our sources. Such sources are so scanty, however, that few conclusions can be drawn from them. The material relating to the Heavenly attitudes to Yin is more extensive.

The Heavenly attitude to Yin is also described as favourable in two clear cases. The kings were virtuous and cared for their officials and thus stimulated everybody to work eagerly. "As to these (said ministers) their virtue 德 was set forth, and thus they directed their princes. Therefore, when the One Man had (sacrificial) performances in the four quarters, and when he took tortoise and milfoil oracles, there were none who did not have confidence in him."¹⁶ It was apparently on account of this kind of virtuousness that Heaven reacted favourably towards the Yin kings. The first kind of favourable reaction centered in Heaven providing good officials for the kings which also meant Heaven supporting the mandate of the kings.

As a positive reaction from Heaven, "Heaven greatly supported their mandate, and so they endowed and enriched the people," or according to

14 SHU To fang, v. 6, pp. 63:64. (Hia=Hsia). 殄 here means 絕, to cut short, to break off, to interrupt. CHU Wan-li 1972, p. 117. See also SHU To fang, v. 7, pp. 63:64.

15 SHU T'ang shi, pp. 19:20. The severe threats may be later additions to legitimize later leaders in their use of threats similar to those of "T'ang the Achiever". In To fang the attitude of T'ang towards the people is described as more favourable. See, SHU To fang, vv. 9-11, pp. 63:64. There are punishments here, too, but only those who had committed several crimes were executed, and nothing is said about executing their wives and children as in T'ang shih.

16 SHU Kün Shi, v. 9, pp. 60:61. See also To shi, v. 8, pp. 54-55.

another interpretation "Heaven gave helping officials".¹⁷ Heaven also gave "perpetuity" to the ministers: "With long lives given by Heaven, just and intelligent, they (sc. ministers) protected and directed the lords of Yin."¹⁸ The king said to the officials going to the new place of Yin: "I go to welcome and preserve your endowment from Heaven 命于天 (sc. in the new place)."¹⁹ This implies that the ministers of

17 SHU Kün Shi, cc. 7-10, pp. 60-61. There are differing interpretations of the sentence "Heaven greatly supported their mandate," 天惟純佑命. Firstly, there is the punctuation which includes 則 in the sentence: 天惟純佑命則. Sun Hsing-yen interprets: "Heaven grandly supported the mandate for (the norms=) the men who were models." Karlgren rejects this. See SUN Hsing-yen 1976, p. 334; KARLGREN 1970 (1948), p. 120. A more recent interpretation by Ts'eng Yün-ch'ien has similar punctuation. According to him, 純 = 大 great, and 佑 = 福 blessing, and 則 means a rule. On this basis Ts'eng arrives at the interpretation that the Heavenly mandate is honestly established as a rule. TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, pp. 228, 229. Secondly, the punctuation without 則 is used by Ch'ü Wan-li. 純佑 appears in the bronzes in form 屯右 and as a noun means an official who helps. 命 here means to give. Ch'ü interprets it to mean that Heaven provides a helper CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, pp. 111, 112. Yang punctuates 則 as belonging to the following sentence. YANG Hsiang-shih 1965, p. 234.

Karlgren translates: "Heaven greatly supported their mandate." SHU Kün Shi, v. 9, pp. 60:61. The translation by Karlgren seems to be the most straightforward, 天 as subject, 惟 as connective, 純 = 大 greatly, 佑 to support and 命 as object. 則 is better placed in the following sentence. However, Ch'ü's translation, although the verb is at the end of the sentence, has contextual merit. After this sentence the enrichment of the people is mentioned. According to the ideological context, the king acts through his officials or helpers. It may well be that the sentence is deliberately ambiguous to please the king whose mandate was traditionally supported by Heaven and to please the officials with their duties. This suggestion conflicts with CIKOSKI 1977, pp. 18-21. Boodberg seems to accept the possible original ambiguity of the text in Shih Ching. BOODBERG 1979, p. 177.

18 SHU Kün Shi, v. 10, pp. 60:61. In the sentence 天壽乎格保乂有殷 the character 壽 has created problems. Basically it means long life. KARLGREN 1970 (1949), p. 123. Sun Hsing-yen suggests "long time" 久. SUN Hsing-yen 1976, p. 335. Karlgren refutes this in the above mentioned glosses. Ch'ü Wan-li suggests "long ago". CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 113. Ts'eng Yün-ch'ien says that 壽 and 迪 had the same phonetic value. Because 迪 is synonymous with 道 way, 壽 means way. TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 229. Although other interpretations can be made to fit the context, the safest thing would be to accept the basic meaning of 壽, because it fits the context as well. For 壽 see KAO Shu-fan 1974, p. 288. Thus we get: "long life given by Heaven" as suggested by Karlgren in the gloss above.

19 SHU P'an Keng, vv. 1, 5, 26, pp. 19, 22:20, 24. Hsu calls the mandate "a charisma". HSU Cho-yun 1966, p. 415.

Yin were also granted the endowment or Ming from Heaven, and that the king controlled it. In this case it was the responsibility of the king to grant the Ming given by Heaven to the officials. Heaven gave the Ming to the officials, but the king, not Heaven, controlled it. The authority of the king over the officials was partial; he had the right to retain them as officials or to dismiss them.

This apparently reflects the fact that the officials belonged to a hereditary class of aristocrats. Their Ming from Heaven was hereditary, but it depended on the king whether they were allowed to keep it or not.

We saw above that the ministers were granted long lives by Heaven. This idea of perpetuity is a major characteristic of the second kind of Heavenly blessing that Heaven bestows on the Yin kings: After the listing of the great men of Yin we read: "All these (had display=) were illustrious, and they protected and directed the lords of Yin. Therefore in the Yin rites, when they (sc. the lords) died, they were counterparts to Heaven (i.e. styled Ti like Shang Ti), and they passed through a great quantity of years." This passage combines the idea of perpetuity with the special relationship with Heaven, the counterpart status of Heaven. This status "may be understood as an expression of the early *Chou* idea that the ancestor held equal authority with the divine" - he was Heaven's peer. The idea of perpetuity extends to virtue as the passage continues: "Heaven greatly supported their mandate, and so they endowed and enriched the people; of the (royal men=) men of the royal line there were none who did not hold on to virtue 德".²⁰

The change of dynasty from Yin to Chou has been expressed as revealing the favourable attitude of Heaven towards the people of Yin, this attitude taking the form of pity for them.²¹ Other reactions of Heaven towards Yin

20 SHU Kün Shi, vv. 7-9, pp. 60:61. Roberts says: "From the generational rather than the political viewpoint the idea of perpetuity is expressed in the oft-recurring phrase of the bronzes" (May his) sons' sons and grandsons' grandsons use (this *yu* 亓) eternally treasuring it for ten thousand years." ROBERTS 1966, pp. 102, 103. See also T'ANG Chün-i 1962, pp. 200, 201.

21 SHU Shao kao, v. 10, pp. 47:49. 哀 means to sympathize, to have pity. CH'U Wan-li 1972, p. 93.

however, are of a punitive nature, several reasons for the punishments being mentioned.

The widest selection of reasons for Heavenly punishments are to be found in Chiu kao. Yin's former kings are commended because "in their (walk=) conduct (they) stood in awe of Heaven's (clearness=) clear laws and of the small people. They (walked in=) practised virtue 德 and held on to wisdom". Their assistants did not give themselves up to idleness, were not drunken, the laws being generally respected. A sharp contrast to these former kings can be found in the present king, who, first of all, is a drunkard. The people of Shang were also addicted: "Greatly the people were resentful and the crowds intoxicated themselves, and the rank smell was perceived on high."²²

It is also said of the king: "Great was his licentiousness and dissoluteness and indulgence in irregular (practices); by his pleasures he ruined his dignity. Among the people there were none who did not suffer and were not pained in their hearts."²³ Generally speaking, the king was inferior in his personal ethical behaviour, and this inferiority also spread among his subjects.

22 SHU Tsiu kao, vv. 9-11, pp. 44:45. See also SHU Si po kan Li pp. 25:26, 27. Creel says of the usage of wine by Shang and Chou: "In the *Documents*, the *Poetry*, and at least one bronze inscription, we find it alleged that the Shang fell into evil ways because of their addiction to intoxicating liquor. It appears that the Chou had been accustomed to use liquor only in sacrificial ceremonies; the association of intoxication with religious rites is not uncommon. Evidently the ways of the more sophisticated Shang appeared to them shocking, and they considered the consumption of liquor apart from sacrifice a dissolute practice.... In the *Poetry* while drunkenness is occasionally deplored, the pleasures of drinking are appreciated." CREEL 1970, p. 95.

For wine and poetry, see KARLGREN 1974, ode 174, vv. 1, 2, p. 118, ode 215, v. 4, pp. 169:168, ode 218, v. 3, pp. 171:172.

It seems that according to the Shang tradition, which is more clearly reflected in the Book of Odes, drinking was permitted to some extent. For the permissive attitude in the Analects, see WALERY 1964, The Analects of Confucius, 2:8, p. 89, 3:7, p. 95, 10:8, 10, p. 149.

23 SHU Tsiu kao, v. 11, pp. 44:45. See also SHU Si po k'an Li, pp. 25:26, 27.

Another royal failing was that the king tolerated the widespread practice of crime without attempting to prevent it, thus neglecting his governmental duties. Thirdly, he also evinced faults connected with divine, numinous things, a trend towards secularisation. These included his inability to fear death and "It was not (so) that fragrant offerings (made with) virtue 德 ascended and were perceived by Heaven." It is also stressed that the king did not desire to change his behaviour.²⁴ The three kinds of faults of the Shang king are also mentioned in To fang more concisely: "It was that your last king of Shang (made easy his ease=) enjoyed his pleasurable ease, despised his governmental work and did not bring pure sacrifices."²⁵

In Wei Tzu the king is regarded as responsible for evil practices in government, for the heavy taxes, for his officials doing unlawful things and going unpunished. Moreover, the people steal the sacrificial animals. Excessive drinking is not mentioned here, but even so there are grounds enough for Heaven to "send down disaster".²⁶

In To shih the king is criticized for lacking a clear understanding of Heaven, for being unwilling to think of how earlier kings had "toiled for the house", and for being licentious and dissolute.²⁷

These three kinds of faults of the last Yin ruler, namely his personal ethical behaviour, self-indulgence and licentiousness, secondly, his neglect of governmental duties and thirdly, faults in his responsibilities towards divinity, constitute a classification of those faults which are described in connection with Heavenly punishments concerning the king and the dynasty.²⁸ Despite the faults, a honorific epithet is used

24 SHU Tsiu kao, v. 11, pp. 44:45. The sacred activities cannot be regarded apart from virtue, because Te and offerings are here closely related to each other. Cf. T'ANG Chün-i 1962, p. 203.

25 SHU To fang, v. 16, pp. 63:64. See also vv. 13, 14, pp. 63:64.

26 SHU Wei Tsi, vv. 2-7, pp. 25:27.

27 SHU To shi, v. 9, pp. 54:55. See also SHU To fang, vv. 17-19, pp. 63:64.

28 Wright has divided all the evils of the last Yin king, Chou Hsin, under four headings: A. tyranny, B. Self-indulgence, C. licentiousness,

on Yin.²⁹

The unfavourable attitude of Heaven towards Yin consisted first of all of the rejection of Yin by not favouring it.³⁰ Then there are three passages in which destruction, ruin or disaster is mentioned. The term used in all three cases is 降. These passages state quite clearly that Heaven is sending down destruction; the statement is made that Heaven had no mercy 愛 on Yin and that Heaven sends down disaster 毒降. In connection with such passage expressing Heavenly punitive action in a powerful and concise manner, we are also given the reasons for such action (pp. 87, 88), reasons which are equally well-defined.³¹

It is also stressed that Heaven expressly "wishes or wills" to destroy Yin.³²

D. Lack of personal virtue. B and C and to some extent D refer to the personal behaviour of the king, A to his governmental duties and part of D to his attitude towards the divine. The passage quoted from To Fang speaks for the threefold division of the evils of the king. Wright uses the Ku Wen version in Legge, The Chinese Classics vol. 3, as containing more material than the Kin Wen version, which is used in the present work. WRIGHT 1969, pp. 61-63.

29 SHU To fang, v. 15, pp. 63:64. 天降時喪有邦聞之 Takashima explains that 邦 in this context refers to the Shang state or the ruler. 有 is meant here to convey a "fashionable, honorable, complimentary" meaning. TAKASHIMA 1978, 1979, p. 27. For a similar honorary epithet, see also p. 83.

30 SHU To shi, vv. 3, 4, pp. 54:55. In both passages 禋 is used for not bestowing favour. In v. 3 the subject is Heaven and in v. 4 the subject is God 帝. In this way, God and Heaven are identified with each other here. See also To fang, v. 12, pp. 63:64.

31 SHU Wei Tsi, v. 4, pp. 25:27. "Heaven (massively=) heavily sends disaster." has two textual variations, the orthodox version being 天毒降 and the version preferred by Karlgren, from the modern text 天篤降. Karlgren supports his choice with a phrase in the Odes. See KARLGREN 1964 (1948), pp. 224, 225; KARLGREN 1974, Ode 265, Shao min, v.1, pp. 237:238. Ch'ü and Ts'eng use 毒 which means "poison" and "severe". See CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 56, referring to the usage in Shih Chi, TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 118; SHU To fang, v. 16, pp. 63:64, and Tsiu kao, v. 11, pp. 44:45.

32 天惟喪殷若穡夫. "Heaven in destroying Yin is like a (weeding) farmer." SHU Tao kao, v. 14, pp. 38:39. Dobson translates: "Would that Heaven *would destroy* (the remnants of) Yin, for I am like a farmer weeding." The cursive words are an example of the usage of

The remaining six passages of Heaven's punitive reaction to Yin also describe the practical measures taken against the dynasty. Heaven used Chou as an instrument in its punitive actions, as stated clearly in To shih: "The merciless (or unfortunately) and severe Heaven has greatly sent down destruction on the Yin. We Chou have assisted the decree, and taking Heaven's bright majesty we effected the royal punishment and rightly disposed the mandate of Yin; it was terminated by God 帝."³³

Yin is said to be "greatly lawless", "I (=the Chou king) did not (move you=) cause your deplacement (sc. to this new city), it originated in your (own) city."³⁴ In this situation, when resettling the Yin, the Chou king

the particle Wei. Dobson says: "Wei (惟) occurs before verbs when the mood of the verb is subjunctive. The mood of the verb is then indicative of 'wishing and willing'. DOBSON 1958, p. 349. See also DOBSON 1962, pp. 151, 154. It seems clear here that Heavens' wishing or willing is stressed.

- 33 SHU To shi, v. 2, pp. 54:55. Ch'ü punctuates: 弗弔，昊天大降喪于殷 and obtains the following interpretation: "Unfortunately, the severe Heaven..." CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, pp. 102, 103. The same punctuation is also used in SUN Hsing-yen 1976, p. 314.

According to Ts'eng, 弔 means 善, good. TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 214. Karlgren's interpretation is also well established. See KAO Shu-fan 1974, p. 214.

Dobson has a literal translation: "Not pity/bright/Heaven/greatly/send down/destruction/on/Yin/" and a free translation: "Impartial and glorious Heaven has sent down great destruction upon Yin." DOBSON 1962, pp. 171, 173. See also SHU Mu shi, v. 7, pp. 28:29, Kün Shi, v. 19, pp. 60:62.

- 34 SHU To shi, v. 16, pp. 54:56. 惟爾洪無度. "It is you that have been greatly lawless." Here "Tu" 度 occurs, which has the primary meaning "degrees of measurement". In Shu Ching this "occurs alone in the sense that certain people had 'gone beyond the bounds' or 'transgressed'." In this contest it is worth noting the following: "More important is the fact, pointed out by Couvreur, that *tu* may be considered a definite technical term for the movements of the heavenly bodies. The word was use throughout Chinese history for each of the 365 1/4 degrees into which the celestial sphere was divided, and for many other scales of divisions, such as the hundred parts of a day or night as shown by the clepsydra (water-clock). Revealing is the phrase used by Tung Chung-Shu in his Chhun Chhiu Fan Lu of about the same time as Ssuma Chhien, where he says 'Thien Tao yu tu' 天道有度 the Tao of Heaven has its regular measured movements." Needham suggests an interpretation for Tu, not "general laws", but "These phenomena all have their regular measured (or measurable) recurrent movements." NEEDHAM 1956, pp. 553, 554.

no longer wished to punish the Yin, because Heaven had already "applied to Yin a great (quilt=) punishment." The condition for this, however, is obedience, which will be followed by Heaven's favour and pity, but, "If you cannot be reverently careful, not only will you not have your lands, I shall also apply Heaven's punishment to your persons."³⁵

In the process in which Yin loses its mandate, which is transferred to Chou, the question of killing arises. It is said that Heaven then grandly ordered Wen Wang to kill the great³⁶ Yin and grandly receive its mandate.³⁷ Here the character 殛 most probably means 殺 to kill.³⁸ Another

In Shu Ching it may even be possible that the word Tu had the connotation that Yin did not conform with Heaven, and the word is used to express the idea that Yin was in conflict with the harmony of the world. In a way Yin conflicted with the "regular movement" of the universe, acted against the will of Heaven, according to Chou thought. The choice of this concept may reflect this idea, which is clear in the wider context.

35 SHU To shi, vv. 17, 19, 24, pp. 54, 57:56. Ch'ü regards 卜 here as an "empty word". The meaning becomes something like - Heaven punishes, therefore I also punish. CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 104. The context here is that of the historical resettlement of the people, and no longer the changing of the dynasty, and consequently the translation above fits the context. See also SUN Hsing-yen 1976, p. 317; TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, pp. 216, 217.

Dobson translates v. 24 with a literal translation: "You/not/able/be reverent,/you/not/only/not/possess/your/lands,/I,/too,/make-come/Heaven/ - / punishment/on/your/persons./", and a free translation: "But if you cannot carry this out with reverence, you not only will not possess your lands, but I, too, will bring down the punishment of Heaven upon your persons." DOBSON 1962, pp. 172, 175. See also SHU To shi, vv. 20, 21, pp. 54:55, To fang, vv. 19-29, pp. 63, 66:65.

36 According to Ch'ü 伐 means barbarian. The translation would be "the barbarian Yin". CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 77. Sun translates "great". SUN Hsing-yen 1976, p. 267. Contextual considerations may have led Ch'ü to look for something other than "great" to justify the killing.

37 SHU K'ang kao, v. 4, pp. 38:39.

38 Shuo Wen says: 殛 死 也 SHUO Wen Chieh Tzu 1973, p. 118. According to Wu, here it means to kill. WU Yü 1977, p. 103. See also CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 77, and Karlgren 1970 (1948), pp. 282, 283. There is also a passage stating: "There was the (heavenly) charge, saying: (injure) destroy Yin". SHU To shi, v. 14, pp. 54:56. Here Dobson translates: "Heaven then decreed that King Wen should destroy Yin, and should receive its mandate, its vassal-states and peoples." DOBSON 1960, 1961, pp. 8, 17.

passage: "There was the (heavenly) charge, saying (injure) destroy Yin." To destroy has here also been interpreted to mean to take over the state from Yin.³⁹ Especially in connection with King Wen, strong terms like killing are somewhat problematic and are hardly compatible with the ideological context relating to King Wen, in that he was not a military hero and by official Chinese reckoning he was not even a king at all. However, there is evidence that at the beginning of Chou, Wen was considered the founder, since in the Odes mention is made many times that he received the Heavenly Mandate. Wen is mentioned more often than Wu probably due to his ethical qualities and his ability as a planner and ruler.⁴⁰ The name Wu 武 means "a military king" and Wen 文 appears in the Yin bone inscriptions as a pictogram of a man with a tattoo on his chest. In early written sources it means "line, drawing, decoration" and probably by extension "accomplished" and even "civilization".⁴¹

The sources show that the Heavenly punishments directed against Yin were uncompromising and irrevocable; the mandate was taken away from Yin and given to Chou. The punishments seem to have been sudden rather than long-lasting. The fate of the preceding dynasties resembles that of Yin. Several reasons coalesced which together brought about the ultimate punishment against Yin and the dynasties that preceded it, namely, the loss of the Heavenly mandate.

39 SHU To shi, v. 4, pp. 54:56. See also KARLGREN 1970 (1949), p. 100, and TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 216. Wu translates: 滅掉殷國, destroy utterly the state of Yin. WU Yü 1977, p. 137. See the second interpretation, CH'U Wan-li 1972, p. 104. Sun identifies 割 with 取, to take. SUN Hsing-yen 1976, p. 317.

40 CREEL 1970, pp. 64-69. There was a theory that before late Chou times Wang was used exclusively to denote the ruler of the whole Chinese world. According to Creel, many facts contradict this theory. In Western Chou bronze inscriptions, the title is also used by loyal vassals of the Chou. Moreover, in the Tso-chuan, the rulers of some states are called Wang. Creel says that the most probable explanation seems to be that Wang was simply one of the many titles meaning "lord", "chief" or "ruler" that were in use at that time. It also seems that Chou probably attempted, with a considerable degree of success, to discourage others from using the title. CREEL 1970, pp. 215, 216.

41 RUBIN 1976, pp. 13, 14; CREEL 1970, p. 67.

The underlying motivating force behind Chou thought seems to be that, in the idea of changing dynasties, Heaven and Mandate, there was an oscillating pattern. The starting point was an ideal, characterized by virtue, Heavenly mandate and blessings from Heaven as a positive attitude on the part of Heaven, harmony under Heaven. The general trend in this ideal state was the continuous dissemination of virtue. Governmental administration was performed in consultation with Heaven. The situation was unsecularized; in other words, there was a continuity between immanence and transcendence, states which were inseparable from each other. The virtue of obedience related to harmony, existed between the various degrees in the hierarchy, of which Heaven represented the highest degree. This state of things was conceived of as long lasting.

From this starting point, which may be called positive, things actually developed in the opposite direction. The ultimate point in this development is characterized by the pleasurable ease of the ruling class, in other words, by corruption in government, disharmony, the suffering of the people, a conflict between Heaven and the material things of earth, a trend towards secularism and the separation of immanence and transcendence, a disregard for the will of Heaven, and disobedience in general. Also these phenomena tended to manifest themselves in all spheres of life throughout the empire. This stage of development may be called negative.

From this negative position the movement began to shift back again to the positive. The ultimate author of this corrective process was Heaven, which chose the man of virtue as an instrument of reform in earthly matters. Heaven removed its mandate from the previous rulers and bestowed it on the new ones. This shift back to the positive seems to have been in the nature of a sudden change.

The swing from negative back to the positive was instigated by Heaven and that from positive to negative was caused by man. In the first swing Heaven and man co-operated, in the second man alone was responsible. In this kind of oscillation, man in league with Heaven was good, and man without Heaven was evil. In other words, man as such was evil.

In this state of affairs the positive ideal was regarded as worth preserving, as worth continuing. It was an ideal of general "oughtness", of how things should be. The negative aspect of this ideal represented a condition of discontinuity, of how things should not be.

Apparently the Chou thought that they possessed a special relation with Heaven, which made them good, and consequently could legitimize their own dynasty. Chou was the newly founded dynasty which had received the mandate from Heaven. The question arises as to whether the oscillation theory should be applied to them as well, or were there any other methods available which would correct the possible trend towards the negative?

When Chou received the mandate from Heaven, it also received other kinds of favours: "Heaven gave its grace 休 to the serene (dead) king, and raised our small state Chou. The serene king (used=) followed only the oracle, and (thus) was able tranquilly to receive this (command) mandate. Now Heaven aids 相 the people 民 (sc. through giving it the said success); how much more must we follow the oracle." Here the present rulers are encouraged to observe the oracle by being granted a long history of Heavenly favour bestowed on the state and the people. Through the oracle they obtain directions from their ancestors, who were favoured 休 by Heaven, and in this way they will acquire "fine territories".⁴² King Wu advises his "younger brother" Feng to seek information from the Yin's former wise kings, and the kings that preceded Yin, and to attempt to understand it. In this way Feng would bring peace and would protect the people. Wu continues: "You will be grandly (covered) protected by Heaven, a compliant virtue 德 will be abundant in your person, you will

42 SHU Ta kao, vv. 9, 15, pp. 34, 38:37, 39. To obtain the mandate is regarded as Heavenly grace 天之休. 休 means 美好. KU Hsieh Kang 1962, p. 42. The prince treats this grace with reverence. It continues: "He will establish Chou as to respond to the grace. When he had fixed the site, he sent a messenger to come; and he has come to show me the grace and constant auspiciousness of the Oracles. We two men (duke of Chou and the king) have both verified (sc. the reading of the oracles). May the prince with me for myriads and ten myriads of years reverence Heaven's grave." SHU Lo kao, v. 4, pp. 50:51, 52. See also SHU Lo kao, v. 1, pp. 50:51, To fang, v. 19, pp. 63:65, Ku ming, v. 31, pp. 72:73.

not neglect to (dwell on=) be intent on the king's orders." Here, too, Heavenly favour depends on obeying the orders of the old kings. As is clear from the above, one can do this by using the oracle. However, Feng should be careful, because one cannot be sure of the favour of Heaven. It is difficult to keep the people in order; Feng should do his best.⁴³

Although Chou received the mandate from Heaven, it was also forced to face Heavenly severity and punishments. There are ten cases concerning Heaven's punitive reactions to Chou. Half of these can be found in Ta kao, and one or two in less reliable documents. Some cases occur in ambiguous passages so that it is difficult to define them clearly without interpolations arising. The punishments and the reasons for them in the case of Chou are more specific than in the case of Yin. Consequently, the reasons and specific punishments based on these reasons are discussed together.

In Ta kao it is said that Heaven knows that the state is flawed and that the reason for the great problems that exist and for the restlessness of the people lies in the King's palace and in the houses of the princes of the states. The statement: "When Heaven (now) sends down its (severity=) inflictions (sc. the difficulties in the Chou house), he knows that our state has a flaw and that the people are not tranquil, and he says: 'We shall come back', and he even despises our Chou state." Identifying both the problems and the fact that the Western lands are not peaceful, and also describing Heaven as working on behalf of the people⁴⁴ may partly imply that in Ta kao the reasons for Heavenly punishments and the punishments themselves are not very distinct from each other. This also implies that the situation in Chou was that certain reasons for the punishments may have existed to begin with, but the punishments themselves have operated as reasons for further punishments.

As regards the punitive action of Heaven mention is made of the fact that Heaven sends its "inflictions" 天降威. This may refer to the fact

43 SHU K'ang kao, vv. 2, 5, 6, pp. 38:39, 40, Shao kao, v. 19, pp. 47:51.

44 SHU Ta kao, vv. 3, 4, 7, 10, 13, pp. 34, 38:36, 37, 39.

that king Wu had died. The "inflexions" may also refer to the king punishing the rebel territories in order to make them peaceful again.⁴⁵

Heaven's punitive actions during Chou also concerned the people 民 . Heaven puts the "toil" or pressure on the rulers 天 怙 我 to accomplish their task, and the king does not "dare not but go to the end with and accomplish the serene (dead) king's planned affairs." The king is afraid of losing the mandate and should attempt to obtain the people's loyalty. The king continues: "Heaven also is toiling our people as if they had a sickness 天 亦 惟 用 勤 怙 我 民 若 有 疾 ".⁴⁶ Apparently the purpose of "toil" 怙, Pi, here is to encourage the king and the people to make improvements. Some commentators explain that 怙 means "to comfort".⁴⁷ It is noteworthy here that Heaven

45 SHU Ta kao, vv. 1, 2, 4, pp. 34:36, 37. Ta kao v. 1, 弗 弔 , 天 with the comma means "Unfortunately, Heaven..." as punctuated by C'hü and Ts'eng. See CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 70 and TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 148. Karlgren punctuates without comma; "The merciless Heaven..." According to Ku and P'ing 不 弔 天 (= 弗 弔 天) refers to Heaven which "sends down its (severity=) inflexions." 天 降 威 See KU Hsieh Kang 1962, p. 39 and P'ING Hsin 1962, pp. 65, 71.

Karlgren punctuates the sentence 子 不 敢 閉 于 天 降 威 (用) in v. 2. without 用 , which he puts into the next sentence, the translation being: "I dare not raise obstacles to Heaven's sending down its (severity=) inflexions." KARLGREN 1970 (1948), pp. 262, 263. Karlgren also mentions other kinds of punctuation here, such as punctuating after 用 : "I dare not (shut against=) raise obstacles to Heaven's sending down the application of its severity." Ch'ü also punctuates after 用 but promoting the idea that Heaven gives me the power to send severity (punishing), I dare not object to it and I dare not use it. CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 71. This interpretation also fits the wider context very well, in that there are difficulties in the west and the lands there are not peaceful, so the king needs the authority and power from Heaven to punish and to make the lands peaceful again. See also SHU Ta kao, v. 6, pp. 34:36. Dobson punctuates v. 2 without 用 . His literal translation is: "I/not/dare/close-door/against/Heaven/send-down/awe/," and his free translation: "I dare not preclude the possibility of Heaven's sending down retribution." DOBSON 1962, pp. 150, 152.

46 SHU Ta kao, v. 10, pp. 38:37.

47 Ch'ü interprets: "The Heaven comforts my people as if they were sick." CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 74. According to Sun, it is not possible for certain to know what 怙 means here. Sun suggests "to comfort". SUN Hsing-yen 1976, p. 259. Wu suggests the meaning "to toil, to suffer"

encourages both the king and the people directly, and not only the king first and then the people through the king. Actually, the king here receives two forms of assistance from Heaven: the personal "toil" or comfort and the direct "toil" or comfort to the people from Heaven. Here Heaven's punitive action can be regarded as a form of education.

Heaven educates the king to rule and the people to be good subjects. In this context we also see that the king has a responsibility to bring to fruition the plans of his father, King Wu.⁴⁸

This feeling of responsibility can already be seen in King Wu, who said: "If there is any fault, Heaven will punish and kill me, and I shall not resent it. As for their crimes (my responsibility) does not depend on whether they are great, it does not depend on whether they are many - how much the more, then, when they upwards are manifest to and heard by Heaven." On the faults for which the last Shang king was destroyed by Heaven was his failure to punish crime. Here Wu takes the responsibility for the proper administration of justice throughout his realm, and advises Feng to do the same. The fact that Heaven is concerned about crimes, whether great, small, many or few, deserves special attention. This together with Heaven "comforting" 比 the king and the people, signifies that Heaven exercises a kind of providence, in that "comforting" has an educative emphasis, signifying the father-like qualities of Heaven. It is noteworthy here that the crimes referred to consist in faults in the relations between father and son and between brothers. These norms are given by Heaven and violation of them must be punished. Other crimes are that officials have no authorization in the promulgation of penal

勞 . WU Yü 1977, p. 96. From the context it is possible to infer that no matter whether 比 means "toil" or "comfort", the sense is that Heaven wants to encourage the king and the people to undertake certain improvements. The sentence 天 比 我 成 功 所, "in the (place=) situation when Heaven (toils us=) puts toil on us to achieve the work", indicates this. SHU Ta kao, v. 10, pp. 38:37. Dobson translates literally: "Heaven/warn/me/finish/task/place/". A free translation: "In this place, in which Heaven adjured me to complete the task." DOBSON 1962, pp. 150, 153. The usage of Pi here resembles Psalm 23 in the Old Testament "Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me." THE HOLY BIBLE 1952, Ps. 23, v. 4, p. 484.

48 SHU Ta kao, vv. 7, 8, pp. 34:37. See also SHU Wen Hou chi ming, vv. 2, 3,

innovations and the employment of unworthy people. Feng is also warned against ruling with immorality 非 德 by terrorizing and being tyrannical and disregarding royal commands.⁴⁹

It is also said of Heaven's direct and non punitive providence that "Heaven shelters and raises the people here below, it aids and harmonizes its (dwelling=) living conditions." Heaven is said to regulate the rites, arrange family relations, and invest authority in the virtuous 德.⁵⁰

Everything seems to refer to the desire of Heaven for the universe to function in harmonious and peaceful coexistence. The King's responsibility is to maintain this on earth. If this cannot be done, Heaven "toils" and desires to act to correct the situation. All this seems to take place over a certain period of time, since sudden punishments by Heaven are not mentioned, such as killing or the removal of the mandate from Chou.

The above discussion demonstrates that the Chou ruling house was very sensitive to the symptoms of the development towards the negative. Chou ideology does not apply the oscillative pattern to the Chou dynasty as such. It can be seen that there is the danger of a similar development recurring with the final result of losing the mandate. However, the Chous introduced the concept of Heavenly guidance through Heavenly punishments. These had an educative and corrective purpose, punishments which were considered to reverse the trend towards the positive.

There are two cases which demonstrate the king's personal relationship with Heaven. The first is when the dying King Ching says: "Now Heaven

pp. 79:78, 80.

Because of this forbearance in Heaven's educative attitude, Chou was able to retain the mandate. Cf. T'ANG Chün-i 1962, p. 203. Retaining the mandate in spite of faults can be understood without referring to predetermination.

49 SHU K'ang kao, vv. 17, 18, 21, pp. 41:42, 43. The necessity of enforcing proper family relations is the only case of a specific legal injunction in which a reference to Heaven is made. CREEL 1970, pp. 167, 168.

50 SHU Hung fan, v. 2, pp. 28:29, Kao Yao mo, v. 6. pp. 10:9.

sent down a sickness that is fatal."⁵¹ The king understood that his death had been ordained by Heaven. The second occasion is when King Wu is ill and the Duke of Chou prays to the three kings, that he might be taken and Wu left. The oracle pronounces that the king will get better. The prayer was then placed in a metal bound coffer where important archives were kept. The king recovered and the duke did not die either. Five years later Wu died, and was succeeded by his son, a thirteen year old boy. There were rumours that the duke had designs upon the throne, with the result that he retired from the court for a time. During the third year of the young king's rule, Heaven interposed: "Heaven made great thunder and rain with wind, all the grain laid itself down, great trees then were uprooted. The people of the land greatly feared." Now the coffer was reverently opened and Chou Kung's prayer read. His devotion to his brother and the interests of his family was brought to light. The boy monarch wept and declared: "Now Heaven has set in motion its terror in order to signalize Chou Kung's virtue 德. I little child, will in person go and meet him, the rites 禮 of our Royal house also justify this." The story continues: "When the king came out to the suburbs (sc. on his way to meet Chou Kung), Heaven rained and turned the wind and the grain all rose up. The two princes ordered the people of the state, in regard to all great trees which had been overthrown, to raise them all and earth them up. The year then was greatly (ripe=) fruitful."⁵² This story illustrates both what the faith of the king in Heaven meant in practice, and also demonstrates the unity of immanence and transcendence.

Finally, there are the general principles that underlie Heaven's punitive action. It is stated that Heaven punishes those who fear guilt, and that there are five punishments together with their applications, and that the punishments of Heaven should be feared and man should understand its decrees and "if Heaven's punishments were not perfect, the common people would not have a good government under Heaven." However, these passages are apparently unreliable. Neither do they date from the time before

51 SHU Ku ming, v. 7, pp. 69:70.

52 SHU Kin t'eng, pp. 31, 34:35, 36. See also LEGGE 1969, vol. 3, p, 351.

Confucius. Hence, they cannot be used in the present study.⁵³

In the story of the metal bound coffer, the Heavenly punishment was avoided by correcting the fault. In Ta kao the king tries to guarantee the mandate or at least attempts to make it more stable by making the people loyal. The king considers that obeying the oracle and thereby the instructions of ancient kings will help to correct disorder in the state. The idea of guiding the princes of the friendly states is a more politically calculated one. The goal seems to be to enlarge what was achieved of the former dead kings' work, in other words to develop further the achievements of former kings.⁵⁴

Shu Ching emphasizes that the king should obey both Heaven and the old kings that officials and ministers should obey the king, that the people should obey the king through his representatives, that sons should obey their fathers and brothers should be brotherly. It is clear that one way to avoid Heavenly punishments is to adhere to this manifold scheme of obedience. However, the main emphasis when speaking of punishments is not on the punishments but on the fact of Heaven's concern for the people. The punishments are simply a Heavenly method of implementing this concern.

When Heaven is concerned for the people, it guides them. To do this it wished to provide the people with a king who will take proper care of the people and of governmental affairs and will not seek his own merit or comfort. In this activity the granting of the Heavenly mandate or appointment, T'ien ming 天命⁵⁵, is essential. To obtain the Heavenly mandate it

53 SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 6, pp. 10:9. The numbered categories which were unknown during the Western Chou period may be later additions in Kao Yao mo. See CREEL 1970, pp. 461, 462.

SHU Lü hing, vv. 18, 21, pp. 75:77, 78. Lü Hsing is from a late date, p. 16. Fehl suggests that Lü Hsing has three traditions. "Each has a characteristic name for the deity (*S* Document - *Shang-ti*, *H* Document - *Huang-ti*, and *T* Document - *T'ien*). Each has a distinctive notion of the origin of evil in the world and a different attitude toward punishment." FEHL 1971, pp. 127, 238.

54 SHU Ta kao, vv. 5, 9, 10, 15, pp. 34, 38:36, 37, 39.

55 According to Creel, we cannot know how early the doctrine of the Heavenly mandate came into existence. In Western Chou sources, it is

should be prayed 祈 for. In praying, virtue 德 should be used.⁵⁶ This

only in the speeches of the Duke of Chou that the Heavenly mandate is granted. Creel says that there is not mention of the Hsia in connection with the mandate in the Book of Changes, the bronze inscriptions or in Shih Ching. It may be that this conception should be credited to the Duke of Chou. Creel says that only one poem in Shih Ching, no. 263, states that the Mandate was received by T'ang, the founder of Yin. He goes on to say that this poem is believed to date from the beginning of Western Chou.

Creel also discusses the acceptance of the Chou doctrine of the Heavenly mandate by the Yin people who were conquered by the Chou noting that in the entire early literature this history of the transmission of the mandate from Hsia to Yin and from Yin to Chou is mentioned only in Chao kao, To shih and To fang. In these, Chou Kung addresses the conquered Yin people. See SHU, pp. 48, 55, 63.

Creel maintains that all three speeches were made after the Yin had revolted against Chou and the leaders of Yin had been transported to the city which was situated near the modern Lo yang. Here Chou hoped to keep them in peace and to transform them into obedient subjects. The Duke threatens them with punishment if they continue to create difficulties, and promises a bright future for them and their descendants if they cooperate with Chou. The idea of Chou Kung is that the "Chou are simply fulfilling the same historic function that the founders of the Yin dynasty performed when they accepted the divine command to destroy the last unworthy ruler of Hsia and assume his Mandate."

According to Creel, this looks like propaganda. We cannot know whether the Yin people already possessed this doctrine because there is no Yin literature. Probably the doctrine of the Heavenly mandate was a Chou innovation.

The Yin dynasty had exercised a prolonged control over vast territories and their own political ideology must have been well established. From this viewpoint, the Chous were "rustics" or barbarians who had excused their seizure of Yin lands and treasures by alleging that they had come to save the Shang from the wicked ruler.

Creel says that the Chou house was able to bring about this change by using force in the form of strong military campaigns and by establishing trustworthy vassals with military garrisons in the rebellious territories. Evidently, Chou government was also relatively good and in time the Chous became popular with the Yin people. The Chou also resorted to the mass transportation of people to new areas. This was an effective means of destroying morale and the will to resist among certain groups. However, it is not known to what extent this mass transportation was carried out. CREEL 1970, pp. 82-90.

56 SHU Shao Kao, v. 20, pp. 47, 50:51. "May the king by means of virtue pray for Heaven's eternal mandate." 肆惟王其疾敬德
王其德之用祈天永命 . See also SHU, Kin t'eng, pp. 31:34-36. See the explanation of Chao Kao: CH'ENG Yüan-min 1975, p. 134.

This means that virtue must be practised before one is qualified even to pray for the mandate, and in order to obtain the mandate one must first have virtue. One cannot be granted the mandate by Heaven until one has demonstrated one's virtue.⁵⁷ A person was selected by Heaven as the recipient of the mandate on the basis of his virtue.⁵⁸ Servants may also help the king to pray for the mandate by obeying him.⁵⁹ From Heaven's point of view, the idea seems to be that the individual must have the prerequisite of virtue to become king. When he has manifested this prerequisite, it is probable, from Heaven's point of view, that he can rule continuously as king and retain the mandate. An addition to this, a pious attitude towards Heaven was equally important. This is clear from the emphasis on prayer.

Although the pattern that emerges above seems quite simple, it is not always so straightforward a process, simply to possess virtue and pray for the Heavenly mandate; one might even have the necessary political influence to become king and still in the end lack the mandate of kingship. This complication is described in Chin T'eng.

It is possible that the Duke of Chou, Chou Kung, originally possessed both the mandate and the virtue of Te. Chou Kung prayed that he would die in place of the sick king, because apparently it was to the advantage of the country for the old king to continue to rule and for the Duke to be taken to Heaven. The prayer was granted with a slight change: the king was given a few more years to live and rule, but the "three former kings" changed the mandate of Chou Kung from that of royal rank to that of ducal rank.⁶⁰ In other words, Chou Kung had all the necessary qualifications

57 T'ang says: "Second, the Heavenly mandate is conferred on a man only after his cultivation of virtue. This view later developed into the primary emphasis - in Chinese religious, moral, and political thought - upon exerting human effort to the utmost, rather than upon prayer." T'ANG Chün-i 1962, p. 203. What T'ang says here is true especially in the light of later development. However, the emphasis in Shu Ching is that both virtue and prayer are needed to obtain the Heavenly mandate.

58 HSÜ Fu-kuan 1975a, pp. 24, 25.

59 SHU Shao kao, vv. 23, 24, pp. 50:51.

60 The text relating to the mandate in Chin T'eng has elicited several suggestions from various commentators. 公曰. 體王其
罔害. 予小子新命于三王, 惟永終是

for kingship. However, in the prevailing situation he was convinced that

圖。茲 攸 俟。能 念 子 一 人。 "The prince said (to the king): According to the (configurations=) content (of the oracles), the king will suffer no harm. (The king said:) I, the little child, anew have obtained an appointment from the three kings. (i.e. a new spell of life); for a distant end I shall plan; what I now expect is that they will (think of=) care about me, the One Man." SHU Kin t'eng, v. 10, pp. 34:35. All the interpreters used by Karlgren have considered that whole sentence is part of Chou Kung's speech. According to Karlgren, this has involved them in great difficulties. Karlgren's solution is that 子 一 人 I, the One Man, reveals that the entire line is Wu Wang's answer to Chou Kung's report, which means that the king's speech starts from 子 小 子. The latter phrase, "I, the little child", is also a standing phrase used by the king, and occurs in that function a few lines later. (v. 18). According to Ch'ü, the phrase "I, One Man", refers to Chou Kung and not to the king. CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 69. According to Wu, the king originally used this phrase about himself, but here the Duke of Chou uses it when addressing the king. According to Wu, the phrase "I, the little child" refers to Chou Kung. WU Yü 1977, p. 89.

The above-mentioned interpreters also maintain that the speaker does not change. Huang does not suggest that the speaker changes, but he introduces an aspect which the other have presumably thought impossible, namely, that the speaker is the Duke of Chou and that both of the phrases mentioned refer to him, the phrase "I, one man" referring to the king. This is substantiated by the old literature and writings on the bones and the bronze inscriptions. Consequently, the idea underlying the phrase is that the Duke of Chou has again obtained a mandate from the three kings, and is spoken of as the Son of Heaven, as the king. Huang also uses another confusing passage: 汝 受 命 篤 弼, which he thinks implies that the Duke of Chou had received the mandate even before the sickness of King Wu, who is the speaker of this passage. This also means that the King agreed that the Duke had received the mandate. Karlgren translates: "You (officers) have received your charges, sincerely to assist me." If we follow Huang, it should be: "You have received the mandate...", without the addition of the explanative officers, which does not occur in the text. Huang summarizes: "When Chou Kung received the mandate to serve the country, it was before the death of King Wu, who also had a son to succeed him as king. Chou Kung had royal rank. When he received the (new) mandate from the three kings, his rank was changed to that of Duke". Huang also refers to the passage in Chün Shih, where the Duke of Chou says 我 受 命 "I received the mandate." Karlgren translates 我 here as "we", and later in the same passage 我 as I. According to Huang's interpretation, 我 means "I" in both cases. HUANG Chang-chien 1973, pp. 48-50; SHU Lo kao, v. 7, pp. 50:52, Kün Shi, v. 17, pp. 60:62; KARLGREN 1970 (1948), p. 255; KARLGREN 1970 (1949), pp. 78, 79.

Karlgren interprets Lo kao v. 7 giving several interpretations of which no one is acceptable as such. He combines two proposals: "And may you command, saying: you (officers) have received your charges, tu pi may

he could serve the country better as a duke. Also connected with this is the sentence describing the time when he served as a duke in the East: "Chou Kung dwelt in the East for two years, and then the criminal men

you (solidly=) sincerely assist (the royal house); grandly display the records of your merits", and the second proposal: "Grandly show your kung tsai achievements." As a result Karlgren arrives at: "And may you command, saying: you (officers) have received your charges, sincerely to assist (me), may you grandly show your kung tsai achievements." KARLGREN 1970 (1949), pp. 78, 79. Wu translates: 你接受
了先王的遺命. WU Yü 1977, p. 131.

Huang's interpretation solves some textual problems. In Chün shih, v. 17, 我 is understood by Karlgren as I and we, which are the meanings of 我. See DOBSON 1974, p. 786, and GABELENTZ 1953, p. 173.

Although many passages of the text in Shu are difficult to explain, presumably the authors have not deliberately tried to make it ambiguous, unless there was some special reason for doing so. If we follow the principle of what may be called semantic continuity, similar characters in the same passage and context are to be interpreted preferably in a similar way, unless there are special reasons which require different interpretations. Thus, Huang's interpretation is preferable textually, but not necessarily ideologically. It also helps us to understand the above-mentioned passage, which is problematic.

Ideologically Huang's interpretation implies that the future king was granted the mandate before becoming king, even during the lifetime of the previous king. Historically this is possible, since the successor of two of the legendary kings was their co-ruler before they became kings themselves. In a sense they already possessed the mandate before becoming king. Huang's theory also implies that there was a change of the mandate, because the Duke of Chou prayed. The prayer was not granted as Chou Kung wished, namely, that he would be taken to Heaven instead of the king. The only thing that happened was that royal mandate of Chou Kung was changed to that of duke. This fits in with Chou Kung's motivation, which was to serve the country.

It would be more beneficial for the country if the king were saved from death and could continue to serve as king. Because the Duke was also saved from death he could serve the country by going East for two years, "and then the criminal men (sc. the slanderers) were apprehended." SHU Kin t'eng, v. 14, pp. 34:36. Huang's theory does not seem to contradict Chou thought, although it introduces some characteristics which would not have been so clearly discerned without his theory, although these implications are not based entirely on Huang's theory. His theory seems to be one possibility worth serious consideration.

The Duke of Chou had the virtue, Te. Ch'ien Mu says that although Chou Kung did not have the status of a king, he had the virtue of a saint. CH'ien Mu 1976, p. 96.

(sc. slanderers) were apprehended."⁶¹

Because the king received his mandate before becoming king, this makes the apparent crudity⁶² of the king in his destruction of the former ruling house partly understandable. His duty was to carry out the punishment and having received the mandate from Heaven he also had the authority to do so.

Heaven may also prolong or renew the mandate, when the assistants of the king are virtuous 惠 = 德, and by acting through them he obtains a response from the people. The people will be convinced that the king has received his mandate from God on High and Heaven will renew the mandate with blessings.⁶³ The legendary former kings provide an example of how to obtain the mandate. The kings Wen and Wu were successful in serving the people; they had good ministers, became famous and received the mandate.⁶⁴

The Heavenly mandate may change, and it is not easy to retain it. Heaven cannot be relied on in this respect, and one cannot be sure of its favour. This implies that Heaven did not support any government in particular.⁶⁵ The mandate was supported by the personal morality of the king alone. In

61 SHU Kin t'eng, v. 14, pp. 34:36.

62 The last ruler of Yin and his wife hanged themselves. RUBIN 1976, p. 15. In doing this, they took the punishment ordered by Heaven into their own hands. Heaven used King Wu to punish Yin. When he found that the royal couple had hanged themselves, he had to find a way to carry out his task, so he cut their corpses into pieces. Now he could report that he had carried out the punishment, at least in some way.

63 SHU P'an keng, v. 4, pp. 19:20, Kao yao mo, v. 10, pp. 10:11. HSU Cho-yun 1966, p. 514.

64 SHU Ku ming, v. 34, pp. 72:73.

65 SHU Ta kao, vv. 10, 13, pp. 34:37, 39, K'ang kao, v. 6, pp. 38:40, v. 28, pp. 41:43. Kün Shi, vv. 2, 3, 6, pp. 60:59, 61. See also HSU Fu-kuan 1975a, pp. 24-26.

This non partiality was already a characteristic of Shang-ti during Shang. CHANG, Tsung-tung 1970, pp. 238, 239. Cf. EICHHORN 1969, p. 46, and EICHHORN 1957, p. 43.

order to keep the mandate the king should obey Heaven as did those eminent sovereigns who kept the mandate. They also listened to the advice of wise men. Here again the example of former legendary kings is vital.⁶⁶

In dealing with Heaven the activities of old rulers are regarded as ideals. The old Yin rulers are now in Heaven, for while still ruling the country they stood in awe of Heaven's laws. If one follows the example of the Yin rulers, Heaven will protect one.⁶⁷

There is also a relationship between the people and the mandate. That Wen Wang was selected by Heaven to be granted the mandate depended on the fact that he was good to the people and was liked by them, he was "illustrious among the people".⁶⁸

"The serene king (used=) followed the oracle, and (thus) was able tranquilly to receive this (command=) mandate. Now Heaven aids the people (sc. through giving it the said success); how much more must we follow the oracle. Oh, Heaven is bright and majestic, it (helps=) supports our very great foundation." "Great Heaven has delivered the people of the Central kingdom and its territory to the former kings."⁶⁹ Here a good king is given by Heaven to help the people and, on the other hand, the people, too, were given to the king by Heaven. Here we have a combination of religion, ethics and politics,⁷⁰ which are unified by virtue as a condition for the mandate.

66 SHU Shao kao, v. 11, pp. 47:49, P'an Keng, v. 3, pp. 19:20, Kün shi, vv. 6, 8, 9, pp. 60:61, Wu yi, v. 4, pp. 57:58. Because the mandate depended in the king's personal morality, it gradually lost its religious significance. HSÜ Fu-kuan 1975a, p. 26.

67 SHU Ta kao, v. 14, pp. 38:39, K'ang kao, v. 5, pp. 38:40, Tsiu kao, v. 9, pp. 44:45, Shao kao, v. 10, pp. 47:49.

68 SHU K'ang kao, vv. 3, 4, pp. 38:39; HSÜ Fu-kuan 1975a, pp. 24, 25.

69 SHU Ta kao, v. 9, pp. 34, 38:37. See also Kün Shi, v. 20, pp. 60:62, that Wen and Wu received more grace than they could sustain. Tsi ts'ai, v. 6, pp. 47:48. See also P'an Keng, v. 26, pp. 22:24.

70 T'ANG Chün-i 1974, p. 22.

Most of the actions of Heaven which concern people are performed through the agency of a king. "Now, when Heaven would aid the people it has created a counterpart for itself here below (i.e. the king is responsible)."

今天相民 . 作配在下 . The king acts in accordance with the Heavenly mandate by enriching the people 百姓 and by uniting and reaching out to all the people 四方民 , The prince exerts himself for Heaven and for the people 民 .⁷¹ Here the "hundred names" 百姓 apparently refer to individuals who exercised control over the masses 民 , individuals who represented a higher class in society.

If a ruler is unable to respect Heaven and the people, loses the glory of the former men, does not know that Heaven's mandate is not easy and that Heaven is difficult to rely on, then the mandate of the ruler will be destroyed by the former men.⁷² Here Heaven and the people are placed in the same category as objects of the King's respect. The attitude of Heaven and the people are identified in the passage: "Do not moreover (i.e. deliberately) say: today I will (be steeped in=) indulge in pleasure. That is not what the people comply with, it is not what Heaven approves of. The people of the age will greatly take as a pattern the faults you have."⁷³ After noting that the fate of the rulers was in the hands of

71 SHU Lü hing, v. 21, pp. 75:78, Kün Shi, v. 9, pp. 60:61, Lo kao, v. 14, pp. 50:52, Kün Shi, v. 22, p. 63:62. A successful king was aware of the sufferings of the people. Wu yi, v. 6, pp. 57:58.

72 Here the "former men" apparently refer to the former kings. SHU Kün Shi, v. 3, pp. 60:59, Ta kao, v. 13, pp. 38:39. See also To shi, v. 9, pp. 54:55, where it is emphasized that it is important to consider Heaven's clear laws and to respect the people 民 . In Hung fan vv. 15, 16, pp. 31:32 it is said that the king complies with the norms of God. The people comply with the teaching of correctness by putting it into practice, approaching the glory of the Son of Heaven, who is the father and mother of the people and hence the king of the whole world.

Creel says that "the will of T'ien" is to be learned by consulting the wishes of the people. CREEL 1929, p. 62. See also CREEL 1975, p. 18.

73 SHU Wu yi, v. 13, pp. 57:58, 59. Rubin says of the people and the nobility: "In their speeches the most far-sighted representatives of the nobility constantly stressed that the fate of the rulers was in the hands of the people, advised that the people's interests be attended to, and warned against attempts to bind the people to the ruler's will by force of arms." RUBIN 1976, p. 3.

the people Rubin continues: "Such a political situation led to the conviction that the people were closely linked with supernatural forces, with Heaven and the spirits." Rubin quotes Shu Ching: "The insight and watchfulness of Heaven are expressed through the insight and watchfulness of the people."⁷⁴

Above we saw that Heaven by its direct relationship with the people regulates the activities of a king. The passage about insight and watchfulness means that Heaven controls the king's activities through the people. This means that in theory at least the people possessed remarkable power, a power which is strengthened by Heaven, and on the authority of Heaven the people could exercise power over the king. In addition to the Heavenly king and the Heavenly mandate, this Heavenly democracy also plays a vital part in Chou ideology as recorded in Shu Ching.

This conception of Heavenly democracy also seems to work as a corrective towards positive development. By paying attention to peoples' attitudes, the Chou rulers could correct their methods in accordance with the will of Heaven, which was consistent with the will of the people.⁷⁵

74 RUBIN 1976, p. 3. Rubin quotes SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 7, pp. 10:9, which is translated by Karlgren: "Heaven's hearing and seeing (proceed from=) work through our people's hearing and seeing". The passage continues: "Heaven's (enlightenment) discernment and (fearsomeness=) severity work through our people's discernment and severity (sc. against bad rulers). There is (communication=) correspondence between the upper and the lower (world)." This makes the link between the people and Heaven even stronger. The passage about Heaven's hearing and seeing according to Ch'ü means that the ears and eyes of the people are the eyes and ears of Heaven. CH'ü Wan-li 1972, p. 21. According to Ts'eng 聰 and 明 mean 視 and 聽 to look at; to hear, to listen to. TS'ENG Yün Ch'ien 1976, p. 35. Mencius (c. 374-289 B.C.) developed this democratic doctrine further, emphasizing this passage of Shu Ching. See NEEDHAM 1956, p. 16.

75 The Heavenly retroaction through the people against the ruling king as a democratic phenomenon must be taken into account when re-evaluating the common conception of "feudalism" in Chou China. Blakeley says: "When one writes or says to a class that Chou China (or a segment of it) was 'feudal', one is simplifying a difficult question beyond conscionable limits. The most that we can expect the nonspecialist to do is to point this out to his audience. The task before the pre-Han specialist, however, is formidable. In sum, it means the total

This Heavenly democracy has its other side as well, as can be seen in the Heavenly punishments: "Heaven is not tyrannical, people themselves draw guilt upon themselves."⁷⁶ Moreover, the people, apart from being able to exercise Heavenly power, are directly responsible to Heaven for their actions.

Both the king and the people possess power granted by Heaven. The object of kingly power is the people and the object of the power of the people is the king. Moreover, both have their direct responsibility towards Heaven and are in danger of exposing themselves to Heavenly anger if they cannot carry out their responsibilities. Heaven itself is responsible to no-one, it is the ultimate authority, a supreme functioning entity.

Heaven uses the king or sovereign in several of its activities. The old legendary kings were used in an activity which resembles creation. Yao made his virtue 德 bright 明, made the nine branches of the family affectionate towards each other. He also organized the clans and the states. After the people became prosperous, Yao charged Hsi and Ho "to follow the august Heaven and calculate and delineate the sun, the moon and (the other) heavenly bodies (i.e. stars and constellations) and respectfully give the people the seasons." Sacrifices were also made.⁷⁷

re-examination and re-evaluation of the whole range of Chou institutions, forms of social interaction and even ideology." BLAKELEY 1976, pp. 36, 37.

76 SHU Tsiu kao, v. 11, pp. 44:45. Creel says that Shu Ching emphasizes the necessity of treating the people with consideration, caring for them, not oppressing them, not impoverishing them with heavy taxes, not condemning them for crimes of which they are innocent. The people are also emphasized as the key to the Heavenly Mandate. To treat people well and to gain their goodwill is regarded as important. The last rulers of Hsia and Shang failed in this respect, so the mandate was changed and their cruelties were ended. CREEL 1970, pp. 97, 98.

On the mistreatment of the people see, SHU K'ang kao, v. 4, pp. 38:39 which says: "He (=king Wen) dared not maltreat the widowers and widows." The last Yin ruler made the people suffer, in Tsiu kao, v. 11, pp. 44:45. The people lived in misery, Heaven pitied them and gave the mandate to Chou, in Shao kao, v. 10, pp. 47:49. The last Yin king did not respect the people, in To shi, v. 9, pp. 54:55.

77 SHU Yao tien, vv. 1-7, pp. 2:1, 3, 4. See also YANG, Lien-sheng 1961, pp. 150, 151.

According to another myth, Heaven gave Yü the Great plan in nine sections by which the constant norms acquire their proper order. These norms are: five elements, five conducts, eight rules of governments, to harmonize and use the five regulators, to establish and use the august (middle way=) correctness, three virtues, to use the determinators of doubt, to enjoy the five felicities and to accept the six extremities (calamities).⁷⁸

As Heaven used the king, the king could also use his officials to assist him in the work assigned by Heaven and with help of his "younger brother Feng" to consolidate Heaven's mandate, and renew the Yin people. The king is told: "Do not empty the various offices (sc. by placing worthless men in them). The works of Heaven, it is man who carries them out on its behalf." 天工人其代之。⁷⁹ This apparently means that Heaven uses the officials to do the work.

Not only are men used by Heaven, but here is also communication between Heaven and men. This communication is in the form of a prayer. Two kinds of prayers addressed to Heaven are mentioned. There is an emergency prayer prayed by the wise men who lived in misery under the last Yin ruler. "These wise men, wrapping and carrying, leading and supporting the wives and children, and wailing and calling to Heaven, went to (where there was no coming out and seizing them=) where nobody could come out and seize them." Heaven had pity on the people and gave the mandate to Chou. Secondly, there is an ethical prayer which is needed when praying for the Heavenly mandate.⁸⁰ In order to pray, the king must have virtue, Te.

78 SHU Hung fan, vv. 3, 4, pp. 28:30. The norms are explained in greater detail in Hung Fan, which is from the Warring States period, and is not an important document for the present study, see. p. 15.

Other passages in which Heaven uses the king are: Shao kao, v. 14, pp. 47:49, where the king takes on the work of God on High. See also Lo kao, v. 14, pp. 50:52, P'an Keng, v. 4, pp. 19:20.

79 SHU Yao tien, v. 37, pp. 6:7, 8, K'ang kao, v. 7, pp. 38:40. The fact of Heaven using officials more directly is mentioned in Lü hing, vv. 11, 12, pp. 75:76. This source is from a late date, p. 16.

SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 5, pp. 10:9.

80 SHU Shao kao, vv. 10, 20, 24, pp. 47, 50:49, 51.

Apparently virtue here is regarded as a kind of prayer or at least as a functional part of the prayer, the performance of which makes the prayer effective and acceptable to Heaven.

The communication from Heaven to man is transmitted through oracles, through which the will of Heaven is made known.⁸¹ In the story of the metal-bound coffer, the Duke of Chou prayed first that the king should not die. He addressed this prayer to the three legendary kings, stating in it his reasons as to why he should be taken to Heaven instead of the king, namely, that he could serve the spirits better than the king. Apparently he thought that this reason would carry weight with the three legendary kings. Secondly, he reasoned that the present king could serve better on earth: "But he has been appointed in the Sovereign's hall, extensively (i.e. everywhere) to possess the (regions of) the four quarters and thereby be able firmly to establish your descendants on the earth here below. Of the people of the four quarters, there are none who do not revere and fear him. Oh, do not let fall the precious mandate sent down by Heaven, then our former kings will also forever have a reliance and resort (i.e. sacrifices to sustain them)." On completing the prayer, the Duke wanted an immediate reply. It was not enough for him to wait and see what would happen, whether the king would be cured or not. He obtained a reply by a process of divination, using three tortoises all of which were auspicious. Chou Kung also opened the bamboo tubes and examined the documents and these, too, were favourable. The king's condition the following day is said to have improved. In this account the prayer and the oracle together form a complete two way communication between man and the legendary kings, or Heaven.⁸² Apparently this unity between immanence and transcendence strengthened the trend towards remaining on the

81 SHU Ta kao, v. 3, pp. 34:36, Lo kao, v. 4, pp. 50:51, 52.

82 SHU Kin t'eng, pp. 31, 34:35, 36. See also Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, p. 351.

For scapulimancy and milfoil oracles, see SHU Hung Fan, v. 20, pp. 32:30; NEEDHAM 1956, pp. 347, 348, and pp. 56, 57 of this study.

See Creel's theory that Heaven consists collectively of the spirits of former kings and great personages of the past. CREEL 1970, p. 503.

positive side.

There are not many logical relationships between Heaven and other gods, except that Heaven is identified with Shang-ti 上帝, God on High. Although the Chou people introduced the worship of Heaven, the concept of Shang-ti was still important.⁸³

83 SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 10, pp. 10:11, T'ang shi, vv. 1, 2, pp. 19:20, Shao kao, v. 9, pp. 47:48. Here the identification is rather clear: "Oh, august Heaven, God on High,..." 嗚呼皇天上帝... See also To shi, vv. 9, 10, vv. 9, 10, pp. 54:55, Kün Shi, v. 7, pp. 60:61. 皇 = 大 "great", T'ANG Chün-i 1976, p. 59. For the identification of Shang-ti and T'ien, see LI Tu 1961, pp. 10, 11.

Smith has put forward a theory explaining the identification of T'ien with Shang-ti by the Chou: "The Chou, less cultured than the Shang whom they had overthrown, took over the Shang institutions. They conserved the ancient clan structure and the religious ideas and ceremonial system of the conquered, but they infused a new outlook and a new morality.

From the first, the ruling principle of Chou administration was that government is founded on religion. All great matters of state, even the founding of a state itself, were related, not only as with the Shang to the deified spirits of deceased ancestors, but to a supreme God, who became the supreme object of worship, was no longer a primeval ancestor-spirit but a high God, independent and supreme, who graciously associated the ancestor spirits with himself in heaven above."

Ti had been the original ancestor spirit of the Shang dynasty for some five hundred years. He had been worshipped as the most powerful of all the gods and supreme over all other deities. "The Chou kings could not hope to displace him from that supreme position by substituting for him the but recently apotheosised founders of their own dynasty, the kings Wen and Wu. Nor could they allow his worship to continue unchanged, for he was the founder-ancestor of the Shang dynasty, and their rebellion was tantamount to rebellion against the supreme God. They could neither reject *Ti* altogether, nor could they allow the concept of *Ti* and his worship to remain as it had been. Political necessity made a change imperative. They therefore transformed the concept of *Ti* from that of a primeval ancestor-spirit, having blood relationship with his royal descendants, to that of a supreme high God, whose concern was for the prosperity and well-being of the whole Chinese race. They emphasised the *Shang Ti* that is, the *Ti* above, or the 'supreme *Ti*', and equated it with *T'ien*, a deity who seems to have been, together with Earth, a supreme object of worship in a primitive nature cult. They insisted, furthermore, that this supreme God demanded righteousness and good government. It was for that reason that the Shang dynasty had been overthrown. This God chose whom he would to be ruler, and deposed those who, like the last king of the Shang dynasty, had rebelled against him by misrule and licentiousness." SMITH 1968, p. 14.

The function of Heaven dealt with above mostly concern people and phenomena which happen on earth or in nature as a whole. The statement, "He (yao) reached to (Heaven) above and (Earth) below" 格于上下, may refer to some extent to a kind of polarity between Heaven and Earth. However, in connection with Heaven these statements are so few in Shu that even a close scrutiny of them may not be very fruitful.

According to Gurdak, the natural fusion of the two related systems of perceptions of the Godhead was accomplished through the interaction of social and political amalgamation. The "synonymous use of the two names" for the divinity was not the result of political necessity. GURDAK 1976, pp. 100, 101.

Other opinions about the identification of the T'ien and Shang-ti during Chou: On the basis mainly of the oracle inscriptions Chang examines the "Ti und der Himmelgott der Chou". According to him, the supreme god T'ien was completely unknown during the Shang dynasty. Ti was traditionally the highest deity. Chang says: "Im Shih-chi sind alle Könige der Hsia-und Shang-Dynastie sowie alle prädynastischen mythischen Kaiser mit 'Ti' tituliert, die Könige der Chou-dynastie aber nur mit 'Wang'." In the oracle bones some father and ancestor kings are called Ti. In this way the dead rulers are identified with the god of the state. "Dagegen wollten die Chou-Könige, die als Fremde den Reichsthron erlangten, sich offensichtlich nicht mit dem früheren Reichgott identifizieren und zogen ihre eigene Bezeichnung 'Himmelsohn' 天子 vor." CHANG 1970, pp. 236-239.

According to Erkes, Shang-ti was originally apparently a simple vegetation demon, seemingly the spirit of the rice, who was conceived as a dog. As such, he may easily have been propitiated with human sacrifice which was offered to him even after his rise to the position of a god of Heaven, where he appeared in a character akin to that which he had adopted in his earlier divine existence. ERKES 1940, p. 191.

The religion of the Shang people centred around the ancestral temple. Ti in the oracles bones is described as being lord of the rain and drought and the good or bad harvest. He may send catastrophes and he guarantees the position of the king and protects him. Hence, the god of nature, a concept which springs originally from the beliefs of the people, became assimilated with the cult of the ancestors of the ruling family. Because the ruling family or king was apparently the only landowner and also the greatest farmer, it was natural that Ti was responsible primarily for farming and the crops. Later, the word Ti meant royal ancestor, in other words, every Shang king became Ti after death. At the end of Shang we have the concept Shang-ti 上帝 which probably meant that one of the Ti had become the most prominent Ti, and in this way the supreme ancestor-god had been created. According to Eichhorn, the supreme god of Heaven, T'ien was introduced by Chou. EICHHORN 1957, pp. 39-41; SHIH 1969, p. 115; DUBS 1958, pp. 228-231.

Some occurrences of T'ien refer also to locality and some occurrences appear in the combination "son of Heaven" referring to a king.⁸⁴

In the present study, the concept of Heaven, according to Shu Ching, falls into the following categories: as an instrument of punishing and rewarding the dynasties of Hsia, Yin and Chou; the Heavenly mandate; Heaven and the people; Heaven using the king and his officials; the communication between Heaven and men; the logical relations between Heaven and other deities. The two main categories are the punitive and rewarding activity of Heaven and the question of the Heavenly mandate. These two are the most important in connection with Heaven in Chou thought, and constitute problems widely discussed in Shu. It is a division which already reveals certain of the characteristics of Heaven, and this division can be compared with that which we find in the material concerning Heaven in the Analects. It is possible to see which characteristics of Heaven are regarded in the Analects as most worth discussing, and to see to what extent the main problems concerning Heaven in the Analects are the same or different from those in Shu Ching. In addition to this, most of the comparison consists of comparing the contents of the different categories of Heaven in the different sources. This also applies to other terms examined in the present study.






T'ien shows some of the questions important for Chou thought. There

84 SHU Yao tien, v. 1, pp. 2:1. See also Kün Shi, v. 3, pp. 60:59, Lü hing v. 6, pp. 72:73. Lü Hsing is of later Origin. Heaven in the sense "under Heaven" or "world", Kao Yao mo, v. 15, pp. 11:10, Li cheng, v. 29, pp. 69:68, Ku ming, v. 31, pp. 72:73. These meanings are clear in the context as is the combination "son of Heaven", Li cheng, v. 1, pp. 66:67, Si po k'an Li, v. 2, pp. 25:26, and Hung fan, v. 16, pp. 31:32. Heaven apparently means primarily a locality connected with a big flood. "The great water swelled up to Heaven,..." Kao Yao mo, v. 9, pp. 10:9. For the great flood, see SHU Yao tien, vv. 3, 11, pp. 2:3. "The emperor said: Oh, you Si Yüe, Voluminously the great waters everywhere are injurious, extensively they embrace the mountains and rise above the hills, vastly they swell up to Heaven." See also SHU Yao tien, v. 10, pp. 2:3. "Huan Tou said: Oh, Kung Kung (to all sides=) everywhere has accumulated and exhibited his merits. The emperor said: Alas, he (quietly=) smoothly speaks but his actions are perverse. He is in appearance respectful, but he swells up to Heaven."

existed an oscillating pattern between positive and negative. The ideal was the old legendary king, whose methods and behaviour were positive. The dynasties tended with time to swing towards the negative, characterized by bad rulers, officials and sufferings of the people. This caused punitive action in the part of Heaven. The purpose of such action was to change the dynasty. Heaven found a virtuous man, to whom it gave the mandate, and who superseded the evil king and the old dynasty, and a new dynasty was founded. The main problem for the Chou rulers was: how can this development be kept on the positive side, and how can the tension of the development towards the negative be moved back to the positive, without changing the dynasty? Shu Ching provides several methods for doing this: listening to the old kings, obeying the oracle, obeying Heaven, taking care of the people, the maintenance of Heavenly democracy etc. The development towards the negative was caused by man, and the sudden swing towards the positive was caused by Heaven through virtuous man. Men were good in individual cases, but evil in general.

2. Te, Virtue

Jao Tsung-yi has shown that the character Te "virtue" already existed during the Shang period. Each variation of the character is based on the graph 直 Chih, and there are no exceptions. In the bronze inscriptions, the character lacks the "heart" 心 element, and the stroke 丨 of Chih in the oracle bone and bronze script, with one exception.¹ Te

1 In the oracle bones Te has the early forms  and . The graph  refers to ten eyes, "correctly viewing". The element  depicts a crossing of two highways, in its modern form 行 "to walk". This appears only in one case found in the bones. More commonly only one half of this symbol is used ; in its modern form it is 彳 "a step with the left foot" in the modern sense. JAO Tsung-yi 1976, pp. 153, 154. See also similar finding arrived at independently: NIVISON 1978, pp. 52-55. See also KAO Shu-fan 1974, pp. 172, 449, 345. Cf. MUNRO 1969, p. 99.

There are some theories concerning the etymology of the character. According to Boodberg, the semantic determinative or radical indicates movement. The phonetic-etymonic element consists of the graphs for 心,

appears in the bronzes as a person's name reflecting the importance attached to the concept, and in several connections, meaning "virtue",

heart, and 直 upright or erect. According to Boodberg, the radical of Te in many Chinese characters corresponds to the Latin prefix 'ad-' giving the meaning 'arrect' in this case. The third element, 'heart', suggests 'innerness' giving the meaning of indarrectitude or enarrective, enrective, or 'arrective' and 'rective' as the second best choice. The noun means 'enrectiveness', 'enrectivity', 'enrectitude' in the passive sense of inherent quality, and arrectivity in the active sense of the potential, not coercive power to influence others. This is an acquired quality. BOODBERG 1953, pp. 324, 325.

According to Munro, the antecedent of Te means 'to look' or 'to look directly'. The term sometimes contains the idea of consulting a divine being and making offerings, and may refer to a religious ritual where watching was involved; perhaps the subject looked upward at the ancestor above. MUNRO 1969, pp. 188, 189. Boodberg also says that there was somewhere in the etymological background of Te a connotation suggestive of 'direct inspection', of 'looking straight at things', which is the etymology of our own 'intuition'. This idea may be seen especially in the Taoist texts. BOODBERG 1953, p. 326.

Evidently a general idea has occurred to Boodberg and Munro which enables them to interpret the different parts of the Character Te. It is possible to state presuppositions as to which things are depicted by the different parts of the character, but it is harder to explain the contents or ideas contained by the parts especially in an abstract term like Te. The designers of the characters have apparently first had an idea and then have tried to develop a suitable symbol for that idea. It would be safer to find the etymology in a similar manner, by trying first of all to ascertain what the idea was by using texts and literature. The various parts of the character may then become more easily explainable. It should also be noted that the idea itself may have changed with time, and that the character itself has undergone several stages of development.

Karlgren's *Grammata Serica Resensa* seems to reflect the idea that the character 直 'straight' is a central element in several characters of which one is a 'heart' placed under the 'straight', thus arriving at the meaning of 'virtue'. KARLGREN 1957, pp. 242, 243. Yao has shown that even during Shang, before the addition of the element 'heart', the character 'te', 'virtue' existed. JAO Tsung-yi 1976, p. 154; Needham starts with the graph in the bronzes and explains: "The drawing combines the left-hand side of the crossroads pictogram with the primitive anatomical representations of the eye and the heart. The two latter certainly refer to seeing and thinking respectively. The former certainly refers to the social matrix. Hence the original meaning of this word was probably closely analogous to that of *mana* and *virtus*; the 'magnetic' power possessed by a leader of men whether priest, prophet, warrior or king, who came, saw, reflected, and conquered. The word *virtus* also first had to do with *man* in the fullest sense (*vīra*, hero). Hence, by extension, the *mana* or numinous quality of certain inanimate

for example 明德 "clear virtue", 敬雍德 "respectfully harmonise virtue", 常德 "constant virtue", 屯 (= 純) 德 "pure virtue".²

Karlgren gives the following meanings for Te: virtue, virtuous, quality, nature, character, disposition.³ In this study 'virtue' and 'Te' are used to denote 德.

Te appears in Shu Ching 112 times.⁴ Te is often combined with another character. In most of the occurrences, however, it is used on its own.⁵

In the discussion of Heaven, virtue appears several times as having a relation with Heaven. Drunkenness brings about afflictions from Heaven, and the people lose their Te.⁶ Heaven places in authority those who have Te, and the mandate is given to the virtuous.⁷

Both taking care of the people, and presiding over the sacrifices to spirits and to Heaven belong to Te, mention of this being made in the

objects. Later, the 'virtues' of herbs and stones. Or the Tao". NEEDHAM 1956, p. 229. It is noteworthy that in this explanation the element of crossroads is not regarded as indicating movement, but as referring to the social matrix.

2 JAO Tsung-yi 1976, p. 151.

3 KARLGREN 1957, pp. 242, 243.

4 HU Chih-kuei 1965, p. 5.

5 YANG Hsiang-shih 1963, p. 129.

6 SHU Tsiu kao, v. 3, pp. 41:43.

7 SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 6, pp. 10:9, Shao kao, v. 20, pp. 47, 50:51. The origin of Te is also connected with Heaven. Heaven gave Yü the great plan in nine sections by which the constant norms acquire their proper order. Of these, the sixth is the regulation and use of three virtues. SHU Hung fan, vv. 3, 4. 17, pp. 28, 31:30, 32. Hung fan contains several kinds of numbered categories and classification. These in Hung fan are discussed in GRANET 1934, pp. 306, 307, 376-383. Hung fan is of later origin, see p. 15. SHU Lü hing, v. 11, pp. 75:76 says: "The directors of criminal cases did not end by (applying) severity, they ended by (creating) happiness. Careful and cautious, there were no ruinous words (in=) coming from their persons. They upheld Heaven's virtue, for themselves they created great charges, and as its (Heaven's) counterparts they enjoyed then here below." This chapter is also of later origin, see p. 16.

case of the king of Chou.⁸

The king spoke to the "officers and leaders and all you noble chiefs": "if you can constantly observe and scrutinize (yourselves), and actively (investigate=) search for correct virtue 中 德, you may still be able to (bring forward=) present the food offerings (sc. to the Spirits); and then you can yourselves greatly take (recreations=) refreshments. Now you will truly be servants in the king's governing service. And now also Heaven will (comply with=) approve of your great virtue 元 德, and forever you will not be forgotten in the royal house."⁹

It is said of the Yin successor in the Chou period that Heaven did not favour him, because he did not make his virtue bright 不 明 德. This presumably means that he did not carefully attend to the sacrifices. This explanation, however, is only based on the collocative evidence of the sentence: "From Ch'eng T'ang to Ti Yi there were none who did not make bright their virtue and carefully attend to the sacrifices."¹⁰ With regard to the same successor, he is accused of drunkenness and of neglecting the "fragrant offerings (made with) virtue (Te)" to Heaven. Finally this brought about the destruction sent by Heaven on the Yin dynasty.¹¹

According to the above, one may conclude that Te is not a profane principle of governing or behaviour, but that it has a clear and necessary connection with Heaven and with rites and offerings. Te is an integral part of Chou thought, in which the ruler and Heaven play central roles. The virtue of the officials was directly approved by Heaven, and they also earned longevity in the royal house. This is apparently a move in a positive direction. On the other hand, the failure of Te constituted a move in a negative direction.

In Shu many occurrences of Te are expressed in connection with the past.

⁸ SHU To fang, v. 19, pp. 63:65.

⁹ SHU Tsiu kao, v. 7, pp. 44:45.

¹⁰ SHU To shi, vv. 7, 11, pp. 54:55.

¹¹ SHU Tsiu kao, v. 11, pp. 44:45.

This retrospective Te possesses several characteristics. Firstly, the old mythical kings were Te or had the virtue of Te. Their Te, for example Wen Wang's, is taken as the ideal for later rulers. The "present" leaders inherit the virtue of the old kings and transmit it to the present day. They regard the virtuousness they practice by fulfilling Te not as their own, but as that of the old legendary kings. In this way the merit accruing to virtue is not that of the present leaders, although they can retain the mandate because of it.¹²

In ancient times Te was regarded as necessary in a ruler. Hence Szu-yo exercised sound self-criticism when he regarded himself as inferior in

12 SHU Li cheng, v. 15, pp. 66:68. Here we find: "And Wu Wang, he followed and achieved the work, he dared not discard his (Wen Wang's) righteous virtue 義德, he followed it and deliberated, he followed his magnanimous virtue 容德 and so they together received this very great foundation." For the Te of old persons as an ideal, or as a thing which is appreciated, see SHU K'ang kao, v. 20, pp. 41:42, v. 22, pp. 41:43. Verse 22 has 蔽時忱, 丕則敏德. "May your decisions (verdicts) be correct and reliable. Grandly take as a pattern the active virtue (sc. of the ancients)." Dobson gives, a literal translation: "Judicial decision, /then/ be sincere. /Greatly/ model/ lively/virtue/"; and a free translation: "When you make judicial decisions, let them be made with integrity. Take as a model in every way possible the lively virtue (of King Wen)." DOBSON 1962, pp. 136, 140; Wu interprets 敏 as a verb and not as a qualifier of Te. 丕則 means "so that". The latter sentence would then be: "so that you go straight and fast to virtue". Here the first sentence becomes a specifier of Te. WU Yü 1977, p. 105. The passage continues: "Thereby make steady your heart, (look at=) take care of your virtue,..." Wu interprets this appearance of Te as "behaviour". WU Yü 1977, p. 106. This may be interpreted in either way. However, the point in K'ang kao seems to be that the king and Feng should follow the virtue of the ancient kings. In doing so, good counsels and right decisions are important.

Chou Kung is concerned that the leaders who succeed him are not able to retain the mandate of Heaven and attain the bright virtue 明德 of the former men. He says: "My (我 some translate 'our') (walk=) conduct (我道) 我迪 (is only that=) only means that the serene kings' virtue is (prolonged=) continued (i.e. I have no merit myself, being only a transmitter). Heaven does not therefore annul the mandate received by Wen Wang." SHU Kün shi, vv. 4-6, pp. 60:59, 61; KARLGREN 1970 (1949), p. 118; SHU Kün shi, vv. 11, 18, pp. 60:61, 62, Yao tien, v. 2, pp. 2:1.

virtue, and a more suitable man was found in the successor of Yao. This was Shun of Yü, a man of low social position whose father was blind and stupid, mother deceitful and brother arrogant. Despite this "he has been able to be concordant and to be grandly filial 孝 烝 烝 ; he has controlled himself and has not come to wickedness."¹³ Thus, filial duty was regarded as an important factor in the virtue of the old kings. The ruling power was not hereditary.

The second characteristic of retrospective Te was that it was used when things were put in order. "He (yao) was able to make bright his lofty (great) virtue 克 明 俊 德 , and so he made affectionate the nine branches of the family." When these had become harmonious, he distinguished and gave marks of distinction to the hundred clans (the gentry). After this he harmonized 和 the "myriad states". The people were nourished and prosperous. "Then he charged Hi and Ho (originally: Hi-Ho, one person) reverently to follow the august Heaven and calculate and delineate the sun, the moon and (the other) heavenly bodies (i.e. stars and constellations) and respectfully give the people the seasons."¹⁴ This shows that in the beginning Te was used to put in order or harmonize social relations and the universe as a whole. Here, as in the case of filial duty above, Te works in such a way that when it is applied, something which is in disorder becomes orderly, and factors that can cause disorder become ineffective when Te is applied. Te works in this way in small or big spheres, from family to the universe and in anything between them.

The third characteristic was that Te was an expansive and harmonizing quality in the governing of the empire. The "bright virtue" 明 德 of the old kings was expansive; all the states brought offerings and also practised their bright virtue. Heaven had given to the former kings the territory and the people of the central Kingdom 中 國 . "Now may the

13 SHU Yao tien, vv. 12, 14, pp. 2:3, 4 烝 烝 means 'grand, fine, splendid'. KARLGREN 1970 (1948), p. 70.

14 SHU Yao tien, vv. 2, 3, pp. 2:1, 3. The emperor conferred lands and clan-names on the feudal lords. The lords were only promoted according to their virtue, Te; SHU Yü kung v. 32, pp. 16:18; Hsi and Ho were two persons. KARLGREN 1946, pp. 262-265.

king by means of virtue harmonize 和 and gladden and take care of the foolish people, and thus gladden the former kings who received the mandate."¹⁵ Here the harmonizing effect of Te is manifested by the offerings. This fine example of the former king followed by the present king will "gladden the former kings". As such, Te is a connection between people, the present king and the former kings.

The former kings possessed Te to tranquillize and govern the people.¹⁶ God on High may restore the ancestral Te in order that it be used in taking care of the people.¹⁷ The purpose of the Te of the former kings had been to govern the people, and the present rulers use it for the same purpose as well. Because Te has a harmonizing effect, it is natural to emphasize its usefulness in governing the people.

The ministers and officials of the king in olden times also had to be virtuous.¹⁸ Under early Yin all the kings "held on to virtue" 秉德 and cared for the minor officials, 小臣, who worked eagerly in directing their subordinates and in this way helped the king to govern the people. This was the way in which Te was set forth 德福. When the emperor performed sacrifices and when he consulted tortoise and milfoil oracles, everybody had confidence in him.¹⁹

15 SHU Tsi ts'ai, vv. 5-7, pp. 47:48. Wu translates: Now, you the king, the only thing is to do Te... WU Yü 1977, p. 118. The possible antecedent of the "to offer up" may reflect this relationship between offerings and Te. See MUNRO 1969, pp. 188, 189. Roberts remarks: "...just as Heaven is the Chou counterpart to *Shang Ti*, so *te* is the Chou counterpart to some kind of Shang observance." ROBERTS 1966, p. 101.

16 SHU K'ang kao, v. 20, pp. 41:42.

17 SHU P'an Keng vv. 38-40, pp. 25:24, 26.

18 SHU Kün Shi, v. 9, pp. 60:61: "of the (royal men=) men of the royal line there were none who did not hold on to virtue," 秉德 Royal men 王人 refers here to men, relatives and officials of the king who had the same surname as the king. WU Yü 1977, p. 146.

Virtuous assistants: SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 10, pp. 10:11. Feudal lords follow the example of virtue set by the emperor: Kao Yao mo, v. 17, pp. 10:12. People employed by the state should not be docile in their virtue: Li cheng, c. 20, pp. 69:68.

19 SHU Kün Shi, v. 9. pp. 60:61. 用 义 厥 辟 Karlgren translates: "and thus they directed their princes." According to Ts'eng, 义 = 相

It was necessary for Wen Wang to have good advisors to transmit virtue to the people. These advisors helped him to retain virtue or hold on to virtue 秉德 and to understand Heaven's majesty. When these men counselled Wen Wang, he was heard by God on High, and received the mandate of the lords of Yin. Under Wu Wang these ministers "grandly wielded Heaven's majesty and killed all his enemies." They guided Wu Wang "He looked at them and grandly and entirely displayed his virtue." The Chous, too, now need help from old men of perfected virtue.²⁰

The fourth characteristic was Te in relation to punishments. Chou Kung's father Wen Wang was able to brighten virtue, Te, and to be cautious about punishing. This meant an unwillingness to ill-treat widows and widowers and to be respectful of the people. When meting out punishment one should ascertain whether the crime had been committed accidentally or on purpose, and the offender should be punished accordingly. This kind of carefulness in the apportioning of punishments was evidently an attribute of the Te

"to help" and 辟 = 君 "prince". The translation would then be: "And thus they helped the prince (to govern the people)". TS'ENG Yun-ch'ien 1976, p. 229. According to Wu, 乂 = 保, "to protect". 辟 = 君, 王 "prince king". Thus the meaning is: "Because all these officials are able to demonstrate beautiful virtue to protect their king, so the Yin king only needs to perform all the activities under Heaven." WU Yü 1977, pp. 146, 148, 149. Karlgren says: "It seems evident that our line here brings us back to the principal theme of the great ministers who directed the Yin kings so successfully. It is a close parallel to the preceding: 'All these (ministers) (had display=) were illustrious, they protected and directed the lords of Yin.' Here we have similarly: 'As to these (said ministers), their virtue was set forth, and thus they directed their princes.'" KARLGREN 1970 (1949), p. 119, 122. The sentence may deliberately contain a double meaning: directing and protecting or helping the king; or the meaning may simply be wider than is generally expected by the interpreters.

In Chiu Kao it is said that the former kings of Yin practised virtue and held on to wisdom, and stood in awe of Heaven's clear laws and of the ordinary people (小民, "small people"). Their assistants were managers of affairs and were hard-working and temperate (sober). The same can be said of all of the officials of different ranks ruling different districts and states. They "helped to achieve the eminence of the royal virtue 王德, to govern the people and to respect the laws". SHU Tsiu kao, vv. 9, 10, pp. 44:45.

20 SHU Kün Shi, vv. 12-16, pp. 60:61, 62, Li cheng, v. 12, pp. 66:67.

of the former kings.²¹ Good officials of the king also set an example to the people in their respect for the laws.²²

The fifth characteristic of the Te of the old kings was the notion of criticism. If criticism was encountered, greater attention was paid to Te and the fault in question was admitted.²³

It is also emphasized that the 'present' king and the prince should follow the virtue, Te, of the old kings. To follow the old king's instructions will attract Heavenly protection and an abundance of Te. This is said by the king about the prince Feng.²⁴

21 SHU K'ang kao, vv. 3, 4, 8, pp. 38:39, 40.

22 SHU To fang, v. 10, pp. 63:64. This says: "Right up to Ti Yi there were none who did not make bright their virtue 明德 and they were careful about the punishments, and thus they could also stimulate (the people)." The translation has been slightly modified.

23 SHU Wu yi, v. 17, pp. 57:59. Virtue was divided into nine types: "large minded and yet apprehensive (sc. careful), soft and yet steadfast, sincere (sc. outspoken) and yet respectful, regulating and yet (careful=) cautious, docile and yet bold, straight and mild, great and yet punctilious, hard and yet (sincere, true) just, strong and yet righteous." SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 3, pp. 6, 10:8. Karlgren translates the sentence 者亦行有九德 "Oh, in the actions there are nine virtues." SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 3, pp. 6, 10:8. Here 行 is understood as a noun (but 亦 ought to be followed by a verb). Nivison suggests a translation: "Kao Yao said, 'Oh, you should both practice the Nine Virtues, and also speak of others having virtues, saying 'you serve me (well) in this and that'." NIVISON 1977, p. 7. See also a reference to Nivison: TAKASHIMA 1978, 1979, p. 27. In either case the nine types of virtue remain the same.

According to v. 4, the government should include people who attend to six of these nine virtues and others who attend to three of them, so that all of the nine virtues will be practised. The general idea of these nine virtues seems to be both that of balancing between two extremes and that of combining virtues which are generally difficult to combine. Unfortunately, this kind of division into numbered categories in Kao Yao Mo belongs to a later addition of the editors and cannot be accepted as a basis for comparison with the Analects. See this study, pp. 15,16.

24 SHU K'ang kao, vv. 5, 22, pp. 38, 41:40, 43. See also Lo kao, v. 24, pp. 54:53, Shao kao, v. 10-12, pp. 47:49, Kün shi, vv. 4-6, pp. 60:59, 61, Ku ming, v. 30, pp. 72:73; Karlgren 1970 (1949), pp. 171, 172.

If the king does not attend to Te, there will be serious consequences, since the king will lose the mandate originally given him by Heaven.²⁵ The virtue, Te, of Yin was destroyed by excessive drunkenness.²⁶

Virtue is used to obtain the Heavenly mandate, as we saw above. The kings Wen and Wu "could be careful to make bright the virtue 明德, brilliantly it rose on high, widely it was renowned (here) below. Then God on High placed his mandate on Wen Wang."²⁷

25 SHU Shao kao, vv. 17-19, pp. 50:49, 51. In SHU T'ang shi, pp. 19:20, it is said that the Hsia king obstructed the efforts of the multitude and injured the city of Hsia. "Such is the (virtue=) conduct of (the king of) Hia." (Hia=Hsia). "Now I will necessarily march" (to apply Heaven's punishment). See also SHU Li Cheng, vv. 2, 6, pp. 66:67.

26 SHU Wei tsi, v. 1, pp. 25:27, Tsiu kao, vv. 3, 4, pp. 41:43, Wu yi, v. 13, pp. 57:59. The former Yin kings were not drunkards: SHU Tsiu kao, v. 9, pp. 44:45.

Creel says that the burden of the conquest of the Shang territories had been laid upon Heaven. Because the last Shang king was a drunken scoundrel who oppressed his subjects and flouted the gods, cheating them of their sacrificial victims. Heaven had withdrawn from him its mandate to rule. Creel says that archaeological evidence indicates that the last Shang king was not a wastrel. This presumably demonstrates that Shu Ching contains the Chou version of history, Chou ideology and propaganda in opposition to the possible Shang writings known at that time, which may have been destroyed. CREEL 1975, pp. 15, 16. For sober and drunk rulers, see SHU Tsiu kao, vv. 10, 11, pp. 44:45.

27 SHU Wen Hou chi ming, v. 1, pp. 79:78. To pray by means of Te for Heaven's eternal mandate: SHU Shao kao, vv. 20, 24, pp. 47, 50:51. See also CH'eng Yüan-min 1975, p. 134. It is said in SHU Kün Shi, v. 11, pp. 60:61: "The prince said: Prince Shi! Formerly God on High in the fields of Chou observed Wen Wang's virtue, and so it centred the great mandate in his person." Karlgren here follows the Li Chi version: 上帝周田觀文王之德 He says: "Since the Li Chi was collected in W. Han time, and this line has not been altered and 'corrected' in accordance with the Ku-wen, we may take it for sure that it represents the text tradition on an early Han school, and thus is the earliest text available." He continues later: "The oldest attested version is also the simplest and most natural. It might seem curious that God saw Wen Wang's virtue 'in Chou's fields', but this refers directly to the closely connected chapter Wu yi: 'Wen Wang was humble and submissive, he applied himself to peaceful achievements and to agricultural achievements'. According to Karlgren this detail strongly supports the Li Chi version. KARLGREN 1970 (1949), p. 123, 124. Ts'eng uses the Pseudo-K'ung An-kuo version: 上帝

As we have seen, the retrospective characteristic of *Te* is connected with the question of punishment. This feature is also clear in *Te* as applied by later rulers.

Not only was the official or ruler who failed in his *Te* punished by God or by the former kings from Heaven, but the people who failed in their virtue were also punished by the former rulers from above. Here the virtue of the people refers to their obedience to the ruler. If the official commit crimes, they will be punished by the ruler, but if they practise

割 申 勸 寧 王 之 德 offering the interpretation that God exhorts Wen Wang to be virtuous and makes him put the mandate into practice. TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 230. The Li Chi version has a deistic overtone, in that Shang-ti only observes whereas the other version is more theistic, in that Shang-ti exhorts. It is not possible to know for sure which version is right.

Eichhorn remarks of the relationship between *Te* and Hsiao 孝, filial piety denoting the bond between parents and children, "Just as the ruler must have *te* in respect of the sovereign divinity, so he must have *hsiao* in respect of his ancestors." "Just as it was necessary to be prepared for changes with the T'ien, so there is no universally valid scheme for *te*. *Te* was just as little to be relied upon as was the T'ien mandate. In contrast to this, *hsiao* in Chinese ethics is one of the most constant concepts imaginable." EICHHORN 1969, p. 49.

As we have seen, Hsiao was a decisive element even in the *Te* of the old kings, and indeed without it there would have been no *Te*. Secondly, it has already been seen that faults in *Te* were punished by Heaven which could withhold or remove the Heavenly mandate. There was no Heavenly discretion or arbitrariness when it came to changing the mandate. According to Chou thought, the change depended on virtue, *Te*. Cf. Eichhorn above.

According to Roberts, whether or not the Shang antecedent to *Te* is "to offer up" "it is clear that just as in the Shang certain remnants show sacrifice as the precondition for divine favour or in the Chou what we call virtue is the precondition for winning Heaven's mandate." ROBERTS 1966, p. 101.

It should be noted that *Te* under Chou had a wider application and was not merely a means of obtaining the mandate; for example, it was used as a means of directly governing the people, to harmonize and tranquilize the people. See this study pp. 120, 121.

On 明德 see also, JAO Tsung-i 1978, p. 492. On "bright" 明 see, BOODBERG 1979 (1940), pp. 411-415. See also BOODBERG 1979 (1937), pp. 378, 379.

virtue, the ruler will display their goodness 善 .²⁸

It seems that the principle of virtue in the application of Heavenly punishments means that the king is responsible if the people are not at peace and that small or few as well as great or many crimes come to the attention of Heaven. Consequently, Feng should adopt good counsel and good norms, make correct and reliable decisions and regard the active virtue 敏德 of the ancients as a model.²⁹ Complaining of the reluctance with which the rule of Chou was submitted to, the Duke of Chou said that the virtue of Chou is not unruly, but the people bring guilt down upon themselves. In this case it was right to punish them.³⁰ The juridical virtue of the king is concerned particularly with punishing the unfilial and the unbrotherly. To be unfilial and unbrotherly is against Heaven's laws; not to punish these crimes produces a situation where "the norms given by Heaven to our people will be greatly brought into disorder". To punish these without pardon is in keeping with Wen Wang's principles.³¹

One clear issue which arises from Shu Ching with regard to Te is the position of Te in the relation between ruler or king and his officials and advisors. In this respect Te may be regarded as a principle of governing or administering.

28 SHU Li cheng, vv. 2-5, pp. 66:67, P'an Keng, vv. 16, 29, pp. 22:23, 24. P'an Keng is connected with the situation under late Yin. P'an Keng's rule commenced 1400 B.C. LEGGE vol. 3, 1969, p. 220. The story of the Miao people, where political power, punishments or the application of law and Te are interwoven is of later origin. SHU Lü hing, vv. 3-13, pp. 72, 75:74, 76. See p. 16.

29 SHU K'ang kao, vv. 21, 22, pp. 41:42, 43 告汝德之說于罰之行 v. 21., is translated by Karlgren: "I will tell you the principles of virtue in the application of the punishments." Wu is of the same opinion. WU Yü 1977, p. 105. Ts'eng disagrees and interprets: "I tell you with virtue the principles of punishments." Here the telling is virtuous, and the relation between Te and punishment is weaker according to this interpretation. TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 170; The idea that the fear of Heavenly punishment belongs to Te is apparently a later addition in Shu, since Lü hing is of a later date. SHU Lü hing, v. 21, pp. 75, 78.

30 SHU To fang, v. 23, pp. 63:65.

31 SHU K'ang kao, vv. 13-16, pp. 41:40, 42.

The first main issue of Te in governing is the Te of the rulers. Te is used by the ruler to deal with his officials. The officials should be treated well. Otherwise the result would be to govern with immorality 非罪 . It is clear that Te belongs to the king as a virtue.³² When the king favours or deposes his officials he dare not "apply and use incorrect (virtue=) morals 非德."³³

When the king had to act contrary to the will of his officials he defended himself on the grounds that his virtue is not unruly but "this was the command of Heaven, do not disobey it".³⁴

The king's helpers should be virtuous as well, and he should only employ virtuous men. A king could not be successful without old helpers who were of "perfected virtue" 成德.³⁵

The prince Feng should also be alike in small and great virtues 小大

32 SHU K'ang kao, v. 18, pp. 41:42. "And further, being ruler and president, if you do not treat your house-people well, and your petty officers and your provincial administrators, but are terrorizing and tyrannical and greatly set aside the Royal orders, then with immorality you govern." v. 18.

33 SHU P'an Keng, v. 14, pp. 22:21.

34 SHU To shi, v. 18, pp. 54:56.

35 SHU Li cheng, v. 17, pp. 66:68, To shi, v. 20, pp. 54:56 is translated by Karlgren: "I, the One Man, only listen to and employ the virtuous." 子一人惟聽用德 . Wu interprets 聽 means "to listen, to obey" and 用 means 以, "with". The translation would then be: I, the One Man, only listen and obey those with virtue. WU Yü 1977, p. 136. Ts'eng's interpretation is close to Karlgren's. "I, the One Man only listen to those who have virtue." TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 218. If it were a question only of this sentence, the translation could run: "I, the One Man, listen with virtue." According to the wider ideological context, the king used virtuous officials. Thus Karlgren's translation fits best. Wu's translation also fits the context, because the advisors of the king had to be virtuous. The idea of listening with virtue is not supported by other clearer passages. However, the idea of obeying with virtue may fit the ideology, because the king treated the officers virtuously. In this sense, the sentence should be included in footnote 32. The meaning of the sentence may simply be wider than that suggested by the interpreters.

德 .³⁶ He should "economize the products of the soil" (sc. not make too much wine from the grain); and generally develop and rationalize agriculture and commerce. The "small virtue" apparently refers to this. The second precept is that the prince should take care in his administration of the country, bringing food offerings to the Spirits, so that Heaven will approve the "great virtue" 元德 of the prince. The "great virtue" 大德 apparently refers to this.³⁷

36 SHU Tsiu kao, v. 5, pp. 41:43.

37 There is some disagreement in the interpretation of the phrase 越小大德小子惟一 translated by Karlgren: "In small and great virtues you youngster should be (one=) alike." Karlgren gives two other interpretations in the glosses: "When small and great (men) are virtuous, the young men (the descendants) will have one single (aim)." and "The small and big virtues, the young men will (consider them one=) have an equal regard for them all." KARLGREN 1970 (1948), p. 298; SHU Tsiu kao, v. 5, pp. 41:43. Wu interprets 德 as 行, evidently following Ch'ü who says that 德 means 行爲 'behaviour.' CH'ü Wan-li 1972, p. 85; WU Yü 1977, p. 111. Ts'eng says that 小大德同宗中之老成人也. "Small and great Te are the old and mature men in your family or clan:" TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 174. It seems that most of the interpreters try to avoid the concept "great and small virtue" and the gradation implied in the concept Te. If 越 is a "particle of exposure", occurring before the elements, "as to" "as for" etc, and 惟 is a "polar-positive copula", "A is B", then the translation would be: "As for small and great virtue the youngster is one." The "youngster" here is Prince Feng, instructed by the king. Hence, because of the situation, 惟 here has the sense of "should be", as translated by Karlgren. On the use of particles, see DOBSON 1974, pp. 772, 872. Dobson gives a literal translation: "As to/small-great/virtue,/you child/may be/one./", and a free one: "May you be consistent in all matters of virtue both great and small." DOBSON 1962, pp. 143, 145.

The method used in this study is to start with the phrase itself, particularly if the phrase can be clearly understood. If a straight translation does not fit the context at all, other interpretations may be suggested. In Chiu kao (=Tsiu kao) there is a similar expression concerning states: 越小大邦用喪. "When small and great states were thus ruined". (v. 3), suggesting a gradation between states of different sizes or strength. Similar expressions concerning Te appear to suggest at least some kind of gradation in the concept of Te. In Chiu kao 中德 and 元德 are mentioned, "central, upright virtue" (Wu) "correct virtue" (Karlgrén) and "kind virtue" (Tseng) "great virtue" (Karlgrén). These virtues are mentioned in connection with ruling the country and serving the spirits and Heaven approving the "great virtue" and never being forgotten in the royal house. SHU Tsiu kao, vv. 3, 5, 7, pp. 41, 44:43, 45; WU Yü 1977, p. 111; TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 176.

By not drinking wine in excess, the officials in ancient times helped the king "to achieve the eminence of the royal virtue 王德 to govern the people and to respect the laws."³⁸

Above we saw that as regards small virtue the prince had a direct relationship with the people when developing and rationalizing agriculture and commerce, because he had to economize the products of the soil. Apparently he could do this only by supervising it himself.³⁹

The second main issue of Te as a principle of governing, is Te in connection with the people. In order to govern the people the rulers had to "think of fine (men) of a perfected virtue".⁴⁰

The ancient principle of the king's Te, when this is carried out in practice, means that the ruler should be "careful with regard to his person, the cultivation (of it) should be perpetual. If he amply regulates his nine family branches, all the enlightened ones will energetically (be wings to=) assist him." His influence with his closest kinsfolk can reach out to affect people less intimately connected with him. The king should know the people. If he knows them, he is wise and can nominate

It is probable that "the great virtue" refers to the kind of virtue which is important in great issues like ruling the country and having good relations with Heaven. "Small virtue" would in turn belong to minor issues of lesser importance in their immediate effects, but it is still virtue and in itself, therefore not of lesser importance, because Feng should be alike in both. The background of the advice is probably that the "small virtues" are easily forgotten, whereas the "great virtues" are more easily attended to. If the intention is specifically to ask Feng to take care of the small virtues, the passage preceding the phrase on virtues is indicative: Feng is asked to "economize the products of the soil" (sc. not make too much wine from the grain). Moreover, immediately after this phrase, agriculture and trade are referred to as being important. SHU Tsiu kao, vv. 5, 6, pp. 41, 44:43. It may well be that the small virtues refer to the development and rationalization of commercial and industrial life, whereas the "great virtue" is a notion which refers more directly to administering the country, keeping it in harmony and peace and pleasing Heaven. See also SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 18, pp. 10, 13:12, Kün shi, v. 20, pp. 60:62.

38 SHU Tsiu kao, v. 10, pp. 44:45.

39 SHU Tsiu kao, v. 5, pp. 41:43.

40 SHU Li cheng, v. 17, pp. 66:68.

the proper men to office. In this way the king confers peace on the people. On a more practical level, the sovereign is advised not to set an example of laziness or inordinate desire to the feudal lords, not to place worthless men in positions of responsibility. The works of Heaven are carried out by man. In practice man should be virtuous. Heaven maintains control through the people, whether the king has virtue in practice or not. The royal Te is necessary to the rule of a king, and there is no other way to act if he wished to be king.⁴¹

It is said that the prince, the Duke of Chou, is the protector of the young king. The king said to the prince: "You set forth a grandly illustrious virtue, and make me, little child, extol the virtuous deeds of Wen and Wu; (I shall) receive and respond to Heaven's charge, unite and reach out to all the people of the myriad states and the four quarters and reside in the (new) capital. (I shall) give weight to the great rites of the ancestral temple, take up and regulate the fundamental sacrifices, and range everything in order without confusion. Your virtue, prince, shines brightly above and below, and is earnestly applied to the (lands of) the four quarters ... Your achievements, oh prince, have aided and guided me strongly, I shall imitate those in everything."⁴² Here the prince, Chou Kung, and not the king is the primary practitioner of Te in governing the people.

The king of Chou took care of the people and used virtue and was able to "preside over (the sacrifices to) the Spirits and Heaven. Heaven then instructed us to avail ourselves of its grace, it selected us and gave

41 SHU Shu, Kao Yao mo, vv. 1-7, pp. 6, 10:8, 9. The translation has been slightly modified.

42 SHU Lo kao, vv. 14-17, pp. 50:52, 53. On the tasks of the officials in olden times, see Yao tien, v. 27, pp. 6:5. In the great plan of nine sections the fifth is "the august correctness" in treating the people. According to this, virtue should be loved by giving the people happiness and emoluments, so that they come under the influence of the king. The ninth section is the "five felicities". "The first is called long life, the second riches, the third ease and tranquillity, the fourth the cultivation of a fine virtue, the fifth the achievement of a (naturally) ended life." SHU Hung fan, vv. 9-16, 33, pp. 31:30, 32, 35.

us Yin's mandate, to rule over your numerous regions."⁴³ It seems that when the king uses Te and takes care of the sacrifices, then the people come under his influence and he receives the mandate. Here the king himself is the primary practitioner of Te.

The king advised Feng and said: "Now the people will (dwell on=) be disposed respectfully to follow your father Wen, to continue what they have heard and to follow the virtuous words 德言". Feng should regard the wisdom of the ancients as a fine example to be followed.⁴⁴

The king is the foremost in Te, and the "small people" 小民 will then imitate him. The hope is also expressed that the king would obtain the Heavenly mandate through "small people". This evidently means that the people by imitating the "leader in virtue" will practise virtue throughout the empire. As a result of this, the king receives the mandate.⁴⁵ This means that the people are needed to obtain the mandate. It is also said that if the king has no faults, the people will be replete with his virtue and peace will prevail.⁴⁶

The official should use his virtue for the good of the people. If he can bestow true virtue 實德 on the people, so that it reaches out to kin and friends, this means that his own virtue is abundant 積德.⁴⁷ According to this, the proof of the possession of abundant virtue is one's ability to spread virtue.

There is also the people's virtue 民德 which objures the attachment to riches, and urges them to employ themselves in earning their livelihood.

43 SHU To fang, v. 19, pp. 63:65. For the exhortation to be kind to the people, see SHU Wen Hou chi ming, v. 4, pp. 79:80.

44 SHU K'ang kao v. 5, pp. 38:40.

45 SHU Shao kao, vv. 22, 24, pp. 50:51. 德元 "leader in virtue" according to Ts'eng implies that the king has the virtue of a holy man. TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 198. See also LEGGE vol. 3, 1969, p. 432.

46 SHU Lo kao, vv. 27, 28, pp. 54:53. V. 28: "May they (Yin) forever observe you, my son, and cherish your virtue."

47 SHU P'an keng, v. 10, pp. 19:21.

In this sense, the people's virtue is a fine example to their rulers and officials.⁴⁸

The virtue of the people also refers to the goodwill between the ruler and the people, which the people, it is said, find it easy to neglect.⁴⁹ It is also said that "when among the people there are those who do not comply with virtue and do not acknowledge their guilt, Heaven has (always) given its span of life (adjusting=) determining their virtue."⁵⁰

Some people and some officials do not comply with the precepts of virtue. Sometimes the people are capable of obedience at first, but in the end are fickle. This is a characteristic of the virtue of the people.⁵¹

Lastly, a general logical relation with regard to Te may be mentioned. Te is identified with Chi 極, reaching the highest point. This identification is through double negation by equating the negation of the opposite of Te with Chi.⁵²

48 SHU P'an keng, vv. 44-47, pp. 25:26. The leaders are advised: "Do not attach yourselves to riches and precious things, employ yourselves in making your livelihood. Use and propagate the people's virtue, forever carry a single mind." The conclusion drawn with regard to the people's virtue is based on this statement in SHU P'an keng, vv. 46, 47, pp. 25:26. The people's virtue has the attributes mentioned only collocatively.

49 SHU P'an keng, v. 8, pp. 19:21. The passage is: 非 予 自
荒 茲 德 惟 汝 (含德) 舍 德 不 惕 子 一 人
It is not that I neglect this (virtue=) goodwill (sc. between ruler and subjects), it is you who reject the goodwill and do not (fear=) respect me, the One Man." Here Te refers also to respecting the king. See PULLEYBLANK 1959, p. 179. See also SHU Lü hing, v. 22, pp. 75:78.

50 SHU Kao Tsung jung ji, v. 4, pp. 25:26.

51 SHU Kün Shi, v. 23, pp. 63:62.

52 SHU Hung fan, vv. 10, 13, pp. 28:39, 32. Karlgren translates Chi as "correctness" in this context.

Shigezawa sees an "embryonic form of rationalist thought" in Shu. He quotes "Chao Kao" on the virtue of the ruler. See pp. 86, 93, 98. See also SHU Shao kao, vv. 10, 11, 16, 17, 19-21, pp. 47, 50:48, 49, 51, on cultivating Te and following the ancient kings. Shigezawa says, that "Chao Kao" shows that "it was thought that man's destiny, good or bad, was at the mercy of an anthropomorphic Heaven. Even here it is apparent, however, that Heaven, in judging man, resorted to a morality created

According to Shu Ching, three main characteristics in Te may be discerned: The Te connected with Heaven, the Te of the ancients and the Te of the present time.

There are rather few actual definitive attributes of Te in Shu Ching. Te is looked upon as an idea which may be followed or may not. Te is an important factor in Chou ideology, constituting the main virtue in the governmental principles of the ideology; it is applied widely in governmental affairs by the administrators; it is regarded as an ideal inherited from antiquity.

Te is an all-embracing element not only in government, but also in all social relations and even in the universe. It is an ideal, which, if attained, guarantess the harmonious functioning of everything, free from difficulties and friction.

Despite the theoretical aspects, Te also has its practical features as well. By applying the idea of filiality and the practice of common sense in trade, by being lenient in applying the law, etc. and by performing the necessary sacrifices, Te can be put into practice.

Te is also the preserver of the continuity of the positive in the dynastic oscillation. Failure in Te is both the negative and the implementation of the implications of the negative by Heaven. Here the process of continuity of the positive trend and Heavenly virtue are interconnected. The positive is the ideal state of things in immanence and transcendence and between all spheres in immanence. Virtue is the practical dimension of this harmony when the positive prevails. It is the ideal rightness, to which the administration on earth should return whenever the negative tends to prevail.

by man himself. Thus it may be said that reverence for religious authority somewhat gave way to reliance upon human reason. This change from fear and respect for the inherited faith to reliance upon man's own reason cannot be adequately interpreted without reference to the development of rationalistic thinking." SHIGEZAWA 1961, pp. 79, 80, 82. The above study shows that a kind of rationalistic thinking can also be found in some other concepts of Shu Ching.

3. Tao, Way

Tao 道, means way, road, method, principle, to show the way, to lead, to explain, to speak. The graph consists of the elements, "head" and "go".¹ The head symbolized a person, heading somewhere on a road, hence "way", hence "the right way".² Generally speaking, Tao is very difficult to translate into Western languages, and no-one has yet succeeded in finding a corresponding word to describe Tao adequately.³

Tao appears in Shu Twelve times. In four cases it means to "lead through". Yü conducts or leads through the rivers to prevent them overflowing.⁴

In the Great Plan given to Yü by Heaven the fifth section is that of august correctness. This section includes a poem, which is probably from an early date, although due to the numbered categories Hung fan has been regarded as of a later date. The poem says: "Have nothing onesided, nothing oblique, and follow the king's righteousness; have no predilections and follow the king's way; have no aversions and follow the king's road; have

1 KARLGREN 1957, p. 272.

2 NEEDHAM 1954, p. 228. See also T'ANG Chün-i 1976, p. 35 and CREEL 1929, p. 44.

3 BEKY 1972, p. 37. Boodberg suggests the following: "To sum up, we feel that the traditional translation of TAO as 'the way', does little justice to the wealth of the Chinese term's semantic connotations. What word should be substituted for 'way' is a matter of choice and taste. Personally, I am partial to 'lodehead' in clearly metaphysical contexts, and to 'headlead' (nominal and verbal) in mixed or commonplace discourse." BOODBERG 1957, p. 602.

4 SHU Yü kung, vv. 4, 6, 12 (=) 16, pp. 13:14, 15. See also KARLGREN 1970 (1948) p. 145. According to Ch'ü 道 here is for 迎 "through", as a verb. CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, pp. 28, 29. Karlgren translates "to conduct" which is close to 導 "to lead". The meaning of Tao here is clear: "to conduct" or "to conduct or to lead through". "(Between) the Tsi (river) and the Ho is Yen-chou. The nine Ho (branches) were conducted. Lei-hia was ('marshed'=) formed into a marsh, and the Yung and Tsü (rivers) joined it. The mulberry grounds were ('silkwormed'=) stocked with silkworms. Then they descended from the hills and inhabited the soil." SHU Yü kung, v. 4, p. 14.

nothing onesided, nothing partial, the king's way is smooth and easy; have nothing partial, nothing onesided, the king's way is well arranged; have nothing deflected, nothing perverse, the king's way is straight. If you bring together those who have correctness, then they will turn to the one who has correctness (sc. yourself)."⁵ Tao here occurs in a song that describes the royal perfection, stimulating men to follow it.

"If he has a great offence, if it is not a persistence but an (misfortune=) offence by mishap, done (happening-wise=) by chance, when you have (acc. to the norm=) justly probed to the end his guilt, 既道極厥辜 then you cannot kill him."⁶ Here Tao is a norm or principle of judging as to whether one is guilty or not and how great the degree of guilt is.⁷

The Duke of Chou uses Tao when he describes his attitude to the virtue of the old kings: "At present I, the little child Tan, cannot have a correct (walk=) conduct 迪; it is the glory of the former men that (extends=) reaches to our young son (i.e. Ch'eng Wang) - He further said: Heaven cannot be trusted. My (walk=) conduct 道, 迪 (is only that=) only means that the serene kings' virtue is (prolonged=) continued (i.e. I have no merit myself, being only a transmitter). (我道) 我迪惟寧 王德延⁸

5 SHU Hung fan, vv. 3, 9-14, pp. 28, 31:30, 32. Wu regards Tao here as a method 法. WU Yü 1977, p. 83. Chu Hsi says that the king's righteousness 王之義, king's way, 王之道, the king's road, 王之路, refers to the body of the right and great, to walk on the way of the king and the righteousness of the king. SUNG Ts'ai Ch'en 1972, p. 76.

In the phrase 王道蕩蕩 "the king's way is smooth and easy", the character 蕩 is explained by Karlgren to mean "smooth and easy" in keeping with Mao's commentary, which explains the same character in Ode 101. KARLGREN 1970 (1948), p. 237. See also YANG Chia-lo 1973, p. 121 and LEGGE vol. 3, 1969, p. 331.

6 SHU K'ang kao, v. 8, pp. 38:40.

7 TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 163, explains that Tao here stands for 迪 which means 用, to use, to use the punishment, to punish the crime. CH'U Wan-li 1972, p. 79. Ts'eng's interpretation is more direct and fits the context better.

8 SHU Kün Shi, vv. 5, 6, pp. 60:59, 61. In v. 5, according to the orthodox version, we have 我道, my Tao. This is followed by Chu Hsi,

"The august sovereign (sc. the dead king), leaning on the jade stool, brought forward and manifested his last (order=) will." 后 憑 玉 几 道 (= 導) 揚 末 命 . Here Tao means "to lead, to bring forward, to advance".⁹

After saying that Wen and Wu brought the people tranquillity, had good ministers etc, it is said: "Thus they began their mandate from God on High. August Heaven therefore announced its way 道, and gave them the (lands in the) four quarters." Here Tao possesses its common meaning and is connected with Heaven.¹⁰

SUNG Ts'ai Ch'en 1972, p. 108. However, the oldest version is 我 迪 . Ch'ü explains 迪 as an empty word with no meaning. 言 調 CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 111. Wu follows Ch'ü in interpreting the meaning: We only extend the good conduct of Wen Wang. Here the 寧 王 refers to Wen Wang. WU Yü 1977, p. 146. Karlgren explains: "Shiven's note gives us Ma Jung's text wo ti 我 迪 as the oldest version extant, and this, of course, should be followed. All the more since it corresponds closely to the ti 迪 of the preceding line. There we had 'I cannot have a correct ti (walk=) conduct; it is the glory of the former men that extends to the young son'. Now again Chou Kung embroiders upon the same idea: 'Wo ti 我 迪 my (walk=) conduct (is only that=) only means that the Serene Kings' virtue is (prolonged=) continued'. (i.e. I have no merit myself, being only a transmitter). Thus the two lines balance each other beautifully. The modified version with tao comes to much the same sense: 'My path (is only that=) only means that...'" KARLGREN 1970 (1949), p. 118.




9 SHU Ku ming v. 24, pp. 69, 72:71. Ch'ü explains tao here as "to say". CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 131. Ts'eng identifies 道 with 揚 "to manifest, to publish abroad" TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien p. 270. SUN says: "Oh, august sovereign, lean on the jade stool and (listen to) the manifested remaining order (of the dead king)" Sun adds a "listen to" which is not in the text. SUN Hsing-jen 1976, p. 373. Karlgren rejects Sun's interpretation saying that his translation refers directly to the first lines of the chapter. Karlgren suggests that 道 = 導, 'to lead, bring forward, to advance'. KARLGREN 1970 (1949), p. 167. Sun's interpretation also refers to the beginning of the chapter where the old king leaned on a jade stool and now the new king after the death of the old king also leans on it. However, Karlgren's interpretation is more in keeping with the text, and the new king may not need to lean because he is not ill, as the old king was.

10 SHU Ku ming, v. 34, pp. 72:73.

In Shu Ching, Tao seems to appear both in a concrete and in a more abstract sense. The concrete meaning is to "lead through", "to advance", and also refers to one's "conduct" or "walk". The more abstract sense refers to the king's way, which is the royal perfection to be followed. Secondly, Tao is a principle used in the judging of guilt. Thirdly, Tao is the way of Heaven.

Although Tao is not a key term in Shu, the above-mentioned degree of abstraction can be found in its usage in Shu.

4. Li, Rites

The phonetic part of Li consists of a pictograph depicting some offerings on a table in a vase. The object in the vase may be jade. The form in the oracle bones is . The semantic determinative or radical depicts something coming from above, in the bones  or . This radical indicates the divine attributes of the character. The graph may contain the idea of serving the god in order to obtain blessing or good fortune.¹ The present study uses "rite", "rites" to translate Li.

¹ KAO Shu-fan 1974, pp. 1182, 1170. Karlgren says: "The graph is a drawing of a vase containing some object of uncertain interpretation". Li 禮 means propriety, ceremony, rite, ritual. KARLGREN 1957, p. 160. The only common character which has the same 'phonetic' as Li is T'i 體 body, limb, to embody, form, shape, category class, indication in divination. According to Boodberg, this would seem to indicate that for the ancient Chinese the word "vessel" connoted something like "morphon" and was parallel to the use of "vessel" in our scriptural language, and served as a metonym for "human body". This "morphon" or "form" being "organic" rather than geometrical appears to be the link between the two words, as attested by the ancient Chinese scholars who used T'i to define Li. Boodberg concludes that "Form" with a capital letter is to be understood as ritual, social or good form, and serves best as the simplest equivalent of the Chinese term. Another favourite paronym for Li is Ti 第 "order", "series", "sequence". Boodberg mentions other concepts which are close to Li: corporate form, worshipful acconformation, formal incorporation, eumorphosis, social co-ordination, corpor-ordination. Li has been translated in many ways into Western languages: propriety, ritual, cult, culture, worship, ceremony, etiquette, decorum, urbanity, courtesy, good manners etc. BOODBERG 1953, pp. 326, 327; KÖSTER 1958, pp. 68-72.

In the authentic parts of Shu Ching, Li appears 12 times. Each case is studied separately below.

After Yao 堯, Shun 格 came to the throne. After verifying the sun, moon and planets he made sacrifices to God on High, to celestial divinities, mountains and rivers and to all Spirits. "He gathered in the five (kinds of) insignia; and (when he had "monthed", he "dayed"=) when he had determined the month, he determined the day and saw the Si Yüe and all Pastors and (again) distributes the insignia to all the princes." Then he went around to the fiefs, made sacrifices to mountains and rivers and gave audiences to the eastern princes. "He put into accord the seasons, the months and the (correct=) proper days. He made uniform the pitchpipes, the measures of length, the measures of capacity and the weights. He attended to the five kinds of (enfeoffing) rites 禮 and the five kinds of (enfeoffing) jade insignia. The three (kinds of) silk, the two (kinds of) living (animals) and the one (kind of) dead (animal) were the gifts presented; they were according to the five capacities (sc. of the kung, hou, po tsi, nan princes). When all was finished, he returned home."²

"In the fifth month, he went around to the fiefs, in the south, and came to the Southern mountain and acted in accordance with the rites 禮 of the Tai (sc. those described above as pertaining to the mountain of the east).

2 SHU Yao tien, vv. 15-19, pp. 2:4, 5. Karlgren accepts the interpretation that the "five rites" were those pertaining to the investiture of the five kinds of feudal lords ("kung, hou, po, tsi, nan") and the "five jades" were the five kinds of jade insignia given to them. The "five jades" were thus identical with the "five (kinds of) insignia" mentioned a few lines earlier. Shun had called in these insignia from the feudal lords before his tour of inspection. Karlgren finds that this fits the context: "Shun went on a inspection tour in the east and there invested the lords and gave them their insignia." KARLGREN 1970 (1948), p. 84.

In Chu Hsi's opinion, the five rites are different from the above: 王禮吉凶軍賓嘉也. The first relates to sacrifice, marriage, giving birth etc., the second relates to funerals the third to receiving guests, the fourth to military affairs and the fifth was an initiation rite. SUNG Ts'ai Ch'en 1972, p. 6. According to Ts'eng the five rites refer to the rites of different feudal lords. TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 19.

The numbered categories refer to a post Confucian date of origin.

In the eighth month, he went around to the fiefs in the west and came to the Western mountain and acted as in the first case; in the 11th month he went around to the fiefs in the north and came to the Northern mountain, and acted in accordance with the rites 禮 of the west. When he returned, he went to (the temple of) his late father and grandfather, and sacrificed a bull."³

These rites taking place, as they do, in various areas may have a cosmological character. During the dark time of the year the rites were conducted in the west and north, the areas of sunset and darkness, and during the light time of the year the rites were conducted in the east and south, the areas of sunrise and light.⁴

These rites that take place on the mountains and by the rivers can be understood as the background of the harmonious functions of the universe. Granet says of this system of thought that the rural gatherings in spring and autumn, which included marriage ceremonies as an essential element, were always held "amid a scene of rivers and mountains, where vegetation, trees and grass, was abundant." These places and their features were regarded as holy. The mountains and rivers were regarded as having power, because they were thought of as storehouses of rain and controllers of the regularity of the seasons. "In the natural order they occupy a position analogous to that of the ruler in human society." "The rulers negotiate with them in the name on men, concerning the affairs of nature."⁵ The rites mentioned above apparently refer to this kind of negotiation.

As regards the ruler's role, according to Granet, the power of the rivers and mountains "is only another aspect of the power of the prince. When prince lacks virtue there is no order among men; when the mountain lacks power, rain does not fall in its appointed time. But if any should propose

3 SHU Yao tien, v. 19, pp. 2:5; Karlgren's translation is slightly modified here. See also KARLGREN 1968, pp. 25, 26.

4 For cosmology, light and darkness, see HENTZE 1955, pp. 67-71; HENTZE 1967, pp. 80, 81, 85, 86.

5 GRANET 1975, pp. 124-127, 180-182.

to punish the mountain for failing in its duty, he would be holding the wrong person responsible. Disorder in nature is only the result of disorder in society; it is the prince who should hold himself to blame both when rain fails and when it rains too much. He must restore his virtue and at the same time restore to its pristine vigour the efficacy of the holy place. If he fails to correct himself, punishment will surely fall; it may be dealt him at the hands of men, but his punishment depends upon himself."⁶

When granting positions to many kinds of ministers, one of whom one was a minister of rites, the "emperor said: Oh, Si Yüe, is there anybody who can direct my three (categories of) rites? All said: Po Yi. The emperor said: Yes. Oh, you Po, you shall be (regulator of the ritual honours=) Master of Rites. Morning and night, be respectful; in your straightness, be pure. Po saluted and bowed down the head and ceded to K'uei and Lung. The emperor said: Yes, go and be respectful!" The three rites here are those concerned with Heaven, earth and man. After this, the appointment of the minister of music was made.⁷ Rites and music are mentioned as being related to each other.

Kao yao has said that "Heaven arranges the existing rules (sc. of family relations), we carefully regulate our five rules and (their five amplifications=) the five modes of amply practising them. Heaven regulates the existing rites 禮 we follow our five rites 五 禮 (sc. pertaining to the king, the higher feudatories, the lower feudatories, the ministers and dignitaries, the officers and commoners) and their five constant norms. Together we reverence (them), concordantly we respect them, (then there is) harmony and correctness."⁸

This is the second case that the five rites are mentioned. First it was

6 GRANET 1975, p. 183.

7 SHU Yao tien, v. 34, pp. 6:7. In Chu Hsi's opinion, the three rites are those of god in Heaven, of the spirits of dead men and of the god of earth 天神享人鬼地祇. SUNG Ts'ai Ch'en 1972, p. 9. In Ts'eng's opinion, the three rites are the rites of Heaven, earth and man. 天地人 TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, pp. 25, 26.

8 SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 6, pp. 10:9.

a question of enfeoffing rites, and then rites pertaining to the king and the officials below him. These rites are regulated by Heaven. Li in this context seems to be referring to social coordination.⁹ In both cases rites have governmental significance.

After Heaven had "set in motion its terror in order to signalize Chou Kung's virtue", the king said: "I, the little child, will in person go and meet him, the rites of our Royal house also justify this." Here Heaven, virtue, Te, and rites, Li, were in harmony, and so the king was able to act.¹⁰ This passage shows that Li belongs to the totality of Chou thought as a guideline together with Te, as to when action is to be taken.

When the Chou had pushed eastward from their stronghold in Shensi and founded a new capital city, they were to all intents and purposes in enemy country. In order to reconcile the Honan population to the new regime, it was prudent to be conservative with regard to the sacred rites. That the Chous used Yin rites in the new city is, therefore, understandable and so the Duke of Chou advised the king saying: "May the king at first (corresponding to=) in accordance with the rites of the Yin 殷 禮 make sacrifice in the new city. Range everything in order without confusion". 殷 禮 can also mean "flourishing rites". Later the king promises the prince: "(I shall) give weight to the great rites 將 禮 of the ancestral temple, take up and regulate the fundamental sacrifices, and range everything in order without confusion." When replying to the Duke, the king says that there is rebellion and "there is still nothing settled about the rites in the ancestral temple; I have also been unable

9 Wu mentions five rites pertaining to 天子諸侯卿大夫士庶民. These are the same as those mentioned by Karlgren: the king, the higher feudatories, the lower feudatories, the ministers and dignitaries, the officers and commoners. SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 6, pp. 10:9; KARLGREN 1970 (1948), pp. 112, 113; WU Yü 1977, p. 29; TS'ENG Yün Ch'ien 1976, p. 35.

10 SHU Kin t'eng, v. 18, pp. 34:36. There is a tradition that Chou Kung was already dead at the time advocated by Szu Ma Ch'ien. However, the Ku wen school believed that Chou Kung was living at that time. Mao also understood that Chou Kung was still living when the king went to meet him. See KARGREN 1970 (1948), pp. 257, 258; SUN Hsing-yen 1976, p. 251; YANG Chia-lo 1973, p. 196.

to achieve your work."¹¹ The confusion of Li reflects the confusion in politics. At the same time, the good order of Li contributes to the solving of political conflicts when one dynasty gives way to the next.

There is one passage in Shu Ching which unequivocally refers to the rites of the Yin dynasty. It is said that the Yin lords had good ministers, who protected and advised them. "Therefore in the Yin rites 殷禮, when they (sc. the lords) died, they were counterparts to Heaven (i.e. styled Ti like Shang Ti), and passed through a great quantity of years."¹² Here Li is the instrument of positive continuity in history.

When the omen was bad the king was advised not to perform rites "in familiarity".¹³

In Shu Ching, Li has a clear relation to governmental affairs. Heaven

11 SHU Lo kao, vv. 5, 15, 19, pp. 50:52, 53; KARLGREN 1970 (1949) p. 77. There are rather strong arguments which propose that 殷 here means, not the dynasty of Yin, but "flourishing, ample, full, grand". This opinion is supported by Chu Hsi, 殷盛也 "Yin means 'abundant, flourishing, plenteous". SUNG Ts'ai Ch'en 1972, p. 98. There is a parallel usage of Yin in the Odes, no. 95. See Karlgren's gloss above. The historical context supports the view that 殷禮 are the rites of the Yin dynasty. See also CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 97. 將 is 大 in v. 15. CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 99. Dobson translates: "Rites of Yin". DOBSON 1962, p. 159.

12 SHU Kün shi, v. 8, pp. 60:61. The kings were called Ti 帝 after they died. In their lifetimes they were called Wang 王. "Counterparts of Heaven" refer to this fact. KARLGREN 1970 (1949) p. 119. Ts'eng says that during the Yin period there were good ministers serving the government, so that they could worship their ancestors and Heaven. TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 228.

Gurdak says: "To accept and to use Yin sacrificial ritual was therefore, the central and most important of the Chou accessions to Yin tradition." GURDAK 1976, pp. 108, 109. Considering the ambiguity of the text and the rarity of the term Li in Shu Ching, Gurdak's statement is not wholly justified.

13 SHU Kao Tsung jung ji, v. 5, pp. 25:26. "Oh, when the kings become successors in taking care of the people, there are none who are not the successors of Heaven; in the standard sacrifices (sc. to the royal spirits), do not perform rites in familiarity." Ch'ü and Ts'eng follow the text in brackets. See CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 53; TS'ENG Yün Ch'ien 1976, p. 112.

regulates the rites belonging to the king and the dignitaries subordinate to him. It is related to enfeoffing to sacrifice and may also have a cosmological character which is manifest in different parts of the state at the relevant times. Li also means social coordination. The King's important acts demanded harmony between Heaven, virtue and rites. The Yin rites were presumably used by the Chou.

The rites are an integral part of Chou thought, although the term is not a key one in Shu Ching, and because the occurrences of the term are rather few, Li is not particularly emphasized. Even so, the rites are regarded as important especially in the affairs of government. They are not independent phenomena, but bear at least some relation to the more important concepts of Heaven and virtue, and especially to that of king and ruler.

Generally speaking, rites as such seem to reflect the unity between Heaven, the king and dignitaries subordinate to him and through them Li reflects the unity of the whole state. Li also reflects the unity of the whole universe, the different points of the compass, the seasons and perhaps even light and darkness. Li shows that man is an integral part of the whole universe. Li may also have been used as an element to resolve the contradictions of Chou and Yin.

Li means that the ruler's task is to attend to the harmonious function of the whole universe on a macro level, and also on a micro level with regard to social coordination. In political matters Li belongs together with Te to the totality of Chou thought, functioning as a guideline. Li is the harmonising factor in the world of political conflict and change. However, Li by its very unsettled nature may reflect political confusion, although the good order inherent in it contributes to the solving of political contradictions and conflicts. Li is the agent of positive continuity in history, in the change from one dynasty to another. It also seems to exercise the function of harmonising factor in retarding or obviating the trend towards the negative in the dynastic oscillation under Chou.

5. Yi, Righteousness

Yi means righteous, righteousness, true sense, meaning.¹ Boodberg suggests "moral propriety" or "compropriety".²

Yi has been said to be one of the attributes of kingship. This is mentioned as the last attribute of the nine virtues of the ruler in antiquity, who is "strong and yet righteous" 彊而義³ The prince should follow the righteousness of the king. It is said: "Have nothing one-sided, nothing oblique, and follow the king's righteousness."⁴

In ancient times the king followed the "righteous virtue" 義德 of his predecessor as we discover in the Duke of Chou's reference to Wu Wang who "dared not discard his (Wen Wang's) righteous virtue", but followed it.

1 The upper part of the character Yi 義 is 'sheep', which is a radical, and the lower part is I, me, we, us, my, our and is the phonetic part of the characters. KARLGREN 1957, p. 20. See also KAO Shu-fan 1974, p. 1376.

2 The meaning righteousness does not have etymonic connections with such root words as right, jus, lex, mos, debeo, publicus etc. The graphic component "sheep" according to Boodberg is perhaps the name for a quality which the Chinese extended to cover other abstractions, in a way reminiscent of the manner in which the ancient Latin speaking peoples were supposed to have broadened the range of the connotations of *sapio* from "taste" to "wisdom". "Sheep" can thus be dismissed as a semantic signal, and full attention must be concentrated on the element 我 as the real etymon of the word. Yi 誼 is believed to be the nearest homonym for the term. It means "suitable", "congruent", "proper", "ought". The link between these (I, we and proper) is the Latin proprius, "not common with others", "personal", "characteristic", "appropriate", "constant". Yi should be translated "(moral) propriety" or "compropriety". BOODBERG 1953, pp. 330, 331. Boodberg suggests elsewhere "that the original meaning of *ngiã* (義) can best be rendered by 'we-ness' 'allegiance to the *we* group'." BOODBERG 1979 (1937), p. 395. Needham says that Yi meant originally "that which seemed just to the natural man". NEEDHAM 1956, p. 545.

3 SHU Kao Yao mo, v. 3, pp. 10:8.

4 This is referred to in the fifth section of the nine sections of the plan given by Heaven to Yü. SHU Hung fan, vv. 3, 9, 14, pp. 28, 31:30, 32. Although Hung fan with its numbered categories is of a later date, Yi appears in the song, which is early in origin. See this study pp. 134, 135. Yi is explained here as meaning "method", CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, pp. 63, 64; TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 132.

This sentence is preceded by a more detailed description of the genius of Wen Wang, how he was able to establish the government and organize the bureaucracy. As a result, the application of law was successful. Apparently "righteous virtue" refers to this ability of Wen Wang. It is a virtue which works for the best of the country, or is suitable for the country. Yi as a specifier of Te refers to this quality of the virtue.⁵ The Yi attribute also belongs to the king's good advisors. It is also proper, Yi 義, for the officials when times are bad to encourage the ruler to perform Heaven's service by stressing that the king will implement the work planned by his late father.⁶ The king needs more confidence to implement the plan, and to encourage him would also be in the best interests of the country; "proper" has this function here.

Yi is also connected with the change of dynasty. The Hsia officials were unable to protect the people and "Heaven's not giving favour (to Hia) was (great=) definite; (using=) having the righteous people 義民 of your (Yin) numerous regions he (still) could not continue long in the ample enjoyment (of the mandate)". The mandate was then given to "T'ang the Achiever".⁷ Despite the righteousness of the people, the dynasty was changed as a result of its many faults. Only the ordinary people were righteous and acted in such a way that the mandate could have been

5 SHU Li cheng, vv. 1, 2, 6-15, pp. 66:67, 68. The sentence 茲乃三宅無義民 is problematic if interpreted to mean that in the three high positions there will be no Yi men. Yi is explained by Ch'ü in this context as a phonetic loan = 俄 = 邪 which means "evil". CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, pp. 121, 122. Ts'eng interprets 義民 as 獻民 "eminent men". TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 248, 249. Karlgren translates: "In the three (high) positions, will there not be righteous men?" v. 2. He says of this translation: "That the line is not formally an interrogative clause but looks like an ordinary affirmative clause, is no obstacle. Such is often the case in the early texts. Cf. Ode 204: 'Were the ancestors not men?', the question being here certain beyond dispute through the context." KARLGREN 1970 (1949), p. 138.

6 SHU Ta kao, v. 8, pp. 34:37. Ch'ü says that Yi means "suitable" here. CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 73.

7 SHU To fang, vv. 6-8, pp. 63;64. (Hia=Hsia) Righteous people are interpreted as good people in CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 117. Ts'eng suggests 義民 = 獻民 "eminent men". TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 239. Karlgren rejects this on phonetic grounds, see KARLGREN 1970 (1949), pp. 137, 138. Ch'eng T'ang 成湯 T'ang the Successful, see p. 36.

continued, had it not been for an unworthy king and his unqualified officials. This becomes clear in the passage: "Hia's (respected=) trusted officers were greatly unable brightly to protect and to give bounties to the people. And together with them he (the king) oppressed the people, so that in the (hundred=) numerous actions he was greatly unable to (set free=) condone (the accused)."⁸ In other words, the people were able to behave in such a way that the empire benefited, but they alone were Yi, the others were not.

It is also said of the Yi of the people: "When Heaven inspects the people below, it takes as the norm their righteousness 惟天監下民典厥義 and sends down (years=) life either long or not long."⁹ Yi is here the criterion according to which Heaven determines the length of people's lives. According to the wider ideological context in Shu Ching, this probably means in practice that the king complies with the will of Heaven in shortening the lives of the people if they do not observe the virtue of righteousness, in other words, if they act contrary to the interests of the country. On the other hand, as a Heavenly administrator on earth, the king does not execute those who are righteous, who act properly in the interests of the empire, have virtue, Te, and are obedient. On the one hand, the rulers themselves apparently possessed the above-mentioned faith in Heaven, since in practice their actions were usually also confirmed by the oracle. On the other, the expression is merely a euphemistic way of putting the matter, avoiding the underlying cruelty of the expression.

Yi also appears as a legal term, referring to the "norms of Yin". The king said to Feng: "You should set forth those items of the law and take for punishments and verdicts the norms of the Yin. Use their just punishments and just killings 用其義刑義殺. Do not use them so as to agree with you, Feng (i.e. your personal wishes)".¹⁰ The

8 SHU To fang, v. 7, pp. 63:64.

9 SHU Kao Tsung jung ji, pp. 25:26. Ts'eng suggests that Yi means both according to reason and to take a suitable action. TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 112.

10 SHU K'ang kao, v. 13, pp. 41:40, 42. Ts'eng interprets 義 as 宜

"just punishments and killings" represent the continuity of the positive from Yin to Chou.

As an example of a proper punishment for minor officials it is said that when they introduce penal innovations on their own account and "do not think of or employ the greatly renowned ones among the people and distress their ruler, then they lead on to wickedness, and I detest them. Indeed, you should speedily, according to these norms of right kill them all."¹¹ It is clear from the above that such officials are not good for the country, and so it is right to kill them. Here Yi is a criterion according to which the penalty is imposed and harmony restored to the country.

According to Chou Kung, it was not Yi, 義, right, reasonable to expect that Tsu Chia should become king, apparently because this would mean excluding his elder brother from the throne. He was for a long time one of the small people 小人 and learned to know their sufferings. When he became king "he could give protection and kindness to the common people 庶民, and he dared not insult widowers and widows. Thus Tsu Kia's enjoyment of the realm lasted for 33 years."¹²

right, fitting. TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 165. According to Creel, Yi has in this context a sense of that which is appropriate in all circumstances, fitting, just. Occasionally it is used with the sense of "justice". We find Yi with these meanings in Shu Ching, in Shih Ching and in an early Chou Bronze inscription. "Appropriateness" was also to be taken into account in making legal decisions. CREEL 1970, p. 174.

K'ang kao says of punishments that account should be taken of whether the crime is one of mishap, committed by accident or on purpose. One should not err when punishing. SHU K'ang kao, vv. 8, 10, pp. 38, 41:40.

11 SHU K'ang kao, v. 17, pp. 41:42.

12 SHU Wu yi, v. 6, pp. 57:58. See also LEGGE vol. 3, 1969, pp. 467, 468.

In one case Yi appears in the combination 代烏義 (儀) with a negative sense "owl-behaviour" (i.e. rapacious). SHU Lü hing, v. 2, pp. 72:74. Lü Hsing is of later origin, p. 16.

Yi appears three times in the combination 父義乎 "(father=) uncle and peacemaker". This has the function of the vocative in this context. SHU Wen Hou chi ming, vv. 1, 3, 4, pp. 79:78, 80; TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, pp. 291, 292, 294.

Yi is an attribute of the ruler, and the prince should follow in his righteous footsteps. "Righteous virtue" is applied to the governing genius of Wen Wang. Yi belongs to the advisors of the king as well. The dynasty was changed from Hsia to Yin, although Hsia had righteous people, because its rulers were inferior. Yi is the criterion according to which Heaven determined the length of people's lives, apparently using the king to shorten the lives of those who did not possess Yi. As a legal term Yi refers to the loyalty of the officials to the law. Generally, Yi also means "right, reasonable".

In several occurrences Yi seems to include action which is beneficial to the country. This action seems to constitute to some extent the criterion according to which someone is judged to be Yi.

Although, due to its few occurrences in Shu, Yi is not regarded as a key term in Chou thought, it is nevertheless well related as a concept in Chou thought. In political and legal matters it is connected with the continuity of the positive in history, especially as a policy which is beneficial to the country.

6. Jen, Goodness

Jen consists of two elements, 人 man and 二 two. However, Jen is not only a derivative, but is actually the same word, though in a distinctive graphic form, as the Chinese vocable jen 人, "man", homo. This must somehow be reflected in the Occidental translation.¹

1 SHUO Wen Chieh Tzu p. 261; KARLGREN 1923, p. 271; BOODBERG 1953, pp. 328, 329. According to Waley jen 人 "man" in the earliest Chinese means freemen, men of the tribe, as opposed to min 民, "subjects" "the common people". The same word, written with a slight modification, means "good" in the most general sense of the word, that is to say, "possessing the qualities of one's tribe". WALEY 1964, pp. 27, 253. Boodberg remarks here that this is substantiated to a certain extent by pre-Confucian texts. BOODBERG 1953, p. 328.

The element 二 "two" is usually interpreted as being the Chinese character for "two", suggestive of the idea of duality. The phonetic functions, if any, of this element are not clear. One should note however, that the Chinese word for "two", (*újər*, *úzi-*), originally possessed the same initial as Jen, (*újě̀n*, *úziě̀n*). Boodberg puts forward the hypothesis that "man" and "two" express plurality, like the English expression "man among men". Although one has certain reservations in this matter, this suggestion may contain something of the original idea of the term.²

Despite opinions to the contrary, the term Jen already seems to have appeared in the Shang oracle bones, although these occurrences are very rare.³ This means that the idea represented by the character existed even before Confucius, whatever it may originally have been.

The translation of Jen has posed many problems. It has usually been translated: Benevolence, love, altruism, kindness, charity, compassion, magnanimity, perfect virtue, goodness, true manhood, manhood at its best,

2 KARLGREN 1957, pp. 110, 150; BOODBERG 1953, p. 329. Boodberg introduces a new hypothesis of the origin of the character, his starting point being the fact that on Chinese bronze inscriptions of the Chou Dynasty the character tzu 子 "son" often has a little ditto sign in the form of two horizontal strokes added to it to express such phrases as "son's son", "son after son". "It may well be that Confucius, or some predecessor of his, had borrowed that graphic convention from the vocabulary of the inscriptions to endow the common graph for *jen*, 'man', with a special meaning, perhaps in an attempt to instil into the graph, representing a word in a language devoid of a specific category of plurality, a contrasting singular-plural connotation, such as we would express in English by 'man among men', and had then sublimated it by making it a key locution in his moralistic system." BOODBERG 1953, p. 329. A son with the ditto sign is 𠄎. WIEGER 1965, pp. 376, 381, 384. Jen in the bronzes looks like 𠄎, where "two" or duality is not an addition to "man" but an equally important part of the character. CHANG Hsüan 1968, p. 34. In Chou inscriptions, it also had a form 𠄎, KARLGREN 1957, p. 110. See also CHUNG, Chi-lu 1962, p. 41.

3 KAO Shu-fan 1974, p. 50. In the bones it is in the form 𠄎 = 2/2·19·1. CHANG Hsüan 1968, p. 34. Other opinions: "The word 'jen' is not found in the oracle bones.", ref. to Tung Tso-pin. "The Word 'Jen' in Archaic Script" (in Chinese), Academic Review, vol. 2, no. 1, 1953, p. 18; CHAN Wing-tsit 1955, p. 295; GRAF 1970, p. 66. See also ref. to KUO Mo-jo, Shih P'i P'an Shu, Peking 1954, p. 85, which states that this term cannot be found in the oracle bones or in the bronzes from the time of Western Chou, in STAIGER 1969, p. 79.

humanheartedness, humaneness, humanity, hominity, man-to-manness.⁴

In the authentic parts of Shu Ching Jen appears in Chin T'eng which describes the incident when Emperor Wu 武王 of the Chou dynasty fell ill, and Chou Kung Tan 周公旦, the Duke of Chou, his younger brother, prayed to "the three kings" for the recovery of the Emperor. He promised to sacrifice his own life, concealing a written prayer in a box sealed with a metal fitting, which was recovered in later years after the death of the ruling king. In the prayer he said: "I am good and compliant, clever and capable, I have much talent and much skill, I can serve the Spirits. Your principal descendant does not, like me, Tan, have much talent and much skill, he cannot serve the Spirits." 子仁(告考能)若巧能,多林多藝能事鬼神,神日元孫不若旦多林藝不能事鬼神.⁵

4 仁親也. Jen means intimate affection, love. SHUO Wen Chieh Tzu, p. 261; CHAN Wing-tsit 1955, p. 295. Taking into account the "plurality" of the term, Boodberg suggests that a correct translation would be a derivative rather from the Latin homines than from the singular homo. Boodberg modifies the traditionally acceptable translation "humanity" by the addition of the prefix "co-", suggesting "co-humanity" "co-human", "co-humanize (oneself)". This serves to distinguish the word from its European connotations. BOODBERG 1953, pp. 329, 330.

5 SHU Kin t'eng v. 6, pp. 31, 34:35; KARLGREN 1970 (1948), pp. 252, 253. Karlgren agrees with Sun Shing-yen, that 仁若考能 = 仁若巧能 "I am good and compliant, clever and capable, I have much talent and much skill". KARLGREN 1970 (1948), p. 252; SUN Hsing-yen 1976, p. 242. Ts'eng also agrees with this. TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 141. Wu follows Ch'ü by interpreting 考 as 孝 filial, love of parents, saying that in the bronzes 考 appears as 孝. CH'ü Wan-li 1972, p. 68; WU Yü 1977, p. 89.

In this phrase Jen, the only case in Shu, is less problematic. However, when Szu Ma Ch'ien uses this text, we have 旦 instead of 仁. SUN Hsing-yen 1976, p. 242. Tan 旦, refers to the Duke of Chou. Liu interprets 仁 as 存 "to keep", "to exist". LIU Feng-lu 1974, p. 376. It is safest to follow Karlgren and Sun.

TAKEUCHI, Teruo has made a special study of Jen in this context: A Study of the Meaning of Jen Advocated by Confucius. Acta Asiatica, The Toho Gakkai, no. 9, 1965, pp. 72-74. Takeuchi argues: "Because the prayer in *Chin-t'eng-p'ien* was written by Chou-kung purposely emphasizing his superiority to Emperor Wu, so, in such a case, it is taken for granted that superiority boasted therein should be limited to external feature or ability such as figure appearance, behaviour, eloquence or "techique

Jen in this context is especially needed by a king⁶ when his ability to

and internal "good quality was ruled out". If Chou-kung referred to internal temperament or virtue, it would seem to be too arrogant, and the prayer would not have constituted the due dignified form. "To say 'so far as moral consciousness is concerned, my brother is well qualified to become king, but, in the spiritual world to serve our father, he is rather behind me' was naturally what Chou-kung intended to express in the prayer". His intention was not to say "my brother is far behind me not only concerning virtue but talent and accomplishments, so, he is not qualified to serve our ancestors". Should the latter case be granted, then it would be as good as to say 'my brother is not entitled to be king'." TAKEUCHI 1965, pp. 72-74.

In the light of Chou thought it may be asked whether those in Heaven had been satisfied with someone inferior to the king. In order to convince those in Heaven, Chou-kung had to prove himself superior to the king and the right person to be taken to Heaven to serve the spirits. It was already too arrogant to say that the ruling king was not talented or was not able to serve the spirits. Chou-kung spoke to the rulers in Heaven and not to the sick king; that is why he enclosed the prayer in a box not to be seen publicly. The death of the king would have been a much worse thing than the existence of certain arrogant statements sealed in a closed box. The rulers in Heaven believed Chou-kung, and did not take the king up to Heaven, and Chou-kung was also saved, because he was not a king. If the prayer had been read publicly while the brother of Chou-kung was still alive, it might have been dangerous for Chou-kung. Jen may also have meant external appearance, but not for the reasons stated by Takeuchi in this context.

The Manchu translation uses 仁 "gosingga", menschenfreundlich, gütig, wohlwollend; Menschenliebe. Note also other similar words: "gosin", Menschenliebe; menschenfreundlich, "gosidumbi", einander lieben, "gositambi" lieben, sehr lieben. GABELENTZ 1864, no. 1, p. 186, no. 2, p. 84. In Manchu interpretation Jen did not mean outer appearance.

It may be said that Jen in this context is one of the basic characteristics of a king and it is because of such characteristics that he is especially competent to serve the spirits in Heaven. If Jen expresses the harmonious relation of the king to the universe, such a feature seems to be useful in Heaven, too, and indeed especially useful there.

⁶ Chan interprets Jen to mean the kindness shown by rulers to their subjects. "For this reason Chinese scholars agree that *jen* in the ancient Classics connotes a particular virtue, namely, kindness of a ruler to his people." CHAN Wing-tsit 1955, p. 296.

Judging by the reliable parts of Shu, it is not possible to arrive at this kind of strict definition of Jen. It is a definition, however, which does not conflict with the occurrence of the term in Shu. The definition apparently has its origin in T'ai Chia, part 3 太甲下 LEGGE vol. 3, 1969, pp. 209, 210. Here it is said that the people only cherish the one who is benevolent, Jen 仁. Shih says that Jen here means benevolence towards the people. T'ai Chia dates from late Chou. SHIH Joseph 1970, pp. 492, 493.

perform his task in Heaven after this life on earth is measured alongside that of the other kings already in Heaven.

From the above, one can easily see that the important Confucian concept of Jen was not of great importance in Shu Ching, and is not particularly connected with Chou thought either. Using Shu as a basis, it is almost impossible to say anything very definite about the traditional usage of Jen.